Chapter-IV

*Tārīkh-i-Hindī: A Contemporary Account of Muhammad Shāh’s Reign*
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Early Eighteenth Century in India is exceptionally well illuminated by large body of Persian historical literatures. The descendants of Aurangzeb were not in position to give patronage to scholars. Nevertheless, several historical works were written on individual initiative, as it is evident from the mass of literature produced during this period in different branch of knowledge. Some historians finding no place at imperial court migrated to other subas in hope of patronage. Where they started to write their own observations more freely and several works were produced in this trend. One of them is *Tārīkh-i-Hindī* written at Bhopal by Rustam ‘Alī Shāhābādī.

It is unfortunate that for reconstruction of Rustam ‘Alī’s life, we have to depend on extremely scanty detail. Perhaps out of modesty, he avoids referring to himself in his *Tārīkh* except only few places. There is no direct evidence for the date or the year of birth. Only we know that he was the son of Muhammad Khalil, an inhabitant of Shahābād near Shāhjahānpūr. There is also not any information about his ancestry. Beyond the fact that he received early education in theology and literature in his home town, but could not acquire higher studies in any branch of the knowledge, for some time he had to leave the place in search of employment, and in this cause he wandered from one place to other in Northern India. The interest of Rustam ‘Alī in historical matters,


\[3\] Its only transcribed copy made in 1827 at Bhopal by the order of Joseph Davey Cunningham, is preserved in British Museum Library, London, and rotograph of this Manuscript is available in Research Seminar Library, CAS, Department of History, A. M. U, Aligarh. This work is complete and covering 333 pages, written in *Nastāliq* style of writing, *Tārīkh-i-Hindī*, Rustam ‘Alī Shāhābādī, Rotograph No. 28, C.A.S, Department of History, A.M.U, Aligarh,


\[5\] *Ibid.*, f. 4ab.
his skill as a writer and from the stray references of his relatives, it seems, he belonged to learned class of the society.\(^6\)

Later, Rustam ‘Alī, moved to Delhi, from where he found his way into Malwā, and ultimately took service in the Maratha army under *Peshwā* Baji Rao I, there he was engaged in military operation in that area.\(^7\) He has not indicated, which year and in what capacity he was employed in the Maratha army, yet it may be assumed that he might be holding some petty job in the administration of Maratha.

It seems that Rustam ‘Alī enjoyed the trust of Marathas as he freely moved around the tents of Maratha soldiers during the period of siege. It is strange that he has not supplied any detail regarding the moves, activities, and character of Baji Rao, or any other Maratha General, let alone the general condition of the Maratha army and its organization. Here, in the Maratha camp he heard the name and fame of Yār Muhammad Khān, *Nawāb* of Bhopal.\(^8\) The author nowhere mentions about his post under the Nawāb of Bhopal. He only mentioned about Marathas invaders, says that at the time of siege of Korwai in the town of Sironj by Maratha army he came out from the camp of besiegers, it was a huge camp; the army was numerous as ants and locusts which formed a ring round the fortress, where access and outlet alike seemed hopelessly impossible. ‘Izzat Khān, son of Diler Khān, fought bravely with the Marāthās for two months, and at last peaceful settlement between the belligerents was concluded.\(^9\)

Rustam ‘Alī left Marāthā camp at Sironj and reached Bhopal. The author had praised this place where elites and skilled people, local and those from the adjoining areas, lived in peace and security, and were prosperous as well.\(^10\) In fact, from the day he had left Shāhjahānābād and travelled throughout the country of idolatry (*Kufristān*), it was only in Bhopal that he found Islam to be prevalent.\(^11\) He took interest to write about

\(^6\) *Tārīkh-i-Hindi*, op. cit., ff. 319b, 306a & 308a,
\(^7\) *Ibid.*, f. 278a.
\(^8\) *Ibid.*, f. 279a.
\(^10\) *Ibid.*, f. 279a-b.
the origin of old town of Bhopal which had been founded by Rājā Bhoj of Dhar (1010-53 A.D.) and he writes that it was a small village situated on the bank of big lake that in the length and depth looked like a river. During the early eighteen century Dost Muhammad Khān established his hold over the region, selected this place as the seat of his government in the 5th R.Y, of Muhammad Shāh and he administered the affairs with justice, care and efficiency\textsuperscript{12}. The author further eulogized his patron through writing his generosity that reached to such a high position that even Ḥātim Tai might envy him (*dar wasf shakhawat goya rashk-i-Ḥātim Tai bud*). Whoever came from other towns to settle there became in no time rich and materially satisfied and needy were benefited by his bounty.\textsuperscript{13} He also quotes in praise;

\textit{بود عادل کہ اس عذالت او
شیر و بزدرخورش بمرو 14}

(All people used to get justice, he was such a just king even lion and goat ate and drank together)

The author further writes about the delay of his writing, he says that execution of his writing intention was, however, suspended for a time by necessities, which compelled him to travel from city to city in search of employment and subsistence, until at last he was fortunate enough to take up his abode in Bhopal. Here, for period of three years, he managed to survive on the generosity of certain great men and many sincere friends, more specially on the liberal support of Nawāb Yār Muhammad Khān, “a just nobleman, under whose administration the inhabitants of the dependencies of Bhopal enjoyed the blessing of peace”. As the wants of the author were thus supplied, he attained peace of mind, and was able to compose the work which was the object of his heart’s desire\textsuperscript{15}. Through several implicit evidences of this work it seems that the author of this work, Rustam ‘Alī belonged to *Imāmiya* sect of Islam\textsuperscript{16}.

\textsuperscript{12}Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 280a.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid, f. 280ab.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., f. 280a.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., ff. 4b-5a.
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., ff. 29b, 216a, &245a.
Purpose

The work was started by the author at his own initiative. There is no mention anywhere of either his patron or another noble having sponsored or inspired its compilation. He writes clearly that he wanted to write only those accounts which happened with elite in the past. His purpose is not to beautify this work, but to express the reality of the past\textsuperscript{17}. As he quotes:

\begin{quote}
\textit{اس اتظام سرائے است بمقصد عبارت آری وافسانه سرائے است بمقصد عبارت آری گزران با جبانداران عظیم الشن چہ کرد تا بعونم جبانیان چہ خواب کرد.}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{18} (It is my intention to reveal the treatment which took place with elite as well as lower strata people, not to ornate the writing and produce the tale of a novel. But, to inform, how the past treated the big and renowned Kings and now what kind of treatment will be executed to ordinary people.)

It seems his main purpose for writing this work was to show how the just and benevolent kings of the past prospered and succeeded by protecting the poor and helpless and promoting their welfare. In contrast, the cruel, arrogant and careless kings and nobles perished, and on account of their negligence, injustice and mutual conflict, their kingdoms declined and broke down. He writes that as the splendor delight of the garden of earth depends upon the flow of stream of equity and justice of kings. He gave another example that the functionaries of the State are like pillars of a house under its roof and they maintain it in a stable condition. If among them there was no unity and cooperation, the very idea of authority and control will disappear from the world\textsuperscript{19}. On several places he also writes about the illusions of this world and requests his readers not to indulge in this unprofitable world he quotes:

\begin{quote}
\textit{تاریخ‌هندی، op. cit., f. 6a.}
\textit{Ibid.}
\textit{Ibid., f. 4ab.}
\end{quote}
Most of the people perceive this world as beautiful and profitable. In contrast, a pious man see the world as a full of deception (like a person deceive for the presence of water body in the stretch of desert).

By these and other historical examples he attempted to draw a moral lesson, based on the philosophy of guilt and punishment, and urged the present generation to judge the prevailing situation in the light of past events and foresee things to come. Thus, history for the author was a philosophy, teaching morality and social justice through the narration of historical events and episodes, and the changes that occurred in the past. He writes in his preface that because of the dominance of lower people, others had forgotten their purpose of coming to this world and have become proud. So we find his approach to history as moralistic and didactic, he has assigned an appropriate role to self-willed human actions in the process of historical developments. His ideas and sentiments, however, represent an exhibition of the general prevailing conditions of that period, in which, it seems oppression, violence, injustice and exploitation were common.

Due to the sarcastic behaviour, rebellious attitude, pointless braveness and the prevalence of lower echelon people, from very early days to present period, continuously following the path of idleness and oblivion, forgotten of departure from this world, deception of worldly pleasures, in the trap of desires and devils and pride of temporary world they had been deviated from the right path and became arrogant.

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20 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 6a.
21 Ibid., f. 4a.
22 Ibid., f. 297ab.
23 Ibid., f. 4a.
He remarks that this generation from the excessive attachment to this world, neglected entirely to think about on the existence either as regard to its origin or end; and from their firm belief, under the fantasy of their evil passion, in the long duration of lives in this changed world, pursued a presumptuous and vain line of conduct. So he desires to write a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled the oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that while it might prove a lesson to wise, it would also not fail or draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and short duration of human life, and induced them to withdraw their affection from this world. He further says that he wrote only those accounts which happened and he has no intention to highlight his account.

Style

The style of expression adopted by author of Tārīkh-i-Hindī is simple and plain, free from hyperbole and rhetoric, containing numerous verses quoted specially from Gulistān wa Bostān of Sadi Masnavī Rūmī, Omar Khayyam and Shāhnāma, as well as saying, proverbs and axioms, merely to beautify the literary presentation, and make the reading of the book interesting. Except for the few stray verses in the work no extensive poetical work is known by this author. This work does not exhibit much literary talent and is not written in any ornate style. The language is fairly simple and vigorous, but not grandiose and highly polished. Arabic Quotation is sparingly used, but the date is invariably given in Arabic rather than Persian. Objectivity in approach and simplicity in expression were particularly emphasized. There is seldom any difficulty in comprehending the exact meaning of the authors. The writer has used many Hindī words in his work. This writer like other medieval historians reported contemporary events which had been witnessed or heard, while for the early history he necessarily relied on the writings of his predecessors. He has cited number of source, varied in nature and

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24 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 298ab.
25 Ibid., f. 6b.
26 Ibid., ff. 4b, 17a & 23a.
27 Ibid., f. 19ab.
content, witness mentioning names of their authors, and without adding much information. It seems as he certainly was helped in the work by some friends also.

The factual date which the author had gathered and analyzed was original product of his own independent effort. There is no trace of plagiarism from any of the known authors. The author has divided his whole work into long introduction (muqaddama) of 25 pages, ten chapters (tabaqāt), and a conclusion (khātima). His introduction is divided into five sub parts and covers mainly the matter on the creation and the instability of the world, and an account of Hindustan. He writes about one dynasty as one tabaqa and takes individual rulers as sub part of it. For the reign of Muhammad Shāh, he narrates the events in chronological order. But he does not treat each reign comprehensively. That is, he does not narrate all events pertaining to it. In fact sometimes he would pass off fairly long reign in few sentences.


