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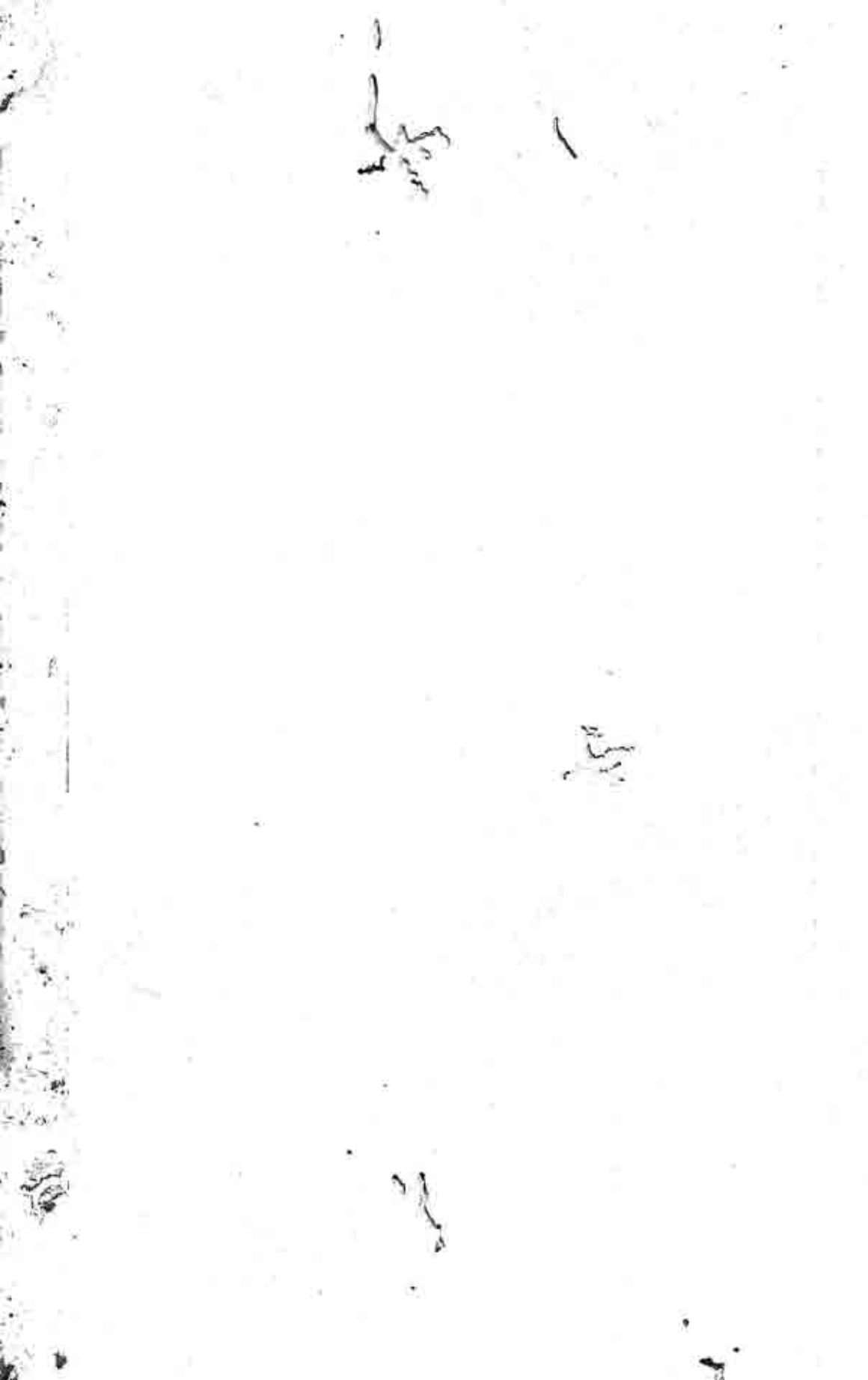
S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B.

SOURCES
OF THE HISTORY OF
THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC



I
TŪZAK-I-WĀLĀJĀHĪ

BY
BURHĀN IBN ḤASAN





Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Hājī Muḥammad Khān-i-Juhān
Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang.

TUZAKI WĀLAJĀHĪ

OF
BURHĀN IBN ḤASAN

Translated into English

BY

S. MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B.

Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS.

PART I

From the Early Days to the Battle of Ambur (1162 A.H.)

17482

With a Foreword

BY

Nawwāb Aẓimjāh 'Umdatul-Umarā Amirul-Umarā Sirājul-

Umarā Madārul-Mulk 'Umdatul-Mulk Aẓimud-Dawla

Asad-i-Dawlat-Ingliz Dhul-Faqār Jang Sipah Sālār

SIR GHULĀM MUḤAMMAD ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR, G. C. I. B.

PRINCE OF ARCOT



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FOREWORD

The *huzūr* the Prince of Arcot desires to express his great pleasure in contributing a foreword to Mr. S. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nainar's translation of a contemporary Persian chronicle of the exploits of the Prince's illustrious ancestors who ruled over the Carnatic in the eighteenth century. The *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* is particularly valuable in that it is the only available contemporary prose work of the kind dealing with the history of those times. It is understood that the work was specially commissioned by H. H. the Nawwāb Wālājāh in A. H. 1195, and that it was based on the earlier poetical chronicle of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, which by the exigencies of its form was defective as history, though excellent as poetry. Accuracy having been thus specially commanded by the princely patron, there will be no need to discount very much the author's statements as due to exaggeration or a mere desire to please.

That in making this chronicle available in English, Mr. Nainar has rendered valuable service to the students of history, goes without saying. His task has been by no means light. To render into English the literary exuberances of the author in full measure would have been a thankless labour; to leave them out, however, would have led to the compilation of a brief summary of facts lacking the richness and the stamp of authenticity of the original. Mr. Nainar has with a commendable amount of success steered clear of both these difficulties, and earned the congratulations of all interested in the history of the Carnatic. The Prince wishes him success in his further labours, and hopes to see him bring out the succeeding volumes at an early date.

Amīr-maḥall, }
Madras, }
8th Nov. 1929. }

Muḥammad Jamālu'd-Dīn
Khān Ṣāhib,
Private Secretary to the Prince of Arcot.

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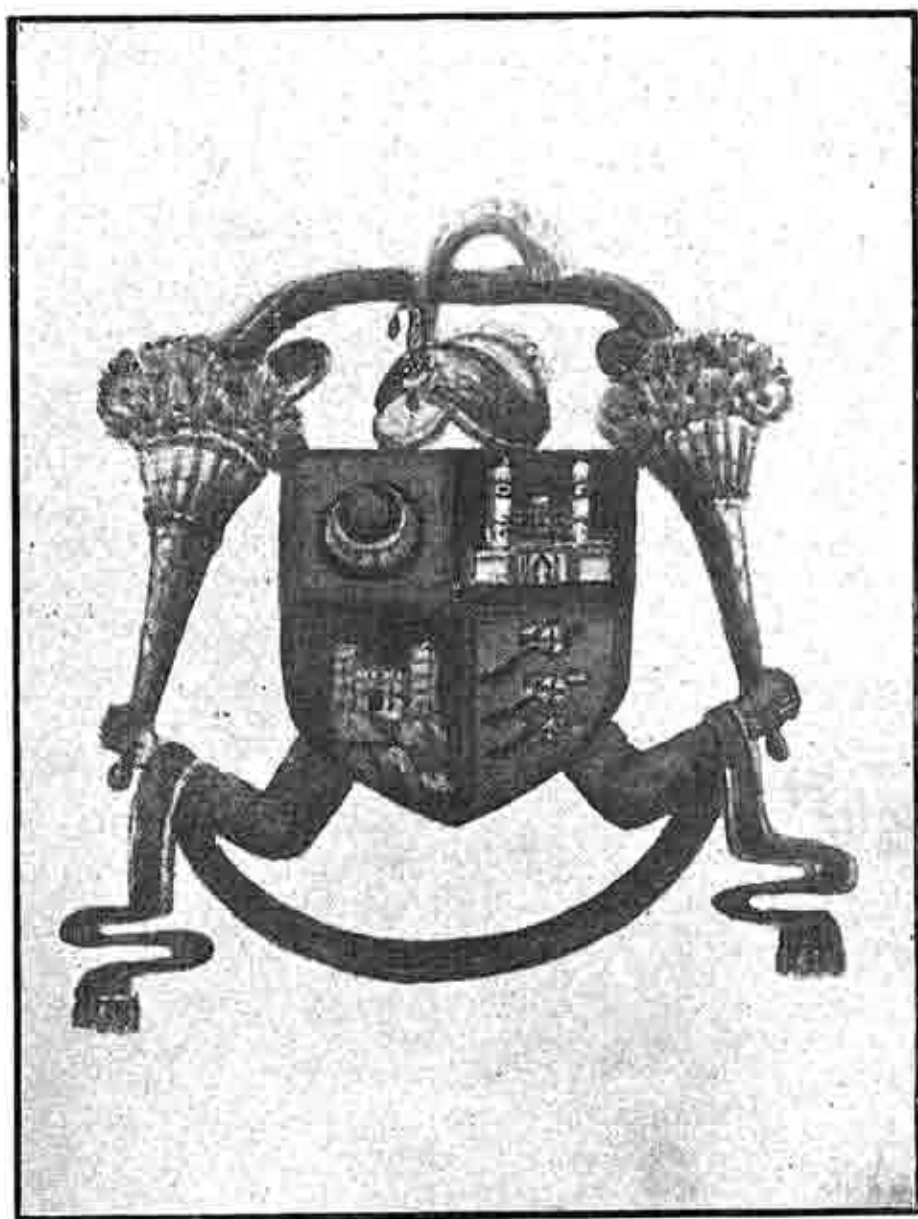
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CREST OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

TRANSLITERATION

Consonants

Persian Letters

Transliteration
in English

ا	.	.	.	.	a
ب	.	.	.	.	b
پ	.	.	.	.	p
ت	.	.	.	.	t
ث	.	.	.	.	th
ج	.	.	.	.	j
چ	.	.	.	.	ch
ح	.	.	.	.	h
خ	.	.	.	.	kh
د	.	.	.	.	d
ذ	.	.	.	.	dh
ر	.	.	.	.	r
ز	.	.	.	.	z
س	.	.	.	.	s
ش	.	.	.	.	sh
ص	.	.	.	.	sh
ض	.	.	.	.	z
ط	th
ف	f
ق	q
ک	k
گ	g
ن	n
و	u
ی	y



CREST OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

TRANSLITERATION

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ا	.	.	.	a
ب	.	.	.	b
پ	.	.	.	p
ت	.	.	.	t
ث	.	.	.	<u>th</u>
ج	.	.	.	j
چ	.	.	.	ch
ه	.	.	.	h
خ	.	.	.	<u>kh</u>
د	.	.	.	d
ذ	.	.	.	<u>dh</u>
ر	.	.	.	r
ز	.	.	.	z
س	.	.	.	s
ش	.	.	.	<u>sh</u>
ص	.	.	.	s
ض	.	.	.	<u>d</u>
ط	.	.	.	t
ق	.	.	.	q
ک	.	.	.	k
گ	.	.	.	g
ل	.	.	.	l
م	.	.	.	m
ن	.	.	.	n
و	.	.	.	w
ه	.	.	.	h
ی	.	.	.	y

Vowels

The short vowels are expressed thus:—

<i>a</i>	for	<i>fathā</i>
<i>i</i>	for	<i>kasra</i>
<i>u</i>	for	<i>ḍamma</i>

The long vowels are expressed thus:—

<i>ā</i>	for	long <i>fathā</i>
<i>ī</i>	for	long <i>kasra</i>
<i>ū</i>	for	long <i>ḍamma</i>

<i>ay</i>	to express	<i>fathā</i>	before a <i>ya</i>
<i>aw</i>	to express	<i>fathā</i>	before a <i>waw</i>

N.B.—By an oversight this scheme has not been followed in the first 24 pages. An attempt, however, has been made to follow it up strictly in the subsequent pages.

Only such of the Persian letters as are needed find mention in the list.

PREFACE

To the students of the history of South India, the Muslim records of the Deccan have been practically a sealed book, notwithstanding their importance to the political history of the Carnatic. That research workers in South Indian History have not yet fully investigated these documents is perhaps to be explained by their insufficient knowledge of Persian and Urdu.

Islam is a living force in the South, and within a stone's throw to the south of the University buildings stands the Kalas-mahall (now occupied by the offices of the Board of Revenue) once the residence of the Carnatic Nawwābs, and without exaggeration it can be said that no subject can be more near and dear to the heart of the Madras University than a sympathetic peep into one of the many cultures that reigned in the territory which is now under its academic jurisdiction. Thanks to the early love of languages kindled in the translator by Mr. Muḥammad Na'imū'r-Raḥmān, (now of the Allahabad University), it was possible for him to undertake a study of the Persian and the Urdu documents connected with the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic.

The main sources of information are:—

1. The French and the English records, the translations of extracts from the correspondence between the Nawwābs on the one side and the English and the French on the other, and of treaties between the Nawwābs and the European settlers in India.

2. Local tracts and books in the Dravidian languages.

3. Persian books and records in the Persian language.

So far, the French and the English records have been the basis for a study of the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic. Almost all the standard books on the subject in English and French are based on them. The publication of the English translation of Ānanda Ranga Pillai's Tamil diary threw a flood of light on the history of the Carnatic from 1736 to 1761. There are many more books in Telugu and Kanarese which provide ample material for the historian. The Persian books and records have not yet been fully made use of. Here attention is confined only to the Persian sources of the history of the Carnatic.

The chief Persian books are:—

1. *Anwarnāma* by Mīr Ismāʿīl Khān Abjadī.
2. *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* by Burhān Ibn Ḥasan.
3. *Sawānīḥāt-i-Mumtāz* by Muḥammad Karīm Dāmin.
4. *Bahār-i-Aʿzam Jāhī* by Ghulām ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Nāzīr.

Anwarnāma

This book was written by Mīr Ismāʿīl Khān Abjadī of Chingleput. He had a great knowledge of Arabic, and Persian and was the *Malikūsh-shuʿrā* (poet-laureate) of the day. Nawwāb Muḥammad ʿAlī Wālājāh while camping at Frangikonda (St. Thomas Mount) commissioned him to describe in verse the events and incidents in the history of his illustrious forefathers. The work was finished in 1174 A.H. Burhān says in his *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*: "The matchless Mīr in executing the command had seated on the famous chair the bride of speech adorned with the ornaments of eloquence and the dress of elegance, had strung in verses the pearls of events in the history of the family of Anwar, the wars of Wālājāh from the beginning of his enmity with the French till the subjugation of the town of Pulcheri (Pondicherry) and called it *Anwarnāma*; yet on account of the narrowness of the *maydān* of poetry and the restrictions of the art, many themes and stories could not be fitted into it, in spite of the transposition of facts." Hence in 1195 (1781) Burhān Ibn Ḥasan of Trichinopoly was commissioned by Nawwāb Wālājāh during

his stay at Chennapattan (Madras) to write, on the basis of *Anwarnāma*, a history in prose in greater detail removing all incongruities and deficiencies due to the poetical treatment of the matter and the exigencies of rhyme and metre. Thus the book *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* was also written at the instance of Nawwāb Wālājāh; it covers pretty nearly the same ground as the famous *Anwarnāma*.

Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī

This book was planned to have a *muqaddama* (introduction), two *daftar*s (books), and a *khātima* (concluding chapter); but the available copy contains only the *muqaddama*, the first *daftar*, and the *khātima*. The second book that was to have contained the events subsequent to the subjugation of Pulcheri and particularly the series of political correspondence among the principal personages of the age was never written.

The *muqaddama* gives a brief account of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, and refers to the occasion for compiling the *Anwarnāma*. The *khātima* gives a description of India, particularly of the Carnatic.

The first book gives an account of the genealogy of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang tracing his lineage to Umar Fārūq the second of the Orthodox Caliphs. Then comes the story of the gradual migration of his ancestors from place to place till their final arrival at Gopāmaw in Oudh, the service of his father in the court of Awrangazēb, the father's death, the employment of the son in the place of the father, his promotion, his arrival in the Deccan in the company of the Nawwāb Aṣāf Jāh to put down the rebels, Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān's fight against the Mahratta chiefs Babu Naik and Pandit Pradhan, his *nizāmat* in the various districts of the Carnatic Payanghat, and finally his appointment to the *nizāmat* of Arcot.

Then the author proceeds to give a brief account of the kingdom of the Carnatic in the *sūbah* of Payanghat, of the capital city of Arcot with the reason for its name as such,

of the previous rulers of the place, the *Frangi* merchants, their various settlements in the districts, of the foundation of Madras and the reason for its name as such, of the exaltation of the English company from the position of merchants to the rank of rulers, of the *niẓāmat* of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, of the wickedness of the Afghans in the city of Arcot, of the murder of Nawwāb Sa'ādatu'llāh Khān, son of Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, of the rebellion of the French and their occupation of Chennapattan belonging to the English, of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur's assistance to the English and the release of Chennapattan, of the division of the kingdom of Payanghat among his sons, of the feud between Munīru'd-Dīn Khān and Anwar 'Alī Khān inside the fort of Trichinopoly and how it was handed over to Nawwāb Wālājāh, of the diplomacy of Raja Sampat Rai and of the appointment of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur to the *niẓāmat* of Arcot. The conspiracy of Hidāyat Muḥiyu'd-Dīn Khān and Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and other events that led to the battle of Ambur and the death of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur follow in due course. We are then taken to the events that brought about the murder of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, the accession of Muẓaffar Jang, the rebellion of the Afghans and the murder of Muẓaffar Jang, the coronation of Ṣalābat Jang, the subsequent confusion in the Carnatic, the series of battles between Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh and Chandā Ṣāhib, the latter's death, the war between the French and the Nawwāb assisted by the English, the conquest of Pulcheri (Pondicherry) and the defeat of the French.

Thus the *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* is a history of the Carnatic especially of the time of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur who died in 1162 A.H. (1749) and of his son and successor Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh who ruled over the Carnatic from 1162 A.H. to 1210 A.H. (1749-1795) and it finishes with the capture of Pondichery.

The value of the book lies in the fact that it gives a clear idea of the circumstances that brought about the first

conflict between the Carnatic Nawwābs and the European powers. During the time of Awrangazēb the Carnatic was one of the outlying provinces of the Empire to which *nāẓims* were sent from time to time by the Imperial court; the Wazīr of the Deccan had no control over them. The first *nāẓims* of the Carnatic were all men of the Nāiṭ community. After the death of Awrangazēb the disintegration of the empire set in, and the Wazīr became independent in the Deccan, and likewise the *nāẓims* of the Carnatic. In course of time family feuds among the Nawayat led to the murder of the *nāẓim* in power, and the absence of a ruler created great confusion in the land. Āṣaf Jāh who was waiting for an opportunity to bring the Carnatic under his control found the occasion suitable, came down from Hyderabad with an army, took possession of Arcot without any opposition, and appointed Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān as the *nāẓim* of the Carnatic. Thus it will be seen that even before the advent of Nawwāb Anwaru'd Dīn Khān there was already a dynasty which may be called the Nāiṭ dynasty. The latter lost power, and were compelled to submit to Āṣaf Jāh, and obey his *nāẓim* who was a stranger in the land and a member of a different community. It is but natural that they tried to regain their lost power and influence, and never lost any opportunity to bring trouble to the new dynasty. The European merchants, prominently the English and the French, had their trade settlements in the various districts of the Carnatic. From early times the Nāiṭ rulers were great friends of the French who had learnt to adjust themselves to the temperament of the rulers of the land. The Nāiṭ rulers were thus a source of encouragement in their business. The English were never liked by them. With the advent of the new dynasty, however, the situation changed. The new *nāẓim* tried to be just, and was anxious to help and encourage all mercantile interests alike; he was fair to all. This irritated the French who had all along been the favourites of the Nāiṭ rulers enjoying the royal patronage and the monopoly in business. So the discontented

French found in the Nāiṭ community a congenial soil to sow the seeds of trouble. The French and the Nāiṭs always conspired against the new *nāẓim*. The English were devoid of any patronage till the advent of the new *nāẓim* in whom they found a just ruler and to whom they could naturally look for support, and the ruler also on his part was always ready to help the much oppressed English. Thus the interests of the French in the Nawāyaṭ, and the interests of the English in the new dynasty gained strength in course of time. The strained relationship continued without any outward manifestation till the death of Āṣaf Jāh the famous Wazīr of the Deccan, which coincided with the advent of Chandā Ṣāhib, an able man of the Nāiṭ community, till then a captive in the hands of the Mahrattas. Naturally troubles arose in the Deccan. Chandā Ṣāhib set up Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān (Muẓaffar Jang) the grandson by the daughter of Āṣaf Jāh, as a claimant to the throne of the Deccan against Nāṣir Jang the son of Āṣaf Jāh. The nominee was promised the sympathy and the support of the entire Nāiṭ community and the French. On the other hand, Nawwāb Ānwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur's loyalty to Āṣaf Jāh's family induced him to support the claims of Nāṣir Jang; the English who depended upon the goodwill of the *nāẓim* for their mercantile welfare naturally took sides with him.

It is generally believed that the siege of Arcot was mainly due to the strategic manœuvres of General Clive, while the book under reference shows that the glory has to be shared with Madīna 'Alī Khān and the 2,000 Mahratta horse under Yūnus Khān the *sardārs* of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh.

We light upon also many missing links which explain a number of doubtful points. For example, the attack on the English factory at Calcutta by Sirāju'd-Dawla which seems to have been started for a flimsy reason was in fact inspired by a letter from Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang of Hyderabad

written at the instigation of M. Busy the French commander to divert the attention of the English from the Carnatic.

The indebtedness of the English to the Wālājāhī dynasty is well set forth in the book, and particular reference is made to the following three crises when they were saved by Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh :

1. When M. Dupleix attacked Dewanampattan (Fort St. David) after subjugating Chennapattan (Fort St. George).

2. When Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang expelled the English army from Tiruvadi (near Panruti), nay more than that, when the Nawwāb appointed 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān and Himmat Bahādur Khān, the *nāzims* of Cuddapah and Kurnool, to capture Chennapattan and Dewanampattan.

3. When M. Lally, after capturing Dewanampattan (Fort St. David) marched on to storm Chennapattan (Fort St. George).

The following remarks of General Sir Eyre Coote in the council chamber at Madras also bear testimony to this : "The help and support which Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh gave on these three occasions is the reason for the establishment of the English nation to-day in the country of Hindustan. But for this help, the French, instead of our people, will be all powerful in the affairs of this country."

Sawānīḥāt-i-Mumtāz

This book gives us a detailed history of the reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II, who ruled over the Carnatic from 1210-1216 A. H., (1795-1801 A. D.,) with an account of the last years of the reign of his father Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh I, a summary of the events in the reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur's successors, Nawwāb 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Wālājāh III, Nawwāb A'zamjāh Bahādur Wālājāh IV, and Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Wālājāh V.

The author is Muḥammad Karīm Khayru'd-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Dāmin son of Iftikḥāru'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang. He was born in 1194 A. H.

(1780 A.D.) received the title of Şāhibu'd-Dawla Jalādāt Jang in 1210 A.H., that of Khurshīdu'l Mulk in 1231 A.H., and on his father's death in 1236 A.H., (1820 A.D.,) that of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāsir Khān Bahādur Şamsām Jang. In the beginning of the month of Rajab in the year 1249 A.H., while living at Madras, he paid homage to Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Bahādur who directed him to draw up a history of his great ancestor and grandfather Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, similar to the poet Abjadī's famous *Anwarnāma*. Muḥammad Karīm set to work, and finished the writing of this book in 1252 A.H., (1837 A.D.,). It is divided into four *gulzārs* (parts) each of which contains four *guldastas* (chapters). Thus there are in all sixteen *guldastas*, and each *guldasta* is, in the language of the author, adorned with a number of *rangs* (sections).

The first *gulzār* (1209 to 1210 A.H.)

The first *guldasta* describes the kind grant of the *khil'at* of *Pīrī-murīdī* by Nawwāb Wālājāh to his son Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

The second *guldasta* relates some of the events in the youth of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, the invitation to Hakīm Aḥnadu'llāh Khān from Hyderabad, the arrival of Ruknu'd-Dawla Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur from Hyderabad, and the marriage of Raisul-Umarā Bahādur.

The third *guldasta* gives an account of the illness and the demise of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh I.

The fourth *guldasta* describes the coronation of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II, gives an idea of the correspondence between the English company and the exalted Nawwāb, an account of the glorious court, his granting the favour of titles to his courtiers, and *jāgīrs* to his sisters and others.

The second *gulzār* (1211 to 1212 A.H.)

The first *guldasta* narrates the building of *Fataḥ-chawkī*, the granting of titles and *manṣabs*, and the management of the affairs of the government.

The second *guldasta* details the arrival of a letter from the English king recognising the government of Nawwāb 'Undatu'l-Umarā Bahādur along with a portrait and a sword, the granting of *pāndān* at the time of bestowing the office of *dīwān* on, and the title of Colonel to Mr. Bard, (?) the celebration of the marriage of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the demise of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, and the attempt on the life of the Nawwāb.

The third *guldasta* relates the march of the army against Qutbu'd-Dīn Khān Bakhshī, the grant of the services, titles, *manṣabs* to his courtiers, and the building of Mubārak-chawkī which became well known as Rawshan-chawkī.

The fourth *guldasta* relates to the grant of offices to followers, the celebration of the marriages of Shahsawār Jang and Tājū'd-Dīn Khān, and the Nawwāb's banquet in the gardens of Bahrām Jang and Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāhib Sāwī.

The third *gulzār* (1213 to 1214 A. H.)

The first *guldasta* relates the granting of the office of *fawjdār* over the taluk of Nellore to Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, the marriage celebration of Amīru'l-Mulk Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, and the receipt of a letter from the Imperial court at Delhi.

The second *guldasta* details the excursion to *mīnā-bāzār* in the garden of the Nawwāb, the banquet arranged for the sisters in the *Dīwānkhāna* of Kalas-maḥall and Mubārak-chawkī, the receipt of a letter from Nawwāb 'Aṣaf Jāh Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, and the marriage celebration of Nāsiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur.

The third *guldasta* describes the pleasure trips of the Nawwāb.

The fourth *guldasta* gives an account of the meeting of General Hars (Harris), Mīr 'Ālam Bahādur, and his son.

The fourth *gulzār* (1215 to 1216 A. H.)

The first *guldasta* details some of the events in the

reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II and narrates the illness of the Nawwāb.

The second *guldasta* gives an account of the seriousness of the illness of the Nawwāb, the treatment by the English doctors, the writing of *waṣiyyat-nāma* in the name of his son Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, the unpleasantness between Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and the exalted Nawwāb, the entry of the English army into the Nawwāb's garden, the demise of the Nawwāb, the correspondence between the Governor of Madras and Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, the coronation of Nawwāb 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Wālājāh III, and the demise of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

The third *guldasta* describes the glorious power of Nawwāb 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Wālājāh III, the return to obedience of that section of the royal family which did not acknowledge the Nawwāb's title to the throne, and his demise; the ascension of Nawwāb A'zam Jāh Bahādur Wālājāh IV, his praiseworthy administration, and his demise; the accession to the throne by Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawṭh Khān Bahādur Wālājāh V in 1241 A. H., when he was only 15 months old, and the proclamation of the regency of the exalted Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, later on the first Prince of Arcot.

The fourth *guldasta* gives an account of the arrival of the princes of Taymūr family in the kingdom of the Carnatic and in Madras.

Finally we have a detailed geneological table of the families of Wālājāh, Naṣīru'd-Dawla and Khayru'd-Dīn Khān.

An interesting feature of this book is that we get sidelights on the inner court life of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic, and broad hints on social life. The influence borne by Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam during the reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur is particularly very interesting. She was the elder sister of the Nawwāb, and wielded tremendous influence over her brother; she was

instrumental in conferring titles and jagirs. She was really the power behind the throne. The fraternal relations between brother and sister were indeed remarkable.

This book gives the impression that by the reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, the English power in the south was established on a strong foundation, to which he could never reconcile himself inwardly, though the force of circumstances made him feel helpless. The English had also become a dominating factor in settling the disputes regarding succession and other things in the ruling family of the Carnatic. It is worth while in this connection to refer to an incident: When Mīr Ālam Khān Bahādur and the English General Hars (Harris) came to meet Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur after the victory over Tippu Sultan, the Nawwāb, on their narration of the various incidents that led to victory, gave a sum of money to his own minister, and directed him to purchase and distribute sweets in commemoration of the victory. But on the departure of the General he called back the minister, expressed his sorrow at the martyrdom of the great stalwart of Islam, and instructed him not to spend the money as directed, but to distribute it as alms among the poor so that they might pray for the departed soul.

Bahār-i-A'zamjāhī

It is an account of the various *manzils* which Nawwāb A'zamjāh Bahādur Wālājāh IV, passed through in the course of his pilgrimage to Nagore.

The author is Ghulām 'Abdu'l-Qādir Nāẓir son of Ghulām Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Mu'jiz with the title of Qādir A'zam Khān Bahādur. He accompanied the Nawwāb in his pilgrimage, and on Wednesday the 7th of the month of Jumādā II of the year 1238 A.H. he was commissioned by the Nawwāb at Shiyali the sixteenth *manzil* to compile an account of the various *manzils*, mentioning whatever came to their notice every day on the road covered by them, with

the names of villages, tombs of saints, mosques, *sarāis*, buildings, shops, brooks, rivers, tanks, springs, gardens, and other things of interest.

In the language of the author it is divided into a *gul-sar-sabad* (preface), *chamans* (chapters), *guldastas* (sections), and *khayāban* (epilogue).

The first *chaman* describes the splendour of the starting of the Nawwab from the delightful Madras towards the bountiful Nagore. It is divided into 18 *guldastas*.

The second *chaman* gives us a graphic account of the splendour of his departure from that holy place towards Trichinopoly. It is divided into 8 *guldastas*.

The third *chaman* details the splendour of his march from Trichinopoly towards the *ṣūbah* of Arcot. It is divided into 15 *guldastas*.

The fourth *chaman* describes his march from that place towards Dāru'l-amāra of Madras. It is divided into 9 *guldastas*.

The book being an account of travels is geographically important. It gives us an idea of the roads, towns, villages, buildings, temples, mosques, and other places of interest they passed through, in the course of their march from Madras to Nagore and back, *via* Trichinopoly, and Arcot; and it also gives an interesting account of the Muslim saints who repose in the various places they visited.

The English translation of all these three books (*Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*, *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz*, and *Bahār-i-A'ẓamjāhī*) which form the chief Persian sources of the Carnatic history has been finished, and will be issued in five parts.

This volume presents only the first part of the translation of *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* ending with the battle of Ambur and the demise of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Anwaru'd-Dīn *Khān* Bahādur the founder of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic.

The language of the Persian original is high-flown and abounds in empty bombast. Very often the author, despite his great scholarship, transplants Tamil idioms into Persian. He shares the weakness of a courtier, which finds expression in continual flattery of his royal patron. The sentences are involved and abound in endless periphrasis and repetitions so that it is difficult on many occasions to catch the precise drift.

There has been a considerable and unavoidable delay on the part of the press in issuing this volume. The remaining four volumes will, it is hoped, come out soon.

Foremost among those to whom the translator's gratitude is due comes the present Prince of Arcot the representative of the family of Wālājāh who has graciously been pleased to contribute an appreciative Foreword.

Special thanks are due to Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University, for the illuminating historical notes to this volume. His scholarship in this particular field is almost unique; and he has spared no pains to make his notes as informative as possible. His articles on 'The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai' (1736-61) published in *The Journal of Indian History*, have also been helpful.

Thanks are also due to Mr. 'Abdu'l Ḥaq, Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, and Mr. Quṭbu'd-Dīn, Head of the Department of History,—both of the Government Muhammadan College, Madras; and to Mr. Muḥammad Na'imur Raḥmān of the Allahabad University.

'Limbdi Gardens.'
Royapettah, Madras.
15th Nov. 1934

S. M. H. N.



TŪZAK-I-WĀLĀJĀHĪ

In the name of Allāh the Beneficent and the Merciful

The sublimity of felicitous speech consists in praise of that Exalted position; the Matchless Writer of His Eternal Authority has written the history of His glorious institute on the paper of this world. The brilliance of His sword which has perfect strength drove from this visible world the darkness of oppression, viz., annihilation. The endless *maydān* of earth and heavens, when considered with reference to the soft look of His merciful eye, is only an elevated place for doing obeisance to Him. In view of the vastness of his dignified authority, this wide creation to its utmost bounds is insufficient for doing homage unto Him. The ray of His protection has made the flaming ruby resplendent in the midst of dashing waves. The manner of His nourishing is so elegant as to make food of the burning fire for Salamander.⁽¹⁾ The shining sun is one of the means of livelihood for the subjects in the workshop of His favours, and is distinguished for its golden character with the grant of the *jāgīr* of day. The bright moon

(1) "Any one of the numerous species of Urodela belonging to Salamandra, Amblystoma, and various allied genera, especially those that are more or less terrestrial in their habits. The Salamanders have like lizards an elongated body, four feet, and a long tail, but are destitute of scales. They are true Amphibia related to the frogs." Formerly it was a superstition that the Salamander could live in fire without harm, and even extinguish it by the natural colours of its body. The author who believed in this superstition naturally attributed to it the wonderful manner of God's nourishing.

is one of those who possesses a shining forehead with the mark caused by frequent prostrations to Him. Wearing the stamp of authority over dark nights, it is the *fawjdār* ⁽¹⁾ of the stars. Obedience to His laws which ought to be obeyed is painted on the forehead of the universe. Submission to the royal commands which are eternal is the means of subsistence of men and genii. From the ant to Sulaiman every one hungers for His bounty. Forests and inhabited places thirst for His pure water. He is the Most Powerful, the Eternal Ruler, the Creator, the Life-giver, and the Sovereign of all kings in heaven and earth. He is a wonderful monarch whose power never decays. Those who have the authority of Iskandar, ⁽²⁾ the pomp of Darius, the crown of Qubbād, ⁽³⁾ the banner of Farīdūn, ⁽⁴⁾ bow with their forehead in His great court, and seek His help and assistance. Mind attains its strength by submission to Him. Speech gets the crown by the pronounciation of His mighty name. He is the eternal Sovereign. The splendour of His might is great.*

*Occasion for compiling this book and
calling it Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*

The preliminaries being over, my pen which chronicles true facts will inform the present generation of the true

(1) The chief of a body of troops, from Arabic '*fawj*' an army.

(2) Alexander: Two princes of this name are much celebrated in the East, both distinguished by the title of *Dhul Qarnayan*, possessor of the two horns (of the world), the implication being that they conquered the globe from East to West; the first supposed to be one of the most ancient kings; the second, Alexander of Macedon whom they call also *Bin Filīqūs* (son of Philip) and *Rūmī* (the Grecian).

(3) Name of a king of Persia and father of *Nawshīrwān*.

(4) Name of an ancient and celebrated king of Persia, the commencement of whose reign is placed about 750 years before the Christian era.

* Portions in praise of the Prophet (peace be on him) and Caliph Ali have not been translated.

history and trustworthy events of the past, and will present the ancient history afresh to the world. That is, in the happy days of the past, in times long ago, a command went forth from the court of the lord of the vibrating rays of light and of the valuable treasury—i.e., the good Nawwāb—of exalted dignity, powerful as heaven, with glorious titles, stately as the firmament, an Amir of enlightened genius, possessing the dignity of Farīdūn, the honour of Jamshīd, the authority of Darius, the glory of Iskandar, the mandate of Kistrā, the court of Qubbād, the pomp of Qaysar (Kaiser), the command of Khusrō. He remodelled the justice of Nawshīrwān; he is the supporter in the important affairs of the well-being of the world, endowed with the wisdom of Aristotle and the fortunes of Iskandar. In his learned plans he is Hippocrates, in the rules of friendship and trustworthiness he is Socrates. He has the resolve of Saturn, and the disposition of Jupiter. He possesses a retinue numerous like the stars, the bravery of Mars, the glorious power of Mercury, the grandeur of the sun, the might of the world, the throne of Heaven, and the crown of the Moon. He has a nature as soothing as the garden of Īrān. He is a cloud always raining gifts and presents, a sea with waves of courage and compassion, a bright light in the visible world, a selected verse from the anthology of this visible creation, a star shining in the zenith, a bright constellation of glorious spheres, the polar star round which all things revolve with the aid of Allāh, the channel through which the generosity of Allāh flows, the spring garden of success and victory, the breeze of rose-gardens for the people and the Faith, the mine of pomp and grandeur, the source of kindness and power. He is the master whose banners float over subdued regions, the mighty monarch who sits on the pompous and dignified throne. He is adorned with the dress of illuminating *sharīʿat*; he treads in the right path, and to him is revealed the secrets of the realities of the attributes, and he knows the mysteries of the knowledge of God; he ascends the high and noble steps, and climbs the glorious and praiseworthy ladder. In his knowledge of the

True One, and in his ability to be a guide in the right path, he is a rich treasure. In his quest after the Lord, and in his knowledge of Him he is a great store, a sword to behead polytheism and hypocrisy. He is trustworthy in friendship and sincerity, a sword to destroy the enemy in the *maydān* of battle, an arrow to pierce the deceitful heart, a lightning in the threshing floor to burn away vanity and opposition, and a torrent to destroy the foundation of deceit and disobedience; he is an irrigator of the fields of hope and expectations, a gardener in the garden of eternal kindness, the formulator of the rules of justice, the promulgator of the principles of straight-forwardness, the powerful lamp of the glorious and mighty kingdom, the chief in the assemblies of learning, the propagandist of the right religion, one who has attained the house of truth and sincerity. He is the place where signs of mercy and compassion are manifested. An embodiment of all the attributes of generosity and good will, an observer of the necessary commandments that would vouchsafe the pleasure of the Eternal Lord, a life-giver to the religion of Muḥammad (Peace be on him); he fulfils the desires of all creation, and is efficient in attending to the important affairs pertaining to Islam. The spring drops of his generosity filled the shell of the hands of the seeker with pearls of grants. His bounty drained the mines and the seas of the treasures; his justice cleared the world of mischief and the evils of oppression and tyranny. His excessive kindness became the means of increasing the safety and security that had already existed. It is the duty of every one of those who find sweetness on the table of life to give sweet expressions of thankfulness for the kindness. A tongue with pleasing expressions in praise of his generosity will bring manifold blessings. An invocation for the permanence of his power is the sign of life in every heart. To praise his unique administration is to adorn every assembly. His generous hours are engaged in attending to the important affairs of protecting the world. His person, which is the embodiment of all blessings, is celebrated with the characteristics of a *fayyāḍ* (the

generous). Such is Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatul-Mulk Āṣafu'd-Dawla Muḥammad 'Alī Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Zafar-jang Sipah-sālār Ṣāhibu's-ṣayf wal-qalam Mudabbir-i-umūr-i-'ālam, Farzand-i-'azīz-az-jān (these titles got from the Pādshāh of exalted dignity, the ruler of the country of Hindustan, Abu'l Muẓaffar Jalālu'd-Dīn Shāh Ālam Pādshāh Ghāzī). Birādar-ba-jān barābar (Brother dear as life) (this one got from the glorious Pādshāh, a monarch of great power among the kings of his time, *i.e.*, the ruler of Great Britain).

With a view to bring to life the customs of powerful kings, to make current the affairs pertaining to the exalted rulers, and out of necessity to enquire into the events of the past ages, to ascertain the institutions of the ancients, to lay open the habits of great men, to increase the alertness of intelligent hearers, to embellish the understanding of those connected with royalty, the command was issued by the Nawwāb to Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, the *Malikush-shurā* (poet-laureate) of the day. The Nawwāb granted him the happiness of listening to the following words:—

“Let a book be written in verse describing the events and incidents in the history of our illustrious forefathers and our own victories, and let it be named after our exalted name. Let your skilled learning be thus spent in giving completion to learning, and elegance to the art of poetry.”

