THE PROVINCES OF BIHAR AND BENGAL UNDER SHAHAJAHAN

Khondokar Mahbubur Karim

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(v)

Abbreviations

Ā'īn Ā'īn-i- Akharī AR Assam Buranii (a chronicle of Assam from the earliest Ahom Kings to Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha). AN Akhar Namah 'Amal-i-Sālih AS Ahwāl-i-Shāhzadegī Shāhjahānī. ASS Bengal District Gazetteer. B.D.G. BG Bahāristāni Ghaibī. Travels in the Mughal Empire. Bernier A geographical account of countries round Bowrev the Bay of Bengal. Bādshāh Nāmah of Lāhaurī BN **BPP** Bengal Past and Present. English Factories in India. **EFI** FO Faiyād al Qawanin. Proceedings of Indian History Congress. IHC Iqbālnāmah i-Jahāngīrī IN Proceedings of Indian Historical Records **IHRC** Commission. Indian Historical Quarterly IHO Journal of Numismatic Society of India. INSI Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal. **JASB** HIL __ Journal of Indian History Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research **IBORS** Society. **KB** Kamruper Buranji Ma'āthir-ī-Jahāngīrī MJ Manucci Storia do Mogor MI. Muntakhab-al-Lubāb MU Ma'āthir-al Umarā Master The diaries of Streynsham Master Purani Assam Buranji PAB RS Riād-al-Salātīn SS Subh-i-Sadia Tuzuk Tuzuk-i Jahangiri

(vi)

Transliteration

The following system has been used t-

অ	===	a	9 = 0	a = jh
আ	=	ā	9 = au	e = 1
ŧ	==	i	क ≕ k	b = t
ঈ	=	Ī	♥ = kh	ა = th
উ	=	u	গ == g	a = q
Ŭ	=	u	ঘ 😑 gh	$\mathbf{v} = \mathbf{dh}$
쵀	=	ri	$\mathfrak{G} = \mathfrak{n}$	¶ === 11
A	=	e	$\mathbf{b} = \mathbf{ch}$	v = t
ब्रे	=	ai	ve = chh	
			▼ = j	
থ	=	th	य = y	(=
म	=	d	র == া	1 = þ
¥	=	dh	क == l	• = m
ㅋ	=	n	₹ = V	
भ	=	p	4 = 3	
ऋ	=	ph	ষ = sh	
ব	-	ъ	স ≕ S	
ড	=	bh	₹ = h	
ম	=	m	ψ = r	
			∓ = y	

(vii)

Transliteration

(contd.)

$$=$$
 j

$$z = h$$

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
\underline{d} & = & \underline{d} \\
\underline{d} & = & \underline{d}
\end{array}$$

Short vowels - a, i, u

$$\underline{\mathbf{gh}}$$

== h

Long vowels $= \bar{a}, \bar{1}, \bar{u}$

(viii)

INTRODUCTION

This work endeavours to delineate the history of Bihar and Bengal from Shāhjahān's usurpation of the provinces during his father's reign to the outbreak of the war of succession among his four sons. It aims at filling the lacuna which exists even after the completion of two works on the seventeenth century Bengal. Dr. T.K. Ray Chaudhuri's Bengal under Akbar and Jahāngīr is an introductory account of Bengal with special stress on the trends of Hindu religion and culture. Another doctoral thesis entitled Bengal in the time of Aurangzīb submitted in 1965 at the University of London covers all aspects of the history of Bengal but deals primarily with the English East India company's trade relationship with Bengal.

In addition to the political narrative my work gives an account of the actual working of administrative machinery, the economic conditions and the socio-religious life of the Muslims. The two afore-mentioned works tend to ignore the socio-religious conditions of the Muslims in their respective periods. Special emphasis has, therefore, been placed on this aspect of the period under review.

During Shahjahan's rebellious occupation of Bengal and Bihar, the provinces became the principal theatre of contest between Jahangir and his rebel son. During Shahjahan's reign, the two provinces were again scenes of important events. The Mughals attacked the Portuguese at Hugli. Another important political event was the outbreak of second Ahom-Mughal war. The Mughal north-eastern frontier policy during this period was not the outcome of an imperialist policy but of the need to protect Kamrup from the Assamese attack.

Shahjahan's reign witnessed the development of Mughal administration in Bihar and Bengal. Land revenue (Jama') figures showed signs of considerable improvement. In commerce too, there was marked progress. It was a deliberate policy of Shuja*'s

government to grant trade concessions to the English and the Dutch. After the discomfiture of the Portuguese at Hugli in 1932, the Dutch and the English steadily gained ground in establishing trade relationships with Bengal and Bihar. This period also saw an unprecedented influx of Persian noblemen into Bengal and Bihar. Poets, learned men, musicians and calligraphists were given assignments by the Imperial government. The influx of Mughal officers and men of learning and culture from upper Hindustan and Iran brought refinement and culture to all spheres of social life in Bengal and Bihar.

Although Mughal culture and Persian literature became the order of the day, the people of Bengal cultivated their own Bengali literature side by side with Persian. In reaction against the synthesis of Hindu-Muslim culture the Muslim literary men paid attention to the composition of Bengali religious books for ordinary Muslims.

The Persian sources have served as the basis of my investigation. Apart from that the European travellers' accounts, the English Factory Records and the contemporary literary works have served as useful sources in preparing this work.

Here I would like to mention some of the Persian sources that have been extensively used. The Ahwāl-i-Shāhzādegī Shāhjahāni is the history of Shāhjahān's early life till his accession to the throne. The author does not mention his name in the text but "endorsements" ascribe the work to Mu'tamad Khān. Rieu, in his Supplementary Catalogue (No. 76), observes that this Mu'tamad Khān is a distinct person from his namesake, "the author of the Iqbāl nāmah." The Ahwāl-i-Shāhzādeg-i-Shāhjahāni records in detail the events of Shāhjahān's revolt and his usurpation of the provinces of Bihar and Bengal.

The $Ma^*a\underline{th}ir$ -i-Jahāng $\bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}$ of Kāmgār Ḥusaini and the $Iqb\bar{a}l$ $N\bar{a}wah\bar{\imath}$ -Jahāng $\bar{\imath}r\bar{\imath}$ of Mu'tamad Khān largely based upon the materials from the same source. They furnish valuable information on the rebellion of Shāhjahān and his activities in Bengal and Bihar.

The Buhāristān-i- $\underline{Ghaib\bar{\imath}}$ of Mirza Nathan (entitled \underline{Shitab} \underline{Khan}) is a valuable authority on $\underline{Shahjahan}$'s rebellion and his

usurpation of the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. The unique manuscript of this work exists in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. I have relied on its translation made by Dr. M. I. Borah as I was unable to consult the manuscript.

Shāhjahān appointed several men to write the history of his time. A history of the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign was written by Muḥammad Amin Qazwini. The title $B\bar{a}d\underline{s}h\bar{a}h$ $N\bar{a}mah$ was given to the work by the Emperor himself. The $B\bar{a}d\underline{s}h\bar{a}h$ $N\bar{a}mah$ or Shāhjahān Nāmah of Mirzā Jalāluddin Tabātabāi is another official record of the reign of Shāhjahān from the beginning of the fifth year to the end of the eighth year (1632-1626).

The $Bad_{\underline{Sh}}\bar{a}h$ $N\bar{a}mah$ of 'Abdul Ḥamid Lahauri is the principal official history of the reign of $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}h$ jahān. It covers the first two decades of the reign of $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}h$ jahān (1628-1647). Lāhauri has recorded the Mughal occupation of Hugli, the Mughal operations in Kuch-Hajo, Bhajpur and Palamau in a fairly detailed way. The history of the third decade of $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}h$ jahān's reign (1647-57), a a continuation of the $B\bar{a}d_{\underline{Sh}}\bar{a}h$ $N\bar{a}mah$ of Lāhauri, was done by Muḥammad Wārith. Muḥammad Wārith is mostly silent about the Mughal eastern frontier policy.

Salih Kanbuh Lahauri's 'Amal-i-Ṣālih, a detailed history of Shāhjahān, is a very useful work on the reign of Shāhjahān. It also records important events that occurred in Bengal and Bihar during the period.

It will not be out of place to say a few words on the Mulakhkhaş or Shāhjahān Nāmah written by Muhammad Tāhir with the poetical name Ashnā. His work is virtually a summary of the works of Qazwini and 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhauri.

Apart from the imperial chronicles which have served as the basis of investigation, the Subh-i-Sādiq, a diary of Muḥammad Sādiq bin Sāliḥ Ispahani, is a useful source of information about the grandees, noblemen and celebrities of Bihar and Bengal during the reign of Shāhjahān. Nor is this diary devoid of political interest. The author mentions Islām Khān Mashhadi's military activities in Kuch Bihar and Assam, though briefly but in their proper perspective. The Mathnavī dar Fath Bangāla or poetical

work on the victories of Islam Khan Mashhadi in Kuch Bihar and Assam by Muḥammad Quli Salim Tihrani throws light on the Mughal operations in Assam during this period.

Shāh Shujā"s letters to his father, known but not fully utilised so far throw light on some features of his administration of Bengal. The letters preserved in a collection entitled Faiyād al Quwānīn were compiled by Mollāh 'Ayaḍ Thaneswarl. In the preface, the compiler says that he selected these letters from a huge collection of letters in 1134 A. H. Among his sources he mentions some of the well-known court histories of the Timurids, but evidently evades disclosing how he or his family came by official letters not traceable in those histories. Nevertheless, the letters are not imaginary but authentic documents warranted by evidence in reliable authorities.

Besides the Persian sources we have a large volume of evidence from European sources. A succession of European travellers visited Bengal and Bihar and resided there for long periods. All these men travelled extensively and saw different facts of social life. They not only narrated the political condition of the Empire but also of its economic, social and cultural conditions.

Father Cabral's letter gives us a graphic account of the fall of Hugli which first appeared in the Catholic Herald of Calcutta in 1918. It was translated from Portuguese by the Very Rev. Father L. Besse of Trichinopoli. The letter was written by Cabral from Ceylon on November 12, 1633 to the Provincial of Cochin.

I have also utilised the Assamese sources of the period in order to reconstruct an account of Mughal policy towards Assam during the reign of Shāhjahān. The Purani Assam Buranji contains an exhaustive account of the long drawn conflict between the Ahoms and the Mughals. It also throws light on the history of the Ahom-Mughal politics of the last two decades of Shāhjahān's reign. A series of diplomatic letters have been of invaluable help to me for reconstructing the history of the Ahom-Mughal relationship of the period. The Assam Buranji or a Chronicle of Assam from the earliest Ahom Kings to Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha (edited by Rai Bahadur Dr. S.K. Bhuyan) offers the most omplete indigeneous history of Ahom relations with the Mughals.

I have tried to draw a picture of the socio-religious condition of the Muslims of Bihar and Bengal as fully as the sources permitted. The problems of environmental tensions in Muslim culture were more conspicuous in Bengal than in Bihar because of mass conversion in the preceding centuries. Trends of synthesis and antithesis in various political, cultural and religious fields have been revealed in Bengali literature of the period. The words of some of the notable Muslim poets of Bengal of the period such as Alaol, Haji Muḥammad and Muḥammad Khān have been edited in recent years and published in the periodicals of the Bengali Academy, Dacca and the Department of Bengali, University of Dacca. The works of the Muslim scholars of the period throw much light on the socio-religious life of the Muslims of Bengal of our period.

My interest in the field of Mughal history was kindled by Dr. A. H. Dani, now Professor of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, to whom I am greatly indebted. I express my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Riazul Islam, Senior Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies for his valuable suggestions for the improvement of the thesis. I wish to express my grateful thanks to Professor A.L. Basham who, in spite of his many preoccupations has gone through my chapters and taken keen interest in my research. I also mention that whatever knowledge I have acquired in Persian is due to Professor A.L.S. Lambton.

Lastly, I extend my thanks to the members of the Staff of Oriental and African Studies Library, the Students' Room, Department of Oriental Printed books and manuscripts of the British Museum and the India Office Library for their help during the period of my research.

I would also like to express my gratitude and sincere thanks to my former teacher, Dr. A. Karim, Chairman, Department of History, University of Chittagong for his keen interest in my work. I shall also be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge with gratitude the advice and guidance rendered by my teacher Late S. C. Bhattacharya in reading the proofs of the book. My thanks are due to my friend, Mr. Muzammil Haq, Department of Islamic History and Culture, University of Dacca who has

also undertaken immense hardship in reading the proofs and the preparation of the index. I should also express my gratitude to Dr. A. Sharif, and Dr. A. K. Roy erstwhile and the present General Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh for their keen interest in the publication of my book. I also Convey my thanks to Mr. Abdul Hai, Proprietor of the Asiatic Press for under-taking the Publication of the work in spite of innumerable difficulties.

Last but not the least, I owe my sense of indebtedness to my wife, Mrs. Khaleda Karim for inspiring me constantly in the successful completion of my thesis during my sojourn in England.

K. M. Karim 30, 4, 74

CHAPTER I

REBELLION OF PRINCE SHAHJAHAN AND HIS ACTIVITIES IN BENGAL AND BIHAR

The political peace restored by Jahāngīr in Bengal after the subjugation of the local Zamīndārs was disturbed by Shāhjahān's revolt against his father towards the end of A.D. 1622. Disputed succession resulting in rivalry and jealousy amongst the Mughal princes was nothing new in Mughal history. Prince Salim revolted against his father Akbar. Khusrau did the same thing against Jahāngīr. Shāhjahān's rebellion threw the empire into chaos and confusion and jeopardised the Mughal interests in Afghānistān as well as in the Deccan.

In respect of ability, tact and talent, Shāhjahān was the foremost amongst his brothers. But his hopes of a peaceful succession were frustrated by the jealousy and intrigues of his powerful and ambitious step-mother Nūrjahān.² She had been trying to push forward the cause of her son-in-law Shahriyar³ for the Mughal throne after Jahāngīr. She had also a great influence over her husband which she now utilised to ruin the cause of Shāhjahān. Shāhjahān was a bold and ambitious prince. His ambition for the Mughal throne was stirred by his gradual ascendancy in power and influence through his marriage with Mumtāz Maḥal daughter of Āsaf Khān.⁴ He enjoyed the revenue of a large territory extending from Mandu to Burhanpur and the surrounding country

- 1. Beni Prasad, p. 395, History of Jahangir.
- Nūrjahān's independent political role started with the decline in the health of Jahāngīr and the death of Itimād-ud-dowlā. Dr. S.N. Hasan— Indian History Congress—The theory of the Nūrjahān 'Junta'—a critical examination, p. 335.
- Nūrjahan's daughter by <u>Sh</u>er Afghan was given in marriage to <u>Sh</u>ahriyar. MJ, 153b-154a.
- 4. Saksena-History of Shahjahan of Dihli pp. 8-9.

including Khandesh, Udaipur, Berar, Ahmed Nagar with the addition of the whole of Gujarat. The rank of Shāhjahān was increased to 20,000 Zāţ and 10,000 sawar and Shāhjahān was appointed governor of the Deccan in place of Prince Parviz who was transferred to Allahabad on grounds of inefficiency.

Shāhjahān's ascendancy was second victory in the Deccan when he noticed that Nūrjahān grew inimical towards him. He also noticed that Shahriyār, her son-in-law, was coming into prominence. He became restless and finally burst into open rebellion. It is wrong to assert that he was precipitated into rebellion by the actions of his enemies. It was Shāhjahān who began the struggle.²

Shāh 'Abbās of Persia was making preparations for the siege of Qandahar in 1622. This made it necessary for Jahāngīr to organise the defence of the fort against the attacks of the Persians. Jahāngīr sent Zainal 'Ābedin, the Bakhshā of the Ahadis, to summon Shāhjahān from the Deccan immediately for the purpose. In view of his father's failing health, Shāhjahān hesitated to proceed as it might deprive him of the throne during the period of his campaign if his father died in the meantime. He even sent a message through Zainal 'Ābedīn to his father demanding the fort of Ranthambhor and the Sūbah of the Panjab which might provide him with sufficient resources and assure safety to his family. He also expressed his willingness to put off his departure from Mandu for the rainy season.8

In the meantime a dispute between $\underline{Shahjahan}$'s men and the agents of $\underline{Shahriyar}$ over the possession of the $J\bar{a}g\bar{i}r$ of Dholpur brought the matter to a crisis. The $J\bar{a}g\bar{i}r$ of Dholpur had been assigned to $\underline{Shahriyar}$ at the request of Nurjahan. $\underline{Shahjahan}$ sent representation to the court so that it might be awarded to him and also despatched some of his men to take

 ⁽R & B vol. 1), p. 329. IN, p. 90, Qazwini, f 69. By 1617 Shahjahan rose to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 zat, 20,000 Sawar together with the title of Shahjahan, Saksena, p. 22.

^{2.} Saksena,--History of Shahjahan of Dihli, p. 36.

^{3.} Qazwini, 102b-103b.

^{4.} IN, pp. 193-94; Tuzuk II, 236, RS 181.

possession of it. This resulted in a skirmish between the followers of Shahriyar and Shahjahan and the ejection of Shahriyar's men from that place. Shahjahan tried to explain his conduct through his representative Mir 'Abdus Salam at the court but his audience was forbidden by the emperor. Further, the jagirs of Shahjahan in the Doab and in the Sarkar of Hisar Firozal were confiscated and transferred to Shahriyar. Shahjahan alarmed by these measures, sent his own diwan Afdal Khan to effect a reconciliation with his father. But the emperor forbade him an audience at Nurjahan's instigation. The Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, which gives us an exhaustive account of Shahjahan's activities in Bengal and Bihar as rebel prince does not say anything clearly of the cause of his revolt except that he raised the standard² of revolt against his father "after being much annoyed."

Shāhjahān revolted at Mandu towards the end of 1622 and proceeded with the entire army at his command towards Agra which being the seat of the Imperial Government and storehouse of the Mughal treasures, was the first target of the rebel prince. The Emperor sent Raja Rūz Afzūn to Parviz with the orders of the latter's appointment as the commander of the imperial army against Shāhjahān. The rebel prince rapidly marched towards Fathpur Sikri and from there to Agra to gain possession of the treasures of the place under orders of removal to Delhi. But owing to the prudence of Aṣaf Khān, the wazir and I'tibār Khān, the Commandant of the Agra Fort, the removal of the treasures was postponed. It foiled Shāhjahān's attempt to plunder them. He marched towards Delhi and met the imperialists led by Maḥābat Khān and 'Abdullah Khān in the vicinity of Baluchpur near Delhi. In the encounter that followed, Shāhjahān was

^{1.} Shahjahan was only sixteen when Hisar Firoza was assigned to him. Saksena-History of Shahjahan of Dihli, p. 32.

^{2.} B.G., II, 687.

^{3.} Tuzuk, II, Tr. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, p. 249.

^{4.} IN., p. 199.

^{5.} Tūzuk, II, p. 249.

defeated. He lost his general Raja Bikramjit, but won over the imperialist general 'Abdullah Khan' to his side.

Shahiahan retreated to Mandu on August 17, 1623, and then crossed the river Narbada. Khan-i-Khanan 'Abdur Rahim and his son Darab Khan who had been in the train of the rebel prince attempted to secede from his company. So both the father and the son were kept under strict surveillance by Shahiahan.2 Shahjahan left Mandu on hearing of the hot pursuit of Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan and marched to Burhanpur. From there he now pushed on to Asir Garh where Hisamuddin son of Jamaluddin Hussain Anju opened the gates to him.8 Leaving some of his womenfolk and provisions there he again moved on to Burhanpur with Khān-i-Khanan 'Abdur-Rahim Darab Khan still in his custody. He tried to open negotiations with the imperialists by sending Rao Ratan Hada to Mahabat Khan. Mahabat made the release of the Khan-i-Khanan a condition precedent to any peace talk. Accordingly Khān-i-Khanan was released, but the imperialists crossed the Narbada and inflicted a sharp defeat on the unprepared army Shāhjāhan. The rebel prince, being unnerved and dispirited crossed the Tapti and finding no other way left to him after unsuccessful negotiations with Malik Ambar and 'Adil Shah decided to go to Bengal in order to make a desperate bid for the throne. S.N. Bhattacharya4 is of opinion that Bengal had afforded a tempting field to many a daring adventure and an asylum to many a polititical refugee on account of its peculiar physical features and geographical isolation, coupled with its chronic political confusion. This view that the internal situation at the moment seemed to be favourable to the rebel princes is misleading as, according to the same writer, the period of 1brahım Khan's rule which lasted for about six years (A.D. 1617—A.D. 1623) marked an era of peace of

^{1.} About 'Abdullah Khan see MU., II, pp. 777-89.

^{2.} IN., pp. 210; AS, I, pp. 174-75; M.U., I, p. 706.

^{3.} IN. 210.

^{4.} History of Bengal, II, p, 306.

^{5.} History of Bengal II, p. 306.

and tranquillity unknown before in Bengal. Bengal, as a whole, remained free from any serious invasion from without and revolt from within till the advent of Shāhjahān in November, 1623. In regard to internal administration Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang initiated a new policy of political conciliation which strengthened Mughal rule in the province and promoted peace, security and good government. Thus the political condition in Bengal cannot be taken as a contributory reason for Shāhjahān's retreat there. The rebel prince left for Bengal only when routed by the imperialists and disappointed with Bijapur and Ahmed Nagar; he saw no chance of success in the Deccan.

Shāhjahān left Burhanpur in October, 1623 and entered the territory of Golkunda. Qutb Shāh, eager to keep himself out of trouble sent on a small amount of cash and goods for Shāhjahān and managed to conduct him in safety out of his territory. Shāhjahān arrived at the fort of Masulipatam in Telingana² whence he turned towards north-east and entered Mughal province of Orissa.³ The whole journey covered nearly two months.⁴

Jahangir, after anticipating the change of plan of Shahjahan ordered Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan to move from Burhanpur towards Allahabad and Bihar and assist Ibrahim Khan, the Mughal governor of Bengal if he failed to check the progress of the rebel prince.⁵

He appointed Mirzā Rustum⁶ as Governor of Allahabad as a measure against <u>Shāhjahān</u>'s advance. He also issued farmāns to Mirzā Ahmad Beg <u>Khān</u>, (nephew of Ibrāhīm <u>Khān</u>) and

- 1. History of Bengal, II p. 299.
- 2. Tūzuk, II, 290-91, Qazwini 106a, AS, I, 177, 'Amali-Sāliḥ calls the fort as Mahwar (ما هور). E.F.I. (1622-1623) Thomas Mills and John Dod at Masulipatam to the President and Council at Surat, Nov. 12, 1623, pp. 312-17; IN, 215.
- 3. I.N, 216; Qazwini, 106a, AS, 109b; Tūzuk. II, 298.
- 4. History of Bengal II, 306.
- 5. IN., 216.
- 6. *M.U.*, III, 434-441.
- Aḥmad Beg was appointed governor of Orissa in place of Mukarram <u>Khān early</u> in June 1621 in the 16th year of Jahangir's reign. BG, II, p. 434 and 853. M.U.I., 194-95.

Ibrahim Khan asking them to be on the alert against Shahjahan's rapid advance. When Ahmad Beg heard the news of Shahjahan's arrival near Manpur,1 situated between Telingana and Orissa2 he was confused and bewildered. Jahangir wrote that at that time Ahmad Beg was busy in fighting with the Raja of Khurda. With Shahjahan's approach he gave up fighting and came to Pipli, the seat of the government of Orissa.3 From there Ahmad Beg hastened to Katak situated twelve Kos4 from the town of Pipli to the direction of Bengal. Salih (author of the 'Amal-i-Sālih) refers to the defeat of Ahmad Beg at the hand of Shahjahan and his subsequent flight to his uncle Ibrahim Khan in a state of confusion.6 The Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī does not mention anything of any battle between the two forces. From Katak, Ahmad Beg fled to Burdwan where he tried to induce Mirza Salih,7 the Faujdār of the place to accompany him to Akbar Nagar (Raj Mahal). Mirza Salih did not agree as he wanted to oppose the rebel prince. So Ahmad Beg proceeded to Akbar Nagara and joined Ibrahim Khan there. Thus the cowardice and negligence of Ahmad Beg gave Shahjahan an easy triumph in Orissa which subsequently helped him win over Ibrahim Khan in Bengal as well.

Shahjahan, in the course of his march through Orissa, reached Khurda where he received the allegiance of Raja Purushottam,

- 1. B.G., II, p. 688 mentions it as Banpur. It is the name of a Mahalin Sarkar Tirhut, Bihar. (Ain., p. 156.) It cannot be Banpur because Shahjahan did not follow the Tirhut route.
- 2. A.N., III, 969.
- 3. Tūzuk, II, 298.
- 4. Kos is taken as two English miles, Ain., II, p. 116.
- 5. In. pp. 217-18, $T\overline{u}zuk$. II, p. 298: It is probable that Aḥmad Beg went westward to Katak to face Shahjahan's forces.
- 6. A.S., I, p. 179.
- Mirza Ṣaliḥ son of Mirza Shamī, nephew of Aṣaf Khan Ja'far Beg was sent to Bengal in March 1618 with a Mansab of 1000. He was appointed Faujdār of Burdwan. (Tūzuk, II, 3, pp. 298-99), IN, p. 218, B.G, II, p. 689.
- B.G., II, p. 689, ASS., 109b. Ahmad Beg did not go to Dacca to meet Ibrahim Khan as suggested by Beni Prasad.

Raja Pancha, Raja Nilgiri, Bajadhar and other Zamındars of Orissa.¹ He then held his court at Katak in order to manage the administrative affairs of the newly acquired province. He appointed Muḥammad Taqı² as the Subahdar of Orissa and gave him the mansab of 5000 horse and the tittle of Shah Quli Khan.

At Katak, Captain Chanika,³ the Portuguese governor of Pipli and Hugli, came to pay due homage to Shāhjahān. Possibly they were apprehensive of his attack on the Portuguese settlements in Bengal. Chanika presented rebel prince with five sea elephants, rare gifts of jewels and jewelled appliances worth about Rs. 100,000.

Shahjahan kept the Portuguese leader in attendance for three days with his consent and presented him with robes of honour and valuable gifts of India, Kashmir, Iraq, Persia and Turkey.⁴ The interview with the Portuguese leader was friendly but brought for Shahjahan no promise of active Portuguese support in case of hostilities against the imperialists.

From Katak Shāhjahān proceeded northwards to Midnapur⁵ still unopposed and after a few stages of march reached the vicinity of Burdwan. He left Muḥammad Shāh in charge of Midnapur and conferred upon him the title of Shāh Beg Khān. Burdwan was the first place in Bengal which offered the rebel prince the

- 1. BG., II, p. 688.
- 2. MU., III, 367.
- 3. According to Portuguese sources, the Portuguese governor of Hugli and Pipli was Miguel Rodriques and not Captain Chanika as pointed out by B.G., II, (p. 688). B.G., II continues that he was the viceroy of the King of Portuguese governor. Possibly the Portuguese governor sent his envoy instead of going himself to meet the prince. Manrique says that Miguel Rodriques met Shāhjahān in Dacca. That may be a second meeting with him. It may be that the first meeting was deputised by Chanika (referred to by the Bahāristān-i-Ghaibi). See also Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique, vol. II, p. 310-11.
- 4. B.G. II, 688.
- Possibly he followed the road leading from Katak to Raj Mahal (Akbar Nagar) See map drawn by Van den Broecke in 166°C. Ond en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol. V. Valentyjn. Amstardam-1726.

first opposition. Mirzā Ṣāliḥ, the faujdār of the place, had rejected the overtures of Aḥmad Beg to accompany him in his flight and an offer of 'Abdullāh Khān Firuz Jang to join Shāhjahān. Instead of that he fortified his post to offer a stubborn resistance to Shāhjahān. The Bahāristān says that Mirzā Ṣāliḥ could not put resistance for a long time as he deeply indulged in wine and women¹ but his soldiers continued to defend themselves. In the face of the close siege of the city by the officers of Shāhjahān, his soldiers surrendered. Mirzā Ṣāliḥ's life was spared through the mediation of Mumtāz Mahal but he was kept imprisoned. Shāhjahān made over the administration of Burdwan to Khān Dawrān alias Bairam Beg.⁸ It was given to him as a Jāgīr in lieu of his salary and his brother Durmuz Beg was left in charge of the place.⁸ From Burdwan Shāhjahān proceeded towards Akbar Nagar.

After his arrival at Akbar Nagar, Aḥmad Beg Khān informed Ibrāhim Khān, his uncle, who had his headquarters at Jahāngir Nagar⁴ about the advance of Shāhjahān. Ibrāhim Khān now rose to the occasion to face the rebel prince. It is not reasonable to accuse Ibrāhim Khān of indifference, callousness and negligence in taking adequate measures to face the impending situation. Really the Bengal Governor was placed in an embarrassing situation after Shāhjahān revolted againt his father. It was a quarrel between the Emperor and prince and in such a tussle it was very difficult to take the right path of action. Moreover, Ibrāhim Khān, being the son of I'timad ud dowla, was related to Shāhjahān on his (Shāhjahān's) wife's side. Thus Ibrāhīm

^{1.} B.G., II, 689.

IN, 219, MJ., 167b, ASS 110a. Khān Dawran was the brother of Jamal Khān Mangh.—B.G., I, 495. MU., I, 399-400, B.G., II, pp. 689-90.

^{3.} B.G. II, 690.

^{4.} Jahangīr Nagar is the name of the city of Dacca given by Islam Khan Chishti after the name of Emperor Jahangīr. He made it the capital to deal effectively with the Zamindars of South and East Bengal and the Maghs and the Firingi pirates who used to raid the imperial territories. The transfer of Capital from Rajmahal to Dacca took place in July, 1608. (BG., II, 813-14.)

^{5.} M.U., I, p. 135-39.

Khān's position was very delicate as to what course he should follow. That might have prevented him from taking effective measures at the very beginning of Shāhjahān's revolt.

However, Ibrahim Khān, before leaving for Akbar Nagarl made suitable arrangements for the defence of the province against its old enemies: i. e. the Firingis² and the Maghs³ of Chittagong. In doing so he scattered part of his forces in various directions. He sent Mirzā Baqi, his bakhshī with 1000 cavalry to strengthen the frontier of Fuldubi⁵ and other strategic outposts in Jessore, Bhalua, Tipperah and Sylhet. He put Khwājah ldrāk, his personal assistant in charge of his Mahal (Harem) at Jahāngir Nagar with a force of 500 cavalry and 1000 matchlockmen. With the rest of his army, comprising about 6,000 cavalry, 100 elephants, a large artillery and fleet of 300 war boats under Mir Shams, Ibrāhīm Khān proceeded towards Akbar Nagar and after a swift

- 1. It is situated on the western bank of the Ganges about 20 miles N.W. of the ruins of Gaur in the Maldah district. Originally it was known as Ak Mahal or Agmahal (Ragia-Mahol in Vanden Broecke). The town was founded by Raja Mansingh who changed the name to Raj Mahal alias Akbar Nagar. In 1608, Islam Khan changed the capital from Raj Mahal to Jahangir Nagar (Dacca). It was again made the capital during Prince Shuja's viceroyalty. (JASB-1873,—Blockman. Geography and History of Bengal, 217-18, Rennells map No. 15.)
- 2. The Portuguese pirates were generally termed 'Farangian-i-Harmad' or the Europeans of the Armada. (B.G., II, 816). The word 'Armada' was used in contemporary literature as well. Toh fa by Alaol, Ed. Ahmed Sharif, p. 57. 60, 68.
- 3. It is a name commonly applied to the natives of Arakan, particularly those bordering on Bengal, or residing near the sea, the people of Chittagong. It may mean that class of Arakanese originated from Bengali mothers (Sir A Phayre) or originate from the name of the ruling class of Magadha (Bihar). On the other hand the Muslim writers sometimes confound the Buddhists with fire worshippers and it seems possible that the word may have been the Persian Magh (Magus). Hobson-Jobson, London 1903, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases.
- 4. IN, 218, B.G., II, 690.
- 5. Fuldubi was a station on the Andal Khan river at present included within the district of Faridpur. It is difficult to identify the place now because of the change in the river course. B.G., II, 152.

march of eleven days reached there. Masum Khān, son of Musā Khān, the leading Zamindār of Bhati in East Bengal also accompanied the viceroy's forces with his fleet. A large number of Jaliya boats belonging to a Portuguese named Manoel Thavares came to the assistance of Ibrāhīm Khān. The old fort of Raj Mahal built by Raja Mansingh had lost its strategic value at that time. With the change in the course of the Ganges, the city was no longer accessible to war-boats and could not be defended on land and water. So Ibrāhīm Khān abandoned the old fort and moved one Kos (two miles) further down to the sepulchre of his son4 which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by nearly 4000 troops commanded by his younger nephew Mirzā Yūsuf assisted by Jalāir Khān, Mirzā Isfand!yār and Mirzā Nūrullah.

The viceroy and his nephew, Ahmad Beg Khān, went to the bank of the Ganges with the remaining forces and pitched camp at a place called Akbarpur, now included in Maldah district. He placed the Bengal Nawwarah midway for co-operation with both the forces.

The rebel prince occupied the old abandoned fort of Akbar Nagar and the city itself. In order to win the Bengal governor to his side, he sent 'Itimad Khan (Khwajah Idrak) son of Aşaf Khan, with many favourable terms. He gave Ibrahim Khan the choice of continued service in Bengal under the nominal control of Prince Aurangzeb or

"a free and safe passage back to the court with his family, in case he preferred to stick to the side of the emperor".

- 1. Qazwini, 106b, M.J., 167b, B.G., II, 690.
- After the death of Musa Khan, Ibrahim Khan conferred upon Ma'sum Khan robes of honour, his (Musa's) eldest son about eighteen or nineteen years old. (B.G., II, 680).
- 3. The Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī refers to Manmil, a Portuguese (B.G., II, 696). Manmil is a corruption of the name of Manoel Thavares, the Portuguese who joined the rebel prince after Bengal passed into his hands. In the same way Durisuz, sometimes spelt as Zarrisuz, may be D. Souza, another Portuguese chieftain.
- 4. Qazwini, 106b, ASS, 110a, IN., p. 219, B.G., II, pp. 690-91.

But the intrepid governor gave a bold reply and expressed his willingness to die for the imperial cause rather than to disgrace himself by secession.¹

Thus Shahjahān's attempt to win over the Bengal viceroy by peaceful means failed. He now prepared himself for war. Shahjahān ordered his general 'Abdullah Khān Firuz Jang to send a regiment under Dārāb Khān, 2 Khidmat Parast Khān and Rūmi Khan to besiege the fort of the sepulchre. Dariyā Khān along with a detachment of the Afghān army was ordered to cross the Ganges opposite Panti, 3 and proceed via Tejpur-Purnea to attack Ibrāhīm Khān at Akbarpur. Dariyā Khān crossed the Ganges during the day time with the help of the boat of traders and pitched his camp in the sandy plains of the river. Ibrāhīm Khān sent his nephew Aḥmad Beg with a force of 2000 cavalry and 100 elephants against Dariyā Khān.

In an engagement that followed, Aḥmad Beg's army was routed and he returned to his uncle crest-fallen. Darab Khān had to face a difficult situation in besieging the new fort as his attack was repulsed at every stage by the unremitting fire of imperialist artillery. Shāhjahān ordered his Commander-in-Chief 'Abdullāh Khān at the head of 1,500 cavalry and Raja Bhīm to cross the Ganges to reinforce and strengthen the forces of Dariyā Khān and make a concerted attack upon the imperialists. Ibrāhīm Khān, scenting the possible move of Shāhjahān's forces, deputed his admiral Mīr Shams with a fleet of 300 war boats and the Portuguese vessels under Manoel Thavares to prevent 'Abdullah

- 1. M.J, 168a, I.N, pp. 218-19, B.G., II, 691.
- 2. Beni Prassad in his 'History of Jahangir' (p. 373), relying on Iqbāl Nāmah (p. 222) states that Dārāb Khān was kept under surveillance till the conquest of Jahāngir Nagar. But this is contrary to the sayings of The Bahāristān-i-Ghaibì which mentions his active participation in the campaigns led by Shāhjahān. (B.G., II, 692.)
- 3. Panti is the Pointee in Rennell's Bengal atlas No. 5 situated at a distance of about 30 miles west of Raj Mahal. Dr. Borah and following him J.N. Sarkar locate it in the East of Raj Mahal (B.G., II, 855, History of Bengal, II, 308). Van den Broecke calls it as 'Peinti', (see map enclosed).
- 4. M.J. 171b, I.N., 220, B.G., II, 692.

Khān and Raja Bhīm from crossing the river and uniting with Dariyā Khān's army which had already crossed the river. Shāhjahān's forces crossed the river with the help of the local Zamīndārs' and prepared to offer a tough fight against the opponents.

Things went in favour of Shāhjahān because of the treachery of Mīr Shams, Thavares and Ma'sum Khān who acted very indifferently² during the time of need of the Bengal Governor and thus ruined his cause. There is no doubt that Shāhjahān was not equipped with naval strength as he did not bring any fleet with him. On the other hand Bengal had already an established Nawwārah (flotilla) which had been utilised against the pirates of Arakan and the Assamese repeatedly. If the fleet had been used properly by the Bengal Governor against Shāhjahān, victory could have been achieved over him easily. The treachery of the Bengal fleet under the Zamīndārs and the Portugues brought Ibrāhīm's defeat and threw the province into Shāhjahān's hands.

The battle between the two forces took place in the vicinity of Maldah and Akbarpur. Ibrahim Khan appointed Saiyid Nurullah and Ahmad Beg Khan to assist him in the attack. Nurullah fell in the thick of the battle and many of the followers of the viceroy stooped to the disgrace of flight.

Ibrahim Khan, who was determined to sacrifice his life for the imperial cause plunged himself in a desperate attack and was killed unrecognised by a soldier, (April 20, 1624). Later on, his severed head was brought to 'Abdullah Khan and then sent to Shahjahan. The defeat and the death of Ibrahim Khan was followed by the fall of the fortified post at Akbar Nagar. The garrison of Ibrahim which escaped unhurt from the battle field raised a mud structure to fill the gap in the fort wall

^{1.} M.J., 172a & b.

^{2.} B.G., II, p. 694.

^{3.} I.N., 221; also M.J., Fol. 172b.

^{4.} M.J., 172b; A.S., I, 184; ASS., 113a, I.N., 221.

The Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī says that he was killed by an Afghan who did not know that he was the Commander-in-Chief (B.G., II, p. 694).

and repeatedly repulsed the onslaughts of the besiegers. However the news of the fall of Governor and the desertion of the imperial fleet compelled them to give up all resistance and the fort fell before the forces of Shahiahan. Some of the officers of Ibrahim Khan namely 'Abed Khan Diwan, son of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, Sharifa Bakhshi were killed, some of them threw themselves into the river and some of them were arrested. Beg returned to Dacca with his followers.2 Mir Shams, Masnad-i-'ala Ma'sūm Khan. Thaveres and other Portuguese returned to Jahangir Nagar with their entire fleet. The news of the death of Ibrahim Khan created confusion throughout the province which subsided with the approach of the rebel prince. Shahjahan ordered the dead body of Ibrahim Khan to be brought with honour from the battle field instead of hanging it at the gate of the fort of Akbar Nagar. His body and severed head were buried together in the fort by the side of the grave of his son according to wishes expressed by him during his lifetime.3

Ibrāhīm Khān's death vindicated his honour as a man no doubt but it did not fulfil his obligation as a commander or an officer whose duty was to take effective measures againt all sorts of uprisings, inroads and disturbances. Instead of making the best use of his forces which were considerable, and leading them compact and united, he scattered them under different commands. Finally, when he saw he was losing in fight, he rushed, Rajput like, in the thick of battle to lose his life as well. Thereafter Bengal easily passed into Shāhjahān's hand.

Administrative Arrangements of Shahjahan

Shāhjahān did not stop his forward march after his easy victory over Ibrāhīm Khān. He pushed on eastward as far as Jahāngīr Nagar because he apprehended some opposition from

- 1. I.N., p. 221, M.J., 173a. According to M.J., Mirak Jala'īr was imprisoned, but B.G., II says that he joined Mīr Shams and others and went to Jahangīr Nagar "with the swiftest possible speed". cf. M.J., 173a, B.G., II, 696.
- 2. I.N., II, p. 221.
- 3. B.G., II, p. 701.

the followers of Ibrāhim Khān who took shelter there after the battle of Akbar Nagar. Before he left for Jahāngīr Nagar he sent two farmāns - one to Mukhlis Khān, the Diwān¹ who was ruling Bihar on behalf of Prince Parviz and another to Mīrzā Bahrām Bārlās, the Sardār of Kuch Bihar² demanding their surrender to his cause. He also issued another farmān to Mirzā Nathan alias Shitāb Khān³ and imperial officer of Kamrup who had already declared for the rebel prince to make a temporary arrangement for the administration of Kuch Bihar and to secure the person of Bahrām Barlās, the Sardār of the place. He was ordered to stay there till the arrival of a substitute to take charge of the place and then should leave to join the rebel prince.

Farmāns full of threats and coercive words were addressed separately to Mirzā Bahrām, Raja Lakshmi Narayan⁴ and Raja Satrajit⁵ demanding their submission by peaceful

- In 1615 Mukhlis khan was appointed diwan and bakhshi of Bengal.
 Then he was recalled to court in 1619. This was followed by his appointment as Deputy of Prince Parviz in Bihar. (Tūzuk, I, p. 306, II, p. 104, 107.) Bihar was a tuyul of Parviz (I.N., 222).
- 2. Ibrahim Khān appointed Mirza Bahram, the son of the brother of his wife as 'the Sardār' of the Kuch territory. B.G., II, 672.
- 3. Mirza Nathan, son of Ihtimam khan (who was appointed to the post of Mir Baḥr or the admiral of the imperial fleet in Bengal during Islam Khan) was honoured with the title of Shitab khan by Ibrahim khan. B.G., II, 666. He is the writer of the Baharistan-i-Ghaibi which is the best authority for the history of the rebel prince Shahjahan's rule in Bengal and Bihar and it ends abruptly with Shahjahan's final departure from Akbar Nagar for the Deccan in February 1625. (History of Bengal II, p. 313, F.N.)
- 4. Lakshmi Narayan, son of Nara Narayan was the ruler of Kuch Bihar which lay to the west of the Manas river up to the vicinity of Ghoraghat. In his struggle with Parikshit, he appeals to the Mughals for mediation in the disputes. Lakshmi Narayan was allowed to continue as a vassal ruler under the Mughals. (Gait's History of Assam, p. 63-68) while Parikshit's territory was annexed.
- 5. Satrajit was the son of Raja Mukunda of Bhusna in Faridpur district of Bangladesh and was one of the most unreliable Zamindar allies of the Mughals. He was posted to serve the Mughal cause in the Assam Campaigns but was found in secret negotiations with the Ahoms, B.G., II, p. 800.

means.¹ The farmāns were sent through Yakka Bahādur and all high and low including Mirzā Bahrām paid due honour to them. Agā Taqī was appointed as $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ and $Ba\underline{khsh}\bar{\imath}$ of Kuch Bihar.²

Shāhjahān rewarded his officers with the assignment of jāgīrs and promotion in the rank of Manṣabs. Raja Bhīm was appointed as Sardār (chief officer) of Akbar Nagar. Khwājāh Sa'ādat was given jāgīrs up to Mungir in lieu of his salaries. Sipāh Salār 'Abdullah Khān was honoured with the manṣab of 7000 horses and presented with royal robes of honour along with a jewelled saddle and reins. Dariyā Khān Rohilla³ was honoured with the manṣab of 5000 horse and the title of Shīr Khān Fath Jang. He was presented with an elephant named Jatajut and a robe of honour. Bahādur Khān, his son, was raised to the manṣab of 4000 horse and was presented with a horse and a Khil'at (robe of honour). Babu Khān Barij was exhalted with the title of 'Dilāwar Khān' and given the manṣab of 3000 horse.4

Shāhjahān proceeded victoriously from Akbar Nagar to Jahāngīr Nagar, the capital, in order to seize the immense treasures and war materials deposited there. Leaving Akbar Nagar in charge of Raja Bhīm, he thus moved towards the east. On his way he halted at Maldah and Pandua. He paid due homage to the shrine of the famous saint Shaikh Nūr Quib 'Alam⁵ there.

- 1. Before leaving Akbar Nagar, Shahjahan ordered that two pictures, illustrative of the battle fought there should be drawn. In them 'Abdullah Khan appeared seated on a tiger with a drawn sword in his right hand and the head of Ibrahim in his left. One of the pictures was sent to Mukhlis Khan at Patna and the other to Kamrup. (B.G., II, p. 701.)
- 2. B.G., II, p. 706—707.
- 3. M.U., II, p. 18-21.
- 4. B.G., II, 702.
- 5. Shaikh Nur Qutb was the son of the saint 'Ala' ul-Haq, the spiritual successor of Makhdum Akhi Sirajuddin, a famous saint of Maldah. He died in 1415 A.D. He was buried at Pandua near his father's tomb who died in 1384 A.D. The place is visited by many people as a place of pilgrimage. (JASB., p. 255.)

From Pandua he reached Ghoraghat and then Shahzadpur from where he reached Dacca, (May, 1624). Shahjahan might have passed through Bagha in Rajshahi district as the legend relates that he, on his way to Dacca camped near Bagha where a famous saint was living. Shahjahan was attacked with serious stomach pains there. He begged for treatment from the Fakir who effected a cure accordingly. Shahjahan, in order to show his gratitude, rewarded him with substantial grant of land. This his ascetic eldest son refused, but the younger one accepted which subsequently gave rise to Bagha estate.

Shāhjahān reached Jahāngir Nagar from Akbar Nagar in nine days. He sent 'Itimād Khān a eunuch well ahead of his arrival at Jahāngīr Nagar to arrange for a peaceful submission of the partisans of Ibrāhim Khān. He did not meet any opposition from them. On the contrary, they gave him a rousing reception. The widow of the late governor after making an unsuccessful attempt to escape to Patna with her wealth and resources was persuaded to submit to the rebel prince along with Ahmad Beg Khān and other persons who had come to Jahāngir Nagar after the battle of Akbar Nagar. Although the prince treated the widow of the late Nawāb and his officers very cordially, he laid his avaricious and needful hands on the personal and state treasures securing thus a huge amount of 40 lakhs of rupees. Of 40 lakhs of rupees, 25 lakhs belonged

- Ghoraghat is situated on the right bank of the river Karatoya to the west of the Rangpur district. It was the frontier district towards Kuch Bihar and Kuch Hajo or Kingdoms. This place was noted for silk, ponies, sackcloth and eunuchs—Ain-i-Akbari, p. 123.
- 2. Shahzadpur is a well-known place in the district of Pabna. It was a mahal in the sarkar Jannatabad or Lakhnauti. (Ain. II, p. 131). It is situated on the west Bank of the river Karatoya. (Rennell's Bengal atlas map No 16.)
- 3. Abdul Latif visited Bagha. Its description is given by him in his diary —B.P.P. 1928. Tr. J.N. Sarker under the heading 'a description of North Bengal in 1609 A.D., p. 143.
- 4. B.D.G., Rajshahi, p. 156.
- 5. I.N., 222, A.S., 1, 184.

to Ibrahim Khan and 5 lakhs to Jala'ir Khan.¹ Over and above a large quantity of silk stuff, aloewood, 500 elephants, 400 horses, the entire artillery and flotilla (Nawwārah) of Bengal passed into the Prince's hand.²

Shāhjahān settled the administrative affairs of Bengal and Kamrup by appointing trustworthy followers in the key positions. According to The Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī, Dārāb Khān³ with whom Shāhjahān was displeased for the treacherous behaviour shown to him, along with his father 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān were pardoned by him.⁴ He was raised to the manṣab of 6000 with 5000 horse and presented with a robe of honour, horse, bejewelled sword and a sword belt. He was appointed as Ṣubahdār of the Bhati⁵ region. His son, Arām Bakhsh was raised to the Manṣab of 100 horse and Shakarshikan, son of Shāh Nawāz Khān (Dārāb's other son) was also given the rank of 1000 horse. They were taken with the retinue of the rebel prince. The Prince also kept the wife and a daughter of Dārāb Khān with him.?

It is really surprising to see Darab <u>Khan's</u> promotion to <u>Subahdar</u> of the Bhati region with his record of treachery in the past. This cannot be accounted for by the fact that there was a dearth of efficient and trustworthy officers in the train of the rebel prince. The <u>Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī</u> gives the reason that since Darab

- 1. M.J., 173b, Qazwini, 107b, ASS., 113b.
- 2. M.J., 173b.
- 3. *M.U.*, II, pp. 14—17.
- B.G., It also refers to the incident (p. 709). He might have been pardoned by Shahjahan before his arrival at battles at Burdwan and Akbar Nagar. (pp. 690-92.)
- 5. Bhati is the entire region of Eastern Bengal comprising the eastern portion of Dacca, Mymensingh, the western portions of Tipperah and Sylhet. Ain. (vol. II, pp. 116—17) refers to the rule of 'Isa Afghan there. Also B.P.P. 1929=N.K. Bhattasali "Bengal chief's struggle for independence in the reign of Akbar and Jahangir", JASB. 1873, H. Blockmann, Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, p. 226. About Darab's appointment see ASS., 114a, B.G., II, 709, I.N., 222, A.S., I, 184, M.J., 173b.
- 6. B.G., II, p. 790.
- 7. I.N., 222.

was pardoned, he was entrusted with such a responsible duty as a recognition to his merit and abilities.¹ It may be that Shāhjahān in order to get rid of such a treacherous man, posted him in the Bhati region and kept his wife, son and daughter in his custody as a surety for good behaviour in the future.