Conclusion is also divided into three sections based on account of saints (buzurg), learned (ʻulemā wa fuzalā), and poets (shuʿarā), whom the author has conversed with or heard of. So we find his account of the poets, scholar and sūfis is valuable and original contribution. An interesting feature of its style of writing is the intertwining of biographical notes with the narrative of event. The events narrated by him are selective and generally adheres to a chronological order in his narration of the selected events. He generally begins a sub chapter with the accession of a ruler and ends with his dethronement or death. Like his contemporaries, he treats the event individually as well. His style, substance and arrangement of this work, leads one to the conclusion that he has heavily borrowed the style from his great predecessors. However, this obviously implies

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28 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 6b.
29 Ibid., ff. 261a, 265b & 266b.
30 Ibid., ff. 5b-6a.
that Rustam ‘Alī had done some amount of planning before he gave his work its final shape.\textsuperscript{31}

The list of contents and titles of chapters with names of Rājās, Kings, and Provinces of Mughal Empire are mentioned on the margin of relevant pages\textsuperscript{32}. The introduction starts briefly by a survey of the Rājās of India, Sultāns of Delhi, rulers of petty kingdoms in 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries, rise of Mughal power under Akbar, and event relating to the period of Aurangzeb’s successors, particularly Muhammad Shāh, which are described more lengthily and chronological order up to 23 R.Y. and that constitutes a valuable portion of the narrative. This work was composed in the year 1154 A.H. (1741-42 A.D.)\textsuperscript{33}. It may be considered altogether as a useful compilation, as it is not copied exactly from the known authors, and in the later part of it the author writes many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends.

**Attitude towards sources**

The author cites many sources which he utilized in the compilation of this work. Amongst these sources which he most frequently quotes are two, of which no trace can be obtained; the *Siyar-i-Hindī* and *Faiuzat-i-Akbarī*. The former is frequently mentioned, from the time of the Slave Dynasty up to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, and must, therefore, be a general history of India. The quotations from the *Faiuzat-i-Akbarī* are less, but extend from the time of Muhammad Ghaznavī to the time of Muhammad Shāh. It appears to be partly a religious work, containing some historical anecdotes, in the conclusion of this work the author writes that it was composed by Shāh Ghulām Muhi-

\textsuperscript{31}Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 6a.
\textsuperscript{32}Perhaps, these were added by the scribe for the convenience of (Sir) H. Elliot for whom it had actually transcribed. As Eliiot writes that the only copy which he know of the Tārīkh-i-Hindī was obtained for him by the kindness of Miyan Faujdār Muhammad Khān, from the library of Nawāb Sikandra Begum of Bhopal, and being the possession of the descendents of Yār Muhammad Khān, the patron of the author, Dowson John, S.H.M Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historians*, Low price Publication, Delhi, Vol VIII, First Published 1867-1877, (Reprinted 2001), p. 42.
\textsuperscript{33}Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 4b.
ud-Dīn and dedicated to his spiritual teacher, Saiyid Shāh ‘Alī Akbar, after whom it was called Faiuzat-i-Akbarī.

Other works incidentally quoted are Tārīkh-i-Badāuni, Habību-us-Siyar, Khulasatu-Tāwārīkh, Tārīkh-i-Akbar-Shāhi, Tārīkh-i-Jahāngīrī, Mīrāt-i-Masūdī, Tārīkh-i-Sahābī and the Tārīkh-i-Mahmūdī. Badi-ut-Tawārīkh, Mīrāt-ul-Mukhlūqāt, Razat-us-Safā, Tārīkh-i-Farīshtha, Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshahī, Tārīkh-i-Farrukh Siyar, Kitāb-i-Maid-ul-Waizeen, Tambih-ul-Ghaflin, etc. It is probable that the last two are familiar works disguised under the uncommon appellations. The writer is also fond of indulging in poetical quotations from Shāhnāmah and others. The sentences from the Quran and moral reflections have been used as well. For writing this work Rustam ‘Alī appears to have utilized more sources than he has mentioned in a list at the outset in his work. The author also requested to correct any information which they found different (akhtalaf ya tafāwat) from others.

Rustam ‘Alī writes in his preface about the glorification of God who created and shaped the world, profuse praise of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) his descendents (Sahīh Saheeh) and companions (Sahīh Saheeh) reason for writing, year of writing, for whom was written and name of his patron. The story of the Divine origin of the world, as narrated by him, is based on conversation between God and Prophet Moses (SAW) written in the Old Testament. According this version Prophet Moses (SAW) asked God that where was throne (arsch)? God replied that before creation it was He, and white pearl which he created, was his throne. In reply to another question as to what existed before Adam, Almighty God said: “It was bright and clear light (nūr-i-safi) of Prophet Muhammad (SAW)” In contradiction of this statement the author informs at another place that

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34 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 310b.
35 Ibid., f. 6ab.
36 Ibid., ff. 3a-5a.
37 Ibid., f. 9ab.
once a companion of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) asked him what has before the birth of Adam (أَدَمُ), the Prophet (ﷺ) told it was Ādam and Ādam (أَدَمُ).  

Rustam ‘Alī writes about Ādam (أَدَمُ) and Eve (أِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّنَا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ) and denial of Iblīs for the prostration in front of Adam. Creation of horses and tree of dates were also written in first part of the Introduction. In the second part of his introduction he writes about unreliability of this world. He starts the history of non Arabs (‘ajam) from the reign of Qaimurs and gives a very brief account of Arab History. The third part of introduction is very interesting as he had highly praised for Hindustani fruits like jackfruit (kathal), lakoocha (badhhal), coconut (nārījīl), banana (kela), mango (amba), sugarcane, and animal like elephant were praised by him. He has compared Hindustan with heaven (Jannat nishān). The detail description of Delhi with its different cities were written by him. He states the name of all the founders of cities in chronological order. Further, he writes about the detail of Hindustan like its total areas, subas, parganas, etc. then he mentions about the major rivers, about the origin and has shown much praise for the water of Ganges (ab-i-Gang khawas-i-ajib darad).

The fourth part of his introduction deals about other 21 provinces of Hindustan. The names of the Province were; Akbarabad, Allahabad, Awadh, Bihar, Bengal, Berar, Aurangabad, Malwa, Ajmer, Gujarat, Thatta, Multān, Lahore, Kāshmir and Kabul. These Provinces were divided into sarkārs and parganas. Foundation of the provinces, area and total jama‘ of 16 provinces are written in details. But he mentions name of last six provinces which are Muhammadabad, Hyderabad, Bijapūr, Khandesh, Orissa, and Qandahar. The total assessed revenue of Hindustan in dām amounted to 96,7280573

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38 Tārikh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 29ab.  
39 Ibid., f. 11a.  
40 Ibid., f. 17ab.  
41 Ibid., f. 22ab  
42 Ibid., ff. 24a-28b.  
43 Ibid., f. 28b.
are written by him\textsuperscript{44}. Last part of the introduction deals the durations of all four \textit{yugas} (\textit{Satya, Treta, Dvapra} and \textit{Kali Yuga})\textsuperscript{45}.

The first main chapter starts with the account of Raja Judhistir and covers up to Rai Pithora\textsuperscript{46}. At the last chapter the author writes that Aurangzeb died in Ahmadnagar on 3\textsuperscript{rd} March 1707 A.D, and was succeeded to the Mughal throne by his surviving eldest son, Abul Nasr Qutb-ud-Dîn Bahâdur Shâh, a learned and dignified king, and most generous and kind among the \textit{Tîmûrîds}\textsuperscript{47}. The author notices that the emperor who never rejected any application put before him for jobs and grant of revenue free lands, despite the objections of accountants in the Finance department of the Central government. He has referred to a case of the grant of land in \textit{madad-i-ma’ash} in Chakla Barielly by the Emperor; though it was included in the \textit{khâlisa} area. The Emperor did not change his decision even after earnest pleading with him by the accountants (\textit{mutasaddiyan})\textsuperscript{48}. Following the example of their father, none of the prince ever intentionally oppressed or harassed anyone.

Bahâdur Shâh believed that Hazrat ‘\textit{Alî} (\textit{Ayâdb}) was the heir (\textit{wasi}) to Prophet Muhammad (\textit{Nâbî}) and he wanted that the word \textit{wasi} should be attached to the name of ‘\textit{Alî} (\textit{Ayâdb}) in the \textit{Khutba} (address) of Friday prayers in the mosque. He held the discussion on the controversial issue with ‘\textit{ulema} and religious scholars of Lahore where he was staying in the last year of his reign. He tried to convince them by this argument about the authenticity and truthfulness of his belief. The Emperor died, the author says, before the decree could be put into force. But other contemporary writers like Khâfî Khân informs that the royal \textit{farmân} to that effect had already been issued, and in the face of stiff opposition by the \textit{sunni} religious groups in Lâhore, Delhi and Ahmadabad it could

\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Târîkh-i-Hindi}, op. cit., ff. 23b-24a.
\textsuperscript{45}\textit{Ibid.}, ff. 28b-30b.
\textsuperscript{46}\textit{Ibid.}, f. 30b, but the pages of this rotograph are missing from 30 to 210. So the account starts again from the last reign of Aurangzeb.
\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Ibid.}, f. 215b.
\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Ibid.}, f. 215b.
not be enforced in other places. After his death on 27th January 1712 A.D., no attempt was made by any of his successors to revoke or impose it. 49.

The account of Rustam ‘Alī for Emperor Farrukh Siyar is very brief. At one place he mentions Farrukh Siyar’s interest in clothing that the Emperor used costly and gaudy clothes. He always appeared in public in the most magnificent attire and wanted his nobles to come to the court in colourful robes. One day the Emperor, seeing Miyan Maqbul ‘Ālam in white dress, remarked if there was some occasion for mourning in his house and that he should have better stayed there. Amīn-ud-Dīn Khān another courtier comments that perhaps he had not received money from his jāgīr. 50. There is not much information for Farrukh Siyar’s reign and on his murder he says simply

جو د ر آیذ اخل چہ بنده چہ شہ
وقت چو رسد چہ بام چہ چاہ

(When the last hour of an individual reached, it does not matter whether he is King or ordinary, he is at the roof or into the well).