Though the matchless Mīr had, in executing the command, seated on the famous chair the bride of speech adorned with ornaments of eloquence and the dress of elegance, and strung in verses the pearls of events in the history of the family of Anwar, the wars of Wālājāh from the beginning of his enmity with the French till the subjugation of the fort of Pulcheri (Pondicherry), and called it “Anwarnāma” after the illuminating name of the *sarkār*, though the book became synonymous with the Sun on

account of its illuminating fame, and was fit to be weighed against pearls and gold in all learned assemblies, yet on account of the narrowness of the *maydān* of poetry and the restrictions of the art, many themes and stories could not be fitted into it in spite of the transposition of facts. Hence in 1195 A. H., in the town of Chennapattan, during the time of tumult caused by Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān the chief of Srirangapattan, during the period of unrest among the residents of the Carnatic Payanghat under the authority of the *shūbah* of Dārūn-nūr-Muḥammadpūr known as Arcot, the narrator of the meaning of the weakness of feeble heart, the reader of the sorrowful leaves of the useless book, the man of sorrows in all branches, one who wears away the pen in writing the events which wound the injured heart, the composer of lines which reveal foolishness, the author of books which explain his inability, the narrator of unpraiseworthy deeds, the chronicler of distressful events, the narrator of accounts explaining the kindness of the Lord, the most insignificant man who eats the salt of the possessor of generosity and kindness, namely, Burhān the ignorant, the son of Ḥasan, a resident of the soul-nourishing Natharnagar (Trichinopoly), with the help of Allāh and in obedience to the command—obedience to which is necessary—conveyed through those who catch the light from the brilliance of the exalted presence of the Nawwāb and who seek happiness in his company overflowing with generosity, wrote this book in his praise. It is based not only on those records which were kindly made available to Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī for his *Anwār-nāma* and the events and incidents in the history of the rulers, but also on new facts which were discovered later and ascertained to be true. In writing out the history of the forefathers of the Nawwāb and the latter's victories, my mind seemed to be a mine and the paper a skirt. This book is named *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*. It comprises an introduction, two books, and a concluding chapter. Thus before the poets who give shelter to truths, and the learned who have poetic talents I wear away my pen on the earth of apologies.

The Introduction

gives a brief account of the life of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī the peerless poet of the day and a most learned teacher; and mentions also the occasion for compiling the *Anwār-nāma* a book worthy of note.

The First Book

contains an account of the happy circumstances of the ancestors of the Nawwāb from the beginning of their conversion to Islam, of the government of the ancient rulers of the Carnatic which is like Iran, and of the steady and firm administration of the Nawwāb, his victories, with various incidents fitted into their respective places, till the rebellion of the group of French and the capture of the fort of Pulchery that was destined for destruction.

The Second Book

details among other facts the events and wars after the subjugation of Pondicherry, the letters from the mighty sultan *i.e.*, the sultan of Rum, the king of Durrani (Afghans), the pādshāh of Hind, the king of England, the ruler of France, the governor of Aelomon (Allemaigne, Germany), and the administrator of Denkomar (Denmark), the writings of dignified chiefs and amirs of high rank addressed to the name renowned as the sun, and the history of the famous brothers of the Nawwāb and his exalted sons.

The concluding chapter

deals with miscellaneous facts and wonderful events that happened in Hindustan especially in the pleasant Carnatic Payanghat. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The dominions below the Eastern Ghats dependent on the Nawwābs of Arcot and extending from Nellore to Cape Comorin (*vide* detailed note below.)

INTRODUCTION

This gives a brief account of the life of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī the peerless poet of the day and a most learned teacher ; it mentions also the occasion for compiling the *Anwār-nāma* a book worthy of note.

Let it become clear and evident to those experienced in the wonderful happenings, and acquainted with modern times that Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī was born in the *qasba* of Chingleput under Carnatic Payanghat. His father was a resident of Bijapur and the brother-in-law of Mullāh Muḥamad Qāsim surnamed Firishta ⁽¹⁾ the author of '*Nawrasnāma*' also known as *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*. When he attained the age of discretion the happy palanquin was borne towards Kirkat-pala, (Karunkuli) a village at a distance of four *kurōh* ⁽²⁾ from his home for the purpose of marriage. After the marriage ceremonies were finished he took the bride to his house and attended to the business of getting things ready for their comfort. He secured privacy for the bridal chamber. On account of the great heat he removed the wedding dress he had worn at the time, and had only a *lungi* round his waist. Sweet sleep came upon him. But a minute later, feelings of distress on account of the bitter shakings of his body and the noise caused by the disturbance of the fasteners of the door woke him from sleep. Half-consciously he inquired (into the cause of these happenings). He found the bride asleep and the door shut. Still as a

(1) The famous historian of India, (Cir. 1550—1623)—see note below.

(2) *Kurōh* : A road measure of about two miles.

precaution he looked around the room, but found none. He was astonished, and regarded attentively who it was that disturbed the fasteners. He sat on his cot to calm his excitement and then to sleep again. In the meanwhile he saw the closed door of the room open gradually like a seditious eye, but did not see the opener. He was struck with fear and terror. His senses became confused. He gazed steadfastly at the door, and curiously watched so that he might know why it was opened and who the opener was.

The door opened fully. When he saw that it happened without the effort of any hand, his astonishment knew no bounds. He lost his senses. All on a sudden there fell a slap on his delicate cheek from an unknown hand. At this he fainted. When he recovered his consciousness he found himself on the floor of a house in the company of men of the Mughal race. The ideas which filled his head before were effaced. Suddenly he realised the situation, stood up without the help of any one, and in the company of the new comers who looked like Mughals, flew up towards the sky. His companions in the flight who possessed neither wings nor feathers, looked like small beings stuffed with straw, were borne in whichever direction the wind blew and soared higher than the winged birds, so much so that the hills and the plains were lost to sight and the voices of birds were not audible to the ear. In this state of suspension every one of them was devising either to drop him into the sea as food for fishes or throw him on the plain as a prey for ravenous beasts, to kill him or throw him into a deep well. Accordingly a blow was given with a heavy stone on his delicate forehead, and the torrent of blood proceeding from the wound reached as far as the earth. He understood that these happenings were due to evil spirits, lifted his hands in prayer and sought help from the Mighty Allāh through the mediation of the Prophet of both the worlds, and his family (May Allāh's peace be on them all). With tears in his eyes he prayed for safety from the fatal danger, and pronounced the following verse;—

"Oh! the beloved of Allāh, catch hold of my hand;

Except you there is no prop for my weakness."

As soon as he pronounced this verse, a fearful noise with a wonderful melody came forth from the direction of the high vault. Abjadī felt an abatement in the climb towards the sky and a little remission of the pain caused by his oppressors. So he thought that the pronouncing of the prayer which is remarkable for its good effects would vouchsafe his safety. Once again he pronounced it. A noise more dreadful than the previous one came forth. When Abjadī pronounced it for the third time the same fearful alarm, which confused the brains of the firmament, arose with the noise of thunder. The genii were greatly terrified. They let him down towards the earth from flight. Thus his desperate opposition to the genii brought him down to the earth from such a height. In the course of his descent four of the elements which composed his body settled down each in its respective spheres, but the earth which could not but go down to its place fell heavily on the edge of the ditch of the fort of Kirkat-pala, breaking his bones and emptying his head of understanding. After a little respite and on recovering from the faint he became conscious of the cold breeze of the early morning and had to open his eyes to observe his condition. But the drops of blood (from the forehead) had congealed, and he could not open his eyes. Nor could the hand be used as a key to open the door of the eye. Though he secured liberation from the dangerous claws of the genii, yet the miserable condition of his limbs, his reaching a place devoid of habitation and the fear of ravenous beasts—these ideas were destroying the hope of his living (any longer). When he was thinking in this strain, his mind found relief on hearing the voices of the fort guards. Immediately Abjadī raised a lamentation seeking for help. When the fort keepers heard it, they were perplexed. But one of them, Ḥasan Muḥammad by name, who was an acquaintance, recognised his voice and ran in that direction. He approached him and inquired as to his

condition. When Hasan learnt what had happened and witnessed the miserable condition of his limbs, tears of sorrow began to trickle (down his face). Then Hasan hastened to the fort, returned with a group of men and tied up the broken bones with splints. The bandages and other treatment gave strength to his limbs. Then Hasan took Abjadī to the latter's house. Though Abjadī recovered his health after a year, it was difficult for him to sit or stand. There was a tremor in his hands and legs, and he found it difficult to eat or drink. He stammered, and he could not speak with ease. Though these defects became permanent, yet the inner witness of the pearl of his nature never needed the support of the limbs of the body. The splendour of the ray of his candle was not affected by the breaking of the lantern. With the aid of his inborn strength he could walk two or three *kurōh* in spite of the shaking in the limbs. His hand was the servant of writing as he could write three or four pages a day. His knowledge of Persian was as it ought to be and that of Arabic was ample; on the whole he was an expert in writing prose or poetry. Every verse of the '*Anwār-nāma*,' of the '*Khamsa*' and of his '*Dīwāns*' in the Persian and the Hindi Languages is a pearl of same quality in point of the splendour of sound and sense. Every line of his prose is like a wave of the sea dashing with the force of eloquence.

When the prosperous forces of the Nawwāb of the victorious banner encamped at Frangikonda⁽¹⁾—which is at a distance of three *kurōh* from Chennapattan and

(1) *Frangikonda*.—St. Thomas Mount. A cantonment eight miles from Madras, marked by a hill about 200 feet high, traditionally regarded as the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas and is known as the Big Mount. On it is a church containing a picture of Mary and Christ supposed to have been painted by St. Luke himself and brought by St. Thomas. The ancient Cross in this Church has a Pehlevi inscription similar to that found in the Syrian Crosses at Kottayam. The town came to be known as the Feringi's Hill Town and is fairly healthy. (See D'Cruz—*St. Thomas, The Apostle in India* 1922, p.p. 64–68.)

called by the Hindus by that name because of the existence there of a church belonging to the Portuguese—exalted it by their high and durable dignity and bestowed on its skirt the glory of heaven by a ring of camps of the victorious army, the unrivalled Mīr entered the service of the exalted Nawwāb and was enjoined to compose the *Anwarnāma*. *

* While *Anwarnāma* was in progress, the French and Ridā Ali Khān besieged Chennapattan, and Hadrat-i-A'la had to leave for Trichinopoly by sea to send reinforcements to the English. The poet Abjadī experienced great hardships on account of the siege, left Madras in disguise, and arrived at Trichinopoly before the presence of his master who directed him to finish the *Anwarnāma*. Abjadī who had already finished the first half of his work and left it with the Nawwāb, now wanted it back so as to enable him to finish the other half. But the Nawwāb had misplaced it, searched for it in vain, and so ordered Abjadī to write afresh. The poet was greatly distressed at the loss of his labours, when the Nawwāb one day returned him the unfinished half saying that he had found the clue of the lost copy in a dream and had accordingly traced it successfully.

BOOK I.

The first book contains an account of (1) the happy incidents in the life of the ancestors of the exalted master, from the beginning of their acceptance of Islam, (2) of the government of the ancient rulers of the Carnatic, which is as marvellous as Iram and (3) of the steady and thorough civil administration of the Nawwāb, his victories, with various incidental details, such as must needs be related in their proper places and occasions, till the rebellion of the group of the French and the capture of the Fort of Phulchery that was destined to be destroyed.

Those who write volumes about events in this world and record the truth about the children of Ādam and who think that the explanation of the chain of genealogy is a proof of the nobility of the highly-pedigreed ones of the times, and that the exposition of the parentage is a proof of the excellence of the lofty and celebrated ones, are of opinion that firm research and authentic investigation reveal that the noble ancestors of my lord, the Nawwāb Amīrū'l Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatul-Mulk Āsafū'd-Dawla Muḥammad 'Alī Anwarū'd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr Zafar Jang Sipāh-Sālār, (whom, for brevity's sake, I have called Ḥaḍrat-i-A'la, because of the necessity of writing now and then his exalted name in full), are of the children of Quraysh, residents of Makka (may Allah increase its fame and glory) and of the lineage of Ḥaḍrat Ibrāhīm Khalīlullāh, one of our Prophets (on whom be peace). Since the nobility of this tribe is established by all books of biography and history, the repetition thereof is only achieving that which has been already achieved. Therefore I proceed to give the chain of ancestors of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'la from the days of the advent of the most noble of the sons of Ādam, the Prophet for this world and hereafter, Muḥammad, (peace and blessing be upon him), and to record their glorious conversion to Islam, stating the native home of every one with other details.

The account of the native home of the noble ancestor of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'la in the holy town of Madina the Illuminated. (May Allah increase its glory and fame):

After the appearance of the Light of Islam, the noble ancestor of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'la, 'Umar Ibn Khattāb (may Allah be pleased with him) of the well-known family of 'Adi which is a clan of the children of Quraysh, a resident of Makka at the time of the advent of Muḥammad, Chief of the Apostles, (may Allah bless him, his family and his followers) became glorified [by following] the regulations of Islam and willingly girt his loins to obey the orders of that Chief. He enforced good customs, distinguishing right from wrong, and thus earned the surname Farūq A'zam (the Great Distinguisher). The details, which testify to his glory and dignity, are found in many a book. In blessed company with the Prophet, he ('Umar) left the city of Makka and took his residence at the holy place of Madina, the Illuminated.

After the days of the Prophet and after the close of the first Khilāfat, the robe of honour of the second Succession with all its beauty of order, arrangement, glory and dignity fell on his shoulders. After the expiry of nearly eleven years of his Khilāfat, he was stabbed with a dagger by Abu Lulu at the time of early morning prayer and was wounded in the side. After three days he hastened to the eternal world. The succession to the Khilāfat was left to be settled by the council of the Faithful⁽¹⁾.

His descendants for six generations lived on in the same place. His eldest son, 'Abdullāh Akbar, was engaged in managing the family and in devotion to the Creator of all beings. Throughout his life he distinguished himself with honour and respect. After him, his son Naṣīru'd-Dīn became his successor. After him the eldest of his two sons, by name, Ibrāhīm Akbar, who perpetuated the chain of the succession of the ancestors of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'la, stayed in the same holy town, in the place of his father and engaged himself in the management of the family. The younger son, named Muḥammad, took his residence in the country of Persia. The latter's descendants rose

(1) See for details, Ch. XVI of W. Muir, *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall*.

by degrees to the high position of Sultans at Balkh. After the extinction of their rule, they reached India and came to be linked to the chain of great nobles. During the days of the Tughlaq Sultans⁽¹⁾ of Delhi, they happened to come to the Deccan, established their rule at Khāndesh and became famous as the Fārūqiyya Sultans.⁽²⁾ The chiefs round about that place were proud of them. They laid the foundation of the town of Burhānpūr. After the decline of their prosperity, the chain

1. *The Tughlaq Sultans* ruled from 1320 to 1412 A.D. The dynasty was founded by Ghāzi Beg Tughlaq, by birth a Karayna Turk, who began service under Ulūgh Khān. He rose to be the governor of Dipālpūr in the reign of Sultan Mubārak (1316-30) and combined with the Governor of Uchch, in over-throwing the low-born Khushru Khān; and he ascended the throne with the title of Ghiyāshu'd-Dīn Tughlaq, after some show of reserve. He built the stupendous fort of Tughlaqābādū'd-Dīn in which is situated his own mausoleum. His son was Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (1325-51) under whom the disintegration of the Delhi Empire began. Then came the latter's cousin Firūz Shāh (1351-88); and after him, the disintegration was rapid, owing to the weakness of the rulers, provincial rebellions and the invasion of Tīmūr till the dynasty came to an end in 1412.

See Lane—Poole—*The Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 297-300.

Thomas—*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 185 et seq.

2. *Khāndesh and the Fārūqiyyās.*

Malik Raja Fārūqi, the first Muslim ruler of Khāndesh, asserted his independence of Delhi, before his death in A. H. 801 (1399 A.D.). He claimed to be descended from the Caliph 'Umar and was related by marriage to the Kings of Gujrat. Khāndesh comprised the lower valley of the Tāptī river and was separated from Gujrat only by a belt of forest. Malik Rājā was the son of Khān-i-Jahān Fārūqi whose ancestors were among the most respectable nobles of the Delhi court in the reigns of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khilji and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. He was first appointed governor of Khāndesh by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq and had the *jāgīr* of Taluēr conferred on him. After the death of Firūz (1388 A.D.), when Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī assumed independence in Malwa, the latter helped Malik Rājā to assert his independence and gave his daughter in marriage to Malik Nāṣir, the son of Malik Rājā.

Their capital town of Burhānpūr was founded on the banks of the Tāptī, near the ancient hill-fortress of Asīrgarh, in the year 1400 A. D., by Malik Nāṣir, and named after the famous Shaykh, Burhānu'd-Dīn of Daulatābād. Burhānpūr was the usual residence of the later Fārūqi kings, and it was greatly embellished by them. Asīrgarh is situated on an outlying spur of the Satpūrā range and was a Rajput strong-hold till it was stormed by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khilji in 1295 A.D.

of their dignified descendants became indistinct. But one of them came with Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, at a time when the said Nawwāb was appointed by the court of that shadow Divine [the Delhi Emperor] to go with Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh Nizāmu'l-Mulk to the Deccan. Having received the honour of service under him, he disclosed the chain of his descent. The Nawwāb said, "Owing to the lapse of time and to the lack of knowledge of the facts, the links of relationship had been cut asunder and the union of both the parties had become impossible. But since the brotherhood of the Faith means definite unity, my house is your house and the favour of your arrival is on us". He showed him favour and fixed his means of living conformably to his status. He had the same respect and honour for him as for other relatives of his own.

From here, I return to the chain of my narration and come back to the important subject of my writing : that is—

Ibrāhīm Akbar who was already mentioned and Ishāq and Abul Fataḥ, these three written in order, make up six generations together with the first three generations; they lived in the same holy place, succeeding one after another.

From here, the seventh successor 'Abdullāh Awsaṭ, out of necessity, had to start with his camel litter from that holy place, and descend into the town of Bukhārā. The reason for this will be made clear in the following lines.

The Account of the residence of the illustrious ancestors of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn in the town of Bukhārā belonging to Turkistān.

At the time when the hurricane of the government of Banu 'Umayya [Umayyads—661—750 A.D.] in the two holy and illustrious towns—may God increase their glory and fame—and other

Khāndesh was incorporated into the Mughal Empire in 1600 A. D. when Asīrghāh fell after a long siege. Its name was changed for a time into Dandesh, in honour of its Viceroy, the Prince Daniyal.

See Lane-Poole—*The Muhammadan Dynasties* (1894), p. 315.

Beale: *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (revised by Keene), 1894. pp. 239-40.

The line of the Fārūqī Kings comprized as many as eleven kings who ruled from 1370—1600.

towns blew on from the oven of hypocrisy, 'Abdullāh Awsaṭ, in the din of rebellion, did not find strength to continue his stay in the above-mentioned holy place; he carried the boat of his tribe and family to Bukhārā. With the increase of friendship with the ruler of that place, he established firmly his livelihood. Throughout his life-time he was pure. His descendants till the ninth generation, i. e., 'Abdullāh Aṣghar, Mas'ūd, Muḥammad Subhān, Fakhrū'd-Dīn Akbar, Shihabū'd-Dīn, Yūsuf, Muḥammad Aḥmad, Shu'ayb, and Fakhrū'd-Dīn Aṣghar, lived within the four corners of that quadrilateral town.

The account of the noble ancestors of Anwarū'd-Dīn reaching the country of India and obtaining power in the town of Badāūn.

At a time when the flame of oppression of Chinghīz Khān⁽¹⁾ and his descendants in the country of Persia, which is well described in books of history and biography, was set ablaze, Fakhrū'd-Dīn Aṣghar who is of the sixteenth generation from the

(1) *Chēnghiz Khān*—(more properly Chingiz Khān), was the son of the famous Yissugay, who first asserted the independence of the Mongols from Chinese rule and founded the power of the Mongol confederacy of clans. He died in 1175 A.D.; and his son called Temujin, succeeded him when he was only 13 years old. For 30 years he struggled against home-foes and succeeded in reducing all the tribes north of the desert of Gobi. In 1206 Temujin summoned a Kuriltay, i. e., a diet of the chiefs of all the tribes and assumed the title of Chēnghiz Khān (the Very Mighty King). In 1209 he received the submission of the Uighurs, and soon afterwards conquered and annexed a great part of the northern provinces of the Chinese (Celestial) Empire and also the old Turkish Kingdoms of Kara-Khitay, corresponding with Eastern Turkistan, and including Kashghar, Khotan and Yarkhand. Then Chingiz divided the Mongol armies into several large brigades and swept over Khwarizm (Khiva), Khurāsān and Āfghānistān on the one hand; while Azarbaijan, Georgia and Southern Russia were also conquered; and a third division continued the reduction of China. In the midst of these immense conquests, this 'Asiatic Alexander' died at the age of sixty-four (1227 A. D. 624 A. H.) The territories which, he and his sons, conquered (Juji, Chagatay, Ogotay, and Tuling) extended from the Yellow Sea to the Euxine and included lands or tribes wrung from the rule of the Chinese, Tanguts, Afghans, Persians and Turks.

See Lane-Poole—*The Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 201-04 and his *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. VI; and H. Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, Vol. I., pp. 42-115.

beginning of the shining of the rays of Islam and of the tenth from the number which had its stay at Bukhārā,⁽¹⁾ could not endure it and came to India. The Emperor of Delhi appointed him as Qāzi over the town of Badāūn.⁽²⁾ In that place he spent the cash of his breath to purchase only the goods of good-will of the Lord of Jinnee and of men.

The account of the residence of the noble ancestors of Anicaru'd-Dīn in the town of Kanauj.

The son of Fakhrū'd-Dīn Asghar, 'Alī by name, married from one of the families of the nobles, the residents of the town of Kanauj⁽³⁾; and after the demise of his aged father, he left

1. Bukhārā and Samargand are important cities in the Transoxiana country, to the north of Badakshan and Balkh. Bukhārā lies in the valley of the Loghā and has been a noted centre of Muslim learning. Le Strange in his *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, describes it. Writers like Abulfida and the Emperor Babur (see his *Memoirs*, revised edition of King, 1921, have described it, as well as the Spanish Monk Clavijo in his *Embassy to Tamerlane* (Broadway Travellers) ed. by G. Le Strange, 1928 pp. 301-2.

2. Badāūn—Headquarters of the District and Tahsil of the same name (in U. P.), now situated on a branch of the Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railway and on the road from Bareilly to Muttra. It was founded, according to tradition, by a mythical Raja, Budh, and by a descendant of his named Ajayapala. Eleven Rahtor Kings reigned there. Legend states that the town was taken by Sayyad Salar in 1028; but Qutbu'd-Dīn captured it in 1196 A.D. and slew its last Hindu King. It was an important outpost of Delhi against the turbulent Rajputs of Katehr (Rohilkhand) and its governorship was a great office. About 1450 the last of the Sayyad Kings, after abdicating the Delhi throne, settled at Badāūn. Its importance declined from the 17th century; and it passed into the hands of the Rohillas in the 18th century. It played a prominent part in the Mutiny. Its *Jumma Masjid*, built by Sultan Altamish, is an immense building; there are also the remains of the old fort and its massive ramparts. Badāūn is the birth-place of the historian, 'Abdul Qādir Badāūni the rival of Abul Faḍl and a keen and pungent critic of the Emperor Akbar under whom he was one of the court-chaplains.

3. Kanauj—An ancient city in the Farukhābād District (U. P.); the Ganges once flowed by its walls; but it has now shifted its bed some miles away. The legend of its foundation is given in the *Rāmāyana*. Kusinabha, the founder, had 100 daughters, all but the youngest of whom scorned Vāyu. In revenge he cursed them and their backs became humped, whence the city was called *Kanya-Kubja* (crooked maiden). Early in the Christian Era, Ptolemy referred to the city as *Kanogisa*. The town was under the rule of

Badāūn and came to Kanauj. His descendants for seven generations, viz., 'Alī, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Akbar, Muḥammad, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aṣḡhar, Ni'mullāh, Ibrāhīm Aṣḡhar and Muḥammad Lār, lived there one after another, carrying out the wishes of their respective fathers.

The account of the residence of the noble ancestors in the Qasba of Gopāman, may Allah protect it from all misfortunes and calamities by the dignity of that Leader of Creation (i.e., the Prophet), and his family! may the choicest of blessings and peace be upon them!

Muḥammad Lār, who comes in the list of ancestors of the Nawwāb as the twenty-third from the beginning of the Light of Islam and 7th from the number who had their residence at Kanauj, was delicately nurtured by his parents who gave him the pet name 'Lār' which, in the Hindi language, means "Darling."

Between the Sultans of Delhi and the Nizams of Oudh, as found in the histories of the Sultans of India and in the history of Firishṭa ⁽¹⁾ and other writers, there was

the Guptas; and later it was the capital of the powerful Maukharī Kingdom in the 6th century A.D. and of the great Harshavardhana in the 7th century, when the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, visited it. It was from now the most important city in Hindustan; and whichever dynasty was in possession of it, claimed an imperial status. It was the chief city of the famous Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty from about 800 to 1000 A.D. In 1019, Mahmud of Ghazna plundered it; and later the city came into the power of Raṭhor rulers, of whom Govinda Chandra and Jaya Chandra were the most prominent. Muḥammad Ghori defeated Jaya Chandra in 1194 and plundered Kanauj. Later, though it was for sometime the seat of a Muhammadan governor, it lost its old importance. It was included in the Kingdom of Jaunpur and was the headquarters of a *Sarkar* under Akbar. The old Hindu buildings are all now in ruins; the town has given its name to an important division of Brahmans, (*Imperial Gazetteer*, new edition, Vol. XIV, pp. 370-71).

1. *Muhammad Kasim Firishṭa* (cir. 1550 to 1623 A.D.).

He was a Persian by birth and a Shiah by creed, spent the greater portion of his life at the court of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II of Bijāpur (1580-1626). He was born at Astārābad on the shores of the Caspian Sea, the son of Ghulām 'Alī Hindu Shāh, and migrated to India, along with his father, when very young. He was left an orphan at an early age at Ahmadnagar, but was taken under royal protection. He arrived at Bijāpur, soon after the

great enmity and hatred, instead of submission and concord. Their armies created great disturbance. This state of affairs occasioned unlimited confusion in the town of Kanauj, in view of its being situated on the borderland of these two contending parties. As it was impossible for him to stay there, he chose Gopāmau,⁽¹⁾ one of the distant *qasbās* which was free from the mischief and the reach of the army and was best fitted for the residence of nobles and respectable men. There he went and lived with his family and engaged himself in the completion of his studies, and cultivating refined manners. So much so, his descendants who have been living for successive generations in that place mention his name with great pride, till to-day. Then he left this ephemeral world.

After him 'Abdul Qādir, his successor, became the head of his family. After his death, his son, 'Abdul Hayy succeeded. He, having acquired a valuable treasury of knowledge,

Ahmadnagar palace revolutions of 1587-88. At Bijāpur he was first employed in a military capacity and was commissioned by Sultan Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II to write a good history of the Indian Muhammadans. The work engaged the author for nearly 20 years and was known as the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimi* or *Tarīkh-i-Ibrāhimi*. It is divided into an introduction, 12 books and a conclusion. The third book deals with the Bahmini Kings of the Deccan, and the following books with the history of the provincial kingdoms of Gujarat, etc., and with the Indian Muslim saints. He is a fair and unprejudiced writer, not much given to flattery or exaggeration; but his account is marked by extreme religious bigotry. He finished his history in 1606 and went on a mission to Mughal Court.

The first and second books dealing with the Kings of Delhi were translated by Col. Alexander Dow (d. 1779); the Deccan portion was translated by Captain Jonathan Scott (in 1794). The text and translation of Book XI was published by Mr. Anderson in 1786 in the *Asiatic Miscellany*. General John Briggs has given a trustworthy and full translation which was published in four volumes in 1829.

1. *Gopāmau*—A town in the District and *Tahsīl* of Hardoi in the United Provinces. Sayyad Sālār was the first Muslim who invaded the place, but it was really occupied by the Muslims only in the 13th century. The town flourished under Muslim rule and sent out a number of distinguished soldiers and men of letters who adorned it with mosques, wells and large buildings.

both theoretical and practical, became very famous and distinguished as the chief man of his age. Indeed, he exhibited in himself the qualities justifying his name 'Hayy' (the ever-living). He succeeded in bringing to life the names of his ancestors. He got the title of Shaykh Makhdūm (Venerable Master). He was a disciple of His Holiness Shaykh Nizām-u'd-Dīn Amethī (May Allah make his resting place pure) who gave him the titles "Qudwatus-sālikīn" (exemplar of devotees) and "Zubdatul 'Ārifīn". (the best of the pious). Because he had been made pure by the study of the Qurān and the Traditions, and because he was very pious and devoted to Allah, he found his journey from this world on the tenth of the noble month, the month of Allah, viz., the happy Ramaḍān, Ni'matullāh, his son, made provision for the comfort and consolation of his people and his family, and followed the same inevitable way as everyone of his ancestors had done before, to obtain the grace of the Great Forgiver.

Muḥammad Munawwar, his successor, added lustre to his family by the glory of his character. He was so pious and austere that he became known as "Shaykhul Mashāyikh (The chief of doctors). Eventually, on the 13th of the month of Ṣafar the victorious, he attained the light of the mercy of the Creator. After him came Muḥammad Anwar, the shining Sun in the horizon of fortune, the crescent moon of the 'Id of might and glory, the exordium of the lights of power and dignity, the dawn of the glory of Allah, the possessor of prosperity by the grace of God, the propagator of the enlightened religion of Muḥammad, the throned monarch and the promoter of the observance of the sacred precepts, and the authority on sciences, exoteric and esoteric. It is an arduous task to put in writing his excellences, perfections, graceful manners and his innate qualities. Yet I hope to write something which may, after all, resemble a flower in a garden, a drop in the mighty ocean and confer blessings on the work itself.

A brief account of the happy features in the life of Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

Since the extinction of their Khilāfat and the breakdown of their banners of justice, every one of his glorious ancestors

had seated himself firmly on the carpet of wealth as well as in the house of learning and excellence. He also likewise raised the banner of power, in this world as well as in the next. His mind was never free even for a moment either from the thoughts of God or of relieving the needs of his fellow beings. During day he was engaged in the affairs of religion. At night he busied himself in reading the Qurān and in supererogatory devotions. His *muṣalla* (prayer-carpet) was his seat, day and night; and he was absorbed in devotion to the All-Knowing Master. He had little leisure for his food or sleep. If sleep overpowered him, his head knew not a better pillow than the wall and his body knew nothing of rugs and carpets, except his *muṣalla*. If his eye-lids closed for a minute, or two, he would be overtaken with the fear that the time was wasted. Immediately he would perform ablution with water from the vessel which he always kept with him. After he had said his prayers as a salutation unto God after his ablution, he would engage himself in reading the Qurān. He would not speak during his ablution. Attending to the needs of the people he regarded in the same light as the offering of prayers unto God. If he talked with any one, he would again perform his ablution. Thus he used to perform his ablution ten or twelve times. The crowd of applicants never gave him any vexation. He always had a serene face. He was so patient, that even during the time of illness, he never called in a physician. Night and day, he was so much engaged in fulfilling the duties of religion that it was mere chance if he happened to speak two or three words pertaining to the world.

The modesty of the speech of Nawwāb Hājī Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

As he had a great consideration for the wasting of his breath, he would not burden his tongue with speech. He would not cause dust to settle upon the mirror of the freedom of his hours of devotion. So much so that he spoke to his noble and excellent son, Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān only thrice throughout his life-time. He had the good fortune to kiss his father's feet only once, for the son had it as his life's desire and fell on his face every morning before God, praying that he might

get an opportunity to kiss the dignified feet of his father and that he might get the good fortune to make the worshipful feet as his *muṣalla* and prostrate on it. Indeed this mighty person did get a chance on one of the two 'Id days thus: By pretending to give *nadh* on the 'Id day, he fell at his feet and since he achieved his long felt desire he wept aloud. Immediately the illustrious father raised him with his dignified hand, drew him to his generous and rich bosom and prayed for him thus:—"Oh! May the Granter of Supplications grant you success in all things, here and hereafter, and cause you to attain your desires before you seek them!" In short, the historians record this to be the third of the three conversations the charming son had with his father. Thus his circumspection in every affair was beyond description.

*His forgiving nature and his habit of veiling
the faults of others.*

It was his innate nature to strive to please every man, and it was his natural temper not to make much of the faults of people.

When a man stole from his granary a large quantity of grain, the superintendent found the clue and caught the thief. The Nawwāb who came to know of this said, "He is free from the crime of stealing as he had permission to take any quantity of corn he required. It is necessary that you should leave him unmolested".

The straightforward nature of the Nawwāb.

He was truth-speaking to such an extent that he would never, for any reason, utter a word contrary to facts. When he was a servant of Muḥammad Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh [1658-1707], one day the Pādshāh asked him in the Darbār-i-'Ām, "Have any of your ancestors ever served under a Pādshāh or is it only your good fortune that you have found service under this proud dignity?" He submitted his reply in the following manner. "My ancestors had such a nice sense of honour that they did not have the mean aspiration that I have." When the Pādshāh heard this straightforward reply, he stroked his royal moustache and hid his face some little space with the corner of his gown.

After a time he raised his head and said " Indeed : Oh Shaykh Aqdas (holy master)! You have spoken the truth." From that day he got this holy title. In the whole of Pādshāh's army he was not known by any other name except by the name Shaykh Aqdas.

His fulfilling of promises and his amenable nature.

A cunning and needy fellow came to Shājahānābād (Delhi) ⁽¹⁾ in search of employment and approached one of the Amirs by name Mukhlis Khān, one of the trusted friends of the Nawwāb. He introduced himself as the nephew of the Nawwāb, got into a situation and made himself so trustworthy that in spite of his daring thefts he escaped punishment because he happened to be a relation of the Nawwāb and the Amir had to be blind to his faults. At a time when this spotless person was present at Shājahānābād the impostor hastened to meet him.

(1) Shājahānābād—(or Mughal Delhi) was founded by the Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1638 and named after him. It extends for nearly two miles and a quarter along the right bank of the Jamna. The accepted number of Muḥammadan cities in Delhi is 7, and the new British capital, now completed is the eighth city. Their names and dates are as follows:—

(1) Old Delhi, built on the site of the older Hindu capital by the Slave Kings, and now represented mainly by the Qutb Minār and the Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque.

(2) Siri, built by 'Ala-'ud-Dīn Khilji about 1303 A.D., some three miles to the north-east of Old Delhi, and now represented only by remnants of its walls.

(3) Tughlaqābād, built by the first Tughlaq Sultan in 1321, some four miles to the east of Old Delhi, marked now by the remnants of its palace and the still perfect tomb of its founder.

(4) Jahānpanāh built by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq in 1327 with the view of joining Siri and Old Delhi.

(5) Fayrōzābād, built about 1354 by Fayrōz Tughlaq, about 8 miles north of Old Delhi and just outside the south—east corner of the wall of the present City. An Asoka pillar was planted on a high platform in it.

(6) The Purāna Qil'a, otherwise known as Indrapat, probably begun by Humāyūn and completed by Shāh Jahān (1540-45). It contains Shāh Jahān's Mosque and also Humāyūn's Tomb just outside.

(7) Shājahānābād, built by Shāh Jahān, containing the Fort or Red Palace and the Jumm'a Masjid. Its walls are even now kept in good preservation—*Vide* H. Sharp—*Delhi; Its Story and Buildings*.

Creating a good impression on the mind of the Nawwāb he utilised it for seeking pardon for his barefaced lie, submitted the dire state of his poverty he had been in, and prayed excuse for his boldness. The Nawwāb was by nature a philanthropist; his mind's eye saw nobility only in all men, as he had been practising, in his daily life, the saying of the Prophet "Verily the Faithfuls are all brethren." Not only therefore did he excuse him for his lie but also allowed him ownership over all his stolen property, admitted him in his family as his nephew, and proclaimed him as one of the legal heirs entitled to the income of the *jāgīr*. After his death, his descendants also rose in the esteem of the rightful heirs.

His ready wit.

In his command of Arabic he was one of the most skilled men of his time, and his mastery over Persian was almost unique. When he had been to obtain the rewards of pilgrimage (*Hajj*) and incidentally got the chance of mingling with the society of Arabs, he happened to be present one day at the *majlis* of the *Sharīf* of Makka—may Allah increase its fame and glory—and see a crowd of people each applying his whole strength to open a lock. But the difficulty increased, for with all the exercise of their intelligence, nobody could succeed in opening it. Then, the Nawwāb set his hand to it, successfully opened it and gave it to the owner. The Qāzi of the place who was present in that assembly, addressed him in Arabic thus "Thou art the opener of locks". He replied, "Oh! Thou Qāzi! But you are, rather, the untier of knots". Because the expression "Untier of Knots" is more appropriate to a Qāzi, the *Sharīf* of that holy place appreciated the ready wit and wonderingly addressed the Qāzi, "Oh Thou Qāzi, *Hāji* Muḥammad Anwar is more at home than you in Arabic." In short, how can we narrate the skill and excellence of this praise-worthy personality, unrivalled in his age, when it is well nigh impossible to relate one in a thousand and a few out of many! Hence, I propose by the Grace of Muḥammad, his family, and his followers—May God bless them all, to detail briefly only a few of the high and dignified ranks attained in this world by him who in fact was a medium for the shining of God's grace.

*His attaining high ranks in the Court of the Emperor
Shāh Jahān.*

When a gardener desires to reap plenty from his rose-plants, he sows seeds so that they may mix with the earth and shoot out tendrils and have a good growth. When the exaltation of the rank of a man of position is agreeable to the Great Administrator of the Universe [viz., Allah], He sends him some little rubs in the position occupied by him so that he, in the strength of his power and glory attached to his rank, may yet feel very thankful for the benefits [conferred by Allah], increase his own glory and power and have mercy on His creation. The details of these facts are as follows: when Nawwāb Hājī Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur came of age, he reached Shāh-jahānābād with the object of acquiring knowledge. His excellence became known in the city. With the favour of the Emperor Shāhjahān, he got into service and became the most distinguished and esteemed of all public servants. He was entrusted with the management of *Taṣbīḥkhāna*⁽¹⁾ and was granted excellent *jāgīrs*. Thus, day by day, his position and status became broad-based at the great court.

According to the facts related in the History of Khāfi Khān,⁽²⁾ when great confusion prevailed in the management of the mighty government and in the internal affairs of the realm

(1) *Taṣbīḥkhāna* A chapel where praises of Allah are celebrated, generally ejaculations of phrases like *Ṣubḥānallāh* (O! Holy Creator! Mercy on us! Deliver us from!) and *Bismillah* (In the name of Allah) are uttered.

(2) *Khāfi Khān* (The Historian); Muḥammad Hāshim, also called Hāshim 'Alī Khān, was a resident of Delhi and the son of *Khawāja Mīr*, also a historian and an officer of high rank in the service of Prince *Murād Baksh* and later of *Awrangzēb*. Muḥammad Hāshim was also in *Awrangzēb's* service and sent by the Viceroy of Gujrat on a mission to the English at Bombay. In the reign of *Farrukh Siyar* (1713-19) he was raised to the rank of a *Diwān* by *Nizām-ul-mulk* and "wrote with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief." Hence he is sometimes designated *Nizām-ul-Mulki*.

He privately compiled a minute register of all the events of *Awrangzēb's* reign which he published some years after that monarch's death. His work is a complete history of the house of *Timur*; but the portion down to the close of *Akbar's* reign is condensed. The one hundred and thirty years that succeeded the death of *Akbar* (1605-1735) are fully detailed; and the last

owing to the civil war (1657-58) between Dārā Shukōh and Muḥammad Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh, he went to Gopāmaw. Owing to the confused state of the kingdom, he chose that place and thought it advisable, in the circumstances, to stay there.

At the time Awrangzēb ascended the royal throne and increased its splendour, Anwaru'd-Dīn made his appearance in obedience to the summons of the Sultan in order to obtain his favour. In the course of the interview, he submitted to the Pādshāh the manuscript copy of a treatise by Muḥammad Ghazzālī, written in the author's own hand. The Pādshāh was highly pleased and said, "It is our earnest desire for a long time to possess a copy of this treatise and this is writ on the tablets of our heart.⁽¹⁾ Undoubtedly, this man is a saint, the knower of the heart [of others]". In short, the Emperor immediately granted him his previous *jāgīr* and post along with additional *jāgīrs* and appointments. In accordance with the title given by the Pādshāh himself, as detailed above, he came

fifty-three years of this period were written for his own personal observation and from the verbal accounts of men who had watched the events of time. Probably he had composed the first half of his work, before he was stopped by Awrangzēb's orders, but he continued to note down secretly the subsequent history of the reign; and it is said that the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was so pleased with the history that he ennobled the author with the title of "Khāfi Khān," the word "Khāfi" meaning "concealed." But Professor Dowson regards "Khāfi" as a gentilitious name denoting the country whence the historians family sprang, viz., Khāf or Khawāf, a district of Khurāsān near Nāishapur; and the historian was called the son of Khawāja Mīr Khāfi; and he himself gives his father's name as Mīr Khawāfi.