Shāhjahān appointed Mirzā Mulkī² as the Diwān, Mirzā Hidāyatullah as Bakhshī and Waqi' Nawis of Jahāngīr Nagar and Malik Ḥusain as the Khazanchi (Treasurer General) of the whole of Bengal. 'Alī Khān Niyāzī was appointed as the Sardār of the Subah of Jessore³ and he was honoured with the mansab of 2000 horse. Mirzā Ṣāliḥ was appointed as the Sardār of Sylhet. Mirzā Bāqī the Bakhshi of the late governor was appointed as the thānadar of Bhalua. 'Adil Khān and Pahar Khān, the admirals of Ibrāhim Khān were retained in their former posts of Admirals of Jahāngīr Nagar. Later on Pahar was ordered to serve with Khidmat Parast Khān. Shāhjahān lavished upon his followers cash gifts. Sipāh salār 'Abdullah Khān was awarded three lakhs of rupees, Wazīr Khān, Shuja'āt Khān, Muḥammad Taqī and Bairam Beg 50,000 rupees each.'

Shahjahan resided at the delightful residence of Ibrahim Khan in the fort of Jahangir Nagar for a week (May 1624). Before his departure, the Arakanese King, hearing the victorious approach of Shahjahan sent his envoys to him with presents worth Rs 100,000 as PishKash.5 If the Baharistān-i-Ghaibī is to be believed, the Mag King acknowledged himself to be the vassal

- 1. B.G., II, p. 709.
- Mīrzā Mulkī is probably the same person mentioned as <u>Kh</u>wajah. Mulki in the <u>Tūzuk</u> who was appointed <u>Bakh sh</u> in Bengal in 1620, B.G., II, 857.
- 3. Sarkar Khalifatabad or S. Jessore and western Baqirganj. The largest Mahal was Jesar (Jessore) or Rasulpur (Ain. II, 134.).
- 4. M.J., 173a.
- 5. Arakan is the most westerly division of lower Burma, lying between the Arakan Yoma range and the Bay of Bengal. Until 1784, Arakan was an independent Kingdom. From the 14th to the 18th century the history of Arakan was closely linked with that of Muslim Bengal. The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Ed. vol. I, A—B—1960. Article by J.B. Harrison—p. 606. During Shāhjahān's revolt, the ruler of Arakan was Thiri Thudamma—1622—1638 whose Muslim title was Salim Shāh—Ibid.

of the Prince and assured him of all help in future. Shahjahan sent a robe of honour and recognised his authority over his dominion in return for the promise of friendship with Mughal officers at Jahangir Nagar.

The Arakanese King Thiri Thudhamma (1622-38) followed the same hostile policy pursued by his father, Mong Khamaung (Husain Shāh), towards the Mughals. So common hostility to the Mughal emperor obviously goaded the new king to conciliate Shāhjahān by the gesture of goodwill. This was merely a diplomatic game and nothing substantial was achieved out of it.²

After making satisfactory arrangements for the administration of Bengal and Kuch Bihar, Shāhjahān left Jahāngīr Nagar for the capture of Patna. He now thought that if he could bring Bihar under his control, it would be easy for him to capture Allahabad and Agra. In that case he would become the absolute ruler of the sub-continent.

Shahjahan returned with his followers by boat from Jahangir Nagar after sending his general, 'Abdullah Khān Firuz Jang, on land. On the way he visited Khizrpur³ and Qadam Rasūl⁴ where the foot print of the Prophet was venerated by the Muslims. The rebel prince awarded 1000 darbs (half rupees) to the servants in charge of this sanctuary of Qadam Rasūl.⁵ Shāhjahān sent back Wazir Khān,⁶ one of his trustworthy officers to Jahāngir Nagar for

- 1. B.G. ss, p. 711.
- 2. History of Bengal II, p, 311.
- 3. Khizrpur is situated to the north—east of Narayanganj about 9 miles off from Dacca. It is on the Lakhya river about three miles from Sonargaon Rennell's map No. 6.
- 4. Qadam Rasul is on the eastern bank of the Lakhya opposite Narayanganj. It is believed that a foot print of the Prophet Muhammad was instituted here in a mosque by a descendant of 'Isa Khan. So the place is known as Qadam Rasul. Rennell's map No. 12.
- 5. B, G. II, 710.
- Wazir Khān was once the Dīwān of Bengal. He was dismissed by Jahangīr in 1608 A.D. Soon after Islām Khān was appointed Subahdār of Bengal M.U. III, 932—933.

the preparation of an assessment roll for Bengal. Wazīr Khān subsequently joined Shāhjahān after completing his work. Shāhjahān passed through Kalakupa on the bank of the Ichamati about seventeen miles south-west of Jahāngīr Nagar and then an unnamed place near Jatrapur on the Ichamati and Alaipur on the Padma. After a march of five days from that place he arrived at Akbar Nagar.

After staying at Akbar Nagar for three days Shāhjahān proceeded to Patna with his wife Mumtāz Mahal. All the other ladies, treasures and baggage were left at Akbar Nagar as a measure of future security. Shāhjahān sanctioned Rs. 20,000 for the building of a Mahal (harem) at Akbar Nagar.

Muḥammad Sāliḥ was appointed to the office of Bakhshī and Waqai' Nawis of the Subah of Gaur. The office of the Chief Inspector of buildings (Darugagī wa Mushrif-i-'Imārat) was also assigned to him. 5 Shāhjahān left a detachment at Akbar Nagar as a measure of future security and proceeded with the rest of his army towards Patna. On the way he encamped at Pointee where Wazir Khān joined him. Raja Bhīm was already relieved of his charge of Akbar Nagar and sent in advance to launch an attack on the Bihar capital.

With his approach, Mukhlis Khan Diwan who was administering the province on behalf of Prince Praviz fled to Mirza Rustum Safavi^a at Allahabad with all his belongings and those of his master. Allayar Khan son of Iftikhar Khan and Shir

^{1.} B.G. II, 712,713.

^{2.} Rennell's Map No. 12

^{3.} Ibid, Map No. 6. It is situated 17 miles west of Sabhar in the district of Dacca.

^{4.} Alaipur is situated on the Ganges 12 miles S.E. of Putia in Rajshahi, It is within the Pargana of Lashkarpur held by a Pathan Jagirdār named Lashkar Khan during Akbar, who used to live at Alaipur. When Lashkar rebelled Lashkarpur was given to Pitambar, Zamindār of Putia—B.P.P., 1928, p. 37, Rennell's Map No. 6.

^{5.} B.G., II, 711.

^{6.} M.U., II, 439.

Khān, the Faujdār¹ of the place also could not resist the invaders. Prince Parv1z, on hearing of the flight of Mukhlis Khān censured him severely. Mukhlis Khān, apprehending disgrace, took poison and committed suicide.²

Thus Patna fell before the rebel prince very easily. The prominent Zamindārs of Bihar met the prince and offered their allegiance to him.³ Raja Narayan Mal Ujjainia⁴ came with all his relations and brothers and obtained the favour of Shāhjahān. He was given a manṣab of 5000 and his brother Pratap raised to 3000. The rest of his brothers were honoured with the manṣab of 2000 and everybody received robes of honour and horses. Thus the Ujjainia of Bhojpur were kept in friendship by the Prince during the period of his revolt.

After his accession to the throne, of course, he changed his policy towards them which led Pratap to sacrifice his life. After Pratap's death Bhojpur became a part of the Mughal empire. The fort of Rohtas in the Shānbād district of Bihar was another stronghold which fell before the rebel prince easily. Its Commandant, Saiyid Mubārak, surrendered and joined the rebel prince. The fall of Rohtas was significant for him as it gave him the prospects of a safe refuge for his followers in the wake of any future eventualities during the uncertain period of the approaching campaigns against the imperialists. It is apparent that the Cheros of South Bihar were left undisturbed by the rebel prince. So it can be concluded that South Bihar remained outside the sphere of influence of the rebel prince.

Shahjahan percelled out the portion of Bihar which fell before him (and not the whole of Bihar as told by the

- 1. I.N., 222.
- 2. B.G., 11, 71.
- 3. I.N., 222, M.J., 174a.
- Ujjainia of Bhojpur in Bihar. The ruling family originally came irom Ujjain of Malwa. Raja Bhoj Singh named the territory as Bhojpur after his own name. B.G., II, 722 & 816.
- Qazwini, 108 a & b, I. N., 222, M.J., B. G., II, 719, RS 196. Saiyid Mubarak was raised to the mansab of 4000 and taken in his army service. B.G., II, 719.
- 6 Their seat of Government was at Palamau.

Bahāristān-i Ghaibī)¹ and assigned it to his devoted and loyal followers. He promoted Khān Dawrān to 5000 horse and appointed him as Sūbahdār of Bihar. The fort of Rohtas was entrusted to Saiyid Muzaffar, a trustworthy officer of the Prince, with a Mansab of 700 horse. Shāhjahān ordered Wazīr Khān to assign Hajipur along with Darbhanga as a jāgir to the Sipāh Salār 'Abdullah Khān in lieu of his salary. It is to be noted that the Prince parcelled out lands among his followers in lieu of their salaries in such a way that nothing was left for the treasury.²

Before leaving for Shāhjahān's Court, Shītāb Khān, the Mughal officer of Kuch Hajo made a satisfactory arrangement for the administration of the place according to the directives received by him from the rebel prince. As a temporary measure he appointed Saiyid Mufattih, his sister's son as the administrator of the place, who sent Mirzā Bahrām to Dārāb Khān at Jahāngīr Nagar.

Raja Lakshmi Narayan and Raja Satrajit were placed under the guidance of Shitāb's Hindu officer Balabhadra Das and Muḥammad Taqi, the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$, $Bakhsh\bar{\imath}$ and $Waq\bar{a}i'$ Naw $\bar{\imath}s$ of the place. Meanwhile Shāhjahān appointed Zāhid Khān as the $S\bar{\imath}bahd\bar{a}r$ of Kuch which was asssigned to him as a $J\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}r$ in lieu of his salary. Saiyid Mufattih left Kuch Bihar after Zāhid's arrival there.

Shahjahan treated the wife of the late governor Ibrahim Khan cordially. He ordered that the revenues of the three adjacent Bazzaars (markets) of Akbar Nagar were to be given to her. This was done on the initiative of Shitab Khan, the chief officer of Shahjahan at Akbar Nagar.

Shitab Khan met the the rebel prince at Chausa. He was promoted from the mansab 2500 horse to 4000 horse by Shahjahan?

^{1.} B.G., II, p. 718

^{2.} B.G., 11, p, 718.

^{3,} B.G., 11.3713.

^{4.} Ibid, 729.

^{5.} Ibid. 729.

^{6.} A Mahal in Sarkar Ghazipur, Subah Allahabad (Amin, II, 162) B.G. II, 723-

^{7.} Ibid, 723-728.

and was appointed as the chief of Akbar Nagar to administer the region up to Shahzadpur Yusuf Shahi on the side of Bhati, Burdwan on the border of Orissa, the vicinity of Bahir Bund on the border of Kuch and Panti on the border of Hind (upper India).¹

It is clear from the above that for better administration of the newly acquired province of Bengal, Shāhjahān divided the whole region into four lesser zones—designated as 'subahs' namely Bhati, Gaur or Akbar Nagar, Kuch Bihar and Jessore. This administrative novelty of the rebel prince was not, however, extended to Orissa and Bihar. The administrative posts were filled in by the men of his choice. He parcelled out territories among his followers in terms of Jāgīrs and rewarded them in cash, titles and promotion in mansabs. Thus within a very short time he was able to build up a parallel Mughal administration in the region, which fell before time, consisting of the eastern provinces of Bengal and Orissa.

Defeat of Shāhjahān and restoration of Jahāngīr's rule in the Eastern Provinces:

From Patna Shahjahan ordered his general 'Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang to proceed to Jaunpur with some of his faithful officers. Jaunpur fell easily to his troops and Jahangir Quli Khan² son of Khani-A'Zam 'Aziz Koka, the governor of the place, had vacated it and fled to Allahabad.

'Abdullah Khan moved to Allahabad where Mirza Rustum Safavi had been putting up a strong defence against the invaders. Shahjahan hurried to Jaunpur at the request of 'Abdullah Khan. Shahjahan ordered 'Abdullah Khan to cross the Ganges opposite Allahabad and lay a close siege to the fort. He also ordered Shuja'at Khan to proceed to Jhusi and be ready for 'Abdullah Khan's assistance. Dariya Khan Afghan was posted at a place on the Ganges opposite Kara Manikpur to prevent the imperialists

^{1.} B. B., I1, 728.

^{2.} M.U., I, 524-525.

^{3.} ASS., Vol, I15a, I.N., 22.

from crossing the river.¹ Shāhjahān followed his usual tactics trying to win over Mirzā Rustum Safavi at Allahabad by peaceful means but failed to make any impression on the Mirzā who continued to defend the fort with intrepidity. The sustained pressure by Sipah Sālār 'Abdullah Khān on the fort compelled the inmates to surrender to the besiegers one by one. Another force consisting of 15000 cavalry was despatched under the command of Wazir Khān along with Raja Narayan Ujjainia with his brothers and Zamīndārs. They besieged the fort and put the garrison into great difficulties. Kanwar Pahar Singh, son of Raja Bir Singh Bundela, who had a quarrel with his father, joined Shāhjahān along with eight thousand horse and fifteen thousand infantry.²

Just at this stage a change in the fortune of the rebel prince seemed to be imminent. After giving up the pursuit of Shahiahan up to the borders of Golkunda, prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan were busy in resettling the Deccan affairs. 'Adil Shah of Bijapur and Malik 'Ambar, the strong man of Ahmad Nagar, were fighting between themselves and both of them were expecting Mughal assistance. Mahabat Khan sided with Bijapur and after the conclusion of a treaty proceeded towards the north to stop the advance of Shahjahan.3 Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan marched through Malwa, crossed the Jumna, proceeded further and encamped near Kara-Manikpur on the Ganges, with the help of the local Zamindars they collected boats for crossing the river.4 Dariya Khan (Shir Khan Fath Jang) being in a state of intoxication due to heavy drinking of wine failed in his duty to prevent the imperialists from crossing the river so easily.5 This was followed by his retreat and following him 'Abdullah Khan raised the siege of Allahabad and proceeded towards Jhusi.6

^{1.} B.G., 11, 727.

^{2,} B.G., 11, 732-

^{3.} I.N., PP. 224-228.

^{4.} I.N., 229.

^{5.} B.G. 11, 731.

^{6.} Jhusi (I.N., 223. B.G., II, 733) is situated on eastern or left bank of the Ganges just above its confluence with the Jumna at Allahabad 'Rennell-19 /

Shahjahan asked for further reinforcements from Bengal. Mir Shams (the naval chief of the late Governor Ibrahim Khan), and Ma'sum Khan masnad-i Ālā, the leading Zamindār of Bengal, came to his assistance under the leadership of Khidmat Parast Khan. As a precautionary measure against future setbacks Shahjahan sent Mumtaz Mahal along with the Princes Dara Shukoh and Sulian Aurangzib to the fort of Rohtas with Mir 'Abdus Salam, the Khān Sāmān. There Prince Murad was born in August, 1624.

Shahjahan left Jaunpur for Benares where he held a council of war in which 'Abdullah Khan, Shir Khan Fath Jang, Raja Bhim and other leading officers were ordered to remain present. Wazir Khan was already ordered to raise the siege of Chunar. The fleet of the Zamindars of Bengal was kept ready for battle and the Portuguese chieftains, namely Thaveres and D'Souza, were called from Jahangir Nagar with their fleet from the company of Darab Khan.²

Shāhjahān's forces encamped at Bahadurpur situated at a distance of thirty two miles to the south east of Allahabad which his fleet, led by the Bengal Zamindārs under the command of Khidmat Parast Khān, met the army of Parviz on the bank of the Ganges and put it into great straits in irregular skirmishes.³ The chances of Shāhjahān's possible victory over the imperialists were threatened by treachery on the part of his followers. As a precautionary measure against such subversive activities, he appointed Shitāb Khān, his chief officer at Akbar Nagar, as Censor empowering him to check all representations of the officers and the letter written by Khān Dawrān (Ṣubahdār of Patna) to Dārāb Khān containing some complaints against the rebel prince.⁴ It was accordingly sent to Shāhjahān. On another occasion two

^{1.} M.U., II, 713-716. His real name was Riza Bahadur. He was one of the faithful officers of Shahjahan. He was appointed later on the guard to the fort of Rohtas in Bihar,

^{2.} B.G., II, writes as Manmil and Zarrisuz (P. 736).

^{3,} Ibid, 737.

^{4.} Ibid, 737.

letters from the Vakil of Dārāb Khān, what was staying with Arām Bakhsh (Dārāb Khān's) son in Shāhjahān's camp, written to Dārāb Khān and one letter of Dārāb Khān addressed to the Vakil fell into the hands of Shitāb Khān. As a precautionary measure, the rebel prince effected a change of officials in Bihar. He appointed Wazir Khān as Ṣūbahdār of Patna in place of Khān Dawrān who was recalled along with his son, brothers and nephews.²

Shitab Khan, the chief administrator of Akbar Nagar, rendered great assistance to Shahjahan in various ways. He supplied provisions amounting to 320,000 maunds of corn to the royal camp through Wazīr Khan governor of Bihar. On every occasion fifty to sixty boats with the capacity for carrying 500 to 1000 maunds were despatched to Patna. 400 maunds of gunpowder and 8000 maunds of lead and iron and stone shots were supplied. 500 maunds of gunpowder, 400-500 maunds of lead and iron were always kept ready at Akbar Nagar.

The royal factory ($K\bar{a}r_kh\bar{a}nah$) was situated at the heart of the town of Akbar Nagar. Shitāb Khān sent men to the Karorīs to collect revenues and an amount of Rs. 700,000 was remitted to Wazīr Khān at Patna in eight instalments so that the amount might be sent to the rebel prince. He even ordered the preacher to read the sermon (Khutbah) in the name of $Sh\bar{a}hjah\bar{a}n$ along with the name of $Jah\bar{a}ngIr$ on the occasion of the festival of Sacrifice ('Id-i-Qurban) at Akbar Nagar. Thus there emerged two empires (of course for a brief period)—one with $Jah\bar{a}ngIr$ and the other $Sh\bar{a}hjah\bar{a}n$ as ruler.

The skirmishes between the two sides resulted in heavy losses on the imperialist side. That was followed by an encounter between the two forces at Jhusi in which Shahjahan lost Khan Dawran. The death of Khan Dawran cast a gloom on the followers of Shahjahan.

^{1.} B.G. II, 739.

^{2.} Ibid. 738.

^{3.} B.G., II, 740.

^{4.} Ibid, 742. It was read "Nuru'ddin Muhammad Jahangir Badshah and Abul Muzaffar Shajahan Badshah Ghazi."

The loss of Bairām Bēg sapped the morale of Shāhjahān's army to a great extent. The imperialists in their struggle with Shāhjahān's forces received the support and guidance of the local Zamindārs.\(^1\) When this was the condition the imperialists had recourse to a strategem which proved disastrous to the rebel prince's chances of victory. They made a gesture of retiring from the actual contest which allured the forces of Shāhjahān to enter into a narrow bend of the Ganges. In that state of affairs, the imperialists opened fire on them which created great confusion in the rank and file of Shāhjahān's army. It was with great difficulty that his admiral, Zamindārs allies of Bengal and the Portuguese could save themselves leaving two of their war boats.\(^2\)

Shāhjahān marched from Bahādurpur to the confluence of the Tons and the Ganges (13th Muharram, 1034 A.H., 26th October 1624) and pitched his camp on the east bank of the Tons. To assure the safety of his family, he despatched a reinforcement under Khidmat Parast Khān to Rohtas. The imperialists moved up to the north bank of the Ganges and encamped at Kantit. Shāhjahān ordered Dārāb Khān to move out of Bengal with his forces leaving the administration in charge of his son M1rzā Afrāsiāb. But the 'Subahdār' of Bhati evaded the order on the false plea that there was the possibility of an imminent Arkanese aggression and an upheaval of the local turbulent Zamīndārs. He thus evaded the order of the prince but sent a force of 1000 horsemen and 200 warboats from Bengal.

Shāhjahān's strength was further undermined by the treachery of the Zamindārs of Bengal and the Portuguese allies who arrived from Bengal to assist the rebel prince. Mr Shams, the admiral, also did not act loyally as was expected of him. He did not even divulge the inner motives of the Bengal Zamindārs and the

^{1.} ASS., 117a.

^{2.} B.G., II, 746.

^{3.} I.N., 232.

^{4.} ASS., 121a; I.N., 239; A.S., I, 190; B.G., II, 749.

^{5.} B.G., II, 749.

Portuguese leaders. Ma'sum Khan Masnad-i-'ālā Thavares and other leaders from Bengal entered into a conspiracy with the imperialists' general Maḥābat Khān, through Mir Safi who was appointed as Khān-i-Sāmān¹ and the Controller of the Crownlands (Khalisa-i-Sharifa) by Shāhjahān. If the Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī is to be believed Mir Safī, Khān-i-Sāmān opened conspiracy (from Shāhjahān's side) with the son of Narayan,² brother of Satrajit of Bhusna, and thus in league with each other they entered into a conspiracy with Ma'sum Khān and the Portuguese allies. The conspirators wrote to Maḥābat Khān

"if we are given assurance of the imperial favours of Jahangir, then at this juncture when it is not possible for the army of the world-conquering prince Shahjahan to execute their main functions without the fleet, we shall run away with the fleet and after imprisoning Darab Khan we shall create a disturbance in the Subah of Bengal."

With the secession of the Bengal fleet from the company of Shahjahan, his chances of success disappeared. It is curlous to note here that the Bengal Zamīndār Ma'sūm Khan, and the portuguese allies behaved with Shahjahan in such a critical period in the same way as they behaved with Ibrahim Khan in the battle of Akbar Nagar. They were opportunists swinging like pendulums from one side to another and their political manoeuvres moulded the course of historical events of the eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal during this period.

- 1. He was appointed after Mir 'Abdus Salam's departure to Rohtas (Ibid. p. 749).
- The son of Narayan was probably Dom Autonio who was converted into Christianity. Journal of Assam Research Society, Vol. V, No. 3. p. 93, 1937.

Just before the battle of the Tons. Shahiahan held a council of war in which Raja Bhim urged an immediate attack1 on the imperialists but this was opposed by 'Abdullah Khan. However, Shahjahan, following Raja Bhim's advice, ordered an immediate action. In the encounter that followed the artillery of the imperialists made a serious attack on Shahjahan's forces. Dariya Khan Afghan with his Afghan contingents offered a stubborn resistance but the imperialists out-flanked them altogether. Raja Bhim, while proceeding to assist him received several wounds and was slain after a heroic fight. His Rajput forces were dispersed.2 For reasons of personal jealousy 'Abdullah Khan did not assist Dariya Khan in the midst of the battle. So he was compelled to retreat. Pahar Singh, son of Raja Bir Singh Bundela also deserted Shahiahan and went over to the side of the imperialists. Sipāh Salār 'Abdullah Khan left the battle field before Shahjahan made a desperate attempt to win the victory. The rebel prince fought in the midst of the battle even risking his life. But it proved futile. He thus gave up fighting and retired.3

The battle of the Tons ended with a complete defeat for Shāhjahān and a blow to his imperial aspirations. It was quickly followed by the desertion, one after another of officers whom he had appointed for the administration of the conquered provinces. The Imperialist victory was partly due to the superior military tactics of the Imperialist General Maḥābat Khān and partly to the dissensions among the generals of Shāhjahān. The situation

^{1.} I.N., p. 232.

^{2.} I.N., p. 233. B.G., II. p. 759.

According to Iqbāl Nāmah (p. 232) Shāhjahān's army had 10,000 horse and the Imperialists 40,000 horse. According to B.G., II, (p. 735) Shāhjahān's army had 180,000 horse, 190,000 foot, 2400 elephants, 1500 Gun Carriages: The Imperial army 80,000 horse, 10,000 foot and 1900 elephants.

From the above description of the relative strength of the two armies it can be concluded that the number supplied has been recorded by conjecture. The $B\bar{a}harist\bar{a}n's$ enumeration seems to be exaggerated from the figures given by the writer.

^{4.} Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dihli, p. 52.

was further worsened by the desertion of the Bengal flotilla and the evasion of Darab Khan to join the rebel prince's army in the time when that was most needed. Loss of his trusted commanders such as Raja Bhim and Raja Bikramjit further weakened his army.¹

The Bengal Zamindars passed through Patna and the bazaar of the town was looted by them. Wazir Khan, the Subahdar, could not protect it from their raids.2 They then tried to ravage Akbar Nagar which was gallantly defended by Shitab Khan.3 Though Akbar Nagar remained in possession of Shahjahan, the other parts of the newly conquered territories slipped out of his hand one after another. Ma'sum Khan came along with the Zamindars to Jahangir Nagar and besieged the city and fort. Ma'sum Khan wrote to Mirza Salih of Sylhet asking him to join him at once and the Mirza soon complied. Zahid Khan, the Subahdar of Kuch, joined the imperialists along with Raja Satrajit of Bhusna and Raja Lakshmi Narayan.⁵ At Jahangir Nagar, Darab Khan was besieged and was unable to do anything. So he yielded to the pressure of Shahjahan's deserters and took an oath of allegiance from them.⁶ Thus with the loss of Bhati, Sylhet and Kuch Bihar, the major part of Bengal slipped out of Shāhiahān's hands.

S.N. Bhattacharya points out that the Arakan King seemed to have taken advantage of the confusion that arose out of the preoccupations of Shahjahan in spite of the fact that there was an exchange of goodwill and embassies between them. Phayre⁷ and following him J.B. Harrison⁸ mention that the Arakan King made an incursion up to Jahangir Nagar probably during the rains of

^{1.} Ibid., P. 54,

^{2.} B.G., II, p. 750.

^{3.} Ibid., 752, p. 53.

^{4.} B.G., II, 766.

^{5.} Ibid., 781.

^{6.} Ibid., 766-67.

^{7.} History of Burma (p. 177).

^{8.} Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol. I-1960, p. 606.

16251 (after Shahjahan left Bengal for the Deccan), entered the city, burnt and looted it and retired with a large number of captives.

After his defeat at the Tons, Shahjahan retreated to Patna and thence to the fort of Rohtas. He stayed there for three days and then moved to Patna again with his family leaving Rohtas in charge of his old servant, Kotwal Khan, and Kotwal's sonin-law, Khidmat Parast Khan.²

The imperialists continued to pursue Shahiahan and crossed the river Son after gaining much booty abandoned by his soldiers. Their rapid advance compelled Shahiahan to evacuate Patna and leave for Akbar Nagar, where he arrived on 8th January, 1625. He sent a farman to Shitab Khan in charge of Akbar Nagar to proceed to Teliagurhee, the gateway of Bengal and construct a fort there.3 Shitab Khan hastened to that place and laid the foundation of a lofty fort. Shahjahan stayed at Akbar Nagar only for 24 days as the entire army of Jahangir was advancing towards Bengal. He decided to go to Burhanpur by the same route by which he had come before the imperial forces could again return to the Deccan.4 Before his departure he took drastic steps against the deserters. He ordered 'Abdullah Khan to hunt down those who were unwilling to follow him to the Deccan and in a single day about 1000 of them were put to death. Aram Bakhsh, the eldest son of Darab was killed by 'Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang.⁵ Subsequently Dārāb also met the same fate, though, of course, at the hands of Mahābat Khān, the new viceroy of Bengal, after Shahiahan's exit from there. Darab's severed head was sent to Jahangir's Court by Mahabat Khan.

The conclusion of an alliance with Bijapur by Maḥābat Khān⁶ in August, 1624 enraged Malik 'Ambar' minister of Ahmad Nagar. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Bijapuris, sent

^{1.} History of Bengal II, p. 314. (F.N.).

^{2.} B.G., II, p. 764.

^{3.} B.G., II, 765.

^{4.} I.N., 240. B.G., II, 782.

^{5.} I.N., 239, B.G., II, 785.

^{6.} I.N., 240.

Yaqub Khan against the Imperial headquarters at Burhanpur and took Sholapur.1 At that time Shahiahan arrived at Dewal Gam in the Nizam Shah's territory and was cordially received by Malik Ambar. Shahjahan sent his generals 'Abdullah Khan and Shah Ouli Khan to assist Malik Ambar in the siege of Burhanpur. With the reappearance of Shahjahan in Deccan Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan soon left for the Deccan in pursuit of him. The appearance of his old foes perplexed him and compelled him to raise the siege of Burhanpur and retreat to Rahan Khed. On the way he fell seriously ill. 'Abdullah Khan also deserted him at this critical juncture. He was now completely demoralised and became a mental wreck. He now wrote to his father begging mercy and clemency from him. Jahangir was touched by the language of the letter. He replied that if Shahjahan would send his sons Dara and Aurangzib and surrender fortresses of Rohtas and Asir still held by his followers, he would be pardoned.3 This was accordingly complied with and in addition he sent a present of 300,000 rupees to the emperor. Thus the revolt of Shahiahan collapsed after more than three years which kept the empire in great suspense.

Jahāngīr's rule was restored in Bengal when the administration of the province was placed in charge of Maḥābat Khān assisted by his son Khānazad Khān. The province was also bestowed upon him as a jagīr by Prince Parvīz in March, 1625. Maḥābat was treated with a suspicious eye by Empress Nur Jahān because of his long association with Parvīz. So he led a Coup de Main but was unsuccessful. He left for the Deccan and joined Shāhjahān in June 1626. Maḥābat's revolt resulted in his supersession and the consequent recall of his son Khānazād Khān. Mukarram Khān was appointed as the next governor in his place. His period of rule was brief and uneventful and he died of drowning early in

^{1.} Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 387-91.

^{2.} I.N., 243, ASS., 121a.

^{3.} AS I, 194. The date of Shahjahan's submission is 12th Isfandar of 20th year of Jahangir, Monday, Jamadi II 1035 A. H. /1625 A.D.

^{4.} I.N., 239.

February, 1627. The last Governor to be appointed in Bengal by Jahangir was Fidai Khan. Bihar also got Mirza Rustum² Safavi as its Governor in the 21st year of Jahangir's reign.

APPENDIX

The detailed administrative appointments made by Shahjahan during the period of his dictatorship as a rebel prince in the eastern provinces were as follows:

Name of Subahs, Sarkars, Thānās		Name of incumbent	Post held
1.	Orissa	Muḥammad Taqī alias Shāh Quli Khān	Ṣūbahdār
2.	Akbar Nagar or Gaur (designa- ted Ṣūbah)	Raja Bhim later on Shitāb <u>Kh</u> an	Sardar (Chief Officer)
		Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ	<i>Ba<u>khs</u>h</i> ī and <i>Waqai</i> ' Nawīs
3.	Bhati (designated as Subah)	Darab <u>Kh</u> an	Ṣ ubahdār
	(Jahangir Nagar its head quarters	Mirzā Hidāyatullah	Ba <u>khsh</u> ī a n d Waqai' Nawis
4.	Kuch Bihar (designated as Sūbah)	Zāhid Khān	Ṣ ūbahdār
	,	Aqa Taqı	Ba <u>khsh</u> ī Dīwān and Wayai' Nawīs
5.	Jessore (designated as a Ṣūbah)	'Ali <u>Kh</u> an Niyazı	Sardar (Chief Officer)

^{1.} I.N., 291; M.U., III, 16; R.S., 208.

^{2.} M.U., II, 439.

Name of Subahs, Sarkars, Thānās		Name of incumbent	Post held	
6.	Burdwan1	Bairam Beg (Dirmuz Beg, his brother depu- tising for him)	Jāgīrdār	
7.	Midnapur ²	Muḥammad Shah alias Shah Beg Khan	No mention of his actual designation in B.G.	
8.	Rohtas (fort)	Sayyid Muzaffar	Qilladār	
9.	Bhalua ³	Mirza Bakhshi	Thanahdar	
10.	Sylhet	Mirza Şāliḥ	Sardar	
11.	Bihar	Khan Dawran (Bairam Be Wazir Khan appointed after Khan Dawran was recalled	eg) Şūbahdār	
12.	For the whole of Bengal	Malik Husain	Chief Treasurer	
	·	Mirzā Mulkī and after him Jawhar Mal Das	Dīwān	

- 1. It was in the Sarkar Sharifabad which comprised some portions of Birbhum and a large portion of Burdwan district, together with the town of Burdwan itself. (JBAS, 1873, p. 218).
- Midnapur and Hijli appear together in Todar Mal's rent roll as one of the five Sarkars of the province of Orissa, Ibid 224-225.
- Bhalua or Bhulua is the modern Noakhali district of Bangladesh
 The contemporary chief of Bhulua during Islam <u>Khan's</u> invasion was
 Ananta Manikya, the successor of Lakshamana Manikya—B.G., II,
 817-818.

CHAPTER II

The Portuguese Activities in Bengal and the Hugli incident

The accession of Shahjahān¹ to the Mughal throne was followed by administrative changes in the Mughal provinces of Bengal and Bihar. Qāsim Khān, son of Murād Juinī was appointed Ṣābahdār of Bengal in place of Fidāī Khān, the last governor of Bengal of Jahāngīr's reign.³ Bihar also had a new governor named Khān 'Alam who replaced Mirzā Rustum Safavī.³

Qasim Khan's period of administration in Bengal is particularly interesting and significant as it witnessed the conflict between the Portuguese and the Mughals at Hugli. It was the first land-battle in the sub-continent in which the "indigenous troops and

- 1. Emperor Jahangir died while returning from Kashmir to Lahore near Rajuri on 29th October, 1627. His death brought the succession question to the fore. Nurjahan espoused the cause of Shahriyar, her son-in-law, while her brother Asaf Khan tried to secure the throne for his son-inlaw Shahjahan. As Shahjahan was away in the Deccan Asaf Khan, in order to hide his inner motive of proclaiming Shahjahan as Emperor espoused the cause of Dawar Bakhsh, son of Prince Khusrau. Shahriyar, Nūrjahan's son-in-law, also declared himself Emperor but was defeated by Asaf Khan's troops and imprisoned Asaf Khan sent Banarasi, a a Hindu, to Shahjahan who was in the Deccan then, conveying all the information about the succession. Shahjahan accordingly set out for Delhi and on the way won over all imperial officers whom he met. Meanwhile, Asaf Khan deposed Dawar Bakhsh and managed to read the Khutba in Shahjahan's name on 19th January, 1628. He was crowned on 4th February, 1628 at Agra with the lofty title of 'Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib Qiran-i-Shani. Asaf Khan put to death Dawar Bakhsh. Shahriyar and all others whom he considered dangerous to Shahjahan's cause. (For details see I.N. p. 294, p. 303; A.S. I, p. 206, p. 219)
- 2. MU., III, p. 78.
- 3. *Ibid* p. 439.

methods of warfare triumphed over European troops and European leadership."

Establishment of Portuguese Settlements:

The Portuguese were the first European nation to establish trade connections in Bengal. But in the opening decades of the sixteenth century, they met with some reverses.² Undaunted, they pressed hard to secure the trade of Bengal and some Colonial outposts. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Bay of Bengal swarmed with their vessels.

The unsettled political condition of Bengal in the 16th century helped the Portuguese to establish their influence and extend their commerce. The rise of Sher Shah threatened Maḥmud Shah of Bengal who sought assistance from the Portuguese whom he had treated cruelly in the beginning of his reign. Maḥmud Shah promised to grant them land to erect their factories and permission to build fortresses at Chittagong and Satgaon. Campos says, "the people were indeed surprised to see that the King had given the Portuguese so much power and such a firm footing in Bengal. This was the first establishment of the Portuguese in Bengal, almost simultaneously in Chittagong and Satgaon."

Situated on the right bank of the Hugli, Satgaon had for long attracted much trade. The Portuguese made their first settlement there.⁴

Gradually Satgaon began to decline as the Portuguese settled in Hugli and diverted all their trade there to the detriment of Satgaon. Again, the river Saraswati on which Satgaon was situated began silting up and was navigable only by smaller vessels. The Portuguese must have chosen Hugli for their settlement because

- 1. History of Bengal vol II, p. 317. Ed. Sarkar. It is, of course, an exaggerated statement. The Portuguese were few in number in comparison to local troops. So their defeat was nothing unusual.
- 2. Whiteway—The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, pp. 233-234. Danvers—The Portuguese in India, pp. 422-423.
- 3. History of the Portuguege in Bengal, Campos, p. 39.
- 4. A.S. i, p. 495, BN I 434

they had noticed the mainstream no longer flowing through the Saraswati. Thus Hugli grew into a great centre of trade in Bengal and supplanted the former glory of Satgaon.¹

Hugli was founded by the Portuguese during the reign of Akbar² and large storehouses were erected there for business purposes. Manrique, who was in Bengal in 1628-29, gives a detailed account of this settlement. According to him, the Portuguese used to remain there during the rainy season buying and selling goods and go to Goa when the rains were over. Later on they extended their stay to one or two years without going back. Seeing the precious and other costly articles which the Portuguese used to bring to Bengal from Borneo, Malacca and other ports, Emperor Akbar ordered the Bengal governor to send from Satgaon two notable men among the Portuguese to his Court. In the following year, Pedro Tavares, a Portuguese Captain, gladly accepted the invitation. Accompanied by two associates and many attendants, he arrived at Akbar's Court at Agra. Akbar, being highly pleased with their conduct, gave them valuable presents, permitted them to build a city in Bengal and gave them a grant for the adjoining lands.3

When Taveres returned to Hugli in 1579 or 1580 he was given a rousing reception by the Portuguese living there. He chose the favourable site at 'Hugli which grew up subsequently into the greatest centre of trade in Bengal. Campos holds the view that the settlement of Hugli was established either towards the close of 1579 or in the earlier months of 1580.4 But 'Abdul Ḥamid

- 1. A.S. I, p. 496. Manrique, I. (F. N.) p. 27.
- Manrique, I, p. 29. History of Bengal, II, Ed. J. N, Sarkar, p. 365.
- 3. Manrique, I, pp. 32-37. Perhaps this is the origin of the 777 bighas of land formerly held by the Monastery of Bengal. The farmān attributed to Shāhjahān may have been merely confirmatory of the earlier grant made under Akbar. (See, F. N., Ibid p. 37)
- 4. Campos. History of the Portuguese in Bengal p. 54. Abul Fazl mentions one Partab Bar Feringi. one of the chief merchants of the Port of Bengal who came (in A.D. 1579) to Agra (A. N. 1II. 243, 320). This Partab Bar must have been Pedro Tavares of Manrique (JASB 1889, Beveridge, p. 34.)

Lahauri dates the Portuguese settlement of Hugli earlier than Akbar's time. He says that they moved up one Kos (two miles) from Satgaon during the reign of the Bengal Sultans and established their settlement at Hugli. In any case, they could not have settled there before A.D. 1550 because the great Portuguese history, "Da Asia" (Vols I to III) published in 1552—63, makes no mention of Hugli and it also does not appear on its map.¹

The Portuguese had settlements not only in the Hugli district but also in Eastern Bengal. Towards the last decades of the 16th century, we find Portuguese settlements flourishing at Satgaon and later on at Hugli as well as at Chittagong. Mughal authority had not yet extended to the Chittagong side. initial tussle with the Arakan King, the Portuguese made conciliation with him. The King allowed them to construct forts within his territory. He allowed them to continue their trade activities in order to get their services against the Mughals in time of necessity. The Portuguese served as advanced guards for the protection of his frontier. The Portuguese gradually consolidated their position at Chittagong and Dianga under the patronage of the Arakan King who gave them grants of land.² In the Portuguese writings there are frequent references to a "city of Bengala", which is generally supposed to have been Chittagong. The Portuguese named it as Porto Grande (Great Port) in contradistinction to their Porto Pequeno (Small Port) at Satgaon. Hugli eventually came to be known as Porto Pequeno after the decline of Satgaon.

Once settled at Hugli and Chittagong the Portuguese were not slow to extend their trade connexions elsewhere in Bengal. According to Cabral they started a settlement at Dacca in or about 1580. Taking the full advantage of Akbar's generous offer, they had established themselves at Dacca a quarter of a century before the city attained the status of a provincial capital in 1608 A.D.

- 1. JASB-1892. (Map published in vol LXI-Part I).
- 2. Hosten says that the city of Bengala was Dianga which is situated opposite Chittagong on the Southern bank of the Karnafuli. This is wrong as Dianga is mentioned only in the beginning of the 17th century and Chittagong as the Port of Bengala was referred to early in the 16th century, (B.P.P. 1916, Vol. XIII. No. 25, p. 128. For full discussions see Campos, p. 76.)

The first decade of the 17th century was marked by the rise of the Portuguese adventurer Gonsalves in Sandwip. Gonsalves killed Fath Khān, a Muslim captain and ruler of Sandwip, in a naval battle and made himself master of the island. He retained his power there only for ten years. His tyranny and oppression alienated most of his supporters. In 1615, he launched an attack on Arakan. But his ambitious project ended in failure. Gonsalves was defeated by the Maghs who took possession of the island.

The Portuguese had sundry other outposts in Bengal. Sripur had a flourishing Portuguese colony in 1586.³ Chandecan was another small settlement of the Portuguese, where they built a church. Their other settlements were at Bakla,⁴ Catrabo⁵, Loricul,⁶ Bhalua and Higli.⁷ Thus the Portuguese had many settlements of greater or lesser importance, scattered all over the province.

The Portuguese established themselves at Patna as well. Robert Hughes and John Parker at Patna wrote to the company in Nov. 30, 1630, "the Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana, Cominge up with their frigitt from the bottom of Bengalla, where theye have two portes, th'one called Gollye (Hugli) and the other Pieppullye (Pipli) and therin are licensed by this King to inhabitt."

- 1. History of Bengal, II. Ed. Sarkar. p. 361.
- 2. Ibid. p. 363.
- 3. Early Travels-Ralph Fitch, p. 28.
- Bakla or Ismailpur was the name of a small Sarkār comprising portions of Bakerganj and Dacca districts. (c. f. Ain. II, 134. Blochmann— JASB, 1873, p. 217)
- Van den Broecke places it below Sonargaon and Beveridge identifies it with Katabuh or Katibari in Manikgonj Sub-division. (JASB, 1903, 133-34)
- Loricul (appears in van den Broecke's map) as Noricoel is situated twenty eight miles south of Dacca.
- Hijli is the tract of land extending from the mouth of the river Rup Narayan along the western side of the Hugli estuary. It formed the part of Midnapur district.
- 8. EFI-1918-21, pp. 213-14.

Nature of Portuguese Activities—Commercial

Both Akbar and Jahangir followed a policy of toleration towards the Portuguese which helped them to build up their power in Bengal. As seen earlier, their commercial enterprise attracted Akbar who issued farmān which enabled them to remove their factory and custom house from Satgaon to Hugli in or about 1580. Hugli gradually expanded its sway and became a great emporium of trade.

Of the various trading ports which the Portuguese had in the Kingdom of Bengal, the richest and most populous was that of Hugli.¹ It became the meeting place of the ships of India, China and the East Indies. Not only the Hindustanis, but also the Mughals, the Persians and the Armenians came there to fetch goods.

Manrique gives us a clear picture of the portuguese trade in Bengal. They imported into Bengal a large amount of worked silks such as Brocade, Brocatelles, cloth, velvets, Damasks, Satins Tafettas, Taffissirias and Escomillas or Muslins from China. They brought cloves, nutmegs and mace from Malacca Isles and camphor from Borneo Isle. All these articles were generally taken by the local merchants to different parts of the Mughal empire including the capital cities² They brought cinammon from Ceylon and pepper from Malabar. From the islands of Maldives, they brought seashells which were current in Bengal as a medium of exchange even before the Muslim period and were known as Cowries. They imported from Solor and Timor both the white and the red varieties of sandalwood which were greatly valued in Bengal. According to Tavernier these commodities brought them very high profits. He says,

"To return to the ancient power of the Portuguese in India, it is certain that if the Dutch had never come to India not a scrap of iron would be found in the majority

^{1.} Manrique, II, p. 392. Cabral's letter.

^{2.} Manrique I, 31-32.

of the Portuguese houses; all would have been of gold or silver, for they had to make but two or three voyages to Japan, to the Phillippines, to the Maluccas, or to China, to acquire riches ... "1

The Portuguese had an extensive export trade in Bengal. They carried various things from the province to their numerous ports in the East. According to Manrique, Bengal was full of plenty of food stuffs such as rice, butter, oil and wax. Large numbers of Portuguese ships were annually laden in the ports of the province in order to export them to distant lands.

The Portuguese had industries of their own. The flourishing salt trade was in their hands. They had certain other industries such as the manufacture of sweetmeats and pickles at Hugli.

The extensive trade activity of the Portuguese in the Hugli district resulted in the growth of Calcutta as a flourishing centre in the latter half of the 17th century. The Portuguese took full advantage of the cheapness of the products of Bengal. It made them very prosperous, and powerful which they could retain till 1632 A.D.

Missionary Activities of the Portuguese

Muslim annalists of Shāhjahān's period are of opinion that one of the activities of the Portuguese in Bengal was the propagation of Christianity. They used to convert the peasants and ordinary people and send them to Portugal by their own ships.² With the growth of Portuguese commerce, their religious missions, Augustinian as well as Dominican, also spread in Bengal. In 1598, two Portuguese missionaries named Fathers Francis Fernan deo and Dominic Sosa came to Hugli to be followed next year by

- 1. Tavernier, Vol I, p. 252-53.
- B.N. I, p, 434. A.S. 496, or 175 (Tahir) 746, or 173 (Qazvini), 252a. Prof. Boxar has discussed the Portuguese missionary methods in the East in his book Four Centurles of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825: A succinct survey. According to him, the Portuguese fostered "their religion through coercive and discriminatory legislation." See pp. 36-37.

two others, Fathers Andrew Bores and Melchior Fouseca. They left for a missionary tour across the Sundarbans from Chandecan to Chittagong and Dianga on October 1, 1598.¹ They were successful in obtaining permission from the Kings of Bakla and Chandecan to preach Christianity and build churches and residences. According to the Mughal chroniclers, the Portuguese not only sent the converts to their country but also to the Jesuit College in Goa for education.²

In 1559, five Augustinians arrived in Bengal followed by

The Analecta Augustinia (1682) states that soon these priests had seven churches opened in the districts and baptised 16,690 persons in Bengal and 5,111 in Arakan. Another account puts the number baptised at 62,606 in a year. Hugli became a powerful missionary centre and by 1616 the Portuguese had their missionary centres at Dacca, Sripur and Pipli as well.³ The Portuguese who were in the service of the king of Arakan were committing frightful depredations all along the banks of the rivers in the Sundarbans carrving off the Muslims and the Hindus as captives. Between 1621 and 1624 they brought to Chittagong 42,000 slaves of whom 28,000 were baptised by the Augustinians.⁴

Revs. L. Besse and Hosten think that at no time in the 17th and 18th centuries were the Jesuits very numerous in Bengal.⁵ Though the Christian religion was flourishing in Eastern

- 1. B.P.P., 1915, p. 43; Manrique, Introduction, XXV.
- 2. Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal, p, 102.
- 3. Manrique, Vol 1. Intro. XXVI-XXVII. cf. H. Jasson, La Mission du Bengal Occidental pp. 42-43.
- 4. Campos-History of the Portuguese in Bengal. p. 105.
- Hosten and Besse
 List of the Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma—(1576-1742)

JASB-1910, pp. 15-35.
In the College of Hugli.

1623 Fr. Peter Gomes
Antony Rodriguez
Simon de Figueiredo
Fr. Benedict Rodriguez.

Bengal, it received a great check in Western Bengal owing to the siege of Hugli in 1632. Campos opines that the siege of Hugli checked the progress of the Catholic religion only for a short time. In 1633, the Catholic fathers and other Portuguese returned with a rent-free grant of 777 bighas of land. They erected churches on the ruins of their former buildings. The Augustinians spread themselves all over Bengal and by their efforts, many people were converted to christianity.

The Portuguese carried on missionary activities in Bihar as well. In 1620, Muqarrab $\underline{K}h\overline{a}n$, Governor of Patna invited the priests and made a grant for the erection of a church and a house for the priest.¹

Cabral states that the Muslims in no way impeded the promulgation and diffusion of christianity.² According to Manrique, the first christian mission faced some opposition but not much. The trouble at Hugli was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Mughal governors had put no obstacles in the way of propaganda and had paid due respect to the catholic priesthood. The viceroy of Dacca had reserved for himself the right in any particular case to forbid excommunication by the vicar but in other respects there had been no local interference with the christians and the viceroy had protected them from the attacks of the Mullahs and Pīrs. The hostilities undertaken by the Mughals against the Portugues in Hugli originated in political causes which we shall see later on. "A religious element was imported into the quarrel by Shāhjahān probably for reasons of policy.³

		-	-	•
1627	(Fr.	Antony Rodriguez Gonsalvus	1644	(In the mission of Bengal) Anthony Soares
1628	(Fr. (Fr. (Fr.	Simon de Figueiredo Aloysius Orlandini Antony Rodriguez Simon de Figueiredo	1648	Anthony Farinha Emanuel Madeira Fr. Melchion Garcao Anthony Rodriguez. Jr.
1634	(Fr. Fr.	Gonsalvus Louis Orlandini Antony Rodriguez Antony Farinha	1655	Fr. Anthony Pacheco Fr. Didacus de Oliveira Fr. Roderic Gomes.

^{1.} Manrique, I. Intro. XXVI-XXVII.

Ibid, II. p. 393.
 Sir Edward Maclagan—'The Jesuits and the great Mogul' London—1932 p. 100,

Piracy and Slave Trade:

The religious and the commercial motives of the Portuguese were hampered by their wanton acts of piracy and their activity in the slave trade in Bengal. Three circumstances favoured the growth of these undesirable activities. First, there was a section of the Portuguese which shook off the authority of the Portuguese governor of Goa and turned adventurers. One of the heroes among them was Sebastian Gonsalves Tibau. After his arrival in Bengal, he managed to occupy Sandwip and became its sole had under him one thousand Portuguese, two master. He thousand soldiers, two hundred horses and eighty ships with cannon. Secondly, the Portuguese free-booters were in the employment of the Arakan king who encouraged them to make annual raids in the rivers of lower Bengal. They committed unspeakable atrocities on the Mughal subjects who fell into their hands. While the Portuguese at Hugli did not commit acts of piracy in the Mughal territorial waters, their fellow countrymen living in the borders of Arakan carried on recurring depredations on the Mughal territories and took away Mughal subjects. The hostilities undertaken by the Mughals against the Portuguese at Hugli originated in political causes, namely, the sympathy and encouragement which the Portuguese of Hugli had rendered to their compatriots, the Firingis of Chittagong who were little more than pirates ready to lend their service, to the King of Arakan against the Mughals.1 Thirdly, the weakness of the Mughal navy and the remarkable superiority of the Portuguese in the use of fire arms, their skill in navigation and the larger and heavier armament of their ships made them powerful enough to carry on piratical raids on the soil of Bengal.