Rustam ‘Alī has praised the splendid virtues of Saiyed Husain ‘Alī Khān, Saiyid Abdullah Khān Qut-ul-Mulk, Abu Khān, Ghairat Khān and their other brothers who were killed in battles, assassinated or poisoned to death. Portraying Turānī nobles like Chin Qūfīch Khān (Nizām-ul-Mulk) son of Ghazi-ud-Dīn Khān Firoz Jang, and Muhammad Amīn Khān, his son Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān as wicked, opportunist and cruel; craftiness and expediency were entertained in their nature (qābūchīgīrī). 52. They betrayed ‘Āzam Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shāh. They always held self-interest above sincere service to the king, and on that account their credibility was eroded in the country. 53.

Author has written very good account of Saiyid Brothers in light of their just and benevolence. The two Saiyid Brothers were competent administrators, and during their

49 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 216a.
50 Ibid., f. 227a.
51 Ibid., f. 233b.
52 Ibid., f. 224a.
53 Ibid., f. 235b.
rule no dislocation or confusion (Khalal) in political and financial affairs of the empire occurred, no tyrant at any place was ever followed to raise disturbances and oppress people. For instance, Husain ‘Alī Khān was informed that Sa’adat Khān, faujdār of Bayana, had forcibly seized a cow of a poor person, who had no other source of income except from selling its milk. He summoned him and warned him that in case no agreement (razināma) with the petitioner was received at the court his master would be severely punished for the offence. Sa’adat Khān had to pay the price of fifty cows to the victim of his oppression in order to solicit his agreement. Further he quotes in his praise;

(There are lessened misfortune and destitute in the period of Husain ‘Alī Khān due to his munificence. None, in his army suffered from want of gold and silver. Naqībān (servants) went from camp to camp asking soldiers to go the court and receive their pay. Most of soldier used to say we are full of gold and cash we do not have further enough space to accommodate anymore).

Rustam ‘Alī writes that because of the unstinted generosity of Husain ‘Alī Khān despair of the destitute was lessened, and owing to his strictness prices of grain fell down. No one in the army suffered from want of gold and silver. He used to send monthly stipend or subsistence (alufa) money to saints, pious men and Saiyids of different cities. He issued orders to provincial Governors (subedārān) to arrange the distribution of rupees one hundred eleven on the 11th of every month among the poor in every city as charity in the name of Pir Dastgir, a title of Shaikh ‘Abdul Qādir Geelānī, and similarly on the 12th of every month, cooked food that cost one hundred and twelve rupees was distributed among the people as mark of regard to Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ).

54Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 235ab.
55Ibid., ff. 235b-236a.
same amount of money was earmarked in the royal treasury to meet these expenses. The author further says that according to unanimous accounts both the brothers, Hasan ‘Alī and Husain ‘Alī held large bowl containing rice in their hands, and they fanned over the party at the time of dinner. Every day more than two thousand rupees were spent on the preparation of food in the kitchen at their place. The life style of Husain ‘Alī Khān was simple; he slept very little during whole day and night, prayed to God in congregation and recited the Holy Qur’an in the morning.

For Emperor Muhammad Shāh, the author writes that the prince was a lover of pleasure and indolence, negligent of political duties and addicted to lose habits, but was of somewhat generous outlook. He was entirely careless regarding his subjects. Here writer blames Tūrānī and justifies Muhammad Shāh for the murder of Husain ‘Alī Khān. The Emperor decided all disputes without partiality, according to the sharia. When some nobles, natives of this country and of Tūrān was overcome by their evil passion, and merely through envy and malice, put that well wisher (Saiyids) of the creature of God to death. The Emperor became master of his own will and actuated by his youthful passion, folly and pride, resigned himself to frisky pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters. This created a spirit of opposition and enmity towards him in those very nobles who, from their mean nature, had been the instruments of death of Husain ‘Alī Khān. The Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut the gate of justice and gave no ear to complaints.

In a short time, many of the officers of his kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor

56 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 236b.
57 Ibid., ff. 236a-237a.
58 Ibid., f. 238.
59 Ibid., f. 238ab.
subjects. Great disorders arose in the country. The author has written about the death of Amīn-ud-Dīn Ḵān and also blames him as the real cause of all the troubles.

For the Rajputs account, he writes about the campaign of Maharaja Ajit Singh and at the 5th R.Y of Muhammad Shāh, Sharf-ud-Daulā Ḵrādmatmand Ḵān, was sent against Rājā Ajit Singh, who having broken out into opens mutiny, and taken possession of Ajmer and Sambhar, had reached as far as Narnaul. Sharf-ud-Daulā Ḵrādmatmand Ḵān was accompanied by Raja Jai Singh, Muhammad Ḵān Bangash and Gopal Singh Raja of Bhadawar, at the head of an army of about one lakh horse and more than two hundred elephants. Ajit Singh, on hearing the news, lost all the courage, fled from the Narnaul, and took refuge in the fort of Garh-Patili. There, he kept excluded for some time, and finally, mounting a camel went off to Jodhpur. He then sued for peace, and made over his son, Dhankal Singh, to the nobles to carry to court. In the mean time, Ajit Singh was slain by his younger son, Bakht Singh, and Dhankal Singh upon reaching the court, obtained the investiture of chief ship. He returned to his country, and became its ruler. His brother, Bakht Singh, besieged the fort of Nagor, and having driven out the Raja of that place, became himself master of it. In the same year Raja Jai Singh founded a magnificent new city between the towns of Amber and Sanganer, and called it Jaipur, after the name of Rājā Jai Singh.

Rustam ‘Alī writes about Muhammad Shāh’s compulsion in granting Deccan to Nizām-ul-Mulk, who being disgusted with the Emperor, went towards Mūrādābād and Sambhal, under the pretence of hunting. When he had gone as far as the Ganges, near the Garh Muktesar, he at once turned aside from his course, and proceeding via Kol and Jalesar, crossed the Chambal and went towards the Deccan. The Emperor, on hearing of this, sent order to Mubāriz Ḵān, appointing him governor of that province, and

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60 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., ff. 238ab-239a.
61 Ibid., f. 250ab.
62 Ibid., f. 252a.
63 Ibid., f. 252a.
64 Ibid., f. 252b.
instigating him to destroy Nizām-ul-Mulk. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, in consideration of the obligations he owed, went to Hyderabad towards Aurangābād\(^{65}\).

Although the writer is critical of Nizām-ul-Mulk, he writes that he was ready for peace\(^{66}\). It was Mubārīz Khān who was destined for the honor of martyrdom and did not listen to his advice, and rashly engaged in fight. The brave warriors, having boldly fought, put many insurgents to the sword. By chance, Mubārīz-ul-Mulk was slain, and Nizām-ul-Mulk, obtained the governorship of the Deccan. Muhammad Shāh, on being informed was obliged to confer the post of wazīr, which was vacated by Nizām-ul-Mulk, on Ītimad-ud-Daulā Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, and sent a firman to Nizām-ul-Mulk, appointing him governor of the Deccan, and bestowing on him the rank of vice regency (wakalat mutlaq) and title of Asaf Jah in his 6\(^{th}\) R. Y\(^{67}\). He also pointed about the character of Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān and influences of Koki Jio and Hafiz Khidmatgār Khān\(^{68}\).

Thereafter, Rustam ‘Alī has written for the origin of Rohillah Afghans. A man named Muhammad Shāh, later assumed the name of Sābir Shāh, went to Kūmāon, and represented to the Raja of that place, whose name was Debi Singh, that he was one of the princes of the house of Tīmūr, and thus obtained repeated orders on the functionaries below the hills at Kāshīpur and Rūdārpūr, to the effect that they should give him a red tent, such as was usual for the royal family, as well as some troops to accompany him. Having carried these orders into effect, they collected no less than forty thousand Rohillas. Shaikh ‘Azmat-ullāh Khān, who in those days was the governor of Murādābād and Sambhal, was sent to suppress the insurrection, with a body of fifteen thousand horse and twelve elephants. In a single attack he overthrew the Rohilla army. Sābir Shāh fled towards the east, and went to Burhān-ul-Mulk, who having captured him, sent him to the imperial court, under the custody of Murīd Khān, and he was ordered to be imprisoned\(^{69}\).

\(^{65}\)Tārikh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 253a.
\(^{66}\)Ibid.
\(^{67}\)Ibid., f. 253ab.
\(^{68}\)Ibid., f. 253b.
\(^{69}\)Ibid., f. 254b.
He also noticed an event in which, a Hindū wanted to convert himself into Islam but he was not allowed by Chief Mufti Mīr Jumlā Bahādur. This led to great resentment in the city and finally that person was allowed to convert into Islām⁷⁰.

In this work, author has tried to discuss about internal dispute and its consequences which arose in the court during the audience as well. During the 9 R.Y. of Muhammad Shāh a dispute arose in the Emperor’s audience chamber between Muzaffar Khān and Burhān-ul-Mulk. It continued for many days, and at last Mīr Jumlā Yār Khān was appointed by the Emperor to decide it⁷¹. He was of opinion that Burhān-ul-Mulk should resign the governorship of Oudh, and Muzaffar Khān from the office of superintendent of the ordinance. The former situation, in the consequence of the removal of Burhān-ul-Mulk, was given to Muzaffar Khān, and Burhān-ul-Mulk was to be appointed governor of Malwā. The decision was approved and confirmed. Office vacated by Muzaffar Khān, was entrusted to Sad-ud-Dīn Khān, in whose place, Sher Afghan Khān was appointed steward of the household (Khān-i-sāmān)⁷².

Muzaffar Khān, with the intention of going to the province of Oudh, pitched his tents near Partparganj, and Burhān-ul-Mulk marched towards Malwa; but when the latter reached Agra, he at once crossed the river Jumna, and went towards Oudh. Muzaffar Jang was consequently obliged to proceed to Ajmer, as the government of that province included Narnaul and Sambhar. Further ahead he has disclosed about the clashes of Muhammad Khān Bangash Muzaffar Jang, with Rājā Chatrsal. After great exertion and many actions, the fort of Jitgarh, where he resided, was taken. Chatrsal fled for refuge to the zamīndār of Jharna and Purna, and the whole territory came into the possession of the Khān⁷³.

Here Rustam ʻAlī has mentioned about deception of Gopal Singh by the help of Burhān-ul-Mulk. Burhān-ul-Mulk with an army marched against the fort of Chachnadi, near Shāhābād. Hindū Singh, a Chandela Rajput was a chief of Kanauj, he was deceived

⁷⁰Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., ff. 254ab-255a.
⁷¹Ibid., f. 257.
⁷²Ibid., f. 258a.
⁷³Ibid., f. 258ab.
by Gopal Singh for the cause of Burhān-ul-Mulk. Consequently Hindu Singh, having no remedy, prepared to fight with the army of Burhān-ul-Mulk, but baffled in his attempt, retreated towards the territory of Chatrsal. By this example the writer has tried to emphasize the effect of wrong doing of a person. As a punishment for violating his promise, Rājā Gopal Singh soon hastened towards his own destruction. After his death, his son, Antrat Singh, was confirmed in the possession of that district74.