Elphinstone was the first English historian to fully avail himself of Khawāfi Khān's history which was partially translated before his time. The text has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It is a contemporary history of Awrangzēb's reign with a high and well deserved repute, and copious English extracts are given in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*—Vol. VII pp. 207-503. The History is entitled *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb Muḥammad Shāhi* or more shortly *Tārīkh-i-Khāfi-Khān*.

(1) Compare this with Shaykh Abul Faḍl presenting Emperor Akbar, on his first appearance at court, with a commentary on the *Āyatul Kursi* (Throne-verse) as an offering—see p. XII of Introduction of Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr.) Vol. I (1873).

to be known among the high and low as "Shaykh Aqdas". With his tried feet once again on the ladder, he reached the summit of distinction. As his natural talent was inclined to exhibit itself in the management of the realm, and his mettle was pre-eminent in the administration of the state, his skilful management of the affairs entrusted to him made him a favourite of the Sultan. With his appointment as Peshkār to the Bakhshi-i-Awwal, and to other important affairs by His Imperial Majesty, with the excellent title of Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān, and with the gradual increase in the regard for his ability, he attained to great *manṣab* till the desire to visit the two holy and illustrious places, Makka and Madina—May Allah increase their fame and glory—became dominant in his mind and the attainment of this pious wish became the one object of his desire.

The starting of Nawwāb Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur to visit the two holy and illustrious places; his obtaining a certificate, entitling him to be the Farrāsh of these two holy places, bearing the seal and signature of the Sultan of Rūm; his return to the country of Hindustan and taking service under Muḥammad Awrangzēb 'Alamgīr Pādshāh; his attaining eminence with the increase of manṣab and with the title of "Bahādur" owing to the exhibition of his economy, and sincerity; his arrival in the Deccan in the company of the Pādshāh, and his walking gracefully in the Garden of Eden (his death).

Men endowed with all the virtues of mankind and possessed of authority and high ambition, are not satisfied without striving in matters of religion as well. Even when busy seeking the comforts of the world, they give priority to things that pertain to the hereafter. To them the achievement of their power forms the capital to be invested in the right path, and they are considered by them to be the means of the welfare of the creatures of God.

When Nawwāb Hāji Muḥammad Anwar-u'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur was getting promotion at court and when he was rising in the ranks of the Government, he attained tranquility of mind

by providing means of livelihood for his people and family, and requested permission of the Pādshāh to visit the two holy and illustrious places. He was given three lakhs of rupees from the Imperial Treasury for *nadh*r, alms and distribution among the gentle, Sayyids and others. After observing in all willingness, the usual rules of a pilgrim, he travelled through Gopāmaw, his native place, where he took as his provision for the journey the good-will and satisfaction of his family and relatives, while his tongue was engaged in pouring pearl-like words of comfort to them, and his faithful mind filled with joy at the prospect of visiting the shrines next to his heart. Thus he became a traveller on the right path, and an enterprising soul for the betterment of his condition in the next world.

The goods were unloaded at the port of Surat, where he invested the trust money of three lakhs, in various kinds of merchandise with a view to make more money and thus to multiply the stock of blessings. Then he embarked on a ship and landed at the port of Jiddah, where all the bags were opened and the commodities offered for sale to the pilgrims. As piously desired by him, he realised large profit by the grace of Allah. He made nine lakhs of rupees including the capital and the profit. Then he distributed the amount among the great men and the gentle of holy Makka and got receipts. After achieving the glory of pilgrimage,⁽¹⁾ and going round the holy *Baytullāh*⁽²⁾ (Ka'ba) and performing 'Umras⁽³⁾ and other rites, he found his

(1) Pilgrimage (Hajj) lit. 'setting out,' 'tending towards'. The pilgrimage to Makka performed in the month of *Dhul-Hajjah*, the twelfth month of the Muslim year. It is the fifth pillar of Muslim practical religion, and an incumbent religious duty founded upon express injunctions in the Qurān. The performance of the pilgrimage is incumbent upon every Muslim, once in his life time, if he be an adult, free, sane, well in health and has sufficient money for the expenses of the journey, and for the support of his family during his absence.

(2) "The sacred Mosque." The temple at Makka which contains the Ka'ba in which is placed the *Hajru'l-Aswad* or Black Stone. The term *Baytullāh* or House of God is applied to the whole enclosure, although it more especially denotes the Ka'ba itself.

(3) 'Umrah. A visit to the sacred mosque at Makka with the ceremonies of encompassing the Ka'ba and running between *As-Safa* and *Al-Marwah*. It is a meritorious act.

efforts born of unsullied intentions, and of resolute attempts bearing fruits in his cries of "*Labbayk*⁽¹⁾." Thence he went to the holy city of Madina, the Illuminated, where he had the happiness to visit the tomb of the Prophet. (May Allah's blessing be on him.) He distributed gifts among the gentle of that place and obtained receipts. He stayed there for three years at the house of *Shaykh* 'Abdur-Rahmān-al-'Āshiqi, one of the saints of the age. From there, he used to go on a pilgrimage every year to Makka. Thus so long as he stayed there he made the house of the *Shaykh* the pivot of his movement, and the centre of the compass of his ramblings. During this period, he made constant visits to saints and learned men and cultivated their friendship greatly.

The *sanad* of the "*Farrāshi*"⁽²⁾ in the two shrines given to him by the Sultan of Rūm [Constantinople] with his seal and signature is even now preserved by the Grace of that Exalted Preserver in the *Qalamdān*⁽³⁾ of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā. Further the *sanad* of the 'Illuminator' in the above two shrines was obtained by Ḥaḍrat A'lā from the court of the 'Usmaniyya King through the English Company whose *vakīl* was present then in that *darbār*. In the second book I propose to unveil the facts relating to the acquisition of this latter *sanad*. Thus with the increased personal distinctions he held his head high up to the heaven of glory.

(1) It refers to the pilgrim's song which he recites or sings with a loud voice, at different periods in the pilgrimage. The song is called *Talbiyah* a word signifying waiting or standing for orders. In Arabic it runs thus;

Labbayka ! Allāhumma ! Labbayk !
Innal ḥamda wa'n-ni'mata laka wa'l mulku laka !
Lāsharika laka !

(Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī) P. 210.

I stand up for thy service ! Oh Allah ! I stand up ! I stand up !
I stand up ! There is no partner with thee ! I stand up !
Verily thine is the Praise, the Blessing and the Kingdom !

For details about the orthodox way of performing the pilgrimage, see Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī, Kitābul Manāsik, P. 205.

(2) The business of a *Farrāsh*. *Farrāsh* is one who spreads carpets. It is a post-classical word.

(3) *Scrinium* (latin), a chest for writing materials.

On leaving these two shrines, he travelled by sea and landed at the port of Surat safely. Thence he proceeded through Gopāmaw, with the desire of reaching the presence of the Pādshāh and had the honour of meeting him. For the nine lakhs of rupees distributed in those two shrines as gifts among the gentle and the pious, he submitted receipts bearing signatures with designations. Thus he gave proof of trustworthiness as well as skilful management. He rose high in the estimation of the Pādshāh who was pleased with him and rewarded him with the title of 'Bahādur' and the personal *manṣab* of two thousand, and two thousand horses. Thus he raised aloft his head to the heaven of glory. Since then, the title of 'Hāji' also was added to his name with other titles. He could now reckon himself with pride as one of the select few associated with the glorious administration. He left Hindustan in the company of the Pādshāh [*cir.* 1683] and came to the Deccan. After his arrival at Khujasta Bunyād Awrangābād, he fell ill. On the 5th of the blessed Ramaḍān of the year 1110 A. H. he reached the presence of the Eternal Sovereign, and had the privilege of sharing the Eternal Honour. His coffin was brought to Gopāmaw and interred by the side of the tomb of Shaykh Makhdūm 'Abdul Ḥayy his venerable ancestor. He left behind him two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān and one daughter were born to him by the wife married from his own famous clan. His younger son Hāji 'Abdullāh and another daughter were born to the lady married from outside his tribe. May Allah's mercy be upon all of them for ever!

*The events preceding the birth of Nawwāb Sirajū'd-Dawla
Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur
Shahāmat Jang,*

Though Nawwāb Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur had many children, all of them except those mentioned above, died young. He had lost all hopes of seeing the light of the candle of youth in any of them, and so he longed eagerly forever to possess a son blessed with long life; this was his only wish in life.

The dream of the Nawwāb, its interpretation, the good news of the birth of a beloved son.

On a certain night, which can be compared either to the bright dawn, or the sleeve of the hand of happiness, while in sleep (the sleep that is the collyrium of the ever wakeful eye, and is also the veil of the beauty of Permanent Power) he saw a holy man with a shining countenance. The great brilliance of his appearance could be considered sufficient to favour a thousand dawns of hope and to repel a hundred nights of despair and give joyful news instead. This holy man placed in his hands a luminous pearl that had the light and appearance of dignity and eminence, nay it was a star rising gloriously and felicitously. Next morning the story of the night was referred to the foremost saint and learned man of the day, a man of angelic character, namely Mawlawī Wajū'd-Dīn II, a resident of Gopāmaw. He gave the interpretation that the All-Giving Grace of the Generous Lord would bless him with a son endowed with long life.

The Nawwāb's noble mother hearing a voice from heaven that she would be blessed with a noble son.

One night, the After-midnight-prayer being over, the noble mother was praying with great sorrow and grief for the birth of a son, when she heard a voice from heaven, "you will get a son of high rank and the desire of your heart will then have acquired its pearl of happiness." As soon as she heard this, she raised her head from the ground, and bowed her head to the ground twice in prayer, and offered thanks.

The dream of the Nawwāb's maternal grand-mother about his birth.

His grand-mother was a descendant from the *Sayyids* of the pure lineage of Kirmān, ⁽¹⁾ the most distinguished residents

(1) *Kirmān* is the name given to a place in the Bangash country between Kabul and Bannu. (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II., p. 221, note); and it is also the name given to the region west of Sind in Baluchistan, adjacent to the desert of Sijistan (*Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 14, 27, 33 and 151). Kirman was ruled by a dynasty of rulers known as the Kutluḡh Khāns between 1222 A. D. and 1308 A.D., who were vassals to the Mongols of Persia.

of Khayrābād.⁽¹⁾ The fire of sorrow at the death of her seven worthy sons was kindled in the oven of her heart. One night she saw in her dream an unknown hand placing on her stomach a candle while the rays of its light shone from the east to the west. When she awoke, she thought that in view of her widowhood the result would be one of impossibilities. Reflecting a while, she concluded that the light present in the lamp must be in the house of her daughter viz., the wife of Nawwāb Hājī Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur. Immediately, she sent a man to Gopāmaw to inquire of her daughter's welfare. The man returned with the news that she would soon be blessed with a son. A few days later the lucky son, the beauty that adorns the world, the figure that soothes the mind, was born in an auspicious hour. Because he was an ornament in the world of the life of his parents, he got the name Jān-i-Jahān [The life of the world].

The happy facts about Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang.

In the illustrious geneology of our Ḥaḍrat A'lā, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur is of the twenty-ninth generation from the beginning of Islam. Because his birth took place in army quarters, he got the surname, Lashkari. The spring is the index of the year; even so since his boyhood he was a strict observer of the obligatory prayers ⁽²⁾ and the practices of the Prophet.

(1) (Khayrābād)— a town in the district and *tahsil* of Sitapur (U. P.) situated on the Lucknow-Bareilly Railway. It is said to have been founded by one Khaira, a Parsi in the 11th century. More probably the name was given by the Muslims to an older town on the same site; it has been identified with Masachhatra, an ancient holy place. A governor was stationed here by the early Sultans of Delhi; and under Akbar it was the capital of a Sarkar. A number of temples and mosques are situated in the town; and some of them go back to the time of Akbar.

(2) Prayer or Ṣalāt (Arabic) is the second of the five foundations or pillars of practical religion in Islam. It is a devotional exercise which every Muslim is required to render to God five times a day, namely, at the early morning mid-day, afternoon, evening, and night.

He did not neglect the optional side of the prayers, and from his seventh year he, along with his mother, used to say the After-midnight-prayer. He continued to do so till the day of his martyrdom. In a day and a night he used to utter twelve-thousand salutations to the Prophet. He would not exchange words in the middle of one hundred salutations. In consideration of the faith he had for his religion he may be classed as one of the saints of his age. In the management of the affairs of the world he was the Aristotle of his time. He was far from lying, back-biting and other sins big and small. Throughout his life he never got anything from an unclean hand. When he heard at Gopāmaṇḍ of the death of his great father, his heart was wounded with the grief of his having become an orphan and he was perturbed. He saw that patience was a virtue unto the faithful. Still he consoled and comforted the members of his family and engrossed himself so much with his attempts to walk in the footsteps of his ancestors, providing for his family, and setting right his other affairs, that his mind got unburdened of all sorrow. It is not possible to put in writing all his praiseworthy habits, yet I shall try to detail some of them.

The pure heart and the miraculous deeds of the Nawwāb.

During the days of his *nizāmat* at Chicacole, ⁽¹⁾ a man by name Naṣrullāh Khān, one of his relatives, grew angry for no reason and left the service. While taking leave, the deserter said to the Nawwāb thus : "The leg of this beggar is not lame, and the country of Allāh is not narrow." Immediately, the

Thus *Ṣalāt* is one of the most prominent features of Islam and numerous injunctions have been recorded in traditions. The service should be performed in Arabic; the clothes and body of the worshipper should be clean, and the place of prayer should be free from all impurity. It may be said either privately or in company or in a mosque, although services in a mosque are more meritorious than those elsewhere. The prayers are always preceded by the ablution of face, hands and feet.

(1) *Chicacole*, now in the Ganjam District, on the left bank of the Langulya river, four miles from its mouth. It was the headquarters of the Chicacole Sircar, the northernmost of the five northern Sircars, viz., Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Masulipatam and Guntur. It was conquered by the Muslims, even before the time of the Qutb-Shāhi kings of Gol-

Nawwāb retorted with words which produced full effect. "You are wrong. Thy foot is lame and the country of Allāh is narrow for you; extremely destitute, you will never reach any place. With confusion and without any help, you will surely come again to me." The man went some *manzils* and at the border between two contending *zamindāris* he received a gunshot in his leg and became lame. At once he felt wounded in spirit and locked his arms in utter confusion. Before the week was out, he had come back to the court. Inspired by his inborn mercy, the Nawwāb had pity on his condition and took him into favour, a necessary consequence of his character.

It is reported that during the days of his administration at the *ṣūbah* of Farkhunda Bunyād Hyderābād a cancer appeared on his delicate back. The crooked ideas of the crab-like physicians strayed from the road of right understanding that the Almighty Physician would in his mercy dress the wound, and ran in the direction of the impossibility of the cure. Their modes of deliberation and treatment leaned towards hopelessness. When the Nawwāb learnt that the *hakīms* were in despāir, he made a categorical assertion thus: "I don't fear this passing illness, I believe that in due time, the untying of this knot of my life will be done by the nail of a false sword." And the boil healed accordingly. Later, during the days of his *nizamat* in the Carnatic Payanghāt, his martyrdom was brought about by a treacherous sword.

It is reported that in the days of the struggle for the control of Arcot, Shaykh 'Abdullāh, the *mufti* of that place, presented to him a book while feeling inwardly sorry for not having taken a copy of it. At once the Nawwāb inquired of the *mufti*, "Dost thou keep a copy of this book?" When he answered in the negative, he returned the book, and said, "Take a copy and give me the original."

conda, who ruled over it. Later, their successors in rule, the Mughals and the Nazims, held sway over it. Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān, later on Fawajdār of the Carnatic, was the Fawjdar of Chicacole for a number of years. Its cotton industry was advanced and its *muslins* were at one time as famous as those of Dacca. When the English occupied the Sircars (1765-66) Chicacole was continued as the headquarters of the district for a time and remained an important military station.

It is reported that at the time when he stayed at Chicacole, his companion, Sayyid 'Ali Khān, was ill because of his single blessedness. According to the advice of his physicians he resolved to seek the intimacy of a woman to put out the flame of heat. One day he went to the intelligent curer of the disease of the heart, the knower of the causes and symptoms of internal happenings. As soon as the Nawwāb saw him, he began to address him thus: "We too, during our long service in the army of the Pādshāh, were youthful, lived a celibate life and never defiled our garments with great sins. The bridle of youth should not be placed in the hands of deceitful Satan. The lightning of adultery should not burn the store-house of chastity." The man trembled at this severe rebuke and sought pardon. He corrected all his friends who were putting sinful ideas in him by explaining the miraculous skill of their master in mind-reading.

Again, at the time when his celibacy was prolonged and his illness became worse, people who believed in expediency were unanimous on this point, and said "Necessity behoves the breaking of celibacy for the preservation of health and the curing of the illness. Perhaps, the stray rebuke is not intended to be binding on you for ever. At any rate, it is a question of the preservation of health and it must be considered." Thus the old idea again came back and the promise was broken. When the Nawwāb learnt this, he wondered at his forgetting the previous warning and with great vehemence rebuked him and said, "Your Shi'a sect makes *muta'* (1) lawful and it is better

(1) *Muta'* lit. "enjoyment". A marriage contracted for a limited period, for a certain sum of money. Such marriages are still legal among the Shi'as, and exist in Persia to the present day (Malcolm's *Persia*), but they are considered to be unlawful by the *sunnis*. According to the Imāmiyya code of jurisprudence, the following are the conditions of *muta'* or "temporary marriages." There must be declaration and acceptance, as in the case of *nikāh*, and the subject of the contract must be either a Muslimah, a Christian, or a Jewess; she should be chaste, and due enquires should be made into her conduct, as it is abominable to enter into a contract with a woman addicted to fornication, nor is it lawful to make such a contract with a virgin who has no father. Some dower must be specified, and if there is failure

here to prefer that and shun the evil act." At this vehement assertion, the man sought sincere pardon, and never afterwards entertained such sinful ideas.

It is reported that at the time of the increase in his glory at the *ṣūbah* of Natharnagar (Trichinopoly), some pomegranates were brought to his presence one day. Since he would never eat anything between two meals, he beckoned to the superintendent of the store-house to remove them and serve them during meals. A member of the Kāyastha community, named Manu Lāl, who was the *munshi* of the Nawwāb (and who during the reign of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'īlā rose to eminence, and got the right to ride an elephant and the title of 'Rāj') was seated in a corner of the *maylis*, writing letters. He desired in his mind to possess one of these pomegranates. In the meantime they were being removed, and carried away from sight with the result that his hope was gradually giving place to despair, and he confessed in his mind, that he would be satisfied with even half a pomegranate. The mouth of his desire, like an unripe pomegranate, had the teeth of greed quite hidden from sight, yet inwardly he was glad of the idea of the sweetness of the grains of greed. The Nawwāb, the reader of all hidden thoughts, the observer of the hopes and disappointments of the heart, the grantor of desires in anticipation, became aware of the hope the *munshi* entertained from the beginning till he satisfied himself with even half the fruit. After completing one hundred salutations in the middle of which he would never speak, he ordered the pomegranates to be brought back. He gave them to him, and spoke as follows: "In this free world, gardens which yield fruits generously to all are plenty; why then limit your desire to one or a half? Why such a bargain? In the store of the common table of universal beneficence, restriction to one or two morsels of food shows lack of under-

in this respect, the contract is void. There must also be a fixed period, but its extent is left entirely to the parties. It may be a year, a month, or a day. Only some limit must be distinctly specified so as to prevent the period from any extension or diminution. *Muta'* marriages do not admit of divorce or repudiation, but the parties become absolutely separated on the expiration of the period. (Baillie's Digest).

standing." All those present were astonished at this, and without any dissenting voice they testified to his knowledge of other minds.

It is reported that during his stay in Hindustan in winter, one morning he sent for his woollen cloak to warm himself with. One of those present resolved in his mind, as a test case, to verify the truth of his knowledge of hidden thoughts, and desired the gift of the shawl to himself. Then he wended his way homewards. When the woollen cloak was brought to the Nawwāb he sent it to the tester with the news that it behoved him to remove the doubt from his mind. The man sought his pardon, and from that time became a fully convinced man.

It is reported that, during his *nizāmat*⁽¹⁾ at Chicacole, he sat at table one day for breakfast as usual, after the early-morning prayer. The Dārūgha [superintendent] of the kitchen, who was unclean the previous night, and who could find no time for his bath⁽²⁾, the breakfast hour having drawn near, took in his hand the hot bread folded in a white cloth, while the tray was carried by another. When the Nawwāb's eyes fell on the bread, he refrained from touching it, and partook of the rest. He signed to the servant to take away the bread, and use it for himself. The Dārūgha put this down to chance, and gave it no thought. Some days later the man repeated the act. But this time the mandate came in all its dignity. As on the previous occasion, this pure and mighty personality did not put forth his hand to touch the bread. Calling aside the Dārūgha.

(1) Office of *Nāzim*, an administrator of police and criminal law.

(2) *Ghusl* is the religious act of bathing the whole body after a legal impurity. It is founded upon the express injunction of the Qurān, *Sūra* v, 9. "If you are polluted then purify yourselves." And the Traditions most minutely relate the occasions on which the Prophet performed the ceremony of *ghusl*, or bathing. The Muslim teachers of all sects are unanimous in prescribing the washing of the whole body after the following acts, which render the body *junub* or impure (1) *ḥays* menses; (2) *nifās*; puerperium (3) *ḡimā*: coitus (4) *ihṭilām*: pollutio nocturna. It is absolutely necessary that every part of the body should be washed, for Ali relates that the Prophet said, "He who leaves but one hair unwashed on his body, will be punished in hell accordingly." (*Mishkāt*, book ii, c, viii).

the Nawwāb explained to him the nature of his observances: "We do not take food from unclean hands and so we refrain from touching the bread brought to us. During the time of uncleanness, talking to others and moving about outside the house are opposed to the good manners of Muslims, and approach the habits of Satan. In future, think it necessary to refrain from such habits, and do not involve yourself with these sins." The Dārūgha sought forgiveness, and from that day became a believer in his purity. Never did he afterwards move about during his unclean hours.

It is reported that during his *nizāmat* at Farkhunda Bunyād Haydarābād he called out to a man in the early morning to entrust him with some service. He was unclean and wished to take a bath, but had to respond to the call forthwith. On approaching the Nawwāb he submitted *nadhṛ*; the holy Nawwāb asked a companion of his, to take the *nadhṛ* and he would not touch it with his own hands.⁽¹⁾

His respect and consideration for men of rank.

During the period of his *nizāmat* at Chicacole, Muḥammad Munīrū'd-Dīn Khān, his uncle's son, remarked of a musician, a new-comer and a melodious singer, that every *majlis* enjoyed his songs, and spoke much in praise of him. The Nawwāb, in spite of his dislike of such things, sent for the musician out of regard for the feelings of his brother. As soon as he saw the

(1) * * * A story relating to the chaste life of the Nawwāb has been omitted as being of minor importance, the language also being very courtly. The gist of it is as follows:—He engaged a young girl for a night's stay with him. But during his sun-set prayer he realised his folly and fled into the jungle close by and spent the night in prayer. The girl waited throughout the night and went away. The Nawwāb returned home in the morning.

A story how he exercised his influence even after his death runs thus in brief:—During the time of Haḍrat A'īn when *fātiḥa* was said in memory of the Nawwāb Shahīd and food was distributed on the occasion; one Nāith recipient remarked that the food was not good and the Nawwāb, had he been alive, would not have relished it. That very night he dreamt a dream wherein he saw a spacious building in the midst of a garden, and a voice from inside was heard to remark "we are not much concerned with the taste, the benefits alone reaching us." The dreamer woke up a wiser man.

musician at a distance he stood up, hastened forward to the edge of the carpet, embraced him, and seated him with great honour and respect. Instead of desiring to listen to the music, he began to discharge the duties of a host. The people present in the *majlis*, when they witnessed the respect shown to the musician, were astonished and asked him the reason for it. He replied, "At the time of our stay at *Shāhjahānābād*, we knew this gentleman to be the descendant of the Amirs of the royal court. Among the grandees of the city he was respected and honoured. As we used to meet this gentleman in the royal court with great respect, we considered it impolite to forget our regard for past acquaintances even after the lapse of a long time. By seeing his [present] poverty, we do not refrain from showing him courtesy as of old." And those in the assembly ascertained the real facts, and found out the truth of all that had fallen from the true lips of the Nawwāb.

His kindness, his protection of relatives, the elegance of his speech and the grace of his wit.

With the members of his family and relations he was generous, kind, compassionate, and merciful to such an extent that, when one day a man submitted to him, "Such and such a person from among your own relations showed his own son great kindness and love," he replied, "As long as we live, no one is considered to be the father of any son, and no one should understand himself to be the father of any son. Instead, they all should consider us alone as their father". There are many stories of a similar strain. How much space will they occupy! There are innumerable statements of this kind. Only a few can be narrated.

The elegance of his free speech cannot be exhausted by narration. Space does not allow the recording of his graceful wit. For example, the word "*barkhur-dār*", besides its clear meaning, has a graceful explanation given by him. This brings out the germ of pleasantry with great nicety. To "*bar*" he gave the meaning "*barinda bāsh*" meaning by "*barinda*" worthy of fresh success, and inconceivable bounty. "*khur*" means "*khurinda bāsh*," meaning by "*khurinda*"

achiever of useful ideas and accomplisher of strong desires. By "*dār*" he means "*dārinda bāsh*" meaning by "*dārinda*" the possessor of advantageous goods, the preserver of all his achievements.

The Daily Programme of the Nawwāb.⁽¹⁾

The Generous Administrator never desires His elect to be unemployed, and keeps them engaged in their glorious hours in important affairs pleasing to Him. In accordance with this, the hours in a day and a night of the Nawwāb of dignified titles were distributed to different kinds of work. Every minute he was engaged in doing some work.

He woke up at three in the morning. After attending to the usual calls of nature, he performed his ablutions and said the after-midnight prayers. Then he used to read the Qurān, and say his early-morning prayer. Before sun-rise he took his usual morning meal. For a period of about an hour he would rest himself. He would then wake up, perform his ablutions, and with the name of Allah on his lips and the rosary in hand,

(1) Compare this with the daily programme of the life of Emperor Awrangzēb—

A. M. 5—Early-Morning Prayer.

7-30—Justice in Private Chamber.

8-30—Darsan.

9-15—Public Durbar.

11-0—Private Audience.

11-50—Harem—Siesta.

P. M. 2—Zuhr Prayer.

2-30—Private Chamber, study, Aṣr Prayer etc.

5-30—Evening Salute in the Private Audience Hall,
Sunset Prayer.

6-40—Soiree in the Diwān-i-Khāṣ.

7-40—Court Dismissed—Isha Prayer.

8-0—In the Harem.

Compare also with the daily routine of Sher Shāh's life as given by Abbās Khān Sarwani in his *Tarīkh-i-Sher-Shāhī* (tr. in Vol. IV of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, pp. 410—11).

he would engage himself till noon in the *Darbar-i-Ām*, attending to the important affairs of administration. Again, for the space of about an hour, he would take rest. Then he would get up, perform his ablutions and say his mid-day prayer, thus engaging himself in devotion to the Creator. At about 2 p.m. he busied himself with household duties. After taking his meal, he took his seat in the court yard of the *diwān-sarāi* under the open sky in the company of men of learning and rank. In the same company he would say the evening prayer, sun-set prayer, and the after-sun-set prayer. He would then sit with his friends and his relatives without ever trying to begin the conversation. By 9 o'clock at night, he endeavoured to finish twelve thousand salutations to the Prophet. Then he rested himself for the night.

The sons and daughters of the Nawwāb.

The Supreme God had in his bounty blessed him with five sons and seven daughters. The eldest son, Badru'l-Islām, with the title of Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang, occupied the post of the *Nāib-wazīr* in the court of Delhi in the place of his exalted father. The second son, Muḥammad Maḥfūz with the title of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, an ocean of learning and virtues, was, along with four sisters, born of the same mother.

The third son is Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā. By the Grace of Allah he is the possessor of happiness, honour, position, exalted rank and grandeur; the circulator of the coin of prosperity, and ruler of the mighty kingdom. He is Muḥammad 'Alī by name, with the titles Nawwāb Wālājāh, Amīru'l-Hind 'Umdatul-Mulk Āṣafu'd-Dawla, Muḥammad 'Alī Anwaru'd-Dīn Khan Bahādur Zafar Jang Sipah-sālār, Ṣāhibu's-sayf wal-qalam Mudabbir-i-umūr-i-Ālam Farzand-i-āzīz-az-jān, which he got from the exalted Pādshāh, Sultan of the provinces of Hindustan, 'Abu'l-Muẓaffar Jalālu'd-Dīn Shāh Ālam Pādshāh Ghāzi and another title Birādarbi-Jān-barābar, he got from the great and mighty King George of England, [Great Britain]. He was recognised by the two Pādshāhs as the ruler of the Carnatic.

The fourth son, 'Abdul Wahhāb, with the title of Shukōhu'l Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang was born to another wife who also bore the Nawwāb two daughters. The fifth son, Muḥammad Najībullāh, with the title of Muḥammad Najībullāh Khān Bahādur was the only child of another wife. There was a seventh daughter by another wife⁽¹⁾.

The starting of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang for the court of Muḥammad Awrangzēb Ālamgīr Pādshāh because of the arrival of an imperial farmān and in obedience to the counsel of his famous father in a dream.

In this trial ground of joy and sorrow and the testing place of misery and happiness, it is necessary for one and all to bear the tribulations patiently. Manliness makes it incumbent on us to put up with misfortunes. But the pangs of orphanhood, especially at an early age, is a great disaster; the distress of losing a father during childhood is a pathetic occurrence. Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur who became helpless in his young age on account of the removal of the shadow of his great father and who was without a guardian, was often thinking over his present condition and brooding over the future. The Unparalleled Grace, the Best of Givers, removed this curtain of sorrow with His kind hand. One night in his dream, he seemed to visit the tomb of his revered father, who was leaning on it. As soon as he saw his son, he said, "I can't bear the bad reading of the Qurān by the side of my grave. Can't you put a stop to this nuisance." The son replied, "This act will bring me eternal glory and honour. I shall make arrangements for that." Then the father proceeded, "Why do you remain idle here, and undergo sorrow and trouble? It is not advisable for you to draw in your skirt, when you should sally forth and reap the benefits of travel. The opening of your career lies somewhere in the mighty army of the Pādshāh. The stars are favourably inclined towards

1. Here there is a string of verses from Abjadī's *Anwar Nāma* which catalogue the names of the five sons and seven daughters.

you." He submitted, "The fact that I am not known to any one in the army is a thorn in my path. It is not possible to succeed in the midst of a crowd of strangers." The father replied, "With firm faith in Allāh, and without misgivings, go forth to the army of the Pādshāh. Be on the alert to achieve your object. You will find in Mukhlis Khān, an amir who will help you with the Emperor." Thus directed, he determined to leave his home. In the meanwhile, the Great Giver hastened to help him thus:—After the demise of the benign and sincere Nawwāb Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr, the sorrow at the unbearable separation took possession of the bountiful mind of the Pādshāh. Inspired by his innate love for companions and faithful servants, he despatched an imperial *farmān* recorded below—which must be obeyed—seeking his son Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān.

The farmān from Muḥammad Awrangzēb Ālamgīr Pādshāh, the most noble lord, the shadow of Allāh, inviting Nawwāb Sirājū'd-Dawla Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr Shahāmat Jang.

Let Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān the most noble and high person, the best of sons born in the sincere family, the choicest, the most devoted, and an intelligent servant in whom favours meet, know this: That during these weary days our mind is perturbed at the demise of our most devoted servant Shaykh Aqdas Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr, a god-fearing and religious man. He executed the commands of the Pādshāh sincerely and gracefully. We were pleased with him. Such a person is a rarity now. We have come across many, but there is none like him. It is necessary for the head of the family that he be pleased with the decision of God and consider our kindness towards him will increase day by day for the enhancement of his power and prosperity. Be present before us."

When this *farmān* bearing the beautiful title of Shaykh Aqdas and addressed to Hāji Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr reached Nawwāb Sirājū'd-Dawla Bahādūr, he understood that its arrival was the harbinger of the fulfilment of his

desire. His mind's eye was filled with the light of excessive happiness. With joy and pride he took leave of his family and relations, and wended his way towards the presence of the Emperor.

When he approached the victorious army, he was welcomed by one of the trusted administrators of government. He obtained the honour of an interview, and was shown great kindness and consideration. He was granted *jāgīrs*, and entrusted with the post occupied by his noble father. All these he achieved with the help of Mukhlis Khān, one of the Amīrs at the court, and thus attained the happy fulfilment of his dreams.

He gets the title of Khān from the Sultān.

It was during the period that Sirājū'd-Dawla was in the service of the Pādshāh, and was entrusted with the posts occupied by his father. The Bakhshi wrote his name in the list and submitted it for the favour of royal signature. The Pādshāh, with his auspicious hand, took out a pen-knife, erased the dot from the position indicating J, put it in the position indicating Kh, and said, "In our service there is one Amīr by name Jān-i-Jahān Khān with the letter J; so, let the name of the son of Hājī Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur be Khān-i-Jahān-Khān. Since then his name was magnified by the title of 'Khān.'

His appointment as Pēshkār to the Dārūgha of the Dīwānkhāna of the Pādshāh.

Amīru'd-Dīn Khān, the Dārūgha of the Dīwānkhāna of the Pādshāh, saw that a Hindu was his Pēshkār, and submitted one day to the Pādshāh, "This slave, on account of his true belief, thinks that this Dīwānkhāna is as exalted as Makkah the Revered, and Madīnah the Illuminated. It is not desirable that an impure Hindu should enter this Dīwānkhāna. So it is prayed that a Muslim be appointed to the post of Pēshkār." The Pādshāh read the petition, and added after 'Makkah the Glorious,' 'May Allāh increase its fame and glory' and after 'Madīnah the Illuminated,' 'May my soul be ransom to thee Oh, Prophet of Allāh!' (May Allāh bless him and his family),

and on the sentence, 'It is not desirable that an impure Hindu should enter this Dīwānkhāna', he wrote, 'May Allāh reward you both here and hereafter!'; then he endorsed the petition as follows: "Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Khān, the son of Muḥammad Anwar'u'd-Dīn Khān, is young and a newcomer; still the deceit and fraud of soldiers are not found in him; and he is not familiar with the habits of soldiers. He is industrious, careful, honest, and devout. He may be appointed to this post; let the affairs be entrusted to him." From that day, he was engaged in the management of the Dīwānkhāna of the Pādshāh, and thus gradually rose from high offices to an enviable position of glory and dignity.

He gets the title of his illustrious father, and is distinguished with the title of Bahādur by the Emperor.

During the period of his climbing the ladder of power, an army, in obedience to the orders of Muḥammad Awrangazēb Ālamgīr Pādshāh, hastened one day to punish the enemy. It happened that in the course of battle in a hilly country the army was besieged by the superior number of the enemy, and was reduced to narrow straits. The reins of firmness were about to slacken from the hands of the royal forces, and the feet of heroes to lose ground. Jumlatu'l Mulk Asad Khān Bahādur,⁽¹⁾ Wazīr of the far-flung frontiers of Hindustan, learnt

(1) *Jumlatu'l-Mulk Asad Khān Bahādur*, entitled Āsafu'd-Dawla and Jumlatu'l-Mulk was descended from an illustrious Turkoman family. His father had fled from Persia to escape the oppression of Shāh Abbās and settled in Hindustan in the service of the Emperor Jahāngīr who raised him to high rank with the title of Dhulfaqār Khān and married him to the daughter of a relation of the Empress Nūr Jahān. His son, Asad Khān, (born 1631 A.D.) was very early noticed by Shāh Jahān, who married him to a daughter of his Wazīr (Āsafī Khān). He was promoted to the office of Second Bakhshi which he held till 1671 A. D., when he was raised to the rank of 4,000 horse and a few years later to the post of Wazīr and the rank of 7,000. From 1684 he served continuously in the Deccan; and on Bahādur Shāh's accession he was made *Wakīl-i-Muṭlaq* with the titles of Nizāmū'l-Mulk Āsafu'd-Dawla; and his son Dhulfaqār Khān was made his deputy at court with the titles of *Samṣāmū'd-Dawla* Amīrū'l-Umara Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang. (Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, revised edition, p. 80; and W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, vol. I, pp. 9 and 39.)

through dispatches the conditions of the army and the necessity of sending another army for help, and immediately hastened to the presence of the Pādshāh. The Emperor was then engaged in the *Taṣbīḥkhāna*, it was not the *darbār* hour, and so he could not pay his respects. This helpless man requested Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, then Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Khān the Dārūgha of the *Taṣbīḥkhāna*, to convey his message. The Pādshāh usually observed silence between the evening and sunset prayers, and so Khān-i-Jahān Khān stood near the curtain, and represented the facts. Just when the facts regarding the army were being represented, he heard the sound of the recitation of the verse, "*Bismillāh'ir-rahmān'ir-rahīm wallāhu akbar*,"⁽¹⁾ coming from within the curtain, which he misinterpreted as an order and caused it to reach the Wazīr that Raḥmān Khān and Raḥīm Khān, the two *risāladārs* of the royal *chawki* should with the *akbarī* troops of the reserves be despatched to the assistance of the army in the field. Immediately the Wazīr carried out the order of the conqueror of the world, and untied the knot of the fatigue of the army. The Pādshāh, after the after-sunset prayer, was present as usual at the *Darbār-i-Ām*, and made enquiries of the Wazīr. From his reply the Emperor learnt of the despatch of the two *risāladārs* with the troops. In great astonishment, His Majesty asked him, "Who gave the order for despatch? Where is the authority for this?" The Wazīr of great dignity, submitted the source from which he got his authority. Then the Pādshāh turned his face to Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Khān for an explanation. He submitted, "Such was the command of Your Majesty," The Pādshāh said, "Explain the details; they will be acceptable to us." Then he submitted, "When the recitation of '*Bismillāh'ir-rahmān'ir-rahīm, wallāhu akbar*,' during the time of silence in the *Taṣbīḥkhāna* was contrary to usual practice, and since it was just the time of my representation of the condition of the army, I understood that the action of the Emperor was not without some purpose and the speech of His

(1) In the name of Allah, the Benevolent, the Merciful, and Allah is Great.

Majesty could not be without some object, and the reasoning of the servant has led him to a suggestion from the words so heard. Thus I fixed the names of the *risāladārs* and the particular troop." The Pādshāh was mightily pleased with this explanation. He granted him the title of his illustrious father and also the title of 'Bahādur' and the *manṣab* of 2,000 with 2,000 horses⁽¹⁾. Thus his title now read: Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur. Day by day he climbed the ladder of rank. During the days of Shāh

1. *Manṣab of 2,000 with 2,000 horse*: Arabic *manṣib*; in Persia and India it is pronounced as *manṣab*. The word *manṣib* signifies literally a place where anything is set up or raised. It has a secondary meaning, viz. a post, an office; hence *manṣabdār* = officer; but the title was generally restricted to high officials—Note 1 p. 236 in Blochmann's Translation of the *Ain-i Akbari*—Vol. I (1873):—it means state or condition of holding a place, dignity or office. The term was in use in Central Asia before the Mughals descended into Hindustan; and Sir Denison Ross translated that word by the vaguer term, *privileges*. It might be represented by the word *rank*, as its object was to settle precedence and fix the gradation of pay. It did not necessarily imply the exercise of any particular office, and meant only that the holder was in the employ of the state. The highest *manṣab* that could be held in the time of Akbar by a subject not of the royal house, was that of a commander of 7,000 men. Later we find instances of promotion to 8,000 or even 9,000. There was a large increase in the number and the amount of *manṣabs* granted by Shāh Jahān and Aurangazēb; and the relative value of the rank was thereby much depreciated. (*vide the Maāsir-ūl-Umara*.)