The Portuguese became proverbial for perfidy and cruelty in Bengal,² because of their piratical activities and horrible treatment of the slaves. From Akbar to Aurangzib, the Portuguese in collaboration with the Maghs used to cause depredations in the

^{1.} Maclagan, The Jesuits and the great Mogul, p. 100.

^{2.} Spear, India, p, 163.

southern parts of Bengal. They practised a large-scale slave trade by seizing and carrying off everyone whom they found along the sides of the river.¹

The recurring Firingi raids on Jessore led Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughals during the governorship of Islam Khan Chisti. The Raja said to his son Udayaditya,

"When we are surrounded by the imperial army from two sides, and when the imperial officers will rush upon us the Firingis of the Harmad who never ceased even in time of peace to attack and plunder the territory of Jessore, will now become audacious and will make greater attempts than before to ruin our territory. Nothing will be gained (by us). Therefore, it is better that I should voluntarily submit to the imperial officers and present myself before Islām Khān to see what turns out and how my fortune works.³"

During the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, the Portuguese pirates raided Jessore intermittently and on one occasion took away fifteen hundred men and women from the village as captives.⁴ The Portugese raids figure prominently in contemporary Bengali literature. Mukundram pointedly refers to the dread with which a journey along the Firingi coast was commonly viewed. The boatmen, he says, rowed ceaselessly day and night for fear of the Portuguese pirates. Alaol, a 17th century Muslim poet of Bengal, was attacked by the Portuguese Harmad on the river.

^{1.} B.N., I, p. 434, or 175 (Tahir), fol. 74b-75a.

i.e. the people of the Armada, a term applied to the Portuguese pirates in Bengal in the 17th century.

^{3.} B.G. I, pp. 136-137.

^{4.} Ibid. II, P. 635.

A scuffle followed in which his father was killed and Alaol escaped with much difficulty to Arakan.¹

The portuguese some times oppressed innocent travellers. Their baggage was searched when they passed through the Portuguese outposts. If unlicensed tobacco was found with them, they were dealt with inordinate severity.² According to Khāfi Khān, the Portuguese caused much harm to the non-christians living in their settlements. They used to convert the children of the dead persons into christianity and take away all properties left by them.³

Shinabuddin Talish gives us a graphic picture of the Portuguese treatment of their slaves. He says that they used to carry off the Hindus and Muslims, male and female, great and small, pierced the palms of their hands, passed thin canes through the holes and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner as grain is flung to fowl they threw uncooked rice to the captives as food every morning and evening. On return to their homes, the Portuguese employed some of them in tillage of the soil some were assigned to ever harder tasks. Others were sold to the Dutch, the English and the French merchants at the ports of the Deccan. Sometimes they brought captives for sale to Tamluk and Balasore (Baleswar) to get a high price.

The extent of the slave trade has been clearly stated by Pyrard⁵ and Manrique.⁶ The ship carrying Manrique from Pipli to India

1. c.f. Tohfa, Ed. A. Sharif, Sāhitya Patrikā. p. 57.

"Karya Hetu Jaite Panthe Bidir ghatan Harm der Nouka Sange Hailo Darsan. Bahu Yuddha Achila Shahid Hailotata Ranakshate Vogayoge Aanu Ethato."

-"Padmavati".

- 2. M.L. I. p. 469.
- 3. Ibid
- 4. 1r. of Talish's Continuation. in JASB, 1907 by J.N. Sarkar p. 422-425.
- 5. Pyrard, I, 332.
- 6. Manrique, Vol. I, 447.

had eighty slaves on board. There is no doubt that Hugli and Chittagong were nests of Portuguese slave traders. As a result of the Mughal conquest of Hugli, ten thousand inhabitants who were kept in confinement by the Portuguese were set free by the Mughals. During the Governorship of Islam Khan Mashhadi over ten thousand Bengalees who were held in slavery by Firingis escaped to their homeland taking advantage of the civil war in Chittagong.

The Portuguese and Local Pelitics:

The prowess and professional skill of the Portuguese seamen won for them positions of trust and responsibility at the courts of the local zamīndars and even the Mughals. These Europeans served the Mughals as soldiers and helped them in expeditions and campaigns. Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang's governorship witnessed the employment of the Portuguese as soldiers in the Mughal army.

One of the noticeable features of the Portuguese history in Bengal on the eve of the Hugli incident was the direct involvement of the Portuguese in the Mughal politics of the province. The chiefs of Dacca and other places in Bengal with their boats and those of East Bengal zamindārs joined the rebel prince Shāhjahān for gain and proceeded up to the junction of the Tons. Later on they were seduced by Parviz, which resulted in their desertion of Shāhjahān's cause. Thus it can not be denied that the Portuguese commanded a great authority in Bengal before the Hugli incident.

Portuguese Decline: Its causes

With the dawn of the 17th century, the Portuguese power in India began gradually to decline. The internal affairs of the Portuguese in India were in disarray and confusion. The growth

- B.N., 1, 439.
 or 173, (Qazwini), 254b.
- 2. History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 363.
- 3, Mirza Nathan got the services of the Firingis in the pacification of Kuch Bihar (B.G., II, p. 643,656)

of Anglo-Dutch trade relationship was another possible threat to the Portuguese in the East.¹ The Dutch had not only seized a great part of their trade but in the constant struggles that followed, they emerged victorious.

The first attempt of the Euglish to open trade with Bengal in A.D. 1617 through the influence of Sir Thomas Roe was not successful. The attempts of Hughes and Parker in A.D. 1620 and of Peter Mundy in A.D. 1632 to establish factories at Patna also proved unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the English gained rights of free trade in Bengal and other parts of the Mughal empire by an agreement reached between the English and the Surat authorities² during this period.

Shahjahan's hostile attitude was an important cause of the Portuguese decline in India. President Wylde, John Skibbow, George Page and Richard Boothby wrote to the Company on April 11 and 13, 1629,

"The King intendeth to banish all Portugalls out of his dominions, if with the help of your forces he maie prevaile against Dieu, etc, which he purposes to attempt"²⁸

The attitude of hostility is revealed in another letter of President Wylde of Surat to the Company on April 27, 1629, he wrote;

- After the expiry of the Truce of Antwarp, April 1621, the Dutch were now again formally at war with King of Spain and Portugal. The Dutch allowed the English to share in the trade of Pulicat, the fortified station which the Dutch had established on the coast of Coromandel. The English shared in this defensive policy on the ground of hostilities which the Portuguese had carried on against them ever since their arrival in Indian waters.
- 2. E.F.I., 1924-29, pp. 27-28.

"The 5th current wee received a firmaen from this king, warranting our proceeds in all manner of surprizalls of Portugalls vessells or others under their jurisdiction, whether at sea or in port; and the day following I had conference with Meirmoza, our new Governor about our former projects against the Portugalls, which hee assured mee the king intended to put in execucion the next season after the raines. ..."

As early as 1629 A.D., the Archbishop of Goa had written to the King at home that in spite of many enemies the Portuguese had on the Indian seas, the greatest enemies to their power in India were the Portuguese themselves. Probably nobody did greater harm to the Portuguese possessions in India than the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics. To such a pitch had their arrogance risen that in 1631 the Viceroy of Goa in writing to the King mentioned that the priests and the monks paid no attention to his orders. It is, therefore, unreasonable to think that the Portuguese settlers of Bengal (including Hugli) were an orderly people with a healthy respect for law. It is to be noted that few contemporary European travellers had a good word for the Portuguese. They described them as a people who had 'no fortes. nor any government, nor police', and lived 'like wildmen and untamed horses'.2 Pyrard, who visited Chittagong in 1607 says that the Portuguese lived in freedom at the coast of Bengal and led the life of 'exiles'.8

Cabral speaks of the political disorder of the town of Hugli on the eve of the Mughal operations in 1632.4 The dominant white gentry of the port, he says, led rich, lazy and licentious lives—keeping oriental harems. They had frequent quarrels among themselves on personal interests.

- 1. Danvers, Vol. II, The Portuguese in India, p. 246.
- 2. Linschoten, Vol. I, p. 95.
- 3. Pyrard, Vol. I, p. 334.
- 4, Manrique, Vol. II, p. 393.

The moral degeneration of the Portuguese at Hugli was also great. The population of the town did not form a happy society. In the upper strata stood the Europeans while the native population of Hugli wanted to live in peace. They had little enthusiasm to resist the Mughal attacks and so the responsibility of fighting for the port fell solely on small numbers of Portuguese and a band of loyal black christians.

Mughal attack on Hugli (1632 A.D.)—Immediate causes

Emperor Akbar expected that the Portuguese would devote their energy and resources entirely to the improvement of their commerce and their armed fleet would serve the purpose of policing the Bay of Bengal coast. Jahangir also followed his father's footsteps in his dealings with them. He left the Portuguese in undisturbed possession of Hugli.¹ Now the question arises as to why Shahjahan, after his accession, ordered the conquest of Hugli. Salih, Lahauri and Qazwini-all have put emphasis on the religious considerations behind Shahjahan's attack on the Portuguese of Hugli. Cabral, an eye witness of the Hugli incident also viewed the event from the same angle. As a matter of fact, there were several causes which compelled Shahjahan to take up arms against the Portuguese. Maclagan rightly points out that the religious aspect was of subsidiary importance and there was much, apart from religion, to justify the Mughal attack on Hugli.2

Shahjahan's armed expedition against Goa, Daman and Dui did not materialise due to the outbreak of epidemic disease in

^{7.} EFI, 1924-29, pp. 326-27.

^{2.} Ibid. pp. 335-36.

^{1.} Manrique, II, p. 393.

^{1.} Manrique, II, p. 395.

^{2.} Maclagan - The Jesuits and the great Mogul, p. 101.

the army.¹ Then he turned his attention against the Portuguese of Bengal living within his territory.²

The Portuguese of Bengal offended Shāhjahān in different ways. First, after his arrival as a rebel prince, he was eager to attract Miguel Rodriguez into his service. The Portuguese captain refused to accompany him by saying that most of the Portuguese were not ready to follow Shāhjahān.³

Secondly, they gave Shāhjahān serious offence when they deserted him in his struggle against the imperialists led by Prince Parviz, and Maḥābat Khān and even became so audacious as to seize some of the richly laden boats and carry away some of his female servants including two slave girls of Mumtāz Maḥal. Manucci opines that it was Mumtāz Maḥal who pressed the emperor for the recovery of the girls and forced him to issue an order to the Bengal governor for the conquest of Hugli. Thirdly, the Portuguese officials of Hugli did not send their representatives with handsome presents together with their submission and good wishes on Shāhjahān's accession to the Mughal throne. Fourthly, Shāhjahān received information from the Viceroy of Bengal that the Portugese of Hugli were supplying the Arakanese

1. E.F.I. 1624-29. pp. 327-28

President Wylde, John Skibbow, George Page and Richard Boothby at Surat to the company, April 11 and 13, 1629, "The King intendeth to banish all Portugalls out of his dominions, of which the help of your forces he maie prevaile against Diu & C which he purposeth to attempt.." (p. 327)...." This new King doth rely upon our aide for the assalting of Daman and Diue, if we have not forces we shall be disgraced. (p. 328).

Among the Hague transcripts (Series I, Vol. IX, IX, no. 296) will be found a copy of a letter from Shahjahan to the Viceroy at Goa complaining of the conduct of the Portuguese in capturing the vessels of his subjects and threatening that unless restitution be made he would take Bassein and Daman from them. (p. 329)

- Manrique, II, p. 394.
 E.F.I. (1624-29) pp. 328-29.
- 3. Manrique, II, p. 311.
- 4. Manrique, II, p. 394.
- 5. Manucci, I, 182.
- 6. Manrique, II, p. 315, p. 395.

with men and ammunitions for war. The portuguese of Hugli were carrying on commerce with their compatriots at Dinga, who were in the service of the Mughal enemy, the Magh King. By mutual arrangement, the Maghs sailed up to Hugli to exchange their slaves for articles they were in need of. Hugli was a slave market to which both the Magh and the Portuguese pirates had free access. Slavery, it is true, was an institution recognised by the Muslim and the Hindu law. But it is the duty of all states to provide for the general security of life and property of the citizens.

"Shāhjahān could not permit his subjects to be bought and sold like cattle in the slave market of Hugli, simply because his officers had proved unequal to the task of defending their persons against the rovers of Chittagong and Arakan. The Portuguese of Hugli undoubtedly shared their guilt morally and legally when they trafficked with them in their offensive spoils."

Fifthly, the growing population and armament of Hugli, added to the known superiority of the Portuguese in the use of fire arms foreshadowed the threat of the growth of a state within a state at the mouth of the Ganges. Cabral says that Shahjahan became suspicious of the growth of Hugli which might one day result in the Portuguese ascendancy leading to the occupation of the whole of Bengal and loss of an imperial revenue of more than eight million rupees.⁴

Shāhjahān impressed upon Qāsim Khān, the newly appointed governor of Bengal, the duty of overthrowing the Portuguese.⁵

- 1. Manrique, II, p. 395,
- Dianga (Diang Pahar) is the name of a low ridge of red rock running along the last three miles of the southern bank of the Karnafuli. The Portuguese who established themselves in Chittagong extended their activities towards the end of the 16th century.
- 3. History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 367.
- 4. Manrique, II, p, 395.
- 5. B.N., I, 435.

Accordingly, Qasim Khan made slow and steady military preparation against them. The Mughal governor met Martin Afonso de Mello, a Portuguese deserter from Hugli at Dacca. To satisfy his own grudge against his fellow countrymen with whom he had disputes in Hugli in connection with the possession of some lands, he incited the Mughal governor to attack Hugli. Afonso also divulged all the secrets of Portuguese military strength and the weakness of their strategy to the Mughal governor.

Mughal Preparations and the Beginning of the Siege.2

Qasim Khan sent three contingents of troops which moved towards Hugli by three different routes. He sent his son Inayatullah with Allahyar Khan, Governor of Burdwan, as commanders of one of the two land forces sent against the Firingis. A second land force was sent under Bahadur Khan Kanbuh with Qasim Khan's personal contingent of horse and foot.

It was given out publicly that the Mughal forces had been sent to take possession of the Mahal-i-Khālsa (the crownlands) of Makhsusabad and suppress the Zamindār of Hijli. This was done in order to remove Portuguese apprehension of any future Mughal attack. It would enable the Mughals to make a sudden attack upon the Portuguese without giving them any chance of preparation.

'Inayatullah and Allahyar Khan were asked to halt at Burdwan until they had received information from Khwajah Sher, the Admiral-in-Chief of the fleet. Ma'sum Khan and Muhammad

^{1.} Manrique, II, pp. 396-97.

^{2.} The siege of Hugli took place in the 5th year of Shahjahān's reign. Campos followed the date given by Cabral i.e. 1632 A.D. The Bādshāh nāmah (Vol. I p. 437) points out that the first attack was made on 2nd Zil Hijja (1041A.H.1631 A.D.). The Portuguese official account says that the siege lasted from 21st June to 29th September 1633. Danver's Records, p. 29. See Campos, p. 133. Cabral's account is acceptable as he was an eyewitness of the siege.

^{3.} B.N., I, p. 435.

Salih Kanbuh had been ordered to proceed in boats from Sripur with the fleet.1

On being informed that Khwājah Shēr and his companions had arrived at the Dahna², Allahyār Khān made a forced march from Burdwan and in a night and day reached Haldipur.³ Bahādur Khān joined Allayār Khān and 'Ināyatullah Khān from Makhsusabad (Murshidabad) with a contingent of five hundred horses and a big army. Shēr Khwājah made a bridge of boats across the Hugli in order to prevent the Portuguese from escaping.⁴

The approach of the Mughal army and fleet frightened the Portuguese at Hugli. They held a meeting and took the decision coming to terms with the invading forces. Father Cabral himself led the Portuguese mission. The Mughal general accused the Portuguese of helping the Maghs during their recent raid upon Madaxa (Murshidabad). A Portuguese inhabitant had purchased a Muslim lady of a noble family. While challenging these charges,

- 1. Ibid. p. 436, A.S., I, 498.
- 2. Dowson questions the correctness of the reading 'Dahna' and asks if it is not the Bengali 'dahra' which means 'lake'. But is quite right and means in persian 'mouth', 'opening entrance'. Mohana was probably the name by which one of the mouths of Hugli was known, and it is derived from the vernacular word 'Muhn' (sans) 'mouth'. Thornton says that Hidjelee was situated on the right or western shore of one of the entrances to the Hugli, called the inner channel and at the mouth of a small river falling into it. According to Imperial Gazetteer also Hijli was an old village in Midnapur district at the mouth of the Rasulpur river which has been now washed away (Vol. XIII, p. 116). Hijli was a place of importance at this time, as cargoes, were landed here for transport up the Hugli. As regards 'Muhna', Alberuni says that the mouths of the Indus were known in his day as the 'small Munha'. The A.S. (Vol. I, p. 498) says that the mouth of the Khor of Hugli is known as Mohana (c.f. Hodivala, p. 631).
- 3. Situated between Satgaon and Hugli.
- 4. There is difference of opinion in regard to the actual number of Commanders (amīrs) who accompanied the Mughal army, Manrique says that fourteen commanders (amīrs) accompanied the army of the Mughals. The Mughal fleet consisted of a fleet of over six hundred ships and the land force was composed of 14000 horse and 90 elephants (Manrique, II, p. 323.)

Cabral cited a document confirmed by Jahangir to the effect that Hugli port would never be held responsible as a body for misdemeanours of particular individuals..1

The Portuguese could not give satisfactory explanation regarding the slave trade and their friendship with the Maghs. The Mughal Captain wanted to send some of his follwers to search the houses of all the Portuguese for any slaves concealed there with a view to punishing those who were found in possession of slaves. The Portuguese found this condition too ignominious to accept. Cabral pleaded for more lenient terms and tried to appeare the imperialists through Allahvar Khan, third in rank of the Mughal command, but to no purpose.2 With the failure of Cabral's mission, fighting broke out again between the two sides. In the first encounter, the Portuguese fared well. Their casualties were only five or six Portuguese and fifteen or sixteen natives. The imperialists, who lost six hundred men, temporarily withdrew.3 It damped their spirits and they were now eager to send fresh proposals for peace. On the Portuguese side, too, the peace-loving property owners prevailed upon the commanders to open negotiations for peace. The Portuguese sent another mission led by Father Frey Antonio de Christo to the imperialists. The Mughal commander asked for the presence of four more men from the Portuguese side to discuss the issue. In the course of deliberations, the Portuguese surrendered four big vessels to the imperialists. The imperialists, then asked for all the Bengalee slaves found in the port.4 The Portuguse readily acquiesced in this demand as well and handed over ninety christian slaves. Not satisfied with this, the Mughals further demanded complete

^{1.} The only evidence of a treaty between Jahangir and the Portuguese is mentioned in Danver's Reports in which it is pointed out that the Portuguese concluded a treaty with Jahangir dated 7th June, 1615 with a view to keeping the English and the Dutch out of India. c.f. Reports, pp. 25-26. The evidence is indirect and inconclusive.

^{2.} Manrique, II, p. 400.

^{3.} Ibid. p. 402.

^{4.} Ibid, pp. 403-404.

submisson from them along with the payment of 700,000 patacas.¹ to the Mughal Commander. At first the Portuguese mission led by Cabral declined to accept this exorbitant demand resulting in their temporary imprisonment in the Mughal camp. Later on they were set free after their acceptance of the proposal.

Cabral rightly thinks that the Mughals negotiated for peace mainly to gain time for their guns and reinforcements to come from different parts of the province.² The Portuguese were also eager to get time to seek aid from their fellow countrymen. Unfortunately, the Goa Government was without sufficient ships, men and money. Moreover, the Arakanese Portuguese were at that time in a war with the Magh King. So Hugli was left to its own fate.³

Realising that it was not possible for them to enter the port of Hugli with the existing forces, the Mughals had already sent for further artillery, ammunitions, miners and a fleet. The Mughal Commander called for Martin Afonso, the Portuguese deserter, from Dacca in order to utilise his service in the siege of Hugli.

In the event of such Mughal preparations, the Portuguese left their stronghold at Bali and concentrated their resources at Hugli.⁴ While withdrawing from Bali, they set fire to many of its buildings including the monastery of St. Augustine so that they might not be of any use to the imperialists. As soon as the Portuguese withdrew from Bali, the Mughals occupied it.

The delay in the payment of the promised amount of 700,000 patacas brought the two sides to hostility again. Before making a direct raid on Hugli, Bahādur Khān attacked the neighbouring villages of Hugli. As a result, the Portuguese sustained a serious

Pataca is from Italian Patacca, also used in Malayalam. A term fromerly much diffused for a dollar or piece of eight (Hobson-Jobson, p. 683).
 I Pataca=Rs. 2. (c.f. Manrique, II, p. 395)

^{2.} Manrique, II, p. 407.

^{3.} History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 325.

^{4.} A.S., I, p. 408. Manrique, II, p. 408.

reverse when four thousand boatmen employed in their service left them and joined the imperialists.¹ They left the Portuguese in a very weak position. The Portuguese defence was paralysed by the utter want of labour to man the boats, supply the troops and dig the trenches.

The firing from the Mughal artillery made the defences of Hugli weaker.² Meanwhile one hundred and twenty big guns came to the Mughal general from Dacca, Raj Mahal, Burdwan and other places. Martin Afonso also arrived with his warships and a party of workmen from Jahāngir Nagar. He acted as an engineer for the Mughals and was the brain behind the Mughal attack.

After continuous fighting for more than a month the Mughals once again entered into negotiations and the Portuguese wanted to get rid of the trouble by paying the Mughals 100,000 rupees.³ However, this did not solve the crisis. Martin Afonso was preparing to bar the flight of the Portuguese down the river. According to the Mughal historians, the imperialists made a final assault upon Hugli in order to paralyse a Portuguese attempt to build up a great resistance there. Nearly six to seven thousand Portuguese musketeers were in readiness to open fire on the imperialists.⁴ The Portuguese secretly waited for further help and reinforcements from their country.⁵

The besiegers launched heavy fire upon the Portuguese who took shelter in a big building. The building was blown up. Many of the Europeans were killed while the survivers, unable to hold the town any longer, embarked in their ships stationed at the

- 1. B.N. I, 437. A.S. I, 499, or 175, fol. 75b.
- 2. Cabral and Manrique are of the opinion that Hugli had no city wall, nor any kind of artillery. But the Mughal chronicles say that the Portuguese had regular forts there which were strengthened by cannons and other fire arms. Cabral, of course, mentions that the Portuguese erected only barricades and built fences of iron and wooden stakes for defensive purposes. (Manrique, II, 399, B.N. I, 434, A.S. I, 496, M.L. I, 468).
- 3. B.N., I, 437, A.S. I, 500, or 175 fol. 75b.
- 4. B.N., I, 437, A.S. I, 499-500, or 175. fol. 75b.
- 5. A.S., I, 500,

port on 24th September, 1632. Cabral, the eyewitness of the Hugli incident, does not say anything about the battle on the eve of the Portuguese flight from Hugli. However, the Mughals took over the city.

"The description of the flight down the river by Fr. Cabral is one of the grandest pages in the history of the Portuguese in the East. The bravery of the Portuguese ships displayed has been seldom surpassed."²

The Portuguese retreated through the narrow width of the Hugli river opposing a powerful Mughal navy, artillery and infantry. Afonso helped the Mughals to take all measures for obstructing the passage of the Portuguese. He bridged the river with a pontoon of boats and also threw across the river many thick cables and iron chairs. Five ships were kept in readiness and trenches were dug along the banks of the river.³

The Portuguese flight proved disastrous. Most of their ships were sunk.⁴ The boats which managed to escape were attacked by the Mughals at Betor (Howrah) from where they reached the island of Saugor.⁵

On hearing the news of the siege of Hugli, the Arakan king, Thirithudamma (A.D. 1622) sent help to the Portuguese from Dianga. Cabral, of course, says that the intention of the Arakanese King was not so much to do good to the Protuguese as to inflict a defeat upon the Mughals.⁶ At first, twenty seven Portuguese ships sailed from Dianga to assist the retreating forces from Hugli and a further two hundred were getting ready to sail

- 1. For detailed description of the battle. B.N., I, p. 438 A.S. I, 500-501
- 2. Campos—History of Portuguese in Bengal, pp. 136-37. Hosten—A week at the Bandel Convent, B.P.P., 1915, pp. 43-44.
- 3. Manrique, II, p. 410.
- According to Salih and Lahauri, out of 64 large Dingas. 57 Ghurabs and 200 Jaliyas, only one ghurab and two Jaliyas escaped. (B.N, I, 438, A.S., I, 502.)
- 5. Manrique, II, 419.
- 6. Ibid., 420

from there. But all these arrangements proved in vain as the Mughals had already expelled the Portuguese out of Hugli. If the reinforcements had reached the Portuguese at Hugli in time, then it would not have been lost so easily nor would the Mughals have got off without losing at least their fleet, for it was much inferior in strength and mobility to that of the Maghs.¹

Contemporary accounts differ sharply in assessing the extent of losses on both sides. According to Lahauri, Salih and Tahir, ten thousand Portuguese and one thousand Mughal soldiers were killed.² Cabral says that about a hundred Portuguese were killed or captured, besides four Augustinians, three Jesuits, six or seven secular priests and twenty five married soldiers. The number of the Portuguese casualties given by Cabral is low which raises doubt on the ground that, as many of the boats of the Portuguese were destroyed in course of the flight, it can be reasonably guessed that many of the Portuguese who were in the boats lost their lives. Campos thinks that the number given by the Muslim historians is probably correct if it includes all the Portuguese, their descendants and the natives who died during the sieze and in course of their flight.³

There is no denying the fact that the Portuguese suffered little loss of life in actual fighting on land or in pitched naval battles during a siege of three months. It was only when at the end of the struggle they were attempting to slip away in their ships down the river, that they lost many men and boats from the fire of the Mughal trench guns, on both sides of the river at the narrow tortuous places. But here the attack succeeded mainly from naval assistance which one of their own disloyal fellow countrymen, Martin Afonso de Mello, gave. Moreover the Portuguese had no chance against numerically superior Mughal force.

The Hugli operation of the Mughals reveals certain weaknesses of Mughal army. The Mughals were weaker in musketry

^{1.} Manrique, II, d. 420.

^{2.} B.N., I, p. 439. A.S. I, p. 501, or 175, 76b.

^{3.} Campos-The Portuguese in Bengal, p. 138

than the Portuguese as is proved from the loss incurred by them. In the beginning of the siege, the imperialists suffered losses from the musket fire of the Portuguese. This entirely damped their spirits for open assaults. Sometimes the Mughal army suffered for want of discipline. Cabral relates that the Mughals made false promises to extort money from the Portuguese in order to pay the soldiers who were clamouring for salaries.¹

According to the Bādshāh Nāmah of Lāhauri and the 'Amal-i Sālih, four thousand four hundred christians were taken prisoner by the imperialists.² On 8th July, 1633, four hundred christians were produced before Shāhjahān at Agra. Some of them agreed to conversion while others who refused it were thrown into prison.

Return of the Portuguese to Hugli:

The Portuguese established themselves again at Hugli in 1633. 'This is all the more surprising' observes Campos, 'because Shāhjahān was at the time badly disposed towards the christians and had not ceased persecuting them, even up to 1635'.2 The Portuguese return to Hugli has been proved by Frei Luiz de Santa Rita, the administrator of Bandel (Hugli), in a memorial prepared by him in 1820 for the provincial of the Augustinians who had been requested by the Viceroy of Goa to supply information about the grant of seven hundred and seventy seven bighas of land. Frei Luiz de Santa Rita reported that he found a manuscript in the Bandel archives from which it was clear that Shāhjahān granted the rent free grant of 777 bighas in 1633 to the Portuguese of the Bandel. Besides this, the Portuguese were given seventeen religious and commercial privileges.3 They were:

- (a) That at the time of the Mass, no Moor or Piao (footman, soldier) shall have the power to enter the church to cause a disturbance.
- 1. Manrique, II. p. 410
- 2. Campos, The Portuguese in Bengal, p. 141
- 3. Hosten, A week in the Bandel Convent, B.P.P., 1915, pp 106118. Campos, History of the Portuguese of Bengal, pp, 143-144

- (b) The Padre of Bandel shall administer justice to its inhabitants in all matters except in crimes punishable with death not excepting theft.
- (c) The *Padre* shall give the property of the deceased to their heirs or creditors and the surplus to the poor and *Sercar* (government) shall not interfere in this matter.
- (d) If the owners of the ships of both the Portuguese and the Dutch which land there, happen to die, the *Dorbar* (Court or Government) shall not interfere with any of the ship's goods, but only the custom dues for the said goods shall belong to him (the *Dorbar*).
- (e) That the Dutch ships shall not have the power to seize the Portuguese ships coming to Bengal.
- (f) That the Portuguese ships coming to Bengal shall sell their goods in any harbour of Bengal and that no change shall be made in the custom dues.
- (g) That should the slaves of the christians run away and be caught again in any place whatsoever, no Moor shall have the power to hinder them being caught and still less to make them Moors.
- (h) No Dorbar shall be allowed to retain the servants or employees of whatever class of christians if they run away to another territory.
- (i) In time of scarcity, no ships shall be allowed to take in rice for exportation.
- (j) If the christians are found to live in concubinage the Dorbar shall have nothing to do with this matter.
- (k) Should fires break out in the houses of Bandel and bamboos, stakes and straw be necessary for rebuilding them, the Sercar of the Moor shall have the power to levy tolls, or to prevent their being bought or obtained from any other place.
- (l) That if some married families come from Europe and wish to take a house to live in this Houguli (Hugli), it shall be given them free and no customs shall be taken from them.
- (m) That all eatables coming to this Bandel shall not be liable to custom duties.

- (n) In criminal cases the father shall not pay for his son, nor the son for his father, but each one for himself.
- (0) The families coming from Europe shall have the power to remain here for what time they like, and no one shall have the power to stop them, when they wish to return to Europe.
- (p) The Faujdar shall not have the power to call all the christians for military service in case of war, but only four or five of the oldest and best counsellors.
- (q) That the two Xequis (Shaikhs) who were down the river should not take from the Franguis more than was at first customary.

The account of the Portuguese return at Hugli is found in a letter written from Harishpur (Orissa) to Mr. Cartwright of Balasore on 17th July, 1633 in connection with the possibility of English trade in Bengal. The letter distinctly says that the Portuguese had returned to Hugli with such power that it would frustrate all hopes of the English to gain anything in Bengal.¹

It is really very difficult to make out the reason why the Portuguese were allowed to settle at Hugli by Shāhjahān roughly a year after their discomfiture there. Father Hosten says that Shāhjahān did not grant any farman to the Portuguese. Rather, it was granted to them by A'zam Khān, a governor of Bengal, appointed in October, 1632. Hosten thinks that it was through a bribe that the Portuguese obtained their hold over Hugli again in 1633. This is, of course, a mere conjecture and historically not valid. It is most unlikely that a governor like A'zam Khān who had a reputation for his strictness in financial and revenue matters would accept a bribe from the Portuguese. According to the Ma'āthir-al-Umarā', he was very strict in auditing accounts and harsh in financial affairs.² The Portuguese were allowed to return to Hugli only when it was found that their power was

^{1.} E.F.I. 1630-33, pp. 308-309

^{2.} M.U., I, p. 174.

sufficiently crippled and they would hardly cause any anxiety in future to the Mughals.¹

Hugli, after 1633, never regained its former power and influence under the Portuguese. Their power in the East had long begun to decline. They were replaced by the Dutch and the English gradually. Their loss of inner strength combined with lack of home support completed their ruin.

Althouh they lost their former power, the Portuguese maintained trade activities in Bengal to a considerable extent. According to the Dutch Dagh Register, 1640-41, the Portuguese maintained trade relation-ship with Pipli in the forties of the 17th century.² Tavernier found many Portuguese businessmen at Dacca during his visit to that place.³ Bowrey says that the Portuguese were still there in Bengal especially in Hugli. Their condition was poor. They used to knit stockings of silk and cotton, bake bread for the English and the Dutch.⁴ They used to make many sorts of sweet meats and pickles of mango, orange, lemon and ginger.⁵ In 1660, Manucci saw the Portuguese at Hugli very wealthy and prosperous. They were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province.⁶

There were Portuguese in the Mughal service even after their disaster in 1632. Gait points out an incident in connection with a Firingi (a Portugese) who was in the service of the Mughals in a border outpost. He strayed into the Ahom territory, was captured by the Ahoms and sent to the Ahom king, Pratap Singh. During the war of succession a large number

- About the return of the Portuguese, Campos does not give any explanation (c. f. p. 148)
- Cited in Corpus Diplomaticum, Neerlando—Indicum, Ed. Mr.J.E. Heeres, pp. 339—40,
- 3. Tavernier, I. p. 102.
- 4. Bowrey, pp. 191—192. Bowrey says that there were no less than 20,000 Firingis of all sorts in the Kingdom of Bengal and half of them used to inhabit near Hugli river.
- 5. Bowrey, -2nd series, No. XII, p. 192.
- 6. Manucci, II, p. 89.
- 7. Gait, History of Assam, p. 113.

of Portuguese came to Shujā' from lower Bengal bringing with them several pieces of cannon. Shujā' particularly favoured the Portuguese missionaries holding out a prospect of future wealth to them all and permitted them to build churches wheresoever they might desire to have them erected.

It would be wrong to think that the Portuguese did nothing but plunder and murder in the country. Gradually, they associated themselves with the religious and cultural life of the people of Bengal. The Portuguese were the first to introduce prose literature in Bengali. This they did in order to preach christianity. We have Bengali work called Brahman-Roman Catholic Sangbad written by a Hindu who was converted by the Portuguese in 1663 and given the christian name of Dom Antonio da Rozario.² The Portuguese Priest Manoel da Assumpacao transliterated that book into Roman script. Thus the influence of the Portuguese on Bengali culture was very considerable indeed.

Dr. S. N. Sen says that the fall of Hugli marked the beginning of the end.³ As Chittagong still stood outside the Mughal dominion, the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong used it as a base for their activities even after the Hugli incident. On the eve of the Chittagong conquest by the Mughals in 1666, the Portuguese of Chittagong were won over by Shāista Khān's tempting overtures and they took shelter with Farhād Khān, the Mughal thānadar of Noakhali. They were also suspicious of the Arakanese treachery. The coming of the Firingis to the Mughal side was really the key to the conquest of Chittagong. Under Shāista Khān it became the seat of a faujdār and its name was changed to Islamabad by order of Aurangzīb. Thus another nest of Portuguese piracy was destroyed. Tavernier found the Portugese bandits suppressed when he visited the province.⁴

^{1.} Bernier, p. 82.

^{2.} Dom Antonio—Argument and Dispute upon the law between a Roman Catholic and a Brahmin. Ed. S.N. Sep. Calcutta 1937.

^{3.} History of Bengal, Vol. II, 367.

^{4.} Tavernier, p. 102.

CHAPTER III

Mughal Relationship With Bihar Zamindars

The strong arm of Islam Khan and the potent statestmanship of Ibrahim Khan helped the extension of the political influence and authority and the territorial limits of the Mughal empire on the north eastern frontiers. The Zamindars of Bengal, big or small, were played off one against another with promises of imperial favour and reward, sometimes in the shape of territories until they were deprived of their independence and reduced to submission. The subdued Zamindars of Bengal remained pacified under Shahjahan with the exception of Bahadur Khan, Zamindar of Hijli, who was punished by Shah Shuja.

1. Salim Khan was the Zamindar of Hijli (south-eastern portion of Midnapur) during the time of Jahangir. He was an Afghan chief. He acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughals after an expedition launched against him during the governorship of Islam Khan Chisti. He was given back his territory as his Zamindari (B.G.I, p. 19). In the beginning Bahadur Khān, his nephew and successor, was loyal to the Mughals. He showed signs of disobedience during the governership of Qasim Khan I. He promptly submitted to Shaikh Kamal who was sent against him. Under Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang he intrigued with Mukarram Khan, the Mughal governor of Orissa. Ultimately, Mukarram withdrew his support from Bahadur Khan. Ibrahim sent Mumhammad Beg Abakash Faujdar of Bardwan, against Bahadur Khan in order to reduce him to submission. (B.G. II, p. 631-32.). Hijli was besieged and Bahadur fell into great straits. Ultimately he submitted to the Mughals. Ibrahim Khan impose upon Bahadur a fine of Rs. 300,000 for his disloyalty. (B.G. II, p. 636-37.) When Shah Shuja 'was given the charge of Orissa, he enhanced the amount of tribute to be paid by Bahadur. Bahadur delayed payment. It necessitated Shuja' to send orders to Jan Beg, his deputy in Orissa, to chastise him for his disobedience. (A.S. III. p. 122.)

Bihar, under Shahjahan, presented a different picture. The Mughal government in Bihar remained busy in suppressing the turbulent Zamindars of Bhojpur and Palamau during this period. Like the province of Bengal, Bihar had many semi-autonomous potentates before the Mughal conquest. They gave the imperialists immense troubles even after the establishment of the Mughal rule there. At the time of Mughal conquest there were three powerful Zamindārs (who styled themselves Rajas) in north Bihar.1 They were Raja Gajapati of Hajipur, Raja Puran Mal of Gidhaur and Raja Sangram of Kharagpur.2 Puran Mal and Sangram wisely submitted and assisted Akbar's generals in the wars with the Afghans. But Gajapati defied the authority of Akbar, thus inviting destruction upon himself.³ Early in the reign of Emperor Jahangir Sangram again revolted but was suppressed by Jahangir Quli in 1606. Sangram's son was converted to Islam but not allowed to return to Bihar till 1615. He got the title of Raja Roz Afzun4 after his conversion and became a great supporter of the Mughal cause.

The hilly tracts of South Bihar,⁵ comprising Palamau and Chota Nagpur are rarely mentioned by the Muslim chroniclers of the Sultanate period. In the Akbar Nāmah, the whole tract from Birbhum and Pachet to Ratanpur in Central India and from Rohtasgarh in South Bihar to the frontier of Orissa is called

- The Court of Delhi did mot recognise the titles of Rajas who had not made their submission. The chronicles generally call them Zamindārs. The titles of Raja were conferred on submission to the Mughal arms.
- 2. For the location of the places see Rennell's sheet No. IX.
- 3. A.N., III, Tr. p. 399, 400, 498.
- 4. M.U., II, pp. 218-19.
- 5. The province of Bihar falls naturally into three main divisions, North Bihar, South Bihar and Chota Nagpur. North Bihar is separated from the rest of the province by the river Ganges and in the very distant past its history followed a different course from that of South Bihar. The Tihrut Division, excluding the district of Saran corresponds roughly to to the ancient kingdom of Mithila, while the South districts of Patna and Gaya formed the country of Magadha. South Bihar is the plain situated to south of the Ganges but it merges into the high lands of Chota Nagpur.

Jharkhand or 'jungle land'. It was divided into semi-independent states such as Chota Nagpur, Bhojpur and Palamau. These states continued to stand as deterrents to Mughal peace till the time of Aurangzib.

"The hilly and jungly character of that region rendered the subjugation of these chiefs a long drawn out process. Moreover, like other Zamindars of similar type, they would bend to the storm at the moment and retract afterwards."

It is curious to note that Palamau, though so near to Rohtas is not mentioned in the Muslim chronicles prior to Shāhjahān whereas Chota Nagpur which lies further south attracted the notice of the Mughals much earlier. Chota Nagpur, identified as 'Kukradesh' or 'Khukra', was famous for its diamonds.³ It is evident that this circumstance led the generals of Akbar and Jahāngir to invade the district. Madhu Sing, ruler of Chota Nagpur became a tributary of Akbar.⁴ He served under Mansingh in the imperial army which invaded Orissa.⁵

In 1616, the Mughals led campaigns against Kukradesh under Ja'far Khān⁶ who was described by Jahāngir as one of "the trustworthy house-born ones and fosterchildren." His term

- 1. Blochmann, H, "Notes from Muhammedan Historians on Chutia Nagpur Pachet and Palamau", #ASB 1871, p. 111.
- 2. Saksena. History of Shahjahan of Delhi. p. 116,
- 3. The B.G. I points out that there existed diamond mines in Kukradesh (p. 258, p, 262). The area described by the Muslim historians as a centre of diamonds is now noted for the mica and coal production in Bihar including Hazaribagh. (cf. Bihar Through the Ages, pp. 15-20).
- 4. A.N. III, p. 491.
- It consisted of the contingents of South Bihar and West Bengal Rajas and marched in the 27th year of Akbar's reign, over Jharkhand to Midnapur where they joined the imperial army under Mansingh for the conquest of Orissa,
- 6. B.G. I, p. 258, p. 262.

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of office would have been uneventful but for a raid he led into Choto Nagpur and his futile attempt to make himself governor of Bengal. The succeeding governor, Ibrahim Khān Fath Jang, also led a campaign against Kukradesh. He invaded the district before the Raja could collect his men. The Raja was besieged and then arrested. Chota Nagpur was thus annexed in 1615 A.D. All the diamonds found at Kukradesh were forwarded to the Mughal court. The Raja's name appears as Durjan

1. Jahangir in his Tuzuk writes, "The third piece of news was the conquest of the province of Khokhara and the acquisition of the diamond mines, which were taken by the excellent exertions of Ibrahim Khan. This province is one of the dependencies of the Subah of Bihar and Patna. There is a river there from which they procure diamonds. At the season when there is little water, there are pools and water poles and it has become known by experience to those who are employed in this work that above every water hole in which there are diamonds. there are crowds of flying animals of the nature of gnats and which in the language of India, they call ihinga. Keeping the bed of stream in sight as far as it is accessible, they make a collection of stones round the water holes. After this they empty the water holes with spades and shovels to the extent of a yard or 11 yards and dig up the area. They find among the stones and sand large and small diamonds and bring them out. It occasionally happens that they find a piece of diamond worth 100,000 rupees. Briefly, this province and this river were in possession of a Hindu Zamindar of the name of Durjan Sal and although the governors of the Subah frequently sent armies against him and went there themselves in consequence of roads and thickness of the jungles they the difficult themselves with two or three diamonds and left him in his former condition. When the aforesaid Subah was transferred from Z'afar Khan and Ibrahim Khan was appointed in his place, at the time of his taking leave. I ordered him to go and take the province out of the possession of the unknown and insignificant individual. As soon as he arrived in the province of Bihar, he assembled a force and went against that Zamindar. According to former custom he sent some of his men with a promise to give some diamonds and some elephants, but the Khan did not agree to this and entered impetuously into the province. Before the fellow could collect his men he found guides and invaded it. Just when the Zamindar received this news the bills and vales that are his abode were beleaguered. Ibrahim sent men about to Sal¹ in Jahāngir's memoirs and as Bairisal² in the Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī. Jahāngir seems to be correct as his account agrees with the history of the Maharajas of Chota Nagpur in possession of Col Dalton.³ According to Col Dalton the 44th Raja was Bairi Sal and the 45th Durjan Sal. Dalton says that in consequence of of the Raja's with-holding his tribute to Delhi for several years, Nawāb Ibrāhim Khān came with 2,000 cavalry and other troops. Durjan Sal was defeated, captured and thrown into prison,

The Mughal pressure on South Bihar continued unabated under Shahjahan. The chieftains of Bhojpur and Palamau resisted the Mughal arms for years until the unequal combat with the Mughals led to their entire destruction.

Bhojpur affairs:

Bhojpur comprised the district of Shahbad (headquarters, Arrah) situated between the Ganges on the north, the Son on the east and the Karamnasa on the west. After the accession of Akbar his viceroy, Mansingh, selected Rohtas Garh as his stronghold. In spite of the possession of this fortress, the Mughals had little hold over the greater part of the district.

find him and they got hold of him in a cave with several women, one of whom was his mother, while others were also his father's wives. They arrested him, and also one of his borthers. They searched and took from them the diamonds they had with them. Twentythree male and female elephants also fell into Ibrahīm's hands. In reward for this service the mansabs of Ibrahīm Khān, original and increase, was made up to 4000 and he was exalted with the title of Fath Jang. Orders were also given for an increase in the mansabs of those who accompanied him on this service and had shown bravery. That province is now in possession of the imperial servants of the State. They carry on work in the bed of the stream and bring to Court whatever diamonds are found. A large diamond, the value of which has been estimated at 51,000 rupees has lately been brought from there."

(Tuzuk, Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, London 1909, pp. 314-16.)

- 1. Tūzuk, Tr. R. & B., vol. I, p. 315.
- 2. B.G. I, p. 419.
- 3. Notes from Muhammedan historians on Chutia Nagpur, Pachet end Palamau, JASB, 1871, pp. 115-17.

Mansingh took steps to organise the administration and the land revenue of the district which was at that time included in Sarkar Rohtas. The Rajas of Jagadishpur resisted the Mughal arms but were eventually subdued.

The originators of the Bhojpur family came from Ujjain of Malwa. Raja Sindhol Singh, who had first settled in Bihar abdicated from the throne in favour of his son, Raja Bhoj Sing, who named the territory Bhojpur after himself.¹

During the time of Akbar Dalpat Sahi Ujjainia revolted when Khān-i-A'zam Koka was the governor of the province. In 1599 Prince Daniyāl subdued him. He gave his daughter in marriage to prince Daniyāl and she gave birth to a son whom Akbar named Farhang Hoshang.

Jahāngir records that an unknown man of the name of Quib belonging to the people of Uch who was a mischievous and seditious fellow came to the province of Ujjainia (Bhojpur) and having made acquaintance with men of that place "who were always seditious" informed them that he was Khusrau who had escaped from prioson and conveyed himself there. He collected a large number of followers and rebelled against the imperialits when he came to learn that Afdal Khān, the governor was not present in Patna. On hearing the news of rebellion Afdal Khān promptly returned to face them. A fight took place on the bank of the river Pun Pun in which Quib was arrested and later on executed.² Thus the rebellion of Quib supported by the Ujjainias ended in failure.

The Ujjainias got a favourable opportunity to stand against the imperialists when Shahjahan revolted against his father and occupied Bihar and Bengal. According to the Baharistan-i-Ghaiba Narayan Mal Ujjainia offered allegiance to the rebel prince Shahjahan. He met Shahjahan at Patna with all his relations and brothers. Shahjahan gave him a mansab of Panj Hajari and his brother, Pratap, a mansab of Si Hajari.

^{1.} \overline{A} 'in, vol. I. p. 513.

^{2.} Tūjuk, Tr. R. & B., Vol. 1, pp. 173-176.

^{3,} B.G. I, p. 722.

During the Governorship of Khan 'Alam' (who was the first governor of Bihar under Shahjahan), Pratap Ujjainia, the successor of Narayan Mal, was given the title of Raja by the emperor. It is obvious that the Ujjainia chief, because of his earlier good relationship with the emperor, was exalted with this title after his accession.

It is during the time of 'Abdullah Khān Fīruz Jung (who was appointed governor of Bihar after the transfer of Saif Khān in 1632 A.D.) that trouble with Bhojpur started again. Contemporary historians do not give any reason for the revolt of the Ujjainia chief who was already made an imperial mansabdar. The M'āthiral-Umarā says. 'When in the 10th year Rajah Pratap Ujjainia who had received the rank of 1500 with 1000 horses—got leave to go to his own country—as had long been his desire—he withdrew from obedience and took the path of ruin. 'Abdullāh Khān, in accordance with orders, went off from Bihar to punish him.' Stewart is of the opinion that the Raja of Bhojpur took advantage of the temporary absence of the governor of Bihar on account of his expeditions to Ratanpur and the Bundela country.'

The Tārīṣḥ-i-Ujjainia relates that the Raja by his inefficiency and oppressive acts had alienated some of his near relations, the officials of his brother, Raja Narsin Mal, and also the powerful Qanungo family of Muzaffarpur. This family had great influence at the court of Patna, He is said to have paid no heed to a parwānah issued by the Mughal governor of Bihar. He had been summoned by Emperor Shāhjahān but, fearful of being called to account for his ill-treatment of his muslim subjects, did not proceed beyond Oudh. If the Tārīṣh-ī-Ujjainia is to be believed the Raja was very orthodox and he ordered for the construction of some

Khan 'Alam's father had died in a fight with Dalpat Ujjainia during the reign of Akbar. Dalpat was captured and kept a prisoner. Later on he was allowed to return home on payment of a heavy Pishkash (M.U. I, p. 733, J.I.H. 1944, p. 349, F.N.

^{2.} M. U. II, Tr. Beveridge, vol. 1, Calcutta 1911, p. 103.

^{3,} He had to remain out of Patna for six months to tackle the situation arising out of the revolt of Pratap Ujjainia.

temples within his jurisdiction.¹ Hasan Askari thinks that Shahjahan's orders in 1634² for the demolition of newly built temples in his whole empire, especially at Benares, which was so near to the territory of Pratap, may have excited him and driven him into rebellion.³ However, Pratap's activities must have become sufficiently menacing so as to evoke peremptory orders from the imperial court to the governor of Bihar and to Baqar Khan Najm Than, the Subahdar of Allahabad, to proceed against him. Stewart's view is that the outbreak of the Ahom-Mughal war gave Pratap an opportunity to rise against the Mughals. But it is hardly possible to connect the two events for want of adequate evidence. Defiance of the imperial authority was not uncommon among the semi-independent rulers. They rose in revolt whenever they found opportunity.