Rustam ‘Alī has mentioned about the conflict for the zamīndāri of Shāhjahānpūr between Brother-in-Law of Tahawwur Khān, named Muhammad Afzal and Abd-ullah Khān who was the brother of Tahawwur Khān. Alongside, author notes about the death of Mīr Muṣhrif (a same period event), who was one of the principal officers of the great Emperor Muhammad Shāh75.

For the account of Saiyid Mīrān, to whom the author had great respect and attachment, he writes that Shāh Mīrān was truly a man of a great virtue and evolution, once he went on a Friday to the Jām‘a Masjid of the Delhi, and, in order to attract attention to the wrongs of the oppressed people, prohibited the reading of the khutba, upon which, the hazāris of the artillery, under the Emperor’s order, put him to death. From that day disturbance arose throughout the kingdom, and enemies and rebels gained more and more power every day. Later the Emperor greatly regretted for this event as well76.

For the Maratha attacks on Mālwā, the author writes that Emperor has reported that the base enemy (Marathas), having crossed the Narbada, had attacked Giridhar Bahādur, the Governor of Mālwā, and plundered his camp77. The Emperor also received intelligence in this year that Bājī Rao Marāthās, having collected an army of 100,000

74Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., ff. 258b-259a.
75Ibid., f. 259a-b.
76Ibid., f. 259b.
77Ibid., f. 260a.
horses, had come to assist Raja Chatrsal, and had besieged Muhammad Khān Bangash in Jitgarh.\footnote{Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 260ab.}

This author had firm belief in retaliation, as he added the attack of Marathas was the result of the murder of Saiyid Mīrān. He writes that the time of decadence of the Empire had arrived, and in retaliation for shedding the innocent blood of Saiyid Mīrān, no plan of repelling the enemy proved effectual. The siege of Jitgarh lasted for six months, and within the fort one *ser* of flour was sold for eight rupees. At last, Chatrsal obliged Muhammad Khān to evacuate the fort, and having given him back some of the horses which he had plundered from him, allowed him to depart. In the way, the Khān met with his son, Kaira Khān, at the head of twelve thousand horses, and both father and son returned to their native city, Farruḵhābād, which had been founded in the name of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar. From that time the population increased every day, and gradually it became very large.\footnote{Ibid., f. 261a.}

Rustam ‘Alī had noticed a communal clash of Muhammad Shāh’s reign and writes that a great tumult arose in the *Jama Masjid*, to the death of a *Musalmān* who was slain by a Hindu of the name of Subh Karan. The Hindus were assisted by the Royal *mutsaddis* (or writers). On Friday, at about 3 o’clock, a great fight took place. Seventeen men were killed within the *Masjid*, and Sher Afghan Khān, the Emperor’s steward, having received a wound, escaped by the assistance of Roshan-ud-Daulā.\footnote{Ibid., f. 261b.}

By the order of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, Muhammad Khān Bangash Ghazanfar Jang was appointed Governor of the province of Malwā, on condition of his chastising the enemy. Alongside, he also noticed an ambassador named ‘Alī Mardān Khān from Iran reached to the court and after staying here six months returned to his country.\footnote{Ibid., f. 261a.}

After that, he writes about the replacement of Muhammad Khān Ghzanfar Jang. Information was received that Ghazānfar Jang had crossed the Narbada, and joined
Nizâm-ul-Mulk. He was removed from the government of Malwā, and Rājā Jai Singh Sawâ’ī was appointed in his stead.  

Further he blames Raja Jai Singh and notes down that at the instigation of Raja Jai Singh, the vile enemy took possession of Malwā, and the Raja himself added to his own territory many parganas which belonged to the Emperor in the vicinity of Amber.  

He notices around the 17th R.Y that one of the Marâthâs Sardârs, by name Malharjî, with a body of 45,000 horses, overran some of the parganas of Râjâ Jai Singh, and laid siege to the fort of Sambhar. After three days the city was taken and plundered. It is said that nine hundred inhabitants of the city were killed and wounded. He took a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, besides two elephants and some horses from Fâkhr-ud-Dîn Hûsain Khân, son of Udu Afgân Khân, the then governor of the place, and returned to oppose the army of Amir-ul-Umarâ.  

The Amir-ul-Umarâ, deceived by Raja Jai Singh, returned to the capital on the 17th of zil-hijjâ without coming once to action. Ītimad-ud-Daulâ, who had gone to oppose via Agra, fought with Piluji Marathâs, near Narwâr. At last, he also, leaving the result of the war, returned to Delhi on the 29th of Zil-hijjâ in the same year.  

Then he writes about the Marathas who went to the territory of Mewâr, which is ruled by the Rana reached the city of Udaipur and having taken a contribution from the Râna, turned from Mewâr, plundered the city of Mîrta, took some tribute from Bakht Singh, Râjâ of Nagor, and then arrived at Ajmer.  

Rustam ‘Alî states about the clashes of Burhân-ul-Mulk with Bhagwant Singh. In which Burhân-ul-Mulk victoriously returned to the camp, and ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be filled with straw. His head and that of his son were placed on the
points of spears and sent to the capital. The compiler of this work saw with his own eyes the skin and head of both those unfortunate wretches hanging in the bazaar of Delhi near the police office.

The Maratha armies entered the territory of Bhadawar, the chief of which, Amrat Singh, collected an army, advanced from that town of Ater with the utmost intrepidity, and gave battle at the distance of a kos from that town.

After this, in the beginning of Zil-hijjā of the same year, the Maratha army having crossed the river Yamuna, near the village of Rapri, besieged the fort of Sukohābād. Lalaji Khatri, the governor of that place, presented him one lakh and fifty thousand rupees and an elephant, and thus saved the town. Marching thence, the invaders burnt down Firozabad and Ītimadpur, which is five kos from the capital, Agra, and plundered them, and then proceeded towards Jalesar. All of sudden, Burhān-ul-Mulk, at the head of fifty thousand horses appeared from Etāwah, when the Marathas approached near, he suddenly charged the army of those rebels with his cavalry, like a wolf falling upon sheep, or a tiger upon deer (hamchu gurg dar gospndan wa manind-i-pilang dar ghazālan). Thus those vagabonds, seized by the hand of death, were obliged to run away in alarm towards the forest.

Rustam ‘Alī writes in detail about the attack of Marāthās in Delhi. Bajī Rao moved swiftly covering ten days journey in two days and nights and on 29 March 1737 A.D., made sudden dash on Kalka, six miles south of Delhi, where he attacked and plundered the Hindus busy in celebrating the festival of Ram Naumi. From this peril situation the citizen of Delhi were saved only by timely arrival of Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān from the direction of Agra. At Bādshāhpūr, 20 miles from Delhi the Maratha leader was overtaken by the wazīr’s army which had reached there. Zahir-ud-Dulā and Ghazi-ud-Dīn Khān who commanded the vanguard, were determined to wipe out the humiliation suffered by Mughals in Delhi and not to allow the Marathas to return safely. In a battle

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87 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 269a.
88 Ibid., f. 269b.
89 Ibid., f. 271b.
90 Ibid., ff. 271b-272a.
that followed Bajî Rao was defeated and immediately left the field in the night when darkness hampered the pursuit. The Mughal generals entered the city in midst of general relief and rejoicings.

He continued that, the imperial army pursued them, made heaps of the slain, and kept battle raging for the distance of thirty five kos. A body of invaders was overtaken near the tank of Itimadpur, and three chiefs with about a thousand men were taken prisoners. But most of them escaped and joined the countrymen. When the prisoners were brought before Burhān-ul-Mulk, he gave each man a rupee for his expenses, and set them all at liberty; but he kept three chiefs loaded with chains. After this, he returned towards Shāhjahānābād.

For the Jats plundering he writes that when Amir-ul-Umarā and Muhammad Khān were returning to Delhi, the Jats of village Mitrol, between Kodal and Palwal, fell on their baggage and plundered it. Consequently, the army surrounded the village, and having sacked it, set it on fire. The Amir-ul-Umarā entered Shāhjahānābād, and, according to the royal order, Muhammad Khān returned to Agra for its protection. Towards the end of the same year Nizām-ul-Mulk arrived from the Deccan, and had an interview with Emperor in the capital.

In the commencement of 20th R.Y. Rustam ‘Alī has noticed one more communal clash of Sambhar. He writes as around 8000 horses of the Rathore Rajputs among there were eighteen chiefs, the relatives of Raja Dhankal Singh, assembled on some pretence in the city of Sambhar. Bharat Singh, their leader drank wine on the Friday in the Masjid of Sambhar, and prohibited muazzin from calling to prayer. It happened that Hayat-ullāh Khān, son of Jamal-ullah Khān, the governor of the place, with a few men, went to them in the evening. After some verbal altercation, the matter ended in a regular fight. During this conflict the leader Bharat Singh was killed and rest fled away. Three followers of

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91 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., ff. 273a-274b.
92 Ibid., f. 273a.
93 Ibid., ff. 274b-275a.
Khān, who were Saiyids of Narnaul, obtained the degree of martyrdom, and were interred near the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khān.

Further Rustam ‘Alī writes about the attack of Tūrānī nobles on the Saiyids of Barha. As Ītimad-ud-Daulā Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān, with 50,000 horse and many elephants and guns, moved towards Barha, the native place of the Saiyids. ‘Azim-ullah Khān, for fear of his life, placed several guns around him in the shape of triangle. Saif-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Khān, brother of Qub-ul-Mulk and Husain ‘Alī Khān, who was the chief of Barha, with three hundred horses, boldly attacked that miserable body. When the Mughal fired their guns, a great number of the Saiyids were killed; but Saif-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Khān, with a few other Saiyids, to avenge their death, drew out their swords, and repulsed the Mughals to the distance of three miles.

Suddenly the wanderer of forest of wretchedness and misfortune (awarah dasht-i-shagawat wa tabah), by name ‘Alī Muhammad, a Rohilla, at the direction of Itimad ud-Daulā, and with the hope of preferment, came from the rear with 20,000 Rohillas, and fell upon the Saiyids. Thus, he sacrificed the good of the next world to the desire of this earth (bashamat-i-hirs-i-dunya aqbatah barbād dadah), and became the cause of victory to the Tūrānī. From the aforesaid line, it is being clear that author has very good impression about the Saiyid Brothers. ‘Azim-ullah Khān, having buried the Saiyids, returned to Delhi laden with immense plunder, and accompanied by Ītimad-ud-Daulā. Here author attributes that it was just punishment of his crime of persecuting the Saiyids, that soon after they suffered the calamities occasioned by Nādir Shāh.