As an additional distinction, it became the practice to tag on to a *manṣab*, a number of extra horsemen. The original *manṣab* which granted the personal allowances was known as the *dhāt* rank (*dhāt* = body, person, self) and the additional men were designated by the word *sawār*, horsemen. Thus a man would be styled 2,500 *dhāt*, 1,000 *sawār*. The grant of *sawār* in addition to *dhāt* was an honour. In 1595 this addition of *sawārs* to *dhāt* rank began. A *manṣabdār* whose *sawārs* were equal in number to his *manṣab* was put in the first class of his rank. One whose *sawārs* were equal to one-half of his *manṣab* and upwards was put in the second class; and the third class contained those whose *sawārs* were less than half their *manṣabs*, or who had no *sawārs* at all. Thus the *manṣab* of 2,000 with 2,000 horse indicated a first class *manṣab* in that grade. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals* Chapter I, 1908; and Dasbrath Sharma on *Akbar's Cavalry—The Dhāt and Sawār ranks* in *The Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, pp. 359-66; *Ibid.* *The Numerical strength of Akbar's Cavalry*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-148.

Ālam Bahādur Shāh,⁽¹⁾ the successor of the great Muḥammad Awrangazēb Ālamgīr Pādshāh, he got the title of Shahāmat Jang and also the increment in his *manṣab*—all these he got because of his good management of the affairs of the kingdom to the satisfaction of the Emperor. During the time of Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh⁽²⁾ he attained to high rank in the

(1) *Shāh Ālam, Bahādur Shāh I.* was the second son of the Emperor Awrangazēb and also called Prince Mu'azzam. He was born at Burhānpūr in the Deccan in A.D. 1643 and was actively employed from 1664 in the Deccan against the Mahrattas and the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. He was for some time out of favour with his suspicious father and became the governor of Kabul in 1699. He was in his province when he heard of the death of his father and with the help of his Dīwān, Mun'im Khān ascended the throne with the title of Bahādur Shāh and fought successfully with his younger brother A'zam. He reigned nearly five years and died at Lahore in February 1712. He was a man of mild and equable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault. He was a fairly successful sovereign, and kept up the dignity of the Empire. (For his character.—see Irvine, *The Later Mughals*—Vol. I pp. 137-140.)

(2) *Āṣaf Jāh*, the celebrated *Nizām-ūl-Mulk*, the founder of the present Hyderabad State. His ancestors came to India from Central Asia in the reign of Shāh Jahān. Āṣaf Jāh's grandfather, Ābid Qull Khān was the Qaḍī of Bukhāra and entered the service of the Mughal Emperor, Shāh Jahān, in 1658. He got the title of Chīn Qilich Khān and was killed in 1687 during the siege of Golconda. His son, Mīr Shībāb-ud-Dīn, who under the titles *Chāzi-ud-Dīn Khān* and *Frūz Jang*, played a prominent part in the reduction of the Deccan and the keeping of the Mahrattas in check. He died in 1710 at Aḥmadābād as the *Shāhādār* of Gujrat. His son was the far more famous Mīr Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, who first as Chīn Qilich Khān, and afterwards as Āṣaf Jāh Nizām-ūl-Mulk played a very prominent part in the history of India from 1712 when he first received a great title and a provincial government till 1748 when he died at an advanced age.

From 1712 to 1723 he led a chequered life, playing, however, a prominent part as the leader of the Turani party and in the reaction against the dominance of the Sayyid Brothers, and he became Wazīr to the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1721-23. Then he gave up his office and retired to the Deccan where he founded an almost independent state. In the Deccan he was mostly engaged in wars with the Mahrattas and in attempts to keep the Carnatic in strict subjection. He was present in Delhi during Nādir Shāh's invasion. He died at an advanced age in May 1748 shortly after the death of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. His dynasty is known as the *Āṣaf Jāhi* or

army, was promoted in his *manṣab*, granted the title of Sirāju'd-Dawla, and appointed to the post of Deputy Wazīr.

His deputation to set matters right in the kingdom of the Deccan along with the Wazīrull-Mamlukat Wakīlull-Saltānat Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Nizāmull-Mulk Nizāmud-Dawla Chī Qilich Khān Bahādur Fataḥ Jang, by His Majesty Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh⁽¹⁾; his arrival in the Deccan; his appointment to the nizāmat of Chicacole, Rājbandur, Machlipattan, and other places full of tumult and trouble.

Since his eternal prosperity was ever on the watch for opportunities which would form an outlet for his skill, and his eternal dignity was getting ready behind the curtain of his desire the things for the gradual ascent of his esteem, Nawwāb Āṣaf

Āṣafīyya or shortly as that of the Nizām. He left behind him six sons. (1) Ghāziud-Dīn Khān, (2) Nāṣir Jang, who succeeded as Nizām of the Deccan; (3) Ṣalābat Jang, (4) Nizām 'Alī, (1761-1803), (5) Basūlat Jang and (6) Mughal 'Alī. After Nizām 'Alī's death, the throne was occupied by his son in 1829. The next Nizām was Nāṣirud-Dawla who died in 1857, and his successor was Afdalud-Dawla; his infant son Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī succeeded him in 1869 and the present Nizam is the son of the last named ruler having succeeded his father in 1911. See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (pp. 302-3); R. Temple and R. C. Temple's *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, Vol. I, pp. 53-58; Briggs, *The Nizām*, Vol. I; and Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, Vols. I and II.

(1) *Muhammad Shāh*, surnamed Rōshan Akhtar or the Brilliant star, was the son of Prince Jahān Shāh, one of the sons of Bahādur Shāh. He was crowned by the two Sayyid Brothers in September 1719 after his two short-lived brothers, Rāfi'ud-Darajāt and Rāfi'ud-Dawla, who reigned about three months each. He contrived to bring about the fall of the Sayyids and asserted his personal independence in 1721; but he could not stay the decline of the Empire. He reigned nearly thirty years and died in April 1748, being succeeded by his son, Aḥmad Shāh I. He had to endure the disgrace of Nādir Shāh's invasion, the Mahratta aggressions on Hindustan itself and the first Afghan invasion by Aḥmad Shāh Abdali. He was the last Mughal Emperor who enjoyed any independent power.

Jāh, after his fight with Mubārīz Khān,⁽¹⁾ reached the presence of the Pādshāh and submitted that it was necessary to restore order in the Deccan. When the Pādshāh approved of this, the Wazīr took in his company Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, the Nāib-wazīr, along with some other intelligent Amīrs and marched towards the Deccan. He assigned a definite work to each of the Amīrs. He chose Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur to put an end to the disturbance and confusion, to quell the dissensions of Mahrattas, to subdue the wicked zamindārs and to burn the rubbish of different kinds of mischief and trouble in Machlipattan⁽²⁾

(1) *Mubārīz Khān*, was a native of Balkh, *Khawāja Muḥammad* by name. He was the son-in-law of 'Ināyatullāh *Khān* Kashmiri, a nobleman high in Awrangzīb's favour. He was for long a *Faujdar* in the Deccan and was in charge of Surat in Bahādur Shāh's reign and rose to be the Governor of Ahmadābād-Gujarat in 1710. He was shortly afterwards transferred to Malwa and finally posted in 1713 to the Province of Hyderabad in the Deccan with the titles of Imādū'l-Mulk, Mubārīz *Khān* Bahādur Hizhabr Jang. He ruled in Hyderabad for nearly 12 years and fought continuously with the Mahrattas. On the first occasion when Nizāmū'l-Mulk marched into the Deccan (1719-20) he entered into correspondence with Mubārīz *Khān* who marched to his aid. Later the Nizām did not receive full support from him; when he became Wazīr, the Nizām tried to get Mubārīz *Khān* out of the Deccan and transfer him to Kabul. Mubārīz *Khān* was incited by his father-in-law into active opposition to the Nizām; and with the help of the Pathān Nawwābs of Kurnool, Cuddapah, etc., he actively opposed the Nizām's entry into the Deccan and was defeated and slain in the battle of Shakar Khera in Berar. This really paved the way for the Nizām's establishment at Awrangābād and for the foundation of the Nizām's State (11th October 1724). (Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 139 *et seq.*)

(2) *Masulipatam*. Machlipattanam (machli — fish)—(Sanskrit name *Matsyapura*)—from an old tradition of a whale having been washed on the shore, also known as Machlibandar (— fish-port). It is still a principal port of the locality, though it has few natural advantages. The port is said to have been founded in the 14th century by the Arabs. In 1478 it came to be occupied by the Bahmani Sultan, Muhammad II, and the earliest English factory on the east coast was planted here in 1611. It was the chief centre of European trade in the 17th century; the English factory at the place was seized by the local Muhammadan governor and restored in 1690. The

(Masulipatam) Chicacole⁽¹⁾ and Rajbandar. The Nawwāb reached there accordingly with a small army. He graced the battle-field with his presence, and did justice to his bravery. He put to death Sobna and subdued Ramraj,⁽²⁾ the two Zamindārs, who, having enormous facilities for mischief and possessing a fund of enmity, were haughty enough to lift up their heads in opposition. The Nawwāb put forth the hand of punishment, and with the waters of his scimitar made the dust of affliction caused by wicked men settle down, so that they might not raise their heads again. Henceforth, the kingdom flourished and became the envy of the rose garden.

The battle between Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang and Anwarūd-Dīn, son of Hājī Husayn, the chief of the taluq of Rājbandar; and the confiscation of the taluk.

French captured the place in 1750 and the English took it from them in 1758-9 and got it by a grant of the Nizām in the same year. It was the headquarters of one of the five Northern Circars, and was for long the most considerable port on that coast.

(1) *Chicacole*. (Shrikākulam), it is derived by some from *Shikha*, (Sans. head) and *kula* (house) as being the capital of Kaliuga—Its Muhammadan name was Mahfūz-Bandar, also Gulshanābād. It was formerly part of the dominions of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa, and shortly after their overthrow in 1568, came together with the rest of the Northern Circars under the rule of the Qutb Shāhis of Golkonda; and their Governors resided in this town. Effective Muhammadan rule came to be established only under Nizām-ul-Mulk who appointed a civil and military establishment for the division. The Circars along with the others was assigned to the French by the Nizām in 1753 and ceded to the English in 1759. Actual possession of it was taken only in 1766. It was divided under Muhammadan rule into three divisions Cassimote, Chicacole and Icohapur.

(2) *Vizaramrazu* (?) of Vizianagaram was the most powerful Raja of the Chicacole Circar and was always a thorn on the side of Ja'far 'Alī who governed the Rajahmundry and Chicacole Circars after Anwarūd-Dīn. Later on both Ja'far 'Alī and Vizaramrazu agreed to combine against the French and the latter chief treacherously made a collusive alliance with the French and deserted Ja'far 'Alī (See Morris, *The Godavari District*, p. 227; Orme's History, Vol. I; and the *History of the Vizianagaram Raj*).

There is the parable of a fool who, in a dream, found his own mean shape inverted in a mirror, took it to be the accursed devil, caught in burning anger his own beard in his hand and gave himself such a slap on the cheek that he woke up in pain, found himself pulling his own beard and a captive in his own shameful hand. In like manner, some, in the intoxication of the wine of worldliness and in sheer wantonness of doing injury, cast away discretion to the winds, and drain the cup of pleasure. In the transport of forgetfulness, the tumult of mad ideas leads many, in their benumbed state, to foolish deeds, who thus unwittingly bring destruction on themselves. Even so, in the taluq of Rājbandar, Nūru'd-Dīn deviated from the path of obedience and submission. He killed his own father, Hāji Husayn, the chief of the place and established himself in his stead. He gathered an army, made alliance with the zamindārs of those parts, and having thus strengthened himself, rose in rebellion. Time after time he defeated the army of Āṣaf Jāh.

According to the orders of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur came like a heavy cloud to the country where the chivalry of the people was blighted and the gardens of the hearts of the oppressed were parched with drought. Like the breezes of the spring he proceeded to refresh that side of the country. By the rain of the arrows and the shots of his soldiers, by the serried ranks of his armies, by the flower-like gaping wounds made by the swords of his soldiers, by the bud-like silence of his boastful enemies, by the melodious music of the brave slogans of 'kill and take', and by the *bulbul*-like screams of those who sought safety, he created the tumultuous joy of spring. He managed as successfully as ever the business of rooting out the haughty mischief-makers. He eased the trunk of that baughty rambler in the valley of revolt, of the weight of the head on its shoulders, and having pinned to his spear the vainglorious head, he brought under his control the taluq of Rājbandar. He carried the ball of valour away from the other generals of his time. This victory took place on Wednesday, the day of Mercury, and so it was ordered that music should be played

five times on Wednesdays each week. This practice is even now observed in the *nawbat-khāna* of Hadrat-i-'Alā just as Friday music is continued in commemoration of the victory at Pondichery. Servants like us seek from God the permanence of these customs.

The arrival of a glorious farmān to the Nawwāb from Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh appointing him to the nizāmat of the ṣūbah of Farkhunda-Bunyād Hyderabad, in return for his distinguished services in the taluq of Rājbandar.

When the Nawwāb had effectively put down the mischief of the rebels in the taluqs entrusted to him, he put in order the important affairs of the state, subdued the taluq of Rājbandar, and thus raised aloft the banner of bravery and sagacity. He took a good deal of trouble, and collected the revenue which had been in arrears for some years. All these facts he wrote in detail to the Pādshāh and his Wazīr. The reply was a royal *farmān* bestowing on him the *nizāmat* of the ṣūbah of Farkhunda-Bunyād Hyderabad in appreciation of his administration of the important affairs of the taluqs in that quarter, his assassination of some of the rebels, and letting off others with an admonition. The royal *farmān* having been received, Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh sent for Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur from Chicacole, and honoured him with royal presents. Then he handed over to him the control and the management of the ṣūbah of Hyderabad. The Wazīr then marched with the Deccan army towards Carnatic Payanghat for the purpose of realising the object he had cherished for years.

The nizāmat of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur in the ṣūbah of Farkhunda-Bunyād Hyderabad.

According to the *farmān* of the Pādshāh and the order of the Wazīr, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur became the Governor of Hyderabad. There he tried to improve agriculture, increase the sources of revenue, put an end to lawlessness, admonish the rebellious, favour the followers in the path of justice, and induce people to discontinue the observance of ceremonies

not permitted by Islamic law, and give up the use of intoxicating drinks, and indulgence in amusements forbidden by divine law. He secured facilities for the propagation and the observance of religious laws in Bēgampūr⁽¹⁾ which had been founded by the mother of Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang; for the officers in that city were wicked, intoxicated with pride, and did not take steps to prohibit irreligious acts. So, the Nawwāb brought to the notice of the Bēgam the undesirable habits prevalent in that place with a view to their suppression. She sent the following reply: "The affairs of the place are under our jurisdiction and beyond yours. So, you have no business here; free your mind of such claims." But, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur in his zeal for truth, thought it proper to destroy the stronghold of irreligion and marched against it. Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang sent a message conveying his displeasure. In reply, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur submitted the following communication: "In matters pertaining to the laws of religion, the precepts of Allāh, and the regulations of the Prophet, consideration for any one is out of place, and it is opposed to usage to have any consideration for persons in these matters." The Bēgam was greatly annoyed at this; she wrote a detailed complaint and despatched it to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh who was then in Carnatic Payanghat engaged in the siege of the fort of Trichinopoly (Natharnagar). Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh sent the following reply: "In the religiousness, virtue, piety, and uprightness of Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, nobody has scope for interference. If you cannot get along with him, you may leave Hyderabad and find residence in Awrangābād." The arrival of this letter tied the complaining tongue, and the commission of sins became impossible.

(1) *Bēgampūr*, a village in the Sholapur District (Bombay Presidency) situated on the Bhima River. It takes its name from one of Awrangzēb's daughters who died here while her father was encamped at Brahmapur on the opposite side of the river.

A money-lender murders his wife, and the Nawwāb orders retaliation.

There was a very wealthy Gujarati money-lender. He was the most distinguished among the members of his profession as well as of his clansmen. He murdered his wife in a domestic quarrel. The relations of the deceased brought the matter to the court of justice. When the order was given for *qiṣāṣ*¹, the murderer tied with bribes the tongues of the complainants and of the officials in the court. The lords of justice learnt that the complainants were satisfied, passed the order for *diyat*,² and gave up the idea of punishing him with *qiṣāṣ*. When this decision

(1) *Qiṣāṣ*:—Law of Retaliation; Revenge for homicide.

(2) *Diyat*:—Paying a mulct or compensation for man-slaughter.

Islamic law takes into cognizance five kinds of homicide :

1. Qatlul 'Amd — Wilful murder.
2. Qatl Shibhu'l 'Amd — A semblance of wilful murder.
3. Qatlul Khaṭa — Homicide by misadventure.
4. Qatl Qā'im Maqami'l Khaṭa — Homicide of a similar nature to homicide by misadventure.
5. Qatl bi sabab — Homicide by intermediate cause.

Qisās is prescribed when it is a case of wilful murder (Qatlul 'Amd). 'Wilful murder' is when the perpetrator wilfully kills a person with a weapon or something that serves for a weapon, such as a club, a sharp stone, or fire. If a person commits wilful murder, two points are established: first that the murderer is a sinner deserving hell, for the Qurān says (Sūrah IV 93) "Whosoever slayeth a believer purposely, his reward is hell" and secondly that he is liable to retaliation according to the injunction in the Qurān (Sūra ii, 178). "Retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the slain: the free for the free, and the slave for the slave and the female for the female" But although retaliation is the punishment prescribed for wilful murder, still the heir or next of kin can either forgive or compound the offence, for the verse quoted above goes on further to say "but if any remission is made to any one by his (aggrieved) brother, then prosecution (for the bloodwit) should be made according to usage, and payment should be made to him in a good manner." Thus the murderer may be punished by directing him to pay compensation to the heirs of the deceased in case the heir or heirs agree.

reached the Nawwāb's ears, he said, "The hall of justice rests on two pillars, viz., *shar'*, (law) and usage. Though the people who know *shar'*, viz., those who confine themselves to the book of law, seem to prescribe *diyāt* in the place of *qiṣāṣ* on the pretext of satisfaction of the relations of the deceased, yet, the people who know usage—viz. the common people who know the prevailing custom that the wealthy, after murdering the poor for no reason, find themselves safe from the sword of retaliation by taking refuge in their wealth,—do not like it. Then he issued the order for *qiṣāṣ* against the murderer. The bribe which the judges had taken from him was got back by threat and was paid to his heirs. This enforcement of justice became wellknown in that country. The pride of strength in the minds of the strong, and the fear of weakness in the minds of the weak, became softened to such an extent that fire was not afraid of water, and the willow was not afraid of the wind. The forbidden grounds became places of worship; and [empty] jokes gave place to learned discussions.

The Nawwāb fights and defeats Bābū Nāyak, the Sardār of the Mahrattas, and the Ilāqadār of the Government of Poona.

When Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh with his Deccan army was busy settling the affairs in Carnatic Payanghat, Bābū Nāyak,⁽¹⁾ one of the chiefs of the Mahrattas,—in

Here, it may be observed, that the Prophet deviated from the Old Testament and New Testament laws and gave a law embodying the injunctions prescribed in the two said laws. The followers of the Old Testament were enjoined to punish wilful murder by retaliation only and were prohibited either to forgive or to receive a compensation. The New Testament forbids retaliation and compensation and enjoins only forgiveness on the part of the heirs of the deceased. The Prophet Muhammad found it good to include everything and gave a wider scope.

(1) Bāpūji Nāyak, or Bābū Nāyak, though a near relation of the Pēshwa, was his enemy and creditor as well. Raghuji Bhonsle attempted after Baji Rao's death (1740) to secure his succession as Pēshwa, but failed. He took Bāpū Nāyak with him towards the Carnatic accompanied by Sripat Rao, the Pritinidhi, and Fataḥ Singh Bhonsle.

accordance with the advice of Pandit Pradhān, the Tlāqadār of the government at Poona, who had styled himself as Pēshwa—marched at the head of one lakh of horses towards the inhabited area of the Deccan and created great mischief with the idea of collecting the usual “fourth-part,” (*chouth* in Hindi) of the income of the kingdom. He took large sums from the subjects as well as the governors, and the disturbance reached as far as Hyderabad. Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, on hearing the scourings of the Mahrattas, was distract and in great dread on account of his family at Hyderabad with only a small army. He wrote from Natharnagar (Trichinopoly), which he was besieging, a letter to Nawwāb Sirāju’d-Dawla Bahādur as follows:—“Considering the smallness of the army stationed at Hyderabad, the largeness of the enemy’s forces, the residence of the female part of the family, and the dependent Amīrs and others, it is advisable to give the usual amount claimed and preserve the kingdom. The conclusion of peace will be the means of securing peace and safety to the populace.” When he went through this letter of Āṣaf Jāh, he wrote thus in reply in the enthusiasm of his natural bravery, the blood of his innate honour mounting up in his veins: “The payment of the claim [which is the cause of dispute] and the promotion of peace are expedient in the circumstances; withdrawal from war is among the expediencies for the foundation of peace in the land; yet, the payment of *jizya* to the unbeliever is breaking the honour of a Muslim. The ill-willed enemy, God’s strength being on our side, will see nothing but defeat. The refractory foe will be humiliated in great dread.” This letter was written and dispatched. The Nawwāb, then, got ready for war with an army which was

Fatah Singh Bhonsle was a near relation of both Raghuji and Shahu. He was regarded as a rival in Shahu’s affections by Raghuji; but possessed neither ability, nor enterprise. He was adopted by Shahu as a son. He was the son of a Mahratta patel in the Ahmadnagar region, whom Shahu defeated and killed. Fatah Singh is the ancestor of the well-known Rajahs of Akalkot. He had already undertaken an expedition into the South in 1727 and levied tribute from Beduons, Gadag and Seringapatam.

only a hundredth part of the enemy's; and placing his reliance on the Supreme Aid, he raised aloft the banner of courage and hastened to the *qasba* Medak⁽¹⁾ to meet the enemy. Coming face to face with the enemy at the *maydan* of the village of Andol, he drew up his army in battle array. He fought with such vehemence that for three days and three nights the sword found no rest in its sheath nor had the eyes any. On the fourth day, with the aid of the Supreme Helper, he overcame the enemy and pursued him. The contest was keen to a distance of ten *manzils*; then he made the enemy turn his face and run away in great confusion to the limits of Poona leaving behind tents and other equipages and thus allowing the *sarkār* to confiscate them. The sepoys found themselves masters of the materials of the run-away. The conqueror returned gloriously to Hyderabad, with thanks to Allāh, and brightened it with the glory of his sun-like return. On account of the might of his arm, the dread of his bravery was deeply engraven on the minds of the Mahrattas. For a long time they put away from their minds, their claim to the usual *chawth*. In those days the mention of his name caused uneasiness in the dreams of the most wicked, and stopped the cry of dear babies; and these few lines of narration stand for ages as a testimony to the bravery of his soldiers in the victorious battle-field and as a warning to the wicked who attempt to scale the heights of mischief.

The march of Pandit Pradhān Pēshwa with three lakhs of horsemen against the kingdom of the Deccan; the return of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh from Carnatic Payanghat; his being surrounded by the Mahratta army; the help of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur and his intervention to establish peace between the two armies.

Bābu Nāyak who got a disgraceful defeat near Hyderabad left his equipage to be plundered and fled in great confusion. Pandit Pradhān Pēshwa, the ruler at Poona,

(1) *Medak Qasba*—a town in the Nizām's dominions, situated on the right bank of the Manjara river and about 50 miles north of Hyderabad.

coiled himself up like a snake. When the big army was defeated, driven as if it were a flock of sheep, and pursued by Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur with a handful of men fierce like tigers, he collected an army of three lakhs of men and hastily despatched them with the vain intention of plundering the kingdom of the Deccan. On hearing of the scouring of the enemy, Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, as a matter of expediency, concluded peace with Murari Rao at the fort of Natharnagar (Trichinopoly) and then marched forth with his army. He entrusted the *ṣūbah* of Arcot to Khawāja 'Abdullāh Khān a Turānian. The group of Nawāyath who formed the store-house of mischief and source of trouble in the Carnatic, were made prisoners at the request of the Khawāja and taken with him. Then after a long march he crossed the river Krishna and made his way to the Deccan. Khawāja 'Abdullāh Khān accompanied him [the Nawwāb] in order to arrange certain important matters. The leader of the Mahrattas came to know of the intention of Āṣaf Jāh, collected his army, which had been divided into groups to plunder the Deccan, hastened to meet the Nawwāb, and surrounded the army of Āṣaf Jāh. On account of the blockade and the strict watch kept by the enemy, it became very difficult to get a cup of water even for the price of a rupee.

Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur learnt of this confused state of affairs and resolved to march from his place with an army of brave soldiers, provisions and other necessities. He appointed Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā to act in his place at Hyderabad, and then marched forward with his three beloved sons, viz., Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, Muḥammad Najībullāh Khān Bahādur, each commanding a *risāla*, and other brave *sardārs* with valiant men, like a bright moon dispelling the darkness of the opposing enemy, spanned the distance striking with his sword, fighting and overcoming difficulties, gave life to the army of Āṣaf Jāh which, because of the blockade and the consequent lack of provisions, was like a body without a soul, and made the dumb-founded people cry in their

excitement, "Glory be to the Lord who is Life Eternal." Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh felt thankful and happy at his arrival and welcomed him. He shook off the dust of worry from the skirt of his mind. In his enthusiasm, he spontaneously gave out the couplet:

"O! thy time be happy!

For thou makest our time happy."

Immediately he called a council of Sayyid Lashkar Khān the first Diwān, Sayyid Sharif Khān the second Diwān, Shāh Nawāz Khān the third Diwān, Khudā-banda Khān the fourth Diwān, Khawāja 'Abdullāh Khān the Nāẓim of Payanghat, and Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, and desired them to disclose to him a plan to pull down the edifice of mischief. All present were of opinion that the payment of the usual *chawth* was the best means to avert war, and advanced the following reasons: "The sepoys who should fight the enemy, are indisposed owing to long travel, protracted journey, weariness of war in the Carnatic and long separation from their homes. Further, they would melt like wax on account of the fear of the size and the great pomp of the army of the enemy. The enemy need not even begin attack; for their bravery and boldness have been already subdued by the weakness of hunger and an empty stomach. No one has attacked them, yet they have lost the footing of courage and are ready to flee. There is the consideration that the fierce strife would devastate the country, and disperse the subjects. Again, the state of war will bring about destruction of the building of safety and this is opposed to sound policy. In these circumstances, peace is to be preferred to war." Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur was silent in that council and never moved his lips. Shāh Nawāz Khān who was not well-disposed towards him, sarcastically addressed him thus: "The silence of the *ṣāhib* on this discussion—what may this mean? How is it the sword drawn against the head of the Mahratta, Bābu Nāyak and struck at the back of the runaways is sheathed now? Drawing in of the claws on the

hunting ground, and being lethargic on the battlefield is really strange of the lion that has tasted blood." Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur replied, "There are reasons for my silence. Among the chatter of the distaff side, the mention of the use of the swords of brave men has no place. Bravery does not go with deliberation." Shāh Nawāz Khān replied, "Pandit Pradhān is no Bābu Nāyak. The one is not to be compared with the other, that was a drop and this a sea." The Nawwāb replied, "The sword of the brave can strike deep, even from the pleiades to the earth." Shāh Nawāz Khān said, "If this is your aim, and if you can attempt it, well, this is the hand, this is the bat, this is the ball, and this is the *maydān*." Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur was extremely annoyed when he heard this speech. He walked out of the assembly, reached the presence of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, and submitted: "We are the wielders of sword in battle, and we hold that deliberation is a blot on bravery. When a man becomes weak, he seeks to know the favour of Dame Fortune. Relying on the grace of the Great Helper, the True One, the Great Assister, and the Judge, I will put the contemptuous enemy to the sharp sword. Even at the first encounter, I will bind the enemy and bring him before your presence, or else I will wager my head for the honour of Islam in the service of the Requiting Lord." As soon as he finished the speech, he went straight to the army, beat the kettle drum, and in haste began to array his army, and desired battle with Pandit Pradhān. The Pandit was disturbed and frightened at this news and thoughtfully sank his head on the garment over his breast. He considered all the aspects deeply before he could arrive at a decision and send a reply. Anything more fitting than peace he did not find; for, he had no doubt that Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, despite his weariness of long travel, would gird up his loins readily for war in haste and that he also would fare no better than Bābu Nāyak. On learning that the army of Āṣaf Jāh which, after the coming of this brave and accredited personage, had changed its previous attitude of cowardice and had decided for a fight, his bravery and sense

of honor were nowhere. He left the rein of firmness slip from his hand and sent messages of peace. When Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur was convinced of the suspension of hostilities, he appointed *wakīls* and sent information to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. The tribute, *viz.*, the claim of *chawth*, was dropped and the sword of battle was placed in the sheath of peace. Next day, he introduced Pandit Pradhān to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. The Nawwāb advanced forward as far as the edge of the carpet to receive the Pēshwa and sat with him on the same *masnad*. After going through the formalities of conversation and the conventions of friendship, Pandit Pradhān was presented with a *lchil'at*, *itr* and *pān*, and was shown other formalities of respect prevalent in Hindustan. Then, the Pēshwa joyfully took leave of the Nawwāb. He despatched the ensigns of his army towards Poona his capital. Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh stayed in the same place, and arranged a joyous function in honour of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur and wrote an *'arzdāsh*t to the Emperor praising his qualities and appreciating his distinguished services. He honoured with a *lchil'at* Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān who was in his company, and gave him leave to go to the *niṣāmat* of Arcot. Next day, after early-morning-prayer, the Nawwāb left the place.

The appointment of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur to the niṣāmat of the ṣūbah of Arcot, a dependency of the Carnatic Payanghat, and his reaching the place by the will of the Lord of all creation.

In the gathering of the darkness of the night, Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān, adorned in the robes of his office, took leave of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, met his friends in the happy army, and then reached his tent. There he attended to his affairs, and rested for the night. He rose at dawn, attended to the calls of nature, and sat as usual on the *chawki* [a raised seat] to get ready for the early-morning prayer, and performed his ablutions. While he was doing these in the prescribed order, and reached to the washing of his left foot, the feet of his life slipped from the chair of firmness all

on a sudden, and he fell on his face in eternal prostration. Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, who had not covered even half a *kurōh*, heard this news, and halted at once. He formed a council of the four Diwāns, viz., Sayyid Lashkar Khān, Sayyid Sharīf Khān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Khudā-banda Khān, and Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur and directed them to select a man possessing the qualifications for the *niẓāmat* of Arcot. Accordingly, each one to the best of his intelligence, suggested the names of persons whom he thought fit, while others, who happened to know the candidates more intimately, pointed out disqualifications. Thus, there was a prolonged discussion, and they could not arrive at a decision. But Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur did not at all open his mouth, and say *aye* or *no*. Shāh Nawāz Khān who was not well disposed towards him, addressed him thus: "Shāhib, when we are in council, why do you seal your lips in silence? How is it, you do not make your tongue a friend of speech?" He replied, "My silence has a voice which only the day before yesterday fell in the ears of one and all, in the affair of Pandit Pradhān, and subdued the minds of vain boasters". Shāh Nawāz Khān in reply said: "What voice does the silence give at present? Please speak, so that those present may hear." He said, "The voice of my silence is this: viz., the man whom my discretion has already marked is best fitted for the *niẓāmat* of Arcot, and from every point of view most suited for the place." The speaker urged him to give out the name of his candidate. He replied, "His name will be given out in the presence of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh." Shāh Nawāz Khān said, "If you disclose it now, the members of this assembly will know his merits and demerits." He said in reply, "This is the *khi'at* that fits my stature. This is the ornament that adorns my body." This speech made the impure vessel of Shāh Nawāz Khān trickle down turbidness. He said, "Lord of slaves, how funny this is!" Khudā-banda Khān felt very sorry at the contemptuous and false words, and came forward to the support of Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur: "Here is no room for fun; and it is certain that the territory [Arcot],

will be happy, if this person be its *nāẓim*. Under the protection and rule of this gentleman, the splendour of that country will increase and claim equality even with heaven." Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh arrived when the discussion was thus proceeding, and asked them all, "Whom have you selected for the *niẓāmat* of Arcot? Whom do you recommend for the management of its affairs?" Khudā-banda Khān took the lead, and submitted, "Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur has offered his services." Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh smiled, felt happy, and was over-joyed. He said, "It is very good indeed; such a man is really needed for this post". Immediately Shāh Nawāz Khān said, "He is good, yet he is old." In reply, Āṣaf Jāh said, "Yes, he is old, but he has good and intelligent sons." In short, that day the Nawwāb stayed there. Next morning he sent for Khudā-banda Khān and joyfully and happily observed: "In connection with the appointment of Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur to the *niẓāmat* of Arcot, I performed last night '*istikhāra*'⁽¹⁾ and got the approval. Khudā-banda Khān felt happy, and sent for Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur. When the Nawwāb obtained the

(1) *Istikhāra*, Lit. Asking favours.

A Prayer for special favours and blessings, consisting of the recital of two *rak'ah* prayers (*Mishkāt*).

Jābir says: "The Prophet taught the *Istikhāra*, as he also did a chapter of the Qurān, and said, "when any one of you intends to do a thing he must perform two *rak'ah* prayers expressly for *Istikhārah* and afterwards recite the following supplication:

'O! Allāh, I supplicate Thy help and Thy great wisdom, and pray for ability through Thy power. I ask a thing of Thy bounty. Thou knowest all, but I do not. Thou art powerful and I am not. Thou knowest the secrets of men. O! Allāh, if the matter I am about to undertake be good for my faith, my life, and my futurity, then make it easy for me and give me success in it. But if it be bad for my faith, my life, and my futurity, then put it away from me, and show me what is good and satisfy me." And the person praying shall mention in his prayer the business which he has in hand.'"

In these days this simple and praiseworthy injunction is abused by the superstitious.

honour of paying his respects to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Wazīr addressed him as follows: "In appointing you to the *nizāmat* of Arcot, we have selected you, the gem of intelligence from the string of our favourites. To-day is Wednesday, the 13th of the month of Ṣafar. You may receive *khi'at*⁽¹⁾ either today or tomorrow. It depends upon your pleasure." Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur who was free from such superstitions submitted, "This slave is free from such superstitions of date or day. Any time that suits your happy mind will yield benefit." Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, when he found his mind free from the superstitions of date or day, bestowed on him the *khi'at*, and exalted him with the authority over the *nizāmat* of Arcot.

In accordance with the humble prayer of the Nawāyaṭ prisoners to Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur for their freedom, he requested the Wazīr [Āṣaf Jāh] to release them and enable them to accompany him to Arcot. The Wazīr replied, "Sedition and iniquity have fermented to create the nature of this people. Their interior hides turbidness, and contrasts with their clean outward form. There can be no end to a description of their wickedness. Their deceit and mischief cannot be gauged. Sometime ago, one of them, by name Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, Jāgirdār of Vellore, with a view to create trouble, the purpose of which he kept to himself, hid himself in a cauldron, and managed to run away from the grip of the victorious army. There is fear (May God forbid) that during your *nizāmat* they will awaken the mischief that sleeps. They will hatch such intrigues that will be beyond your power to suppress. Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān, a man of experience and a 'thermometer' of these times, did not like the stay of these people at Arcot." Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur submitted, "Woe unto that ruler who is unmindful of the mischief of the ruled, and woe betide

(1) *Khi'at* A dress of honour presented by the ruling or superior authority to the inferior as a mark of honour; a complete *Khi'at* may include arms, horses, and elephants.

that master the peace of whose capital is disturbed by the faithlessness of the slave. How can these people create disturbance in my skilful administration? and how can I be influenced by these infamous men?" In short, with great perseverance and excessive pleading, the chains of bondage were removed from these people. Thus, he enabled them to accompany him as free and honourable men.

When Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh took in his hand the *pāndān* ⁽¹⁾ and desired to favour him with *pān* at the time of his leave-taking, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur submitted, "With the decree of your permission, the happiness of leave-taking from Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang may also be obtained."

Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang ⁽²⁾ had drawn his army against his father Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh without any consideration for parenthood, and fought against him. He was defeated in battle, made prisoner, and kept in custody. He was accused of treason, and hated by Āṣaf Jāh who interned him, deprived him of his *manṣab* and titles of 'dawla' and 'jang', reckoned him among the rebels, and subjected him to long reproach and called him only by his original name of Mīr Aḥmad.

When Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur uttered the name with the titles, contrary to explicit orders, Āṣaf Jāh got disgusted, knitted his brow, and contradicted him with these words: "What! did not my order—that no one should call him by his titles and that he should be addressed only by his original name of Mīr Aḥmad—did it not reach you?" Sirāju'd-Dawla submitted, "The order of the lord is well-known; yet, regard for his being a prince demands respect." The Nawwāb replied, "Do you bandy words with me? or do

(1) A case for keeping arecanuts and betels.

(2) Nāṣir Jang's rebellion against his father, Āṣaf Jāh took place in 1741, when the latter was at Delhi; Nāṣir Jang was defeated at Dawlatābād and carried prisoner to Awrangābād.

you take the *pān*?" He said, "I shall have nothing to do with wordy warfare, for I am your servant under the orders of the glorious Pādshah. If I be favoured with *pān*, it is really kindness. Even without it, I go happily." Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh was vexed with this straightforward speech, and put down the *pāndān*. Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur saluted him, walked out of the pavilion without receiving *pān*, and started on his way in his palanquin. A little later, Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh sent him the *pāndān* along with a message that he could meet Mīr Aḥmad. Receiving the *pāndān* he turned back and went to Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, who at the end of the conversation, caught hold of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla's hand, and said, "I desire a promise from you." He replied, "If it could be explained, and found to be practical, it shall certainly be obeyed." He said, "It is within the limits of possibility and there is no difficulty." Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur submitted, "Let it be explained first, and then this faithful servant will give his word." Nāṣir Jang said, "I desire from you the promise of friendship." As soon as Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur heard him speak thus, he snatched away his hand from his, and said "I cannot do it. So long as this old gentleman [Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh] is alive, it is impossible that I give up his friendship." Nāṣir Jang said, "My idea is only that after my father you should not support my brother Āṣafu'd-Dawla Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, and that you must join hands with me." He replied, "This may be easy in case the imperial Pādshāh approves." The conversation over, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur took leave of him, liberated the imprisoned Nawāyaṭ, took them in his happy company, and by the grace of the protection of the Creator of servants, he reached the capital city of Arcot safely, where his peaceful administration spread happiness over the carpet of dirt. (1)

(1) A string of verses from Abjadī's 'Anwarnāma' in praise of his peaceful and beneficent administration is quoted here.

Now, the mind of the historian in unison with the pen that chronicles facts, desires to record in the following pages brief accounts of

- (1) the kingdom of the Carnatic,
 - (2) the *ṣūbah* of Payanghat,⁽¹⁾
 - (3) the capital city of Arcot, and the origin of the name,
 - (4) its former rulers,
- and (5) the *Frang* merchant-colonists.

Carnatic-Payanghat (Carnatic below the Ghats): The region denominated the Carnatic comprehended in the 18th century the dominions and dependencies of the Nawwāb of Arcot and extended from Guntur Circar, being defined on the north by the small river Gundalagama which falls into the sea at Motupalli, over all the coast country as far south as Cape Comorin. The territory south of the Coleroon was known as the Southern Carnatic and was rather a tributary to the Nawwāb than his real possession. The Central Carnatic extended from the Coleroon to the North Pennar, and the Northern Carnatic from the North Pennar, to the Guntur Circar.

Payanghat or *Talaghat* is the name given to the coast portion of the Carnatic region to the east of the Ghats, as distinguished from Balaghat, the country to the west of the Ghats. (See, Maclean: *Manual of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, pp. 67; Hamilton: *Description of Hindustan and the Adjacent Countries*, Vol. II, Section, *Carnatic*; and Wilks: *A Historical Sketch of Southern India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*, (2nd Edition), Vol. II, pp. 134-136.)

The *Hyderabadi-Carnatic* (part of the Carnatic conquered by the Golconda power and controlled from Hyderabad) included, according to the records, a Balaghat portion and a Payanghat portion. The Balaghat portion of it comprised the five circars of Sidhout, Gandikotta, Gooty, Gurrunkonda and Cambam. All these except Gooty afterwards went to form the petty state of the Pathan Nawwābs of Cuddappah. Gooty fell into the hands of the Mahratta house of Gharāpurē, of whom Murari Rao distinguished himself in the Anglo-French wars of the 18th century. The Payanghat portion of the *Hyderabadi-Carnatic* comprised the whole coast country extending from Guntur on the north to the present South Arcot District; this was afterwards better known as the *ṣubāh* of Arcot and formed the nucleus of the dominion of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic. It included the Northern Carnatic as defined above and a portion of the Central Carnatic.