Shāhjahān, as has been pointed out, issued order to 'Abdullāh Khān Firuz Jang and Bāqar Khān Najm Thāni, governors of Bihar and Allahabad respectively, to march simultaneously against Pratap. Strengthened by the addition of the forces Fidal Khān, the Jāgirdar of Mungir, they marched on Bhojpur. The Ujjainia Raja was unable to cope with the situation but he put up a stiff resistance. Bhojpur, the Raja's stronghold, was besieged for a period of six months. The forts of Tribag and Kalūrs along with ten other forts fell to the Mughals. The

- Cited by Hasan Askari in I.H.C. p. 352. There are four volumes of Tārikh-i-Ujjainia published by Nawal Kishore press. It is written in Urdu. I have not got the name of the author of if.
- 2. According to the news writer of Allahabad, seventy-six temples were demolished. (B.N. I, p. 452; AS, I, p. 522)
- 3. Bihar in the time of Shahjahan, I.H.C-, 1944, p. 352.
- B.N. I, p. 272.
 Qazwini, Or 173, 407b.
 Tahir, Or 175, 183b.
- 5. Another Mughal force was sent under Zabardast <u>Khan</u> and Sūfi Bahadur for the capture of Kalūpur. Qazwinī mentions it as Kalūpur أوبور Fol. (407b), Saksena writes it as Kohipur (p. 117) and Askari as Kallalpur. It is situated south of Bhojpur. It was captured by the Mughals after a siege of one month.

Raja finally shut himself up in a newly built stronghold within his main fort. Muzaffar and Faridun Beg, the two sons of Zabardast Khan, succeeded in making a breach in the wall of of the garden surrounding it, but they were killed in the operation.1 The Raja next made a desperate attempt to effect an escape but was unsuccessful. Realising the situation to be hopeless, he at first thought of killing his own ladies and children and practising Jauhar but then changed his mind and sent men to 'Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang to sue for peace.2 Wearing only a loin cloth and holding the hand of his wife, the Raja himself went to see 'Abdullah Khan." Askari thinks that it is improbable that the proud Uijainia chief belittled himself by an abject surrender and voluntarily came to see the Mughal governor in the manner described.4 In any case he was made a captive along with his wife. They were brought before the governor. The Mughal governor wrote to the Emperor about his success in the Bhojpur campaign. The elephants, treasures and resources of Pratap fell into the hands of the Mughal army. The M'athir-al-Umara writes.

"An order came (from the Emperor) to put the scoundrel to death and to take possession for himself of the wife and the property. Firuz Jang gave some of the spoil to his brave men and made the wife a Muhammedan and married her to his grandson."

- B.N., 1, p. 273.
 Qazwini, fol. 408a.
 Tahir, 184a.
- B.N., I, p. 273
 Qazwini, 208a.
 Tahir. 184b.
- B.N., I, p. 274.
 Qazwini, 408b.
 Tahir, 184b.
- 4. I.H.C., 1944, p. 353.
- M.U., II, p. 786.
 See also Qazwini p. 408b, B.N.,I, 274.

It can be asked why the Mughal emperor ordered the execution of Pratap who had already submitted to the Mughals. Generally it was the Mughal practice to reinstate a chieftain in the position of a vassal after his submission. It was an exception in Pratap's case. However, the Mughal occupation of Bhojpur paved the way for further Mughal penentration into South Bihar and, as we shall shortly see, the next target of their attack was Palamau. As a result the isolation of South Bihar was broken when Palamau was finally annexed during Aurangzib's reign.

Palamau campaign

Palamau lies in the southern part of Bihar. It is full of rugged hills leading to the plateau of Chota Nagpur on the south-east and the central provinces on the south-west. There are rivers which are not navigable. The southern part is mostly barren and rocky whereas the northern part is comparatively fertile. The inhabitants of a Palamau in the 17th and the 18th century were known as the Cheros.¹

According to local traditions, the Cheros migrated to Palamau from the Shahbag district of Bihar. They entered Palamau as mercenary soldiers and occupied the throne by overthrowing the Rajput chiefs in the early part of the 17th century. Gradually they became a powerful tribe in South Bihar who used to carry out daring raids into open country at the foot of the hills. Bhagwat Rai was the first of a long line of Chero chiefs who reigned in Palamau for nearly two hundred years.

1. The chero is spelled by the Muslim historians as جيروه (charoh), ميروه (cheroh) and جيروه (cheroh). According to Blochmann (JASB, 1871, p. 118) the earliest notice of the cheros is to be found in the Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shāhi, a history of the Sur dynasty. From this work, it is found that a chero Raja named Maharta gave Sher Khān some trouble. He sent his general Khawas Khān against Maharta who was killed in 1548 A.D. Unfortunately, it is not mentioned whether Maharta reigned in Palamau or any other place of Bihar. Abul Fadl in his A'in mentions that the cheros were rulers of Palamau.

The most notable chief of the Cheros was Medini Rai who extended his sway and made himself lord-paramount of the southern portion of Gaya and of large portions of Hazaribagh and Sirguja and penetrated into Chota Nagpur.

With the beginning of the reign of Pratap Rai, we have an authentic account of the history of the Chero family. The Cheros gave the Mughals a good deal of trouble during Shahjahān's reign. The Mughal chroniclers record the accounts of three invasions led against Palamau. The first of these invasions took place in 1641-42 in the reign of Pratap Chero.

Shāhjahān's official historian Lāhaurī sums up the causes of Palamau invasion in the following terms,

"Pratap whose family, generation after generation, had ruled over the country, an infidel like all his ancestors, had neglected to send the customary Pishkash, to Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, the former governor of Bihar, and the Subahdar, engaged as he was in operations against the rebellious Pratap Ujjainiah (Raja of Bhojpur), had hitherto had no opportunity of bringing him to sense. This made the chero so haughty, that he also disobeyed Shaista Khan, the new Governor."

- 1. From a letter regarding the Mughal invasion of Palamau, from L.R. Forbess, Extra Assistant Commissioner in Palamau, it is found that he heard about the Mughal operations in Palamau from one Mowar of Monatu who spoke from what he heard from his father, grand-father and great grandfather. He said that in Shahjahin's time about 1034 A.D. 'Abdullah Khan first made demands upon the Palamau Rajahs. He was engaged with Pratap Ujiainia of Bhojpur. 'Abdullah, though unable to come himself, sent Mua'zzam Khan, the Rajah of Sasseram, forward as an advance guard to clear the way and prepare a passage for 'Abdullah's troops. Mua'zzam, on getting to the small stream which lies at the foot of the Bhabullhan Ghat (Monatu Ghat), was met by Ghulam Husain, the Rohilah chief of the Kothi fort, and a rebel; a fight ensued and Mua'zzam was killed. Mua'zzam's forces then returned. (cf. JASB, 1871, pp. 129-130). The following year invasion took place under Shaista Khan.
- 2. B.N. II, pp. 248-50. H. Blochmann, Notes from the Muhammedan Historians on Chutia Nagpur, Pachet and Palamau, JASB 1871.

"The short-sighted rulers of Palamau," continued Lahauri, "trusted to their mountain fortresses, which are difficult to access and full of jungle, and showed no signs of obedience to the imperial governor of the Suba Bihar, as would have been proper."

Shaista Khan reported the refractory attitude of Pratap to the Emperor who

"ordered the Subadar to call in the contingents of the Jagirdars of the Suba (the *Kumaki* troops), and drive away the Zamindar and clear the country of the filth of his unprofitable existence."²

Before setting out for the campaign Shaista Khan³ posted his son, Muḥammad Talib, with 500 horse and 1000 soldiers at Patna.

Shaista Khan led the expedition on 12th October, 1641 A.D., with nearly 5000 horse and 15000 soldiers comprising his own men and Zamīndarī troops against Pratap. He was accompanied by Zabardast Khan, Atash Khan Dakhini and Sayyid Mirza, brother of Mukhtar Khan. Shaista Khan proceeded towards Gaya which formed the boundary of the province of Patna and Palamau and then entered into the hostile territory.

Wherever the Mughals halted on the way they dug trenches which were effectively guarded by matchlokmen in order to foil any night attack of the enemy. They also cleared up dense forests and made roads which might enable them to launch a full-scale offensive against the Palamau chief. On 26th January the Mughal army left the Station Aru and directed its march

- 1. B.N. II, pp. 241-50. H. Blochmann, Notes from the Muhammedan Historians on Chutia Nagpur, Pachet and Palamau. JASB 1871, p. 119-20.
- 2. Ibid ...
- Mirza Abu Ţalib, well known as Shaista Khan a brother of Murntaz Mahal, succeeded 'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang in the post of Şubahdar of Bihar. He administered the province from Feb. 1639 to Feb. 1643.

upon the north side of Palamau fort.¹ The cheros marched upon the Mughals from all sides. On hearing of the skirmish Shāista Khān sent a detachment to their assistance and, together with Zabardast ishān, took up a position on the banks of the Auranga river. Fighting continued between two sides and Pratap, seeing that it was futile to offer any more resistance sued for peace. He therefore, sent a message of submission and offered to pay a Pishkash of 80,000 rupees. He was pardoned by the Mughal governor on making the promise that he would not defy the Mughal authority in future². Shāista Khān returned to Patna after the conclusion of the treaty with Pratap on 12th February, 1642.¹ Shāista Khān at first insisted on immediate payment, but was put off with faithful promises to send the whole by the end of the year and so the Mughals went away contented.³

The first Mughal invasion of Palamau did not solve the problem. The Mughals now got an opportunity to intervene in the domestic affairs of the cheros. It led them to invade the country for the second time. Lahauri records that Pratap failed to secure the affection of his people and offended his chiefs, who looked for an opportunity to overthrow him. Itiqad Khan the newly appointed governor of Bihar, was waited upon by Dariya Rai and Tej Rai, the paternal uncles of Pratap. These

 Palamau, situated on the Auranga river about 20 miles south-east of Daltonganj, contains the ruins of two great forts built by the cheros. The walls are about five feet in thickness, and those in the old fort bear marks of cannon balls and bullets in many places. The gate leading into the old fort, the court-room, temple and the quarters for the ladies are very pleasant.

Most interesting of all is a massive gateway of rare beauty in the new fort known as the Nagpuri gate.

- B.N., II, pp. 248-50.
 A.S. II, pp. 345-46.
- 3. Letter regarding the Mughal invasions of Palamau from L.R., Forbes, Esq. Extra Assistant Commissioner. Palamau, JASB 1871, pp. 129-33.
- 4. B.N., II, p. p. 356.
- 5. The old Mowar of Monalu told L.R. Forbes that Tej Rai and Durga Rai (Dariya Rai in Badshah Nāmah of Lāhaurī) were not relatives of the chero King as opined by Lāhaurī (cf. JASB, 1871, F.N. p. 131).

two chiefs were discontented at the share of spoil that had fallen into their hands and were at open rebellion with Pratap who was seeking to get rid of them as importunate customers.

Dariya Rai and Tej Rai tried to obtain the favour of the Mughal Subahdar and proposed to imprison Pratap and hand him over to the latter. They returned to Patna and managed to imprison Pratap. Tej Rai was acknowledged as the Palamau chief.

When the Mughal $Subahd\bar{a}r$ heard about the imprisonment of Pratap, he demanded his person. But Tej Rai put off the demand by making excuses.

When Pratap was in prison, Dariya Rai and some of the leading chero chiefs became dissatisfied with Tej Rai. They tried to win the support of I'tiqād Khān in order to dethrone Tej Rai. To assure the Mughal governor of his allegiance Dariya Rai offered to surrender the fort of Deogaon¹, a great thāna in Palamau. Dariya Rai and the two commanders of the fort waited in person on Zabardast Khān, the Mughal Commander, when he arrived to take possession of the fort. The inhabitants of Deogaon partly submitted and were promised protection by the Imperial government. The cession of the fort proved unpopular to some of them who rose in rebellion but they were suppressed by the imperialists.

The occupation of the Deogaon fort gave the Mughals a great strategic advantage for leading an invasion against Palamau. It proved to be a strong base for a military operation against the cheros. Zabardast Khān made his troops ready for the forthcoming attack on Palamau and also strengthened the fortification of Deogaon.

The Mughal occupation of Deogaon brought the two sides to a bloody hostility again. Tej Rai sent his vakil Madan Singh Thakurai and other chiefs with about 600 horse and 7000 foot

1. A village situated in the extreme north-east of the district. It contains the remains of an interesting old fort of the cheros. It was once a flourishing town with 52 streets and 53 bazaars. (Palamau District Gazetteer, vol. IX.LSS O'Malley, Calcutta, pp. 152-53.)

to Baoli Chewan¹ and two more forces were sent via Mordah and Kundah and were ready to attack the imperialists. In an encounter that followed the cheros were defeated and they took to flight. Meanwhile the Bihar governor sent further reinforcements to the assistance of Zabardast Khān. He ordered 'Abdullah Khān Najm-i-thān1, Bakhshī of Bihar, to march with Dariya Rai and prepared himself to follow him later on².

Lahauri says that it happened that Tei Rai lest Fort Palamau with a hunting party. During his absence Surat Sen and Sabal Sen, sons of the vakil Madan Singh Thakurai. reinstated Pratap in place of Tei Rai at the Palamau fort.⁸ The change was so sudden that Tei Rai and his followers had hardly an opportunity to oppose Pratap's come-back to power. The question now arises why Tej Rai left the fort on a hunting excursion at such a critical time when the Mughals were advancing towards Palamau at the instigation of Dariya Rai. Lahauri is silent on that point. The absence of Tei Rai at Palamau fort, as has been seen, brought Pratap to the political scene again. The Mughals also took full advantage of such domestic turmoil as was going on in Palamau. Zabardast Khan now left Dharnidhar Ujjainia at Deogaon and himself marched upon Palamau on 7th November, 1643. Pratap (who was already reinstated to his position) realised that any opposition was fruitless. So he wrote to Zabardast Khan offering his submission to him. The Khan pressed for Pratap's personal visit to the court of the Bihar governor. After some hesitation the chero chief yielded to the Mughal pressure to meet I'tiqad Khan, but he requested Zabardast Khan to give him a letter of safety and promise him that he would do him no harm. Accordingly Zabardast Khan left Palamau accompanied by Pratap and joined 'Abdullah Najm-i-thani at Deogaon from where both marched to Patna.

- 1. A mauza which lies about ten miles south of Deogaon.
- 2. B.N., II, p. 358, A.S., II, P. 398.
- 3. L.R. Forbes writes that Tej Rai now changed his mind and was determined to return to his allegiance to Pratap Rai after a prolonged internecine feud with Dariya Rai. This fact has got no support in the imperial chronicles— (cf. JASB, 18171, p. 131.)

Pratap chero presented I'tiqad Khan with an elephant and agreed to pay into the imperial treasury a Pishkash of 100,000 rupees which Zabardast Khan was to collect. I'tiqad sent a detailed account to the Emperor and recommended Pratap for a mansab. Accordingly Pratap was given a mansab of 1000 horse. The jama' of Palamau was fixed at 250,000 rupees (one Kror dams) and the district was left to him as his tuyul. (March, 1644 A.D.) The chero chief was, thus, subdued twice during Shahjahan's reign—once by Shaista Khan and next by I'tiqad Khan.

"Up to this time," writes Forbes, "notwithstanding two invasions, the Muhammedans had exacted nothing but promises from the Rajahs. and so it went on for twenty years longer."

"Each year the demand was made by the Muhammedan Sirdar and yearly the Palamauites laughed in their faces, and the border chiefs went on depredating the royal territories in Bihar and carrying off cattle as before."²

J. N. Sarkar says that the tribute fixed by the Mughals at the end of the second Palamau campaign was exorbitant in amount and that it was beyond the power of the Raja to pay it regularly. It naturally fell in arrears while additional provocation was given by the cattle raids of the cheros across the Bihar frontier every year. Sarker also points out that very likely these evils increased during the war of succession.

2. JASB, 1871, p. 131.

B.N., II, pp. 359-61, p. 733, AS, II, p. 398,
 Tahir, Or 175, fol 260a - 262b, M.U. I, p. 181.
 L.R. Forbes in his letter writes "Pratap Rai then offered terms which were not accepted, so he was carried off a prisoner to Delhi. where he eventually died." This statement does not tally with what has been stated in the imperial chronicles. According to the Badshah Nāmah of Lāhaurī, he was made an imperial mansabdar and alive in 1647 A.D.

In 1660 Aurangzib ordered Dāud Khān, the new governor of Bihar, to march aginst Palamau. The Palamau chiefs resisted as long and as ably as they could, but were compelled to surrender eventually. The Raja fled to the jungles and the whole fort was occupied by the Mughals. Dāud handed overthe government to Mankali Khān (who had been appointed Faujdār of Palamau by Aurangzib) and then returned to Patna. By 1666, Palamau was brought fully under the direct provincial administration of the Mughals. Thus, because of the weak and conciliatory policy of the Bihar Governors under Shāhjahān, the final subjugation of Palamau was deferred to the reign of Aurangzib.

CHAPTER IV

The Eastern Frontier Policy of the Mughals

SECTION I

B.P. Saksena's remark that the Mughal foreign policy meant only their relationship with Trans-Oxiana and Persia, is not fully acceptable as it leaves out Mughal relationship with Assam and Arakan.\(^1\) The main lines of Mughal north-western policy were determined by a few simple historical facts. Admittedly all Mughal emperors from Babur to Shahjahan felt the emotional pull of their ancestral patrimony in Samarqand. The last named emperor was, though, the only one to attempt to conquer Balkh and Bukhara. But he failed in this, as he did in his repeated endeavours to dislodge the Persians from Qandahar. Mughal involvement with the problems of their North Eastern frontier was probably less spectacular than their relations with the powers across the North Western frontier, but the former is in no way less important or less interesting. Indeed it is more complicated.

The Mughals did not follow a well thoughtout-policy in the Eastern frontier. Saksena has remarked that the Mughal wars with Assam were undertaken mainly to protect Kamrup.² But the occupation of Kamrup was merely an isolated episode bearing little connexion with the general imperialistic policy of the Mughals. The idea of the conquest of Arakan did not fire their imagination.

Assam—a Growing State:

Throughout the 15th and the 16th centuries, the Ahom Kingdom went on expanding. Many tribes on the hillslopes north

- 1. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dehli p. 210.
- 2. Ibid, p. 116.

and south of the valley were subdued by the Ahom King till, by the end of the 16th century, the Ahom Kingdom stretched up to Bar Nadi river in the north west and the Kallang river in the south-west.

Closely surrounded in the north, east and south by rugged hills whose slopes were held by savage tribes, Assam was practically impervious to attack in these directions. But it was not so well protected in the west where it merges in the plains of North Bengal. The Mughals had conducted all invasions into the north Brahmaputra valley and armies had marched into Assam from Dacca by following the left bank of the Brahmaputra. Every invading army of Mughals relied upon a strong flotilla of war-boats. The position was such that, if the invading forces once lost the command of the water way, it would be crushed by the Ahoms between the river in the north and the hills in the south.

The King of Assam (known also as Sarg Deo) commanded 1000 elephants and 100,000 infantry. The Ahoms, a branch of the Shan race, were a hardy people. They were feudally organised under a number of big officials called *Gohains*, *Baruas* and *Phukans*. Their army consisted of foot soldiers and elephants. The Mughal cavalry did not find it easy to operate in a land full of forests, rivers and quagmires.

The Mughal conquest of Bengal in the last quarter of the 16th century paved the way for the contact with Assam. Assam was however, the last Mongoloid state to enter into direct relation with the Mughals because of its geographical remoteness and political isolation from Bengal. The Mughals did not put pressure on Assam till the year 1615. The Mughal north-east frontier policy in its initial phase was linked up with the affairs of Kuch Bihar and Kamrūp.

Kuch Bihar-The First Target of Mughal Attack:

As Kuch Bihar stood nearest to Bengal, it was naturally the first to come within the purview of Mughal foreign policy.

^{1.} B.N., II, pp. 68-69; A.S., II, 286; JBORS - 1915, pp. 179-195.

The invasions of Kuch Bihar and Assam by several Bengal kings such as Ḥusain Shāh and Sulaiman Karrani in the 16th century led to no permanent results. Situated between Bengal and the Ahom territories Kuch Bihar stood as a strong independent potentate under its King Nara Narayan (1555-87). He established friendly relationship with the Mughals who had already made themselves masters of Bengal. Nara Narayan divided his kingdom into two parts to pacify his refractory nephew Raghudev. He kept the region west of the Sankosh while the land to the east of it was left to Raghudev on condition that the latter would pay tribute to him. This partition of Kuch Bihar led to jealousy, ill-will and fratricidal warfare between the two royal lines. The bitter rivalry between the two states made the Mughal intervention inevitable.

Nara Narayan's son and successor, Lakshmi Narayan (ruler of the western Kuch Kingdom), declared himself as a vassal of the Mughals in 1596 A.D.¹ This was an outcome of the fratricidal war with Parikshit who became ruler of eastern Koch Kingdom (Kamrūp or Kuch Hajo) after the death of Raghudev.

The submission of Lakshmi Narayan paved the way for Mughal intervention in Kuch Bihar and Kamrup leading up to the establishment of direct contact with Assam. Lakshmi Narayan who had an inner hatred for Parikshit begged the Mughal Subahdār Islām Khān to attack Parikshit's dominion of Kamrup. The Mughals were further incited by Raghu Nath, Zamīndār of Susang, whose family was detained wrongfully by Parikshit.²

- 1. During Jahangīr's reign, Sūbahdār Islām Khān of Bengal, after becoming free of the affairs of expeditions, sent against "Twelve Bhuvans"—particularly against Usman of Bukai Nagar, made up his mind to conquer the territory of Kuch (B.G. I, p. 222). As the Kuch King Lakshmi Narayan was eager to take revenge against Parikshit, he readily submitted to the Mughal viceroy at Ghoraghat in 1608 through the instrumentality of Raja Raghu Nath, Zamindār of Susang (a place situated in the N.E. border of Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. Rennell Sheet No. VI) and offered him suitable Pishkash. Lakshmi Narayan also begged the Mughal intervention in the Kuch Kamrup affairs.
- 2. B.N., II, pp. 64-65.

Dr. S.N. Bhattacharyya opines that the Kamrup campaign of the Mughals was a premeditated enterprise. The rich and flourishing Kingdom of Kamrup occupying the lower Brahmaputra valley, with its numerous elephants and rich forest resources, must have attracted them who now thought of making it a part of their empire. Nevertheless, the fratricidal warfare between Kuch Bihar and Kamrup and the intrigues of Raghu Nath must have encouraged the imperialists to push into Parikshit's dominion of Kamrup. Again the appointment of Islam Khan, an energetic, ambitious and resolute officer, as governor of Bengal transformed the Mughal north-eastern frontier policy. The immediate result was the expansion of the Mughal empire at the expense of several Mongoloid states.

The invading army sent under $\underline{Sh}\overline{a}i\underline{kh}$ Kamal and Mukarram $\underline{Kh}\overline{a}n$ against Parikshit put the latter into sore straits which compelled him to sue for peace. Although the Mughal commanders accepted terms of peace these were not ratified by Islam $\underline{Kh}\overline{a}n$, the $S\overline{u}bahd\overline{a}r$. So hostilities were resumed. This time Parikshit was completely subdued and Kamrup became a part of the Mughal empire.³

Parikshit's defeat and the extinction of the independence of Kamrūp during the reign of Jahangir were significant events in

- 1. S.N. Bhattacharyya A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy, p. 132.
- 2, B.N., II, p. 65.
- 3. For detailed account see B.N., II, pp. 66-67, B.G., I, 252, R.S. Tr. A. Salam p. 211, (F.N.)

After his defeat, Parikshit sent his envoy Ramdas to Mukarram Khan and Shaikh Kamal with the words, "If I am given an assurance by the Khan and the Bakhshi of the safety of my life and honour I shall submit and surrender all my belongings and territories to the imperialists". Islam Khan died soon after the attainment of Mughal victory in Kamrup. Under Qasim Khan I, his successor, Parikshit was made a prisoner and sent to the court of Jahangir: Parikshit was never reinstated to his estate as a vassal like Lakshmi Narayan. He committed suicide at Tribeni in 1618 while on his way to the imperial court for the second time.

the history of the Mughal Eastern frontier policy. Hitherto Kuch Bihar and Kamrup served as buffer states between the Mughal territory and the expanding Ahom state. The end of Kamrup as an independent state was the beginning of a new chapter in the Ahom-Mughal politics as both these states came in direct contact with each other.

The first Ahom-Mughal war of 1615 was a logical outcome of the establishment of Mughal supremacy over Kamrūp. During the governorship of Qāsim Khān Abā Bakr, the Mughal commander, penetrated into the heart of Assam. But the enterprise ended in failure with Abā Bakr's death and the defeat of the imperialists. The great Mughal disaster in Assam in 1615 is attributed to Qāsim Khān's short sightedness, conceit and want of tact.

Ahom Mughal Relations (A.D. 1616—A.D. 1636). Attitude of the Ahoms:

After the first Ahom-Mughal war, the trend of Ahom-Mughal relationship during the next decade bears out the truth that the Mughals were very cautious in not giving any offence to Assam. But the Assamese attitude of antagonism and hostility went on till it took the shape of an open war in 1636 A.D. The victory of the Ahoms in the first Ahom-Mughal war emboldened the Assamese King to invite all sorts of political confusions in Kamrūp in order to subvert Mughal interests there. The Ahom victory of 1615 was marked by the creation of Darrang "a second Kamrūp" as a buffer state where Parikshit's brother, Bali Narayan, was installed as a tributary ruler by the Ahom King.² From his accession at Darrang till his death (1638) he was the most persistent enemy of the Mughal thānahdārs there.

Taking advantage of the confusion created by Prince Shahjahan's rebellious occupation of Bengal and the frequent changes

^{1.} B.G., I. p. 396.

^{2.} B.N., II, p. 70, A.B., Text, pp. 55, 60.

of governors after the restoration of Jahangir's rule there, Bali Narayan continued his attacks on the Mughals in Kamrup in order to recover it from their hands. Sometimes by open defiance. sometimes by secret help offered to the hill chiefs of the southern bank of the Brahmaputra (Dakhinkul). Bali Narayan kept the Mughals in a state of constant alarm. If Lahauri is to be believed he had rallied behind him ten to twelve thousand Assamese and Bengalees as his followers.1 During Khanazad Khan's govornorship (who was deputising for his father, Mahabat Khan) Bali Narayan continued his raids and frontier depredations and seized Parganas Luki and Bhaomanti. Besides he inflicted severe losses n Mughal occupied Kamrup. He offered hostile support to the people when the Mughal tax-collectors came amongst them and indirectly influenced the Zamindars of other imperial districts to delay their customary payments to be made to the Mughals.2 Bali Narayan made several attacks on Pandu, the Mughal naval base in Assam and Hajo, though without many tangible results.

The situation was aggravated by the hostile attitude of the Assamese towards foreigners. The Ahom Kings neither allowed foreigners to enter their land nor permit any of their subjects go out of it. Once a year a party of the Assamese used to go for trade near Gauhati by order of the King. They offered gold, musk, aloe wood, pepper, spikenard, and silk cloth and returned after bartering them for saltpetre, sulpher and certain other products of India which the people of India used to convey there.8

Role of Mughal Officers in the Frontier:

It has already been noticed that the hostile attitude of the Ahoms and 'their stooge', Bali Narayan, kept the Mughals in a state of great alarm before the outbreak of the second Ahom-Mughal war. The role of several Mughal officers posted in the

^{1.} B.N., II, p. 70.

^{2.} Ibid, pp. 70-71.

^{3.} JBORS, 1915, p. 188.

frontier during this period cannot be ignored. The rebellion of Shaikh Ibrahim Karori, an old and experienced Mughal revenue officer who defalcated seven hundred thousand rupees out of royal revenue, gave Bali Narayan and the Ahom King a great opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Kamrūp. Ibrahim rose in revolt when he could not make good his account and gathered round him three thousand followers. However, the threat of an Ahom attack subsided with the timely arrival of Mughal reinforcements from Hajo.

It is to be pointed out that the history of Kamrup during the period under review centres round the activities of Raja Satrajit, son of Mukunda, Zamīndār of Bhusna. Satrajit, one of the most prominent Mughal thānadārs had his headquarters at Hajo.² He was the most important local officer next to the Mughal faujdār at Kamrup. After the Mughal occupation of Kamrūp he was appointed thānahdār having his headquarters at Hajo. As Zamīndar of Bhusna, he had great influence on the people serving under him. Father Cacella and Father Cabral wrote while on a mission to Tibet,

"On August 2, 1626 we left Gohin (Hugli) and arrived at Dacca on the 12th. We set out again on September 5th and on the 26th of the same month we reached Azo and Pando where we stayed for a few days with Raja Satargit"

1. B.G., II, pp. 443-445

According to the Kamruper Buranji (pp. 27-29, pp. 102-03), Ibrahim Karori had been appointed in Kamrūp as a revenue officer. According to this account there was no pargana system previous to Shaikh Ibrahim's appointment. The country was divided into four Sarkars namely, Sarkar Kamrūp, Sarkar Dhaken, Sarkar Dakhinkul and Sarkar Bangal Bhum. Each of these Sarkars was divided into a number of Parganas. He is called by the Assamese chroniclers 'Shek Birahim karori'. He was murdered (after his revolt was put down) by 'Abdur Razzaq and his head was sent to Dacca.

- Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia (1603-1731) C. Wessel. The Hague—1924, p. 122.
- According to B.G. I, Raja Satrajit's appointment as thanahdar of Pandu was temporary (p. 253) and he was replaced by 'Abdur Razzaq Shiraji

About Hajo they wrote,

"Azo (Hajo) is the most important town and the capital of the Kingdom of Cocho, a large country, very populous and rich ... We passed the town and arrived at Pandu, where lives Satargit, Rajah of Busna, the pagan commander-inchief of Mogor against the Assanese (Assamese)"

Satrajit at first remained loyal to the imperial cause but gradually drifted to the course of treachery and perfidy. All the Mughal governors after Islam Khan Chisti had often called him but he made excuses and neither paid his respects nor did he send the customary pi_shkash to the Mughal government.² Dr. Bhattacharyya reasonably thinks that,

"intoxicated with his proud and privileged position and untrammelled power, Raja Satrajit defied the Bengal viceroys, gave royal airs and attempted to perpetuate his authority by an alliance with the Ahom King"

Satrajit's disloyal attitude and crafty manoeuvres strained the Ahom-Mughal relations to a great extent before the outbreak of the second Ahom-Mughal war.⁴ Taking full advantage of the political confusion in Kamrup, consequent upon Shahjahan's rebellion and appearance in Bengal, Satrajit increased his power and influence. Anxious to consolidate his authority he had already entered into a secret friendship with the Assam King and had

- (p. 403). Satrajit's permanent posting appears to have been at Hajo. After the departure of Mirza Nathan from Kamrūp he was made the *Thānahdār* of Pandu permanently. The *B.N.*, II (p. 79) says that he held Pandu and Gauhati together. It is not true because Gauhati came under Mughal control only during Shāhjahān's time.
- 1. Wessels, C., pp. 123-124
- 2. B., IIN., 79-80. Wessels, C., p. 125
- 3. A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy, p. 245.
- 4. Satrajit's intrigues against the Mughals have been mentioned by Mirza Nathan. During Nathan's operations against rebellious chieftains of Kamrūp, Raja Satrajit was inimically disposed towards the Mirza (B.G.,

won his favour by professions of filial piety. His real aimseems to have been to play off one side against the other and profit from their mutual hostilities. He was undone if the quarrel was made up. Anxious to prevent such a contingency, he entered into a secret pact with the Bar Phukan. The two together succeeded in foiling Qasim Khan II's attempt at making peace by Mughal governor Qasim Khan II. As Qasim Khan was busy with the Portuguese affairs in Hugli, he was anxious to ensure peace in the north-east frontier by the establishment of amicable relations with the Ahom King. So he accepted an offer of an Assamese envoy in his company with suitable presents to the Ahom capital.

In order to undo this move Satrajit poisoned the ear of the Ahom King against the Assamese trader with a false charge that the latter had not only communicated valuable information to the Mughals but had further been presumptuous enough to make peaceful overtures to them. The Ahom King, relying on the words of Satrajit, ordered the trader to be killed and also refused to receive the Mughal envoy.² The duplicity of Satrajit was, of course, known to the Ahom King when a nephew of the deceased trader divulged the conspiracy to him.

II, p. 623-24). Taking the opportunity of the short absence of Mirza Nathan from Ranihati, Satrajit instigated Shumarooed to induce the Ahoms to launch an immediate attack upon the Mughal outpost of Hangrabari. Meanwhile, he secretly instructed the Bakhshi of Bengal, who had gone over to Hangrabari to inspect the garrison there, to insist on its troops mustering outside the fort. The plan was carried out with great success. Ten thousand enemy paiks attacked the fort when it was almost empty, captured it without much difficulty and set it on fire, killing seven hundred Mughal soldiers. Mirza Nathan also writes that Raja Satrajit was in the habit of molesting the chiefs friendly of the Mughals. In spite of great favours shown to him (Satrajit) by Mirza Nathan he conspired, with Kansa Narayan, a Brahmin, who aided Bali Narayan in his war preparations in Darrang against the Mughals (B.G., I, pp. 409-410, 665).

^{1.} P.A.B., p. 32.

^{2.} P.A.B., pp. 96-97.

Satrajit also played a foul game with regard to the capture of Mamu Govinda¹ of Beltala, one of the disloyal vassals of the Ahom King. Instead of handing over Mamu Govinda to the Ahom King as promised he connived at his escape to Jahāngir Nāgar in order to placate the Mughal Faujdār of Kamrup 'Abdus Salām.² Enraged at the persistent duplicity of Satrajit the Ahom King ordered the Bar Phukan to capture him. But the Bar Phukan, instead of punishing Satrajit, sent him friendly greetings and exchanged presents with him. The Bar Phukan was starved to death by the Ahom King because of the former's alliance with Satrajit.³

Mughal Policy towards Assam (1615-1636)

The Mughal discomfiture in the first Ahom-Mughal war, had its repercussion on their frontier relationship with Assam. During the years in between the first and second Ahom-Mughal wars, the Mughal policy verged on expediency and conciliation with Assam. Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, the Bengal governor after Qasim Khān I, initiated a new policy by which he released the Rajas and reinstated them in their former places. Accordingly Raja Lakshmi Narayan, an ally of the Mughals, was reinstated in Kuch Bihar.

The Mughals were firm and steadfast in their defence of Kamrup. The administration of the place was not neglected even during Shāhjahān's usurpation. The rebel prince appointed his own faithful and loyal servants for administering the Kuch country.

The imperialists remained in Kamrup like an army of occupation, the basis of their rule being essentially military, collection of revenue, suppression of local insurrection and the conduct of 'Kheda' operations. While the trend of Ahom-Mughal relationship

^{1.} Govind Mamun i.e. Mamu Govind has been mentioned as Uncle of Raja Parikshit, B.G., II, p. 539.

^{2.} P.A.B., pp. 94-95.

P.A.B., pp. 94-97, A.B., pp. 66-67, K.B., pp. 64-65, Gait's History of Assam, p. 111.

^{4.} B.G., II, p- 521.

bears out the truth that the Mughals were henceforth cautious in not giving any offence to their powerful neighbour, the Assamese attitude of antagonism and hostility persisted till it took the shape of open war in July 1636.

Second Ahom-Mughal War (1636-1638)

Despite continuous tension it was not till a decade had passed since Shāhjahān's accession that war began between the Mughals and the Ahoms. In the years following Shāhjahān's accession the causes of war quickly multiplied. Every enemy of the Mughals, every rebel or revenue defaulter in north-eastern Bengal, sought refuge in Ahom territory. On that ill-defined frontier disputes about smuggling were rampant.

Under a rule made in Jahangir's last years every new sūbahdār of Bengal, on assumption of office, was to send cash and presents worth five hundred thousand rupees to the Delhi emperor as tribute.2 The amount was expected to be made up of the tribute payable by the local vassals and land holders to the new viceroy in honour of his arrival. As elephants were the main and the most acceptable article of Bengal this rule pressed hardest on the vassals who held Jāgīrs on the Assam frontier on condition of catching elephants by Kheda (enclosures for catching wild elephants) there. During the governorship of Qasim Khan II several chiefs had been posted to the frontier of Kamrup with ten to twelve thousand soldiers armed with shields and swords. These soldiers called paiks lived on lands granted to them by the Bengal governors as Jāgīrs. They became irregular in sending peshkash in terms of elephants to the subahdar. Qasim Khan took a strong line with these defaulters and called their chiefs to Dacca where they were imprisoned. He let some of them off on payment of a fine of 30,000 rupees. Two of the

^{1.} A.B., p. 55, Gait's History of Assam, p. 112.

^{2.} I.N, p. 291.

^{3.} About Qasim Khan.'s governorship, see M.U, III, pp. 78-82, RS, Tr, pp. 209-11.

chiefs of the paiks, Santosh Lashkar and Jairam Lashkar. fled to the Ahom King who gave them political asylum in his Kingdom.1 Several other provocations followed. The wife and a child of Mamu Govinda who sought political asylum with the Mughals, were carried off under orders of the Ahom King. The Mughals were greatly annoyed when a defaulting Mughal revenue officer. Harikesh, took shelter in Assam and the Ahom King refused to hand him over to the local imperial authorities.2 In this tense situation, Bali Narayan, the Raja Darrang (a protege of the Ahom King), was instigated by Satrajit, the Mughal thanahdar, to profit by the administrative disorders and to push into Hajo, the Mughal headquarters, at Kamrup, and attack the imperial Faujdar 'Abdus Salam.3 It is probable that the hostility began under Qasim Khan's successor, A'zam Khan and his failure to tackle the Ahom affairs resulted in his supersession by Islam Khan Mashhadi. The Riad-ul-Salatin says.

"The Assamese making an incursion, invaded and ravaged many parganas within the imperial domains and along with much riches and effects captured and carried away 'Abdus Salam who had gone on an expedition to Gauhati with one thousand cavalry and numerous infantry."

According to it the arrest of 'Abdus Salām was made during A'ṣam Khān's viceroyalty. But this is not correct as the Bādshānāmah of Lāhauri mentions that Bali Narayan collected army of the Assamese and Kochis, left Darrang and attacked 'Abdus Salām. 'Abdus Salām reported the matter to Islām Khān Mashhadi and asked for reinforcements.' Hence 'Abdus Salām was arrested by the Ahoms during the governorship of Islām Khān (and not A'ṣam Khān). But hostilities began during the lattar's viceroyalty.

^{1.} B.N., II, p. 71.

^{2.} A.B., pp. 68-69.

^{3.} B.N., 1I, p. 7I or 175 (Tahir) fol 204b.

^{4.} R.S., Tr. pp. 210-11.

^{5,} B N. II p. 71, See also M.U., I, p. 174

In response to 'Abdus Salām's request for help, Islām Khān Mashhadi sent Shaikh Muḥiu'ddin', Muḥmmad Ṣāliḥ Kanbuh, Mirzā Muḥammad Bukhārī and other imperial mansabdars. He also sent Zainul 'Ābedin with 1,000 horse, 1,000 matchlockmen, partly imperial and partly belonging to his own contingent, 10 Ghurabs and nearly 200 Kosas and Jalias - all wellprovided and fitted out-for 'Abdus Salām's assistance.²

Before reinforcements had arrived from Dacca the Assamese. already victorious in some engagements, laid siege to Hajo. A fierce struggle by land and water ensued in the vicinity of the Mughal fort. Though defeated in a series of encounters, in one of which they lost 360 guns and their battle-drum, the Mughals tenaciously held on to their stronghold. reinforcements from Dacca could not proceed beyond Ghoraghat because of heavy rains and strong current in the Brahmaputra. The Mughals left heavy baggage at Ghoraghat while the soldiers proceeded upwards with small swift boats.3 A small detachment consisting of light boats under Muhammad Salih reached Hajo and from there moved to Pandu for the assistance of Satrajit. Meanwhile Satrajit withdrew from his stronghold without offering any resistance to the Ahoms.4 'Abdus Salam decided to stay himself at Hajo and send Zainal 'Abedin and Muhammad Salih to Srighat. Moving forward Zainal 'Abedin and Salih encountered the Assamese. In the engagement that ensued the Assamese were defeated.5

'Abdus Salām then induced Zainal 'Ābedīn to move to Hajo from Ṣrighat. Zainal 'Ābedīn at first did not like the idea but at last agreed to put the ships in charge of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ,

- 1. He was the brother of 'Abdus Salam Faujdar of Hajo.
- 2. B.N. II p. 73, A.S., II, p. 287, Or 175 (Tahir) fol. 205a.
- 3. The Mughal navy played a great part in the second Ahom-Mughal war. The poets Salim Tihrani and Qudsi have given us a graphic picture of the battle of boats fought in the time of Islam Khan Mashhadi (Askari-JBRS Jan to Dec, 1960, p. 3.)
- 4. B.N., p. 73, P.A.B., p. 100 A.B., p. 70, Or 175 (Tahir) fol 207a.
- 5. Ibid, p. 74, P.A.B., p. 101

Raja Satrajit and Majlis Bayazid¹ and left several others behind at Srighat. As soon as Zainal 'Abedin left Srighat the Assamese with 500 ships attacked the Mughals at night. The result was a severe defeat of the Mughals at the hand of the Assamese. Muhammad Salih was killed and Mailis Bayazid taken prisoner by them.² Satrajit, whose conduct had been throughout lukewarm now came out openly against the Mughals and detained some Mughal vessels full of provisions and munitions bound for Hajo. Bali Narayan, the brain behind the Ahom attack, left Srighat and Pandu and advanced towards Hajo with his Assamese and Koch troops.3 They closely besieged Hajo and cut off all lines of supply, 'Abdus Salam, Shaikh Muhi'uddin, and Shaikh Zainal 'Abedin offered a desperate resistance but to no effect. At last 'Abdus Salam surrendered and went with his brother to the hostile camp for the conclusion of peace. But he was treacherously imprisoned by the Assamese and sent to Assam.4 Zainal 'Abedin was slain in the battle.

Thus Hajo fell before the invading Ahom forces. It was followed by a temporary disruption of the Mughal power in Kamrup, both on the north, as well as the south, bank of the Brahmaputra. Want of provisions, delay in the arrival of reinforcements, the overwhelming numerical superiority of the besiegers and the adverse climate all combined to bring about disaster to the Mughal arms at Hajo.

Another reinforcement arriving from Dacca which was too late to save the Mughal position at Hajo was commanded by Mir Zainuddin 'Ali, Allahyār Khān, Mhammad Beg Abakash, 'Abdul Wahab, Mir Qāsim Simnāni, Amirah Sāsān and Sayyid

The B.N., (p. 76) says that he was the Zāmindār of Sarkar Fathabād near Dacca. The B.G. I & II (p. 223, p 669) refers to one Majlis Bayazīd, Son of Khan i-'Alam, serving in the train of the Mughals in Eastern frontier. Again it mentions Majlis Qutb as Zamindār of Fathabad who surrendered and became a vassal of the Mughals.

^{2.} B.N. II. p. 76, 175 (Tahir), 207b-208a.

^{3.} B.N. II, p. 76.

^{4.} B.N. II, p. 77, Or 175 (Tahir) 208b, P.A.B., P. 102-3.

Muḥammad Bukhārl.¹ Muḥammad Zamān Tihrāni, the Faujdār and Tuyuldār of Sylhet was also ordered to join the detachment. The foot soldiers (Paiks) appointed by the Mughals in the frontier region had already deserted to the Assamese. They created disruption in the operation of Mughal supply of provisions. Islām Khān despatched a huge quantity of cereals, gunpowder and all sorts of provisions with the war boats of Bengal Zamīndār Ma'sum Khān, who also assisted the Mughals in Hugli operations with his boats. Khwājah Sher, Faujdār of Khelah, was ordered to join the Mughal army in operation.²

By the time the Mughal forces arrived, their authority had already been gravely impaired at Hajo and Pandu. But Zainuddin and Allahyar Khān were not dismayed by the disaster. They started their offensive with an attack upon h Candra Narayan, son of Parikshit, who had expelled Gopinath from Karibari Pargana. Chandra Narayan had, in a short time, collected an army of six to seven thousand Assamese and Kochis to fight with the Mughals. The first target of Mughal attack was Hatsilah where Chandra Narayan stationed his forces. With the approach of the imperialists he fled from there to Solmari. The Mughals gradually received the submission of the chiefs of Karibari, both of Paiks (foot soldiers) and ryots. They also destroyed the fortifications raised by Chandra Narayan and cut down jungle ready

- 1. B.N. II, p. 57 A.S., II, p. 287, M.L., I, pp. 559-60, SS, 131a-131b.
- B.N. II, p. 75-76, Or 175 (Tahir), fol207a. The Mughal forces were divided into groups—one land force and another the Nawwāra. (Diwān Muhammad Quli Salim Tihrān, Or 1860 fol 10b.11a).
- 3. Chandra Narayan at first lived in Pargana Solmari situated in Dakhinkul. As most parts of Dakhinkul were given to Satrajit as tuyul, the latter had sent Gopi Nath, his brother's son, as thānadār and collector (عمل عمل) to Pargana Karibari. In consequence of Gopi Nath's opprressions the people of Pargana Karibari had invoked the assistance of Chandra Narayan (B.N., II, p. 78, A.B, p. 68, Or 175 (Tahir) fol 208b.
- 4. In B.N., II, it is mentioned as Matlah (متله) (ef. ed. text, page 78).

 It is probable that it is Hatsilah (هتسله) and not M atlah.

for making further attacks into enemy territory. Jalal, a relation of M'asum Khan Zamindar, was left at Karibari with four hundred matchlockmen and Paiks.

The Mughals next marched into Pargana Mardangi² in Dakhinkul, whose chief was another Parikshit, father-in-law of Chandra Narayan. He submitted to the imperialists along with all his forces.

The Mughal army then proceeded through Uttarkul and reached Dhubri where they got hold of Satrajit whose double-dealings had by now become quite clear. Islam Khan Mashhadi ordered his arrest. Accordingly he was sent to Jahangir Nagar where he was executed. It was, of course, a bold measure taken by Islam Khan as it wiped out a traitor who had so long held up Mughal prospects in the north-eastern frontier.

The Mughal advance intensified Ahom preparations for war. The combined forces of the Assamese and the Kochis consisting of 12,000 foot and 50 war sloops and many Kosas moved to Jogigopah and erected a strong fort at a place called Hirapur on the Brahmaputra. Pasupati, the Zamindār of Patka, who was a dependable Mughal vassal in Kamrūp, informed the Mughals of the advance of the Assamese forces. Accordingly Zainuddin 'Ali and Allahyār Khān entrusted him with a force of three thousand matchlockmen to face them. In an encounter that followed the Assamese were completely defeated and were put to flight by the imperialists. This was followed by the occupation of Jogigopah by them.

After several engagements with the Assamese the Mughals crossed the Banas river in Kamrup territory. Meanwhile Chandra

- 1. B.N., II, pp. 78-79.
- There is no mention of a Pargana of this name in Rennell. The Goalpara district map shows a place named Madari Danga on the right bank of Brahmaputra adjacent to the west of Karibari.
- 3. B.N., II, p. 79.
- 4. Both B.G. and B.N. of Lahauri speak of Pasupati's services to the Mughal cause. He cleared up jungles and made roads to enable the Mughal land forces to move against the Assamese forces.
- 5. B.N., 1I. p. 81.

Narayan died of small pox. His death eliminated another avowed enemy of the Mughals in the eastern frontier. For the further pacification of Dakhinkul, Muḥammad Zamān proceeded to that place with 1,000 horses and 4,000 foot soldiers. The fleet of Ma'sum Khān helped constantly the army in its operations on land. Muḥammad Zamān pacified Dakhinkul (southern bank of the Brahmaputra) in a short time and returned to the headquarters.

The next target of the Mughals was Chandankot. Meanwhile Uttam Narayan, son of Sardabar, Zamīndār of Budhnagar, informed the Mughals that Bali Narayan was preparing to fight. Accordingly Muḥammad Zamān marched against him. Bali Narayan moved up to Kalapani river which is three miles distant from Bishnupur. Crossing the Pomari the Mughals encamped at an elevated position not far from Bali Narayan's encampment.²

The combined army of the Kochis and the Assamese swelled to 40,000 men. The Ahom King, Pratap Singh, in response to a letter from Bali Narayan sent his own son-in-law to assist him (Bali Narayan) with nearly 20,000 Assamese. A severe battle took place on 31st October, 1637 in which 4.000 Assamese soldiers were killed. Several Ahom army chiefs were killed and three of them were made prisoner. The Mughals determined to pursue their advantage and made a three-pronged attack upon the forces of Bali Narayan who retreated to Darrang while his forces moved to Srighat and Pandu.8 The son-in-law of the Ahom King was made a captive and was later on executed. Allahyar Khan and Muhammad Zaman came up, surrounded the fort of Srighat and drove away the Ahoms from that place, Soon Pandu also fell before the advancing Mughals. With its fall the whole of Kuch Hajo was cleared of the Ahoms and it was again annexed to the Mughal empire (Dec. 1637). A detachment was sent to Kajali which was subsequently occupied by the Mughals.4 Another detachment was sent to Darrang to hunt

^{1.} B.N., II, p. 82

^{2.} B.N., II, p. 83.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 86.

^{4.} BN., II, p. 88) P.A.B., pp. 109-110.

down Bali Narayan who, after his repeated failures, was reduced to great straits. Considering Darrang not at all safe before an advancing enemy he slipped away to Singri in Assam where he perished ignominiously with his two sons. Darrang became a part of the Mughal empire. Thus the existence of a second Kamrup between the Mughal territory and Assam was wiped out.

The dream of Bali Narayan ended in a career full of many trials and tribulations. From the time he was given shelter by the Ahom King he became an avowed enemy of the Mughals in the east. He waged incessant and unrelenting war against them but his life was a tale of unfulfilled ambitions.