In the same year, Nizām-ul-Mulk was bent towards such things, as were contrary to what his name imports, viz. administration, he allowed disturbance to break out in the country and within one or two days grain to be sold in his camp one ser for a rupee. On account of the turmoil and quarrels raised by him, countless people were speed up to their graves in the midst of hit of severe starvation, and many Muslims, by the tricks of that

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94 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 275b.
95 Ibid., f. 276ab.
96 Ibid., f. 276b.
97 Ibid., ff. 276a-277a.
unprincipled man, fell into their hands and met with destruction. At last, on being informed of this, Muhammad Shâh sent orders appointing Baji Rao to the governorship of Malwâ. Nizâm-ul-Mulk, reproached by the people, and deceived by the enemy, returned to the capital98. Then Marathas laid sieges to the forts of Kota, and Anhilwara99. He overran these districts, and besieged the fort of Korwai, near town of Sironj, which was residence of Īzzat Khân, son of Diler Khân Afghan. Īzzat Khân fought very bravely for two months, when peace was made. During the siege of Korwai, the compiler of this work went to the enemy’s camp. On seeing the fort encircled like the stone of the ring by the army which resembled swarms of ants and locusts (fauj manind mur wa malakh an Qile ra nagin dârad), the safety of those who were in it appeared impossible; but results deceived expectation100.

For the founder of the Bhopal he writes that Dost Muhammad Khân was a Rohilla Afghan of Mirza’i Khel of Warakzaïs tribe. His father, Nür Muhammed, had come to India in 1696-97 A.D and settled Jalâlâbâd (Muzaffarnagar District, U.P.)101. Dost Muhammad Khân came to Delhi and enrolled himself as ordinary soldier in the imperial army that was being organized to fight the Maratha invaders in Malwa. He stayed on in the Province where he found more favorable opportunities to start his career as a mercenary soldier, serving under different local chiefs and landlords, engaged in constant mutual warfare. Taking widespread convulsions in the region, he took possession of Bhîlsa by ousting its ‘amil, Muhammad Faruq. The other Rohilla mercenaries of the land, attracted by his increasing fame as a gallant warrior gathered round him. He also seized Jagdeshpur, renamed it Islâmânagar and established his status as a zamîndâr and reputation of an indomitable military leader. Now Dost Muhammad Khân began to take part in the conflicts and rivalries among the Rajas and Chieftains. In 1719 A.D, he joined Bhîm Singh Hara of Kotah, the protégé of Husain ‘Alî Khân, the imperial Mîr Bakhshî, against Raja Budh Singh. On the request of Bhîm Singh, Amir-ul-Umarâ Husain ‘Alî Khân bestowed on Dost Muhammad Khân a mansab, title, drum, and tauman-taug,
which raised his position to the rank of Amir (noble) in the imperial bureaucracy, and lent legitimate his territorial usurpations. After that, he assumed the title of Nawāb.102

Beholden as he was for these rare favours, the Afghan adventurer became devotedly attached to Husain ‘Alī Khān and supported him and his action in the hour of crisis against their adversaries. Later he supported Dilawar ‘Alī Khān in support of Saiyid against Nizām-ul-Mulk. Near Burhān pur a forced battle was fought at Pandhar (19th June 1720 A.D). In a hotly contested engagement Dilāwar ‘Alī Khān was defeated and killed, and ‘Alī Muhammad Khān who was the brother of Dost Muhammad Khān and the Afghan Commander was slain. Consequently, Dost Muhammad Khān had to pay heavily for his adherence to the cause of Husain ‘Alī Khān.103

After the fall of Sa‘ādat Bārha which had dominated imperial affairs for seven year (1712-1719 A.D), Emperor Muhammad Shāh appointed Nizām-ul-Mulk to the post of wizārāt that has fallen vacant due to the untimely death of Muhammad Amīn Khān (27th January 1721 A.D)104. No sooner than Nizām-ul-Mulk had assumed charge of this key post he called upon to proceed to Gujarat to punish and dislodge its refractory subedār, Haider Quli Khān. Here Nizām-ul-Mulk resolved to revenge on Dost Muhammad Khān for his old enmity towards him and other reason was Nizām considered his expanding power a source of danger to his own position in the Deccan. Rustam ‘Alī has tried to put the cunning, farsightedness and man of sharp political agenda to the Nizām in his writing Tārīkh-i-Hindi105.

Under these circumstances, Nizām-ul-Mulk demanded from Dost Muhammad Khān surrender of the fort Islāmgarh and in his refusal laid siege to it. After feeble resistance the Afghan Chief submitted and sent his son, Yār Muhammad Khān, as hostage under Nizām.106

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102 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 280b.
103 Ibid., f. 251b-252a.
104 Ibid., f. 251a.
105 Ibid., f. 251b.
106 Ibid., f. 252a.
Later on the most auspicious event in the fifth year of Muhammad Shāh’s reign in 1135 A.H/1723A.D, was that Dost Muhammad laid the foundation of the city of Bhopal. Few years later he died at the age of 66 in 1726. Rustam ‘Alī has written much in his praise and says;

\text{سخاوت بود ماپ دوستی} \\
\text{ک عالی بود پاپ دوستی} \\
\text{سخاوت کند نیکبخت اختیار} \\
\text{ک مرد ازسخاوت شود بختیار}^{107}

\begin{equation*}
\text{Generosity is asset of friendship; } \text{This generosity endorses friendship to the level top} \\
\text{Generosity induces happiness in the people, Due to generosity they turned fortunate}
\end{equation*}

In order to make it more clear and visible, author has tried to put biographical sketch of several personalities but this breaks the flow of narration as well.

For the chieftainship of Yār Muhammad Khān (1726-1742 A.D), he writes that at the time of the death of his father he was in the company of Nizām-ul-Mulk who informed Yār Muhammad Khān of passing away of his father. It was Nizām who immediately sent Yār Muhammad Khān to Bhopal and supported him in occupying of \textit{masnad} (throne) of Bhopal. He ruled for fifteen years and died in 1742. During this period he not only consolidated his dominion but also extended its frontiers from the bank of Narbada to the vicinity of the town of Sironj. He maintained law and order in those areas under his jurisdiction, compelled the recalcitrant and disruptive elements to his authority, and exercised careful and efficient supervision over civil and financial administration.\textsuperscript{109} The Afghan chief of Bhopal did his utmost to protect the life and property of the people and provided shelter to the inhabitants fleeing from the imperial cities and towns affected by the Maratha inroads. In recognition of this courage and efficient administration the Mughal Emperor bestowed on him a \textit{mansab} of 5000/5000,

\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Tārīkh-i-Hindī}, op. cit., f. 280b.  
\textsuperscript{108}\textit{Ibid.}, f. 281a  
\textsuperscript{109}\textit{Ibid.}, f. 281ab.
with honoured *mah-i-maratib*. Here the author fails to mention about the key factor that contributed to his success in defending his territory\textsuperscript{110}.

The adverse comments of Rustam ‘Alī against Nizām-ul-Mulk in respect of his character, policies and in wars with the state enemies, foreign invader (Nādir Shāh) and in the changing pattern of power struggle among the Mughal nobility may be inspected from this account. The author holds that in character and political behavior he was just opposite to what his title (*tabiyat-i-kaj Nizām mayael bazid-i-ismas hast*) ‘Nizām’ (stable administration) suggests\textsuperscript{111}.

But what could have been the motive of Rustam ‘Alī in censuring the Nizām at several points, is not much clear, at least from this source of information. At personal level the author had no ground of grievance against Nizām for the simple reason that no kind of contact, political or social, existed between them. Apparently, Yār Muhammad Khān in whose time the writer came and settled in Bhopal, could have been the source of inspiration to express these views against the enemy of his father, and Yār Muhammad himself. Earlier Yār Muhammad Khān was indebted to the Nizām for restoration of power, kind treatment he received in Hyderabad and cordial relations that since then persisted between the two. During the 13\textsuperscript{th} R.Y. the author writes about the Nizām who accompanied the Marathas against the fort of Bhopal\textsuperscript{112}. Then Yār Muhammad Khān who was celebrated for his courage, by dint of great bravery and determination, expelled Nizām from his possession. It may be reason for not having further good relation with Nizām and also for the cause of criticism by the author Rustam ‘Alī\textsuperscript{113}.

It may be noted that he has not dedicated the work to Yār Muhammad Khān who died the same year, it was completed (1742 A.D), nor has he referred to any special favour in the form of revenue free land assignment or cash grant done to him by the Afghan chief of Bhopal. But, it seems he took the side of Yār Muhammad Khān whose earlier relation with Nizām was better but later changed with attack of Nizām on Bhopal.

\textsuperscript{110} *Tārikh-i-Hindi*, op. cit., f. 281ab
\textsuperscript{111} *Ibid.*, f. 277a.
\textsuperscript{112} *Ibid.*, f. 279a.
\textsuperscript{113} *Ibid.*, f. 279a.
Here, the author does not write any apparent reason for the attack of Nizām on Yār Muhammad Khān and this incident may be a reason of deep hatred or prejudice towards the Nizām.\(^{114}\)

There is not any evidence to suggest that Rustam ‘Alī was a beneficiary of Husain ‘Alī Khān’s patronage or recipient of rewards and favours from any member of Sadat Bārha during their rise. It is possible that his formulations were derived from the ambiance of public opinion, generated by debates and discussions on current of partisan prejudice, though occasionally enlivened by moral reflections, is obviously dominant in most historical writings produced during this period of political decline and economic disaster. In factional politics the critic used to take side in writings, to support the cause of one group of nobles and censor the other, as their personal perceptions and circumstances guided them. They, usually, showed inadequate regards to reasoning, none for objectivity.\(^{115}\)

Rustam ‘Alī put forward an acceptable theory and reason behind the attack of Nādir Shāh.\(^{116}\) As disaffection, and discord broke out among the nobles and the report of the enemy’s success was noised abroad. Thus incited, the Emperor of Iran Nādir Shāh, who having acquired entire power over that country, had reached up to Balkh and Qandahar, now he started to march in this direction, with the design of conquering Hindustan, and, as some say, at the suggestion of Nizām-ul-Mulk and Saadat Khān.\(^{117}\) It was suddenly reported to the Emperor that Nādir Shāh, having invaded Kabul obliged Nāsir Khān, the governor of the province, to join him, had crossed the Attock and reached Lahore. The governor of this city also, after a slight show of resistance, had gone over to him.\(^{118}\) The Emperor tried to bring about a relaxation of the strain in relations between Khān-i-Daurān and Nizām-ul-Mulk. Both the nobles held discussions for several days regarding military preparations and defense, plans, creating the impression

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\(^{114}\) Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 279a
\(^{115}\) Ibid., f. 279a.
\(^{116}\) Ibid., f. 282a.
\(^{117}\) Ibid., f. 282a.
\(^{118}\) Ibid., f. 282a.
that a close understanding had been reached between them. But under appearance of formal courtesies the two nobles entertained the deep distrust against each other and their rivalries persisted whatever plan was put forward by Khān-i-Daurān in Kings council was opposed by Nizām-ul-Mulk and whatever was suggested by latter was openly contradicted by the former. Through this writing Rustam ‘Alī also wants to show one of the reasons of defeat and helplessness of the Emperor.  