The foundation of the city of Arcot in Carnatic Payanghat; The history of the former rulers of the kingdom and of its Frang merchant-colonists.

The kingdom of the Carnatic includes Balaghat and Payanghat. The *ṣūbah* of Arcot belongs to Payanghat, which in former days was ruled by Hindu rajas. Their capital was Jinji (Chenji) which is at present known as *Nuṣrat-gadh*. Muḥammad Awrangzēb Ālamgīr Pādshāh appointed

The Bijapuri-Carnatic (the portion conquered by the Ādil Shāhis of Bijapur in the 17th century) seems to have been all Balaghat, though it had also a Payanghat portion which included Vellore, Jinji, and Tanjore all of which were conquered by Bijapuri commanders like Bandaula Khan and Shahaji, the father of the celebrated Shivaji. It chiefly consisted of the settled upland districts of Bangalore and Sera; and it was entitled to the forced tribute exacted from the chiefs of Harpanahalli, (in the Bellary District), Cundapur (in the South Kanara District), Anegondi, Bednore Chitaldrug, and Mysore. The two circars of Adoni and Nandyal, situated to the south of the Tungabadhra river were excluded from the Carnatic, as well as that of Savanur-Bankapur.

Thus we see that Bijapuri-Carnatic comprised mostly *Balaghat* territory; and Hyderabad Carnatic included both *Balaghat* and *Payanghat* portions. In 1713, when the Nawwābs of Arcot had just established their dominion, the whole of the Balaghat section of the Hyderabad-Carnatic with a little extension to the south was in the possession of the Pathan Chief of Cuddappah and the Mahratta chief of Gooty. The governorship of the two Carnatics of which we read in the text consisted therefore of the Balaghat portion of the Bijapuri-Carnatic and the Payanghat portion of the Hyderabad-Carnatic; and Nawwāb Saʿadatullāh Khān retained the government of the two Carnatics for four years. When Amir Khān was appointed to the charge of the Bijapur Carnatic, it became usual to call the Nawwābs of Cuddappah, Sera and Arcot after their respective capitals. There were the two additional Nawwābs of Kurnool and Savanore. It was between these rulers that political power was distributed in the eighteenth century in all the territory to the south of the Krishna with the exception of Mysore, Travancore, Madura and Tanjore.

Dhul-Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, ⁽¹⁾ son of Junlatul-Mulk Asad Khān, the imperial Wazīr, to cleanse the territory of the Deccan of its rubbish and he came down to take possession of the Carnatic Payanghat. He made great and bold attempts, brought the whole country under his control and annexed it to the kingdom of the Pādshāh. Some like the Zamindārs of Trichinopoly, Tajāwur (Tanjore), Ramnad, Shivaganga and Malaiwar (Malabar), and others were left undisturbed, and in return for their submission and obedience, were promised the protection of the Pādshāh.

The story of the foundation of the city of Arcot.

The Maker of the universe on the basis of cause and effect creates things of beauty as symbols.

When Dhul-Faqār Khān Bahādur was busy subduing Payanghat, he chose the bank of a river and the skirt of a forest as the camping ground for the army of Islam, and for raising the standards of the victorious forces. Twelve long years of continuous habitation replaced the tents by thatched houses which, in course of time, changed into tiled ones; when it became the capital, it gradually developed into a big town and became very famous on the lips of one and all.

(1) Dhul-Faqār Khān:—Amīrul-Umara, styled Nuṣrat Jang, the son of Wazīr Asad Khān, (born A. D. 1657—A. H. 1067) held several high appointments under Ālamgīr; he was put to death in A. D. 1173 (A. H. 1124) on the same day when Jahāndār Shāh was murdered.

Dhul-Faqār Khān, obtained great renown as a general in the Deccan and was a man of great experience in affairs of State. He conducted the siege of Jinji wherein Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji had taken refuge after Awrangzēb's capture of Satara in the years 1690—1698. He gave a *cowle* to the English at Madras for the suburban villages of Egmore, Purasawalkam and Tondiarpet in 1692. He at last took Jinji in February 1698; but Rajaram escaped to Maharashtra, more by the pressure of gold than by the pressure of arms. He rose to the high office of the Nāzim of Deccan under Ālamgīr and to the much higher office of Amīrul-Umara and first Bakhshi under Bahādur Shāh and that of Wazīr under Jahāndār Shāh. See Beale—*Oriental Biographical Dictionary*—(revised edition) p. 480; and Irvine—*The Later Mughals* Volume I (1707-1720)—Chapters II and III for details of the last years of the Khān.

Reason for the name of Arcot.

'Arcot' is a word from the language of the Hindus. So long as the army lived in tents and did not attempt to change the nature of the forest, there was no definite name except the name of "The camp of the army of Dhul-Faqār Khān." When buildings were erected, and several roads were opened the Hindus called it 'Arcot' because of the combination of river and forest. They joined the two words which in their language give the meaning of river and forest; i. e. (झर) river, and (अर) forest.

During the time of our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā (May Allāh make his power and rule last for ever) it was named 'Muḥammad-Pūr' after his name Muḥammad 'Alī', and surnamed 'Dāru'n-Nūr', even as a few big towns like Trichinopoly and Tanjore were named and surnamed by him: Trichinopoly (surname 'Dāru'n-Nuṣr'), named 'Natharnagar' after Ḥaḍrat Nathar Walī (may Allāh exalt his resting place) who reposes there for the past few centuries and who by his happy presence blesses the area round about him; Tajawur (surname "Dāru'z-Zafar"), named 'Qādir Nagar' after Ḥaḍrat Sayyid 'Abdul-Qādir, who, on the sea-coast of the town of Nagur in the district of Tajāwūr, eternally reposes and whose tomb the people visit; Ramnad and Shivaganga named respectively 'Walī Nagar' and 'Ḥusayn-Pūr' after Ghulām Walī and Ghulām Ḥusayn, the original names of 'Umdatul-Umarā the eldest son of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā. The last two places were subdued during the days of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā by the army of the *sarkār*, and placed under the rule of 'Umdatul-Umarā. If God wills, the details will be narrated later.

The history of the former nāẓims in the ṣūbah of Arcot (Dāru'n-Nūr, Muḥammad-Pūr) in the Carnatic Payanghat

From among the body of men of Islam and good faith, and the Nawwābs of the Pādshāhs of Hindustan, the first of the *nāẓims*, by whose endeavours, the habitation and town-planning of Arcot and the subjugation of Payanghat were

achieved as already related, was Nawwāb Dhul-Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, son of Jumlatu'l-mulk Asad Khān, resident of heaven-like Irān, Wazīru'l-mamālik of the mighty environs of Hindustan, follower of the creed of Ja'far, a believer in the faith of twelve Imāns. He was of imposing stature, noble-minded, good-natured, and of universal generosity. It is difficult to attempt a description of his glorious generosity; the narration of the excellences of his intentions is impossible. But, still, I shall try to detail some facts, and invoke blessings.

His generosity and benefits.

During the period of his subjugation of the territory of the Carnatic Payanghat, he relished one day the pleasant cooking smell issuing from an adjacent tent where a *farrāsh* was preparing something with water-melon and vetch grains, and inquired about it from those present. At mealtimes he sent for a little quantity of it, and tasted it. He liked the salting of it also. In appreciation of it, he presented one lakh of rupees to the cook.

One day Nāsir 'Alī Khān, a skilled poet of Shājahānābād, as soon as he chanced to meet on his way Dhul-Faqār Khān, on horseback, gave out extempore the following couplet:

“O! Ye, whose emblem displays the splendour of Haydar
(Imām 'Alī)

And whose name in the battle-field serves the purpose of
Dhul-Faqār.” (1)

and was presented with a lakh of rupees.

It is said that during his *niẓāmat* at Arcot, a tale-bearer reported that food from the kitchen was being stolen, and sold in the *bāzār*. The Nawwāb desired him to prove it. Next day the reporter purchased some dishes, and brought them as a proof of his statement. Dhul-Faqār Khān was convinced of the truth, bowed his head to the

(1) *Dhul Faqār*—Name of the famous two-edged sword of 'Alī which Muhammad the Prophet is reported to have got from the angel Gabriel.

ground twice in prayer, offered thanks to the True Benefactor, and observed, "No tongue can fittingly praise the Great Giver for His boundless subsistence. A thousand and one tongues suffice not to enumerate the unlimited bounties of the Creator. He has bestowed upon me gifts in such abundance that they are in excess of my needs and beyond my supervision, and my adherents also find them in excess of their wants and sell the remainder." Then he called the cooks and advised them as follows:

"To sell food is mean, since it serves to prevent the offering of thanks to the Giver of the daily bread. It is necessary, therefore, that in future, you should distribute the excess food among the needy, and not sell it." Thus he forbade them from doing so, and granted them *jāgīrs* which would fetch them satisfactory income.

In short, he was the administrator of the affairs of the Carnatic for twelve years. According to the order of the Pādshāh, he appointed Dāwūd Khān,⁽¹⁾ an Afghan of the rank of *manṣabdār* of the Pādshāh, as *Nāib* in his place at Arcot, and returned to Delhi.

The nizāmat of the Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān in the sūbah of Arcot.

Dāwūd Khān, the *manṣabdār* of the Emperor, was an Afghan. Historians differ as regards the genealogy of the particular group to which he belonged. Mullā Muḥammad Qāsim, (surname, *Firishṭa*), in his history of '*Nawras Nāma*' clears the doubt thus: "They were copts, survivors of the followers of Pharoah, who on account of their disbelief in Ḥaḍrat Mūsā were drowned by a miracle in the river Nile.

(1) Dāwūd Khān Pannī was the son of Khidr Khān Pannī, a Pathan officer whose memory still survives in the tales and proverbs of the Deccan. He served several years under Awrangzēb and was the lieutenant of Dhul-Faḡār Khān in the government of the Deccan during the reign of the Emperor Bahādur Shāh. He was killed in battle by a match-lock ball, when opposing Husayn Ali Khān by secret orders from the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, in 1715 A. D. He was in charge of the *nizāmat* of the Carnatic Payanghat in the years 1700-1708, (Beale and Keene—*Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 119).

Instead of remaining in their native homes, as became true believers, they left them, and came to Hindustan." In short, Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān was very brave and strong. As *Nāib* of the Nawwāb Dhul-Faqār Khān, he carried on the administration of the *ṣubāh* of Arcot with justice and equity. He never tolerated injustice and oppression of the people. His rule was one of kindness and compassion. He bred up two dogs of wonderful stature, and never separated himself from them. He called the male 'Khidr Khān' after his father, and the female '*Bassu*' after his mother. When criminals were brought before him, he set these dogs upon them.

It is reported that a merchant borrowed money from a man living at Arcot, and went to Hyderabad on some important business, where he died. The creditor claimed his dues from the wife of the deceased. The widow was ignorant of the affairs of her husband. She promised to repay the loan after the receipt of the account and the return of the companions of the deceased. The creditor did not accede to her request. Day by day he grew more persistent in his demands. One day he was so hot that he entered her house uttering great threats, and sat with her on her *charpoy*. The woman raised an alarm. The crowd of neighbours took him to the presence of the Nawwāb, who said to the creditor, "If your business is to collect the debt, you ought to have gone either to the policeman, or the *ḥākim*, and sought their help. From your behaviour nothing could be inferred except bad intentions, and nothing could be understood except perfidy." Immediately he set the couple of dogs on him. In one attack the gullet was torn. This event created so much terror of him, that no one dared to fight his enemy. Nay, even a dog did not quarrel with another dog. There are many such stories.

He was very fond of sea voyage. On the coast of the roaring sea adjoining the town of Mylapore he erected a building, whose beauty was beyond description. During these days of dilapidation and ruin, the construction of a building of equal beauty is beyond human power.

His *nizāmat* in Payanghat lasted for about seven years. According to the order of the Pādshāh, he appointed his own Diwān Sa'ādatullāh Khān,⁽¹⁾ one of the *nawāyat*, as the *Nāib* at Arcot and made his way to the presence of the Pādshāh.

The nizāmat of Nawwāb Sa'ādatullāh Khān.

Sa'ādatullāh Khān was from the people of *nawāyat*. The word '*nawāyat*' is the plural form of the singular '*nāiṭ*', a tribe of Arabs. There are different views about their origin. According to the investigations of the historian Ṭabarī,⁽²⁾ they are the descendents of the children of the

(1) Sa'ādatullāh Khān, originally named Muhammad Sayyid, was left by Dāwūd Khān to be his Diwān and Fawjdār in 1708. According to the *Sa'adat nāma*, a persian history of his house, he received the appointment of the Nawwāb of the two Carnatics in 1713 from Nizām-ūl-Mulk, immediately after the accession of Farrukh Siyar.

Sa'ādatullāh Khān was a regular and acknowledged Nawwāb of the Carnatic (1710 to 1722 A. D.) According to the *Maāsir-ūl-Umara*, he held the Nawwābship from the time of Awrangzēb to 1732. He died much regretted by his subjects. Sa'ādatullāh succeeded Dawūd Khān and was confirmed by the Nizām in 1723.

(2) *Al-Ṭabarī*, Abu Ja'far Muḥammad bin Jarīr, the Arab historian, was born probably in 839 A.D. at Amul in the province of Ṭabaristān. He began to devote himself to study at a precociously early age, and is said to have known the Qurān by heart by the time he was seven. After receiving his early education in his native town, he received from his father, who was quite well off, the necessary means of visiting the centres of the Muslim learned world. He thus visited Raiy and its vicinity, then Bāghdād, where Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal under whom he had intended to study, had died shortly before his arrival there. After a brief stay in Baṣra and Kūfa, he again returned to Bāghdād where he remained for some time. He then set out for Egypt but stopped in the Syrian towns to study *Ḥadīth*. From there he returned to Bāghdād where, except for two

Quraysh. The author of the '*History of Yemen*' says that they come from the tribe of sailors. The writer of *Jāmi'ul-lubāb* says that they are the nobles of Kūfa. However that may be, they emigrated from their native home owing to the tyranny of Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf, ⁽¹⁾ and reached the coast of Hind (India) by sea. They settled in the region of Konkan in the territory of the Mahrattas. During the time of the four Muslim Sultans of the Deccan—of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda and Birar they attained distinction. It may be noted here that a *nāiṭ*, by name Mullāh Aḥmad attained the rank of an Amir in the darbār of Ādil Shāh at Bijapur.

Two *nāiṭ* brothers, one Muḥammad Sa'īd and the other Ghulām Ālī, who were in miserable circumstances in Konkan, reached the army quarters of Muḥammad Awrangzēb Ālamgīr Pādshāh, and became acquainted with the Bakhshī of the sepoy who took them one day to the presence of the Pādshāh. The two brothers were made to stand side by side. Ghulām Ālī, the younger brother, was acceptable in the eye of the Pādshāh on account of his stature and robustness, and

journeys to Ṭabaristān, he lived till his death in 923, A. D. His works have not come to us completely. Some of his works are *Jāmi'ul-bayān fi't-tafsīr-il-bayān*, *Tarikhul-rusul wal-mulūk*, *Tarikhul-rijāl*.

(1) *Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf* (+ 714 A. D.) He was an extraordinary man who began life as a school master and rose to the position of a governor of Irāq during the reign of the Caliph 'Abdu'l Malik. He was a stern disciplinarian and a trustworthy officer. He served the Umayyads well and faithfully putting down many rebellions, and sectarian risings. He restored order in Irāq and by his despotic rule for twenty years, he gave peace and security to the Eastern world.

He shared the literary tastes of his sovereign; he admired old poets and patronised the new. He established and maintained the settled conditions which afford leisure for the cultivation of learning. Under his protection the Qurān and Traditions were diligently studied both in Kūfa and Baṣra. Considering the difficulties of the Arabic language for foreigners who accepted Islam after the early conquests, Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf exerted himself to promote the use of vowel marks and of the diacritical points placed above or below similar consonants.

was gladly entertained in service. Muḥammad Saʿīd with his emaciated body and short stature, was not approved of, and was rejected. The *Bakhshī* was also strictly forbidden to present in future such emaciated and short men. Muḥammad Saʿīd, bewailing his ill-fate, came to a *Ṣāhib-i-daʿwat* ⁽¹⁾ [one who invokes blessings] whose amulets were supposed to produce great effect, and who lived in the army quarters. He narrated to him his story from the beginning and expressed great sorrow. The *Ṣāhib-i-daʿwat* took pity on his condition and was generously disposed towards him. He presented him with an amulet, and strictly enjoined on him as follows: "Keep this on your head completely hidden. Never should you give out my name to any one. By any possible means, present yourself once more before the *Pādshāh*. By the grace of the Watcher, the Exalted, it may be possible that

(1) *Daʿwah*: lit. a call, an invocation (of Allāh's help). It is a term used to express a system of incantation held to be lawful by orthodox muslims, while *Siḥr* (magic) and *Kahānah* (fortune telling) are unlawful because the Prophet prohibited both.

It appears from various Muslim works that the Prophet had sanctioned the use of spells and incantations, so long as the words used were only those of the names of Allāh, of good angels and of good genii, though the *Wahhābis* (a puritanic sect) hold that only the invocation of the names of Allāh are lawful. This view is more in accordance with the following tradition of the Prophet: "There is nothing wrong in using spells as long as you do not associate anything with Allāh (*Mishkāṭ*)."

Hence it is lawful to use amulets and charms on which the name of Allāh is inscribed, provided nothing is done to associate any with Allāh.

But, however, the science of *Daʿwah* was much elaborated in later times and its authors seem to have deviated too far from the original teachings of the Prophet on the subject.

In India the best-known and most popular work on the subject is *Jawahirul Khamsa* by *Shaykh* Abul Muwayyid of Gujarat 956 A. H., in which he says the science is used for the following purposes: (1) to establish friendship or enmity between persons, (2) to effect cure or cause the sickness or death of a person, (3) to accomplish one's desires, and (4) to secure victory or defeat in a battle. This book is largely made up of Hindu customs, which in India have become part of Islamic observances.

you may find the chance for service." When Muḥammad Saʿīd said that it was impossible for him to get any pretext to reach the presence of the Pādshāh, and therefore sought his guidance in this affair, the Ṣāhib-i-daʿwat recommended him to the Bakhshī of the sepoys who was one of his devotees and asked him to present Muḥammad Saʿīd once more before the Pādshāh by any means he thought proper. The Bakhshī excused himself by saying that the command of the Pādshāh did not embolden him, and disobedience would finally bring him disgrace. But the Ṣāhib-i-daʿwat persisted in his recommendation, and the Bakhshī on account of his devotion could not but accept it. He waited for an opportunity; when the order for selection came from the Sultan, he included Muḥammad Saʿīd as one of a company of men numbering more than two hundred, and assigned to him the last place in the row so that he might be far away from the view of the Pādshāh, and the royal displeasure might not be shown again as on the previous occasion. But the far-reaching eyes of the Pādshāh spotted him out at first sight as a diamond in a string of pebbles. He gave the command to *khwāja sarāi*, "Go and get the amulet from the head of such and such a man of such a stature and size, of such a face and appearance stationed at such a place, who hides on him the amulet in such a place hoping to achieve success." *Khwāja sarāi* hastened to him, and asked for the amulet. He immediately took it from his turban, and gave it into his hands. *Khwāja sarāi* bowed low to the Pādshāh, and placed it at the foot of the throne. The Pādshāh sent the amulet to its scribe with the message, "In the administration of the affairs of the King which with reference to men is a model of the kingdom of God, unwarranted interference is a mistake. It is necessary that in future you refrain from such an act. Else, you will be turned out of the army quarters." Then he entrusted Muḥammad Saʿīd to the Bakhshī, and gave the order thus: "Enlist him as a servant and fix for him the livelihood which would be suitable to his condition."

The chief Wazir was perplexed at this wonderful event, and was astonished at this marvellous happening. With great respect he placed his humble forehead on the floor, and requested an explanation of how he got the knowledge of these facts, viz., of the amulet on his head, and of its scribe. He replied, "As soon as we saw him this time, unconsciously we were influenced to entertain him in service, contrary to the intention we had on the previous occasion. So we were astonished to notice how this change of opinion could have happened in spite of the absence of change either in the looker or in the one looked upon. We guessed that it might be due to the effect of the amulet of *Ṣāhib-i-Da'wat*."

Now, it is in the power of God to raise an ant to the rank of Sulaymān and defeat human wisdom. The raising of a beggar to the position of a sultan, which seems not to stand to reason, is worked out in the unseen darbār of the Almighty. As days rolled on Muḥammad Saʿīd, from the position of a servant, found his entry into the group of *manṣabdārs*. With the title of Saʿādatullāh *Khān*, he accompanied Dāwūd *Khān*, and was appointed to the post of *Dīwān*. Thus, he grew prosperous day by day. In the *ṣūbah* of Arcot, he was for twenty years *Nāib* to the *Nāẓim* and for five years *Nāẓim*. The fame of his administration was sung for twenty-five years on the whole. He devoted his high purpose to the welfare of the creation and to the organisation of his army. He was a follower of twelve Imāms, and had faith in the sect of Jaʿfar. He had in his heart the interests of his relatives and the members of his family. He invited them from Konkan and bestowed on them *jāgīrs* and forts. His younger brother Ghulām ʿAlī who was at the court of the Pādshāh, was granted the *jāgīr* of Vellore, and given the title of '*Khān*.' He tried to comfort and console the poor, the orphan and the needy. The people regarded his days as the best of the past, and were of one accord in praising the justice of his *niẓāmat*. He had no issue, and so adopted one of the sons of his uncle and named him '*Khān Bahādur*.' Then, the *nāẓim* of his soul (*rūḥ*) left the *niẓāmat* [of the

kingdom] of his borrowed body. All his nobles divided themselves into two groups; one chose the side of Khān Bahādur, the other that of Bāqir 'Alī Khān, the Qil'adār of Vellore, the son of Ghulām 'Alī Khān, the brother of the deceased Nawwāb. After great discussions and many arguments Bāqir 'Alī Khān was appointed as the successor to the throne of the *nizāmat* of Arcot.

The nizāmat of Nawwāb 'Alī Dōst Khān, the younger brother of Bāqir 'Alī Khān and the second son of Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Qil'adār of Vellore, the brother's son of the Nawwāb Sa'adatullāh Khān

Bāqir 'Alī Khān, the eldest son of Ghulām 'Alī Khān, was unanimously elected by the people to the *nizāmat* of Arcot in the place of his uncle Nawwāb Sa'adatullāh Khān. When he sat on the throne, the nobles of the family and the members of the court presented him *nadhṛ*. His younger brother 'Alī Dōst Khān also presented his *nadhṛ* as one of the nobles. The Nawwāb accepted his *nadhṛ*, and at the same time caught hold of his hand and seated him on the throne. Then, he took in his hand the whole money of the *nadhṛ* collected and presented it to him as his *nadhṛ*. After observing the formalities connected with an accession to the *nizāmat*, he made his way to the fort of Vellore. The big nobles and others present in the *darbār* accepted 'Alī Dōst Khān as the Nazim, and presented him *nadhṛ*. In short, 'Alī Dōst Khān got authority over the affairs of the government. The fame of his good nature, the purity of his habits, his laudable actions, and good intentions spread quickly throughout the length and breadth of the country. His kindness was such that his own community could with impunity become his secret opponents, while professing loyalty. He had one son named Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, and five sons-in-law. These were (1) Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, son of Bāqir 'Alī Khān, the younger brother of the *jāgirdār* of Vellore; (2) Taqī 'Alī Khān, one of the uncle's sons, the *jāgirdār* of Wandivash, (3) Husayn Dōst Khān, one of his relatives, the *hākim* of Trichinopoly, (4) Akbar 'Alī Khān, from his stock, (5) Muḥammad Diwān, from his tribe.

When the Zamindār [the Nāyak ruler] of Trichinopoly quitted this world, his wife, who had no issue, succeeded him and established her authority as Rāni. Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, the third son-in-law [of the Nawwāb] went there in the guise of peace. Swearing on the word of Allāh, the King, the Great Knower, he span the thread of relationship of a brother to her, made it into a noose of punishment and deceived her. He cut the throat of the times, broke his plighted word, and tinged his scimitar with blood. Finally in the *sarāi*, known as *Dalwai mandap*, adjoining the fort of Trichinopoly, he broke [his covenant with her] yielding to his prolific vicious nature, took possession of the fort, (1)

(1) *End of the Nāyak Rulers of Trichinopoly*: Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayak (1706-1732) was too pious and religious to keep up his authority undiminished; and his death in 1732 was followed by his wife Minakshi assuming the reins of government and adopting a son from the collateral branch. Vangaru Tirumala, the father of her adopted son and Dalavay Venkatacharya formed an alliance to bring about her deposition. When Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib came to Trichinopoly (1734) Vangaru Tirumala or his ally, made overtures to Safdar Ali, promising to pay him 30 lakhs if he would oust the Rani. The Rani, alarmed at this, made overtures to Chanda Sahib who was left behind, promising to pay him one crore of rupees if she should be guaranteed undisturbed possession of the kingdom, on oath. Chanda Sahib was then admitted into the fort of Trichinopoly; and Vangaru Tirumala and his son were sent away to Madura. Chanda Sahib returned to Arcot after these. The faction opposed to the Rāni was active, and in 1736 Chanda Sahib came a second time to Trichinopoly and proceeded to make himself master of the whole kingdom. He captured Dindigul and Madura; and Vangaru Tirumala fled for protection to Sivaganga. The disappointed Rāni who found herself a prisoner took poison and died (according to Burgess in 1741). Vangaru Tirumala called in the aid of the Mahrattas who had an interview with him before they occupied Trichinopoly. Raghuji Bhonsle, the leader of the expedition is even said to have directed Murari Rao to place Vangaru upon the throne: but no result came out of this. When the Nizam came down to Trichinopoly in 1743, Vangaru bestirred himself and visited him in the hope of obtaining his favour and assistance. Anwarūd-Din is said to have been asked by his master to take kindly care of the Nayak; and the *Pandian Chronicle* says that the Nayak was poisoned by Anwarūd-Din, while living at Arcot as his pensioner. But this is improbable and needs further corroboration. The son of Vangaru returned to Sivaganga; and

and set the mischief afoot. The Rāni became aware of the deceit, but being too weak to take revenge, the power went from her hands. Thus wounded in heart and helpless, she burnt herself according to the custom of the Hindus. But a spark that would in time burst into flame and burn out life and punish this cheat was being kindled in secret in the cotton-like confidence of this faithless liar; because the Rāni at the time of her jumping into the fire kept the holy book [Qurān] in her bosom with faith. The cheat, in his ignorance of the right path, went against the practices of Islam, chose the objects of this transitory world, and took a false oath on the holy book simply to create more confidence in his assertions, while strengthening the friendship, establishing brotherly relationship, and making covenant of union and amity. The holy Qurān, the praiseworthy book, was so miraculous in its power that the fire while it burnt her whole body did not reach the bosom. It produced its effect thus: The Khān during the days of our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, got his capital punishment at the hands of a Hindu in the same *sarāi*, and in a similar deceitful manner. In spite of all these undesirable actions, his death is called a martyrdom because of the favour of Islam, of his love for the family of the Prophet of all creation, (May God bless him!) his generous and noble habits, and his murder by a Hindu. The knowledge of these things is only in Allāh!

The immolation of the Rāni was a startling event; how Ḥusayn Dōst Khān was avenged in a fitting manner for this sin needs to be narrated here. And hence I have related concisely the facts of the death of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān. I shall now narrate the facts that happened in the interval, and shall relate only such of them which I understand to be important.

nothing is heard of him. (See V. Rangaacharya: *The History of the Nāyak Kingdom of Madura* in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1917—pp. 237-247; and B. Satyanatha Iyer, *The Nayak Kingdom of Madura*, p. 234 and Nelson; *The Madura Country, a Manual*, part.III—pp. 256-264).

The Khān became the master of the ṣūbah of Trichinopoly by deceit and fraud. Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, son of Āli Dost Khān, with the old and new armies, marched against the Zamindār of Tajāwūr ⁽¹⁾ [Tanjore] subdued his kingdom, and made the Zamindār a prisoner. In the meantime, Raghuji and Fataḥ Singh, the two sardārs of the Mahrattas and the representatives of the chief of Poona, poured into Arcot with a great army with the object of collecting the usual *chawth*. Āli Dōst Khān intimated this fact to his son and sent for the Arcot army that was with him. Immediately on hearing this information, Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān set free the ruler of Tajāwūr, took a certain amount as *nadhv*, gave him back his kingdom and marched slowly and leisurely with the victorious army and necessary provisions to meet the Mahrattas. He marched past *manzil* after *manzil* enjoying the trip, and hunting in the fields, unmindful of the enemy's advances. Āli Dōst Khān in the meantime wrote another letter thus: "My life-breath is almost at its last gasp. Come [at once], so that I may live! When I am no more, for what purpose will you be coming?" He thought that the delay of his lazy son was detrimental to the interests of his affairs, and understood that to wait for him just when the wicked enemy was close at hand was a blemish on the honour of a ruler and the virtue of a soldier. So, with horse and whip and the available army which numbered 3,000 cavalry and infantry, he hastened forward from his capital to meet an enemy, 60,000 strong. He met the enemy with bravery and vigour, at the foot of the mountain of Damalcherue. He used no discrimination in exposing many valiant men of the enemy to sword-blows which fell in torrents, and to arrows and rockets which fell in showers, and thus silenced their great pride. With his foot firm in

(1) *Ṣafdar 'Alī's invasion of Tanjore.* In 1734 when Ṣafdar 'Alī and Chanda Ṣāhib were sent by Nawwāb Dōst 'Alī on a roving commission to the South, they carried Tanjore by storm and placed it in the hands of Bada-Ṣāhib, the brother of Chanda Ṣāhib. This expedition is not detailed fully by Grant Duff or Wilks, but has been ascertained from the contemporary news-letters of the Madura Mission.

the battle of life he honourably discharged the debt of bravery, managed the affairs of war, and reached the triumphant plain of eternity. The army of the Mahrattas fell on the town of Arcot like a swarm of flies in a sweet-meat shop. They looted the immense treasures and the vast riches, the property and substance acquired by the residents during the prosperous times of peace from the time of the first occupation of the city, which had been the stronghold of chieftains of great power and was the most thickly populated of all towns in any country. Then, in great haste, they marched forward to attack Şafdar 'Alī Khān who was marching past *manzil* after *manzil*, and tried to fight him with great vehemence and violence. Şafdar 'Alī Khān, on the eve of battle, thought that peace was proper in the circumstances, consented to pay the usual *chawth*,⁽¹⁾ concluded peace and thus made the enemy leave his territory. He imposed the stipulated amount over the taluqs of the Carnatic Payanghat; when Ḥusayn Dōst Khān refused to pay the portion of *chawth* allotted to Trichinopoly, Şafdar 'Alī Khān felt aggrieved and secretly turned against him the Mahrattas who, like a blight, were on their way to Balaghat. They besieged Ḥusayn Dōst Khān [Chanda Şāhib] in his fort. He sought the help of his younger brother, Zaynul Ābidīn Khān, (Badē Şāhib) who had been entrusted with authority over Dindigul, Madura, and other taluks. Badē Şāhib marched with the army of Dindigul,

(1) *Chawth* was in Shivaji's time a military contribution paid by the defenceless subjects of enemy kingdoms and territories for the protection of their lives and property from the invading Mahratta army. Shivaji claimed it on the basis of might; his sons Sambhaji and Rajaram followed in his foot-steps. Shahu got from the Mughals as a pension what Shivaji had demanded as a tribute. It grew out of a precedent which existed before Shivaji's time. The Mahrattas never renounced their claims to *chawth* on the Mughalai Deccan since Shivaji's time and extended it wherever they could outside. Usually *chawth* is associated with *sirdeshmukhi* which was based on a legal fiction; Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary *sirdeshmukh* of the Mahratta; this additional payment was in law to be confined to the Deccan (See. pp. 28-53 of S. N. Sen's *The Military System of the Mahrattas*).

Madura, Tinnevely, and other parts to help his brother, and fight the Mahrattas. They opposed his march to prevent the union of the brothers. So, the army of Badē Šāhib had to march through declivities and rough and rugged ways to avoid the enemy. On the seventh day of the respectful Muḥarram (1) of the year 1152 A. H. the army carrying the standard of mourning for the Imām of creation, (on him be peace) beat their breasts in grief, sang songs of sorrow, became scattered, and gave the chance for the enemy. In the confusion of battle at a place adjoining the *qasba* of Koduttalam, at a distance of four *kurōh* from Trichinopoly, Badē Šāhib and a number of his soldiers, though they distinguished themselves by their sword play, were killed. Husayn Dōst Khān, who was firm in the battle-ground, in the hope of getting help from his brother, let the bridle of firmness slip from his hand, and the Mahrattas got the upper hand. They imprisoned him and conveyed him to Poona. They entrusted the fort of Trichinopoly to Murari Rao, the *sardār* of the Mahrattas and the *ilāqadār* of Guthi (Gooty).

‘Alī Dōst Khān ruled at Arcot for about five years. Šafdar ‘Alī Khān, whose account has already been narrated and will also follow, succeeded him.

(1) Muḥarram:—Lit. "That which is forbidden." Anything sacred.

1. Before the advent of the Prophet, war was prohibited in that month.

2. Muḥarram is the first month of the Muslim year. It is Umar the second Caliph (A. H. 18-23) who officially instituted the Muslim era which dates from the first day of the lunar month of Muḥarram.

3. The first ten days of the month of Muḥarram are observed as days of lamentation by the *shī‘a* Muslims in commemoration of the martyrdom of Imām Husayn, the second son of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, by ‘Alī. The tenth day of Muḥarram is observed by the *sunnis* as *‘Ashūra*, because Muḥammad the Prophet observed it as a fast day and said it was a day respected by Jews and Christians.

The ceremonies of the Muḥarram differ much in different countries. In India, especially in the South, Hindu ideas and forms of worship are imported into them.

The nizāmat and the martyrdom of Nawwāb Şafdar Ālī Khān Shahīd, son of Ālī Dōst Khān Shahīd (May God's mercy be on them).

Nawwāb Şafdar Ālī Khān reached Arcot after the settlement of the affair with the Mahrattas. He made new regulations, brought back the scattered inhabitants to the city of Arcot and restored order.

He favoured according to deserts such of his community who did not care for Ālī Dōst Khān, but held their proud heads high. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir, a *Naiṭ*, the *jāgirdār* of Āmburgadh and the *diwān* of Nawwāb Ālī Dōst Khān Shahīd, was removed, and in his place was appointed Mīr Asadullāh Khān, his own teacher, the *jāgirdār* of Chetpat, ⁽¹⁾ a Sayyid-i-Minuchahr, the brother's son of Mīr Walī Fayyād, and the author of the *Rawḍatūsh-Shuhadā* in the Dakhani ⁽²⁾ language. The two *diwāns* differed from each other in religion as well as in politics; the one was a *sunni* and a *shāfiʿī* while the other belonged to the sect which believed in the Twelve Imāms. Though Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir's intrigue against the new *diwān* did not bring any danger to his life, but only imprisonment for some days, confiscation of his *jāgīr*, and damage to his property, yet the revenge of Mīr Asadullāh during the rule of Ḥaḍrat-i-Āʿlā,

(1) *Chetpat* in the North Arcot District. Its fortress sustained several sieges in the Carnatic wars and was finally taken by Coote after the battle of Wandewash (1760). It is about 30 miles south of Arcot.

(2) *Dakhani* also spelt Deccani, Dekhani, or Dekkani. It is the form of Hindustani spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of the Dakhan or Southern India. It is Hindi with an admixture of Persian and Arabic words, phrases, idioms, and grammatical forms, introduced after the Muslim conquest of the South. In the construction of sentences it differs from the more polished and modern style of Hindustani as spoken in Upper India. The polished style of Urdu had its origin from the Dakhani. But of late the Dakhanis are trying to come up to the level of Urdu as spoken in Delhi and Lucknow.

when he lifted his head high in the exalted position of a *Nāib* to the *niẓāmat* of Arcot, afflicted the *Tāhirs* with various kinds of ghastly evils. If the kindness of *Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā* had not given them protection, the paw of the lion would have mangled all the wolves. This enmity proved so contagious that it resulted in the murder of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān and his son; the reason will be detailed in the proper place.

Riḍā 'Alī Khān inherited the *jāgīr* and the fort of Vellore from his father. Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, his younger brother, who had married a sister of Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, brought to the notice of the Nawwāb the ignorance and foolishness of the *jāgīrdār*, and made frequent solicitations to the Nawwāb through his wife that the *jāgīr* be transferred to him. In trying to open this door, the key of excessive endeavour and deliberation was worn out; but nothing came out of this. In despair, he and his wife donned the *faqīr's* robes, ceased to talk about worldly affairs, and chose to leave their residence at Arcot; yet his avaricious claim never gave him a moment's rest, and his heart was burning in sorrow. Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān entrusted the settlement of this affair to his *diwān*, Mīr Asadullāh Khān who submitted thus: "To substitute another in the place of one who had inherited the right from his father is opposed to the right-thinking of the wise, and will bring down the displeasure of God. The entrusting of this choicest house knowingly to the hands of this old wolf who has seen many rainy seasons is to rouse the sleeping dog, and will serve as a handle to the *Nāẓim* of the Deccan who is lying in wait for an opportunity to untie the knot of his difficulties." Finally Murtaḍā Khān and his wife requested thus: "At least with a view to remove our shame [of failure], the fort may be entrusted to us for one year. Then, we shall return it to the rightful *Nāẓim*. If not, the sorrow of this event will leave an indelible scar upon us as long as we live. The desire of this object will cause pain like the wound of a sword." Poor Ṣafdar 'Alī

Khān, out of regard for his sister, entrusted the fort to them accordingly. On the expiry of the stipulated period, the fort was not handed over back to the rightful owner in spite of earnest requests. Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān took upon himself the duty of becoming the key to this situation. He tried various peaceful means, but could not get back the fort, and entrust it to Riḍā 'Alī Khān who had the right by the will of his father. The Nawwāb himself went to the fort of Vellore, and was the guest in the house of his fratricidal sister. For, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir, in his hatred and enmity owing to his dismissal from the office of *ḍiwān*, approached Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān and excited in him the desire for the rulership of Arcot. He placed before him the fact that he was the son of Bāqir 'Alī Khān, who, after Nawwāb Ṣa'adatullāh Khān, ascended the *masnad*, but gave it to his younger brother, 'Alī Dōst Khān, and thus instigated him to murder Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān. Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān accepted this suggestion in all greediness; he considered it the solution of the circumstances he was in, and waited for an opportunity to carry out his treachery. So, the presence of the Nawwāb in his house, he thought, was like a deer in the net or a morsel in the mouth. In short, Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, on the night of the 15th of Sha'bān the Great, in the year 1155 A. H. gave leave to his followers and servants, having regard for the ceremonies of the occasion, and sought from Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān some of his servants to be in attendance on him. Murtaḍā Khān did not miss this good opportunity. He hastened to his wife and asked her, "Do you require a red veil or a white one?" Since it is the belief with Hindu women that the white veil is the sign of widowhood and red is the sign of the happy one whose husband is alive, she replied, "Red is what I want, and that is what I like." He said, "Thy brother, Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān waits for an opportunity to destroy me. If you can, bore a tunnel of trick to murder him." She was a woman after the truth of the verse:

"Women are known by the name *zan*.(1)

Had they but been good, they would have been named *mazan*."

She concurred with the desire of her husband, cut away the thread of affection from her brother, and poisoned the soup she used to send him under her seal every night. When the Nawwāb saw the vessel with the seal of his sister, he drank it without any suspicion, and gave a little of it to Sayyid Bābā Ḥasan his companion and story-teller. After a while, they had excessive loosening of the bowels, and vomitted, but the poison did not produce its final effect. In the meanwhile, Ḥakīm 'Alī Akbar, an employee of Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, had come there under the pretext of enquiring about the health of the Nawwāb, but really to inform himself of the effects of his [poison]. The Nawwāb said to him, "By His grace, to-morrow is the day of punishment, and retaliation for this mischief." Since the Ḥakīm was an accomplice in mixing poison with the soup, and in the deliberations of the mischief, he dreaded at the thought that punishment would come upon him also. So he conveyed precisely the intention of the Nawwāb to the ill-wishers, and informed them of the intended revenge for the treachery. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir and other mischief-makers were guided by the maxim "Prevention is better than cure"; so, the same night they sent Ḥasan Zamān Khān, the nephew of Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, Mir Tayyib, and others, along with some worthless creatures, to murder the Nawwāb, and thus placed the neck of their period of earthly existence under the sword of eternal retaliation. When they reached

(1) *Zan* (Z. *ghena*) A woman, a lady.