The main cause of the success of the Mughals was the death of some of their eminent foes such as Chandra Narayan and Bali Narayan. It demoralised the Ahom-Koch army. Moreover, the Ahom losses, though not crippling, were certainly constraining. Nearly 500 boats and 300 guns of the Assamese fell in the hands of the Mughals after their victory at Pandu.²

The Mughals followed up their success by advancing along the Brahmaputra up to its junction with the Bharali opposite Samdhara, an important stronghold in the Uttarkul. The Ahom King rallied his scattered forces and met the Mughals at Duimunisila (near Silghat). In naval engagement, (November, 1638) the Mughals were defeated by the Assamese forces. After this defeat Kajali fort slipped out of their hands and they fell back upon Gauhati. The battle of Duimunisila brought the hard contest between the Mughals and the Ahoms to a close. Mir Zainuddin 'Ali (Siyādat Khān), Muḥammad Zamān Tihrāni and Ma'sum Zamīndār left Kamrup leaving Allahyār Khān in charge of administration. Both the parties now concluded a treaty in 1639.4 The plenipotentiaries engaged in drawing up the terms

^{1.} B.N., 1I. p. 89. Or 175 (Tahir), fol212b. PAB. p. 108.

^{2.} B.N, II, p. 88. A.S., II, p. 288. Or 175 (Tahir) fol 212a. PAB, p 108

^{3.} P.A.B., pp. 122-113. AB, p. 113.

^{4.} Ibid, p. 113.

were Momali Tamuli Bar Barua¹ and Allahyar <u>Khan¹</u> representing the Ahoms and the Mughals respectively.

By the peace treaty of 1639, the Mughals acknowledged the independence of the Ahom King and the Ahom King also recognised formally the supremacy of the Mughals in Kuch Hajo. Thus after strenuous exertions lasting over a year and a quarter (Jan. 1637 to April 1638), the Mughals were successful in recovering the lost territories of Kuch Hajo and establishing their supremacy there. The treaty of 1639 fixed the Barnadi river and the highway Asurar Ali near Gauhati as the boundary between Assam and the Mughal state.

After the second Ahom-Mughal war Emperor Shahjahan promoted Islam Khan to 5, 000/5,000 horse with addition of 1,000 horse with duaspah-siaspah troopers. Allahyar Khan received

- 1. Sukuti, better known in history as Momali Tamuli, was, in the beginning, an humble man in Assam. Later on, he rose from one office to another till he was appointed to the responsible post of Bar Barua which combined the functions of lord chief justice of the land. He also remained at the Ahom garrison of Kajali, to the east of Gauhati, for twelve years to protect the frontier from Mughal attacks. (Lachit Barphukan and His Times by S.K. Bhunyan, pp. 17-18.)
- 2. The Bādshāh Nāmah (vol. II, 94) mentions the appointment of Mir Nūrullah of Hirat as Thānudār of Kuch Hajo with a command of 3,000/2,500 horse. It is a fact that Nūrulla did not enjoy his new dignity for a long time or was probably thrown into the shade completely by the superior ability and experience of Allahyar Khān who carried on diplomatic correspondence with the Assamese official Momali Tamuli during his stay in Kamrūp for about seven years following the peace treaty of 1639. Prince Shujār was the governor of Bengal at that time.

Allahyar Khan's father was Iftikhar Khan Turkman who served in Bengal in the time of Jahangir. Allahyar Khan was a favourite of Jahahangir and rose to be an amir. In the beginning of Shahjahan's reign he attained the rank of 2500. He did good service in Hugli campaign. After the Kuch-Assam campaign he was raised to the rank of 3000 with 3000 horse. He died in Bengal in 1650. A. D. (Waris Or 1675, fol 61a, M.U., 1, pp. 183-185.

an increase of 500/200 horse and was now commander of 3,000/2,000 horse. Muhammad Zamān Tihrāni was made a commander of 2,000/1,800 horse and Mir Zainuddin'Ali a commander of 1,000/200 with the title of Siyādat Khan. Rahmanyār and 'Abdul Wahāb were also promoted.¹ Islām Khān Mashhadī was summoned by Shāhjahān to assume the office of Prime Minister (Wizarat-i- Diwān-'Alā).²

The second Ahom Mughal war had its effects on the economy of Bengal. It can be reasonably concluded that little was paid to the Imperial exchequer from Bengal in the form of land revenue during this troublesome period as a significant part of the provincial income was spent on conducting the campaign.³

Ahom-Mughal Relationship (1639-1658)

The treaty of 1639 became pivotal point in the subsequent relations of the two states. The Mughals insisted on the maintenance of the stipulated limits while the Ahoms aimed constantly at repudiating them. But internal troubles kept Assam from following a policy of aggression. King Pratap Singh 'Sargdeo' died in 1641. Two incompetent rulers sat on the throne in quick succession followed by Jayadhvaj's assumption of office in 1648. During this period Momali Tamuli Bar Barua, who had his headquarters at Kajali, was the most powerful man who determined Ahom relationship with the imperialists.

Externally and internally Shujā's viceroyalty in Bengal was marked by a period of peace as no spectacular military enterprise was undertaken by him. The Mughals remained almost at a standstill till the outbreak of the war of succession. During this period Allahyār Khān's peace negotiations and his diplomatic correspondence with Momali Tamuli Bar Barua greatly helped the maintenance of peace between two states. As a result there was no war with the Assamese for about twenty years.

^{1.} B.N., II, p. 90, A.S., II, p. 288, Or 175 (Tahir) fol 213a.

^{2.} M.U., I. Pp. 162-167

^{3.} The Fifth Report. Ed., Firminger, Vol II, Calcutta, 1917, p. 182.

Nevertheless, cases of criminations and recriminations between the Mughals and the Ahoms were not rare. The Mughals had no further desire for territorial expansion but they had a craving to exploit the rich forests and other resources of Assam.

Assam, as has been pointed out earlier, did not launch another offensive till the outbreak of the war of succession. But she was searching for an opportunity of striking at the head of her opponents. Kirti Chandra Bar Barua¹ set forth the Ahom foreign policy in the following terms, "when a King becomes subjected to the monarch of another country, diplomatic measures should be adopted so that the conqueror may return to his own kingdom. On his retirement the subdued prince should remain in preparedness with his army and when opportunities present themselves for action he should strike promptly and reinstate himself in his lost suzerain power".

An Ahom king had declared, "Even when the sun is once eclipsed, does it not make its appearance again?" Another king said, "Because the Mughals have discomfitted us once, does it follow that we should make no attempt to throw off this position of subordination to them?" The Ahom King got the opportunity in the outbreak of war of succession when he assembled a large army, made bridges over the river Kalang and sent the Bar Phukan towards Gauhati.

After the second Ahom-Mughal war the Mughal headquarters in Kamrūp were shifted to Gauhati, already an important town occupying the north bank of the Brahmaputra. It came into Mughal possession by virtue of the treaty of 1639.

Border trouble between the Mughals and the Ahoms in connexion with *Kheda* operations, trade, commercial intercourse, boundary disputes, extradition of political offenders and violation of personal liberty went on even after the conclusion of peace

^{1.} He was an eminent official of the reign of King Lakshmi Singh.

^{2.} Cited "Atan Buragohain and his Times" S.K. Bhuyan-Gauhati. 1947, pp. 9-10.

in 1639. The Mughals continued their Kheda operations in the hills of Darrang which were full of wild elephants. It was a subject of diplomatic correspondence between Allahyar Khan and Momali Tamuli Bar Barua. In March, 1644, Allahyar Khan complained to the Bar Barua that the Kheda operations of the Mughals were disturbed by the Bhutias and the Daflas, the Ahom hill tribes. The Bar Barua replied that it was beyond the control of the Ahom government to deal with the hill tribes. In March, 1641, Allahyar Khan asked Bar Barua for a list of Assamese merchants who usually carried on trade near the Mughal frontier. This was asked for the purpose of realising tolls from them. The Bar Barua in his reply (August, 1641) instructed the Mughal Fāujdar to get the required list from his own frontier officials, Velai, Satrusen and Jayananda.²

Though the treaty of 1639 fixed the territorial limits of the two states, encroachments by both sides on each other's domains were frequent. In August, 1640, the Bar Barua wrote to the Mughal Fāujdar at Gauhati regarding the repatriation of an Assamese official who had been sent to Dacca.³ In April, 1643 the Mughal Faujdār remonstrated against the confinement of twenty-three Mughal subjects including Dil Muhammad, Rachip Khān and Nanda Ram Shāh who had strayed into Assam and reached Darrang.⁴

In November, 1645, a group of 107 Mughal sepoys crossed the Bar Nadi and entered Darrang with a view to catching elephants. In a scuffle, two Mughal sepoys and one Assamese officer were killed. The Bar Barua arrested all other Mughal sepoys found there. He informed the Mughal Faujdār that, as the Mughal sepoys had committed a double offence, (a) entering

^{1.} P.A.B., pp. 191-192.

^{2.} P.A.B., pp. 176-177.

^{3.} Ibid, p. 177.

^{4.} P.A.B., p. 182.

P.A.B, p. 210, pp. 216-217. It mentions that Beram Khan Abdulam (?)
 Khan, Azar Khan, Biamat Khan were among 107 persons who entered Darrang to catch elphants. Biamat killed Sunanda, the Ahom official.

into Assam without permission and (b) murdering an Assamese officer, they would not be set free.

Questions with regard to the extradition of political offenders formed an important theme of official correspondence. In 1641 Allahyār Khān wrote to Bar Barua regretting the refusal of the Assam King to deliver to the Mughals Chandra Narayan, son of Parikshit to whom he had given asylum. Bar Barua brought similar accusations against the Mughals on the question of giving shelter to Mamu Govinda who had betrayed his suzerain, the Ahom King.²

The Mughal relations with Assam from 1639 to 1657 were occasionally strained because of boundary trade and sundry other frontier problems. But the strain never reached breaking point because of the diplomatic skill and forbearance of the Mughal Faujdār Allahyār Khān and Momali Tamuli Bar Barua. Again, as Shāh Shujār did not embark on a career of conquest, frontier relation with Assam remained on the whole peaceful.

The outbreak of the War of Succession (A.D. 1658) gave the Ahom King, Jayadhvaj Singh (1648-1663), a great opportunity to expel the Mughals from the soil of Assam. When the rumour spread that Shāhjahān was dead and Shujā' had left Bengal with his troops to contest the throne, Pran Narayan, the Mughal vassal zamindār of Kuch Bihar, sent his minister, Bhabanath Karji, to recover Kamrūp. Simultaneously the Ahoms attacked Kamrūp from the other side. Mir Lutfullah Shirāji, the Mughal Faujdār of Kamrūp, despatched his son, Zakirullah, to oppose the invaders but without success. Finding himself besieged from two sides and unable to cope with the immense number of the enemy, Lutfullah got into a boat and betook himself to Dacca for safety. Gauhati fell to the Ahoms. Subsequently Mīr Jumla, Aurangzib's general, on his appointment as governor of Bengal, reduced the country to Mughal subjugation.

^{1,} P.A.B, pp. 211-222

^{2,} P.A.B., pp. 175-177

^{3.} Alamgir Nāmah, p. 678. RS. p.223.

SECTION II

Arakan was closely connected with the history of the Mughal Empire in the 17th Century.¹ Chittagong was the bone of contention between the Muslim rulers of Bengal and the Arakanese Kings even before the advent of the Mughals. In 1459, the Arakanese King occupied the whole of Chittagong and consolidated their position there.

The early years of Jahangir's reign witnessed the consolidation of Mughal rule in Bengal under Islam Khan, The southeastern boundary extended up to the Feni river.² The Mughals did not proceed further beyond that limit during the next half century for various reasons.

King Basawpyn (Kalim Shāh—1459-82) of Arakan occupied Chittagong (in 1459) which the Arakanese held till 1666.³ The anarchy which was prevalent in Bengal before Mughal conquest gave the Arakanese a great opportunity to consolidate their position at Chittagong and even seize parts of the Noakhali and Tipperah districts up to the Meghna river.

Chittagong was a convenient half-way house between Arakan and Bengal and a major base of operations of the Maghs. The Arakanese strongly defended the outpost. Talish points out,

"Every year the Rajah of Arracan sends to Chatgaon a hundred ships full of soldiers and artillery munitions, with a new Karam Kari (commandant, Superintendent),

- 1. The Fathlya-i-Ibriya gives us a graphic picture of Arakan. Deep rivers and wide sea enclose the country on the western side, which adjoins Bengal. The land and water routes for entering the country were very difficult. The Arakanese terrain, with its marshy and impenetrable jungles, irregular creeks and allegator-infested rivers, was full of warnings to any foreign invader. The inhabitants were inclined to Hindu creed. Their learned men were called Rawlis.
 - (Ain II, Tr. Jarrett, p. 119, Manucci, 1, p. 371, The Feringi Firates of Chatgaon, 1665 A. D. JASB, 1907, p. 419).
- 2. For its location see Rennell's Map No. 7.
- 3. Harvery. History of Barma, p. 140.

when the former Karamkari, with the ships of last year, returns to Arracan. There is always some trustworthy relative or faithful clansman of the Rajah in charge of the government of Chatgaon. He issues gold coins stamped with his own name at this place and its depedencies."

The strategic position of Chittagong enabled the Maghs to carry on raids on South Bengal. They built a strong fort at Chittagong and left a large fleet to guard it.

The Arakan King, who lived in perpetual dread of the Mughals, kept the portuguese mercenaries as advanced guards for the protection of his frontier permitting them to live in the seaports of Chittagong and Dianga and making them grants of land. The Arakan coast was a place of retreat for the fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin and Malacca. It bred a race of daring seamen. For centuries they remained a terror of the Ganges delta and lower Bengal.

After the occupation of Sandwip by the Arakanese from the band of Gonzales, the Portuguese settlers in Arakan gave up all attempts at independence and lived on as the obedient instruments of the Arakan King. Manrique had given the King some valuable information to the effect that it was the declared policy of the Portuguese government, both in Lisbon and Goa to assist the Arakanese against the Mughal emperor on the ground that the latter aspired to make himself lord paramount of the whole of India and must be resisted by the creation of some sort of balance of power. Thiri Thudhamma, the Arakanese King (1622-1638), was grateful to have this authoritative statement of foreign policy.²

It is to be pointed out that the Arakanese Kings had the greatest trouble with the Portuguese along the Chittagong.

^{1.} JASB, 1907, p. 421.

Fra Manrique, A glimpse of Arakan in 1630 A. D. by M. S. Collis,
 J. Burma Research Society, 1923, p. 215.

coast. These people were nothing but pirates, free booters and adventurers, independent of the viceroy of Goa. King Thiri Thudhamma, in fact, had no confidence in the Portuguese. But, since his kingdom now included Chittagong, he had no way of defending that state against the Mughals except with the assistance of the Portuguese and he deemed it prudent to make use of them as long as they found it convenient to serve his purpose.

No Viceroy of Bengal before Shā'istah Khān, says Tālish, undertook to put down the piratical raids of the Arakanese. But Tālish seems to be wrong, for Qāsim Khān and Ibrāhim Khān endeavoured to complete the conquest of Chittagong and push the Mughal arms further into the heart of Arakan. The necessity was clearly felt when the Mughal government in Bengal was continuously disturbed by frequent Magh raids.

The Maghs used to come from Chittagong through Bhalwa, which was within Bengal Subah, and moved up to Jessore, Hugli Bikrampur, Sonargaon and Dacca.² They came up to Dacca for plunder and looting by the streams flowing by Khizrpur and Jatrapur.³ By these raids the Maghs grew rich at the cost of Bengal. The areas raided were often left desolate and impoverished. According to Talish the district of Bakla (Bakarganj), which was formerly full of cultivation, was desolated by their raids.⁴

The Arakanese navy, reinforced by the Portuguese, was superior to that of the Mughals. Taligh says,

'Their cannons are beyond numbering, their flotilla exceeds the waves of the sea (in number). Most of ships are <u>Ghurābs</u> and jalbas; Khatus and dhums are larger than <u>ghurābs</u>, these are so strongly made of timber with a hard

^{1.} JASB, 1907, p. 422.

^{2.} J. N. Sarkar, The Feringi pirates of Chatgaon, JASB, 1907, p. 424.

^{3.} See Rennell's atlas, sheet I.

^{4.} JASB, 1907, p. 423. Talish says that Bakarganj uesd to yield every year a large amount to the imperial government as duty on its betel nuts.

core that the balls of Zamburaks and small cannons cannot pierce them."

The Magh depredations were frequent during the reign of Jahāngir. In Islām Khān Chishti's governorship the Maghs once came with 300 boats to the environs of Sripur raided, burnt and looted a large number of villages and carried away the villagers as captives. They fled with ease before Islām Khān could send any help and Shaikh Yusuf, the Thānadār of Sripur Vikrampur, could not withstand them. The Maghs led another expedition against 'Abdul Wahid, the Mughal thānadār of Bhalwa.²

Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang, the governor of Bengal, had been commanded by Jahangir to subdue the King of Arakan. The conquest of Tipperah was accomplished as a step towards that purpose. Ibrahim Khan assigned to Mirza Nurulla Tipperah's capital, Udaipur where he was appointed as the administrative chief (Sardar). From Thana Udaipur, the Mirza wrote to Ibrahim Khan about the possibility of invading Arakan. Accordingly an expedition was sent which ended in failure because of the scarcity of food and the adverse communication system.

During Shahjahan's rebellious occupation of Bengal the new Magh King, Thiri Thudhamma (1622-38), sent a friendly mission to the rebel prince. Common hostilities to the Emperor obviously induced the new King to conciliate the rebel prince by friendly gesture. It has been already pointed out that the Arakan King

- 1. Ibid, p. 420
- 2. B.G., I, p. 146. In 1613 Hushang, son of Islam Khan, governor of Bengal brought some captured Maghs to the Court of Jahangir. Jahangir, in his memoirs, writes "I made some enquiries as to their customs and religion. Briefly they are animals in the form of men. They eat everything there is either on land or in the sea and nothing is forbidden by their religion. They eat with any one. They take to their possession (marry) their sisters by another mother.... They have no proper religion or any customs that can be interpreted as religion. They are far from the Musulman faith and separated from that of the Hindus." (Tuzuk, Tr. R. & B., I, p. 236.)
- 3. B.G., II, p. 628.
- 4. Ibid, pp. 632-33.

sent his envoys to Shahjahan with rare gifts worth Rs. 100,000 as Pishkash. Shahjahan also sent a valuable dress of honour along with many precious gifts to the Magh King and issued a farman confirming his sovereignty over his territory.¹

The Arakan King appears to have taken advantage of the preoccupations of Prince Shāhjahān in Bengal to indulge in a raid on Bhalwa. After the restoration of imperial rule in Bengal in 1625, Khānahzād Khān, son of Maḥābat Khān, who left the governmental affairs in the hands of his favourites, failed miserably to check an incursion of the Arakan King. The Arakanese proceeded unopposed from Khizrpur along the Dulai to the environs of Jahāngir Nagar, entered the city, burnt and looted it and retired with a large number of captives. The Sūbahdār's attempt to obstruct the passage of the Arakanese war boats by means of iron chains across the river Dulai proved unavailing.²

The frontier raids of the Maghs continued on Mughal Bengal even after the accession of Shāhjahān. The Arakan King tried to undermine the Mughal authority by sporadic raids on villages and townships and by assisting their enemies in Bengal. He sent his own Portuguese Mercenaries from chittagang to assist the Portuguse who were fighting against the Mughals at Hugli during the governorship of Qāsim Khān³ Of course, their help arrived at Hugli too late.

- 1. See Chapter, I, also B.G. II, pp. 710-711.
- 2. S. N. Bhattacharya narrates this incident relying upon the account of Shihabuddin Talish in his chapter in the History of Bengal, Vol. II, (Ch. XVI, p. 314). Both Phayre and Harvey mention this in a nutshell. (cf. History of Burma by Phayre (p. 177) and History of Burma by Harvey (p. 143).) The other contemporary chronicles such as the Iqbal Namoh or even chronicles of Shahjahan's reign do not refer to such an incident. Manrique states that the Magh King Xadramaxa (Thiri Thūdhamma) invaded the Mughal territory in 1626 with a fleet of 70 galvotas and 500 gelias carrying thirty Portuguese and other Christians who were in their service. They reached Dacca and received very feeble or no resistance from the Mughals. The Magh King is said to have taken possession of the Nawab's palace in which he found great wealth. The Magh King spent three days sacking the city, destroying the Nawab's palace and levelling it to the ground and then returned home. (Manrique, II, p. 279-280.)
- 3. Manrique, vol. II, p. 420.

During the governorship of Islam Khan Mashhadi the Mughal-Arakan conflict was the outcome of a domestic embroglio in the Magh kingdom. After the death of Thiri Thudhamma his son and successor was murdered by a servant of the late King. The murderer, who was the dowager queen's lover, usurped the throne and assumed the title of Narapati after his accession in 1638 A.D.1 Matak Rai, brother of Thiri Thudhamma, declared himself independent in his viceroyalty at Chittagong.2 But his attempt to oust Narapati, the usurper, ended in failure because he had not sufficient naval force to cope with the Magh fleet. So he was compelled to seek shelter with the Mughals. He informed the Mughal thanahdar of Jagdia about the incident. The Mughal thanohdar at once reported the matter to Subahdar Islam Khan Mashhadi. Islam Khan ordered Sanjar Tar Khan. thanadar of Jagdia, and Sayyid Hasan, thanadar of Bhalwa, to proceed with their detachments in order to render the Magh fugitive proper assistance. The forces of the Mughab thanadars moved towards the Feni river, the boundary between Arakan and Bengal. Matak Rai had already joined the Mughal forces.3 After incessant gun fire the Maghs were put to flight by the Mughals. Matak Rai reached Jahangir Nagar with his family and many of his followers. He paid a visit to the Subahdar presenting him three elephants. Islam Khan made provisions for his stay at Jahāngir Nagar.4

Matak Rai's desertion to the side of the Mughals had far reaching consequences. The Portuguese settlers who had supported Matak Rai in his revolt left Chittagang out of fear of the Magh King's vengeance on other Portuguese settlements. If the $B\bar{a}d_{\underline{s}h}\bar{a}h\ N\bar{a}mah$ is to be believed ten to twelve thousand people

^{1.} B.N., II, p. 118.

The real name according to Hodivala is Matak Rai and not Mankat Rai as mentioned in the Persian chronicles. (cf, Hodivala. S.H., Studies in Indo-Muslim history, Bombay, 1939, p. 635.

^{3.} B.N., II, p. 118.

^{4.} B.N., II, p. 120.

whom the Portuguese had held in gruesome bondage at Chittagong escaped after forty years of slavery.¹

The desertion of the Portuguese had far reaching effects upon the Arakanese military strength. The Portuguese gunners and sailors were the spear heads of the Magh raids in Bengal. The loss of their support and the winning over of the rampant Portuguese navy of Chittagong twenty eight years later ensured Shaista Khan's easy conquest of that part of Arakan in 1666.2

The Magh King made another attempt to push forward into the Mughal territory after his failure to have Matak Rai in his grip. He prepared a fleet having 500 Jalias, 150 ghurābs and 5 other vessels fully laden with munition. The Magh fleet entered the estuary between Sripur and Bhalwa. Islām Khān Mashhadī sent a detachment under Maḥaldār Khān to face the Magh. The Mughal fleet moved up to 8 miles southwards to Dhana, erected four temporary bamboo and earthen forts and planted heavy guns on them in the course of two days. Mughal preparations for counter-attack terrified the Maghs who took to flight.

The occasional Magh depredations continued in South Bengal during the governorship of Shah Shuja' as well. It is, of course, true that Shuja' did not follow any spectacular military enterprise against any frontier state. But he took defensive measures against the raids of the Maghs. Shuja' is said to have erected a fort

- 1. B.N., II, p. 119.
- 2. History of Bengal, vol. II, Ed. J. N. Sarkar, p. 332.
- 3. In B.N., II, once it is written as בולב (means confluence) and again בשונה. The dictionary meaning of נשונה is "the mouth of a river" (cf. F. Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary). Probably it is "Dhana", the confluence of the Meghna river. In the 'Alamgir Nāmah (p. 557) it is stated that Shuja' on his way to Arakan, set out from Dacca and first halt was at Dhapa situated eight miles off from Dacca. It was a noted thāna (outpost). It is to be pointed out that the Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī does not mention the name of the place. It may be that the place sprang up as an important outpost for keeping an eye over the raiders and pirates during Shāhjahān's time.
- 4. B.N., If, p. 121.

at Shujabad¹ in the district of Bakarganj for the purpose of checking the Magh incursions. From a document preserved in the Barisal collectorate record-room it is found that there occurred a naval fight between the Mughals and the Maghs and the former were victorious. The area adjacent to the fort of Shujabad covered 77 acres and it was awarded by Shāh Shujā' rent free to the families of some pathans who had fallen in the battle with the Maghs. Shujā' is also said to have taken effective steps for protecting Bakarganj with a ring of forts at Shujabad, Rupasia near Jhalakati² and Indrapasha. It is significant that these forts were placed in the centre of the district: the south appears to have been abandoned to the Maghs.³

Defeated and pursued by Mir Jumla, Prince Shujā' had to proceed to Arakan in May 1660. According to the 'Ālamgir Nāmah, Shujā' set out from Tandah on boats to Dacca (Jahāngīr Nagar). His eldest son reached there before him. Zainuddīn had arranged with the Raja of Arakan that Shujā' would be escorted to Arakan after his (Shujā's) arrival at Dacca. At that time Manuar Khān, a Zamīndār of Dacca, who tried to obstruct the plan, was chastised by Zainuddīn and his Arakanese allie Starting from Dacca on boats guarded by the Arakanese, Shujā' passed through Dhapa (a place situated eight miles from Dacca), Sripur (twenty-four miles north of Dacca), Bhalwa (which then formed the southern limit of the Mughal dominions in Bengal) and thence to Arakan⁴ where he perished miserably at the hand

- 1. A samall village in thanh Nalchiti about five miles south-west of Barisal town on the north bank of the Nalchiti river. It derives its name from Shah Shuja'. (Jack, Baqarganj District Gazetteer, p. 16.)
- 2. A river port south of Barisal town.
- 3. Jack, Baqarganj District Gazetteer, p. 19.
- 4. 'Alamgir nāmah, p. 557-62, According to Manucci. I, Sultan Bang (Sultan Buland Akhtar) had been sent earlier by Shujā' to negotiate with the Magh King in order to get his help for a voyage to Persia or to Mecca (p.369). Both Manucci and Muḥammad Kāzim say that Shujā' took boats from Dacca. ('Alamgir Nāmah, p. 557, Manucci, I, p. 369.) He accompanied Zainuddin, Buland Akhtar and Zain ul 'Abedin and some of his followers, including Jān Beg, Said 'Alam, Said Quli Uzbek, and Mirza Beg, on his way to Jahāngīr Nagar ('Alamgir Nāmah, p. 557, Maathir-i-'Alamgiri, Tr. p. 18).

of the followers of the Arakanese King with all the members of his family.¹

To sum up, the Mughal Eastern frontier policy under Shahjahan was neither 'aggressive' nor 'forward'. The Mughals aimed primarily at maintaining the territorial integrity of Bengal. In so doing they were sometimes unavoidably involved in frontier skirmishes and disputes but, on the whole they tried to keep their involvement to the minimum. In case of Arakan they could not tackle the Chittagong 'nest of pirates' mainly because of their weaknesses on sea. That was somehow overcome by Shaistah Khan under whom the Mughal flotilla of Bengal was substantially strengthened and utilised for breaking the Arakanese power in Chittagong in 1666.

APPENDIX

Diplomatic letter from Nawab Allahyar Khan, the Mughal General to Momali Tamuli Bar Barua, the Commander of the Ahom forces dated the month of Magh, Saka I561.²

"Here we are all well and we always desire your welfare and advancement. We have been acquainted with the contents of your letter. We wish that our friendshipshould ever be on the increase and that you should not entertain in your heart any misgiving in this respect. You have referred to the agreement relating to the fixation of our mutual boundaries, namely the river Barnadi on the north bank and you have given the assurance that these

The Maathir-i-'Alamgiri continues that Ikhlas Khan Khweshgi brought the treasures, jewels and other effects and women of Shuja from Bengal to the royal court of Aurangzib (p. 19).

- For detailed study see Bernier, pp. 110-112. Tavernier, vol. 1. pp. 369-70.
 Manucci, vol. 1. pp. 374-75. East Bengal Ballads, D.C. Sen, vol. IV (Part II), p. 457.
- Tr. by Surya Kumar Bhuma in the "Laehit Barphukan and his times" Gauhati, 1947. (pp. 189-90.)

boundaries will never be altered or violated. This course of action will lead to the revival of our friendship and the cows and Brahmans of both countries will live in safety and peace. The arrangement will also establish your reputatation and prestige; and our names will be blessed in all countries without any trace of infamy.

I have sent herewith my men Sek Meda and Akadas of Jharkhanda, with your *Ukils* Sanatan and Kanu Sarma. Please send them back in ten or five days after having presented them before your sovereign. If this is done there will not remain any misgiving or suspicion between us. You will hear everything from the lips of the *Ukils*."

Letter from Momali Tamuli Bar Barua to Allahyar Khan, dated the month of Jaistha, 1562 Saka.

"Your two Ukils, Sek Meda and Akadas, have arrived here, and we are delighted to hear from them that you are well. You have informed us that both parties will be benefitted by respecting the boundaries now fixed, namely, the river Barnadi on the north, and Asurar Ali on the south, and that our reputation and prestige will ever be on the increase and will not know any abatement. It is praiseworthy that you have written like this. The friendship and promises of noblemen should not be retracted and you should see that they are progressively maintained. In accordance with your request we have sent back your Ukils after ten or five days. We took them with us and presented them before our King. Your Ukils will communicate to you what His Majesty had told them.

In former times we carried on negotiations on many occasions with the Nawabs at Gauhati. Now you are entrusted with the charge of affairs at Gauhati; and I am vested with similar responsibilities here. So please write to us about what you consider necessary. If we proceed in this way, why should not our friendship be of long duration? You will know what remains to be known from Sanatan and Kanu Sarma."

CHAPTER V

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

The abundance of Persian chronicles relating to the political history of the Mughals is noticeable in comparison with the peculiar dearth of materials in which one can get first hand information on the administrative set up of the Mughal empire or of the provinces therein. Some of the Mughal emperors wrote their autobiographies. Again most of them had official historians in their courts. But most of their works are lacking in matters relating to administration. A student of Mughal administrative history is confronted with a two-fold difficulty. Firstly he is faced with the paucity of materials bearing precisely on the subject. Secondly, he is faced with the difficulty in the interpretation of administrative terms. From all points of view the $\bar{A}^{\prime}in$ and the Akbarnamah of Abu'l Fadl 'Allami give us the fundamental administrative principles of the Mughals. It is true that some officials did not act according to the standard laid down but some did, and it is hardly fair to say that it described an ideal which was not enforced or practised at all. It is possible to point out some instances of dereliction of duties by the officers, but, for all we know, there may be many instances to the contrary, i.e. of conscientious officers acting up to standard.

Administrative boundary of Bihar and Bengal

On the eastern frontier Kamrup and Assam stood as frontier states under Akbar bordering Bengal. Kamrup was annexed during the reign of Jahāngīr under Shāhjahān and the Mughal arms advanced up to Gauhati at the end of the second Ahom-Mughal war (1636-1638). Gauhati became the seat of government of the Mughal occupied Assam. In the south-east the imperial frontier extended up to the Feni river and it was only in 1666 that it was pushed further resulting in the annexation of Chittagong. While North Bihar was directly under the Mughal authority,

South Bihar still remained outside the pale of their authority. During Shahjahan's reign they tried to extend their rule in South Bihar. Bhojpur was conquered and brought under Mughal rule. The Mughals invaded Palamau twice. The result was that the Palamau chief recognised only the nominal suzerainty of the invaders. He was made an imperial manşabdar and the country was left to him as tuyul. The territory was not brought under direct provincial administration till Aurangzib's reign. Here we must look into Orissa's relationship with Bengal during this period. Orissa was annexed by the Mughals in 1592. Under Jahangir Orissa was a fullfledged, separate province having its governors appointed from the centre. In Shahjahan's time it was made an adjunct of Bengal. In March 1642, it was joined to Shuja's charge² who immediately sent Muhammad Zaman Tihrani from Dacca to administer Orissa for him. Orissa was again assigned to him in July 16483 during his second governorship.

Prince Shuja' governed Orissa with the help of the deputy governors. The portion from Mandal Ghat to Baleswar (Balasore) was separated from Orissa and permanently attached to Bengal. Van den Broocke's map of Bengal in 1660, given by Valentyn, still shows "the Gedenkteeken" or memorial stone to the northwest of Midnapur that marked the frontier between Bengal and Orissa. Grant says that the coast of Hijli and Midnapur as far as Balasore was attached to Bengal on account of the raids of the Maghs and the Portuguese who were, to some extent, controlled by the imperial fleet stationed at Dacca.4

Structure of provincial administration and its actual functioning.

There is no denying the fact that provincial administration was greatly improved under Akbar and in this respect the Mughal period differs substantially from the Sultanate. The boundaries of the provincial units were now more definitely fixed

^{1.} B.N., 1I, pp 359-61.

^{2.} A.S, II, p. 361.

^{3.} Or 1675 (waris) 27b, A.S., III, p. 64.

^{4.} JASB, 1873, p. 225, Fifth report, Ed. Ferminger, p. 182.

and a uniform administrative pattern, with some modifications to suit local conditions, was developed for all parts of the empire. Each province was provided with a set of officials representing the main branches of state activity.

The governor of the province known in different titles such as Sipah Salār, Nazim and Subahdār was appointed by the imperial order technically called the Farmān i-Sabiti²

Next in official rank stood the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ who was in independent charge of the revenues of the province. These two officers shared the responsibility of practically the whole administrative machinery of the province. They were assisted by the $Ba\underline{khsh}\bar{\imath}$ or paymaster the Sadr, the $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$, the $Kotw\bar{a}l$, the Mir Bahr, the $Waqa^{s1}$ $Naw\bar{\imath}s$, etc.

In addition to these officers it was customary for the emperors to send a number of nobles (who were assigned $J\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}rs$) for the assistance of the governor in running the provincial administration. By the introduction of a cadre of $mansabd\bar{a}rs$, liable to be transferred anywhere at the behest of the central government, the control over the provinces was made more effective.

Subahdār: Under Shāhjahān, the entire empire was divided into twenty-two subahs the emperor invested him with the insignia of office and bestowed on him suitable honours and other gifts. Usually the governor was a manṣabdār of high rank between 5000 to 7000 horse. Qāsim Khān Juwaynī (1628-32) held a manṣab

- 1. Saran says that he was the vicegerent of the sovereign. (A'in. 1. 280 عالم است). The word vicegerent is too high sounding of a servant of the state (other than a prince of the royal blood) serving as a governor of a province, because his power was limited in many respects by the central government, although he was the acknowledged head of the provincial government,
- 2. A'in, 1, 194, It is to be noted here that in the Farmān, the phrase Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim was substituted by Allaho Akbar during the reign of Akbar in 1576 A.D. The change was followed all throughout the reign of Jahangir. Dr. M.L., Ray Chaudhuri says that it was changed in the year of the Coronation of Shahjahan (IHRC, XVIII, 1942, pp. 188-96). But I have seen that the old style of beginning with Allaho Akbar continued in 1629. In Shahjahan's Farmān appointing a Qadi with the grant of Madad-i-Maāsh in 1629 A.D. Or 11697-Original).

of 5000/5000,² A'zam Khān (1632-35) 6000/6000,³ Islām Khān Mashhadī (1635-39) 5000/ 4000, as governors of Bengal. In Bihar Khān-i-'Ālam held a rank of 6000/5000,¹ Sa'id Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang 7000,² Ja'far Khān 5000/5000,³ Dhulfāqār Khān Qara Manlu 5000/50004 and Allāhwardī Khān 5000/4000,⁵ Shāh Shujā's rank was an exception. Being the son of the emperor he had a higher manṣab than other governors who served in Bengal and Bihar during this period. In the first decade of Shāhjahān's reign, he held a manṣab of 12000/7000, in second decade 15000/10000 in third decade 20000/15000.⁶ In Bihar, of course, Saif Khān and I'tiqād Khān held 4000/4000 each? but 'Abdullāh Khān Firuz Jang held a manṣab of 6000/6000.⁸

Jahāngir's reign witnessed the appointment of princes sūbahdars. In 1616, Parvīz was appointed to the Subahārī of Allāhābād and Khurram to that of the Deccan. This practise was followed in Shāhjahān's time. Accordingly Shujā' was given Bengal and Orissa, Aurangzīb, Khandesh, Berar, Daulatabād, Telingana and

- 1. B.N. II, p. 710-11. In the Dastur-ul-Amal or 1779, the number is shown as 21. (173b)
- 2. A.S. I, p. 266
- 3. M.U. I, p. 177. A.S., I, p. 508.
- 4. B.N. II, p. 94. A.S., II, pp. 95-96. M.U., I. 162-67.
- 1. M.U. I, p. 736.
- 2. M.U. II, pp. 429-37.
- 3. A.S. III, p. 451.
- 4. M.U. II, p. 88.
- 5. A.S. III, p, 451.
- 6. B.N. I, pp. 292-93. B.N. II, pp. 717-18. A.S. III, pp448-50. Shuja's rank was definitley lower than that of Data Shikuh who Jin the 20th year of Shahjahan's reign held a manşah of 20000/20000, and his pay amounted accordingly to 40 crore dams (B.N. II, 715) i.e, a third of the jama of of the Khāliṣa at that time. By the thirtieth year of the reign his rank had been raised to 60000/40000. This extraordinary promotion might be due to the fact that the emperor thought that the prince would succeed him during his illness.
- 7. A.S. III, p. 452-53.
- 8. A.S. III, p. 449.

Murad, Gujerat. It had a far reaching consequence on the future trend of Mughal history. Each of the sons of Shahjahan tended to look upon himself as an independent governor. In fact, in accordance with the Timuride-Chingizide tradition, the entire Mughal empire had been split up among future contestants on the eve of the war of succession.

After Shahjahan's accession to the throne, he followed a systematic policy in appointment of governors of Bengal and Bihar. The office of governor was never left vacant and clear rules were laid down regarding the arrangements to be taken during his absence in case of accident or any other reason. During the time of Jahangir it was laid down in the imperial regulations that, after the death of the Bengal subahdar, the highest imperial officer who stayed at Mungir was to take charge of that office. He was to go to Bengal and discharge the administrative functions of that Sūbah in accordance with royal orders. If there was no man of this position at Mungir, then the Subahdar of Bihar was to go to Bengal. This procedure was followed in several cases in Jahangir's time. Jahangir Quli, Islam Khan Chishti, Ibranim Khan Fath Jang all served in Bengal and then they were transferred to Bengal. In Shahjahan's reign Saif Khan and I'tiqad Khan officiated as governors of Bengal on the eve of Shah Shuja''s first and second governorship.1

When a governor was appointed in a distant province but could not take up his duty immediately, the office was not left vacant. Able officers were sent to carry on the administration till the arrival of the new governor. In Bengal Mir Said Saidū

- 1. Saksena-History of Shahjahan of Dihli, p. 322.
- 2. About I'tiqad Khan's appointment see A.S. II, p. 505 C.C. 85b. It is not true that I'tiqad Khan officiated as governor of Bengal in addition to his governorship of Bihar. Contemporary chroniclers tell us that orders were issued to I'tiqad Khan to hasten to Bengal on the 18th Ramadān, 1058 A. H. and in his place Mīr Muḥammad Baqar, surnamed A'zam Khan, was appointed governor of Bihar. I'tiqad Khan was ordered to proceed from Bengal in 1648 A. D. when Shuja' was appointed there (A.S., III, p. 20).

was entrusted with the affairs of Bengal before Islam Khan Mashhadi's assumption of office. Nawab Saif Khan officiated as interim governor of Bengal before Prince Shuja's arrival. Muḥammad Ḥayat was ordered to manage the affairs of Bengal till Shuja's arrival there for the second time.

The Sūbahdār was expected to possess tact, courage4 and resourcefulness in tackling the affairs of the province. people he was the 'Master' and the 'Lord'. The functions of the Subahdar were threefold—civil, judicial and military. As the head of the civil administration he was responsible for the maintenance of law and order within the province. He was to recommend changes of officers of the province for the smooth running of the administration.⁵ The governor recommended imperial officers for promotion and imperial honours.6 He used to order the Diwan to prepare the assignment of land to the subordinate officers. In financial matters he must be in agreement with the Diwan, His duty was to collect tributes and remit them to the capital. He had the obligation of sending pishkash to the imperial court in cash or kind. Throughout the period elephants. eunuchs and precious wood constituted the chief items of pishkash. Islam Khan Chishti once sent 160 male and female elephants from Bengal.8 Ibrahim Khan had sent some eunuchs and two boats made in Bengal of a very pleasant shape on the decoration of which a sum of Rs. 10.000 had been spent. During Fidai Khan's

- 1. Subh Sādiq, 123b.
- 2. A.S., III, p. 300, R.S., p. 209.
- 3. Wāris, 13b.
- 4. B.G., II, p. 631.
- 5. Ibid, 1, 3.
- 6. After the Ahom-Mughal war Islam <u>Khan Mashhadi</u> wrote to the court about the Mughal victory and the services rendered by the Mughal army men. (B.N. II, p. 90). After the Palamau campaign I'tiqad <u>Khan sent a detailed report to the court and recommended Pratap for a mansab.</u> Thereupon <u>Shabjahan appointed him a full commander of 1000.</u> (Ibid, 361, A.S. II, p. 398.)
- 7. Mirāt-i-Ahmadi, Fr. 164.
- 8. Tuzuk, I, 227.
- 9. Ibid, II, 202.

Subahdarship in Bengal the governor was to send annually 500,000 rupees to the emperor 500,000 rupees to Nurjahan as Pishkash.1 On 15th January, 1632, Qasim Khan sent presents worth two lakhs of rupees to the imperial court.2 They consisted of thirtythree elephants, twenty-seven hill ponies, some shields of rhinoceros hide, forty maunds of aloe wood and other special products of the province. In 1652 A.D Shah Shuja' sent pishkash including Anber, Agar and twenty elephants of which seventeen were male and three female. On that occasion, in all, presents worth 3 hundred sixty thousand rupees were sent to Shahjahan.3 In 1650 A.D. Shuja' sent presents worth one hundred fifty thousand rupees.4 In 1655 A.D. Shuia' sent one crore dam as land revenue from the provinces of Bengal and Orissa to the court.5 Dhulfaqar Khan sent two hundred thousand rupees to the imperial treasury in terms of revenue from the Khalisah parganas of Allahabad and Bihar in the same year.6

The Bengal Subahdār had the power to send envoys to the court of foreign princes. Islām Khān Chishti sent envoys to Raja Lakshmi Narayan, to Kuch Bihar and to Raja Parikshit of Kamrup. For administrative reasons he had the power to change the capital to a suitable place. Islām Khān transferred the capital of Bengal to Jahāngir Nagar Dacca, from Rāj Mahal to deal with the local Zamindārs effectively. During Shujā's viceroyalty the capital of Bengal was shifted from Dacca to Raj Mahal.

The Ṣubahdār used to hold royal reception in honour of distinguished visitors. Islām Khān Chishti spent 10,000 rupees in honour of the Iranian embassy when it visited Bengal.8

- 1. I.N. 291, R.S., p. 208, M.U., III, 16.
- 2. History of Bengal, II, p. 317.
- 3. A.S. III, p. 146.
- 4. Ibid, p. 114.
- 5. Ibid, p. 210.
- 6. *Ibid*, p. 210.
- 7. B.-G. 1, p. 40.
- 8. Ibid, p. 212.

As an imperial manṣabdār and chief military head of the province the governor had the power to review the forces. He was to inform the imperial court of cases of improper conduct of the officers directly serving under him. In case of war he was to lay down the strategy in consultation with the high officials and the experienced commanders. The Subahdār could not make war on a feudatory state in the province or any independent prince without permission of the emperor. All treaties entered into by the commanders on the spot were to be ratified by the Subahdār.¹

One of the duties the Subahdār was to administer justice. He was not authorised to inflict the death penalty on any one who was deserving of it, but to send such cases to the imperial court with a full account of them. Shāhjahān ordered 'Abdullah Khān to execute Pratap Ujjainia after the occupation of Bhojpur.' Raja Satrajit, the Mughal thānadār of Pandu, was executed because of his repeated acts of treachery to the Mughal cause.

The governors of the sub-provinces were normally appointed on the recommendation of the viceroy of the major province to which they were attached. Just as the Subahdar of the Deccan had the authority to appoint governors of Khandesh, Berar, Daulatabad and Telingana, similarly Shuja' administered Orissa through his deputies. They were Muḥammad Zaman Tihrani (1642-45), Mu'taqid Khan (1645-48), Jan Beg Haravi (1648-51) Muḥammad Ḥayat (1951) Mir Samsamuddowla Anju (1654), Rashid Khan and Tabriyat Khan (1655-57).4

The tenure of provincial governors depended upon the will of the emperor. Shahjahan did not tolerate incompetence or abuses in provincial governments. Khan 'Alam, the first governor of Bihar under Shahjahan, was addicted to Koknar (opium or

^{1.} B.G. 1, p. 224.

^{2.} B.N. 11, p. 274.

^{3.} B.N. 11, p. 79.

See Faiyadul-Qawānin (1. o. 3901), fol. 352, A.S. II, p. 361, 388; A.S. III, p. 64, Waris, 27b, Charchaman 85b; A.S. III, p. 194; A.S. III, p. 204; Waris, 158b.

hemp) and so failed to discharge his duties as efficiently as he ought to have done. He was removed from office before the first year had elapsed. 'Azam Khān remained as governor of of Bengal for three years. He was then recalled apparently because he could not handle the situation that arose out of the Ahom-Mughal war of 1636.

While Bengal witnessed a long governorship of Shujā' in Bihar there were frequent changes of governors. From the time of the appointment of Khān 'Alam, Bihar had the services of ten governors till the outbreak of the war of succession. At the time of the war of succession Allāh Wardi Khān, the governor of Bihār, was won over by Prince Shujā' when the latter

1. Mughal governors of Bihar under Shahjahan

<u>Kh</u>an 'Ālam (1628)

Mirza Ṣafī alias Saif Khān (1628-32)

'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang (1632-39)

Shaistah Khan (1639-43)

I'tiqad Khan (1643-46)

Mîr Muhammad Baqar (1646)

Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang (1647-51)

Jafar Khan (1651-1656)

Dhulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu (1656-57)

Allahwardi Khan (1657)

Prof. Hasan Askari in his article "Bihar in the time of Shāhjahān" published in the Indian History Congress Journal, 1944 does not mention the name of Sulaiman Shikoh as governor of Bihar in 1656. It appears from the 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ that he was appointed as governor of Bihar. It is probable that he did not hold the post at all. Jafar Khān was ultimately replaced by Dhulfaqar Khān Qaramanlu (cf. A.S. Ill,pp. 214-15, 230).

Mughal governors of Bengal under Shahjahan

Qasim Khan Juwayni (1628-32)

A'zam Khan (1632-35)

Islam Khan Mashhadi (1635-39)

Saif Khan officiated for a brief period. He died in Bengal in 1640 A.D. (A.S., II., p. 325.)

Prince Shuja' (1639-60—first time from 1639 to 1647, second time from 1652 to 1660)

I tiquad Khan officiated for a brief period. He left Bengal in 1648 A.D.

Shuja's governorship was interrupted twice in 1648 and 1652.

17-

marched to Patna. When Allah Wardl wavered in his allegiance to Shuja, the latter managed to dispose of him.

'Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang was the hardest and the most cruel of Bihar governors. He remained in power for seven years (1632-39). He has been described by Peter Mundy as a ruthless man having no consideration for another's life. He has mentioned some of 'Abdullah's cruel acts such as "the killing of an almost dying woman and her crying child" saying that he would remedy them both,

"setting fire to a building" full of women and children, "causing diverse Mughals of respect to ride in open shame on asses back with their faces blackened all over with soot where of one of them for very grief poisoned himself the next day, and imposing new customs both inwards and outside that made even so much as a poor woman that sells milk up and down streets pay customs for it."

Mundy says that the country was infested with rebels and theives because of his bad governorship.² It is not unreasonable to think that Mundy had a prejudice against 'Abdullah Khān as the former had to pay Rs. $314^{1/2}$ for customs besides Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 more in bribes to his officers.³ We get no other contemporary account of these affairs though the Ma'athir-al-Umarā records the boast of 'Abdullah Khān that he had erected mines filled with the heads of 200,000 non-believers on both sides of the road from Agra to Patna.⁴ It also records that 'Abdur Raḥīm Beg Uzbeg, brother of 'Abdur Rahmān Beg guardian tutor of 'Abdul Āzīz Khān (son of Nazar Muḥammad Khān ruler of Balkh), came to India and was given a tuyul in the province of Bihar. The haughty attitude of 'Abdullah Khān created bad blood between the two. In order to escape the wrath of the governor 'Abdur Rahīm feigned to have lost his power

^{1.} A.S. III, p. 327.

^{2.} Mundy, 11, p. 151.

^{3.} Ibid

^{4.} M.U. 11, p. 788.

of speech to escape punishment. He kept up the show for a year so successfully that even his wife and near relations failed to understand it. When he was recalled to court, he spoke at length everything against 'Abullah Khan to the utter surprise of everybody.¹

Governorship of Prince Shuja":2

Of all the governors of Bengal and Bihar Shah Shujā' had a unique position. His period of governorship (from 1639-1660) interrupted by two short periods of absence (March 1647-March 1648), (March 1652-September 1652), lasted for nearly twenty-one years. Shujā's position immediately below the emperor had one aweinspiring effect upon his adversaries, rebels and mal-contents. There is no doubt that a royal prince serving as a governor enjoyed more power than that of an ordinary servant of the state discharging his duties in that capacity.