Rustam ‘Alī states a lively and detailed account of battle of Karnāl, related events and consequences. He writes, about the very large army of Hindustan which amounted to ten lakh, both horse and foot, could barely find space to encamp on. Some say, according to the advice of Nizām-ul-Mulk, was placed all round in the shape of a ring. Notwithstanding this, the soldier of Iran made attacks from all side upon the Indians, and carried off corn, grass and wood, which are essentially necessary for the maintenance of man. Hence the price of grain was enormously shot up in the camp. Burhān-ul-Mulk, one morning, at the beginning of Zil-hijja, entered the camp to pay his respects to the Emperor. He had scarcely arrived, when it was reported that twenty thousand horsemen of Nādir Shāh’s army had plundered all his camp, equipage, and baggage. Burhān-ul-Mulk instantly, took his leave, beat the drums of battle, and went after the plunders. It is said that the whole army of Nādir Shāh amounted to fifty five thousand fighting horsemen, skilful in the art of war and murder.

Burhān-ul-Mulk, a short time after the armies had engaged, was taken prisoner and carried before Nādir Shāh. After capture of Burhān-ul-Mulk, the army of Nādir Shāh surrounded Amir-ul-Umarā on all sides, and began to shoot their arrows and fire their guns, and the battle raged till the close of the day. The Indian warriors, Saiyids, Shaikhs, Afghans, and Rajputs, so fought with their cruel swords that, had Rustam and Afrasiyab lived to this time, their livers would become water at sight of this dreadful battle (az nahib-i-yin harab dil shakeb zohra ab migardanand).

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120 Ibid., f. 283a.  
121 Ibid., f. 283ab.  
122 Ibid., f. 284b.
of these brave men, left the field, and firing their guns from a distance and from different quarters, made heap of the corpses of Indians, who preferred death to fight\textsuperscript{123}.

It is said that five thousand men on the side of Amir-ul-Umara met with the honour of martyrdom, among whom were Muzaffar Khān, his brother, Mīr Kallu ‘Alī Hāmid Khān, Yadgar Khān, Lodi Khān, and other nobles. In the evening Amir-ul-Umara, with few of his men, returned from the field to his tent, wounded and sorrowful, but he died and was buried near the grave of Bu ‘Alī Qalandar.\textsuperscript{124}

It is said that when Burhān-ul-Mulk fell into the hands of Nādir Shāh, Shāh inquired from him all the particular of this government. He was informed in reply that Khān-i-Daurān, who had fought with him that day, was only one of the servants of the Emperor of the Hindustan, and that, like him, there are many other nobles and Rajas, possessed of the great power and much courage, in his camp as well as in all parts of the kingdom, and that any one of them is well enough to cope with you. He recommended him, therefore, to receive something on account of his travelling expenses, and return to his own country. Nādir Shāh was confounded to hear this, and peace was determined on\textsuperscript{125}.

Muhammad Shāh, by the advice of Nizām-ul-Mulk, rode to the tent of Nādir Shāh, whose son came to receive him. The Prince, according to his father’s order, sat below the throne, like an attendant. After the interview, Muhammad Shāh dined and returned to his tent\textsuperscript{126}.

Further he continued his description and says, on the same day Nizām-ul-Mulk, with his usual impudence, put on the official dress of Amir-ul-Umara. It had been promised to Burhān-ul-Mulk, who, on being informed of this, under the impulse of ambition, represented to Nādir Shāh that Amir-ul-Umarā Khān-i-Daurān deceased, was the only person of importance in the government, and now there is no man in the

\textsuperscript{123} Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 284ab.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., f. 285a.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., f. 286a.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., f. 286ab.
kingdom equal to him in power or dignity. Hearing it, Nādir Shāh changed his attitude and ordered to take Nizām into custody immediately, and constrained him to send for Emperor. That wanderer in the forest of envy and malice, without considering what might be the result, wrote a letter in his own hand to the effect that he had settled the terms of peace, and confirmation of it depended upon your joining. The heedless Emperor, being deceived by artful person, rode to tent of Nādir Shāh, he ordered the few persons who had gone with the Emperor to be turned out, and the Emperor with Nizām-ul-Mulk, ‘Āmir Khān, Ishāk Khān, Jāwed Khān, Bihroz Khān, and Jawahir Khān, to be placed in confinement. Some of his myrmidons were sent to Itimad-ud-Daulā Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān, and forcibly brought him out of his tent into Nādir Shāh’s camp. At the same time, officers of the Shāh were placed as guards on all the offices and establishments of Muhammad Shāh. It is said that Fath ‘Alī Khān, son of Sabit Khān, and ‘Alī Zamān Khān, escaped in a disguise after changing his clothes.

Afterwards, Nādir Shāh himself, with the Emperor of Hindustan, entered the fort of Delhi. It is said that he appointed a place on one side in the fort for the residence of Muhammad Shāh and his dependents, and on the other side he chose the dīwān-i-khās, or, as some say, the Garden of Hayat Bakş, for his own accommodation. He sent to the Emperor of Hindustan, as to a prisoner, some food and wine from his own table. One Friday his own name was read in Khutba, but on the next Friday he ordered Muhammad Shāh’s name to be read. It is related that one day a rumour spread in the city that Nādir Shāh had been slain in the fort. This produced a general confusion, and the people of the city destroyed five thousand men of his camp. On hearing of this, Nādir Shāh came out of the fort, sat in the Golden Masjid which was built by Roshan-ud-Daulā, and gave orders for general massacre. For nine hours indiscriminate slaughter of every degree was

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127 Tārikh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 286a.
128 Ibid., f. 287a.
129 Ibid., f. 287b.
130 Ibid., f. 288a.
committed. It is said that the number of these who were slain amounted to one lakh. The losses and calamities of the people of Delhi were exceedingly great\textsuperscript{131}.

After considerable violence and cruelty, Nādir Shāh collected immense treasures, which he began to send to his country laden on elephants and camels. It is narrated that, one day Nādir Shāh, in his public court, spoke some harsh and abusive words to Nizām-ul-Mulk and Burhān-ul-Mulk, and threatened them with punishment. When they left the court, Nizām-ul-Mulk, with all the lying and fraud to which he was naturally habituated; Nizām told Saadat Khān that as they had not only been insulted but also threatened with public disgrace, suicide was preferable to them. After this exchange of views the two nobles went back to their homes. Nizām-ul-Mulk drank a glass of water mixed with sugar and fell asleep while Saadat Khān, true to his word, drank a cup of poison and died. However, it seems that Rustam ʻAlī has written this statement in high hatred towards the Nizām-ul-Mulk\textsuperscript{132}. Most probably, Saʻādat Khān pushed himself for suicide in response of his one erroneous movement which turned out into great loss of humanity.

It is said that after the departure of Nādir Shāh, the chiefs and Rajas of all parts of Hindustan sent sums of money to Muhammad Shāh, together with horses, elephants and other property of various kinds\textsuperscript{133}. Like two crores of rupees and three elephants were sent to Emperor by Shuja-ud-Daulā, governor of the province of Bengal. After Nādir Shāh had gone away, Amir Khān was raised to the rank of 7000 and the office of third bakhshī, and Ishaq Khān to the diwani of khalisa. They also received the favour of the Emperor, on account of which, Nizām-ul-Mulk again took recourse to his fox like habits, and being displeased, left Delhi. He spent some days at the village of Tilpat, and at last, with the advice of Mihrparwār, the grandmother of the Emperor, and on condition that Amir Khān, should come out to meet him, returned to the city\textsuperscript{134}. Amir Khān Son of

\textsuperscript{131}Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 288b.
\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., f. 289b.
\textsuperscript{133}Ibid., f. 291ab.
\textsuperscript{134}Ibid., f. 292a.
Amir Khān senior, one of the chief nobles, was appointed Governor of the province of Allahabad, where he applied himself to the work of administration\textsuperscript{135}.

For the rebellion of Jats of Mahaban he writes that a body of Jats, having raised their heads in rebellion, put Hakim Kāzim, the faujdār of the pargana of Firozabad, to death, and carried off all his property and treasure\textsuperscript{136}.

Unlike Nizām, Rustam ‘Alī has praised Nasir Jang and says that an army of more than 100,000 Maratha horses attacked Nasir Jang, son of Nizām-ul-Mulk. He was the most virtuous man of his time, and possessed great courage and humanity. Nasir Jang fought very bravely, and dispatched a great number of the enemy to hell, so that, not being able to stand their ground, they took to flight. Nāsir Jang pursued them, and at the distance of few kos, the enemy again made a stand and Baji Rao, chief of the miscreants, was greatly surprised at courage of that lion of the field of heroism. With great ignominy and shame, he stopped on the banks of the Narbada, as the Marathas had suffered great loss in the battle with Nāsir Jang. Again Malharjī, Pilujī, and other chiefs of the enemy’s army, which according to some, was no less than 50,000 horses, came through Bundelkhand as far as the banks of the Jamuna; but suddenly, on hearing that Baji Rao, having fallen into the claws of death they returned, without accomplishing anything, towards Sattaragarh to meet Rājā Sahu\textsuperscript{137}.

Further he notes for the Maratha leader Raghu, who was nephew of Rājā Sāhū, at the head of 80,000 horses, fought with Nasir Jang, to revenge the defeat of Baji Rao. Nāsir Jang in this battle also gave a complete repulse to the infidel enemy\textsuperscript{138}.

For the 23\textsuperscript{rd} R.Y of Muhammad Shāh he writes that Mirza Mannu, son of Itima-ud-Daulā Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān, was appointed to the governorship of Ajmer, and he went to that place with two thousand horses. Although the Rajas had acquired great ascendency in that part of country, so that in the city of Ajmer, where the tomb of the

\textsuperscript{135} Tārikh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 292a.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., f.292b.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., f. 294a.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., f. 294a.
great Khwājā stands, the slaughtering of cows and other practice of Islam were prohibited, yet he stayed there only for one day, and, according to orders of his father, who had instructed him to act in subordination (ata‘at) to Raja Jai Singh, he leased the governorship of the province to him, and returned to Delhi.  