Zan (imperative of *Zadan*) Strike Thou!

Mazan (imperative, negative)—Do not strike.

The author is here making pun upon the word *Zan*, (a lady). Since the wife of Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān brings about the death of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, the author thinks that she has exhibited the characteristic feature of her sex which is named *Zan*.

the place, the Nawwāb was in a state of unconsciousness owing to excessive loosening of the bowels and vomiting. So, they took away the weapons of defence, *viz.*, sword, dagger, and other things usually kept near him, silently, one by one, with the help of the servants engaged to attack him. Nothing was left near him except the spittoon. As they had removed the weapons of defence treacherously, the Nawwāb, when he recovered consciousness, was very much concerned and distracted at his own helpless position in view of the aggression of the enemy. Suddenly they rushed in. There was no weapon at hand. With the spittoon that was available he struck Ḥasan Zamān Khān who got a severe wound on his forehead. Immediately Mīr Ṭayyib, his companion, wounded him with the sword in return. Nawwāb Ṣāfdar 'Alī Khān, seeing the crowd of enemies, ran out through a back door with the idea of escaping from that danger, where unexpectedly, a bolt struck him severely on the back and removed the skin and flesh. He jumped out even in that condition. Immediately the hostile group accomplished their work. In a short time, the Sayyid, the story teller, also passed away with a swollen body along with the Nawwāb and thus made himself the subject of a story of past days (May Allāh bless them all). In brief, they killed him for no reason, took on their heads unlawfully the blood of the guiltless one, got the punishment for their deed and left the world in distress. The greatest sinner, Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, who in a short time grew desperate of reaping rich benefits was captured by the mighty army of our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, and imprisoned in the fort of Natharnagar where he pined away from this world. The history of these events will be related briefly at the end of this book, and in detail in the second book. The second sinner Mīr Ṭayyib suffered greatly from leprosy, and in a short time found his ruin. The third, Ḥasan Zamān Khān, was first imprisoned after the subjugation of the fort of Vellore; later he became a servant of Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, the chief of Mysore, and underwent great distress; and finally he was killed in a Mahratta war. His body could not be

distinguished amidst the slain warriors. However much his relatives searched for it, they could not identify it. In short, the doer as well as the [eater] reaped not what they wanted.

The rule of Şafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd lasted for nearly three years. He had a young son Muḥammad Sa'īd with the title of "Sa'ādatullāh Khān."

The establishment of Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān on the masnad of the nizāmat of Arcot; his flight to Vellore owing to the mischief of the Tāhirs; the nizāmat falling vacant for some time because of the absence of a definite nāẓim.

Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, after the murder of the Nawwāb Şafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, imprisoned his *dīwān* Mīr Asadullāh Khān in the fort of Vellore, reached Arcot with Muḥammad Husayn Khān Tāhir and other nobles, and sat on the *masnad*. He was ruler for six months. Then the party of the Tāhirs became treacherous against him also. They incited a group of sepoys to claim the pay due to them from Şafdar 'Alī Khān and made them sit at the door of *Dārul-amārah*, for this trick, they thought, would induce soldiers to nominate Muḥammad Husayn Khān Tāhir to the throne. But Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān who was the foremost among the intelligent and the skilful men of his time as well as the greatest of the knaves of the day knew their minds, and understood the secret. So, with the utmost secrecy, he seated himself in a cauldron, covered it with a lid, and had himself carried away by men during the night. Thus he escaped, and established himself firmly in the fort of Vellore. Next morning the Tāhirs who got news of his escape felt very sorry. Owing to the firmness and strength of the run-away in the fort of Vellore they were not able to approach the *masnad*. Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān Bahādur also fearing mischief, had not the boldness to take on hand the affairs of the *nizāmat*. Thus, till the coming of the Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāli and the appointment of Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān, the affairs of the *riyāsat* were in a state of neglect.

A brief account of the Tāhirs, and how they got this pompous surname.

The *Tāhirs* are a group of the *Nāiṭ* community. Their original surname was *phutāni* [fried peas.] Various reasons are given for the origin of such a name; but, only three are well established, and clearly known: (1) their earning a living by selling fried peas; (2) their habit of excessive eating of the same; (3) the short stature of the senior man of that mischievous group. Perhaps, it was agreed by one and all to fix his surname as 'fried pea,' partly on account of his resemblance and partly out of the necessity of distinguishing him from others. God knows better. In short, this group, in former times, gathered round *Shāh Tāhir Dakhani* ⁽¹⁾ who had great influence at the court of *Burhān Nizām Shāh Pādshāh* ⁽²⁾ of *Aḥmadnagar*, changed their *sunni* faith and *shafi'i* sect, chose to believe in the faith of the Twelve Imāms, and styled themselves *Tāhir*. After the death of *Shāh Tāhir*, they again returned to the religion of the Four Caliphs. In this connection, a poet briefly says in an elegant verse in the Hindi language thus:—

"Through *Shāh Tāhir* they became *tāhir*,
But really they are peas worth a farthing."

There is also another verse of *Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh* which proclaims the nature of this surname, wherein gems of meaning are strung on the thread of elegance:

(1) *Shāh Tāhir Dakhani*, also called *Shāh Tāhir Junaydī*, came to India in the reign of the Emperor *Humāyūn*, migrated to the Deccan, and rose to be the minister of *Burhān Nizām Shāh I* of *Aḥmadnagar* (1509-50 A. D.). He was a *shī'a* and converted his master to the *shī'a* persuasion in 1537 A. D. He was an excellent poet and theologian and the author of several works. He died in the Deccan in A. D. 1545 (A. H. 952.)

(2) *Burhān Nizām Shāh I* (1509-1553 A. D.) was the son of *Aḥmad Nizām Shāh* and came to the throne at the age of seven. He frequently made war with the neighbouring kingdoms of *Berar*, *Bijapur*, and even *Gujrat*.

"The stupidity of the Carnatic is apparent in this,
For what was impure in the Konkan has become *ṭāhir*
[pure] here."

The arrival of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh in the Payanghat: The appointment of Khwāja Abdullāh Khān to the nizāmat of Arcot and the capture of the fort of Trichinopoly from the hands of Murari Rao.

From the days of Nawwāb Dhul Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, the *Nāẓims* of the *ṣūbah* of Arcot had direct relationship with the court of His Imperial Majesty [at Delhi] and had no connection with the *Nāẓims* of the Deccan. Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, when he was appointed to look after the management of the Deccan, set in order all the important affairs. He had planned that the *ṣūbah* of Arcot also should be brought under the Deccan, and that its management and rule should be brought under his control. But, he did not get an opportunity till after the murder of Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān, when confusion and turmoil had occurred as described above, and there was no *nāẓim* owing to the mischief of the mischief-makers. Āṣaf Jāh found a favourable chance. He immediately descended on the Payanghat with a big army, and entered the town of Arcot without any trouble or opposition. But he did not choose to take his residence in any of the buildings in the city; he pitched his tents within its walls, stabilised himself, and shed splendour by his new arrangements. All the nobles submitted to him and presented him with *naḍhr*. The confusion which was prevalent among the Nawāyaṭ slowly subsided. Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh entrusted the reins of the management of the *ṣūbah* of Arcot to Khwāja Abdullāh Khān, and turned to subdue Murari Rao in Trichinopoly.⁽¹⁾ He laid siege to that fort for six months.

(1) *Nizāmīl-Mulk's capture of Trichinopoly*: In 1784 an expedition was sent by the Nawwāb of Arcot under Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān and Chanda Ṣāhib to exact tribute and submission from the ruler of Trichinopoly. The invaders penetrated as far as Travancore, and on their return, Chanda Ṣāhib, was

But finding it impregnable, he made peace through negotiations, entrusted the fort to Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān, and returned to Arcot. There, according to the request of the Khwāja, he imprisoned all the people of the *Nāṭi* community who were the source of mischief, trouble, enmity, and intrigue, and took them along with his army. Khwāja

persuaded by Rani Minakshi who was then quarrelling with Vangaru Tirumala, to declare her as the rightful queen. Chanda Śāhib was admitted into Trichinopoly, and Vangaru Tirumala went over to Madura. Two years later, in 1736, Chanda Śāhib returned, took possession of Trichinopoly and made himself master of that kingdom in the years 1736-40. He strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly and appointed his two brothers to be the governors of Dindigul and Madura respectively.

The Raja of Tanjore and Vangaru Tirumala called in the assistance of the Mahrattas who took advantage of the absence of Nizām-ūl-Mulk in Delhi and early in 1740 killed the Nawwāb of Arcot in battle at the Damalcheruvu Pass. They then came to an understanding with Śafdar ‘Alī Khān the new Nawwāb of Arcot and retired for a time. Chanda Śāhib made a faint pretence of helping the Mahrattas yet offered his submission to Śafdar ‘Alī Khān. At the end of the same year the Mahrattas re-appeared, (it is said at the secret instigation of Śafdar ‘Alī Khān) marched straight to Trichinopoly, killed the two brothers of Chanda Śāhib, took the fort after a siege of three months, and carried away Chanda Śāhib as a prisoner to Satara. Disregarding the claims of Vangaru Tirumala they appointed the well-known Murari Rao of Gooty to be their governor of Trichinopoly (1741).

Meanwhile, Nizām-ūl-Mulk who had been to Delhi returned to the Deccan to crush a rebellion raised by his son Nāṣir Jang. In October 1742, Śafdar ‘Alī Khān was put to death by Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān who was not however able to succeed to the Nawwābship. Sayyid Muḥammad Khān, the infant son of Śafdar ‘Alī Khān, was proclaimed Nawwāb. In January 1743, Nizām-ūl-Mulk marched into South India and reached Arcot in March. He threatened the petty chiefs into submission, appointed Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān, his general, to be in charge of the *ṣubāh* of Arcot and encamped with his whole army before the walls of Trichinopoly. In August 1743, Murari Rao evacuated Trichinopoly and soon after quitted the Carnatic with all his followers. Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān, leaving a deputy behind him at Arcot, accompanied the Nizām on his return to the Deccan. In March 1744, on the day he wanted to start for Arcot, he was found dead in bed, and the Nizām appointed Anwar-ūl-Dīn Khān to succeed him. Anwar-ūl-Dīn reached Arcot in April 1744. (Orme's *History of Indostan*, 1861-ed., Vol. I, supplies a plain, but detailed, narrative of these happenings on pp. 39-59.)

‘Abdullāh Khān entrusted the affairs of the *ṣūbah* of Arcot to Khwāja Ni‘matullāh Khān, one of his relatives, and with the object of effecting reforms in certain important affairs of the government, accompanied the retinue of the Nawwāb.

The nizāmat of Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān.

Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān was one of the sons of the Khwājas of Tūran. He left his native home, and came to Hindustan in the company of Khwāja Raḥmatullāh Khān, his elder brother. Since Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh also was of Tūrani origin, they left Hindustan and came together to the Deccan being influenced by the feeling of their common birth-place. In the *darbār* of Āṣaf Jāh, he and his brother were taken in service, each on a monthly salary of thirty rupees. It was the practice in that court that till the payment of the monthly salary by the *sarkār*, [the employees] used to take loans from money-lenders, and shift for themselves. In this manner the brothers spent six months. One early morning as soon as Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān got up from his bed, he armed himself, took a whip in his hand, and said to his elder brother, “If you have any idea to accompany me, gird up your loins. Else, from now is the separation between you and me.” He replied, “Whatever you say, I obey. Give me the word, and I will lay down my life.” In short, after securing this promise Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān made him arm himself, and took him to the shop of the money-lender from whom they used to borrow. As soon as the money-lender rose to respect him, and before he began to adorn his tongue with speech, Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Khān gave him some whippings. However much the money-lender appealed to them in lamentable tones to excuse him for his faults, and protested that he was ever free from any fault, the Khwāja did neither leave him nor stop whipping. Finally the money-lender, on account of the pain caused by the whipping, was greatly distressed, became helpless, fell at his feet, and very appealingly said, “Kindly acquaint me with my fault. I shall make amends, and in future I shall refrain from it.” The Khwāja said; “The reason for all this beating is that you lend us money.

So long as you do not stop that, you will not be free from this beating." In short the Khwāja enjoined on him strongly, "If any one of us howevermuch might request you for a loan, you should seek excuse and never pay money. You should never go back on the agreement of this day."

The money-lender found himself free from chastisement only after repeated professions of compliance. The Khwāja returned home with his brother. They spent the remaining days of that month in starvation. Afterwards they received pay from the government, put it in a box, locked it, and did not take from it anything except what was barely necessary for their expenses. Thus, after beating the sāhukār and getting money in his own hands, he became rich within a short time. As he was of an irritable temper, he could not control himself while he chastised others. The stories regarding his irritable nature are endless, and the incidents of his excessive anger are many. As he was one of the companions of the Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, and as he accompanied him wherever he went, he secured the government of Arcot and its management for a period less than a year.

The Frangi (European) merchants who settled in the district of Arcot. The history of their first voyage and their landing on the coast of Hindustan.

Some generations ago five groups from among the people of the *Frang* community established their respective centres [of trade] on the sea-coast in the districts belonging to Arcot with the permission of the then rulers of the country of Payanghat. I describe below each group separately.

Three hundred years ago none of the *Frang* merchants came to the coast of Hindustan for the purpose of trade because in those days travel by sea and the manning of ships were not so advanced as they are at present. The *Frang* merchants did not attempt a journey by sea which lasted more than two or three days. In those days the trade of Hind and Iraq was in the hands of the Arab merchants. The *Frang* merchants, especially those who

lived in the towns of Venice and Jeva, [Genoa], [and in the towns] as far as Iskandariyyah [Alexandria], Miṣr [Egypt] and in other places on the coast of the Red Sea, travelled by the land-route. They supplied the rare commodities of *Frangistan* (Europe) to the Arab merchants with whom they had concluded treaties and covenants that they would not sell or buy except through them. They bought goods from the Arabs for such prices as they chose, *e. g.*, they paid as the price for fine silk, gold of equivalent weight. On account of this, the citizens of these two towns gained a lot of money. Other *Frang* merchants became very poor and grew jealous of them. This was the condition till 1483 A. D. (1) In that year [890 A. H.] an expert in the science

(1) *Routes of the Indo-European trade in the 15th Century*:—The three main routes were: (1) The *Black-Sea route* starting from the Indus Valley and Chensi (N. W. China) and proceeding to the banks of the Oxus and thence through the Caspian Sea and the River Cyrus and to the River Phasis which flows into the Black Sea. Thence the goods were carried to Constantinople or other ports in the Black Sea, like Kaffa and Soldaria in the Crimea. Goods were distributed to Novgorod and the Hanse cities of Central Europe. The prosperity of this route declined owing to the Turkish occupation of Constantinople and the Black Sea ports.

2. The *Indo-Syrian route* extended to the Persian Gulf and to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris; thence goods were carried by caravans through Mesopotamia and the Syrian Desert to Damascus and other Syrian towns; here the trade-route branched in two lines, the northern going off to the ports of Acre and Ascalon, and the southern to Egypt and the northern shore of the Red Sea. By 1400, the Osmanli Turks had advanced into Syria and Asia Minor as far as Smyrna. They closed this route also to the Europeans.

3. The *Southern route* ran from the west coast of India across the Arabian Sea to the Coast of Africa and to Mocha and thence up to the Red Sea, to the ports on the Egyptian coast; then goods were transhipped to the Nile down which they were carried to Alexandria. The Arabs who remained masters of Egypt till the beginning of the 16th century controlled this route. The Ottoman Turks seized Egypt in 1516-17 and completely blocked the Mediterranean outlets of the Indo-Egyptian route. (See Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I: pp. 19-53; and Robertson's *A Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*; Calcutta reprint of 1904 from the 2nd edition of the author.)

of astronomy and geometry, Columbus ⁽¹⁾ by name, the first to understand the qualities of a magnet, the maker of the mariner's compass, who was well acquainted with the rules by which to find out his way in all the four directions at sea, both by day and by night, even in cloudy weather or darkness, and who put down all his discoveries in writing, came before the *sardārs* of his own people and besought some ships and provisions for the purpose of discovering a way to Hindustan. This view of his was opposed to the customary and traditional ideas, and so they disbelieved and discouraged him. They mocked at him and laughed at him. He wept over the disappointment caused by the people possessing great wealth and said, "You will see that I shall make this valuable treasure [of my plans] the share of some intelligent Pādshāh." Then he left his people and went before each one of the kings of the *Frangs*, viz., the French, the English, and the Portuguese and represented to them the secret of his heart. In all these places he found only ridicule. Finally, in great difficulty and hardship, he went to the Pādshāh of Spain. The wife of the Pādshāh [Isabella of Castile] who was very wise, sympathised with his condition. With the permission of her husband [Ferdinand] she purchased goods, got ready three ships, equipped them with necessary provisions, and appointed useful men. In the year 1492 A. D., [908 A. H.,] Columbus

(1) Christopher Columbus had married a Portuguese wife and voyaged several times to Guinea, Bristol, Iceland, and other places. His proposal to find a westward passage to the East was rejected by the Portuguese King Alfonso V as well as by Genoa and Venice. In 1485 his brother, Bartholomew, placed the plan before Henry VII of England. In 1492 Columbus secured the sanction of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile for undertaking a voyage across the Atlantic in order to discover India. His first voyage to America began in August 1492; he landed in one of the Bahama Islands, visited Cuba, and gained a general notion of the West Indian Archipelago. A second voyage was made by him in 1493, a third in 1498, and a fourth in 1502. He was for a short time governor of the new Spanish acquisitions. He died in 1506, having added to the map of the then known world, the West Indian Archipelago, and the coasts of Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Darien, and Venezuela.

started to discover a way to Hindustan. He travelled on, and lost sight of the coast. Amidst the dashing of the waves and the blowing of strong winds the sailors of the ships did not see anything except water and the sky. They were overtaken with fear and resolved to kill Columbus. When he understood that, he observed, "If by killing me you can sight the coast it is better you kill me. Since there is no one who can take you to the coast, it is necessary for you to have a little patience." This straightforwardness satisfied them and they proceeded on their way. After three nights and days land was sighted. They anchored their ships, and advanced inland to ascertain more of that place. All the inhabitants were of a black colour. They were naked and ignorant of eating, drinking, and good manners of men. Columbus again set sail towards the south with his companions. After a few days and nights they reached the island known as Hispaniola, and found the inhabitants to be of good stature and acquainted with the habits of men. They brought before them what eatables were available; they presented them with dresses, gold and gems found in that place. Columbus also presented them with the rarities of *Frangistan*. He understood that his quest of the way to Hindustan was within the bounds of possibility. He stayed there for sometime. Then he left some of his companions in that place, and took with him three men from among the inhabitants, besides fruits and niceties of that place as presents to the Pādshāh [and reached the court of Spain], where he was respected and honoured. After two months, he returned with seventy ships and one thousand five hundred men, besides guns. He captured the island after fighting, and brought it under the control of the King of Spain. He built strong forts and buildings and deputed trustworthy men to manage them. Then, he took his ships towards the south. After sailing for some days he reached the island of Cuba, which was thickly populated and contained gold mines. He occupied that place without fighting and brought it under his control. He named that island after the wife of the Pādshāh of Spain. In the

meantime, the people who were jealous of his prosperity created a suspicion in the mind of the Pādshāh that he was desirous to establish his own rule. When Columbus came to know of this, he went before the Pādshāh, removed the misunderstanding from his mind, and re-established the previous confidence. Next year, he again set sail towards the west. He discovered three more islands adjacent to the continent of America. Then travelling in the same direction, he reached the coast of America. There he saw the country thickly populated. The inhabitants were of a white colour leaning towards redness, of good appearance, wearing caps and dresses adorned with coloured feathers. They were learned and modest. They brought before Columbus gold and pearls. They found their share also in the presents of *Frangistan* from Columbus. Again, envious men slandered him in the presence of the Pādshāh. This time he was imprisoned by the order of the Pādshāh. In 1506 A. D. he died in prison. From that time travel by sea became popular in *Frangistan*. As will be described below, the Portuguese merchants were the first among the [*Frang*] tribes to come by ships to the coast of Hindustan and establish their trade. The English [later] captured most of the places of their trade.

The Portuguese.

Portugal⁽¹⁾ is also another name. They are also from the tribes of *Frang*. They are the first to come to the Indian Coast. Their kingdom is in *Frangistan*, one hundred and fifty *kuṣṭh* in length and fifty in breadth. Their capital town is Lisbon, which is very extensive and thickly populated. Their standing army including infantry and cavalry numbered twenty-thousand. In times of necessity they could collect more. They kept war-ships. In the country of America (known as the New

(1) Here is a confusion of the names of the country and its people on the part of the author.

World) which is exclusive of the seven *iqīm* ⁽¹⁾ they had extensive dominions. In former days they had established their trade factory near Mylapore belonging to the Carnatic Payanghat. As years rolled on, their trade increased out of all proportions, and the four Sultans of the Deccan had to send an army under Mīr Jumla ⁽²⁾ to subjugate them, and

(1) *Iqlīm*—The Greek word *klima*, *inclination*—Eratosthenes (d. 195 B.C.) divided the *orbis veteribus notus* into seven longitudinal zones whose limits were arbitrarily fixed. Hipparchus (c. 150 B.C.) made the zones equal in latitude. The division into seven climates of equal width was taken over by Arabs, though sometimes the countries to the south of the Equator were reckoned as an eighth, and those in the extreme north as a ninth. Al-Idrisī has arranged his book on geography according to climates. The determining factor in defining the limits of the climate is the length of the longest day within it. In Abul-Fidā the inhabited world lies practically between 10° and 50° N. Latitude, and the length of the longest day increases by half an hour in each climate from the south to the north. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II.

(2) *Mīr Jumla*—(Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd). He was the prime minister of ʿAbdullāh Quṭb Shāh of Golconda (d. 1663). He was formerly a diamond merchant of great wealth and reputation. He quarrelled with his master on account of his son, threw himself on the protection of the Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1656, and became the chosen instrument of Awrangzēb who was the viceroy of the Deccan. On the accession of Awrangzēb to the throne he was sent to pursue Sultan Shujāh and was appointed governor of Bengal. He held the rank of 7,000 horse. He made an expedition against Assam in 1662 and died in Kooch-Bihar in 1663. The history of his expedition was written by Shāhʿabūd-Dīn Aḥmad Talash in A. D. 1663. (See *Beale*-p. 251; *Sarkar's History of Awrangzēb*, Vol. II, pp. 216-224 and Vol. III, pp. 166-207; and the *Maʾsirul-Umara*, for life of Mīr Jumla, and other things.)

Mīr Jumla was sent to the Carnatic by his Golconda master and extended the latter's power from Cumbum to Gandikotta on the North Pennar which he captured along with Sidhout, Chandragiri and Tirupati. He had accumulated a huge fortune by his conquests and maintained a good body of cavalry and a well-equipped park of artillery and was virtually independent master of the Carnatic. He had averted a struggle with Bijapur, about the partition of the Carnatic, and fixed, by mutual consent, a line drawn east to west some distance north of Jinji as the boundary between the ʿAdil Shāhi Carnatic and Quṭb-Shāhi Carnatic. This was before 1655-6, when he openly quarrelled with his master and went over to the Mughals.

drive them from the village of Mylapore. Now there is only a factory at the port of Goa, and a church and a monastery at Mylapore.⁽¹⁾ Its management rests with the people at Goa. There is also another Church belonging to the same nation on the mount at Frangi-konda (St. Thomas' Mount).

(1) *San Thomē and Mylapore.* San Thomē is an ancient Portuguese town situated on the sea coast three miles south of Fort St. George. It was founded about 1522 by the Portuguese. It has a close traditional association with St. Thomas the Apostle who is supposed to have suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount and to have been first buried at San Thomē in old Mylapore, which now lies near the sea.

Very likely, a church of some sort was in existence on the site of the Apostle's burial. The place itself was known to the Arab travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries as *Betumah* (the house, church, or town of Thomas). From this word was derived the name San Thomē. To this church King Alfred the Great of England is said to have sent some emissaries in A. D. 883. Subsequently some Persian merchants who were Nestorian Christians, built a church at the place, as well as a chapel over the tomb of St. Thomas and a monastery at the top of St. Thomas' Mount. This Christian community was in existence when Marco Polo the famous Venetian traveller touched the Coromandel coast in the last decade of the 13th century.

The place was colonised by the Portuguese in 1522 A. D. When they were rebuilding the old chapel they stumbled on the grave of the Apostle beside which they built a small church. San Thomē became an independent bishopric in 1606.

In 1547 the famous Bleeding Cross (a stone cross bearing an old Pahlavi inscription) was discovered at St. Thomas' Mount, and the Portuguese erected a church on the spot and built the cross into the altar. The church is dedicated to Our Lady of Expectation as in those days a beacon-fire was daily lighted on the Mount for the benefit of the mariners. The Little Mount or *Chinna Malai*, near the southern end of the Marmalong bridge at Saidapet, contains a cave wherein the Apostle is said to have fled for shelter when he was pursued by his persecutors. A church was built on this Mount in 1551. In the rock is a cleft wherefrom St. Thomas is said to have caused a spring of fresh water to gush forth which is believed to have healing properties, and the Church is dedicated to Our Lady of Health.

The Luz Church, situated about a mile to the west of San Thome Cathedral, has an inscription at its base, bearing the date 1516. A light

The glorious martyrdom of Sayyid Badru'd-Dīn.

The writer of these pages, as fits the occasion, briefly describes the martyrdom of Sayyid Badru'd-Dīn known as Budu Shahīd (May God exalt his resting place).

He was one of the horsemen who accompanied Mīr Jumla. In the battle against the Portuguese and during the siege of the fort of Mylapore by the Muslim soldiers, he advanced with the standard of Islam, striking with swords and proclaiming the name of Allāh, planted it on the fort, and drank the cup of martyrdom from the hands of one of

beckoned some storm-tossed mariners who are believed to have reached the spot where the Church is built; and the Church is dedicated to 'Our Lady of Light' (*De Nossa Senhora da Luz*.)

Mylapore, the village adjacent to San Thome, is an ancient place and has a noted Siva Shrine. It is associated with the life of the Tamil Saint, Tiruvalluvar, the author of the immortal *Kural* and also with the activities of the great Saiva Nāyanār, Tirugnānasambandar. It has been identified with *Maliarpha* mentioned by Ptolemy the Geographer, (cir. 150 A. D.). The temple of Sri Kapāliswara in it is an ancient one and contains many images one of which depicts the Goddess Parvati in the form of a peacock worshipping the Lord Siva. This legend has given rise to the name Mylapore. European travellers of the 16th century mention it as an important place along the coast. San Thomē rose into prominence, and absorbed it. Some Jain writers and the Vaishnava Saint, Peyālwar, are also associated with it. The rise of San Thomē was after 1550. It was surrounded by walls and a citadel. A fort was built in it. It fell into the hands of the Sultan of Golconda in 1662 and remained under the Muslims till 1672 when it was captured by the French. They were also quickly ousted by the combined forces of the Sultan of Golconda and the Dutch; and the town and the fort passed into the hands of Golconda again. The Sultan ordered the demolition of its fortifications in 1675. The town began to decline rapidly and many of its rich Portuguese merchants settled in Madras. The English tried hard to rent the place for themselves from the Sultan. When the latter was defeated by the Mughal Power, the Mughal governor of the Carnatic threatened to develop it at the expense of Madras. It was from San Thome that Nawwab Dāwūd Khān frequently threatened the safety of Madras. The place was under the rule of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic with little trade and a decaying population till 1749 when it was taken possession of by the English Admiral Boscawen, in the name of their ally Nawwāb Wālājah.

the Portuguese. His holy head fell to the ground from his auspicious shoulders; immediately, he took the head, came out of the fort, jumped on horseback, and rode towards the forest. His mother, brother, servants, and his faithful dog, all followed him. He reached thus the foot of the hill, and placed his holy head on the ground. There he expired. His noble mother and brother according to the clear words which came from his throat, "This is the place fixed for my interment" buried him in the same place. It is now a shrine visited by the people. His noble mother, his brother, the horse and the dog were all buried in the same place in their due time.

The Denkumar People

Denmark is also another country six hundred and eighty *kurōh* in length and two hundred and forty in breadth. The capital is Copenhagen which is a beautiful, extensive town and thickly populated. Some of the places in that country are very cold. Besides warships their standing army numbered 30,000 men inclusive of cavalry and infantry.

Their trade factory is at Tarakampadi (1) in the district of Tajawur (Tanjore) in the Carnatic Payanghat. Their behaviour is always peaceful. They never interfered in any affairs nor took part in the activities of any people. That is the reason why their town is a place of peace, and of refuge to all those who seek it.

(1) *Tranquebar*, a town in the Tanjore district, is situated in a small bay, where the surf is less violent than in the exposed coast. The Danish East India Company acquired its Tranquebar territory from the then Nayak Rajah about 1620. In 1807 it was captured by the British, restored to the Danes in 1814 and finally purchased from them in 1845. It was a busy fort, but has declined considerably. The earliest Protestant Mission in South India, the Tranquebar Mission, was founded here in 1706; and it was the scene of the labours of great missionaries like Ziegenbalg and Schwartz.

The Walandez (Hollanders).

They are also known as the Dutch. Their country is in *Frangistan*, seventy-five *kurōh* in length and fifty in breadth. To outward appearance their country is small, yet, on account of their extensive trade, they are the wealthiest among the *Frangs*. They do not have kings. Their country is divided into seven parts [provinces] each being under an *Amīr*. Every year new *Amīrs* are elected by the people for each of the seven divisions. All these seven *Amīrs* reside at one place in the capital city of Amsterdam. The town of Amsterdam is thickly populated, enjoyable, and beautiful to look at. Deep rivers flow by the side of every house, and ships can go to every one of these houses and unload the goods. The seven *Amīrs* carry on their administration jointly, and unanimity of opinion among them is a necessary condition for the execution of every work. Besides these seven, there is another *Amīr* [of the House of Orange] who, unconnected with the administration, is safe from the trouble of change, and permanent in his position. He never interferes in any affair. The respect and honour due to him is far greater than that shown to the seven *Amīrs* (seven stars). He gets a permanent allowance from his people and spends his time in great security and peace. The reason for this is that one of his forefathers [William the Silent] liberated the country of Walandez from the control of the *Pādshāh* (Philip II) of Spain. On account of this the nation thought it necessary to respect his descendants. Though Walandez maintain only a small army, they have many warships.

Their trade factories are at Negapatam, ⁽¹⁾ Saduranga-

(1) *Negapatam*. The Portuguese formed their settlement at Negapatam about 1612 and it was seized by the Dutch in 1660, who strengthened its fortifications and made it their chief station on the Coromandel Coast and established there a mint also. In 1781 the British invaded the place and captured it; and it was finally ceded to the English by the Peace of Paris (1783.) The fortifications have decayed.

patan,⁽¹⁾ and Pulyakhat⁽²⁾ in the Carnatic Payanghat. They got some places on lease during the days of Tuljaji⁽³⁾ the son of Pratap Singh [1764-87 A. D.] the *zamindār* of Tajāwūr (Tanjore). Since the whole of the Carnatic was under the

(1) *Sadras* a small town 42 miles south of Madras. The Dutch had a fort here which Lally seized during his siege of Madras in 1758-59. In 1795 the English captured the place. It was noted for its manufacture of gingham cloth.

(2) *Pulicat* (Palaiyavārkkādu) town in the Chingleput District, situated on an island in an extensive inlet of the sea (the Pulicat Lake), along with some other islands, is 22 miles north of Madras. The Dutch established themselves here as early as 1609, when they built a square fort named Geldria to which, after the loss of Negapatam, their government was transferred. In 1795 the English took possession of the place.

(3) *Tuljaji of Tanjore*: Venkaji, known as Ekoji in Tanjore, was the third son of Shahji Bhonsle and half-brother of the famous Siyaji. He came into the final possession of Tanjore Raj in 1675 and ruled till 1686 or 1687. His son Shahji reigned from 1687 to 1711 and was succeeded by his younger brother Sarfoji (1712-27) and afterwards by his youngest brother Tukoji (1728-35). Tukoji had five sons: (1) Bāvā Śāhib, (2) Saiyaji, (3) Anna Śāhib, (4) Nana Śāhib, and (5) Pratap Singh; of these the first two were legitimate and the rest illegitimate. Anna Śāhib died before the father. Bāvā Śāhib succeeded Tukoji, but died in a year, when Sujana Bai, his wife, was made the ruler. Then a pretender, Savai Shahji *alias* Kāttu Raja, usurped the throne, with the aid of the Muslim commander of the Tanjore fort, but in a few days was deposed; and Saiyaji, the second of Tukoji's sons was raised to the throne; he was also soon deposed and Pratap Singh then got the *masnad* (1740). There is a haze about Saiyaji; the Tanjore records do not mention him; but he seems to have appealed to the English at Fort St. David for help and is mentioned by Orme and other historians.

Savai Shahji who is supposed to be a spurious son of Sarfoji, the second son of Ekoji, passed off as his own, by an intriguing wife. This boy was killed; but was afterwards counterfeited by another boy, the son of a slave girl who was called Kāttu Raja as he came from the jungle of Udayārpālayam whose Zamindar helped him.

See *The Tanjore Manual* of Venkatasami Rao, pp. 775-777; and Mill's *History of British India*, ed. by H. H. Wilson (1858)—Book III, Ch. II; K. R. Subrahmanyam's *The Marhatta Rajahs of Tanjore*—pp. 44-46; and Dodwell's *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*—Tr. Vol. IV, Note on pp. 350-1.

jurisdiction of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, according to the *sanad* from the Delhi Pādshāh, the behaviour of the *zamindār* and the merchants was contrary to discipline. So Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā grew angry and sent a strong army ⁽¹⁾ under Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur his second son, and General Smith the *sardār* of the English army for the purpose of subjugating Tajāwūr (Tanjore) and expelling the Walandez. Then the country was subdued, the Zamindār was imprisoned, and the places leased out were taken back. The Walandez conveyed their apology to Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā through Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur and General Smith. The Nawwāb accepted their apology and thus saved them from the disgrace of expulsion. The details of these events will be related, Allāh willing, in the second book.

The French

They were also called *Afranja*. In *Frangistan* their country is extensive, three hundred *kurōh* in length and two hundred and fifty in breadth. Their capital town is Paris. It is extremely graceful and pleasant, thickly populated, with abundant grain and fruits, especially grapes. The grape wine is supplied from that place to all the people of *Frangistan*. The standing army is four lakhs inclusive of cavalry and infantry. In times of war they will collect men beyond human comprehension. They have also war-ships.

Their trade factory is at Pulcheri [Pondichery] in the Carnatic Payanghat. It was in this town that they prospered during the days of the *nizāmat* of the Nawāyaṭ. By a series of presents and gifts they bound themselves in strong union with the nobles of the Nawāyaṭ and established their friendship. During the days of Nawwāb Sa'āduttlāh Khān, the French, with the aid of money and Ḥāfiẓ Muḥīnu'd-Dīn Khān and Ghulām Imām Ḥusayn Khān known as Imām Ṣāhib Bakhshī, obtained the right to establish a mint in their own town and got the *sanad* for *jāgīr*. Then they assigned by deed in favour of the two mediators the right to superintend the mint permanently. The management of the

(1) In 1771 this expedition took place; for details see Venkatasami Rao's *Tanjore District Manual*; pp. 795-800.

mint is even now in the hands of the children of these two Khāns. It was in the time of Nawwāb 'Alī Dōst Khān and Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Bahādur the French paid large sums, submitted valuable presents, and obtained *sanads* for new *jāgīrs*. Thus, as days passed on, they rose from the rank of servants and interfered in the affairs of ruling chiefs. Their steadfastness in friendship gave them importance in every affair. Through Ḥusayn Dōst Khān [Chandā Ṣāhib] and Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān [Muẓaffar Jang] who proclaimed themselves the *Nāẓims* of Arcot and the Deccan respectively, they got the *sanad* for the *jāgīr* of Chenji, [Jinji] and other places. They got Chicacole and other *jāgīrs* from Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang the ruler of the Deccan. The details of these events will be related later.

The English.

They are also called *Anglij*. From the very beginning of their friendship with Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā these people were in agreement and union with him, and so the pen of the historian chooses to write the ancient history of these trustworthy people, their conversion to the religion of Jesus (peace be on him), the beginnings of their administration, and the genealogy of their kings, and other things. * * *

The history of the English Company surnamed the East India Company.

It is clear that the word *company* means in the English language a group, like the plural form in Persian which includes any number from two onwards, viz., tens, hundreds, thousands, and lakhs.

When the merchants of the island of England became united they formed themselves into many groups. Each group went for the purpose of trade to Arabia, 'Ajam [Persia], Hind [India], China, and other different places and

* * * A short account of the English people from the earliest times to the reign of George III is not translated here, as fuller histories are available in the English language.

established its factories. They made a covenant with their own Pādshāh that within the limits defined for one company the other companies should not trade. Every group engaged itself in business in its own defined limits without any interference from the other companies. In return for such concessions the companies paid into the imperial treasury of their Pādshāh every year a certain percentage of the total income. Hindustan is known in English as East India, and the group of merchants in Hindustan are surnamed the Company of East India, and are known by that name only. Further, the companies in the different districts are known by the names of the respective districts. In short, the Company of East India pay into the treasury of their Pādshāh in England thirty-six lakhs of rupees i. e., four per cent of their total income from the various *ṣūbahjāt* and districts in Bengal.

Gradually in course of time they erected factories for trade purposes in every district with the permission of its ruler.

The foundation of Madras known as Chennapatan.

During the reign of the Rāil [the Raja of Chandragiri] the Rajah of Payanghat, the representatives of the East India Company strengthened their friendship with his *dīwān* the *zamindār* of Kalastri named Damarlawar who is referred to till this day by the historians as the *zamindār* of Palaya Kalastri, and not by his name Damarlawar; they sent presents and gifts to the Rajah through Damarlawar, and sought a plot of land on the sea-coast for the purpose of erecting a factory. The Rajah, according to the recommendation of his *dīwān*, complied with the request, and granted the place known as Makhrāskuppam in the taluq of Poonamalle. He caused the *sanad* to be written on a gold plate and bestowed kindness on the applicants. He fixed the sum of 1,200 *hūn kuruk* (1) as *pēshkash* per year. In the year 1049 A. H. the

(1) *Hūn kuruk*: *Hūn* (from Kanērese, meaning a gold coin). A *pagoda* was usually called a *hūn* and it was 2 *dw.* 5 *qr.* 8 *m.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *att.* Accounts in

Company laid the foundation for a building in the place on the sea-coast and gave it the name of Madras which sounds very like the original name (Makhrāskuppam). After some time they were granted through the kindness of Damarlawar three other places, viz., Chenam-nayak-kuppam, Arkuppam and Bailpet, which were within the taluq of Poona-malle. They settled in Chenam-nayak-kuppam adjacent to Madras, and named it Chennapatan which sounds very like the original name. In the time of Sultan Abul Hasan Tānā Shāh, Pādshāh⁽¹⁾ of Hyderabad (1672-1687 A. D.) they brought under their control many places in Payanghat.

Madras down to 1818 were kept in *pagados* (*hūns*), *fanams*, and *cash* (*kas*): 8 *kas* made 1 *fanam*, and 42 *fanams* made 1 *pagoda*.