Shujæ' was proud of his administrative successes as governor of Bengal. He wrote to his father,

- 1. M.U. 11, p. 793.
- 2. Shah Shuja', the fourth child and second son of Emperor Shahiahan and Mumtaz Mahal was born at Ajmir on June, 23, 1616. Of all grandsons Jahangir loved him most. He imbibed unconsciously all the virtues and vices of Jahingir. When young Shuiz' once fell ill Jahangir was so anxious for his recovery that he took a vow not to shoot with a gun and offered prayers for his welfare. He was only twelve when Shahjahan ascended the throne. Though young he got his first mansab several months before Dara and was invested with the nominal command over the Southern Army operating against Bijapur. Accordingly, Parenda, (a fort surrendered to the 'Adil Shah in 1532 by its commander) was besieged by the Mughals. In the absence of proper organisation supplies for the army in the field were lacking. Mahabat Khan had narrowly escaped capture. Ultimately Shuja' and Mahabat Khan raised the siege of Parenda and retired to Burhanpur. The failure vexed the emperor who recalled Shīh Shuja' to court and censured Mahabat Khan. When the fort of Qandahar fell into the hands Shahjahan in 1638 A.D. Shab Shuja' was sent at the head of 20,000 troops to defend it against the rumoured invasion of the Persian King Shah Safi. He obtained the first viceroyalty of Bengal in 1639 A. D.

"Since I have assumed charge of these tracts the manner in which I have laboured for the improvement of the country has been reported to you in despatches. I hope the Subah of Patna should also be given to me. The chiefs of Morang and Kachar¹ who have not paid Pishkash (tribute) to any predecessor of mine as governor of Bengal have all repeatedly professed obedience and good will and behave loyally. They have presented several elephants which are being forwarded to the court."²

Salih records that Bahadur Khan, the refractory Zamindar of Hijli, was also crushed by Jan Beg, one of the principal servants of Shuja'.3

Shuja', claimed that agriculture was improved during his viceroyalty. He wrote to his father,

"As promotion of cultivation and happiness of all people are known to be the particular objects of your Majesty's attention. I have, during this time, made much effort to improve cultivation and reclamation of the country that both the Subahs are showing every day signs of such labour. The condition of the Subah of Orissa was bad owing to the oppression of the previous governor. As I have tried my utmost to improve the administration of these two Subahs,

- 1. During the governorship of Qasim Khan, I, the Mughals attacked Kachar. It ended in failure because of the sudden death of the Mughal general. (History of Bengal, II, p. 291.
 - About the marriage of Shujā', Peter Mundy says, "In Feb. 1633, the eldest and the second sons to the King were both married within eight days one of the other, first Dara, the eldest to the Sultan Parviz, his daughter, he about 17 and she about 14 years of age, and Sultan Shujā' to the daughter of Rustum Kandahari both younger than the other two". (Mundy, vol. 11, p. 202.)
- 2. Faiyadul-Qawānin, I.O. 3901, p. 355. Shujā's letter Tr. Qanungo, IHRC, 1928, pp. 139 40.
- 3. A.S., Ill. p. 122, Diwan Fauji, or, 302. Fauji attached himself to Mirza Jan Beg who commanded in Orissa under Shah Shuja' and took Hijli in the 24th year of Shah Jahan's reign.

if Patna be also given to me, I shall, after leaving these children of tender age at that place, devote myself to the conduct of affairs in these Subahs and hold myself responsible for their welfare."

Shuja' was quite aware of his political and economic responsibilities. He wanted an absolute hand in the affairs of the Subah and complete authority over the subordinate officials who were nominated by the emperor.

It is clear from his letters that he was not happy over his appointment as governor of Bengal and Orissa. He always complained that his children had suffered from various diseases in Bengal and its climate was unsuitable for them. He begged a pargana of the Subah Bihar in the neighbourhood of Garhi. He even laid proposal for exchanging Bengal and Orissa for the whole of Bihar with Rohtas fort.³

It is found from his letters that Shujā' administered Orissa competently through his officer Muhammad Zamān Tihrānī. He pointed out that Shah Nawāz Khān, the former governor of Orissa caused injury to the peasantry and disruption in the administration by his high-handed measures. Shujā' sent Muhammad Zamān Tihrānī from Dacca to Orissa and placed Mir Abul Qāsim as the commandant of Jahāngir Nagar. He also despatched a fresh contingent of 500 horse to strengthen Mir Abul Qāsim's position there. He informed Shāhjahān that Muhammad Zamān Tihrāni, his deputy in Orissa, and Muhammad Beg, the Diwān of the place, brought suitable changes in the affairs of Orissa and put the administrative machinery in order. Shujā' made suitable arrangements in the assignment of land among the amirs and the provincial officers. Shāhjahān bestowed suitable

F. Q., I. O. 3901, pp. 359-56.
 Shuja's letters Tr. Qanungo in IHRC, 1928' pp. 140-41.

^{2.} F. Q., I.O., 3931, p. 359.

^{3.} *Ibid*, p 354

^{4.} F. Q., I. O., 3901, pp. 352-53.

^{5.} Ibid, p. 359

presents upon Shuja. He wrote that the Jagir land of Bengal was better than that of Orissa. The salary enjoyed by Shuja in lieu of his assignment amounted to one erore six million dams.

Shujā' had no respite even in far off Bengal from the vigilance of his father who urged the Prince to make frequent tours through the province. Shujā' writes,

"Another order of your Majesty is this: that I should make a tour according to the following programme. Akbar Nagar to Burdwan and thence to Medinipur (which is the frontier of Orissa), where I am to recall any official whose removal appears necessary and settle the Mahals; from Medinipur I am to tour to Jahanabad (Birbhum), Satgam, Hugli, Makhsusabad and back to Rāj Maḥal."²

Though the capital of Bengal was shifted from Jahangir Nagar to Raj Mahal by Shuja' the former place continued to remain as one of the chief administrative centres of the province. Raj Mahal was embellished with many buildings by Shuja'. A violent fire of 1640 A.D. destroyed many of his bungalows which were made of wood and thatch.

Shia's staunchest adherents in his government were mostly Shia's. Muḥammad Ṣādiq mentions the names of four of his nobles—Aqā Muḥammad Zamān Tirāni, Mīr Abul Qāsim Tabātabāi Simnani, his Bakhī, Mir 'Alaul Mulk, his tutor, and Mir Rukn 'Alī, identified as his Mulazim-i-Rikāb (servant of the stirrup). Prince Shujā' lived surrounded by Shia' officers and Shia' divines, had married one after another two Shia' wives, had a Shia' lady for his mother—these factors lend support to the view that he was a Shia' in belief. It also strengthens the tradition prevalent in Dacca that Shujā' brought with him three hundred Shia' nobles whom he settled in different parts of the country.

There is marked similarity between Shuja's governorship in Bengal and Aurangzib's in the Deccan. Both served twice in their respective provinces. Aurangzib' of course, considered t e

^{1.} F. Q., I. O., 3901, p. 359

^{2,} Ibid, p. 361, Shujā's letters tr. Qanungo. IHRC, 1928, p. 141,

responsibility of governing the Deccan to be higher and of greater importance than the Subahdari of other provinces of the empire He even wrote.

"This province (i.e. the Deccan) is different from Bengal and Gujerat in many respects. It is essential that a large force should be stationed here permanently."

There is no denying the fact that it was chiefly due to Aurangzib's military prowess and diplomatic activities that the status of $S\bar{u}bahd\bar{a}r$ of the Deccan was raised to a great extent during this period.

Shuja also wished to impress upon his father that he was the ablest of his sons. He even pointed out the shortcomings of Aurangzib's administration over the four subahs of the Deccan. He himself desired to make a success of the administration of his own province. Evidence of this can be found in his letters written to his father.

It is true that no spectacular military enterprise was undertaken by Shuja'. But his policy of developing commercial relations with the Europeans, particularly the English, brought noticeable wealth and prosperity in Bengal. His long viceroyalty was also conducive to steady progress and peace, though south Bengal suffered in certain ways.

On the report of Shahjahan's serious illness Shuja' was the first of the emperor's sons to rise and declare his independence.

- 1. Islamic Culture, 1946, p. 387. The Status of Subahdars and the Diwans of the Deccan in the time of Shahjahan.
- 2. F.Q., I.O., 3901, p. 354.
- 3. Manrique writes that Shuja's unusually long governorship emboldened him to assume imperial airs. (Manrique, I, p. 52). From the letter of William Thurston and Edward Pearce at Basra written from Basra to the Company on 26th September, 1642. it is evident that Shuja' had an ambition of seiz,ng the Mughal throne at Agra from the days of his first governorship. (E. F. I., 1642-45, pp. 58-59.) It is to be noted that according to the Persian chronicles Shuja did not openly exhibit his idea of seizing the throne till the time of the Emperor's serious illness in 1657. He always complied with orders of the Emperor and also sent customary presents and gifts to the imperial court.

He has himself proclaimed King with his name inserted in the Friday prayer and coins struck before starting towards Delhi.¹

The word 'Diwān' is of foreign extraction. Perhaps no other word has undergone so many changes in meaning and application.² Under the Mughals it came to be applied to the minister of revenue as well as, in general, to any person entrusted with the management of any property on behalf of the owner. Every prince or Zāmīndār had a Diwān to manage his property and even his household.

In the province, next to the $S\bar{u}bahd\bar{u}r$ in official rank but not in any way under his control, was the provincial $D\bar{i}w\bar{u}n$ who was in independent charge of the revenues of the province. He was selected by the Imperial $D\bar{i}w\bar{u}n$ and appointed directly from the imperial court. He was responsible for the due collection, proper accounting and regular auditing of the revenue. The duties of the $D\bar{i}w\bar{u}n$ were multifarious, general organisation, supervision and checking of accounts, appointment and dismissal of $Mutasadd\bar{i}s$ (clerks) and ' $\bar{A}mtls$ (tax collectors) etc., increase and decrease in the pay of the soldiers, means of livelihood for the people, detention or release of prisoners. No money was to be withdrawn without a certificate from the $D\bar{i}w\bar{u}n$.

The $Subahd\bar{a}r$ and the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ formed some sort of an administrative dyarchy—one representing the civil and administrative branch and the other the revenue branch. The $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$, also called the wazir, was a check on the provincial governor. There occurred frequent clashes between the $Subahd\bar{a}r$ and $Diw\bar{a}n$ in Bengal in exercising their respective authority during the reign of Jahangir-Islām $Kh\bar{a}n$'s assumption of the imperial prerogative was resented by $Diw\bar{a}n$ Mutaqid $Kh\bar{a}n$. Qasim $Kh\bar{a}n$ I disgraced Mirza Husain

- Only five coins of Shuja' have been found so far. Two of them (Nos. 690 and 691 of the coins of the Mughal emperors of India) are in the British Museum. cf. JASB, 1924, p. 534; JNSI, 1952, Singhal A silver Nisar of Shāh Shujā'.
- 2. Provincial administration of the Mughals. P. Saran, p. 189.

Beg, the Diwan and his sons. Jahangir deputed a trusty officer named Sa'adat Khan to look into the whole affair. When the guilt of Qasim Khan I was established he was compelled to restore all property of the Diwan and also to pay him compensation of one hundred thousand rupees.\(^1\) Qasim Khan I also insulted Mukhlis Khan who combined the office of Diwan, Bakhshi and Waqai' Navis of Bengal. Jahangir dismissed Qasim Khan and reduced the mansab of Mukhlis Khan after this incident.

In Shāhjahān's time also there were occurrences of clashes between the Sūbahdūr and the Dīwān in Bengal. Muqim Khān Abhari was the Dīwān of Bengal under Qāsim Khān II.² According to the Subh-i-Sādiq he was relieved of his duties during the time of Azam Khān. Muqim left Bengal for Mecca on his way to pilgrimage but died on his way. His sons, Muḥammad Taqī and Muḥammad Ja'far, returned to the imperial court at Agra.

The $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ was the head of a graded series of services on the revenue side from $Amalguz\bar{a}r$ down to the patwari just as the governor was the head of a similar range of services from the $Faujd\bar{a}r$ down to the $Shiqd\bar{a}r$. This system was in the nature of an administrative dyarchy. The purpose of this administrative device was to create the most potent and reliable check on the highest officials of the province. The $S\bar{u}bahd\bar{a}r$ and the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ kept a jealous watch over each other's activities and reported them to the headquarters. Indeed, as soon as the imperial government was informed that the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ and the governor of any province were quarrelling with each other, one of them or sometimes both were immediately recalled.

<u>Sh</u>ujā's governorship witnessed a succession of $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}ns$ at short intervals. Aqā Afḍāl became the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ of Bengal in 1642 A.D.³ Maltafat <u>Kh</u>ān, another $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ of Shujā', had carried a <u>Kh</u>ilat, a Sword and 100,000 rupees from the Imperial Court for

^{1.} B.G., l, pp. 282-85, p. 286, p. 298.

Subh-i-Sadiq 120b, Muquim Khan Abhari hailed from Abhar a place in Persia. He was a Mansabdar of 700/200 who died in the 7th year of Shahjahan's reign. (BN, 1, p. 316, BN, 11, p. 540, p. 679.)

^{3.} AS, Il p. 362.

the prince. Rai Kasidas was transferred from Akbarabad to assume charge of the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}nship$ of Bengal in 1646 A.D.¹ In his place Sheikh 'Abdul Karīm was appointed as $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ of Akbarabad.² Before this appointment an amount of eight crore dams was sent from the $J\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}rs$ of Shāh Shujā in Bengal to the Khālisah Sharifa. In 1648 A.D., Mīr Samsamuddowla, son of Mīr Husamuddin, entitled Murtaḍa Khān, was the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ of Shujā.³ In 1650 A.D. Muzaffar Hardi was appointed as $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ of Bengal in place of Kifāyat Khān.⁴ Qābel Khān Shirāzī got the Wizārat of Bengal under Shujā.' He got the title of Ṣālih Khān.⁵

In Bihar, Khawajah Qasim, surnamed Aqidat Khan, was the dīwān during the viceroyalty of Khan-i-'Alam. He is said to have sent four elephants to the imperial court as pikhash in the first year of Shahjahan's reign. In 1653 a.d. Tarachand was appointed Diwān of Bihar in place of 'Askari.6 In the following year (1654 A.D.), 'Ataullah Khawajah and in 1657 a.d. Haji Ahmad Said were incumbents to this high office in Bihar.7

Dr. Yusuf Husain thinks that the *Diwāns* of the Deccan enjoyed higher privileges and status than the *Diwāns* of other subahs. They were addressed like imperial *Diwāns* with the lofty titles of 'Wizarat Panāh' and 'Madar-i-Mahām'. It is not known whether the *Diwāns* of Bengal and Bihar enjoyed the same privilege.

Bakhshī and Waqai 'Navis:

The Bakhshi was usually the second in rank to the governor in charge of military establishment stationed in the province. When an expedition was ordered the Bakhshi saw to it whether they had the requisite number of men and horses

- 1. Or 175, 240b.
- 2. A.S., 11, p. 509
- 3. Waris, 14a & b.
- 4. Ibid, 64a.
- 5. S.S., 129b
- 6. AS, Ill, p. 161.
- 7. Ibid, p. 248.
- 8. Dr. Yusuf Husain—Islamic Culture, 1946, p. 389. The Status of the Subadars and the Diwans of the Deccan in the time of Shahjahan.

under them. In consultation with the leader of the expedition the Bakhshī looked after the needs of the army and was represented by another Bakhshī as well in the expedition. The Bakhshī and waqaī Navis were mostly the same persons in Bihar and Bengal. During the governorship of Jafar Khān in Bihar Khawāja Khavind Mahmud was appointed Bakhshī and Waqai Navis in 1654 A.D. During the time of Dhulfaqār Khān (1656-57) Ibrāhīm Mashhadi was sent as Bakhshī and Waqaī Navis of Bihar in place of Khawāja Qāsim.

In Kuch Bihar the posts of Diwān, Bakhshī and Waqāī Navis were in one hand. Aqā Taql, an officer of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, was appointed Bakhshī, Dīwān and Waqaī Navis of Kuch Bihar. Mīr Safī also held all the three posts in the time of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang.² In Bengal Mukhlis Hussāin Tabrīzī became the Bakhshī of Bengal during Qāsim Khān II's governorship.³ Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq was another Bakhshī of Qāsim Khān II's time.⁴ Azam Khān's governorship witenssed the appointment of Aqā Mīr Qulī Hamdani as Bakhshī of Bengal.⁶ Both Jān Beg and Mir Abul Qāsim Tabātabāi Simnanī served prince Shujār' as Bakhshī.⁶

The provincial governor sometimes ordered the Bakhshī to lead an expedition against turbulent chiefs. In 1643 I'tiqād Khān, the governor of Bihar, ordered Abdullah Najm-i-Sānī, Bakhshī of Bihar, to march with Darya Rai to the assistance of the Mughal commander Zabardast Khān during the second Palamau campaign.

The stationing of news writers in every province charged with the duty of keeping the emperor informed about all that was happening in it further helped to nip in the bud the evil designs

^{1.} Askari—"Bihar in the time of Shahjahan", I. H. C., 1944 p. 358.

^{2.} BG, II, p. 651, 660,668 669.

^{3.} SS, 125a.

^{4.} BN, I. p. 32I.

^{5.} SS, 129a.

^{6.} Waris, 14a, b, SS, 114a.

^{7,} AS, II, p. 398, BN, II, 358.

of ambitious governors.¹ Manucci says that the reports of the news writers were read out to the emperor at night. The provincial Waqaī Navis submitted his reports to the court through the Dīwān.² There was a parallel organisation of Waqaī Navis for the army and here too the office was combined with that of the Bakhshī. In 1637-38 Muhammad Sādiq joined the Mughal army in the Kuch Hajo operation as Scout and reached Dhubri.³ It is most likely that he was a Bakhshī and was also commissioned to write an account of the Assam war as a Waqaī Navis of the army.⁴

Sometimes the Waqai Navis faced difficulties in sending secret information to the emperor because of unscrupulous and clever handling of despatches by the subadar. Khawaja Yaghma, the newswriter, found it difficult to let the court know of the quarrel between Qasim Khan, I and Mirza Hussain Beg, the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$, because the Governor's men had been strictly guarding the frontiers of Bengal. Therefore Yagma sent couriers dressed like monks (Yogis) to Ani Ray Singha Dalan, an eminent courtier of Jahangir, from whom news would reach the Court.

The Mir'at says that the Waqai Navis (or Sawanih Navis) were appointed as postal superintendents as well. Whenever any Ahadi (mace-bearer) was sent with royal mandates or gifts the postmaster gave him a passport under his seal so that he was conducted safely by thy postmen who procured provisions for him from the Faujdars or Zamindars or Thanahdars of their respective stations. On their return journey passports were issued by the reporters of the secret service and the above method was repeated.

- Nathan says, "It was the custom to appoint in every Subah a newswriter with instructions to send to the imperial court reports of events and doings of the provincial governors in the form of a connected narrative and they had instructions not to show them to the Subadars. BG, I, p. 209.
- 2. Manucci, II, p. 331-332.
- 3. S.S., 131b.
- 4. Islam Khan Mashhadi was, of course, displeased with him and no entreaty, intercession or security could change his mind. (S. S., 134a.)
- 5. B.G., I, p. 286.
- 6. Mirat-i-Ahmadī, Tr. pp. 150-51.

Judiciary and Police:

Next to the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$, the $Bas\underline{kh}hi$ and the $Waqa\bar{\imath}^{\epsilon}$ Navis, the most important officers were the heads of the religious and judicial departments. Each provincial capital had its $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ appointed by the Sadr of the empire.\(^1\) A $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ was also posted to every large town. The town $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}s$ received daily allowances in cash and held land for service.\(^2\) The $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}s$ were great scholars in theology and muslim jurisprudence. They were to be unbiassed and impartial in passing judgements.\(^3\) Muhammad S\(\bar{a}diq\) paid his respects to Maul\(\bar{a}n\bar{a}\) Muhammad Yazdi L\(\bar{a}haur\), a vastly learned man of his time, who for years associated himself with 'Allama Abul Fadl and came to Bengal to become the qadi during Q\(\bar{a}sim\) Kh\(\bar{a}n\) II's governorship. He was out of office in 1638 A.D.\(^4\) After him his son, Mull\(\bar{a}h\) 'Abdullah, became the $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ of Bengal.\(^5\)

The $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ had more duties to perform other than the administration of justice. In case of an officer's death his property was to go to the state. The stock-taking of all goods left by him was to be made before the $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ and the $M\bar{\imath}r$ 'Adl. In order to take stock of the properties of Ihtimam Khan, father of Mirza Nathan, who died in Bengal during Jahangir's reign, it was decided that the agents of the subahdar, the $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ and the Bakhshi should receive articles in presence of the $Q\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}$ and the $M\bar{\imath}r$ 'Adl.

The Sadr, the officer in charge of ecclesiastical grants, is never mentioned in the $Bah\bar{a}rist\bar{a}n-i$ -Ghalibī. From the Subh-i-Sādiq, we come to know that during Q\(\bar{a}\)sim Kh\(\bar{a}\)n II's governorship the chief Sadr of Bengal was Muhammad Sharif who left for the Court after his successful completion of service.

^{1.} Ibid, p. 149.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3,} Ain, Vol. II, p. 43.

^{4.} SS, 122b.

^{5.} Ibid, I23a.

^{6.} BG, I, P. 209.

^{7.} SS, 123a.

The office of Sadr features prominently in the Fathiyya-i-Ibriya in the list of oppressive officers. All men who had been enjoying Madad-i-Ma'āsh and pensions in the crown lands and fiefs of jāgīrdārs were violently attacked by Qādī Ridwi, the Sadr, after the death of Mir Jumla. Shāista Khān reinstated the aimadars to their rent free grants.

The Kotwal,² (Manrique calls him 'Cutuual'), appointed by the central government in the provincial capitals and other important cities, used to perform a number of executive and police duties. He called for information about bad characters, recorded movements of citizens to and from the city and suppressed all crimes. Manrique says that he was a

"reformer of the evil habits and customs of the people."³ According to Jawahar Mal Baikus

"a Kotwal was appointed for every Qasbah and sometimes for the whole of Pargana whose function was to remain well informed about the affairs of the people, to secure the safety of their person and property. He conducted the affairs in such a manner that the nobility was not disgraced. In case of theft the stolen property was handed over to the owner and the criminals were punished accordingly. The Kotwal employed a number of spies for the same purpose. If any person violated the honour of women or children the offender was paraded through the city with a blackened face, head shaven and riding on a donkey. He also investigated that no person used any intoxicating drugs."

The excellent spy system of the Mughals has been much praised by the European travellers. Manrique describes how he was detected by a spy of a Kotwal in spite of his efforts to hide

- 1. JASB, 1906, "Shaista Khan in Bengal" J. N. Sarkar, pp. 261-2
- During the reign of Aurangzīb the kotowals were generally appointed by the Emperor but sometimes by the Nazim. (Minrat-i-Ahmadi, Tr. p. 153.)
- 3. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 270-71.
- 4. Dastur-ul-Amal of Jauhar Mal Baikus (1144 A. D.) Tr. in IHRC by Dr. M. A. Ahmed. 1942, Vol. XVIII, p. 124.

his identity. He also gives an account of the procedure of criminal trials in the Kotwal's Court at Midnapur.

The nature of punishment inflicted on the evil-doers was severe. Evil-doers, particularly thieves and judges who had been unmindful of their position by allowing themselves to be corrupted, were punished with utmost rigour and severity. Memorials of such evil deeds and their punishment were put up on bronze plates. Tavernier in Dacca has mentioned the skull pillars made of those who perpetrated robbery on high roads. The usual forms of punishment were imprisonment, fine, hanging, beheading, spitting, impaling and throwing the convicted to elephants or other ferocious beasts. There were public places called Bandikhana in big towns. The treatment towards prisoners was severe. Manrique gives an account of one of them and says that no bedsteads were allowed to prisoners but they were allowed to have private medical attention.3 The Subh-i-Sādiq closes with a lengthy versified tirade on the horrors of Salimabad where Muhammed Sadiq underwent imprisonment during the governorship of Islam Khan Mashhadi.

Shihabuddin Talish says that the plaintiff and the defended were kept in prison until the decision of their case. The accused persons were sometimes released on bail. Manrique and his party were released on bail offered by a muslim merchant of Midnapur.

Sarkar, Pargana and Thana administration

During the reign of Shājahān, Bengal had 34 Sarkars and 1350 mahals. Bihar was divided into 8 Sarkars and 238 mahals. For the maintenance of internal order the Mughals established Thānas (enclosed quarters) where cavalry and infantry with muskets were posted for the preservation of order so that travellers and inhabitants might live peacefully undisturbed by evil-doers and robbers.

^{1.} Manrique, II, p. 249.

^{2.} *Ibid*, I. P. 425 3. *Ibid*, I. p. 423.

^{4. &}quot;Shaista Khan in Bangal", J. N. Sarkar, JASB, 1906, p. 266.
5. Manrique, I. p. 421-24.

The problem of frontier defence was one of the important affairs of Mughal administration. Military or semi-military police stations were set up to guard the frontier from external threat and agression.

The Faujdar was in charge of Sarkar administration. Apart from that the offices of 'Wali', 'Sardar' and 'Thanahdar' are frequently mentioned during this period. Etimologically a Wali' means a prince or governor. In Bengal the Mughal officers of Kuch Bihar and Sylhet were sometimes designated as ' $W\bar{a}$ lis'. The word 'Sardar' also means 'a leader' or a 'chief'. Dr. T.K. Ray Chaudhuri seems to be right in thinking that the vague designation of Sardar was applied to an office which was in the nature of a half-way house between the Fauidar and the thanahdar in charge of the newly occupied territory. The border thanahdar (who may be called the border faujdar) was allowed wider power than the internal thanahdar or even the faujdar. Saran has mentioned four kinds of their duties. First they had to keep watch over the frontiers, secondly, they had to repel aggression, thirdly, they had to realise tribute from turbulent chiefs, fourthly, they would avail themselves of all opportunities of conquering new lands. Dr. Saran seemed to be justified in thinking that the offices of Fauidars, of Sarkars and those of the border military posts were of equal importance.2 The thanahdars and the fauidars of Kuch Bihar who were appointed by the Subahdar of Bengal under Jahangir were appointed by the imperial government under Shabiahan.

The Faujdar in charge of the Sarkar was empowered to exercise general supervision over its administration although he had no authority to interfere in the revenue or judicial affairs. But if a cultivator or a collector of crownlands or an assignee of government estates proved rebellious the Faujdar was to induce him to submit by fair words, and, if this failed he was to take the written evidence from the principal officers and

^{1. &}quot;Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir", T. K. Ray Chaudhuri, p. 12.

^{2.} Saran-Provincial government of the Mughals. pp-228-29.

proceed to punish him.¹ Manucci says that if any merchant or traveller was robbed in daylight on the roads the $Faujd\bar{a}r$ was obliged to pay compensation.²

Althgough the Faujdār was subordinate to the provincial governor he could directly communicate with the imperial government. It is necessary to point out that the governor sometimes relieved the Faujdār of his duties which he could not ordinarily do. Qāsim Khān II, the governor of Bengal, dismissed Muizuddīn Muhammad Radvī Mashhadī, the administrator of Sylhet.³

In time of emergency or invasion the Faujdārs used to remain present in the campaign. Muhammad Zamān Tihrani, the Faujdār and Tuyulder of Sylhet and Khawaja Sher, Faujdār of Ghoraghat, accompanied the Mughal invading army in Assam during the governorship of Islām Khān Mashhādi.⁴ Mukhtar Khān, Faujdār of Mungir, accompanied the Mughal army sent against Pratap Ujjainia of Bhojpur.⁵ It is evident from the above fact that the agents used to discharge all the duties of the Faujdārs who remained away in campaigns. The absentee district officers seemed to have allowed their work to be done by their agents which gave rise to slackness in administration. The chief administrative officers of Kuch Bihar during this period were 'Abdus Salām, Allah yār Khān, Mirzā Husain, Sayyid Husain, Sayyid Qutb, Nurul Hussain, Mirzā Husain, Sayyid Muhammad

- 1. Ain, II, Tr. p. 42.
- 2. Manucci, II, p. 421.
- SS, 123a.
- 4. BN, II, p. 75.
- 5. Ibid, I, p. 272.
- 6. BN, II, p. 71.
- SS, I21a. During Hugli conquest, Allahyar was the administrator of Burdwan (Manrique II, p. 398). He died in Bengal in 1649 A. D. (Waris, 61a.)
- 8. Waris, 31a.
- 9. Waris, 63b.
- 10. AS, III, p. 142.
- 11. AS, III, p. 201.
- 12. SS, 131a.

Radvī,¹ Sohrab Khān,² Aqā Muhammad Zamān Tihrāni³ and Sultan Najar⁴ were Faujdārs of Sylhet. Mukhtar Khān⁵ and Mahaldar Khān⁶ were Faujdārs of Mungir during the time of Khān-i-Ālam and 'Abdullah Khān Fīruz Jang respectively. Muzaffar Khān and Mirzā Munichere were Faujdārs of Sasaram during the governorship of 'Abdulla Khān. Sayyid Jafar Barha, Sayyīd 'Abdur Rasūl, Sazāwar Khān and Mīr Abdul Maali were Faujdārs of Tirhut during the governorship of Khān-i-'Ālam, Jafar Khān and Dhulfaqār Khān respectively.' In 1657 A. D. Mīr Jaʿfar was given the Faujdārt and Tuyuldari in Chainpur in Bihar.⁶

Rohtas was a fort of strategic improtance. Shahjahan took the fullest advantage of it during the peiod of his revolt. The Rohtas fort in Bihar used to serve as a refuge of defence. Its commandant was appointed by the imperial government. Ikhtas Khān, son of Bayazid Beg, was appointed to this post in 1632 A. D. during the governorship of 'Abdullah Khān Firuz Jang.9

The Shiqdar was chief officer of the Pargana administration. He acted as criminal magistrate but with limited powers and cases which did not fall within his cognisance were forwarded by him to the Kotwāl of the Sarkar, "who among the Mughals corresponds to a city magistrate".

Manrique and his companions were arrested in Orissa on suspicion of being the Firingi pirates of Chittagong and the

- 1. SS, 123a.
- 2. SS, 129a.
- 3. BN, II, p. 75. SS, 121a.
- 4. Waris, 14a, b.
- 5. Oazwini, 407b.
- 6. IHC, 1944, p. 355.
- 7. Ibid. pp. 348-59.

 Chahar chaman mentions the names of Lashkar Khan and Sajawar Khan as well (85a).
- 8. AS, III, p. 245.
- 9. J.I.H. 1944, p. 355.

Shiqdar, being unable to try their cases, had to forward them under custody to the court of the Kotwal of Midnapur.¹ Thus it is found that the Shiqdar in the Pargana represented both the Faujdar and the Kotwāl. As the head of the Pargana administration, he had a general supervision of administrative affairs.

Army and Navy:

Instead of maintaining a large standing army the Mughal emperor depended upon four different classes of troops for the maintenance of order and the defence of the empire's borders. They were the soldiers supplied by the Mansabdārs,² troops called the dakhili, whose services were paid for by the state, the Ahadis (Gentlemen troopers), drawing higher pay than those in ordinary service and finally the troops supplied by the Zamindars.

The artillery was paid wholly out of the imperial treasury. European gunners were employed but with no tangible results. Rebel prince Shāhjahān had Portuguese soldiers at his disposal when he faced the imperialists at the Tons. The Hugli operation points out the defects of the Mughal army organisation. The discipline was slack. Cabral records that during the Mughal attack on Hugli, many of the soldiers in the Mughal camp began to desert because they were not paid. In the fleet there was a great scarcity of rowers.³

Bengal witnessed an influx of Mughal amirs during this period. The most notable among them were 'Abdul Wahāb Mashhadi, Mir Abul Qāsim Tabātabāi Simnani, Allahyār Khān, Rahmānyār Khān, Khudayār Khān, Amir Sāsān Qilani, Mir Taqi Mashhadi, Sa'id Barand Bukhārī, Hussain Bēg Abakash, Sa'id Raju Bukharı, Muḥammad Sāliḥ Bukhāri, Sa'id Muḥammad Bukhāri and Sayyid Tofaḍdal Bukhari.

- 1. Manrique, I, pp. 410-26.
- The Mirat says that the Mansabdars, Faujdars and Thanadars, leaving half of their forces on local duty, joined the Nāzim (governor) with the other half. (p. 145).
- 3. Cabral's letter in manrique, II, p. 410.
- 4. Shahjahan issued a set of orders in the 20th year of his reign. According

There is no doubt that the Mughals had great artillery establishments in Bengal. During the Hugli operation, the artillery arrived mostly from Dacca, Raj Mahal and Burdwan.¹

To deal with the pirates in the Bay of Bengal and also for the purpose of communication over the vast river system of Bengal, a river flotilla was maintained in Dacca. Manrique says that the Mughals had vessels called 'gelias' and 'cosas' more suited for the use on placid rivers than on high seas.² On many occasions, the Mughal fleet, consisting of rowing boats, was of no use before the swift attacks of the Maghs assisted by the Portuguese. Talish records the growing weakness of the Mughal flotilla in Bengal during Shuja's governorship. The parganas assigned for maintaining the Nawwarah (flotilla) were ruined because of the extortion and violence of the clerks (Mutasaddīs).3 About the heroism of the Mughal sailors, he continues that the sailors of the Bengal flotilla used to show valour by flight "considering it a great victory". He also recorded how Ashur Beg, an officer of Prince Shuja', was perplexed after being attacked by a Magh fleet.4

Nevertheless, most of the victories obtained by the Mughals came out of naval engagements. The poet Salim Tihrāni⁵ has

to the new regulations, a mansabder who held a jagir within India had to maintain only a third of the quota indicated by his rank. Shahjahan's reign witnessed a rise in mansab of the mansabdars.

- 1. Cabral's letter in Manrique, II, p. 409.

 There is still a big cannon preserved at Murshidabad. It was called Jakankusa and was constructed at Jahangir Nagar during the Darogaship of Sher Muhammad when Har Bhallava Das was the Mushrif (Inspector) and Junar Jun chief blacksmith in 1047 A. H. Its weight was 212 maunds and could charge 56 bs. of powder. JASB, Part I, 1847, pp. 591-92).
- 2. Manrique, II, p. 278.
- 3. J. N. Sarkar-"The Conquest of Chatgaon", 1666 A. D. JASB, 1907, p.405.
- 4. Ibid. p. 423.
- Muhammad Quli Salim Tihrani, known as Mirza Muhammad Quli, came from Iran during Shahjahan's reign. He accompanied Islam Khan Mashhadi in Bengal. He became famous for his poetic talents. In his Mathnavida Fath Bangla (B, M, Or, 1860), depicts the

given a graphic picture of the battle of boats fought in the time of Islam Khan Mashhadi against Assam. The Mughal navy played a great part in the fall of Hugli. Sher Khan, a eunuch, was the admiral-in-chief of the Mughal fleet sent in the Hugli campaign. Husain Beg Karami Samlu was the head of the Nawwarah of Bengal during Islam Khan Mashhadi's governorship.

About the salient features of the maintenance of the boats of the navy it may be mentioned that part of it was maintained by the Zamindars and Jagirdars and the another by the State. The Zamindars who maintained boats of the fleet, received salaries in the form of land grants and the number and type of boats to be supplied by them would be specified. They used to bring their boats for periodic reviews and were promoted and demoted according to their efficiency in service. Sometimes, a few ships maintained by the ruler were placed under command of an irregular officer. During the viceroyalty of Shuja', out of a total of twelve boats of Ibrahim, a Zamindar of Sarail, four were equipped and maintained by the State. The Bengal navy under Shah Shuja' worked under two prominent commanders named Shaikh 'Abbas and Ibni-Ḥusain, the latter being captured by Mir Jumla.4

In Bengal and Assam war-boats played an important part in the campaigns. They used to carry artillery and other heavy materials which the foot soldiers could not do. The Brahmaputra was the main high way in Assam along which the Muslim invaders could march into the country and the important Assamese forts or strongholds were on the banks of this river such as those at Hajo, Pandu, Saraighat, Samdhara, Kaliabar etc.

Ahom-Mughal was in his poetical compositions. He died in 1057 A. H./1647 A. D.

- 1. AS, I, p. 498. Cabral's letter in Manrique II, p, 398.
- 2. SS, 125a.
- Dr. Halim, A Farman of Shāh Shujā, published in the Proceedings of of the Meeting of the Historical Records and Archives Commission for Pakistan, 1959. PP. 18-24.
- 4. J. N. Sarkar: History of Aurangzib Vol. II, p. 590 & p. 606.

Bhalwa, Dhapa and Sripur were important naval bases of Bengal. If Muḥammad Kazım is to be believed Shuja halted at all the above three places on his way to Arakan after being chased by Mu'azzam Khan (Mir Jumla). Shuja had in his mind to offer resistance to the imperialists by establishing his foothold at Bhalwa. But he could not manage it because of the growing disruption in the rank and file of his followers.

Revenue Administration:

By the time the Ā'in was compiled, the majority of the parganas of Bihar had come under Dabt. The system was, of course, different in Bengal where the Zamindars paid their land revenue according to a figure fixed by the administration for a long period. The Ā'in says that the jama' of Bengal was wholly 'Naqdi'. Dr. I. Habib thinks that the land revenue in Bengal was taken in a fixed amount of cash from the Zamindars as if it was a tribute rather than a varying tax on land or its produce. In Bengal, crop-sharing was not practised and the revenue demand was based upon Nasaq, The revenue demand laid down by Todar Mall was revised when Prince Shuja' was made governor of Bengal. Shortly before 1658 A. D. he made a new rent roll which showed 34 sarkars and 1350 mahals (Parganas) and a total revenue on Khalsā and Jāgīr lands of Rs. 13115907. The

- Situated on the border of the Mughal Empire and Arakan. (Alamgir Namah Text ,558).
- 2. Situated 24 miles above Jahangir Nagar. (Ibid, p, 557).
- 3. Situated 8 miles off from Dacca. It was a notable Thanah. (Ibid. p., 557).
- 4. Alamgir Namah (Text), p. 559.
- 5. I. Habib, The Agrarian system of Mughal India, p. 177.
- 6. Total land revenue assessed under Akbar was: Rs, 1,06,93,152.

 Total of the improved rent of the whole Sūbah in its extended state and actually received into the royal treasury or net annual settlement on account of thirty four sarkars during the time of Shuja:

Rs. 87,67,015

Rs. 43,48.892.

Jagir appropriations to defray the whole civil and military expenses of government continued under their former heads:

Rs. 1,31,15,907.

revenue demand was revised by Shujæ' but its basis was not altered. Some accrued increases were incorporated in the figures and also the demand on territory annexed by conquest or transferred to Bengal from other provinces. There were three kinds of taxable lands—Crown lands or Khalisa Sharifa, directly administered by the revenue department, assignments, called tuyūl, Iqtā or Jāgīrs granted to officers for their maintenance and the lands of Zamindærs.

It was the accepted policy of the government to keep for the *Khalisah* the most fertile and conveniently administered land. The Crown lands were administered either by the officers of the Government or leased out to *Mustajirs*. Revenue realised from them was to go to the imperial court. In Bengal the Crown lands were situated in Makhsusabad (Murshidabad of later days).¹

The subordinate officers who assisted in the revenue collection of the Crown land were 'Amalguzār, Kārkun (registrar of the collection of revenue), Qānungo (a hereditary class of local assessors who used to assist the government in the preparation of rent roll), Chaudhuris or village headmen (who were sometimes collectors of revenue) and the Mutaṣaddīs (accountants). The Fotadār remained in charge of money realised by the officer and was forbidden to incur any expenditure without the permission of the Dīwān. The Farhang-i-Kardani² tells us the post of Amīn-i-Bangala. Obviously his official duties were different from those of an Amīn attached to the revenue department. No statement is made anywhere in Abul Fadl's Aīn defining the jurisdiction and functions of this officer. According to the Mazhar-i-Shāhjahāni,

The figures show an increment of revenues of $15\frac{1}{8}\%$ over and above the settlement of Todar Mal.

See also The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 1812 Ed. Firminger, Appendix 4, pp. 182-86,

- 1. BN, I, p. 436, Or 173 fol. 253b. (Qazwini).
- It was written by one Jagat Rai Shujai of Jahangir Nagar. This is a hand book of information relating to the various duties of officers of the Mughal state as well as a guide for the new entrants. Partly tr. by Sk. A. Rashid in IHRC, vo.: XIX, Dec. 1942. p. 72.

this officer, when appointed over a Sarkar, should send his agents to every pargana to see whether any of the jagīrdars or local officials were exacting more than the sanctioned rates from peasants. Irfan Habib is wrong to think that the appointment of this officer appears to have ceased by 1634. If the Subh-Sādiq is to be believed, Khāwaja Muhammad Tāqī was appointed Amīn of Bengal but was later on dismissed by A'zam Khān. From a Nishan of Shuja' dated 15th Muharram, 1067 A. H., it is evident that, after an enquiry made by an Amīn appointed by the emperor, one Ram Krishna was transferred to Akbarpur and assigned duty as a Qānungo there in place of one Kasi Ram.

The areas assigned to the officers were called $J\bar{a}girs$. During this period the words $Tuy\bar{u}l$ and $Iqt\bar{a}'$ were also used as synonyms for $J\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}r$ due to growing Persian influence. The granting of $J\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}r$ was widely practised under Shāhjahān. About seven-tenths of the empire was farmed out and the extent of the Khalisa land diminished considerably. From the Jama' and Hasil statistics supplied by Dr. I. Habib in Appendix D of his book Agrarian Syestem of Mughal India, it is evident that there was radical improvement in the figure of Jama' during this period in comparison to the figure supplied by the $\bar{A}'\bar{\imath}n$. Bihar, of course, presents a better picture. Bengal's almost static Jama' is due to recurring Magh depredations in Southern Bengal which resulted in depopulation, less cultivation and consequent decrease in land revenue.

- 1. Cited in the Agrarian System of Mughal India. I. Habib, p. 295.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. SS, 124b.
- 4. This Nishan of Shuja' (dated 15th Muharram, 1067 A. H.) was procured from Mr. E. Huq, Director, Dacca Museum, It is written in Shikasta. I am grateful to Dr. Riazul Islam, my supervisor, for the trouble he has taken in reading out the text and conveying the meaning to me. It is now in the Dacca Museum.
- Nathan has mentioned one Akbarpur in the BG II. He says that a
 battle between Shahjahan's forces and Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang took
 place between Akbarpur and Maldah.
- 6. Agrarian System of Muslem India, Morelend, p. 125.
- 7. cf. pp. 400-401.

Talish records that an extremely complicated system was in vogue under which two sets of officials, the *Shiqdārs* and *Amlas* of the $J\bar{a}g\bar{i}rd\bar{a}rs$ and the government collectors, operated in the same area, entailing endless suffering of the people.¹

The Mansabdars had their jagirs scattered in different parganas. There was the multiplicity of co-partners in the system which made it more cumbersome and difficult.

The Zamindārs were a universal feature of the agrarian life of Mughal India.² They occupied the same position as that of the officers because they were also mansabdārs of the state. Within the domain their men managed revenue affairs without external interference. They paid a pīshkash or a tribute in cash or kind, the amount of which might be fixed in some cases. Palamau's Jama' was fixed at one kror dam and the country was left as the tuyul of Pratap.³

The Mughal Zamindari was often an office and not merely a land settlement. The Zamīndār was to pay the stipulated amount of revenue. He was to render accounts of his collection and submit a statement through the Qānungo and the Dīwān of the province. He was to attract people for settlement and improve cultivation. He was responsible for the preservation of peace in the area and was to assist the state in time of need. The local Zamīndārs of Bihar assisted Shāista Khān, governor of Bihar in 1642, at the time of his mliitary expedition against Pratap of Palamau. Islām Khān Mashhadi used sixty-five warboats laden with provisions including gun powder and grain owned by Ma'sum Zamīndār, son of Musa Khān. Ma'sum Zamīndār himself took active part in Ahom war. Raja Satrajit of Bhusna and Majlis Bāyazid of Fathabad also acco-

^{1.} Fathiyya-i-Ibriya Tr. J. N. Sarkar, JASB, 1906, p. 200.

^{2.} JIH, 1958, p. 323.

^{3.} BN, I, p. 361.

^{4.} BN, II, p. 249.

^{5.} Ibid, 75-76, Qazwini fol. 253b.

mpanied the Mughals. Ma'sum Zamindar participated in the Hugli operation (1632) as well. His fleet added much strength to the Mughal fleet. The Zamindars of Bengal mostly assisted the Mughals with their warboats manned by their own men. They were sometimes posted in the frontier region to deal with frontier problems. Raja Satrajit of Bhusna was appointed as thanadar of Pandu in Kuch Bihar. After the Mughal occupation of the Karibari region (in the Southern bank of the Brahmaputra), Ma'sum Zamindar was entrusted with the responsibility of restoring peace by the establishment of a fortified thana garrisoned by 400 matchlockmen and Paiks.²

From the above facts it can be concluded that the Zamindars played a vital role in Bengal and Bihar under Shāhjahān. Their names were occasionally mentioned by the imperial chroniclers of the period.

Rent-free grants.

We may now take note of the rent-free lands. Such lands were found within all the three categories, the Crown lands, the officer's $J\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}rs$ and the Zamīndār's estates. At a later date the government grants were known as Badshahi and the Zamindar's grants as Hukumi. In all these cases, again the lands might be granted either as religious endowments or as service tenures. The Muslim religious endowments in the Crown lands, known as $Madad-i-Ma\bar{a}sh$ and Aima were placed under the supervision of the provincial Sadr.

Certain facts indicate that the government granted rent-free lands to the Zamindars as well. Correspondence dated back to the late 18th century, preserved in the Barisal district collectorate, mentions two types of rent-free lands in possession of Zamindars, called 'Nawwarah' and Hissajat lands. The former is described as having been granted by the Mughal emperors for the contribution of boats and men during the struggles with the Maghs and the Firingis. The hissajat lands were granted in

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} BN, II, pp. 78-79.

reward for the Zamīndār's personal participation in such campaigns.¹ There is a document in the collectorate record room Barisal, showing some lands (at Shujabad near Nalchiti P. S. district Barisal) which were given rent-free by Shāh Shujā to the families of some Pathans who had fallten in battle against the Maghs.² A large part of the revenues of Bakerganj was assigned throughout the century for the upkeep of the Nawwarah or fleet against the Maghs - all the Zamīndar's along the banks of the big river and especially Shaista Nagar, Shahzadpur, Chandradwip containing Nawwāranh lands, in some cases, on a feudal tenure.³ Out of the historical records in the Mymensingh district collectorate we get mention of the Top Khana lands in Sherpur for the maintenance of the Mughal artillery attached to Cuch Bihar.⁴

Rent-free grants were made to the Muslim divines and learned men. Traveller 'Abdul Latif records that one Hawadah Mian, an old sage aged about 100 years, lived in Bagha in Rajshahi. Around the village the entire country side was green and it was granted to him forh is subsistence. Shahjahan awarded 42 Muzas at Bagha to Hamid Danishmand's son, Shah 'Abdul Wahab, in 1033 A. H. He awarded the rent-free tenures round the Masjid as a reward for his great learning.

During the Resumption proceedings instituted beween 1835 to 1848, the Zamindars and land-lords in Mymensingh produced documents and sanads to substantiate their claims to hold lands bought free to assessment. We find a reference in the Resumption proceedings of the *Emdad Badshshi Lakheraj* in Pargana Hajradi

^{1.} I. H. Q.-1948, pp. 259-68. Some old documents in Barisal-Ray Chaudhuri.

^{2.} BDG (Bakerganj) by Jack, p. 161.

^{3.} Ibid, pp. 20-21.

^{4,} BPP vol. XXVI July-Dec. 1923. J. M. Ghosh, p. 80

BPP 1928, p. I44, vol. XXXV. "A description of North Bengal in 1609 A. D." J. N. Sarkar.

JASB, 1904, A. Wali—Archeological remains of Rajshahi pp, 109-12.
 BDG, p. 156, Rajshahi.

of lands granted by Jahangir to the ancestor of the Diwan family of Jangalbari—a descendant of 'Isa Khan Masnad'ali.1

A number of Imperial charters (farmans) granted by Emperor Shahjahan in 1631 A.D. to certain residents of the village Dhubaria² in the province of Bengal have survived till our day.³ The first farman concerned 22 bighas of Lakheraj madad-i-Ma'ash land in Dhubria amla of Pargana Atia granted to Shaykh Muhammad, Shaykh 'Imad, 'Abdullah and Adam. The second farman concerning 60 bighas of fallow land fit for producing crop and exempt from rent in the same Pargana was granted to Dawlat Bibi and others. Thirdly we may mention the farman granting 108 bighas of land in Kimabaria, one of the amlas of Pargana Atia, as a madad-i-Ma'ash grant by Shahjan to Meah. fourth one gave land to one Budhu. The fifth one gave Shaykh Dilwar and Shaykh Khidr sixty bighas of cultivable land in Dhubaria. The seventh and the eighth charters of endowed land in regard to 80 bighas of land made out to Ahmad and Takhtiyar.4 There were Muslim Jāgirdārs who granted land to Hindus for charitable purposes during this period in Bengal. One Sabdal Khan of Kaligram, (in Maldah district) issued sanad showing deed of assignment of land to a Brahmin.⁵ It was issued to one Radhika Mohan Sarma in 1654-55 during Shuja's viceroyalty.

Other sources of income

It has been already noted that the land revenue was the main source of income for the Mughal government. Besides this, there were other sources of revenue. Tallsh points out that it was a rule and practice to exact *Hasil* (custom) from every trader

- 1. BPP vol. XXVI July to Dec. 1923. J. M. Ghosh, p. 81.
- 2. It is a fairly large village situated in the Atia circle, Tangail subdivision, Mymensingh district of I Bangladesh.
- 3. Islamic Culture—January 1938, A study in Mughal land revenue system, p. 62, M. Sadik Khan.
- 4. Islamic Culture, 1938, pp. 66-67. M. Sadiq Khan—A study in Mughal land revenue system.
- 5. JASB, 1958, pp. 3-5. N.B. Roy, A Bramottara land of a Muslim .- Landlord.

"from rose vendor down to clay vendor, from the weaver of the fine linen to that of coarse cloth."