When Nizāmul Mulk Āsaf Jāh was informed that his son Nāsir Jang had by his firmness obtained great advantage and victories over the enemy, who fled before his name like a crow before a bow; that Islam had obtained a new luster; that the allowance of many officers and soldiers under him were fixed according to each man’s worth; and that he had introduced peace and harmony among his subjects, the fire of ambition and of desire to assist the wretched enemy, which he had always felt, was rekindled in him.  

Having obtained leave from the Emperor, Nizām marched with great haste towards the Deccan, and arrived in very short space of time at the bank of Narbada. As he had but a very little force with him, he received a reinforcement of one thousand horses from Yār Muhammad Khān, who ruled over the greater part of the province of Mālwā. Having crossed the river, he stopped for some time in the city of Burhānpur, where a dispute arose between father and son. At last, the latter, who, independent of being sensible and learned, was very dutiful, and much better than his father and ancestors, notwithstanding that he had possessed so much influence and power, voluntarily, out of respect to rights of his father, resigned all concern in the affairs of government, and sat at the gate of sacred shrine of the saint Zain-ul-Mulk, where also remains of Shāh ‘Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) are interred. As he was very wise man, he had been disgusted with worldly pursuits, and had much regard (shāghib) for work of religion; he withdrew his hand from the pollutions of this world, and attended to excellence of the next (dast az aCLUDgI-duniya bardāshta baislāh-i-ākhraT ru āward).

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139 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 295b.
140 Ibid., f. 295b.
141 Ibid., f. 293ab.
142 Ibid.
143 Ibid., f. 296ab.
Again the author criticises Nizām-ul-Mulk, and says he had become old, was so much entangled (mahbus) in allurements (dam) of this unprofitable world, that, although from the time of ‘Ālamgir to the present he had seen how faithless it had proved to great number of its followers, yet, through his materialism and ambition, he discouraged his excellent son, and still sought to injure him, notwithstanding that he must well know the world to be nothing and its votaries nothing. For the faithlessness of this world he quotes:

(You are showing faithfulness towards assets. Have you ever heard these assets remained faithful for anyone, to whom you expected)

True to his avowed adherence to the principles of justice and humanity Rustam ‘Alī has attempted portraiture of a few more nobles of his day, other than leaders of Sad'āt-i-Bārhā, who addressed needs of people in distress without discrimination of any kind. The nobles chosen on these criteria by the author are: Mīr Jumlā Tār Khān, Nawāb Shujā-ud-Daulā, Zāfar Khān Roshan-ud-Daulāh, Khān-i-Dauran and Sābit Khān.

For the account of Mīr Jumlā Tār Khān he writes that he was one of the greatest nobles, and a man of learning and a friend of the learned, who chiefly engaged in the study of the natural sciences, according to the will of God, departed from this transitory world. This Mīr Jumlā was called Mīr ‘Ibad-ullāh. He came to Hindustan from Samarkand in search of his father, Mīr Abu-l Wafā, who had become qāzi of Benares. By degrees he himself was appointed qāzi of the province of Bengal, and when Prince Muhammad Farrukh Siyar became governor of that province, he made him his tutor.

During the time of Farrukh Siyar’s reign he was reckoned one of the greatest nobles of the state, and had the conduct of all political affairs in his hands. At last, through the hostility of the Saiyids, he was deprived, of all the insignia of nobility. But,

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144 Tārikh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 297b.
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid., f. 264b.
due to the favour of Hussain ‘Alī Khān, he was again raised to his former rank and jāgīr, as well as to the office of sadru-us-sudur. He was a person of exceeding generosity, and gave away lakh of rupees. He was often heard to say, that as regard the works of this world, he had only one desire unfulfilled, which was that he had never been able to give any person a present of one krore of rupees at one time. He loved knowledge and learned men, because by means of his learning he had reached the Emperor’s Court, and obtained his rank. In the context of Mīr Jumlā’s learning he quotes

قفل کشائی بهم در باست علم
ان چون حقیقت دیگران چون خیال

(Education is crown of every kind of knowledge. Education is key to open the door of all knowledge. Education is pearl rest is dust. Like, it is reality rest of other is imagination)

Rustam ‘Alī has lamented the tragic death of Khān-i-Dauran, the imperial Mīr Bakhshi (1719-1739 A.D) in the battle of Karnal against Nādir Shāh (1739 A.D), holding Nizām-ul-Mulk responsible for it. His death rendered thousands of soldier and civilians jobless and impoverished hundreds others who depended on his munificence for their sustenance allowances. Naturally, they mourned the death of their benefactor and there was widespread grief and anguish in all places to which they belonged. Thus, the accent throughout the narrative is on charitable relief and financial support provided to all who were below the sustenance level. On his death Rustam ‘Alī quotes;

ای مرگ بزار خانه ویران کردی
در ملک وجود غارت جان کردی

(Oh death, you turned thousands of home into no man’s land. You turned this lively country endangered to the lives)

Rustam ‘Alī holds that Sa‘ādat Khān committed suicide by taking poison. He writes, Nādir Shāh treated Sa‘ādat Khān and Nizām-ul Mulk in rude and contumacious

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147 Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 265a.
148 Ibid., ff. 264b-265ab.
149 Ibid., f. 265b.
150 Ibid., f. 285ab.
151 Ibid., f. 285b.
fashion and even threatened with corporal punishment in the open Darbār. Here, author narrates that instead of resulting humiliation in public they preferred suicide over disgraceful life. Saʻādat Khān, true to his word, drank a cup of poison and died but Nizām-ul-Mulk drank a glass of water mixed with sugar and fell asleep\textsuperscript{152}. This statement may be incorrect for the following reasons. In first place, the writer puts this event after the general massacre, although Saʻādat Khān died on the 21\textsuperscript{st} March 1739 A.D. He does not mention any reason for the sudden change of Nādir Shāh’s attitude towards the nobles. All accounts agree that Saʻādat Khān performed the duties assigned to him by Nādir Shāh faithfully and he stood high in his favour.

Secondly, a suicide pact between two opponents who distrusted each other intensely seems to be extremely improbable. Thirdly, this is not an eyewitness account it is based on hearsay as the author was not present in Delhi at that time and recorded the event without proper investigation. Moreover, he painted Nizām in the tarnished colours as if he possessed not even one grain of good in him. Adverse comments on the Nizām expressed in the worst possible terms and the false charges he made against him at several places clearly show that he is prejudiced in his judgment and dishonest in the description of events\textsuperscript{153}.

Rustam ‘Alī has exposed his great respect for Saʻādat Khān and says that he himself was in his service for six years\textsuperscript{154}. Saʻādat Khān was a learned man and kept himself busy in reading hadīth and Masnavī of Rumi. He used to patronise the learned men and send a good amount of treasure to ‘ulemā and Shaikh of other part of the country. His soldiers were regularly paid and the subjects under his domain were happy. There was peace and prosperity everywhere and most of the time he used to read a quotation in Persian;

\textsuperscript{152}Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., f. 289ab.
\textsuperscript{153}Ibid., ff. 277b, 296b & 297a.
\textsuperscript{154}Ibid., f. 290b.
Further he praises one of the nobles named Shujā-ud-Daulā, who was a very good man, governed the province of Bengal with the utmost justice, and died a natural death. As he was a great protector of his subjects, and exceedingly just, the country, by virtue of these qualities, flourished greatly, and the revenue had so much increased that every year he sent two crors of rupees to the Emperor; besides which, thirty thousand horses and an immense body of infantry received their pay from him. He also sent thousands of presents to the saints in all parts of the country and cities. The Emperor Muhammad Shāh and the ministers of throne, having shut up the path of justice, and stretching out the hand of rapacity upon the subjects, devoted themselves to amassing wealth, which at last all fell to lot of enemy, and there was even a deficiency in the fixed revenue of the Khalisā. Here to make himself clear the author quotes;

(I heard from the good pious speaker. For the rulers, subject is much worthy and even over treasures. Spending this on subject is beneficial forever. Spending on subject always brings benefit for him.)

For Sābit Khān, he writes that he was a mansabdār of 5000/5000, the faujdār of Kol, brave, able and generous officer. He, distributed Rs 1200/- every day, and fed half of the population of the town, so that poverty disappeared from that place. He followed strong and vigorous policy against rebels and zamīndārs and held the reins of administration firmly to the end of his life. He died in 1731 at the age of 60. He
maintained strict discipline in his army; he prescribed a white uniform consisting of trousers and long coat for his soldiers. He quotes in his praise; \[159\]

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\text{نه شهر مخزن نم در کوه ودشت}
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\text{که منسوخ شدرس فقل و کلید}
\]

(Neither city has treasures nor mountain and forest. People were devoid of treachery

Peace prevailed in every corner. People forgot the use of practice of lock and key)

This author is chiefly concerned with recording the affairs of Kings of Hindustan, its conditions and laws which were thought most significant. As the title of the book also shows his interest for his country. He demonstrates great love for Hindustan and believed that blessing of God had been bestowed on this land, no other land in the world could claim to possess. His stress on the principal of justice and equity is profound as is his deep concern for the poor and weak. He has praised nobles, knights, and chiefs, who cared for the creatures of God, protected and helped them, but denounced those in power who cruelly treated the indigents, commoners, humble riayā and ordinary revenue payers. The repression of the people and plundering of the peasants and workers had been in his opinion the principal cause of misfortunes and disasters that befell the ruling class in the recent past\[161\].

He believed in the concept of Divine retribution and related the nexus of censor and effect to the policies and action of sovereigns and their bureaucrats, ministers and officials in the given political and social conditions. The act and moves for the betterment and happiness of mankind were rewarded; while tyranny and injustice were punished by providence. For example, the unjust killing of Amir-ul-‘umrā Saiyid Husain `Alī Khān, who was a well-wisher of people (Khair Khawāh-i- Khalaq-ullāh), led to the eruption of disorders which in effect eroded imperial authority and set the process of

\[159\] Tārikh-i-Hindi, op. cit., ff. 263b-264b.
\[160\] Ibid., f. 264b.
\[161\] Ibid., ff. 4ab, 238ab & 259b.
decline of the kingdom \((sultanate)\)\(^{162}\). Then, few years later in 1726 A.D the murder of Saiyid Shāh Meerān, a saint of Delhi\(^{163}\), became the cause of trouble and failures, which afflicted the government. A crisis of great magnitude, political and military, arose in the affairs of the government, because no strategy of counter-offensive was planned and executed by central ministers, who could stem the tide of Maratha expansion in Malwa since 1728, and the imperials failed to checkmate the onward advance of Maratha armed force towards Delhi in the following years. Similarly, in the wake of terrible destruction of villages and towns Jansath\(^{164}\), mostly inhabited and held in jāgīr by the Chiefs of Sādāt Bārha (1737-38 A.D), there descended a great calamity in the form of Nādir Shāh’s invasion of North India, 1739 A.D. A deep study of this source reveals it as more of a philosophy than history.\(^{165}\)

The writer wanted to finish his work with names \(Shaikhs\), Scholars and the Poets whom this author had seen or heard. He has divided his conclusion into three parts.