The *hūns* of Nawwāb Sa'ādatullāh Khān and Saldar Ali Khān and of Anwarūd-Dīn Khān were struck at the mints in Arcot, Porto Novo, Tiruvāmur (near Madras), and Trichinopoly. Some of the names of coins are *wālājāhi*, *kuruki*, *star*, *feringhipet* etc. These pagodas were based on the coins of the Chandragiri Rajahs; they had the standing figure of *Vishnu* with or without his consorts on the obverse and a granulated reverse, and were current chiefly along the east coast southwards. Conspicuous examples of these *hūns* are found in the star-pagoda of the English East India Company at Madras, and in the Porto Novo pagoda believed to have been first coined by the Portuguese at Porto Novo (Feringhipet), and Arcot. The *kuruki* is not uncommon. It has three standing figures (*Vishnu* and his consorts) strongly marked and a plain granulated reverse; also the *star kuruki*, so called from the star impressed on the granulated reverse, was probably coined at Tiruvāmur. These *Vaishnava hūns* were struck at the same time by the English, the Portuguese, and, perhaps, by the Dutch as well as by the Nawwābs of Arcot, and though having the same names, were not confined to the same mints. Thus the *star*, *kuruki*, and *Porto Novo* pagodas were struck equally at the mints of the Company and of the Nawwābs as well (vide pp. 148-5 of Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* (1886)—*Numismata Orientalia*).

(1) *Abul Hasan Qutb Shāh*: His literary name was Tānā Shāh. He was the son-in-law of Abdullāh Qutb Shāh whom he succeeded on the throne of Golconda in 1672 A. D. He was dethroned by Awrangzēb in 1687 and died in confinement about 1704. He was a famous poet in the Dakhini dialect of Urdu.

The rule of the Rāil declined. In the year 1058 A. H. they sent the vakīl⁽¹⁾ named Veerappa to Hyderabad, submitted presents and gifts, and obtained from the *darbār* of the Pādshāh permission to build a fort with mud-walls, the *sanad* for four places which were under the Rāil, and the right to establish a mint for *hūn-kuruk*. Further, by a covenant to pay the same amount of *pēshkash* as in the days of the Rāil into the treasury of the Pādshāh, they were included in the list of *mālguzārs*. The vakīl left the place after getting for himself from the court of the Sultan the favour of permission to ride a palanquin and to use an umbrella and the *jāgīr* of Tirumalgadhi [Triplicane] which was within Poonamalle. He had that *jāgīr* under his control throughout his lifetime. Then it came into the possession of the Company. During the time of Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān in 1108 A. H. they submitted presents, paid *pēshkash*, obtained from him permission to establish a mint for striking rupees, got three places in the taluq of Poonamalle, viz., Egmore, Lōrshampāk, and Nadyāwēr, and agreed to pay 905 *hūn* and 15 annas per year.

When the *nizāmat* of Arcot went into the hands of the *Nawāyaṭ*, the position of the French became strengthened, and they tried to better their condition, as the nobles among the *Nawāyaṭ* were closely attached to them. Things great or small

(1) Very likely this vakīl was Oasa Verona (*Kasi Veeranna*) alias Hasan Khān, who, along with Berl Timmans, was the chief merchant of the Company at Madras in 1662. He enjoyed the privilege of paying half-customs in all the territories of the King of Golconda. He died in 1680. He is said to have passed under a Muslim alias as Hasan Khān and built a mosque in Madras. He was employed as political agent by the Company. His religious revolutions are pictured by Francois Martin in his *Memoirs* (quoted by Col. Love). He negotiated with Nekuām Khān the agent of Golconda in 1671, farmed the village of Triplicane from the English to whom it had been confirmed by the *farmān* issued in 1676 by the Sultan of Golconda, and controlled the coast trade with Armagoan. He rented San Thomē from the Sultan in 1678 and endeavoured hard to improve the trade possibilities of the place. (See Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, pp. 202 *et. seq.*; and Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*). Contrast this with the information in the text.

they bought and sold at Pulcheri only. The populace also, according to the saying "As is the king, so are the subjects," followed the example. Thus, in those days the English company did not get its share of income and profit. Still, through the confederacy of the *āmildārs* of the taluq of Poonamalle, the English got for rent the following places belonging to the taluq in two instalments.⁽¹⁾ The

(1) *The first instalment of grant was secured in 1693 A. D.* In 1692 Governor Yale applied to Nawwāb Dhul-Faqār Khān for Egmore, Purasapakkam, and Tondiarpet known as the "three old villages" and they were granted by a *parwana* of Nawwāb Asad Khān in 1698 A. D.

Prior to the grant by Asad Khān, Dhul-Faqār Khān had given a *jāgīr* of two of these villages to a certain Arasama Nayak who demanded possession not only of these but also of Triplicane. On a remonstrance by the Madras Council to Asad Khān (P. C. Vol. XXI—28th February 1693-4), a grant was given by Dhul-Faqār Khān which over-rode that given to Arasama Nayak. It was arranged that the grant should be carefully entered in the books of the *qānūn-gō* and the perquisites were fixed for the villages.

In 1693 a certain Dr. Samuel Browne visited Jinji and procured from Qāsim Khān the Nawwāb-designate of the Carnatic a *parwana* for six villages to the north of Madras, viz; Tiruvottiyur, Sattangadu, Sadayan-kuppam, Ernavore, Kattivakkam, and Alandacherre. Kattivakkam was separately granted by the Nawwāb in 1695, but the grant was relinquished as it was considered undesirable to enter into possession of these villages. They did not pass into British hands till 1708.

Through the favour of Diyāūd-Dīn Khān, the steward of the household of the Emperor Shāh Alam, the English were invited in 1708 to apply for a confirmation of their privileges, and received, in September 1708, through Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān who was then at San Thomē, a grant of Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakkam, Vyasarpady, Kattivakkam, and Sattangadu for a rent of 1560 pagodas. These were henceforward known as "the five new villages." These were temporarily resumed by the Muslims in 1711, but given away permanently to the English under the great Mughal's *farmān* of 1717.

Early in April 1723 Nawwāb Sa'adatullāh Khān demanded a restoration of the five new villages together with arrears of revenue on the ground that they formed part of the *jāgīr* of Chin Qilich Khān. Governor Elwick drew his attention to the Imperial *farmān* secured for the places. An embassy waited on the Nawwāb at San Thomē with suitable presents and no further difficulty was raised.

first was in the year 1127 A. H. during the period of the *nizāmat* of Nawwāb Sa'adatullāh Khān. They got five places, viz., Tiruvattūr, Sātkāli, Abshālwar, Lūngambak, and Kathiwāk, for the rent of 876 *hūn* and 15 annas. The second was during the time of Nawwāb Šafdar 'Alī Khān in 1149 A. H., when they got five places, viz., Brahmūr, Chettikulam, Brunnāwūr, Vepery, and Pudupāk, for the rent of 575 *hūn* and 14 annas. Thus, they got all these ten places for the total rent of 1,452 *hūn* and 13 annas to be paid every year. Further, in the same year, through the mediation of the *peshkār* of Mīr Asadullāh Khān who was the *dīwān* of Nawwāb Šafdar 'Alī Khān, the *dūbāsh* of Mr. Nigan, the Governor of Chennapatan, got the present of Kadpākam in the taluq of Poonamalle; it is now known as

The second instalment of grant was secured in 1743 A. D. Nawwāb Šafdar 'Alī Khān sent his family to Madras for the sake of security, and himself came to the city in 1741 (September). The family of the Nawwāb including his young son, remained in Madras as the guests of the Company. Šafdar 'Alī Khān made several visits to Madras, the last being in August 1742. After his assassination in October 1742, when the army proclaimed his young son Šāhib-zāda as Nawwāb under the title of Muḥammad Sa'īd, the latter who was in Madras was proclaimed Nawwāb with due ceremony; he recompensed the English by granting them a gift of the five villages of Ernavore, Sadayankuppam, Vepery, Perambore, and Pudupakkam and the right of coining Arcot rupees and pagodas at their mint in Chintadripetta. "The grant was probably authorised by Šafdar 'Alī Khān, though it was not actually made until a month after his death" (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*—Vol. II; Note 1 on p. 285; and the *sanad* of the Nawwāb translated [dated 4th Nov. 1742, in the P. C. for 11th January 1742-3].)

When Nizām-ūl-Mulk was before Trichinopoly, Governor Benyon sent an embassy to him, but could not get any definite reply. Meanwhile negotiations were carried on with Imam Sahib at Arcot about the villages (P. C. Vol. LXXIII, for the 20th June 1743).

See Extract from the Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras in Chennapatan from a Mahratta Paper Ms. translated by C. V. Boriah in 1802—preserved among the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* (Love's *Vestiges*—Vol. II; pp. 290-292).

This manuscript describes the acquisition of the "three or four old villages" including Triplicane; and "the acquisition of five new villages" and also of these last or "third batch of villages." It says that, at the time

Chindādiri. During his life time he kept it under his control and when he quitted this world, it came into the possession of the Company. When, by the grace of the Almighty, the Beneficent, the Protector and the High, the rule and management of Payanghat came under the care of the Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, the English, contrary to the practice of former days, were freely admitted to the *darbār*. In the year 1157 A. H.,⁽¹⁾ through the mediation of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur and Rajah Sampat Rāi the *dīwān*, they got for the rent of 4,039 hun and 2 annas per year, seven places in Mylapore inclusive of its *gasba*, viz., (1) Mylapore, (2) Māmelam, (3) Wālandūr, (4) Pindampāk, (5) Pulikārnām, (6) Chettikarai, (7) Jenmangalam, along

of the last grant, the Nawwāb (Safdar 'Alī Khān) granted in *faṣlī* 1149, (A. D. 1739) the village called Coodpauk (now called Chintadripetta) as a *jāgīr* to the Governor's Interpreter which he enjoyed during his life-time; and then it was resumed by the Company.

(1) The above account further says that, in *faṣlī* 1157 (A. D. 1747), the Nawwāb Shahāmat Jang Bahādur and Sampat Rao granted Mylapore and some other villages together with the customs and *sayer*, viz., *caumill*.

1.	Mounza—Mylapore—pagodas.	241-8.
2.	do. Mamalon—	710-11.
3.	do. Alatore	113-14.
4.	do. Nungambauk	126-4.
5.	do. Pallagarrum	668-3½.
6.	do. Chennamongol (Chinnamungalem and Firinghy Condah (St. Thomas' Mount)	2265-½.
7.	do. Sette-Cuddee	14-4.

In *faṣlī* 1160 (A. D. 1750), Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān bestowed the whole district of Poonamalle as *jāgīr* on the English Company.

In *faṣlī* 1166 (A. D. 1756) during the regime of Lord Pigot, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān granted the district of Sāt Māgānum (Seven Māgānāmas of Triplicane, *māgānam* being a revenue sub-district of about six villages). In *faṣlī* 1173 (A. D. 1763), on the advice of Mīr Asādullāh Khān, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān granted as *jāgīr* the district of Kanchi and some other pargannahs amounting to 4 lakhs of pagodas.

Refer to the *Chingleput Manual*; and S. C. Hill's *Orms Manuscripts—History of the Carnatic to 1749 by Paupa Brahmin*.

with the *maḥṣūl* of all these places and of *Frangikonda*. In the year 1,158 A. H. when the French brought Chennapatan under their control, Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā was appointed, as will be related later, to punish the French who were full of mischief and to help the English who were loyal. Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā took the fort of Chennapatan from the hands of the French and restored it to the English. Then, he gave orders to build the fort at Chennapatan, to put in order the ditch, and to erect towers with brick and lime, contrary to the old habit of building with clay. Thus, the English were highly favoured. The news of these events spread far and wide in the land.

The rise of the English Company from the position of merchants to the rank of rulers.

When, by the grace of the Mighty Allāh, our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā shed splendour over the administration of the Carnatic, his far-sightedness and rich and powerful common sense favoured the group of English who were celebrated for their virtue and fidelity, well-known for sincerity and friendship, famous for their qualities of justice and equity, firm in the organisation of war and battle, bold in the field of battle and fighting, the pearl of wisdom and sagacity, faithful in their friendship, sincerity and real attachment, the formulators of the rules of harmony, originators of the principle of unity, distinguished from the common crowd, worthy to manage important affairs in every place, bound to and united with the people of Islam, the embodiment of different kinds of intrepidity and the very source of the characteristics of bravery and courage. At all times Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā tried to help them as far as possible in all their important affairs by all possible means. In the year 1163 A. H. during the Governorship of Mr. Saunders, he gave them the entire taluq of Poonamalle in spite of his incurring thereby the displeasure of Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang. In the year 1165 A. H. when the members of the Company rose from their low position of merchants to the exalted rank of rulers and during the governorship

of Mr. Pigot, he bestowed on him the *manṣab* of 7,000, the *nawbat*, the palanquin with frills, the *māhi*, the *marātib*, the *jīgha*, the gilded *sarpēch*, the *'alam*, the *naqqāra*, and other *haft-mākhān*. In the year 1174 A. H. [1761 A. D.] when the Nawwāb subdued and devastated the fort of Pulcheri, as a retaliation for the subjugation of the fort of Chennapatan by the French, he showed favour to the English by granting them Kanchi and other taluqs belonging to the district of Arcot as *jāgīr* in return for four lakhs of *hūns* per year.⁽¹⁾ Thus he made the affairs of the Company increase day by day with credit till the high position and glorious power of the French inclined towards decay. However much the chiefs of Hind and the Deccan stretched out their arms to fight the English, girded up their loins and shed blood, however much they created mischief and trouble, and rubbed the pen of complaint [on paper] and blackened [it with] letters of supplication to Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, requesting him to support them and not help the Directors of the Company, they did not find any advantage, and hence made friendship with the English. When the letters of the French Pādshāh [Louis XV] requesting that the French should be treated by the Nawwāb as friends, instead of the English, were sent to Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā along with the portraits of the King and the Queen, and the messengers reached the court [of the Nawwāb] for the purpose of getting such a favour, some of the members of the court and the councillors of the administration submitted the following proposal:—

The bond of friendship and love, unity and sincerity must be established with both the groups, *i. e.*, the English

(1) In 1763 the Nawwāb conferred on the English certain districts yielding an annual revenue of 4½ lakhs of pagodas and more. Many villages were not included in the grants of lands yielding over 366,000 pagodas given to the English, on 16th October 1763. On the 29th October 1763, the Nawwāb ordered their inclusion by his own endorsement which ran as follows:—

"In consideration of the true and lasting friendship of the English East India Company with me let a *sanad* for the whole *jāgīr* without any reservation be made out."

and the French. These must be held in our hands just as equal weights in a balance. To keep the balance of power is the secret of good administration.

But the penetrating intelligence of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, according to the advice of his famous father as will be detailed later, did not choose any [ally] besides the English, and did not like any except this trustworthy group. He sent a reply in the negative and returned the portraits. The Governor at Pulcheri hung these two portraits in his own dwelling place. When Pulcheri was captured these two pictures, along with others, were brought to the fort of the happy Natharnagar [Trichinopoly] as a token of the subjugation of the town and were hung just opposite to the *Dārul-amārat*. They are there till this day [till the time of this historian]. On account of such help and support to the East India Company, and by the continuous sending of presents, the thread of friendship and love between Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā and the two Pādshāhs of England, i. e., George II [1727-60] and George III [1760-1820], became strengthened to such an extent and the bond of union between them reached such a limit that the result was a brotherly treaty. God willing, the details of these facts will be narrated, along with the events that happened during the time of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā and in the translation of the letters of the English and the French that will be included in the second book.

The nizāmat of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shāhāmat Jang in the ṣūbah of Arcot in the Carnatic Payanghat,

When the Supreme Cause desires to establish peace in the country, He does not choose a ruler who prefers his own advantage to the detriment of the rest of the creation.

Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, when he was entrusted with the rule of the Carnatic Payanghat, strove from his capital of Arcot to inquire into the conditions of his subjects and soldiers and do all things that would give them comfort and tranquillity.

In accordance with his knowledge of God and his beneficent intentions, he circulated, in all the four directions of his activities, the coins of justice and impartiality which are the architects of the world. He bestowed excessive kindness on his nobles. The *Nawāyat* were enfolded in his kind disposition. All the *jāgīrdārs* and *zamindārs* became obedient. The *Farangī* merchants who were settlers in the Carnatic submitted the customary presents and gifts, paid *pēshkash* for the estates under their management and thus gave proof of their sincerity and fidelity. The representatives of the [English] Company, especially those who exercised their authority over the towns of Chennapatan and Devanampattan [Fort St. David], were the foremost in exhibiting their sincerity and steadfastness and they were greatly honoured with high favours. Through the mediation of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur and Rajah Sampat Rāi, they got the *qaṣba* of Mylapore and other places as described in the previous pages and held high their glorious heads. These events made the fraudulent minds of the French more turbid. Further, owing to the incitement by the *Nawāyat* nobles, their dark minds bore more venom. God willing, the details of these facts will be made clear in succeeding pages. In brief, all the proud people of the Payanghat put their heads in the line of obedience and submission, stood in the place where he commanded and fell down on the earth like the shadow in salutation to him. If anybody showed disobedience, nothing but disgrace came upon him. For example, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir and others cast aspersions on Mīr Asadullāh Khān, the *dīwān* of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, who, consequently became afraid of some great calamity, and contrary to the rules of obedience, kept away from his duties and confined himself within the fort of his *jāgīr* of Chetput. But when the army of the *sarkār* came and displayed the necessary force, he returned to the previous manner of obedience and obtained the grace of the exalted [Nawwāb] through the mediation of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā. Again, through the same happy medium and matchless source, he got back the original status of a *jāgīrdār* and a *qil'adār*. During the

time of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, he obtained the high position of *Nāib* to the *niẓāmat* of Arcot and laboured hard to take his revenge against his enemies, the *Tāhirs*, to the extent they deserved. In the same manner the *zamindār* of Tanjore, Pratāp Singh by name, showed delay in his payment of the amount of *pēshkash* which was due according to the custom prevalent from the time of former kings. He was evasive and negligent. When he saw the brave soldiers of the *sarkār* swimming in the ocean of blood to uproot malice, and the aggressive fist of the victorious army reached his neck, he turned away from the field of battle and grew repentent. He became obedient and paid into the auspicious treasury the sum due along with the fine. When he sought pardon, the Nawwāb who had a merciful disposition excused his fault. In this battle Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur distinguished himself so much by his bravery that the story of the courage of Rustam and Asfandiyār was obliterated from the minds of the old and the young.

*The members of the administration and the nobles of the Court ;
the happy and beloved sons of the Nawwāb.*

Muḥammad Najīb Khān a resident of Ajmīr, was one of the servants in the heaven-like *dargāh* of Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Muḥnuḍ-Dīn Chishtī (May Allāh sanctify his resting place.) He lived in the company of the Nawwāb from the time of his stay at Shājahānābād. He was his intimate companion and a counsellor in all his affairs.

Masiḥu'z-Zamān Khān who had the proud claim of being a fellow townsman of the Nawwāb was the paymaster of the whole army.

Ghaḍanfar 'Alī Khān who had the glory of being a relative of the noble mother of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā was the *risāladār* of horses.

Muḥammad Abrār Khān was also the Nawwāb's countryman. He was the *sardār* of all the infantry.

Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ṣafawiyyu'l-Mūsawi was a relative of the Bēgam of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā. He occupied the distinguished position of secretary to the Nawwāb.

Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān the Nawwāb's companion from the time of his settlement in Hindustan, looked after the management of all the *bāndārs*⁽¹⁾ of the exalted Nawwāb.

Malik Aslam Khān a good-natured *Nāib* was the head of the chronicle office.

Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ṭāhir one of the brave companions of the Nawwāb, was the head of the *jāgīrdārs*' *pēshkāsh* office.

Rājah Sampat Rāi, a Kayasth and a *qānūn-go*⁽²⁾ at Gopamau, occupied the exalted position of *dīwān*.

Rāi Manulāl a Kayasth, who was a servant during the Nawwāb's *niẓāmat* at Hyderabad, became the *mīr-munshi* in the office of administration.

Thus every one of his relatives was nominated to some post, and every one of his companions appointed to some service. It will become lengthy to describe them in detail.

His exalted sons.

Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang, the eldest son, was the *Nāib* to his exalted father in the court of the Pādshāh.

Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, i. e. Nawwāb Wālājāh Amīr-u'l Hind, the third son, looked after the *niẓāmat* of Hyderabad as the successor of his father.

Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, the second son, 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, the fourth son, and Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur, the fifth son, accompanied the Nawwāb, and were engaged in the affairs of their happy father.

(1) Men who throw iron rockets in war.

(2) *Qānūn-go*: An officer whose duty is to register and expound the laws of the empire; an officer in each district acquainted with the customs and nature of the tenures of the land.

The wickedness of the Afghans in the city of Arcot; their expulsion from Carnatic Payanghat; the murder of Sa'adatullāh Khān, son of Nawwāb Saḡdar Aī Khān Shahīd, at a signal from Tāhir Khān the father of Muḡammad Husayn Khān Tāhir.

The details of these facts are as follows :—

The Afghans were the wicked people of the day. They settled in the city of Arcot during the *nizāmat* of Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān. They were doing all kinds of mischief. They did not let one preserve one's honour without anxiety or pursue one's own way. Owing to the oppression of these people there arose sorrow and loss of property and gold. The business of money-lenders suffered much. The shop-keepers found their commodities subjected to loss and damage. Men of honour found themselves burning like thorn and rubbish in the blaze of the great mischief of the Afghans. On account of the oppression and wickedness of the Afghans, the officials were more helpless than thieves in the hands of the police. If they saw young women on the road, it became Bāghdād for them, and they imagined themselves to be Khalīfas. They molested them, and sent them back to their husbands, and many women swallowed poison out of shame, while their husbands died of sorrow.

On account of the black and intoxicating wine of wickedness, they were in a state of dark frenzy from morning till night. They thought that the days of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur would be like those of the previous *nāzims*, and did not refrain from their foul deeds and great mischief. One day in the fort of Arcot in an assembly got up for the marriage ceremony of the daughter of Muḡammad Husayn Khān Tāhir, there were present members of the *Nāit* community and other famous nobles of the day. An Afghan, Yadul Khān by name, suddenly came in, got a signal from Aḡmad Khān Tāhir known as Ābid Khān Tāhir father of Muḡammad Husayn Khān Tāhir, and struck with a dagger, in broad day light and in the open assembly, Sa'adatullāh

Khān the ten-year-old son of Nawwāb Ṣafdar ʿAlī Khān Shahīd, on the pretext of a dispute over the balance of monthly salary due to him from the days of his father, and thus made him a martyr. The enmity of the *Tāhirs* towards Nawwāb Ṣafdar ʿAlī Khān has already been mentioned, and this incident was touched upon when we narrated the facts relating to the Nawwāb. Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur, as a retribution for this great crime, as a precaution against such wrong doers, and as a lesson to all the murderers, punished him with the maximum penalty and destroyed him. The other Afghans who were the inhabitants of the city of Arcot and other places in Payanghat, were expelled with great disgrace, unspeakable molestation and troubles. On account of such severe punishments and of the fear of imprisonment, that mischievous tribe changed their manners and dress and styled themselves Shaykhs. But, from their mode of speech, they were recognised and became like thieves in the hands of the superintendents. To be brief, in a short period, there was not even the name of Afghan in Payanghat. Further, the fear of the rule of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur took possession of the minds of all the mischief-makers. Thus the mischief of the wicked disappeared from the country. The high and the low enjoyed security from the injury of the proud. Under the shade of his benevolent rule, his subjects and the people at large became free from the tyranny of evil-doers.

The fight of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang against Bābu Nāyak the Mahratta sardār for the second time.

The Mahrattas were in the enjoyment of the customary one-fourth of the income of the kingdom of the Deccan, and so they attacked and plundered it every year. Pandit Pradhān, the Pēshwa, on hearing that Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur had gone in the direction of Payanghat, thought that the forest was free from the fierce lion, and once again collected a crowd of jackals under the lead of a cunning fox which had suffered a reverse already;

he sent two lakhs of horses under the leadership of Bābu Nāyak towards the country of the Deccan. On learning this, Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh wrote a letter to Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur asking him to gird up his loins for the punishment of these vagrant infidels and sent information to his allies in all directions that every one of them should join their troops with his army and obey Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur. Immediately on receiving the *farmān* of Āṣaf Jāh, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur in spite of his advanced age of over seventy, with his usual bravery and innate intrepidity, started from the town of Arcot, like a lion against a deer, with twelve thousand lion-like cavalry, to meet the enemy of disgraceful habits, without waiting for aid from the army of helpers. He hastened to the *maydān* of the enemy, like a cold, boisterous wind. Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā also, according to the order, marched from the *ṣūbah* of Farkhunda-Bunyād Hyderabad with eight thousand brave horsemen and joined the victorious army on the way like the meeting of a sea with another sea. Thus, his army and that of his son made up a total of twenty-thousand horse, and victory seemed certain. So, without any hesitation, they raised their banner to fight the enemy who had encamped at Baswapatan. The chiefs from various places also marched successively and steadily with their armies towards Baswapatan as detailed below :—

1. The *fawjdār* of Cuddapah with three thousand horses ;
2. The *ṭarafdār* of Kurnool with two thousand ;
3. The ruler at Savanur⁽¹⁾ with one thousand five hundred ;
4. The *sipahdār* of Sira⁽²⁾ with one thousand five hundred ;

(1) *Savanur* a town in the British district of Dharwar, situated to the south-east of Dharwar town where a family of Nawwābs ruled in the 18th century, nominally subject to the Nizāms.

(2) *Sira*, a town in Mysore to the north-west of Tumkur and the head-quarters of the taluq of the same name, has a municipality. Its fort was built by one Rangappa Nayak and it was conquered for Bijapur by

5. The *sardār* of Bednur⁽¹⁾ with six thousand;
6. The chief of Mysore with nine thousand;
7. The *jāgīrdār* of Adoni, Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur [Muẓaffar Jang], the daughter's son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh with twenty-two thousand horses.

All these girded up their loins with the idea of war and drew their swords for fighting the battle. Thus the main army and allied forces made up in all sixty-nine thousand horses. They held in their hands swords that would cut enemies to pieces, and hastened with the desire to distinguish themselves in the field of battle. Bābu Nāyak also, with injudicious pride and invalid claims, opposed them. For a period of one week, in the whirlpool of the blood of the slain, fight went on indecisively without distinction of conqueror and conquered. On the eighth day Bābu Nāyak let slip the bridle of his ambling palfrey and opened the way of a runaway for his black face as on the previous occasion. The Nawwāb followed him up to Trichinopoly. There again for the second

Randūla Khān, whose lieutenant, Malik Husayn, strengthened the fort and built walls round the place (cir. 1638). Under the Mughals, it was made the capital of a new province, south of the Tungabhadra, composed of the seven *parganas* of Basvapatan, Budihal, Sira, Penukonda, Dodballapur, Hoskote, and Kolar with Harpanahalli, Kondarpi, Anegundi, Bednur, Chitaldrug, and Mysore as tributary states. Mughal governors ruled over the place from about 1687 to 1757 when it was taken by the Mahrattas. Its last governor, Dilāwar Khān, shared in the wars of succession that took place in the Nizām's state after the death of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. (See pp. 198-199 of—Vol. II of L. Rice's *Mysore, A Gazetteer*: 1897).

(1) *Bednur* or *Nagar* situated in a rugged table-land in the Western Ghats on the road leading from Mangalore in the Shimoga District of Mysore. About 1640 it became the capital of the Keladi or Ikkeri chiefs who transferred the seat of their government from Ikkeri. Sivappa Nayak greatly enlarged the town and his successors ruled the country undisturbed till 1763 when Haydar 'Alī captured it and gave it the name of Haydar-Nagar. He greatly increased its trade and established his principal arsenal there. The place was captured by the English in 1783. Gradually it declined in prosperity.

time the pursued one opposed him. The Nawwāb (the possessor of help) exhibited great bravery in fighting and pursuing the enemy. The enemy offered battle for the third time at the *maydān* of Baswapatan⁽¹⁾ and tried to fight with all his strength. After three days and three nights he was routed with his friends and defeated with his companions. In short, according to his wont, he ran away. The warrior Nawwāb gripped with the hand of fury the waist of the army of the enemy, wherever he found an opportunity, and shed large quantities of the blood of haughty men till the defeated soldiers got ready to flee, found themselves unable to draw their swords, and ran towards Poona in search of refuge. The possessor of the conquering stirrup established his victory. With the festivity of happiness and success he returned. After fulfilling towards all the *sardārs* who had accompanied him the duties of hospitality suitable on such occasions and honouring them with presents of *khil'at*, cash and pearls according to their rank, he gave them leave to depart with their armies. He despatched letters of congratulation on his success to Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. Then, by the protection of the Great Protector, the Nawwāb reached the city of Arcot safe in health and property.

The rebellion of the French, their occupation of the town of Chennapatan belonging to the English Company, the appointment of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur to recapture it, the dispersion of the Khān's troops owing to the night attack by the French.

For a long time it was usual for the *Frangs*, viz., the English and the French, to maintain indecent hostility in

(1) *Baswapatan*.—The fort was built by one Kongana Nayak, under Vijayanagar rule; and his son, Hanumappa Nayak, and his successor held the state till they were dispossessed by Raudūla Khān in 1636 when they went over to Tarikere. The Mughals captured it; and later it came under the rule of the Mahrattas and Haydar Āli. It is situated in the Channagiri taluq of the Mysore State.

their 'homeland, viz., *Frangistan* [Europe]. The contagion spread to their colonies on the coast of the Indian sea. The details are :—The *sardār* at the town of Pulcheri, M. Dupleix, wished to send an army for the subjugation of the towns of Chennapatan and Devanampatan under the English, but he feared he would be blamed by the *sarkār* for this aggression. In this situation he revealed these secret intentions to the nobles of the *Nāiṭ* community who were closely bound by ties of friendship with the French and sought their help in this troublesome affair. For, the *Nawāyat*, after the decline of the prosperity they enjoyed under the *nizāmat* of their own community, were biting their hands in sorrow. Since they were eagerly seeking such mischief, they strengthened the French in the design. By all kinds of argument, they implanted in their minds the possibility of the subjugation of those two towns. The short-sighted rebels [French] according to the verse :

“In bad times men do not have their wits about them.”

became enamoured of the unstable arguments of that community, and in 1158 A. H. drew out a strong army for the purpose of subjugating the towns of the English. The breath of the guns (the articles of hell) blew first on the fort of Chennapatan. After its subjugation, the French caused the flame of their arrogance to spread towards Devanampatan. On hearing of this wicked deed, the happy temper of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur was ruffled. The sea of honour was agitated by these waves of words : “Both these two groups are under the protection of the *sarkār*. What authority is there for one to raise its hand against the other ? If there are differences between the two groups, it is only in their homeland, and not in this land of peace, this heart-exhilarating country. This is a region under the shadow of the protection of our Pādshāh, free from confusion and disturbance. This is under my jurisdiction by the *farmān* of justice that adorns the world, preserved from the damage of tyranny and baseness. It behoves that I put forth the hand of discipline to pull the ears of the wicked and help as far as possible those who are obedient.”

Then he despatched his beloved son, Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, along with an army of brave men experienced in war, valiant and furious, for the purpose of expelling the French from the fort of Chennapatan and restoring it to the English. In obedience to the exalted mandate, that brave man in the *maydān* of bravery, the majestic tiger of the forest, reached Chennapatan from Arcot and descended unhesitatingly to do battle against the French on the northern side of the fort, considering them as being only subjects and merchants. The French, on the hint of the *Nāiṭ* nobles, had lost all fear and respect for the *sarkār*. So without any consideration, they arrayed their troops and attacked the forces of the *sarkār* during the night. Since the Nawwāb's army had not the least suspicion of a night-assault they were unready, and so the whole army of the *sarkār* got confused in the darkness. In this confusion, however much the leader of the army laboured to collect the scattered forces, he did not find any advantage. He thought it prudent to preserve his life in this time of confusion, and resolved to take revenge [on the French] some other time. So he turned his back according to the wisdom contained in the verse :

“A gem falls from hand during night ;
 Seek it not till morn,
 For the night will soon pass away,
 And the rising sun will bring it to light.”

Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahūmat Jang orders the appointment of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā to punish the treacherous French and to help the trustworthy English.

On learning of the dispersion of the army of the *sarkār*, due to then apparent superiority of the disgraceful enemy, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur was afflicted with extreme sorrow. Though emaciated by old age, dysentery, and intense suffering, he wished to pull the ears of the French and help

the trustworthy English and decided to fight. But all those present in the assembly unanimously urged that his age which was over seventy, and his sick body could not bear the strain of battle, and strove hard to change his mind. The wise, strong-willed, and intelligent Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā a promising youth of clear conscience with the strength of youth and the wisdom of age, in the words of the poet Shaykh Sa'dī (peace be on him), possessing great knowledge and high aims, brave, prudent, and the pride of the age, was chosen by the unanimous opinion of all [present] to extinguish the blaze of mischief. Thus, they made the proposal commendable to the strong opinion and good wisdom of the Nawwāb who immediately showed his happy favour by despatching a letter to the high and famous name, the true successor, the glorious son of great worth, the eye and the light of the illustrious race of glory and power, the pride of the mighty family, the possessor of generosity and honour viz., Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur, asking him to come to him and put an end to the mischiefs and evil-deeds of these wicked people [the French]. Our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, after putting an end to the wickedness of Bābu Nāyak the Mahratta, reached Arcot in the company of his father of exalted rank, and after gaining the favour of permission from his father, started with the idea of going to Hyderabad the place of his *niḡāmat*; and he had marched as far as Cuddapah with the banners of his victorious army [when the letter reached him]. On receipt of the kind letter of the Nawwāb he turned the reins of the steed of determination and might towards Arcot.

The appointment of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā and his departure from the presence of his aged father for the protection and the release of the town of Devanampatan; his victory over the French; release of Chennampatan from M. Dupleix and its restoration to the English.

On receiving the letter from his noble father, Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā returned in great haste from his camp at Cuddapah, sought his father's presence, and obtained his grace. When

the mind was immersed in the darkness of anxiety he appeared bright as the sun that adorns the world. Immediately his aged father addressed him thus:

"Now the French have crossed the limits, and have subdued and brought under their control the town of Chennapatan 'belonging to the English. To maintain the honour of our administration, to establish the power of our *nizāmat*, to teach a lesson to the proud and the vain, to help those who hold fast the handle of trustworthiness and obedience, and to improve the standard of administration, to discharge all these responsibilities of a sovereign, we commissioned Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, your elder brother and entrusted him with the task of capturing from the French and restoring to the English their lost possessions. We came to know that he is worthless and inexperienced. We wished to engage ourselves in this enterprise, but emaciation due to old age and the sickness of our body prevent us. We leave to your hands the untying of this knot which cannot be [easily] untied. Our good name rests on the release of Chennapatan from the hands of the French and its restoration to the English, on the demand of the expenses of these expeditions from that weak enemy, on the capture of the fort of Pulcheri, and on the expulsion of the French from the territory of the Carnatic. These should be carried out properly. Finish this work, and let the happy news of your victory spread far and wide."

Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā found his glorious distinction in these instructions, took leave the same day, raised aloft his standard, and marched in the direction of Devanampatan. He passed safely with his victorious army through Timiri, Arni, and Chetpat, and at Nuṣratgadh (Jinji) the kettle-drum announced his happy and auspicious arrival. By this time, M. Dupleix had captured Chennapatan, and was marching towards Devanampatan. On learning the intentions of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā (the possessor of the lofty standard) M. Dupleix despatched to his presence the following *'arḍdāsh* which reached him on the way.

The 'arddāsh̄t of M. Dupleix. (1)

"For a long time there has been endless war between the two nations the English and the French, owing to their proximity like the morning and the evening. In the just view of your exalted personage, the infirmities and the wickedness of these two people must be considered equal. In these disputes, the attempt to take sides is not becoming your high station. It is proper for you to allow yourself to see the fun and witness the results of the important endeavours of these two groups. Else I am afraid that in this confusion of the whirlwind of

(1) *Letter of Dupleix to Muḥammad 'Alī*—French negotiations with the Nawwāb:—Muḥammad 'Alī marched from Jinji towards Fort St. David, after writing a letter of expostulation to Dupleix, wherein he expressed a desire to preserve French alliance on condition that Dupleix showed his loyalty to the old Nawwāb. In return for this letter he had received nothing but a complimentary reply from Dupleix (Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*—tr. Vol. III) J. Hinde was then the Governor of Fort St. David.

In December 1746, Muḥammad 'Alī pitched his camp outside Fort St. David; after the first French attack on the Fort (Decr. 20) which fought an action with the Muslim horse and had to retreat with some loss of supplies and a few killed and wounded, Muḥammad 'Alī was joined by Maḥfūẓ Khān on December 29, 1749. Now Dupleix began to negotiate with the Nawwāb and his sons, persuading them to withdraw their forces. Muḥammad 'Alī was half inclined to make peace with the French, according to Ananda Ranga Pillai; and Maḥfūẓ Khān was vacillating. Dupleix failed a second time in his attack (Jan. 10, 1747). [See Ranga Pillai's entry from Jan. 1, (old style) in the *Diary*, Vol. III.]

After Dupleix heard of the arrival of three French ships, he thought he might succeed with the Muslims. He wrote a letter to Muḥammad 'Alī, offering that the French were prepared to give him the villages attached to Cuddalore and Fort St. David, reserving the latter place alone for some time for himself; he was inclined to ignore Maḥfūẓ Khān altogether in these transactions (Diarist's entry for Jany., 24, 27, 1747, regarding the negotiations of the French at Arcot) Maḥfūẓ Khān's visit to Pondicherry took place in February 1747, and was followed by the final withdrawal of the Muslim force towards the end of February (See the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*—Vol. III, pp. 276-8, 287-8, 349-354; and the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, Part II, for C. S. Srinivasachari's article on *The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*—IV-Section III—*Dupleix and the Nawwāb—The French Attacks on Fort St. David.*)

mischievous of the two groups, the dust will settle on the skirt which is clear at present. For the flame of the fire of my war burnt at one blaze of assault the granary of the fort of Chennapatan. Your own brother [Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur] with large army and provisions gained nothing but disgrace in a single attack of mine. It is advisable for your highness to refrain from the idea of interference in this affair and withdraw from the field. Else the lightning of my guns will no longer be under my control and the blaze of my muskets cannot be extinguished by water."

The following elegant reply to this letter was despatched forthwith like the punishment following a crime and the stroke of a sword [falling] on the deceitful hand.

The farmān of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā in reply to M. Duplex.

"The despatch whose contents are contrary to the zeal of the virtuous and the trustworthy, and exhibit the thunder of bravery like a drop of water in the wind, reached me; and the absurd ideas contained therein increased my astonishment. Since the King of kings, the Real Sovereign, has made my name current coin in this kingdom, and the sharp sword has ungrudgingly cheered my mind to reduce the stock of the haughtiness of the wicked, it is necessary that I try, as far as my strength permits, to protect the obedient, and exert myself to support the submissive. I do not wish to see any one cast terrifying glances at my friends. Again, I cannot bear with those who are hostile to them. In fact I have strong hopes that, in reparation for the injury you have done the English, I shall not leave in this country anything that would remind the name of the French. In return for your rapacity regarding the fort of Chennapatan, I shall destroy Pulcheri to its very foundations. Beware! My letter is no vain threat, and my discourse is like a sword out of its sheath!"

Such an elegant letter was despatched.

In short, the victorious army, like the sun that adorns the world, measured the distance, and on Sunday the 5th of Dhul-Haj in the year 1158 after the *Hijra* of the Commander of the army of Messengers (may peace be on

them), reached Devanampatan removing the darkness of the oppression of the proud enemies and illuminating the eyes of the help-seekers.

Since Shāh Raḥmatullāh Ṣāhib's residence was very near the town of Maḥmūd-bandar (Porto Novo), the Nawwāb hastened to pay his respects to him, and seek inspiration from him. The gracious Shāh encircled the Nawwāb's waist with his own kind hand, presented him with a sword and a mantle, and made the following speech which showed how he was the reader of men's thoughts and the foreteller of their fortunes: "May you be a lucky and blessed horseman in the name of Allāh, with Allāh, from Allāh, towards Allāh, in the way of Allāh, and for the nationality of the Prophet of Allāh! Be a bouquet of the flowers of success [picked] from the garden of time." It is impossible to describe the pure qualities and great virtues of this person. The voices of creation bear witness.