There were house taxes collected from the newcomers. The Zakat pointed out by Talish was charged upon articles of merchandise. The travellers, merchants and stable keepers were to pay it. The Rahdari (the inland toll) was collected at roadside stations or chowkis on merchandise, grains and necessities of life which were carried to market. There were many customs outposts in Bengal and Bihar. Merchants travelling in northern India usually travelled by boats through the rivers. They had all to take a passport (dastak) from the place of departure and show it at the customs post in order to be allowed to pass without paying customs. While travelling from Dacca to Patna Manrique had to wait at every check post because the officers whom he found were very busy owing to pressure of work. His boat tried to by-pass a small customs check post situated between Rai Mahal and Mungir but could not do so because of the vigilance of the watchmen on duty. The boat was hauled up and the boatmen brought before the Kotwal of Raj Mahal who was discharging the duties of a customs officer there. The vessel was searched but no contraband was found in it. On hearing Manrique's case the Kotwal forgave him on the ground that, being a foreigner, he was liable to make an error. But the Mirdah (Pilot) and the paiks (peons) of the boat were given fifty lashes each.1

During the boat journey from Dacca to Pandu Father Stephen Cacella and Father John Cabral passed through as many as sixty "choquis" or customs houses at each of which they had to pay tolls.²

Of course, Talish has described the whole thing in an exaggerated way. He says,

"On the roads and ferries matters came to such a pass that no rider was allowed to go unless he paid a dinar, and no pedestrian unless he paid a diram. On the river highways, if the wind brought it to the ears

^{1.} Manrique, II, pp. 120-23.

^{2.} C. Wessels, Early Jesuit Travels in Central Asia, pp. 123-24.

of the toll collectors (rahdars) that the stream was carrying away a broken boat without paying hasil, they would chain the river... "

Talish's view that tradesmen and merchants gave up their business and householders took to exile because of the existence of numerous tolls and customs has been accepted by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri. But from the travellers' accounts of the period, it is found that local businessmen continued their trade activities to a considerable extent. What Talish says is applicable during the period of the war of succession.

Dr. I. Habib thinks that the revenue demand as set by imperial authorities usually approximated to the surplus, leaving to the peasant only the barest minimum needed for subsistence. It was the appropriation of this surplus produce that created the great wealth of the Mughal governing class. From this one may reasonably feel that the Mughal administration was "extortive" and "predatory" in nature. But the directives of the administrative manuals of the Mughals give us an absolutely different idea about the spirit of the Mughal administration. From Akbar to Aurangzib there was a persistent theme of protecting the peasant, of encouraging him and giving him aid to extend his cultivation in all the administrative manuals. It is true that there were cases of extortions and oppressions. But it is not reasonable to think that the Mughal ideals of government were not practised at all. There were many conscientious officers behaving up to standard.

^{1.} JASB, 1906, p 264.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

The Sixteenth and the Seventeenth centuries constituted an important period in India's economic history. Politically the period witnessed the gradual expansion and consolidation of the Mughal rule in the sub-continent. In the field of economy, India for the first time felt the impact of her closer contact with the European mercantile nations, at first the portuguese and later the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes. Shahjahan's reign witnessed the growth of English trade with Bengal and Bihar. In other words, so far as the English trade with Bengal is concerned, the period may be regarded as a "seed time". The English established factories at Hugli and Kasim Bazar which fostered their future trade in Bengal.

From very ancient days, Bengal and Bihar were noted for their widespread and varied products and manufactures.¹ The fertility of the soil of Bengal, the abundance of agricultural and industrial products, evoked the wonder and admiration of the foreign merchants and travellers. The cultivated land in Bengal extended as far down as the Deltaic sundarbans. The eastern part of the deltaic region remained depopulated for the greater part of our period owing to the Magh piratical activities..² In Bihar, cultivation was confined in the narrow and densely populated belt along the Ganges.

With the natural irrigation facilities on account of the blessings of many rivers and of seasonal rains, the plains of Bengal

^{1.} Chahar chaman, OR 1892, 85a, 85b.

Bangal was known as "Jannat al Balad" i.e. Heaven of Country. The Risalah-i-Zara'at mentions the main products of Bengal such as rice, wheat, cotton, tobacco, betelnut and various types of fruits. (Edinburgh University manuscript, No. 144, fol. 3a, 3b.)

^{2.} Bernier, p. 440.

were among the the most fertile regions on earth. The soil of Bengal was so fertile that the people obtained the necessities of life for less labour. Bernier observed that throughout the country of Bengal he saw rivers and channels with thickly populated towns, villages and fertile and green fields abounding in crops and fruit trees..1

From what we know about the extent of cultivation during that period it is obvious that the land available for grazing, both in waste and forest, was far greater in extent than now.

"We met," writes Manrique, "with villages and country towns all along its fertile banks, every bit of the land along that river which we saw was cultivated, bearing fruit trees, wheat, rice and vegetables; when these things were not met with large areas of pasture existed covered with immense herds of cows, tame buffaloes, sheep and goats but no pigs, as they do not use them."

The extraordinary fertility of the soil contributed to the abundance of the crops, vegetables and fruits in Bengal. According to the $A\bar{\imath}n$, the principal cultivation was rice sowed and reaped three times a year on the same piece of land.³ In Bihar also agriculture flourished in a high degree. Rice was grown in the Ganges basin.⁴ Patns was so fertile as to be able to supply grain to other provinces and even to foreign countries. Giving an idea of different varieties of rice, Abul Fadl says that if a single grain of each kind were collected, they would fill a large vase.⁵

Bengal produced a huge quantity of sugar-cane. The Bengal sugar was famous for its quality. Barbossa says that he

^{1.} Ibid.

^{2.} Manrique, 11, p. 123.

^{3.} The Risalah Zarā'at mentions two crops, Rabi (spring) and Kharif (autumn).

^{4.} Ain, 11, p. 151.

^{5.} Ibid I. p. 134.

^{6.} Linschoten, 1, p. 97, EFI, 1630-33, XXX, p. 193.

saw many patches of sugarcane in Bengal.¹. In Bihar, the cultivation of sugar-cane was fairly widespread. Abul Fadl says that it was quite abundant in Bihar.² Long pepper was grown in Sarkar Champaran.³

Manrique points out that Bengal was noted for the production of wheat, rice, vegetables, sugar-cane and oilseeds.4 Long pepper, leaf and mustard were also grown in great quantity in Bengal. There are references to jute crop in Bengal from the 14th century onwards. In the Ramayana of Krittivas, Manik Chand Rajar Gan, Javananda's Chaitanyamangala. Vijay-Gupta's Manasamangala and Muhammad Kabir's Monohar Modhumalati. there are evidences of the use of jute saris by common women of society. Abul Fadl also mentions that in the Sarkar Ghoraghat silk was produced and also a kind of sack cloth (presumably jute cloth.).8 Jute was produced in Bengal obviously for the local market alone as it is noticed only as a crop of the Sarkar Ghoraghat in the Ain and a subsequent reference to it also is very casual. Cotton cultivation was also important in Bengal.7 In the 17th century there was large scale production and manufacture of indigo in the Jumna valley and central India. But the coarser varieties were grown practically everywhere from Bengal to Khandesh. The mulberry plant was cultivated in Bengal for the rearing of silk worms and the production of silk. Tavernier, visiting Kasim bazar in 1660. reported that the annual output of raw silk there was about two and a half million pounds.8 The oil seed crops were

^{1.} Hakluyt, Socity, 11, Barbossa, p. 145.

^{2.} Ain, 11, p. 151.

^{3.} Ibid, p. 152.

^{4.} Manrique 1, p. 54.

^{5.} A. Rahim-Social and Cultural History of Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 387.

^{6.} Ain, 11, p. 123.

Linschoten, I. p. 95.
 Bernier, p. 402.
 Bowrey, pp. 132—134.

^{8.} Tavernier, 11, p. 2.

prominent in Bengal.¹ Manrique mentions that Bengal used to produce opium.²

These two provinces were noted for the production of other edibles, namely, fruits, vegetables and dairy products. Bihar produced a kind of pulse named "Kisari" which was generally consumed by the poorer section. Milk was rich in quality and sold very cheaply there. Pyrard says that Bengal abounded with oxen, cows, sheep, flesh, milk foods, butter, good fruits, citrons, limes, oranges, pineapples and ginger. Manrique men tions that Bengal was noted for fowl, castrated goats, veal, chickens, pigeons, sweets, varielies of fruits and mangoes. Bengal's affluence in foodstuff gets mention in the letters written by the English East India Company officials. President Methwold and Messrs. Fremlen, etc. wrote to the Company from Surat on April 28th, 1636;—

"Bengal is a country abounding with admired plenty, witnessed in all things which are ordinarily exported from thence, but what the mischief should be that our people should find no better success, but that such a ship as the Speedwell should loiter in that plentiful place so many months to return at last (when she could well stay no longer) with such a poor Cargazoone, we do much admire.......Among other Bengal products gumlac is very vendible in all parts of India Persia and Arabia. The Bengal sugar carried to Persia produced good profits.6".

The agricultural system was primitive in nature. Oxen were used for ploughing the soil. From the Bengali literary sources it is evident that agriculture was taken to be an honourable profession. The peasants were conscious of the necessity of irrigation at the time of drought. Tilling of land was generally

- 1. Manrique, 1, p. 54. Bernier, p. 442.
- 2. Manrique, 1, p. 58.
- 3. Ain, 11, p. 151.
- 4. Ibid.
- 5. Manrique, 1, Pp. 25-26.
- 6. EFI, 1634-36, P. 204.

completed in the month of Chaitra (April), and sowing begun in the month of Baishakh (May).

Bengal Industries.

Bengal had flourishing textile industry long before the advent of the Mughals. The Chinese envoys who visited the place during the reign of the Bengal sultans spoke very highly of the cotton manufacture of Bengal and gave a good account of the different types of cotton cloths produced in the province.2 Bengal's cotton products have been much praised by the European travellers. The most notable among the textile products of Mughal Bengal was muslin whose finesse and delicacy indeed became proverbial. Abu! Fadl writes that Sarkar Sonargaon produced a species of fine muslin in great quantity. In the township of Egarasindur, there was a very large reservoir which used to render a peculiar whiteness to the clothes that were washed in it. He adds that Sarkar Barbakabad (Rajshahi, South Bogra and South-east Malda) produced a fine cloth called Gangajal.3 Manrique says that the finest and richest muslins were produced in Bengal from fifty to sixty yards long and seven to eight hand breadths wide with borders of of gold and silver or coloured silks. So fine were these muslins that merchants used to carry them in hollow bamboo pipes and sell them in Khorasan. Per sia. Turkey and many other parts.4 The finest quality muslin was very costly. Mirza Nathan says that he bought a piece of muslin at Malda at a price of four thousand rupees.⁵ About the muslin and silk industries in Bengal, Bernier Wrote ?

"There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for these two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindoustan or the Empire of the Great Mogol only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms and even to Europe."6

- 1. Sibayana-Rameshwar, Pp. 234-37
- 2. Chinese accounts in Visvabharati Annals, 1945, Vol. 1, Pp. 96...134.
- 3. Ain, 11, p. 124
- 4. Manrique, I, pp. 56-57
- 5. BG, 1, p. 43
- 6. Bernier, p. 439.

Bengal enjoyed a special reputation for the vast quantity of her cloth manufactures of which the European travellers have given an eloquent description. Linschoten says that cotton linen was produced in Bengal and it was of fine quality. It was estee med throughout India and carried to Portugal and other parts of the world. Linens manufactured there were of different kinds: Serampuras. Cassas. Comsas, Beatillias, Satopassas and many of such type.1 Pyrard also mentions that Bengal produced a large variety of cotton cloths which were exported to foreign countries. There was also plenty of silk and the inhabitants, both men and women, were wondrously adroit in all manufactures such as cotton cloth and silks, and needle-work such as embroideries, furniture and vessels constructed with utmost delicacy. They also manufactured black and red pottery.2 Manucci mentions that Dacca produced a prodigious quantity of fine white cloth and silken stuffs of which the nations of Europe and elsewhere used to transport annually several shiploads.3. Peter Mundy mentions that there were different varieties of cloths in the Patna market. These used to come from Bengal and included Mal-Mal (royal muslin), Ellachas (silk stripes stuff), Amber or Jettales—thin silk coloured Tiffany at Sherpur Mircha (Murcha). raw silk from Makhsusabad (Murshidabad) and Bengal quilts from Satgaon.4

Bengal had a flourishing silk industry in the 17th century and silk manufactures formed one of the important exports of the country. After the establishment of English factories at Maldah and Kasimbazar, the English company's trade in Bengal silk manufactures began to increase and their use became common among the people in England because of their good quality and cheapness.

About the Dutch trade in Bengal silk, Tavernier writes that Kasimbazar (which he visited in 1666) had an annual out-

- 1. Linschoten, Vol. p. 95.
- 2. Pyrard, Vol. 1 pp. 328-29.
- 3. Manucci, Vol. 11, p. 430,
- 4. Mundy, 11. Pp. 155-156

put of 22,000 bales, each bale weighing one hundred livres. The Dutch generally took 6,000 to 7,000 bales of it for Japan and Holland.1 The silk of Kasimbazar was yellow as were all the crude silks which used to come from Persia and Sicily. The Dutch used to carry their silk and other goods which they obtained in Bengal by the canal connecting Kasimbazar with the Ganges. At Hugli, they used to ship their goods on board their vessels. They used to export white cotton cloths of Bengal as well.2 Streynsham Master describes in his diary that the country around Kasimbazar was full of mulberry trees. Raw silk was cheap and had a flourishing trade. Master also notices that produced very fine varieties of cotton cloths i.e Cossaes, (1.1/16 yds. broad, 18 or 20 yards long) and Mullmulls (1 yd. broad).3 The weavers were very keen to engage themselves in any new sort of work, either of white cloth or of silk.4 Bowrey also gives a list of cloths which were exported from Dacca. He says that Dacca produced Cossas Muzlinge (muslin), Kasimbazar sundry sorts of raw silk, fine sashes (turban cloths) and stripes interwoven with gold and silver.5 From Hugli and Balasore, sanas (fine cloth), ginham (Indian cotton cloth) and Orammalls (rumal) could be produced.6

Sugar manufacture developed into an important industry during this period. Besides the varieties of sugar, unrefined and white, the Bengali manufacturers manufactured granulated sugar and prepared various types of sweets and preserved fruits. The numerous references of sweets and sweet dishes in Bengali literature prove that in Bengal the people in general took sugar, and its production was fairly large. The manufacture of salt was one of the principal industries of Muslim Bengal. Large quantities of fish

^{1.} Tavernier, 11, p. 2

^{2.} Tavernier, Vol. 11, pp. 2-6.

^{3.} Master, Vol. 1, p. 376.

^{4.} Ibid, p. 400.

^{5.} Bowrey, Vol. X11, 2nd Series, p. 230.

^{6.} Ibid, P. 231.

^{7.} A. Rahim, Social and Cultural History of Bengal, Pp., 392-393.

were available in the rivers of Bengal. So there was a prosperous fresh and dried fish industry in the province.¹

There were sundry other industries which deserve mention here. These were lac-rearing, preparation of wax, oils, making of gold and silver ornaments and wooden furniture, pottery, carpentry and tanning. Manrique says that at Midnapur the people used to manufacture scented oils from flowers and other scented substances which were exported to all parts of the country. Over one hundred vessels, he adds, were loaded up yearly in the ports of Bengal with only rice, sugar, fat, oils and wax.²

Bengal had a great traditional ship-building industry.³ For internal trade and naval warfare the Bengali artisans manufactured varieties of boats, big and small. Tavernier saw the houses of many carpenters on the riverside at Dacca. They were found constructing "galleys and other vessels."⁴

The Bengal zamindars had each a large fleet of warboats. There were various types of boats used in Bengal such as kusha, jalia, Dhura, Sundara, Bajra, Khelna, Mayurpankhi.⁵ The Bengal vessels were more suitable for placid rivers than for high seas.⁶ It was one of the drawbacks of the Mughal flotilla of Bengal. Tālish also points out the negligence of Shuja's government towards maintaining an efficient navy.⁷

Bihar Industries.

In Bihar, Patna and Saran were famous for the production of saltpetre. Patna was generally considered to be the best place for saltpetre by the English factors.⁸ Mundy, while visiting

- 1. Ibid, Pp. 393-394.
- 2. Manrique, I, p. 56.
- 3. A. Rahim, Social and Cultural History of Bengal, Vol. I. P. 394.
- 4. Tavernier, I. P. 128
- 5. BG, I, Pp. 127-28
- 6. Manrique, II, P. 278,
- 7. Sarkar, The Conquest of Chatgaon, 1666 A.D. JASB, 1907, P. 405.
- 8. EFI. 1646-50, 332-33.

Patna in Sept — Nov. 1632, referred to saltpetre produced in its neighbourhood.¹ Bernier says that Bengal was the principal emporium for saltpetre. A prodigious quantity was imported from Patna. It was carried down the Ganges, and the Dutch and the English used to send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies and to Europe² On December 15, 1650, James. Bridgeman wrote to the company aboard the Lioness that saltpetre at Patna cost only one rupee per maund, and at Hugli one and three quarter rupees, and saltpetre bought at Balasore for the Lioness cost about Rs. 2.62 a maund. During 1651-54 the price of saltpetre at Patna was generally about half of that at Balasore.³

Saltpetre was carried from Patna down to Hugli or Balasore or Pipli in various types of country crafts known as Patellas, Boras, and Palwars.4 There was, of course, the fear of piracy. The occasional instability of the government used to make the situation awkward and perplexing. Agent Greenhill and William Gurney at Fort St. George wrote to the company on 14th January, 1652, that saltpetre could be obtained in large quantities at Balasore and Hugli, but could not be refined for want of suitable equipment (copper and pans). The English traded in raw saltpetre in the absence of such implements. The big earthen pans were used for refining saltpetre. The process was really tedious and troublesome. Often the pans broke into pieces. The Dutch were well-furnished with houses and all other conveniences of trade at Hugli, so they could refine it after bringing it from Patna. They, of course, took precautions against the Magh pirates by employing some well-manned and munitioned sloops and small ships along with the big vessels.5

Saltpetre was carried down from Patna to Balasore not only on boats along the Ganges, but also by oxen on land. The Balasore factors wrote to the company (Dec. 1659) that saltpetre

^{1.} Mundy II, p. 151, P. 156.

^{1.} EFI. 1646-50, 332-33.

^{3.} EFI, 1646-50, p 337, 1651-4, p. 95

^{4.} Bowrey, vol. XII, Hedges diary, III, p. 197, EFI-1651-4, p. 95.

^{5.} EFI, 1651-54, p. 95

was carried down by oxen from Patna.¹ The war of succession among the sons of Shāhjahān interfered with the land and water transport of saltpetre.

Transport on land became very much insecure. The semi-independent chiefs used to intercept saltpetre on the way, purchase it at a low price and sell it at an enhanced price. Even the river passage was very difficult because of the difficulty in procuring boats, since many boats were burnt by Shahshuja' and the remainder requisitioned by Sultan Muhammad. The war of succession disturbed the peace of Bihar and Bengal and incidentally stopped the trade of the English merchants and even threatened their personal security.

Patna was noted for its Ambati calicoes and raw silk. The Council of Surat deputed from Agra Robert Hughes on 5th June, 1620, who reached Patna on 3rd July, 1620, and was joined by John Parker as an assistant. This was done as the cloth generally called ambertees or ambertrees (ambati or ambati) or stout-close calicoes of narrow width could be procured cheaply and in large quantities at Patna, Hughes reported that there were two commodities which the English could utilise—(a) ambati calicoes and (b) raw silk. Pelsaert writes that Patna produced much muslin (cassa), but it was coarse, and sold at four or five rupees per piece.

There were different varieties of Ambati Calicoes—(a) the rasis or rasseyes or razai (not quilt, but thick woven cotton wrapper), (b) Zeffer Connves or Zafarkhani—so called from the products of the Karkhana of Zafarkhan, governor of Bihar, "some years before," (c) the Jehangeres or Jahangiris, the last variety, the broadest and the finest known at Patna. In 1632

^{1,} EFI. 1655-60, pp. 297-298.

^{2. 15}id.

^{3,} Ibid, p. 278

^{4.} Mundy, Vol. II, Appendix, D. p. 361.

^{5.} Mundy, II, Appendix, D, P. 36I.

^{6.} Jahangir's India-Pelsaert, P. 7-8.

^{7.} EFI, 1618-21, p. 213.

Mundy observed that the ambatis which the English company chiefly required from Patna were dearer than usual, as most of the weavers were engaged in the Karkhana of the local Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang in making fine linen for his mahal or seraglio.¹

Localities round Patna within a radius of thirty miles were important centres of cotton manufacture. In 1620, Hughes found that ambaticalicoes were manufactured at a place where one would require a day's journey from Patna. He named the place as Lukhawar.² Mundy described it as:

"a place 12 course (coss) off where is much cloth made and brought hither (Patna)".3

It has been identified with Lukhawar, a town some twenty-five to thirty miles south-west of Patna.

The Patna factors do not enlighten us as regards the source of the availability of raw cotton at Patna. But Mundy notes that in 1632, he saw cotton fields in the area between Nanbatpur and Patna. So it can be concluded that at least a part of what was used in the cloth industry was produced in Patna.⁴

In the first half of the 17th century, Patna was not only famous for raw cotton and cotton cloths, but also for silk trade. Raw silk was imported to Patna in large quantities from Murshidabad and Saidabad in Bengal. Patna yielded annually 1,000 to 2,000 maunds of raw silk.⁵ Though a considerable quantity of raw silk came from Bengal, a certain amount might have been imported form certain other parts of Bihar.

Silk manufactures of Bihar were of two kinds, viz, (a) those which were imported from outside and (b) those produced

^{1.} Mundy, II, pp. 150-151.

^{2.} *EFI*, 1618-21, p. 18.

^{3.} Mundy, II, p. 145.

^{4.} Muday, II, p. 134

^{5.} Jahangir's India p. 7

locally or in the neighbourhood and exported outside. Among imported silk manufactures were imported from lower Bengal Satgaon quilts and Tasar silk goods. From Maldah in north Bengal, three varieties of silk goods used to come to Patna. (a) Ornees or Ornhis or women's veils, ornamented with silk and gold, (b) Bāllabands or balaband - (turban band) and Alachah or Ellachas a silk striped stuff or silk cloths with a heavy pattern running lengthwise. From Sherpa Murcha in Bogra district, there came to Patna a thin variety of silk cloth called Taffeta or Tiffany. According to Mundy the best variety of silk cloth available in Patna was Curtabees or Agbabanees. Peter Mundy refers to tuckrees or becutpoores, a variety of silk petticoats for women manufactured at Baikunthapur.

There was possibly a local consumption of the imported silk cloths at Patna, while some amount of raw silk had been utilised at Baikunthapur. Merchants from Agra used to go to Patna for purchasing Bengal silk.

Chief Centres of Trade: Land and Water Routes.

In describing the province of Bengal, Manrique says that the chief towns of the province were Dacca, Rajmahal, Hugli, Pipli and Balasore.² Manucci says that the city of Dacca was the metropolis of the whole province of Bengal. It had many inhabitants. Most of its houses were made of straw.³ He also visited Raj Mahal and Hugli. Bowrey says that the city of Dacca was very large and spacious. It was an admirable city for its magnificent buildings and multitude of inhabitants.⁴ The English established their factory there in 1666 and their initial investment in business was small. Balasore was already an important place when the Portuguese were expelled from Hijli by the Mughals in 1636 A. D. at which time the English and

^{1.} Mundy II, pp. 155-156.

^{2.} Manrique, II, p. 288.

^{3.} Manucci, II, p. 86.

^{4.} Bowrey p. 150, No. XII, 2nd series.

the Danes endeavoured to settle factories there.¹ By 1658 A. D. Kasim Bazar had become a prosperous city in Bengal. The English factory at Kasimbazar was established in 1658 A. D. with John Ken as chief. Tavernier gives a good description of the place and its silk trade.² It was inhabited by rich merchants. The English and the Dutch companies had big factories there and the English had also a considerable investment there.

Hugli had many fine buildings. Manucci says that many Portuguese lived there and they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province. The English and the Dutch had factories there. The Dutch building was superior to that of the English. Hugli was also inhabited by some of the richest merchants of the country.³

In 1632, Peter Mundy wrote about Patna:

"It is the greatest mart of all this countrie, from whence they repaire from Bengala that way to the seaside, and from Indostan and other Inland countries round about, plentifull in provisions, abounding with sundrie commodities".4

Manrique says that Patna was a populous city having a population of 200,000 men. It was inhabited by many tradesmen including six hundred brokers and middlemen who were very wealthy. Patna has been described by him as one of the biggest towns of the whole of the Mughal empire.⁵ It was the meeting place of merchants of different nationalities, the Portuguese, the Armenians, the Mughals, the Pathans, the Persians and the East Bengal traders. Tavernier says that Patna was one of the largest towns in India. It was not less than "two coss" in length.⁶ The Dutch company had an establishment there on account of the trade in saltpetre which was refined at a large village called Chapra.

- 1. Bowrey, No. XII, p. 183 (F. N.)
- Tavernier, II, pp. 2-4.
- 3. Bowrey, Vol. XII, pp. 167-168.
- 4. Mundy, II, p. 157.
- 5. Manrique, II, p. 140
- 6. Tavernier, p. 100.

There had long been at least two routes from lower Bengal up the country, one leading from Benares and Gaya to the Midnapur district through the Hazaribagh and the Manbhum districts of Bihar and the other through the Mungir, Santal Parganas, Birbhum and Bankura district. In Van den Broucke's map, the main road from Bihar to the east is shown as following the south bank of the Ganges, through Patna, Mungir, Bhagalpur and Rai Mahal to Suti where the Bhagiratti branched off southwards from the Ganges. At Suti, the road bifurcated, one Branch going to Murshidabad (then called Makhsusabad) and thence via Plassey and Agardrip to Burdwan, Midnapur and Katak, and the other along the southern bank of the Ganges to Fathabad on to Dacca. From Patna to Benares two routes were possible. One ran with the Ganges through Dinapur, Maner, Arrah, Bhojpur, Buxar, Chaunsa, Zamania and Mughal Sarai, and the other through Phulwari, Nawbatpur, Arwal, Daud Nagar, Sasaram and on to Mughal Sarai. Manrique says that he followed the route running from Patna to Agra via Daud Nagar, Sasaram Benares and Allahagad. He says that there were caravan sarais by the side of the roads. It took twenty-five days for him to reach Agra from Patna.2. He crossed 544 miles in 25 days i.e. 213 miles per day. This was good travelling with a cart and he must have had very good bullocks. Mundy travelled 4004 miles in 35 days with his heavy carts. Bullock-carts, camels and pack-oxen carried the goods of commerce on land

1. C. E. A. W. Oldham. Routes old and new from lower Bengal up the country, BPP, Vol. XXVIII, July - Dec., 1924, p. 26.

2. From Renneil's memoirs the following facts can be gathered,

	Time taken by	
	Miles.	Manrique.
Distance from Patna to Benares		
via Daod Nagar (Sasram)	165	4
Benares to Allahabad	83	6
Allahabad to Agra	29 6	15
•	544	25 days

544 miles in 25 days by trotting bullocks.

Mundy crossed 400½ miles in 35 days (F. Manrique, II, p. 145)

routes. The major highways, as has been pointed out, had sarais or walled lodgings and storehouses for passing the nights. In Bengal, it was the river which, in fact, offered the cheapest means of transport. Goods were conveyed on boats. From Agra, barges of great "burthen" sailed to Patna and Bengal down the Jumna and the Ganges performing the downward journey during the rains and taking the rest of the year to come up again. Bowrey speaks of great flat-bottomed vessels called Patellas plying between Patna and Hugli, each of which brought down 4,000 to 6,000 "Bengala Maunds" or about 130 to nearly 200 tons in weight.1.

Tavernier visited Raj Mahal situated on the right bank of the Ganges. It was the headquarters of Shahshuja. The business and trade activity was considerable there. Later on it lost its importance because of the change of the river course. Tavernier noticed that the river was flowing at a distance of a full half league from the town.² According to him the land route from Kasimbazar to Dacca was bad and risky. He also stated that it was risky to carry silver or gold on land.³

The Mughal rule under Shāhjahān had a salutary effect on the economy and trade of Bihar and Bengal. The Portuguese had discredited themselves by their religious zeal and their harsh treatment of the native population. After the destruction of Hugli by Shāhjahān's forces in 1632, the Portuguese were, of course, allowed to return to its vicinity. But their predominant position as a trading nation was completely lost in Bengal. In 1655, the Portuguese, though retaining in India their ancient possessions, were rapidly declining in power and resources and

^{1.} Bowrey, 2nd series, Vol. XII, p. 225.

^{2.} Tavernier, I. p. 102.

^{3.} Ibid, p. 106.

Prof. C. R. Boxer gives an account of the Portuguese methods in his book: Four centuries of Portugese Expansion, 1415-1825. A Succinct Survey, P. 36-39.

the renewal of the war with Holland rendered their prospects gloomy.¹

The Dutch Trade:

By the end of Jahāngīr's reign, the Dutch had already secured a position of some importance in Bengal. They traded wherever the English did—in Bengal, Golkunda, Gujerat, Sind and at Agra. They employed abundant capital and a large number of ships. One special advantage they had was their mastery of the trade of the Far East. This enabled them to supply India with goods from China and Japan as well as with spices and pepper from Java and Sumatra.²

By 1630, the Dutch Coromandel factories acquired "a pivotal position in the Company's trade with the countries round the Bay of Bengal. Having secured a firm foothold on the coast, the Dutch now extended their activities to Bengal, Arakan and Burma." It was a deliberate policy of Shujā's government to grant farmāns to the Europeans allowing them to carry on trade in Bengal. Accordingly, he issued an order to Dutchman Adrian Helmont in 1639.4 In 1641, the Dutch had a prosperous trade with Pipli. In 1653, they erected their fort at Chinsura in Bengal. The factories in Bengal were placed under the authority of the Coromandel government. A separate directorate was created for Bengal as late as 1655.5

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch had secured for themselves a commanding position in the overseas trade of Bengal and Bihar. With their control over the trade of the East Indies, they enjoyed a great advantage over their rivals. Again, the decline of the Portuguese and the limited resources of the English company enabled the Dutch to secure for themselves a predominant position in the seaborne trade of Bengal during the period under review.

- 1. *EFI*, 1655-60, p. 6.
- 2. EFI, 1655-60, p. 6.
- 3. Ray Chandhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, p. 209.
- 4 Corpus Diplomaticum, Vol. 1, p. 339.
- 5. Ray Chaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel. p. 209.

In the thirties of the seventeenth century, the Dutch ships were trading from port to port all the year round sometimes buying rice and other provisions where these were cheap and transporting them to better markets. Gold and copper from Japan, tin, brass and ivory from Malaya, spices and shells from the southern seas comprised the main stock in trade in exchange of which the Dutch secured cotton cloth, silk, hemp, rice, opium, pepper, vegetable dyes and saltpetre for sending home. Elephants were brought by the Dutch home from Cevlon.1 In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were in a comparatively better position than the English regarding the saltpetre trade and the equipment of factories. Tavernier says that the Dutch used to take silk from Kasimbazar for Japan and Holland.² They used to carry it by the canal connecting it with the Ganges and bring it to Hugli from where they sent it down to the destination. It has been noticed that the Dutch were in a fairly good position so far as their saltpetre trade was concerned. They had a depot at Chapra in Bihar from where they sent saltpetre to Hugli. For refining saltpetre, the Dutch used to import boilers from Holland.3 Apart from all these, they used to carry Bengal indigo to Masulipatam4 and gumlac to The Dutch at Kasimbazar were in a good position in the sixties of the seventeenth century. Tavernier, himself, was received by M. Arnoul van Wachttendonk, Director of the Dutch settlements in Bengal.6 Messrs Young and Park, while writing from Gombroon, April 9th, 1654, to the company, mentioned that the Dutch were doing their best to make the English unpopular with the local people. But they were themselves unpopular. It is also mentioned that Shuja' (the Governor of Bengal), was incensed with them.7 Nevertheless, the Dutch had

- 1. Bowrey, Vol XII, p. 180.
- 2. Tavernier, II, p, 2.
- 3. Tayernier, 11, p. 10
- 4. Ibid, p.8.
- 5. 1bid, p. 18.
- 6. Ibid, 1, p. 107.
- 7. EFI, 1651-54, p.269.

a good trade in Bengal and they used to invest £200,000 in Bengal and Orissa yearly.

The Dutch established trade relations with Dacca. Finding that their goods were not sufficiently safe in the common houses of Dacca they built a very fine house for the purpose.¹

The Beginning of English Trade:

The English commercial mission under Robert Hughes and J. Parker was sent to Patna to procure Ambati calicoes and other cotton goods. On 5th June, 1620, Hughes started from Agra, without any merchandise but with bills of exchange to the value of Rupees 4,000. Hughes found the Portuguese busy with their business there. He waited for his assistant, John Parker, who arrived there in September, 1620.² A Kārkhāna (factory) was established, and money was advanced to the weavers. Arrangements were made for procuring raw silk from Bengal.

Hughes and Parker also wrote to the Agra authorities that for silk they should go to Mukhsudabad and Saidabad and it was not profitable to maintain a factory at Patna for calicoes alone. Meanwhile, the Patna city sustained a severe loss due to a fire in 1621. The English merchants escaped with their lives.

After Prince Parviz got Bihar as his Jāgīr he came with a large retinue of followers. Parviz provided accommodation facilities to his followers by displacing many people including the English factors who were already living at Patna. For ten days the English factors had to wander about in search of some accommodation. At last they secured a shelter through the help of Mr. Money who was evidently an influential man there. The factors were ordered in June, 1626, to dissolve the factory and return to the headquarters. Accordingly, they left Bihar in September. Thus the mission of Hughes and Parker failed, not because of local difficulties, but because of orders of withdrawal issued by the controlling authorities of the English company in India.³

^{1.} Tavernier, I. 128.

^{2,} Mundy, II, p. 360.

^{3.} Mundy, Vol. II, p. 360.

However, this did not stop the English contact with Bihar. Patna goods continued to be produced at Agra from Bihar traders. Twelve years later another attempt was made in this direction. In August, 1632, Peter Mundy was sent to Patna by the chief of Agra. Accompanied by a native broker, Mundy arrived at Patna on 16th September, 1632. He succeeded in selling some quicksilver and vermilion and after a stay of two months returned to Agra and corroborated the report of Hughes and Parker. It was not till after 1650 that any business of a permanent nature was established there by the company. The actual date of the establishment of the Patna factory is uncertain. A settlement was probably made there after the foundation of the Hugli factory in 1651.2

The English now made special efforts to open up trade in the Bay of Bengal, establishing factories at Hariharpur (near Katak) and at Balasore. The first attempt was made in 1631 when the Hopewell with Thomas Robinson aboard was sent from Masulipatam to Bengal but returned within three months owing to foul weather.³ The second attempt was made in 1632 when the Pearl with Thomas Woodson was sent into Bengal with a cargo of lead, quicksilver, vermilion and cloth to be exchanged for rice, butter and cloth. This ship also could not finish her voyage and came back to Masulipatam.⁴ The third attempt was made in 1633. Agent John Norris of Masulipatam sent Ralph Cart Wright, Thomas Colley and six other Englishmen into Bengal on a country vessel to open up trade there.⁵ The English reached Hariharpur and Katak.

The advance of the English from the Coromandel coast up the Bay of Bengal was primarily due to the enterprise of

^{1.} Ibid.

A note on the the English chiefs at Balasor in the Bay of Bengal.
 C, R. Wilson-1903, p. 1.

^{3.} P. Mundy, II. p. 361.

^{4.} Ibid, p. 2.

^{5.} Ibid

local officers. The English faced the famine of 1630 A. D. in the Coromandel coast. The whole tract of land from Guierat to Golkunda coast was ravaged by its scourge. The high prices of food stuffs, the general dearth of piece goods on account of the mortality among weavers and workers made the commodities of Bengal and Bihar very desirable there. Further, the capture of Hugli by the Mughal forces in September, 1632, and the supposed intention of the emperor to stamp out Portuguese trade in Bengal, had led the Masulipatam factors to conclude that a particularly favourable opportunity had offered itself for planting English trade in those parts. (Bengal and Orissa).1 Accordingly, the English ship Hopewell anchored at Hariharpur on 21st April, 1633. Cartwright, the English merchant. permission from the Orissa governor to trade in the ports of Orissa, without payment of any dues whatsoever.2 Cartwright built a factory at Hariharpur and next month built another at Balasore. Cartwright remained chief of the factories at Balasore and Hariharpur till the end of 1635 when, owing to disagreement with the council of Masulipatam, especially Clarke, he was displaced or forced to resign.3

Cartwright was succeeded by John Yard at Balasore. In 1636, the Duch reported that the English were very active on the Coromandel coast but in 1680 they faced a shortage of capital. At any rate the factors were not withdrawn and Yard continued in his post till 1642. Yard's successor as chief in the Bay at Balasor was Robert Hatch who made over charge to Olton at the end of 1644. Olton made over the Company's spare cash to William Netham and came away from Balasor on a country boat in 1646. He acted as chief in the Bay from 1646 till

^{1.} EFI 1630-33, Intro., XXX.

EFI. Appendix, p. 411-12, 1655-60 EFI, 1630-33, p. XXXI. Early Annals, Vol. 1, p. 8. The mention of Mu'taqid Khan's name first in the Parwana seems to suggest that it was really granted by him but later on confirmed by Muhammad Zaman Tirhani. (EFI, 1655-60, p. 413).

^{3.} Wilson-A note on the English chiefs at Balasor in the Bay of Bengal (1633-1650), 1903, p. 3.

the arrival of Richard Hudson in 1647.¹ Captain Brookhaven's instructions to James Bridgeman as chief of the factories of Balasor and Hugli are dated 14th December, 1650, and from that date it is assumed that Bridgeman's charge begins. It is not quite clear when Hariharpur was abandoned. Wilson thinks that the English withdrew from the place in 1642.²

The English were further hopeful of a prospect of trade with Bengal. Urged by the necessities of time and trusting to the goodwill of the Bengal government, the English resolved to follow the example of the Dutch and establish a factory inland up the Ganges. In 1650, the Lyoness was despatched to Bengal for this very purpose. When the Lyoness reached Balasore, her captain determined to stay with her and send Bridgeman to Hugli as chief with Stephens as his second and Blake and Tavler as assistants accompanied by their Hindu broker, Narayan.3. They sailed up the Hugli in a country junk and laid the foundation of a factory between the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah and the Portuguese settlement at Bandel. Bridgeman was also directed to go to Shuja"s court and try with Boughton to secure trade concessions for the English. Agent Greenhill wrote from Masulipatam to Bridgeman on 25th February, 1651, that he had sent "three gaz of scarlet cloth and sixteen yards of gold and silver lace to be presented to Boughton" who, being the Prince's servant, would be able to obtain the Mughal Farman for trade.4 In 1651 the English obtained trade privileges which included freedom of trade in Bengal without payment of internal customs or dues. This Nishan of Shuja' was lost in 1653

^{1.} Ibid, p. 7.

^{2.} Wilson—A note on the English chiefs at Balasor in the Bay of Bengal (1633-1650), p. 7.

^{3.} He had been in the Bengal establishment since 1633.

On Boughton, see Indian Antiquary, W. Foster, 1911, (Vol. XL, pp. 247-57): Stewart-History of Bengal, (1813), p. 251. M. A. Wali-JASB, 1912. It is to be mentioned that Boughton did not get any concession from Shahshuja' for the English company.
 (For detailed discussion see Early Annals-Wilson F. N, pp. 27-28).

or 1654 by Waldegrave on his journey to Madras. So Gawton and his fellow factors found it necessary to obtain another nishān from the prince. In April, 1656 (Jamadi II, 1066), therefore, Thomas Billidge was despatched to the Prince's court at Raj Mahal and there he obtained the coveted privileges without difficulty.¹

It was a deliberate policy of Shujā's government to grant more trade concessions to the English. In the last decade of Shahjahān's reign they established their factories at Patna, Hugli and Kasimbazar. Nevertheless, their internal position remained far from satisfactory because of a variety of circumstances. First, Bridgeman and his colleagues took to dishonest means for making money. Later on, they deserted the company's service. Meanwhile, inland trade on the Coromandel coast became impractible owing to the convulsed state of the country. The coastal trade was hazardous from the superior force of the Dutch with whom England was openly at war from 1652 to 1654. Again the private merchants who had obtained a charter from Oliver Cromwell in 1655 competed with their countrymen in every direction.²

There were other troubles which the English had to face in Bengal. They used to carry goods up and down the Ganges in hired country boats, but these arrangements proved untenable. Sometimes, the boatmen used to become mutinous and demand exorbitant wages from the company officials.

- 1. Dr. Rieu's catalogue of the Persain manuscript at the British Museum (Vol. I. p. 407). It appears that there is a volume containing copies in Persain of farmans (addl. No. 25039) ranging in date from A. D. 1633 to 1712. The copies written in the late 18th century came from the collection of Horace Hayman Wilson. Rotograph copies were sent to Calcutta where Mr. A. F. Scholfield, the officer in charge of Imperial Record Office, made arrangments for their translation with the help of Maulvi Muhammad 1srael Khan. (EFI, 1655-60, p. 411).
- 2. Wilson, Introductory Account of the Early History of the Fnglish in Bengal. pp.28-29.

However, the English Company took measures to gear up its establishments in Bengal. In 1657, the private merchants amalgamated themselves with the company. The factories of Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna were placed under the agency of Hugli which was under the control of the Presidency of Surat. With the increase in the number of company servants in Bengal the English trading company became strong. George Gowton was chosen as the agent at Hugli. Other factors were Thomas Hopkins, Ion Ken and Richard Chamberlain who were posted at Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna respectively.

Non-European Traders:

Apart from the European traders, there were many local and non-European tradesmen who frequented the prominent business centres of Bihar and Bengal. Hugli became a meeting place of foreign and up-country merchants—Khurasanians, Mughals, Persians, Armenians and Hindustanis. Hughes notes in his letter dated 12th July, 1620, that the "Mogoles" and the "Praychaes" were at Patna like bees.³

The word "Mogoles" is applied to all sorts of central Asiatic foreigners including Persians and merchants from the north-west forntier regions. The word "Praychae" means East Bengal traders. The village ballads of East Bengal of the medieval period onwards distinctly show that the Gangetic channels were frequented by the Bengal boats carrying Bengal products which found their way to different parts of Indo-China and the East Indies. The Bengal merchants brought Maldah products to Patna market and took Bihar products to Bengal. The native merchants bought ambati calicoes, cotton goods in the form of sheets (dopatta) from Malda and muslins (Kaim-khani, a coarse variety of Khassa) from Bihar. These muslins were not fit for the English market, though they were readily saleable in Persia,

^{1.} EFI, 1655-60, p. 188.

^{2.} Ibid, p. 189.

^{3.} Hughes to Surat Factory, Patna Factory Records, I, p. 4.

Turkey and North Africa. The native merchants also came for turbans (mandil), of which Benares was the best source of supply and for the short silk cloths known as atachah.

Hughes discovered that he had to face severe competiton in the shape of Portuguese merchants from Hugli and Pipli and of native agents (from the country round about Patna and from Upper India and Persia) who came for ambatis and also for fine cotton goods made in Malda and Bihar for sale in Lahore and North Western India generally.² Patna was a great centre for the commercial activity of native and foreign traders.

"This place", says Mundy, "is chiefly for Merchants of strange countries, as Mogolls, Persians, Armenians, where they may lodge and keepe their goods, the tyme of their stay heere, payeinge so much by the month. Theis are usuallie in great citties but the other sort of saraes are in all places servinge for all sorts of Travellers that come att night and away in the morninge."

Medium of Exchange

Under Akbar, the five provincial mints of Lahore, Jaunpur, Ahmadabad, Tanda (later on shifted to Raj Mahal) and Patna were each placed under a superior imperial official. Later on, the number of places at which coins were struck was about two hundred.⁴ In Bengal and Bihar, the standard of money was silver. Gold coin was occasionally in circulation. In 1640, the price of Mohur (the gold Mohur known as ashrafi) prevailing in Bengal is stated to be about Rs. 13.⁵ Gold coin was not in general commercial use, but mostly employed for hoarding purposes especially by the aristocracy. Forty copper dams used to be exchanged for one silver rupee of 172.5 grains. This also varies during

^{1.} Mundy, II, p. 366.

^{2.} Mundy, II, p. 362.

^{3.} Ibid, p. 159.

^{4.} Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1907, Vol. IV, p. 514.

^{5.} Manrique, II, 129.

this period. In 1640, a rupee seemed to have fetched twenty-eight dams at Raj Mahal although copper must have been dearer there than at Agra. Cowries were also quite common as a medium of exchange. Bowrey also mentions that a very good kind of fine silver money was coined in the mint at Dacca. The Mughals also coined rupees of the finest refined gold which were called gold mohurs. The commodities were weighed in terms of maunds and seers. The Balasore maund contained 75 lbs, the Hugli maund 70 lbs, and the Kasimbazar maund 68 lbs. The maund, bigger or small, was divided into forty equal parts, called seers, which were further halved and quartered.

From a close examination of the price list given by Manrique, Linschoten and Bowrey, it is evident that the prices were gradually rising due to the steady influx of foreign bullion within the country. In Bengal, there is definite evidence of a large and sudden rise in food prices between the year 1650 and 1660. The active development of the trade of Bengal began when the the Dutch and the English settled at Hugli. Messrs. Young and Park pointed out in their letter written from Gombroon on April 9th, 1654, that the Dutch used to invest £200,000 in Bengal and Orissa yearly in their business.⁴

Again the English were developing new business on a substantial scale and the sudden influx of silver was sufficiently large to effect a material alteration in the monetary position of the eastern provinces.

In December, 1658, the English factors applied for an increase in the allowance for house-keeping charges due to the rise in the cost of living.⁵ In reply to a representation that £300 per annum was insufficient to defray household expenses, "because provisions are now three times as deare as formerly", the committee desired a detailed account, on receipt of which the matter would be reconsidered.

- 1. Ibid, 102, 136, 174.
- 2. EFI, 1634-36, p. 176, Bowrey, Vol. XII, p. 204.
- 3. Bowrey, Vol. XII, p. 217.
- 4. EFI, 1651-54, p. 304.
- 5. EFI, 1655-60, p. 407.

The market of Dacca was brisk in activity. There was a very rich merchant community in Dacca. Mirza Nathan says that he could raise a loan of Rs. 100,000 at a few days' notice from the "merchant princes" of Dacca. Manrique mentions that the Kshatris of Dacca had amassed:

"Such quantity indeed that, being difficult to count, it used commonly to be weighed."

Muhammad Sadiq mentions that Haji Ghiyaha was a rich merchant at Dacca during the time of Islam Khan Mashhadi.³

Money-lending was already an important business. The sarrafs (bankers) employed the money received in deposits in lending at higher rates of interest. Merchants advanced loans to cultivators and artisans to be repaid in the form of produce or manufactured materials.⁴ Money-lending appears to have been carried on in the country-side by the sannyasis or mendicants in Bengal.⁵ The Professional money-lenders, known as mahajans, must have commanded considerable resources of money.¹ We are told that Mirz Nathan had dealings with the mahajans from whom he borrowed Rs. 30,000.²

The English factors in India usually remitted money from one factory to another through the instrumentality of the Sarraf's hundis (Bills of exchange). The native merchants used to procure things at Patna with the help of bills of exchange. These bills of exchange were written orders, usually unconditional, made by one person on another for payment of a certain sum of money to a person named therein.

- 1. EG II, p. 644.
- 2. Manrique, I, p. 44.
- 3. SS, 133b.
- 4. Contributions to Indian Economic History (1). Ray chaudhuri Ed. p. 18.
- 5. Risalah Zarā'at ff 10b-11a
- 1. Contributions to Indian Economic History, I, Ed. T. Ray-chaudhuri. Article on "Banking in Mughal India" by Irfan Habid,, p, 19.
- 2. BG. II, 715.
- 3. Mundy, II, p. 366.

The brokers played an important and indispensable part in the marketing organisation of the period. They used to act as intermediaries between the merchant and the producer, finding out for the former the sources of supply of goods and bringing samples for approval to be returned if disapproved. Peter Mundy set brokers to seek out coarse ambatis on 26th September, 1632. Next day, they bought 20 or 30 pieces, which were, however, returned on the 28th as being unsuitable for the English demand. There were different brokers specialising in different varieties of goods, e. g., as Peter Mundy mentions "Ganga Ram, the chiefest Broker in their parts for corse linen." The English had a broker at Balasore named Narayan ("Narrana") who played a great part in facilitating English trade activity there.

Condition of the Peasantry:

The soil of Bengal was so fertile that the people obtained all necessities of life with a small amount of labour. The foreign travellers are unanimous in saying that Bengal was noted for her abundance of eatables, household goods and manufactured goods.⁴ The peasant, having to part with a substantial portion of his produce, was not particularly well off. His situation was, however, saved by the abundance and cheapness of the basic necessities of life—some of which, like fire-wood and building materials were mostly free. The peasants were thus able to live plainly but well above the starvation level.

The A'in says that the people of Bengal had rice and fish as staple food. In Bihar, the poor used to live on Kisari a pea-like type of pulse whose effect on the body was not wholesome. Manrique, the 17th century traveller, says that the daily

- 1. Mundy, II, p. 145.
- 2. Ibid, P. XXXII.
- 3. EFI, 1651-54, p. 45.
- 4. Linschoten, I, p. 94; Pyrard, I, 327, Bowrey, XII series, p. 131.
- 5. A'in, II, p. 134.
- 6. Ibid, p, 164.

meal of the people of Bengal consisted of rice. If there is nothing to add with rice, they would remain contented with salt. Some people used to take vegetables called xaga saga.1

Those who could afford took milk, butter and sweets. Those who lived inland did not take much fish. They used to eat the flesh of animals such as cows, bullocks, goats, kids and castrated goats.2 They used to take Kachari (Khichri)a dish of rice and lentils. At their banquets they prepared another kind of Khichri which they called "Guzarate Kachari," a costly preparation with almonds, raisins, cloves, mace, nutmeg, cardamon, cinnamon and pepper.3

In regard to clothing. Abul Fadl says that in Bengal a large number of men and women used to go naked or they did not wear anything except for the loin cloth.4 Manrique points out that the dress of the common people (of men and women) was made of cotton without tailoring. Men used to dress in cloth of six to seven hand-breadths, worn from the waist downwards and above they remained naked.