In the first parts he has given the name of Mīr Saiyid Muhi-ud-Dīn son of Mīr Saiyid Chānd and Saiyid Shams-ud-Dīn ‘Āli Qubāi who were famous Shaikh of Akbar’s time. Meer Saiyid Maudūd, Meer Saiyid Jalāl and his son Meer Muhammad Māh were contemporary to writer and belonged to Shāhābād. Meer Saiyid ‘Alīm-ullāh belonged to Rai Bareily. Dad Kamroon belonged to Malwa. Miyan Shāh Husain Dahdahā, Shāh Bāqī Billāh, Shāh Lakhar, Meer Saiyid Muhammad, ‘Abdul Jālīl, Saiyid Shāh Makki belonged to ‘Ālamgīrī period. Shāh Peer Muhammad and his son Mīyān Taqī whom this author has visited belonged to Lucknow.

There are other contemporary Shaikhs like; Saiyid Hasan Rasūl Numā, Subhān Shāh Muhammad Wāris, Meer Saiyid Abdullāh, Meer Sayid Jafar, Shāh Sidq ‘Ālī, Shaikh Muhibullāh ‘Ārif Billah, Miyān Bhoj and his son Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, Saiyid Shāh ‘Ālī Akbar, Miyan Shāh Inayat, Shaikh Kabeer, Shaikh Muhammad ‘Ālī Waiz, Saiyid Shāh ‘Ālī Bheekā, Shaikh Ghouette Gharīb, Shaikh Habibullah, Shāh Abdul

\(^{162}\)Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., ff. 235a-236b.
\(^{163}\)Ibid., ff. 254b-255a; see also Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, op. cit., ff. 135-136.
\(^{164}\)Ibid., f. 276ab.
\(^{165}\)Ibid., f. 288b.


166. Tārikh-i-Hindi, op. cit., ff.300a-312b.
167. Ibid., f. 313a.
Maulvī ʻAbdullāh, Maulvī Muhammad Siddīq, Maulvī Rahamutallāh, Maulvi ʻAlī Asghar, Mīr Saiyid Hadiyā, Maulvi Aman-ullāh, Miyān Muhammad ʻĀdil, Saiyid Hayāt-ullāh, Shaikh Tashrif-ullāh, Shaikh ʻAbdul Rasool, Hāji Dildār Beg, Saiyid Muhammad Niyāz, Hazrat Muhammad Gesudarāj, Qāzī Muhammedmad, Hāfiz Muhammad Jamāl, Saiyid Ambiya, Saiyid Zahir-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Shāh Fāzil, Mufti Khair-ullāh Shaheb, Saiyid Muhammad Shukr-ullāh alias Shākir-ud-Dīn and Zain-ul-ʻĀbdīn etc, whom he had met or heard has been discussed in this account

The third part deals with names of the poets of that period. The author starts with the name of Firdausī and other poets of Babur’s time. Name of these poets were Maulānā Murid and Ahmad Jam. Maulvi Abdul Hakim and Shaikh-ul-Islām were famous Scholars of the time of ʻĀlamghir. Saifi was the famous poet of Jahāngīr. Mirzā Bedar Dīl was contemporary of Bahādur Shāh. Other names given by author were Shaikh Muhammad Yār, Mīr Saiyid Walī, Hakim ʻAlī Taqi, Hākim Senai, Muhammad Shākir, Mullah Noor Khān, Shaikh Abdur Nabi, Qazī Muhammad Shāhāb, Mullā Shams-ud-Dīn, Maulvi Abdul Bāqi, Sayid-ullāh, Mullah Qutb-ud-Dīn, Asad-ullāh Ghālib ibn Tālib, Mīr Saiyid ʻAbdullāh, Mīr Muhammad Afzal, Jan-i-Janān Mazhar, Mīr ʻAbdul Hādi, Muhammad Walī, Mīr Noor-uz- Zamān and Miyan Bahai Khān Bangash.

Other divergent information that was provided by this author is like for Prince ʻAzīm-ush-Shan, he writes that he suddenly disappeared from the battle field of Lahore and no trace of his death body was found. For the end of Lal Kunwar he says that she was sent to a place named Suhagpurā where royal widows used to live. For the reign of Farrukh Siyar he writes for the deposition of Emperor, Nizām advised to depose him and here he put all responsibility of deposition on Tūrānī nobles. Finally a mahzar was issued for the murder of Farrukh Siyar. Maharajā Ajīt Singh and Amīn Khān went to kill Farrukh Siyar in Tripoliya. He also mentions that ʻAbdullah Khān was poisoned and

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168 Tārīkh-i-Hindī, op. cit., ff. 313a-324b.
169 Ibid., ff.325a-332b.
170 Ibid., f. 220b.
171 Ibid., f.326a.
172 Ibid., f.231b.
173 Ibid., f. 232b.
buried in the garden of Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya. Then he writes about the death of Churaman Jat\textsuperscript{174}. He writes for Saiyid Najm-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Khān and about his murder\textsuperscript{175}. He also states about those persons who were killed during the massacre of Nādir Shāh\textsuperscript{176}.

It seems no other contemporary historical works, was concerned for security and betterment of the oppressed and distressed classes as it is in  \textit{Tārīkh-i-Hindi}. But the author provides them with no vision for the change in the politico-social set-up through organized public efforts that could help obtain liberation from thralldom and alleviation of misery and poverty. The solution of their problems, he offered, is just the reverse of what he has upheld as ideal condition of material prosperity and liberty. In reality he saw no escape from this horrible situation and no hope of material and spiritual improvement of human society. He, therefore, exhorted people in general to renounce this world and seek eternal bliss of heaven, because he believed that earthly pleasures and enjoyments are transient and illusion. The human life is also illusion and short duration\textsuperscript{177}.

This work is highly summarised and condensed work which glorifies the spectacular feats of gallantry performed by Husain ‘Alī Khān and Dost Muhammad Khān. Their act of generosity and liberal patronage to saints and men of letters are also praised. For the reign of Muhammad Shāh, he writes on the basis of personal observation and personal experience. The last section that contains the notice of the celebrities, some of whom survived during the reign of Muhammad Shāh is invaluable; it cast light on the efflorescence of learning and intellectual culture in the empire under later Mughals. We find here interesting biographical details about scholars, saints and poets who also performed an important role in cultural life of the country. This author benefitted with his association with some of them. He generally includes those names whom, Rustam ‘Alī personally attended upon or had seen from a distance as well as those of whom he could bear personal testimony\textsuperscript{178}. Author’s knowledge of military techniques and details

\textsuperscript{174}\textit{Tārīkh-i-Hindi}, op. cit., f. 252b.
\textsuperscript{175}\textit{Ibid.}, ff. 255b&261a.
\textsuperscript{176}\textit{Ibid.}, ff. 288ab&290a.
\textsuperscript{177}\textit{Ibid.}, f. 297ab.
\textsuperscript{178}\textit{Ibid.}, ff. 300a-332b.
seems striking. His description of some of the sieges and military manoeuvres are remarkable\(^{179}\). He does not fail to acknowledge the sources from which he drew his information. Other important thing of the source is that he did not confine his visions to court alone. He turned to khāngah and madrasa in order to have total view of life.

The shortcoming of this work are he has not much written for the reign of Emperor Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar and much eulogized his patron Dost Muhammad Khān and his son Yār Muhammad Khān, Burhān-ul-Mulk Saadat Khān, Khān-i-Dauran, Roushan-ud-Daula Zafar Kahn, Nawāb Shuja-ud-Daulah and some local chiefs. He is a partisan of the Saiyid brothers and deeply biased towards Nizām-ul-Mulk and to some extent for Raja Jai Singh. He has shown great animosity towards the Nizām, the account of the Nizām is both sketchy and incorrect in several respect. The account of Nizām is misleading and not much helpful. But he praised his son’s character and finished his political account with his description. He has not written much for the Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs in this work. The knowledge of geography also seems weak. He has misinterpreted the father’s name of Rafi-ud-Darjat as Rafi-ul-Qadr in place of Rafi-ud-Daulā\(^{180}\). For the deposition of Rafi-ud-Darjat, he writes that Rafi-ud-Daulā was enthroned after the death of his brother that appears wrong\(^{181}\). He has tried to draw similarity to the murder of Saiyid Brother to the martyrdom of Imam Husain (巯ක) and Imam Hasan (巯ک),\(^{182}\).

He is also not authentic for some information, as he was writing away from the court. He was also accused of uncouth flattery and of willful concealment of facts for a certain group of that period. In dealing with his patron, Dost Muhammad Khān and his son Yār Muhammad Khān, he employs the usual eulogistic high soundings titles and phrases \(^{183}\). Similar to other contemporary writers he had not recorded about the society of that period. He has also not written about jizya and other economic details of that

\(^{179}\) Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., ff. 271b, 278a & 279a.

\(^{180}\) Ibid., f. 233b.

\(^{181}\) Ibid., f. 234a.

\(^{182}\) Ibid., f. 245a.

\(^{183}\) Ibid., ff. 4a-5b, 279a-281b.
period. He seems only concerned with the political history of that period. He also fails to refer to any administrative measures of any Emperors. Like his contemporaries he refers to the Saiyid Mīrān incident and attributes scarcity of rains and famine to his execution\(^\text{184}\). Further for the character of Nizām, he makes silly and scandalous remarks. No contemporary or later writer corroborates these views. The structure of this work is properly planned but he fails to write the events in a proper way. Thus we find information related to the enemies to the patron is not only uncharitable but often misleading and incorrect\(^\text{185}\).

Conclusively, we can say the whole account seems written for the purpose of ibrat for others. The author had made an attempt to write a comprehensive account from the creation of universe upto his own time, but important portion of this work is related to the reign of Mohammad Shāh. He was also successful in depicting his own feelings, his likeness, interest and religious bent of mind. He ended this work with the short notice of the contemporary saints, religious teachers and poets. However, we can say that he was writing a history of the period from personal observation and information collected from available sources and has succeeded more than any other author of his time. It seems biased for some accounts but constitutes one of the important sources of first half of the eighteenth century.

\(^{184}\) Tārīkh-i-Hindi, op. cit., f. 259b.

\(^{185}\) Ibid., ff. 277b & 278a.