In brief, Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, after receiving benediction from the Shāh, took leave, and returned to his tent. Next day, viz., Monday the sixth of the month, witnessed the victory ⁽¹⁾ of the friends of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā and the defeat of the disgraceful enemy. The eternal prosperity of [Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā] got ready the implements of victory. The French army marched with the idea of battle. The English also came out from the fort of Devanampatan with the available forces, arrayed them in rows, fought to the utmost of their ability, and in the end took refuge in the Fort. When Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā saw the superiority of the wicked enemy, his face wrinkled, and his majesty condescended to help the English. So he came out from his camp which was adjacent to the fort of Devanampatan, consoled and comforted Mr. John Hinde, the *sardār* of the place who was much distressed on account of the smallness of the forces and the

(1) *Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Walājāh's victory over the French*; 6th Dhul-Ḥajj 1158 A. H., refers to the repulse of the French in Dec. 1746 A. D., before Fort St. David,

absence of help. Next day, viz., Tuesday the seventh of the month, the possessor of power and prosperity marched to the battlefield with his victorious army. He posted his cavalry and infantry in battle array and made every *sardār* take care of his unit. He ordered them to hold in their hands arrows and iron war-rockets and be firm-footed in the *maydān* of bravery and intrepidity, and achieve a name for themselves. He weighed the briskness of the fight between the two parties. Appreciating the arrangement of the French army and their manner of fighting, he ordered Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān, the *sardār* of the rear guard to discharge the rockets in quick succession so that they might precede the gun-shots, and thus scatter the enemy. He ordered Muḥammad Abrār Khān, the *sardār* of the van-guard of the army, and 'Abdul Jalīl Khān and Muḥammad Riḍā Bēg Khān the *sardārs* of the horses on the right and the left wings, to rush forward quickly and ply their swords. Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā (the possessor of power, pomp, authority, and will) rode his own elephant—distinguished, since that happy day, with the glorious name of Fath-lashkar, compared to the first heaven, on account of its stature and beautiful appearance and seemed fitted to be the sign Aries with the bright sun, when adorned with the howdah and its glorious occupant,—marched with the sepoys and with elephants that looked like hillocks, stationed himself in the centre of his army, and attacked the wicked enemy. The thundering noise of the guns possessing mouths of fire, the lightning flash of the swords which gave no quarter, the cloud of armies that marched forward, the hurricane of fight, the heavy and endless downpour of arrows and rockets, the elegant flowing of the river of blood,—apt parallels of the bold rose and the bad thorn—the colour of the wounds resembling that of a tulip flower, the number of wounds as close as the rose-buds, the great noise of the bird-like rockets that scattered the enemy, the song of the nightingales that had inviting tongues—all these produced the effect of the spring season. The minds of the intelligent men of the world were so much absorbed

that the horses that possessed manes like *shamla* ⁽¹⁾ began to slobber; they leapt and ran in all directions. Huge elephants, remarkable for their coolness, coiled up their trunks. The elephants in rut broke their chains and ran amok into the ranks of the enemy. The brave horsemen, swift as lightning, gave proof of their bravery, scattered the forces of the enemy and snatched away for themselves the fame of bravery attached to the name of Rustam. Elephants which looked like hillocks [in their might] and high as the sky [in majesty], with chains in their trunks, ran amok and broke the waist of the enemy's army. Ḥadrat-i-A'lā (the possessor of power and might) with drawn sword rode his own horse, and fought briskly in the company of his army. He encircled the French with his own troops and began to attack them with such severity that heaven itself was confused, and Mars was terror-stricken. Everywhere heaps of dead bodies came into view, and in every direction there were crowds of people seeking quarter. Those who escaped the sword got confused in their attempt to flee, and half the number were drowned in the brackish waters; while the rest threw away their implements of war and reached Pulcheri after many hardships.

Ḥadrat-i-A'lā, by the grace of the Great Conqueror and the Supreme Helper, returned to his tent victoriously, full of joy and happiness. Next day, he invited the governor of Devanampatan to his presence. With happy inquiries and kind words he honoured him with the present of a pair of horses and a pair of *khi'at*. He showed the same favour to other sardars also who had accompanied him, and gave them robes of honour suitable to their ranks. Thus, once again this rendering of help to the English at a time of difficulty made them feel thankful, placed them under obligation, and made them join hands with Ḥadrat-i-A'lā. For even to this day, the white *Frangs* and the black Indians are as intimately united as the white and the black of the eye. The

(1) *Shamla*. The end of the turban or waistband, sometimes tucked into the folds, and sometimes left flying loose,

union and friendship between Ḥaḍrat-i A'lā and the English is maintained till this day. The fame of this union pervades throughout the countries in the world like the spirit in the body. The two Pādshāhs of the island of England, George II and George III had in their letters of friendship and union, addressed Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā with the title of "brother." The following are the contents:

"As long as our authority over England and the administration of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā in the Carnatic continues generation after generation, the friendship and union between the two powers will be permanent and firm."

The authorities of the East India Company also sent letters of kindness along with the covenants and treaties and inestimable presents.

Although some of the Governors of Chennapatan like Lord Pigot, Lord Macartney, and others ⁽¹⁾ sometimes behaved towards Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā contrary to courtesy and unity negating the long-standing rights, yet the right thinkers, knowers of truth about the open and secret activities of the Nawwāb, the subtle observers of disputes in all details viz., the most elegant people in the capital of the kingdom of England, the *sardārs* of the Pādshāh, the wise men in the Parliament, the Directors of the Company ordered what was right and correct and did not approve of the actions of these two Lords and others. Once, in the open assembly in Chennapatan, General Coote the *sardār*, [of the army], disputed with Lord Macartney thus: "It is not the manner of the wise to wound the feelings of a benefactor. As far as possible there must be consideration for him [Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā]." Lord Macartney replied: "In the face of justice we have got rights over him [Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā], for without our support it is impossible for him to maintain his

(1) *Relations between Governor Macartney and Nawwāb Wallajah*:—Not satisfactory, but strained:—noted in Love's *Vestiges*—Vol. III, pp. 314-318. See *Public Life of Baron Macartney* (1807); and Mill and Wilson's *History of British India* (1858); Vol. IV; pp. 363-5 and 428.

rule." Mr. Coote retorted, "General Lawrence and I have been here in this country for a long time. We know these disputes from the very beginning. I have grown grey in these services. I have heard much from General Lawrence and others. We know more of the past than you, for you are young. Though our people help him in all affairs, yet we have found suitable wages and presents to the extent of our labour, and realised the advantages of such a help. But, his kindness to our people, especially on three occasions of difficulty, is such as cannot be repaid :

1. When M. Dupleix attacked Devanampatan after subjugating Chennapatan.

2. When Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang expelled the English army from Tiruvithi [near Panruti], nay, more than that, when the Nawwāb ordered 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān and Himmat Bahādur Khān, the *sardārs* of Cuddappah and Kurnool, to capture Chennapatan and Devanampatan.

3. When M. Lally, after capturing the Fort of Devanampatan, marched on to storm the Fort of Chennapatan.

The help and support [he gave] on these three occasions is the reason for the stability of the English nation to-day in this country of Hindustan. But for this help, the French, instead of our people, would have been all powerful in the affairs of this country."

When the people in the assembly listened to the speech of this aged *sardār*, Lord Macartney and other members of the assembly could do nothing but testify to it. When Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā heard of the events in the Council next day, he sent his second son, Amīru'l-Ūmara Bahādur, to the General's house to offer his thanks. Allāh willing, these facts will be detailed later on. For the present the curtain of brevity falls.

In brief, Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā *consolated and comforted the *sardārs* of Devanampatan, honoured them with permission to

depart, while he himself marched from that place with his victorious army towards Pulcheri. M. Dupleix, on account of the defeat of his army and the marching of the forces of the *sarkār*, was filled with dread, like a ram caught in the paw of a lion, and sighed with repentance at the idea of punishment for his unworthy action. He sent a vakil to the presence of the Nawwāb, and sought pardon. At the outset, the Nawwāb did not accept it, but after seeing the utmost wretchedness [of Dupleix], and the coming and going of vakils, his noble disposition excused the sin, and showed mercy on the following conditions:

1. The town of Chennapatan should be handed over to the English Company.

2. An undertaking must be given that, thereafter, there would be no repetition of such insubordination in the country of the Carnatic.

3. Compensation must be made to the *sarkār* for the expenses incurred in this expedition.

M. Dupleix, in abject submission, accepted the first two conditions, pleaded inability to pay the expenses of the war, and offered multi-coloured pieces of *bānāts*, different kinds of *makhmal*, and other presents. Thus he exhibited signs of peaceful gestures, and was preserved and protected from the danger of revenge.

Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, after establishing peace, and happy and distinguished success, started joyfully and pleasantly, covered *manzil* after *manzil*, and in an auspicious hour shed afresh his splendour at Arcot. Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur felt extremely happy at his having achieved both desires, *viz.*, the safe return of his prosperous son, and the pleasing success in his work. In his joy, he arranged for a feast and distributed coins among the needy. In the course of these festivities the vakil representing the English-Governor at Devanampatan arrived with presents as *nadh* and submitted through Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā an '*arḍdāsh*' which

conveyed the thanks [of the English] for the help and the news of peace between the two parties in their homes and of the release of the fort of Chennapatān from the possession of the inimical French. He got distinction from the Nawwāb, received robes of honour and other things, and returned to his place.

Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur divides the kingdom of the Carnatic Payanghat among his sons of exalted rank: designates our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā (May Allāh make his kingdom and authority last for ever) as his successor and entrusts to him the kingdom, especially of Arcot.

Since those who think of righteousness in the important affairs of this earth, and seek peace in this visible world, realise that thoughts about the other world are better than the affairs of this present world, and the contemplation of eternity is preferable to the achievements in this ephemeral sphere, Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, according to the truth contained in the hemistich—"A prudent man is a fortunate man."—saw in his corporeal kingdom that the powerful enemy, wicked and mischievous old age, had poured armies of sickness and created unsteadiness in all parts of the body and the limbs. Hence he thought of designating, from among his sons, a successor who would be responsible for the good administration of the affairs of the government, take care to preserve the honour of the kingdom, and thus would perpetuate eternally his exalted name, and also of sending his other sons to such *taluqs* as he might think fit. He considered our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā most worthy to manage every business, and fittest to arrange all affairs successfully. He weighed all his happy qualities and praiseworthy habits, gave him the management of the affairs in the *taluq* of Kanchi and other places, and thus kept him near. He sent Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur to the *ṣūbah* of Trichinopoly. He granted to 'Abdul-Waḥhāb Khān Bahādur the *taluq* of Nellore. He entrusted Muḥammad Najībullāh Khān Bahādur with the *taluq* of South Arcot.

*The contest between Munīru'd-Dīn Khān and Anwar 'Alī Khān inside the fort of Trichinopoly: the arrival of Nawwāb Sirājū'd-Dawla Bahādur who dismisses Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur from the *ṣūbah* of Trichinopoly and entrusts it to our *Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā*. May Allāh (exalted He is), by the verity of Muḥammad and his family, make it permanent in his possession and that of his descendants.*

Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur took leave of his beneficent father to take charge of the affairs of the *ṣūbah* of Trichinopoly and reached that lovely place. He appointed as his *Nāib*, Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān, the son of his father's uncle, whom he regarded as his own uncle, to look after the *niẓāmat* of the *ṣūbah*, and went on a tour to the *talug* of Madura which was under the jurisdiction of Trichinopoly. In the meantime, treacherous Nature spread the carpets of mischief; for, Anwar 'Alī Khān the eldest son of Badrul-Islam Khān Bahādur took leave of his grandfather and started from Arcot with the idea of joining the service of his uncle, Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur. At Natharnagar he sought an interview with Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān, and requested him the grant of the *talug* of Tinnevely which was under the *ṣūbah* of Trichinopoly. Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān shrugged his shoulders. Anwar 'Alī Khān was very much vexed, brought under his control the *Dārul-amāra* of Trichinopoly, set aright the towers and battlements, and got ready for war. On learning what had happened, Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān was struck with terror. He hastened to the rock fort of *Tāymān-hill*, tried to fortify it, and prepared for defence. As these two places were situated inside the fort, each opposite the other at a distance of four arrow-shots, the firing of guns and muskets, the hurling of heavy stones from slings and catapults looked like the approach of doomsday. This news, conveyed in their letters by the chroniclers, reached Arcot at the time of after-sunset-prayer, through Malik Aslam Khān, the superintendent of news. The mind of the Nawwāb was vexed at this, and in spite of the infirmity of old age

and his suffering from dysentery, he prepared himself to bear the fatigues of a journey. In the early morning as soon as he had said his prayers and performed his salutations, he collected the available horses [of his victorious army] on the wide *maydān* adjoining the town and raised his banner. He invited Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā from Kanchi to accompany him. Rāja Sampat Rāi the *dīwān* of the Nawwāb, but the right-hand man of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, learnt what had happened, guessed that the Nawwāb's march to Trichinopoly would result in Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān's dismissal, and tried his utmost to induce his master to cancel his journey; yet the Nawwāb paid no heed to the many arguments he advanced in that connection, waited for two or three days expecting his beloved son Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, began to march on his arrival, covered *manzil* after *manzil*, and reached Natharnagar. When Anwar 'Alī Khān heard the news of the march of his venerable grand-father, he fled in the direction of Madura where his uncle Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur was staying. Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān hastened to receive the exalted Nawwāb, obtained the honour of an interview, and then accompanied his elder brother into the fort. The good Nawwāb waited there for Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur. On the third day when the Nawwāb learnt that the Bahādur had taken away the *talug* of Madura from the jurisdiction of Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān and had entrusted it to Abul Ma'ālī Khān the younger brother of Anwar 'Alī Khān, his mind was much disturbed and he immediately marched towards Madura. On learning this Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān marched to receive him, and in the *qasba* of Manaparai had the honour of interviewing the Nawwāb who took him in his company and returned to Natharnagar. As soon as the Nawwāb neared the place, Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān closed the gates of the fort, prevented the entry of the Nawwāb, and with the idea of war and mischief, mounted the guns on the towers. The Nawwāb, the possessor of the victorious stirrup, grew angry, ordered his troops to storm the fort, and brought his own cavalry to the southern door. The strokes of axes

opened the door by the grace of that Great Opener of doors, and he entered the fort. Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur felt greatly ashamed, dreaded punishment for his unworthy action, went again to the *Tāyamān* hill, and sat there shorn of all splendour and following. The Nawwāb overlooked his condition, and his faults. He illuminated the *Dārul-Amāra* with the light of his feet. Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā who was present with him got the favour of a present of one of his own *Nīm-āstīns* and was thus made to feel grateful and thankful. The Nawwāb entrusted to Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā the control and the management of the *ṣūbah* of Natharnagar with the *taluqs* and places under it along with the collection of the *pēshkash* from the *zamīndārs*. Then the Nawwāb, with the idea of returning to Arcot, bestowed on Mansūrpēt the high honour of his encampment with his victorious banner.

Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, with the sagacity characteristic of the family, consoled the troubled mind of Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān, sent him to the camp and fixed himself up in the fort, like ever-wakeful fortune. On that very day Raja Sampat Rai the *dīwān* came from Arcot unexpectedly. He had news of the two princes the dismissal of the one and the appointment of the other quite contrary to his wishes, hastened to Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, and made him realise the situation. He reproved him for disobedience to his famous father, for the incidents [that brought about the] differences, for the consequent loss of such a vast dominion, for the deprivation of his high rank, for his non-payment of the amount collected from other *taluqs*, and for his failure to conciliate his father, and felt great sorrow. In short, remaining in the same place where he met the Khān, Rāja Sampat Rāi sent for the *sāhūkārs* of the army, made over to them the income from the *taluq* of Tinnevely, and secured from them the payment of three lakhs of rupees to Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur. Immediately the *dīwān* got a *hundi* for the amount and took it to the Nawwāb, and submitted as

follows:—"If Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur be at present given authority over the *ṣūbah* of Trichinopoly, three lakhs of rupees will come to the treasury of the *sarkār* and it is advisable for the *sarkār* to do so." Then he handed over the *hundi* to the Nawwāb who took it from his hand and kept it carefully with him. Next day, when Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā came from the fort to pay his respects, the Nawwāb spoke to him thus:—"In case the *talug* of Trichinopoly be entrusted to your elder brother, the amount of this *hundi* is ours. Let us know your mind in this affair." Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā replied, "I have to wait till to-morrow to submit a reply." Then he took leave and went to the fort. According to the advice given by Sayyid 'Alī Khān the uncle of the Nawwāb Bēgam, he secured a loan of three lakhs of rupees from the well-known firm of Bahuganji a Gujarati money-lender, and went early in the morning with the money loaded on elephants and camels, and submitted it as the *pēshkash-nadhīr* to the Nawwāb who, in great joy and happiness, invoked blessings on his fortunate successor, returned the *hundi* paper to Rāja Sampat Rāi, gave permission to Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā to proceed to Natharnagar, and himself departed to Arcot.

The nizāmat of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā in the ṣūbah of Trichinopoly; the change of its name into Natharnagar, and other details.

When Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā was entrusted with the authority over the *ṣūbah* of Trichinopoly, he, in accordance with the principle that adorns the world and nourishes it, selected from among the number of the officers of the important affairs of the kingdom some intelligent followers experienced in all arts and crafts. He secured from his famous father service for every one according to merits. Sayyid 'Alī Khān the uncle of the Nawwāb Bēgam was appointed to the post of *Nāib*; Sayyid Nāṣir 'Alī Khān to the dignified post of *qil'adār*; Muḥammad Abrār Khān to the exalted post of *Balshī* of the victorious army; Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān got the appointment of *sardār* of the cavalry which rivalled Rustam in bravery; 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān and Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, the two

brothers-in-law, were appointed to collect the *pēshkash* from the *pālayagārs*. Sayyid Maḥdūm 'Alī Khān became the exalted leader of the *Dakhni risāla*. Mīr Abu Ṭālib Khān, son of Ghālib Khān the companion of Mubārīz Khān a former Nawwāb and a *raīs* of the Deccan, was honoured with the post of *sardār* of the infantry. In the same manner others were appointed to every service. Thus, after appointing these people and attending to important affairs, Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā marched with a strong army and necessary provisions to settle accounts with *zamīndārs* and *pālayagārs* and collect *pēshkash* from them. First he marched to Tanjore whose *zamīndār* paid his respects to Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, submitted the usual *pēshkash* and *nadhv*, and thus brought himself under the lordly kindness of the Nawwāb. Then he marched to Tinnevely through Ramnad and Sivaganga. After collecting the usual *pēshkash* from every *mālguzār* ⁽¹⁾, and establishing his authority over all the places, he returned safe to the prosperous centre of his happy movements, viz., Natharnagar, through the protection of the Lord of creation. He carried out the necessary repairs to the fort, and named the town Natharnagar, after the name of His Holiness the immaculate Sayyid viz., Ḥaḍrat Nathar Walī—May Allāh sanctify his resting place, where during the time of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā was built the illuminating dome which is so high as to surpass the sky and brings under the shade of its protection the fort which is within an arrow shot. He built the beautiful mosque known as *Masjid-i-Muḥammadī* a place of worship for the Faithful, and earned for himself other blessings as well.

The appointment of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur to the nizāmat of Arcot through the diplomacy of Rāja Sampat Rāi; the misunderstanding between the son and the father; the coming of the father viz., Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur to Natharnagar with the idea of staying there.

(1) *Mālguzār* : the person who pays the revenue assessed on an estate or village whether he be proprietor or holder and whether he pays the revenue to the Government or to a Zamīndār.

Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur after making his beloved son, our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, the ruler over the *ṣūbah* of Natharnagar, marched from Mansūrpēt, passed *manzil* after *manzil*, and had his happy palanquin set down in the town of Arcot. Rāja Sampat Rāi who felt great anxiety over the change of authority in Natharnagar and understood that the removal of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur was a decline in his influence, thought that, since his endeavour to better the condition of the Khān at the time of the Nawwāb's stay at Mansūrpēt had not been successful, any further attempts on his account would not bear fruit. So he thought it proper to send the Khān towards the Deccan, who after some days returned with a letter of recommendation from Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh concerning the appointment of a *Nāib* to the *niẓāmat* of the Carnatic. The Raja submitted it to the Nawwāb at a suitable hour, and made frequent solicitations in the matter of the appointment. He submitted thus: "In case this prayer be granted, first, there will be the advantage of securing the satisfaction of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, and secondly, the sum of three lakhs of rupees will be paid as *nadhṛ*, and an advance of the annual *nadhṛ* of three lakhs will be paid into the treasury." Though the Nawwāb felt extremely sorry for his bringing the letter from Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, yet in due deference to the letter of the Wazir of the Deccan, he thought it necessary to fulfil the wishes of the *diwān*. Hence he made the anxious hearer feel satisfied with the happy 'yes.' The *diwān*, having been successful in obtaining the request, at once called on Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, secured for him the proudly decorated *khil'at* of a *Nāib*, and thus made him offer respects and thanks to the Nawwāb. At the time of his paying respects, Muḥammad Najīb Khān Bahādur, who was the most intimate companion and the right hand man of our Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, and knew the innermost wishes of the master, proclaimed loudly in the following manner for the purpose of making it clear early enough: "The post of the *Nāib* has under its jurisdiction the whole territory except the *ṣūbah* of Natharnagar and Nellore."

This proclamation of the Khān was acceptable to the noble mind of the Nawwāb, who looked in his direction and smiled. Though the *dīwān* felt aggrieved at the exclusion of these two *ṣūbahs*, still he thought that his achievements so far were a great gain. In short, Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, after he was entrusted with this post, submitted to the Nawwāb through Rāja Sampat Rāi that on account of his (Nawwāb's) stay here the duties of the *Nāib* could not be executed properly, and the collection of three lakhs of rupees the covenanted sum to be paid every year could not be realised. The powerful Nawwāb on hearing these statements and on seeing the unprofitable ways of the son appointed to the place, felt disgusted with his stay in Arcot. So, according to the desire of his heart and the inclination of his happy temperament, he started with all his retinue towards Natharnagar the capital, where shines the light of the eye, the glory of the sight, the splendour of the heart, the true successor and the choicest fruit *viz.* Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā the nourisher of his subjects. The host who had been a long expectant of (such a visit) blossomed like the rose on account of the gust of the wind of good news of the coming of the guest. He hastened to welcome him. After a day's journey, he paid his respects to his father at Mansūrpēt, and in his august company crossed the two rivers, namely, the Coleroon and the Cauvery, and reached the outskirts of the fort.

Thence Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā carried in his humble shoulders the palanquin of his venerable father along with other bearers. He cast respectful and soft looks before him with the object of obtaining presents in the shape of benedictions of longevity and position, and gaining the satisfaction of that angelic temperament. Then with the song,

"The arches of my eyes are thy abode;

Be gracious to come in, for the abode is thine"

on his lips, he conducted him to the *Dārul-amāra*. He girded up his loins to perform services and obey orders, to observe the proprieties of a host, to exhibit signs of his

happiness and joy, and caused to be brought food, valuable drinks, many coloured clothes, jewel-set vessels, and skilfully made articles, for three days continuously. He gave a general order to all his *Ilāqadārs* that every one in the army with his family and relatives, from the highest to the lowest, from the courtier to the man in the street, must come, batch by batch, and partake of his hospitality for three days continuously, and that their satisfaction was the object of his desire. As long as his noble father resided there, he approached him every morning with a thousand rupees, paid his respects, and submitted the amount to him. In return for all his striving to please his father, he found benedictions proceeding from the bottom of the heart of such an angelic character, which is in reality the only source of power and the sole medium for happiness.

Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur comes to the Carnatic at the instance of Husayn Dōst Khān (Chanda Śāhib); he seeks help from the French and the jāgīrdārs of the Nawāyat community; Nawwāb Sirājū'd-Dawla starts from Natharnagar; the establishment of peace between the parties after negotiation through vakīls and letters.

When the *farmān* which demands obedience came from the Sultan who exercises authority over every part of the world, the mighty Wazīr, the *Nāẓim* of the Deccan viz., Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur found his exit from this transitory world. He had six sons. The eldest Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla Sayyid Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang was employed in the court of the Pādshāh. He rose to the rank of a wazīr, and finally obtained the *niẓāmat* of the Deccan. The second son Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Mir Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, the younger brother who was with his father at Awrangābād, established himself there after him. The four other sons were very young. The eldest of these was Nawwāb Salābat Jang Bahādur who, at an opportune hour, caused the murder of the eldest brother viz., Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Dawla and became

powerful as the *nāẓim* of the Deccan [1751—61]. Later on he was imprisoned by his next brother, and died in prison. The second, Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh II (Nizām 'Alī Khān Bahādur), is the present *Nāẓim*. The third was Basālat Jang Bahādur, and the fourth Mughal 'Alī Khān Bahādur.

Of all these, Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, according to the *farmān* from Delhi, increased the splendour of the glorious *masnad* at Awrangābād as successor (to his father), and extended the hand of administration over the inherited kingdom. Before he exercised his authority and made his affairs steady, the royal order bearing the signature of the emperor Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh [1748—1754] came directing him to march in all haste to his presence with army and provisions for the purpose of correcting the pernicious mischief of some wicked Amīrs. Immediately he resolved to start in obedience to that order, with a big army and implements of war, towards the royal capital of the Pādshāh, in spite of great impediments. One such impediment was the creation of a disturbance by Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, his sister's son, in the distant *talūq* of Adoni. As soon as he crossed the river Narbada, the news of his march in excessive pomp with abundant troops, equipage, and retinue, disgusted the Pādshāh very much, and he sent a counter-order with the royal signature to the following effect:—

“At present, the blaze of mischief has subsided. In these circumstances your coming to our presence is not necessary. It behoves you to stay in the Deccan and attend to its administration.” On learning this he gave up his idea and returned. It was rainy season, and so he could not but stay at Awrangābād. Thus, when the Deccan was devoid of a responsible *Nāẓim*, Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur found it a (suitable) centre for rebellion. He thought himself the ruler of the country, and came out of his hiding place like a snake from its hole. He poured the materials of mischief and revolution on the fort of Chitaldurg and Bednur and voluntarily excited confusion

with an idea to get possession of that district and to oppose Nawwāb Nizāmud-Dawla Bahādur Nāsir Jāng. At this juncture Husayn Dōst Khān, who had been captured at the fort of Trichinopoly by Raghuji (Bhonsle) and Fatah Singh the *sardārs* of the Mahrattas, and taken as a prisoner to Poona—which facts have already been related in the course of events that happened in the Carnatic and in the narration of the account of the *nizāmat* of the Nawwāb Šafdar ‘Alī Khān Shahīd—was released after thirteen years on payment of a large sum. When Husayn Dōst Khān⁽¹⁾ came (to the Deccan) he saw the kingdom ready for mischief and confusion. This he understood as a great opportunity to kindle the fire; nourishing in his heart plans to lay his hands on Arcot, he approached Hidāyat Muhiyyud-Dīn Khān who howevermuch instigated to subdue Payanghat, yet on account of the great regard and love for Nawwāb Sirāju’d-Dawla Bahādur whom he called his uncle, was not deceived then. But the mischief-maker was ever engaged in the design of his work. At all times, at all places, in all his intercourses he never appeared to be forgetful to make arrangements for urging his secret scheme. He clothed the figure of mischief with the dress of this counsel; he built the wall of enmity on the foundation of expediency, and preached thus:—“To reside in the country of the unprotected Deccan in the company of

(1) *Muzaffar Jang at Chitaldrug and Bednore*: Chanda Šāhib, after his release by the Mahrattas, according to Wilks and Orme, took up the cause of the Poligar of Chitaldrug against the Rani of Bednore and fought a battle at Myconda, south of Tungabhadra, where his son Ābid Šāhib was slain and himself taken prisoner. Orme continues the story that Chanda Šāhib was placed at the head of the Bednore forces, won a victory for his new ally, and came to join Muzaffar Jang at the head of nearly 6,000 men. (*Orme*, Vol. I, p. 121, *Wilks*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, pp. 159-60).

Dodwell in his *Dupleix and Olive* (p. 327) surmises that Chanda Šāhib joined Muzaffar Jang, Governor of Adoni and Bijapur, very shortly after his release in June 1748 and was employed in raising money for his new master in the *šubah* of Bijapur out of which arose the Chitaldrug-Bednore and other affairs.

Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang is like the splendour of the linen before the bright moon, or the impudence of the bat in the presence of the shining sun. In these circumstances, the Carnatic—a territory extensive, well-protected and pleasing to the mind, which could not be subjugated by Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh in spite of his pomp, might, and great army until dissensions among the sons of the uncles of the chieftains in that land appeared, which never bowed to his authority until the bond of their union was loosened—may be chosen for refuge. It is possible at present that those *jāgīrdārs* and *qilādārs* who are my uncle's sons are sure to help and support us. Further, the union of the French with the Nawāyaṭ, the enmity of the French with the *nāẓim* of the Carnatic on account of his help to the English and the residence of the Nawwāb Nizāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang at a remote place (Awrangabad)—all these are very favourable. In these circumstances, these facts may be relied upon to bring success without great exertion; never should this opportunity be lost." In short, Chanda Śāhib implanted in the mind of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān so many evil suggestions against his stay in the Deccan and such desire to subdue Payanghat with the help of the French that he was completely deceived and despatched letters to the *qilādārs* of the Nawāyaṭ community asking for their help and support; sent Riḍa 'Alī Khān the son of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān to Dupleix the Governor at Pondicherry and himself descended on the territory of the Carnatic. Then he wrote a deceitful letter to Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur. It will be given later.

On learning this unhappy news, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur sent orders to Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur the *Nāib*, to gather the victorious army and other implements of warfare in the *maydān* of Arcot; he wrote to Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur, commanding him to send the army of Nellore and other requisite things to the headquarters of the victorious army, and to remain in his station for the purpose of attending to its administration;

he sent orders to 'Abdul Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, the *zamindārs* and the *jāgīrdārs*, commanding them to march with their respective contingents, and reach the headquarters where the victorious banners were raised. None except his beloved sons responded, for all were great friends of Husayn Dōst Khān. They helped him secretly and did not join Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla. In short, after the armies of the sons (of the Nawwāb) were gathered at Arcot according to his orders, he left our Haḍrat-i-A'lā at Natharnagar and made him profit by these instructions. "Out of regard for the friendship of the Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, it is not proper (for me) to draw sword against his daughter's son. On the other hand there is the consideration of obedience to Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang; to entrust the kingdom to his enemy is opposed to the rules of fidelity. In the face of these two conflicting circumstances, I think it is better to wipe away this borrowed life, to remove this face from this transitory world, and walk gracefully to the eternal world. This being my resolve, it is necessary that in future and during times of mischief and confusion, you acquit yourself carefully and tactfully. As far as possible an attempt must be made to preserve the kingdom and the fort of Natharnagar. Without the acquiescence of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, the territory should not be left in the hands of his enemies. If your stay in this territory becomes impossible, then bring the English under your fold and be considerate towards them. If your residence in this territory be not possible, it behoves you not to choose any place in the Deccan for your residence, nor have any friendship with any Amīr; know there is no Amīr better than Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh; and straightaway go to the presence of the shade of the Glorious Lord (Delhi Pādshāh)." Then after finishing the customary advice and putting forth the necessary maxims and exhortations, he took leave of his beloved son, entrusting him to God the Gracious. With the available horses and the army of his sons, he departed towards Arcot and covered the distance with the idea of war. The Nawwāb

knew that the French were inclined to the side of the enemy, and so he sought help from the English to make up his deficiency in artillery. Since the English were not ready with their army and implements of warfare, the Nawwāb could not get any help from them. Thus, with emaciation, sickness, excessive old age, and just at the age of retirement, he reached Kuthalchangam with the idea of fighting the enemy merely for the purpose of preserving his honour and bravery. Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān who was very well acquainted with his bravery and boldness from the day of his fight against Bābū Nāik, did not venture an attack. In every direction he saw him (appearing) like a fierce lion and ran away in one direction like a ram. When Riḍā 'Alī Khān came to his help with the French army, Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān strengthened his heart, screwed up his courage to oppose the Nawwāb and put his head out. Then he encamped at the *maydān* of Puligonda with the idea of war, and sounded the battle-drum. The good Nawwāb, learning of the kindling of the fire of mischief and trouble, sought counsel from those present as to a suitable and spacious *maydān* for giving battle. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir the *Nāib*, the *jāgirdār* of Āmbūrgadh, whose story has been already related in the course of the history of the martyrdom of Nawwāb Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, with insincere speech and concealed treachery submitted, "The extensive *maydān* opposite to the mountain fortress of Āmbūrgadh is fit for battle. It is spacious enough for the vast army. It is best suited to defeat the pride and the haughtiness of men with wicked brains. There is another advantage in that the fort is at the back of the army, while its face is turned towards the enemy who is full of mischief and treachery. Hence during the time of any need for help, assistance can be had from within the fort." The powerful Nawwāb understood his suggestion to be free from deceit and fraud, hypocrisy and mischief. He considered his proposal to be based on an impartial view; and according to his counsel the Nawwāb pitched the glorious tents and raised the banner of authority

just in front of the fort. But in view of his past friendship and past association and the necessity to discuss the facts and offer advice he wrote a reply to Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān on receipt of a letter from him.

The letter of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān to Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur.

"On account of the separation brought about by heaven and the mischief of the times, my composure of mind has been thrown to the winds and the hill of oppression is placed on my weak head. The reproof of my uncle the Wazīr of the Deccan has made the treasure of my comforts wander in a flood of anxieties, and the lustre of my condition has fallen from the pinnacle of credit. Out of fear and anxiety I seek refuge in the kindness of that aged uncle of mine (Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla). I knock at the door of the safe house and of that power which is the only powerful refuge of the day, so that it may give me shelter, and I may come under that kind shade. What more shall I write?"

The Nawwāb wrote a reply and sent it through Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, his own uncle's son, and some other wise and intelligent men.

The reply from our Nawwāb.

"In consideration of your being the daughter's son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, and of our long friendship, and out of regard that you are a Muslim, I do not wish that my sword of menace (whose wound has no cure except the plaster of the death-knell) should come down on your head. Even so it is not advisable for you to fight against one like myself who is a brother in Faith and a true friend of your grandfather Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh, and have got the right to claim politeness and kindness from you. The deliberations of war and mischief are considered improper in the regulations for preserving and protecting long-standing friendship, and unity. It is opposed to the nature of trustworthy men. However much you may have the intention to subdue the

now the writer of these events is going to describe the eternally abominable events of the mischief-mongers.

The battle, the treachery of the friends, and the martyrdom of the Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Bahādur Shahāmat Jang.

The tears which flow from the eye-lashes of the pen of the historian on the edges of the paper, on account of the sorrow at the martyrdom caused by the sword of the deceitful people of the world, take the shape of lines of description; the grief, from the bosom of the narration of true tongues, kindles fire in the cotton of hearing on account of the pain caused by the heart-piercing arrows of the mischief-makers of the world, and changes into loud words of narration—these make apparent the following event.

The mischief of the inscrutable nature and the tyranny of the unfavourable times destroyed the sun (Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla), and made the stars shine to increase and encourage the oppression of the hostile people. When the brains of the two *sardārs* (Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān and Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla) were free from the ideas of war, and the minds on both sides were free from deceit, nay when the two were eagerly expecting to meet each other and thinking to strengthen the bond of friendship as it ought to be, the cannon ball which has its target in the west emerged from the wide-mouthed cannon of the east and destroyed the magazine of night with the light of its fire. Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, according to his mischievous plans of the previous day, advanced with the French army to attack the forces of the Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla. Immediately the forces under the lead of the two *rizāldārs* of Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān followed him. Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, the advance-guard of the army of the *sarkār*, blocked the way and tried to obstruct the onward march of the enemy. In the meanwhile Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla became aware of the treachery of the enemy, got on his horse with the idea of breaking the heads of the refractory people, and marched to the battlefield. All his devoted followers and faithful servants tried to fight as far as their

strength and courage permitted and as long as the splendour of the valiant sword endured and converted the *maydān* into a river flowing with the blood of the enemy. Finally when the heat of the sword of the van-guard of the army was subdued by the fire of the French guns, Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla ordered the forces on the right and left wings to help the staggering centre. He also told Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir, who was the cause for choosing the battle-ground opposite to the Fort and who inspired the false hope of rendering assistance during time of need, that at this hour of testing a friend he should help him from the fort as he had agreed and thus fulfil the duties of longfriendship. Howevermuch Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla entreated the *qil'adār*, he was forgetful (of his duty) and completely shut his eyes. When the (Nawwāb's) troops in the front let loose the bridle of steadiness from their hands, and were routed, the attack of the French emptied the *maydān* of many a firm-footed and brave soldier. On account of this there ensued great disorder in the ranks of the army of the *sarkār*. In the place of friendship there was hypocrisy, and instead of unity there was hostility; for, the *qil'adār* of Āmbūrgadh turned the mouth of his cannon in the direction of the army of Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla and fired cannon balls which seemed to descend from the sky. He made as his target the Nawwāb's troops which had encamped near the fort in the hope of getting help. In this engagement the blaze coming from the attack of the French on one side resembled the fire on the threshing floor when lightning falls on the piled-up corn. On the other side the action of the Indian soldiers with rockets, against the heads of the brave warriors was like the havoc of the autumn season in a garden. The forces of the *sarkār* were scattered, and their confusion could be compared only to that of the judgment day. The hands of the opposing group were rude in fighting, while the feet of the other group were unconsciously getting ready-to flee. On account of success in fight the enemy was fearless in the midst of slaughter and bloodshed, while the other party was helpless owing

to its timidity. Hence the crowd of friends could not but sever their friendship, and the Nawwāb's trustworthy servants could not but desert him. When the brave and indomitable Nawwāb found himself alone in the field of battle, he adorned the stature of his courageous mind with innate calmness and addressed Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir as follows :—

“ We hoped for friendship from our friends,
Now we find we were wrong.”

In short the army was completely scattered owing to attacks on all sides; some allowed their bodies to be cut by swords, some were wounded, while others fled from the field. The Nawwāb's sons, Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, and Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur, his grandson, Abul-Ma'ali Khān, and Afḍalu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, and other relatives and friends were wounded, became prisoners in the hands of the enemy and thus exhibited their bravery and devotion to the Nawwāb.

The elephant on which Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir was seated ran in confusion on account of the noise of the guns, and got out of control. At that time Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir peeped out of his litter and unexpectedly got wounded by a musket shot. Thus compensation was made for his unjustifiable murder of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar Alī Khān Shāhid; his banner joined the rank of those brave men who predeceased him and the *sanad* of honour was adorned with the seal of death. In short the famous Nawwāb like the glorious sun sat on an elephant high as the sky and marched along with a few of his devoted followers steadily and courageously, and stationed himself in the centre of the army. With the courage of a lion he got ready for the *shikār* of martyrdom. The mahout submitted: “ The elephant of the *sarkār* is getting out of control on account of the dreadful noise produced by cannon and musket shots and this servant is helpless to bring it under contról.” The Nawwāb replied, “ Bind its legs with chains and try to keep it steady. At this moment of our firm-footedness, try to keep it also firm,”

When Muḥammad Najīb Khān, who was sitting behind the Nawwāb, saw him silent and reminded him to invoke curses which have been often-times found successful during battle, the Nawwāb replied, "I have not forgotten it, but to invoke whose death is this hand to be lifted? *Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān* is the daughter's son of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh and out of ignorance he has gone astray. That is why I am indifferent to this transitory life and have dropped all plans to preserve this wounded mind." In the meanwhile the enemy attacked him on all sides, and like the darkness of night enshrouded the sun (Nawwāb). Three *sardārs* who rode on elephants advanced to oppose him. Muḥammad Najīb Khān who was sitting behind the Nawwāb was wounded. He lost his life and thus gave proof of his bravery. In like manner all his followers died. Then the turn came for the revelation of the predestined fate of the Nawwāb himself. The mahout Yūsuf Khān, one of the three tyrants, stabbed the Nawwāb on his auspicious forehead with the hook, created such a deep wound that could admit three fingers, and made the sun (Nawwāb) sink in his red glow. The second, Abdul Qādir, the unfortunate man, who was a relative of Mīr Maḥmūd, wounded with his sword the crescent-like eye-brow of the Nawwāb. The third Munawwar Khān, the accursed man, who was the *sipahdār* at Kurnool, shot with his arrow at the auspicious nose of the Nawwāb. Another arrow passed through the treasure of his generous bosom. Thus the Nawwāb acquitted himself well in the *maydān* of martyrdom and the bridle was turned towards paradise. He passed away on the sixteenth day of Sha'bān of the year 1162 A.H., when he was seventy-seven years of age. The burial took place at the Jāmi'-masjid in Arcot and it was like the entrusting of a treasure to the treasurer. Later on the body was removed to Hyderabad and was interred by the side of the shrine of his *murshid* Shāh Walīu'llāh.





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