The more well-to-do people used to carry over their shoulder and on their back a piece of cloth; their womenfolk were fully clothed. They had their arms covered with bracelets. In their ears they used to wear large rings and similar ornaments in their nostrils, particularly on the left side. were not in the habit of wearing shoes.5

About the dwelling houses, Abul Fadl says that in Bengal the ordinary huts were made of bamboo.6 In Bihar. most of the houses had tile roofs.7 The people were fond of keeping their dweilings clean by spraying cattle dung mixed with mud.8

- 1. Manrique, I, pp. 64-65. Bernier, p. 438.
- 2. Manrique, I. p. 65.
- 3. Ibid.
- A'in, II, p. 134.
- 5. Manrique, I, 61,
- 6. A in, II, p. 134.
- 7. Ibid, p. 164.
- 8. Manrique, I, 65.

Tavernier also says that the people used to live in huts made of bamboo and wood.¹ Manucci saw at Dacca houses having roofs of straw.² The house furniture of an ordinary peasant consisted of a mat of straw, a blanket of cotton (called Cantas), a patched quilt and some pots in which they used to cook their own food.³

Alaol, a 17th century Muslim poet of Bengal, portrays the condition of an ordinary villager named Gopal who had no good cloth or shoes to put on.⁴ The austere and simple life of the peasants draws a sharp contrast with the pompous and extravagant life of the Mughal nobility living in big towns. Already there had developed a tendency of flocking to towns where life seemed to be more secure and easy.

Although the common people led a rather plain and simple life, the articles of luxury were not altogether unknown to them. Thus various arts and industries such as those of weaving, embroidery and painting flourished in the country.

- 1. Tavernier, I, 128,
- 2. Manucci, II, 86.
- 3. Manrique, I, 65.
- The Tohfa or Alaol. Ed. A. Sharif, p. 147. Grambashi janali Gopal Haldhar Nāhika Padukā Payē jarājirnaghar. Saharē shē shab Loke Mahattra Paiba Ardha-Ardhi Āshanga shē Kutiā Ramiba.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIO—RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MUSLIMS IN BIHAR AND BENGAL

Life of the Nobility:

Under the great Mughals India undoubtedly touched new peaks of cultural progress. During the reign of $\underline{Sh}\overline{a}hjah\overline{a}n$, Jahangir Nagar (Dacca), Patna and Raj Mahal (Akbar Nagar) became seats of Mughal culture and learning. During this period a fresh wave of Muslim immigration swelled the ranks of the Muslim population. The foreigners, mostly Iranians, came in the train of the $S\overline{u}bahd\overline{a}rs$ and brought with them their etiquette and their customs and traditions. Muslim officers penetrated into rural areas in the administrative and revenue departments. The higher grade officers received country-side $J\overline{a}girs$, and thus came into direct contact with the local people. The Muslim scholars also received $J\overline{a}girs$, $in'\overline{a}ms$ and $madad-i\cdot Ma'\overline{a}sh$ to maintain themselves and their educational institutions. Persian etiquette quite naturally, though unconsciously, influenced the people.

The Mughal nobility in Bengal and Bihar was not hereditary. It was official and military in character. Administrators, Zamīndārs, learned stipendiaries and shi'ite merchants formed the Muslim upper class which more or less depended on government patronage.

The governors of Bihar and Bengal under Shāhjahān took great interest in the task of constructing buildings, Sarais, gardens and wells. Even as a rebel prince Shājahān took keen interest in the construction of a Mahal (harem) at Akbar Nagar. He appointed Muhammad Sālih, Bakhshī and Waqai Nawis of Gaur, as the

chief inspector of buildings (Daru gagi wa Mushrif-i-'Imarat) of Akbar Nagar.¹

The most important period in the history of Akbar Nagar (Raj Mahal) was between 1639-60 when Shujā' shifted the seat of his residence from Dacca to this place. Shujā' endowed the place with beautiful buildings. Unfortunately a fire broke out in 1640 A.D. which swallowed most of the Prince's bungalows built of wood and thatch.²

A full account of Shujā''s building activities is given by Munshi Shayam Prasad who says that the prince constructed the Daulat Khana, the Sangi Dalan, the Machhi Bhavan, Anand Sarawar Lake, the Haveli, the Hammam the Haud, the foundations of Falu Khana, the Diwan-i-Khas and the Diwan-i-'Am.³

The viceroys and the nobles used to live in big bungalows. Their life represented luxury and refinement. Their mansions were decorated with carpets and fine mats.⁴ They used benches and cots as well. Their diet consisted of bread, Kashk (a kind of thick pottage made of wheaten flour or barley meal to which meat is added), Khirsa (thickened milk), breads cooked with ghee, etc.⁵ In great feasts a variety of dishes and drinks, fruits and different types of sweets were served. Every noble maintained a big establishment of retinues. The nobles were luxurious in their dress, meals and amusements and spent money lavishly.

According to Vipradas, a poet of the Sixteenth century, a Muslim zamindar named Hasan had one hundred women in his harem. In giving an account of his life the poet says,

"Hasan is always enjoying himself in the company of one hundred wives. He eats sweet-scented pans (betel leaf) and uses scents of musk and

^{1.} BG. U. p. 711.

^{2.} BN, II, p. 178. AS, II, p. 316.

^{3.} Ahwal Gaur wa Pandua, Munshi Shayam Prasad (902841), Ed. Dr. A. H. Dani in Muslim Architecture in Bengal, Dacca, 1961, appendix, p. 5.

^{4.} BG, II, 486, 770.

^{5.} Ibid, 476.

sandals. The slave supplies these very frequently. Some rub hands and feet and some indulge in flatteries, Some of them fan with white feathers and a number of them join their hands together in fear of life. Some of them recite the name of Allah and of the Prophet."

The Muslim nobles had many recreations in life. Picnicking in boats was a favourite pastime. Mahalgiri, a kind of houseboat, was used for family picnics.² Hunting served as a source of amusement. Elephant feats were another from of amusement which the nobles greatly enjoyed. The elephant named Shah Pasand sent as a Pishkash to Shahjahann by Nathan showed splendid feats.³ In the gardens and groves the nobles used to spend their time eating and drinking during leisure hours.⁴

The Muslims observed the religious festivals with solemnity and grandeur. They used to celebrate '\bar{I}d ul \ Fitr, '\bar{I}d ul \ Azha, \ Shab-i-bar\bar{a}t \text{ and } Muharram. From the writing of Mirza Nathan it can be concluded that the Ramadhan month was not merely a period of abstinence and prayer but of meeting and eating by the nobles at night.\bar{5} The Muslims used to welcome the '\bar{1}d with great rejoicing.

On the 'Id day, the Muslims used to put on new and fine dresses. The combing of hair and the use of scents were very common on such festive occasions.⁶ The well-to-do Muslims used to hold great banquets which were generally supplemented by songs of beautiful singers and graceful dancers.⁷

According to the Muslims, God is supposed to balance each man's accounts according to his works during the year in the night

^{1.} Vipradas—Manasamangala, ed. S. K. Sen, Calcutta, 1956. pp. 66-67 cited in Social and Cultural History of Bengal, A. Rahim, pp. 256-257.

^{2.} BG, I, 147.

^{3.} Ibid, I, 759.

^{4.} Dani, Dacca, p. 77. (Pub. 1962).

^{5.} Rahim, Social and Cultural History of Bengal, pp. 274-75.

^{6.} Tohfa, ed. A. Sharif, p. 181.

^{7.} BG, 1. p. 138.

of barāt (night of assignment or Shab-i-barāt). Ceremonial ablution, use of antimony on the eyes, prayer, fasting and almsgiving-all these were done by the Muslims on the occasion of Shab-i-barāt. Some religious enthusiasts spent the whole night in offering special prayers and reading the Holy book. Another great occasion was Muharram in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain.

On the occasion of the Nawroz (new year's day according to the Persian calendar), the $s\bar{u}bahd\bar{u}rs$ and high officials used to arrange gay banquets. Sweets were prepared in large quantities to serve to the people and alms were distributed among the needy.³

Apart from religious festivals the Muslim nobles used to enjoy other social festivals as well. Nathan used to celebrate a six-monthly feast in honour of his late father. It was attended by many big Mughal officials. It was a great feast where various kinds of delicious food, drink and fruits were served. Every reciter of the Quran was given a pair of shawls and otto of roses was sprinkled in a right royal fashion. Surprisingly enough, wine was also served on such a solemn occasion and it is stated that the guests got heavily drunk. This entertainment went on for seven days and nights.

The Mughal nobles used to celebrate the occasion of the birth of a son with great pomp. Nathan describes a feast he held on the occasion of the birth of a son to him.⁵ On the occasion of the birth of Prince Murad at Rohtas, Begum Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shahjahan, wrote to Mirza Nathan to supply 60

- 1. Tohfa, p. 180.
- 2. *Ibid*, p. 181,
- 3. BG, 11, p. 502.
- 4. BG, 1, pp. 213, P. 215-17.

Nathan states that the guests were so much drunk that his servants poured on their dress rose water and aroma of orange flowers and sprinkled scents of ambergris in the air in such a way that the room which was stinking with the smell of wine assumed fragrance of Paradise.

5. Ibid, 1, pp. 68-69.

Ibs of ambergris of the sea, 160 Ibs of Khusks, two thousand pods of musk, 400 lbs of amber, two thousand bottles of the essence of Egyptian willow, essence of flowers, ten thousand bottles of rose water of Yazd and four thousand pounds of saffron.1

The nobles frequently held parties.2 Musicians and dancing girls used to entertain the guests with their performances. Music and dance were indispensable elements of every social festivity. Prostitutes were brought to the homes of the rich.3 From the writing of Alaol it is evident that concubinage was prevalent in Muslim society in Bengal in the 17th century.4

T. K. Raychaudhuri has rightly observed.

"the clean life of the humble folk offered a pleasing contrast to the perpetual saturnalia which was the life of the rich."5

The Muslims were fond of music in spite of the orthodoxy. Eminent singers received 'lqta in Bengal from the Imperial government. Chirag Beg got 'Iata in Bengal and also settled there during

- 1. Ibid. 11, p. 735.
- 2. Manrique's account of a mid-day meal of a captain (Mirza) of an army at Gaur gives an idea of the sumptuousness of the food of the upper classes during the period under review. Manrique says,

"The dinner then commenced with great propriety and abundance. After numerous dishes of various kinds of flesh both of domesticated and wild animals and birds, with stimulants of sundry achares (pickles or relish) green chillies soaked in strong fragrant vinegars that served to spur the appetite and re-open the road to a meal, which in its excess was already tedious to me. When we have eaten these dishes they brought different kinds of sweets, made after their own fashion. On these followed every kind of dried fruit produced by these countries. After a weary three hours we rose from the table." (vol. 11, P. 127),

- · Nacho Besya sata kari manohar bes. 3. Agar chandan dhume akas chhaila," Padmavati, p. 214.
- 4. Tohfa, pp. 166-167.
- 5. Bengai under Akbar and Jahangir, P. 206.

this period.1 Different types of musical instruments were by the people. Sanai, Singa, basī (flute), dhol (drum) dotārā were the important musical instruments which deserve mention here.2

In the aristocratic society, women maintained their honour and prestige. Ibrahim Khan, Fath Jang's wife, exercised great influence over the Mughal officials. She had Mirza Bahram appointed as the administrator of Kuch Bihar and wrote the officers already there to treat him well.3 Mumtaz intercession saved the life of the Fauidar of Burdwan during Shahjahan's usurpation of Bengal.4 Women of the upper class were shown great respect by the people. Nathan's sister was given a rousing welcome by a shiqdar. She was given Rs 4.000 to meet the expenses of her journey.⁵ Veil (Purdah) was observed by the ladies of rank. Such ladies had maids and slaves to serve them.6

Many among the Mughal nobility believed in witchery and astrology. Shahjahan always took the counsel of astrologers in his struggle with the imperialists. At Tons (1624), ignoring the unanimous advice of the astrologers, including Rashid Sharfuddin Munajjim Ghazipuri, who declared that the hour was not auspicious, Shahjahan offered battle and lost.7 entire army of the imperialists was advancing towards Bengal Shahiahan decided to leave for Burharpur in the Deccan along the same route by which he came. The astrologers were summoned to find out an auspicious hour for departure. Chakrapani an eminent astrologer in the service of Mirza Nathan and expert physician too, was summoned by Shahjahan who found out an auspicious moment for the purpose.8 The astrologers had a

SS, 127b; Sulaiman, a powerful man in the court of Arakan was a good musician, (Tohfa., P. 140).
 Padmavati, P. 220.
 BG, II, P. 672.
 Ibid, P. 690.
 Ibid, PP. 666-67.
 Ibid, PP. 668.
 Ibid, P. 758.
 BG H P 783

^{8.} BG, H, P. 783.

great role to play in a society loaded with superstitions. They used to tell the auspicious time for offering battle and chances of victory and defeat. The astrologers had also knowledge of medicine.

Mirza Nathan, an eminent Mughal official in Bengal was himself haunted by witchcraft: He relates how Mir Shams began to exercise his witchcraft over him in order to become the master of the whole of Kuch Bihar. Mirza also says that Khumtaghat in Kuch Bihar was notorious for magic and sorcery.

Life of the Muslim masses:

The local converts constituted the commonalty of the Muslim society. It was somewhat difficult to distinguish the lower classes of Muslims from the masses of the Hindus. Most of them were originally Hindu converts to Islam.³

The high posts of the government were held by the nobility which consisted of four groups of people—Sheikh, Saiyid, Mughal and Pathan.⁴ Some local Muslims were appointed as foot soldiers and revenue officials of lower cadre.

- 1. BG, II, 672.
- 2 Nathan writes

"thus if a man takes by force a fowl from a ryot and the ryot comes to the judge for redress, and if that person is refused justice then the complainant by means of his magic and sorcery could make the accused produce the voice of a fowl from inside his stomach and thus proves the falsity of the protestations of the accused." (BG, I, P. 273).

- Manrique also writes that the Bengalees were "addicted to the practice of Augury and omens, allowing themselves to be influenced by the voice and song of birds and the movements of dumb animals" (Vol. I, P. 65),
- 3. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, J.A. S. B., 1935, P. 191.
- 4. The Sheikhs were the Arab merchants and rich men, the Pathans inhabitants of Turkistan, the Mughals of Central Asia and the Saiyids descendants of the family of Prophet Muhammad.

(Cf. Arakan Raj Sabhaye Bangala Sāhitya, P. 91)
"Nānā jati Loksabe dharila jogan
Saiyid Sheikh Zada adi Mogol
Pāthān. Satimayna, Daulat Qazi.
cited in the Arakan Rajsabhaye
Bangala Sahitya, pp.91-92.

Olama, Saiyid Sheikh jata pura basi, Poshanta adar kari mane sneha basi. Padmayati, p. 22.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the local Muslims. They used to take it as a respectable profession in life. Mukumdram mentions a few occupations held by the Muslims. There were cattle dealers (Mukeri), bread manufacturers (Pithari), fish dealers (Kabari), professional performers of circumcision (Hajjam), paper manufacturers (Kagajia) and professional butchers (Kasai). Some people held titles indicative of their respective profession. Thus the Koran reciter was known as Korāni, shopkeeper dokani, businessmen bepāri and boatmen kāndari.

Marriages were generally arranged by matchmakers.⁴ Sometimes the bridegrooms were approached directly.⁵ Parentage and nobility of birth of the groom were taken into consideration before the finalisation of a proposal.⁶ The well-known system of dowry was even then in vogue, with the difference that the bride's side and not the bridegroom's side was the beneficiary.⁷ The system of divorce was present in Mustim society. However, a wife's devotion to her husband was not rare. She was found busy in making herself attractive and pleasant to her husband with beautiful attire. Debauchery was considered as a great offence in the society. Marriage was performed as a fitting

- Yathek Vidhyae hay dhan Uparjita, Tar majhe Krishikarma sabarpujita, Tohfa, p.160
- 2. Chandimangala, p.345.
- Koran ye pare nam hay tar Korani Dokan ye kare nam hay tar dokani Bepar ye kare nam hay tar bepari Kandar ye dhare nam hay tar Kandari,
 - "Hitajnan vani kāvya" pp.38-39.
- 4. Jangnama, p.23.
- 5. *Ibid*, p.22.
- 6. Kulete Kulin Tumi Tekārane kahi, Rajya dhan Diya kanya Samarpite chāhi. (Ibid, p.22).
- 7. Laili Majnu, p.68.

occasion by the well-to-do sections of the community. The wealthier persons displayed much pomp and wealth on such occasions. The so called sachag ceremony was primarily a local custom. Two or three days before the marriage day the sachag ceremony was performed. On that occasion sachag (a henna plant) was used for colouring the fingers and toes of the bride. Turmeric (halud) was also pasted on the body of the bride on the eve of having a bath on that occasion. Generally the playmates and companions of the bride participated in it. Girls used to dance and sing holding lamps in their hands and earthen pots on their The birth of a child, particularly of a son, was an occasion of great festivity in the society. Wealthier people used to arrange feasts on that occasion. Happy parents used to make presents and gifts to their friends and relatives and give alms to the poor.2 In the Agiga ceremony the newly-born child was christened formally. On that occasion a sheep or goat, two in case of a male child and one if the child was a female, was sacrificed and meat was distributed among the relatives and the poor.

Muslim women used antimony for the eyes, vermillion for making the parting of the hair, musk for the breasts and betel leaf for lips in order to make themselves beautiful and attractive. They used to wear vermillion (sindhur) like their Hindu counterparts. This was a local custom peculiar to Bengal and Bihar. The dress of women consisted of kanchala (for covering the breast), patta, korta, sari and kamiz. They used sinthi (head ornament), besar (nose ornament), karnaphul (earring), bajuband (armlet), har (necklace), ratan chūr (bracelet) and maduli

Saiful Mulk Badiuzzaman. Dona Chazi Chaudhuri, cited in Arakan Raj Sabhay Bangala sahitya, op. 95-96
 Antampure narigane ajna pai subaikshane,
 Mangal kare subhashvani.

Suva Kshane suvayoge Putra janmila, Gaganer sasī yena marteta namila.
 Laksha laksha chumba dila lalata Upar. Karita sahasra dhane sir balihar, jothek bhandar chila Karilek dan. (Laili Majnu. p. 14)

(armlet) as ornaments.1

Pan (betel leaf) eating was a common practice. The noblemen had their servants with them carrying betel leaf and its mixture in trays.² Guests of well-to-do people were also presented by their hosts with trays full of sweet scents and pans (betel leaf) at the time of their visit.³ Betel with camphor was served on ceremonial occasions.⁴

The common people enjoyed themselves with periodical festivals and occasional pilgrimages to religious places. Among their favourite games dice, chess, *kapati* and *danguti* deserve special mention.⁵

The author of the Subh-i-Sadiq points out that the Mulla Dost Muhammad Kashmiri was an eminent chess player in Bengal during this period. They also enjoyed boat-rowing and hunting. Other amusements included taming birds and cats as pets. Horse races, elephant fights and chougān (a game like polo) were not so familiar to the local Muslims. They were popular among upper class people.

Education was considered both a religious obligation and a matter of social distinction. It would enable a man to become a $q\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ or a $Muft\bar{i}$ or even acquire a better position in life than that.6

The education of Muslim children began in the Maktab which was attached to every mosque and also in many cases to

1. Laili-Majnu, p. 23.

Manikya Mukuta sar gale saptasarihar

manosukh dekhite ujjal

Kanak mrinal jit bahuyjug sulalita

savita ratan bajuband,

see also Arakan Raj Sabhaye Bangala Sahitya, pp.97-98

- 2. Linschoten, Vol.11, p. 66.
- 3. BG, II, p. 461, 502,
- 4. Padmavati, p. 216.
- 5. SS, 126b.
- 6. Sarba sastra sikha age paria Korān Tohfa, P.147.

Kaji Mufti haiba kiba upare basiba

Dan kale dhan drabya bahu kichu paiba, Tohfa, p. 148.

the houses of wealthy people. From the account of the Bengali epic Laili Majnu, it is evident that co-education was prevalent in the elementary stage.

Religious teaching was the basis of primary education. It started with the teaching of the fundamentals of religion and the precepts of the faith.³ Secondary and higher education for girls was restricted by the Purdah system in the society.

A large number of superstitions and un-Islamic practices existed among the Muslim masses of the period in Bengal. In his performances of day to day activities an ordinary Muslim used to see whether a day was propitious or not for that purpose. There was the popular belief that one should not proceed to the East on Monday or Saturday and to the North on Tuesday and Wednesday. The month of Baisakh April-May) was auspicious for the construction of dwelling houses. Saturday was an auspicious day for trade and business. Disease beginning on Saturday and Sunday would, it was believed, turn worse for a man. If anybody was attacked with a disease on Wednesday, he could get a quick recovery by sacrificing a black hen in alms. One would get, it was believed, the least result out of a medicine if taken on Wednesday. Friday was the most auspicious day for the performance of the marriage ceremony.

1. Chandimangal, P. 344.

Yata sisu musalman tuli!a maktab sthan Makhad (Makhdum) parae Pathan.

- Daulat Wazir writes that Laila and Majnu read in the same primary school in their early age and many other boys and girls attended that school. (Laili Majnu. p. 19)
- 3. "Sarba sastra sikha age pariya Koran,"

Tohfa, p.147.

- 4. Tohfa. p. 157.
- Satya Kali vitvad sambad,
 Muhammad Khan,
 Sahitya Patrika, 1366, p.218—20.
- 6. Ibid, p.220.

Different types of things such as peacock's feather, hair from forehead of horse and cow-dung, were used on an individual who was under the influence of evil spirit.¹ It was a custom among the Muslims to use cowdung on walls and floors of their dwelling houses. It was also used as fuel for cooking purposes.³ Ordinary Muslims considered it inauspicious to use pots, combs and other goods of daily necessity which were broken and mutilated.³

The Legacy of the Mughal rule:

The cultural pattern of this period was different from that of the preceding period. Architecture and literature bore the mark of the Mughals. The Persian language was widely cultivated in Bengal and Bihar during this period. It reigned supreme not only in the court but almost in every walk of life. It was spoken in the court and the revenue records were written in it; in the inscriptions on the mosques and in the legends on coins it appeared side by side with Arabic. Persian was by and large the language of the cultured classes. The social and educational status of a man was judged by his knowledge of Persian. Hence the Hindus and the Musilms - all laboured to learn it.

Maner, Bihar Sharif and Hajipur were important centres of Arabic and Persian culture in Bihar. The prominant institutions in Bihar were Madrasa-i-Zainabia at Phul war Sharif, Madrasa-i-Saif Khan at Patna, Madrasa-i-Shahbaz at Bhagalpur and Madrasa-i-Bihar Sharif.

The Mughal reign may well be considered as the golden age of Persian literature in Indo-Pakistan. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries there was an incessant flow of poets and scholars from Iran to India.⁵

- 1. Satya Kali vivad sambad, PP.218-220.
- 2. Tohfa, Sahitya Patrika, p.176.
- 3. Tohfa, p.186
- 4. Bihar Through Ages, chapter on religion, society and culture, Ed, Diwakar, p. 555.
- Safavid Iran was not fertile in great poetry as the rulers were intolerant. As a result several well-known Persian poets emigrated to Indo-Pakistan. They got lavish patronage at the Mughal court.
 Iran and India Through the Ages, F.C. Davar, pp. 183-184.

Patna was a meeting place of scholars and poets. Haji Ahmad S'aid of Patna was a Persian and Arabic scholar as well as a lawyer and theologian. He was long in the service of Emperor Shahjahan. Another scholar during the time of Shahjahan and Aurangzib in Bihar was Maulana Shah Baz of Bhagalpur. He was an authority on Muhammedan law and tradition.

The Muslim saints and sufis of various orders, each with a discipline and organisation of its own, concerned themselves not only with the development of mystical doctrines but also with the propagation of their faith. Askari mentions the name of Hazrat 'Abdul Hasib alias Imamuddin of Rajgir. author of Malfuzat-i-Diwan Ruknuddin Shattārī and Madhhab-i-Shattar, who flourished in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries in Bihar. Imamuddin mentions in his Madhhāb-i-Shattar the account of Saiyid Jalāluddin alias Ni 'matullah of Firuzpur in Bengal, who wrote the Tafsīrī Jahāngīrī and was honoured by Saif Khan. Shah Shuja and Aurangzīb.²

Persian literature was developed in Bengal during the reign of Shāhjahān. The Bengal Subahdars—Qāsim Khān II, Islām Khān Mashhadī and Shāh Shuja' were all great patrons of learning. They encouraged Persian poetry and offered asylum to many poets who came to Bengal during their governorship. Mirzā Muhammad Qulī Tihranī, better known by his pen name, Salīm, was a great Persian poet of Bengal of this period.³ He was a man of Turkish descent and migrated to India from his native land during the reign of Shāhjahān. He became a boon companion of Islām Khan Mashhadī, the governor of Bengal, Salīn died in Kas hmir in 1647 A. D. He left a diwan consisting of different kinds of poetry and a mathnavi called qaza wa qadr.⁴ He also composed another mathnavi named mathnavi dar Fath-i-Bangala written on Islām Khān Mashhadī's victory over Assam.

^{1.} Bihar Through Ages, p.557.

^{2.} JBRS, 1951, p.72.

^{3.} SS, fol. 129b-130a.

^{4.} The Dacca University Studies, Vol.1, Nov. 1935. No. I, Dr. M.1. Borah's article, p. 149.

There was another poet named Walah Harwi. He came to Bengal by the sea route from Persia during the reign of Shāhjahān. He lived and died in Bengal. The date of his immigration to Bengal and the place where he settled is not exactly known. M. I. Borah points out that the poet had settled in some part of East Bengal probably at Dacca which was then the capital of the province and a great centre of Mughal culture.

Muḥammad Sadiq gives a long list of the celebrities of Bengal who lived there and adorned the Muslim society by their genius and manifold qualities. Mirza Abu Sa'īd, a grandson of I'timādud Dawlah, who came to Bengal with Qāsim Khān II, had poetic talent.³ At Jahangir Nagar lived Mir 'Alaul Mulk, an embodiment of learning in sciences, tradition, theology, medicine and mathematics. He was a profound scholar of his time and possessed a saintly disposition.

His works included the Muhaddab, a treatise on logic, the Anwār al Huda on theology and the Sirat al wasit.⁴ His brother 'Abdul Ma'alī had also poetic talents. His writings included commentary (tafsīr) on the surah Ikhlas, a treatise on justice ('adalat), an anthology of his poems and a memoir of his brother 'Alāul Mulk.⁵ Sādiq mentions that Khawaja Muhammad Sharif was a great poet of Bengal of this period. He got an 'Iqtā' from the Dīwān-i-Shahi.⁶ During the time of Qasim Khan II, Maulānā Mu'izuddin Muhammad Ardistanī and Mir Muhammad Hashīm sojourned in Bengal. They were both learned men.⁷ Bengal was visited by another poet of repute named Mullāh Muhammad Lāhaurī who wrote the Kulliyat-i-Munir. He arrived at Jaunpur from Bengal in 1640 A, D.⁸ From all these facts

¹ SS. 125a.

^{2.} The Dacca University Studies, 1935, p.150

^{3.} SS. 121b.

^{4.} Ibid, 121b.

^{5.} Ibid, 122a.

^{6.} Ibid, 124a.

^{7.} Ibid, 124b.

^{8.} Supplementary Catalogue of Persian Manuscript, Bankipur, Vol. I, 1932, p.157.

it can be concluded that the Eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal under Shāhjahān did not lag behind the rest of the empire in the cultivation of letters and promotion of arts.

Although Mughal culture and Persian literature were the order of the day among the aristocracy and the services, the people of the province cultivated their own Bengali literature side by side with Persian. The Bengali literature of the period undoubtedly took colour from Persian language and literature. Dr. E. Hug says that the poetic diction of the Muslim poet Alaol (1607-1680) as well as the Hindu poet Bharat Chandra (1712 - 1760) bears obvious marks of Persian influence.1 During this period the Muslims sought inspiration from the vast treasures of Persian literature. They drank deep from literary fountain of Persia. Among the notable Muslim poets in Bengali were Saiyid Sultan (1550 - 1620), the compiler of the Nabi Vamsa, the Ophate Rasul, the Rasul Vijay and the Jnan Pradip, Sheikh Paran (1550-1615), Haji Muhammad (1550-1630) and Muhammad Khan (1600-1670). Arakan too had its share in Muslim literary activity. Though an independent state, Arakan passed within the cultural dominion of the Mughals during this period. Whatever may have been its political relationship with the Mughal empire, formed the bulk of the the Bengali speaking Muslims population of Arakan. Due to this and in conformity with the cultural atmosphere of the day. Persian gained ground there side by side with Bengali. The contribution of the Arakan court in the field of Bengali literature came mainly from the Muslim poets. They were Daulat Qazi (1600-1638), Alaol (1607-1680) and Qureshi Magan Thakur (1600-1660). Alaol introduced Islamic subjects into Bengali by translating Persian and Arabic works. Both Alaol and Daulat Qazi were Sufis.2 Alaol translated the Tohfa from Persian at the request of Sulaiman, a noble at the court of the Arakan King.3 He also wrote the Hapta Paikar and the Saif ul Mulk which were adaptation from the Persian books.

- 1. Muslim Bengali Literature, p. 105.
- 2. Islami Bangla Sahitya, S. Son, p.30
- 3. Tohfa, S.P., p. 140

In the sphere of architecture Shājahān's reign marked the zenith of Mughal rule. Most of the architectural monuments of the Mughals that we still find in Bengal and Bihar date back to his reign. The governors of Bihar and Bengal under Shāhjahān devoted themselves to the task of constructing buildings, sarais, gardens and wells. A fairly large account of Shujā's building activities is given by Munshi Shayam Prasad in his Ahwal Gaur wa Pandua. Apart from the buildings at Raj Mahal (Akbar Nagar), there was a fortress constructed by Prince Shujā' at Teliagarhi.

Its gates were built partly of stone, the houses within were entirely of brick.

For nearly a century, with a short break about the middle (between 1639-60), Dacca continued to hold the proud position of the provincial metropolis. Dacca also possesses remarkable monuments of the period. The Bara Katra is located on the Southern side of the Chawk close to the river Buriganga. It was a huge complex of grand and beautiful buildings. It also bears evidence of Prince Shuja's benificence. Abul Qasim Tabatabāi Simnanī, Shuja's Bakhshi, made a canonical waqf of this building together with twenty two adjoining shops, subject to the condition that the administrators of the waqf should spend the income arising from this rent in repairs and in relief of the poor. No rent was to be charged to a poor man for his lodging,²

Many mosques were constructed during this period. The mosques of Sherpur in the district of Birbhum, Nawadah in the district of Murshidabad, Egarosindur in the district of Mymensingh, Mangal Kot in the district of Bardwan and Hajo in Assam bear testimony to the fact that mosque architecture was developed during this period.³ The mosque of Sherpur is said to have

^{1.} Cf. Muslim Architecture in Bengal, Dr. Dani. Appendix, p.5.

^{2.} History of Bengal, Vol. 11. pp. 389—90. The inscription was written on it by Sa'aduddin Muhammad al Shiraji dated 1645. A.D.

^{3.} Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. IV, pp. 271-84.

been constructed in 1628 A.D.1 There is another inscription from Sherpur, district of Birbhum, which records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Shahjahan by A'zam Khan entitled Mu'azzam Khan or Mir Muhammad Baqir Iradat Khan who became governor of Bengal after Qasim Khan II in 1632.2 The Paikora mosque in Murshidabad was erected by one Lodi Khan, son of Sheikh Husain Lodi in 1642 A.D. The inscription of this mosque was found on the wall of a mosque at the village of Nawadah near Mirzapur police station in Murshidabad.3 Egaro Sindur mosque in Mymensing is traditionally assigned to the time of Ma'sum Khan Zamindar, grandson of 'Isa Khan Masnad-i-'Ali.4 The old mosque of Mangal Kot in the district of Burdwan was constructed in 1065 A.H.5 The Hajo inscription mentions the construction of a mosque by Lutfulla Shirazi,6 during the reign of Shahiahan in 1067 A.H.7

In the Churihatta quarter of the city of Dacca near Chawk Bazar is situated Churihatta mosque, which is characterised by a bungalow type of roof. According to Munshi Rahman 'All,"

- 1. Ibid, p. 271.
- 2. See the text of inscription of the mosque of Azam Khan, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. IV. p. 277. Ibid, pp. 277—78.
- 278-79.
- 4. *Ibid*, pp. 278-5. *Ibid*, 279-280.
- Lutfullah Shirazi was the Faujdar of Kamrup with his headquarters at Gauhati. Towards the close of 1067 A.H. (1656—57) when the province was threatened with a civil war on the departure of Shah Shuja from Bengal to contest the imperial throne, Pran Narayan, Kam the Raja of Kuch Bihar, sent an army to recover Kamrup. At that time the Ahoms also collected war boats and attacked the country by land as well as by water. Mir Lutfulla failing to face the two forces, betook himself to Dacca for safety and Kamrup was captured by the
- 7. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. IV, p. 281. 8. Cf Muslim Architecture in Bengal A.H. Dani, p. 194, see also Islamic Culture, 1933 "The Historic Mosques of Dacca" by A. Wadud. This mosque was built in the year 1060 A.H. (1650). It is situated at Churihatta — a quarter to the west of the Chawk. It is solidly built and has an arched roof. It is narrated that previously this mosque was a temple built by a Hindu Officer during the reign of Shahjaban. Shuja' converted the temple into a mosque after removing idols. (PP. 325—27).

the mosque was built by a Mughal officer named Muhammad Beg in 1649 when Shujā, was the viceroy of Bengal.

The remains of an 'Idgah (unroofed place of assembly for Id prayers) of plastered brickwork can be seen about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles North-east of the municipal limits of Dacca. The inscription records that it was constructed by Mir Abul Qasim, the Diwan of Shah Shuja', in A.D. 1640.1

The last phase of building activity at Gaur falls during the viceroyalty of Shah Shuja', who appears to to have stayed for some time at this place before finally settling at Raj Mahal. Munshi Ilahi Baksh, the author of the Khurshid Jahan Numa, states that Shah Shuja' honoured very much the saint Ni'matullah Wali, who lies buried at Gaur. It was probably at his instance that the saint's tomb and the adjoining mosque were built.²

In Bihar, Saif Khān (Mirzā Safī) proved himself to be one of the best governors of Bihar under Shāhjahān and his tenure of office of slightly more than four years was characterised by peace, prosperity and splendour for the province. The author of the Ma'athiral-Umara' mentions the lofty public buildings constructed by him at Patna. Mundy writes about the famous Madrasa or college and mosque attached to it and the fair garden built by him on the other side of the Ganges. He is lavish in his praise for Saif Khān's sarai or inn,

"the fairest sarai that I have yet seen, or think is in India, not yet finished."4

The Riad-al-Salātin informs us about the Safiabad town near it and a big well at Mungir with an inscription to show that it

^{1.} Muslim Architecture in Bengal. Dani, P. 205.

^{2.} Ibid, P. 256.

^{3.} MU. 11, 416-21.

^{4.} Mundy, II, p. 159.

was built by Saif Khān. Mundy tells us that Mirzā Minuchihr, the faujdār of Sasaram, resided in a castle built by Muzaffar Khān, his predecessor. After Mirzā Minuchihr, Mujahid Khān built a splendid Idgah at Sasaram during the governorship of 'Abdullāh Khān Fīruz Jang in 1635 A.D.² Ja'far Khān built the famous

"Bagh-i-Ja'far Khan"

at Patna which still bears his name.

State of Islam in Bengal and Bihar:

The Muslim society was noted for its religious character and the orthodox Muslims regulated their life in accordance with the teahcings of the Quran and the Hadith. The $Ulam\bar{a}$ constituted the religious class of the society. It was composed of a number of important groups namely theologians (Mulla), the ascetics and the Saiyids.

The 'Ulama occupied a highly respectable position in the society by virtue of their possession of religious knowledge.³ They had great influence on the village societies. The mulla who was fairly versed in religious knowledge was usually consulted by the ordinarily less educated villagers. He had a special role to play in rural society where it was considered necessary that all the ceremonies and functions should have an Islamic touch. An idea of the mullā's functions in village life can be found in Bengali literary sources. According to Mukundram the mullā used to conduct marriage ceremony, slaughter animals (cows, goats, fowls) for edible purposes, teach the people the rules of ablution and prayer and perform funeral rites. The mullā decided matters relating to the Quran and the Hadith.⁴

Tavernier writes that the mullas read the Koran and some of them learned it by heart. Some of them practised polygamy

- 1. RS, p. 213, (F.N.).
- 2. JIH, 1944, p. 355, (F.N. 36).
- Alim Sabhan mela; sastratatva nityi khela, Ragranga binode saday, Tohfa, p. 140.
- Chandimangal, p. 345.
 See also Manasamangal of Vipradas, p. 67,

as a mark of piety.1

The vast majority of the Muslims in Bengal and Bihar belonged to the *Hanafi* school of law.² The fundamentals of Orthodox Islam (*Iman* - belief in one God and Muhammad as the last prophet, *Namaz* - prayer, *Roza* - fasting, *Zakat* - poor tax and *Hajj* - pilgrimage) have remained in all ages the core of the Muslim religious belief.³

Some educated Muslims in the society had doubts whether it was legal to write religious books in their mother tongue. But most of them were of the opinion that the message of Islam could be effectively brought before the ignorant Muslim masses of Bengal through the medium of their mother tongue.

Also, as a reaction against the syncretic pull of Sufism and the Bhakti cult, the orthodox minded Muslims paid attention to the composition of Bengali religious books for mass consumption during this period.

There is no denying the fact that orthodox Islam practised in Bengal acquired certain local characteristics. Alongside with the traditional faith in the oneness of God (Tawhid) and other fundamental beliefs of Islam, there was the influence of Hindu thought and belief. The prophet of Islam was sometimes characterised as an Abatar - an incarnation who was endowed with supernatural power.⁵ The idea of the prophet as an

- 1. Tavernier, 11. p. 180.
- 2. Abu Hanifa, a Muslim jurist was born in 699 A.H. The Hanafite school of thought named after him was one of the four madhhabs (canonical schools) of Islam, the other three being the Shafi, the Mulki and the Hanbali. The Hanafi School does not differ in essentials from other three schools. Abu Hanifa was attacked by his opponents on the ground that he attached little importance to tradition—but rather independently followed his own judgement.
- 3. Gibb-Muhammedanism, P. 53.
- Jare Jei bhase prabhu karichhe srijan
 Sei bhas tahar amulya sei dhan. Ophate Rasul, pp. 8-9.
- Tohfa, P. 139.
 Navikul Keramat kshitite Prachanda
 Akaser sasike karita duikhanda.

Abatar is a borrowing from the way of personal devotion of Mahavan Buddhism and Vaisnaism. In case of the former, the Buddha is the 'Saviour God' and in the case of the latter, Sri Chaitanya is a 'God incarnate'.

The Muslim theory of creation then prevalent was an admixture of Hindu theories.

Saiyid Sultan, a poet of this period says,

"God emerged out of nothing. Out of Divine emanation, came into being the sun, the moon, heaven and hell. It was followed by the creation of earth, air, water and fire. At last, Adam was created and sent to earth."

same theory. It states.

The Sunya Puran following the Rigveda gives us almost the

"There is no line, no form, no colour and no sign. The sun and the moon were not, nor day nor night. The earth was not, nor water, nor night sky. The mounts Meru, Mandara and Kailasa were not. The creation was not, nor were there not gods nor men. Brahma was not, nor was Visnu nor the ethereal regions. Heaven and earth were not; all was emptiness. The presiding gods of the ten directions were not. Nor were there the clouds nor stars.

Life was not, nor death, nor pangs of deaths.

The Lord moved in the void, supporting Himself on the void.' etc.¹

While a section of the Muslims laid emphasis on the practice of Islamic rituals, a greater section in the Muslim society was still ignorant of the basic principles of Islam.

Hayat Mahmud, a Muslim poet of Bengal of the early eighteenth century, says that many Muslims of his native village had no knowledge of the Quran, the *Hadith* and the *Shari'at*.²

The main strength of Orthodox Islam lay in the ruling class, the 'Ulama, the literary men and the mosques. The Orthodox built mosques for saying prayers and madrasa for educating their children. They learned Arabic, the language of their religion and studied religious books—the Quran, the *Hadith*, the *Figh* and other religious sciences.

Shi'ism:

The term Shi'ah connotes 'party' and is used to designate those Muslims who support the claims of 'Ali, the fourth caliph (according to sunni enumeration) as the first and rightful successor to the prophet.³ The Shi'ite Fiqh (law) differs from the Sunni system mainly on the doctrine of the Imamate. From the time of Humayun the gradual influx of the Shiahs made them quite a powerful section in the Muslim community. In Bengal the Shiahs had received special favour at the hands of Shah Shuja' who is said to have rehabilitated a large number of Shlahs in different parts of the province. Even later in the time of Mir Jumla, who was himself an Iranian immigrant, and still later when the capital

27—

Cited in Aspects of Bengali Society, T. C. Das Gupta, Calcutta, 1935, P. 152.

^{2.} Hitaynan vani kavya, p. 7.

^{3.} Titus, Indian Islam, p, 83.

was shifted to Murshidabad, the Shiahs held a very high position in Bengal.

The commemoration of the Karbala tragedy made special appeal to the sentiment of the common people—Shighs and Sunnis ailke-in Bengal and Bihar. This ceremony celebrated every year by the Shiahs, caught the imagination of the poets who wrote epics and elegies in abundance on the tragedy of Karbala.¹ The principal towns of the provinces had Imambaras or Husaini Dalans which served as the centre of annual mass mournings held during the first ten days of Muharram to commemorate the martyrdom of the beloved sons of Ali. On the tenth day Muharram, called Roz-i -Qatl, the tazias were carried in procession. These celebrations also helped to divert the Muslims from the emotional attraction of the Durga Puia of the Hindus.² Even the Sunnis, out of their reverence for Husain, used to observe fast and do charitable works on that occasion. The Sunni literature included popular poems and stories glorifying the martyrdom of Husain and cursing the inglorious name of Yazid.8

The relationship between the Shiahs and the Sunnis was not always cordial. 'Ali Quli Beg, belonging to the Twelve branch of Shi'ism, settled in Rajshahi. In 1634 A.D. he constructed a mausoleum there for a Sunni saint, Shah Darvish, apparently in order to win the good will of the local Sunni Muslims who were hostile to him.4

- 1. Muslim Bengali Literature, P. 139.
- 2, Dacca, Dani, A.H, P.89.
- "Punyaban hay yebā manjiler din, snan kari rakhe roja khattabe miskin. Nayaner jaldhara pheliba saghan, Husen Husen bali karibe Krandan, Emamer name dibe fakirek dan." Jangnama, P. 67.
- 4. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. IV, P, 273.

Sufism:

Sufism is the mystical movement in Islam.¹ Originating among the early Arab Muslims, Sufism flourished most in the soil of Persia. It eventually developed into many orders. Many Sufis came to India from the lands of Islam in Western and Central Asia and settled in different provinces including Bihar and Bengal.

Sufism had been so much in vogue in Bengal that several new mystic orders developed on the basis of the teachings of some of the distinguished Bengali Sufis.

In a letter addressed to Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jaunpur, Hazrat Mir Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnani (d. 1380 A.D.) stated the names of important Sufi orders prevalent in Bengal; they were the Jalalia, Alai, Khalidia, Nuri, Husainia, Ruhania, Oalandaria and Shattari orders. The Chistia order was also powerful in Bengal. In Bihar the Madaris were prominent. The tomb of Hazrat Miran Said Jamaluddin Madari stands at Hilsa, a village situated about fifteen miles to the South of Faluha in Patna. By the seventeenth century Sufism was firmly rooted in the soil of Bengal. To become a 'murid' (disciple) of a 'murshid', 'pir' or 'sheikh' was a common feature in the Muslim society, Daulat Wazir Bahram, an eminent Muslim poet of Bengal, was the disciple of a Pir named Asauddin. Saiyid Sultan's pir was Shah Husain.

- 1. Sufism: Arberry, p. 12.
 - The word 'suf' means wool to denote the practice of wearing the woollen robe and hence the act of devoting oneself to the mystic life on becoming what is called in Islam 'sufi' (Islamic Encyclopaedia).
- S. H. Askari, New light on Rajah Ganesh and Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi
 of Jaunpur from contemporary correspondence of two Muslim saints,
 BPP, 1948, pp. 35-36.
- S.H. Askari, A Mausoleum of a saint of Madari order or Sufis, BPP, 1948, p. 41.
- 4. Laili-Majnu, p. 7.
- 5. Punthi Parichiti, p. 277.

Sheikh Muttalib was the disciple of Mir Muhammad, son of Shah Husain.¹ Like the Sufis of the preceding ages the mystics of this period devoted themselves to intellectual and humanitarian activities. The vocabulary of Bengali literature became rich with words of mystic philosophy. A distinct type of Sufi literature emerged in Bengal during this period. Some mystical writers wrote lyrical poems and others essays on theosophical subjects. Thus the J'nan Pradip (lamp of knowledge) of Saiyid Sultan (1558-1648), the Nur Jāmāl (Beauty of light) of Haji Muhammad (1550-1630), the Yoga Oalandar or the Yoga of Darvishes by Saiyid Mortuza (1590-1662), the Chāri Maqām Ved or disclosures of mystery of the four maqams (stages) by Abdul Hakim (1620-1690) were written to popularise the Sufi theories.

The Nur Jāmāl (beauty of light) composed by Haji Muhammad gives us a clear idea of Sufi theory and practice. Murīd (disciple) is a traveller on the way to his search for God. In his spiritual journey he passes through several stages (Maqamat). In Bengal, because of the challenge and risk of disintegration into Hindu mysticism, Sufism took special care to resolve its differences with orthodoxy.

So they maintained a firm emphasis on the observance of the tenets of Shariat. Thus the first stage is Shariat which the disciple must observe rigidly.⁸ Following a particular Tariqa (way) the disciple will acquire the esoteric knowledge of God (Marifat) and his final union with the Truth (Haqiqat).⁴

Sufism in Bengal was largely influenced by the environmental conditions. During this period it came into more direct contact

^{1.} Ibid, p. 63.

Mr. A. Sharif of the Department of Bengali, University of Dacca, edited the Nur Jamal which was published in Bangla Academy Patrika, Dacca, 4th year, No. I, 1960.

Ibid, P. 57.
 Sharlat is like a lamp, Haqiqat is like its oil, Tariqat the wick and Marifat
the flame.

^{4.} Ibid. P. 59.

with the mystical ideas of the Hindus and the Buddhists, The Sufi mystics appreciated the yoga system and took interest in their exercise. In consequence the Bengal Sufis developed a more liberal outlook than their brethren in the North. In Bengal Sufism provided a good breeding ground for a cultural synthesis of Muslim mysticism with Indian yoga. The Sufistic ideas that were introduced were assimilated by the prevalent sahajiya ideas and the result of this amalgam was the growth of the Bauls of Bengal. The Baul order of mendicants contained both Muslims and Hindus and made no distinction between them.

These mendicants were rather strange people, peculiar in their manners and customs, habits and practices. They refused to be guided by any canon or convention, social or religious. In the songs of the Bauls there is a mixture of Indian spirit with the spirit of Sufism. The excellence of their songs consists in their articulation of the yearnings of the aspirer's restless heart; additional charm has been imparted to the songs by the unconditional self-resignation of the Murid (disciple) who had accepted the Murshid as a lamp in the abyss of darkness. The growth of the Baul class as a distinct religious group was a noticeable feature of seventeenth century Bengal.

'Pirism' or the concept of the supremacy of 'Pirs' was a constitutional part of popular Islam practised in Bengal. It grew for two reasons. First, there was the Sufi influence; secondly, the converts from Hinduism found in 'Pirism' something parallel to their old tradition and superstition. It had its manifestations in the cults of the Satyapir, Manikpir, Pir Bara Ghazi Khan and Bana Bibi.

^{1.} Bangla Sahityer Itihas, S, Sen, Vol. I, P. 582,

^{2.} Punthi Parichiti, P. 277.

^{3.} Obscure Religious Cuits, S.B. Das Gupta, P. 193.

^{4.} Obscure Religious Cults, P. 194.

Bangla Sahityer Itikatha—Sri Bhu dev Chaudhuri, 2nd ed, Calcutta, 1957.
 P. 478.

There was a general belief among Hindus and Muslims in the miraculous power of Satyapir. It was believed that by adoring the Satyapir the devotee would be blessed with everything he prayed for.

The Satyapir cult was greatly in force in Bengal in the seventeenth century. This is proved by the fact that rich literature was produced on Satyapir. To the Muslims of South-West Bengal Bara Khan Ghazi was the Lord of the Sundarban. Bara Khan's Hindu counterpart was Dakhin Ray. They believed in his supernatural power. Manikpir was the disguised form of Siva. Bana Bibi was the Muslim counterpart of Bana Durga (Chandi). She was revered by those who used to go to the Sundarban to collect honey and wax.

An idea of the Muslim attitudes towards the Pirs can be found in Sheikh Faizullah's book on Satyapir. While paying his respect to Abraham, Muhammad, Fatima. Hasan, Husain and the four companions of Muhammad, he also pays due regard to Ismail Ghazi of Mandaran, Bara Khan, Satyapir and many Hindu Thakurs (ascetics) including Gopinath. Satyapir, according to him, is a Saviour Pir who is the Brahma, Vishnu and Narayan.³

The discussion above makes it clear that there was an admixture of Hindu and Muslim culture in Bengal during this period. As a result off mass conversion in Bengal many local practices, not allowed by strict Islamic principles, found their way into the Muslim society of Bengal in the seventeenth century.

^{1.} Islamic Bangala Sahitya, P. 95.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Ibid, P. 81.

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