Chapter-II

A Historiographical Note on the Author of Jahāndār Nāma
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At the beginning of the eighteenth century many problems loomed large at the horizon. The successors of Aurangzeb were preoccupied with grappling of court politics and were unable to patronise scholars\(^1\). Despite this, unfavorable climate, creative activity achieved a spurt. The twilight of Mughal Empire saw the growth of Persian Literature continue unhindered despite withdrew of imperial patrons. Numerous works were authored numbers on individual initiatives\(^2\). One of the important among them is *Jahāndār Nāma*\(^3\) written by Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī.

The author writes about himself that his ancestor belonged to Balkh. One of his ancestors accompanied Babur to Hindustan. But after the victory, he fled from Hindustan with other nobles and settled at Multan\(^4\). His great grandfather died at the age of 103 in the reign of Emperor Jahangir. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh was assigned the sūbedārī of Multan and the Punjab with Kabul. After the victory of Golconda, Bahādur Shāh requested to Emperor Aurangzeb for the Subadārī of Multan to his eldest son prince Muʿizz-ud-Dīn. Hearing the news of his father’s death Bahādur Shāh instructed to his son Muʿizz-ud-Dīn to collect an army. The father of this author Burhān-ud-Dīn Fāruqī joined that army with his son Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī and relatives. The author complains that although he had worked hard from the death of Bahādur Shāh to Rafī-ush-Shān, he received no promotion from Zu‘līfqār Khān\(^5\).

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\(^3\) The original manuscript “*Jahāndār Naāma*” is preserved in British Museum Library London and Rotograph No. 71 of this manuscript is available in Research Seminar library, Department of History, A.M.U, Aligarh.

\(^4\) *Ibid.*, f. 3b.

During the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh, Burhān-ud-Dīn Fāruqī was in a prosperous condition. This author also got a chance to visit the royal court frequently. Later Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī was present in the war of successions among the sons of Bahādur Shāh. When, Jahāndār Shāh marched from Delhi to Agra to fight with his nephew Farrukh Siyar, the author along with his father had at his command 600 suwār and was posted in the advanced guard. After the destruction of small cannons they were not able to fight with enemy, so they took refuge with ʻAbd-us-Samad Khān’s troops.

During the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar, Burhān-ud-Dīn -Fāruqī remained for some time in the service of ʻAbd-us-Samad Khān. When Husain ʻAlī Khān led an expedition against Ajit Singh, he also joined with them. But on returning from Rajputana to Delhi, he parted company with them and returned to Multan with a Kāfilah. Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī settled in the mohalla of Faruqiyan in old Delhi as they belonged to the same clan and religion, after the depopulation of Burhānpur and Asirgarh by Emperor Akbar. Being disappointed with present situations, he preferred life of resignation.

During the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar, when Sikh Guru crossed all his limits of oppressions against Muslims, the wazīr Saiyid ʻAbdullāh Khān himself became ready to go for suppression of that Guru and he also took along ʻAbd-us-Samad Khān and other renowned nobles. At that time an intense love for his watan and a desire to meet his father arose in him. The author took an opportunity of revisiting his home after eleven years. He found his father confined to bed in bad health and took care of him for a month. When his father died, he performed all the rituals and he gave wealth and property to his relatives. Due to tyranny of Sikhs, he

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6ʻAbd-us-Samad Khān was a Tūrānī adventurer and served in Deccan for long time. He entered into the marriage alliance with the powerful Chin family. After the death of Bahādur Shāh, Zu’lfiqār Khān summoned ʻAbd-us-Samad Khān and he did good service as mīr ʻātish against ʻAzim-ush-Shāh. He was also one of the leading nobles in the court of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. He got a mansab of 7000 /7000 and nizāmat of Lahore, Shiv Dās, Shāhnāma Munawwar-ul-Kalām, Rotograph No. 139, C.A.S, Department of History A.M.U, Aligarh, f. 10b.

7Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 62a.
returned to Old Delhi. He found the whole city in a disturbed condition owing to the hostility between Farrukh Siyar and Saiyid ‘Abdullah Khān.

He passed five months in that situation. Then he visited the tomb of Sultan-ul-Mashaikh (Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliyyā) and after reciting Fātihā and seeking help from him, he started to write his work. He was able to finish his work by the end of the month of Zi gādā, in 1127 A.H/ November 1715 A.D. He imprinted his thought forever. Under the section of purpose of writing this work, he mentions that his father enjoyed respectable and valued position in the court of Emperor Bahādur Shāh. In this way, he (author) benefitted by getting an opportunity to attend the majlis and took up Inshā writing. He wished to write history about war of succession among the sons of Aurangzeb and related crisis, as ‘Jang Nāma’ but he was discontent with it so he destroyed it. During the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Yusuf Khān was instructed to record the events of his reign. Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī often remained with him and revived his interest of history writing. He took much interest in the style of Yusuf Khān. Seeing his interest, Yusuf Khān advised him that it is better to avoid historiography because it produces only sour fruits (samra-i- talkh dar kām-i-nakāmi andākh).

Purpose

Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī mentions that after a lot of thinking, he decided to write about Jahāndār Shāh, just to avoid the disappearance of this Emperor from the chapter of history. In other words, he wanted to make him remembered through his writing. He was also deeply interested to write about his own father, who had good and respectable position in the court of Emperor Jahāndār Shāh. He quotes as;

Nam Jahāndar Shah az صفحہ بستی محو گشتہ انترازندہ باید كرد بطفلیش نام ابای خود را باقی باید گذاشت چنانکہ در حیاتش بكل عاطفہ ان بسر بردم بعد مماتش دامن رفاقت وفا نگذاریم.

8Jahāndar Nāma, op. cit., f. 62b.
9Ibid., f. 6a.
10Ibid.
11Ibid., f. 6b.
12Ibid.
(The name of Jahāndār Shāh has misplaced from the page of history. In his tribute, we should keep alive his name and our father. As we have spent good time during his reign and we should not forget his obligation after his death.)

It seems that he wanted to compose history of his reign out of respect and gratitude. It appears from his writing that Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī knew the importance of history. He knew in order to stay in history one must write a history. He was also aware that there is no written work for Jahāndār Shāh and through his writing about his reign; he would be also remembered in future. The period of Jahāndār Shāh was also prosperous time for him. This author has made the comparison of his reign with others and praised his short reign. He quotes as;

ایام سلطنت جہاندار شاہ چون خواب خوش کہ در تمام شب بیک ساعت میگزند
بگنیشت اثران خواب را برای جہان در ضبط قلم می ارم 13

(I am writing this as 'Ibrat for others. How a good period of Jahāndār Shāh passed as an hour of good dream of night.)

Before putting pen over paper, he went to visit the tomb of Şaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya and after invoking help from the Şaikh, he started to write this eye witness account. Author says that he has not mentioned any things in which he had not taken part. Furthermore, he writes that this work got complete without any difficulty. On his friend’s (ahbbai) suggestion he gave the title “Jahāndār Nāma” 14 for this work. It is one of the eye witness contemporary account. It is a very useful work for the short reign of Jahāndār Shāh. He also wants his immorality through this writing. He quotes in his colophon as;

بماعد سالبنا این نظم ترتیب
زما بر زره خاک افتد بجائی
مگر صاحب ولي روزی برحمت
کند در حق این مسکن دعایe 15

(I wish this work remain alive ever, even its iota do not misplace
I wish any pious person would supplicate in my favour in future)

13 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 3a.
14 Ibid., f. 7a.
15 Ibid., f. 62b.
Style

It is an unpublished Persian work, written in Nastāliq style of writing. The style of expression adopted by author is simple, plain and free from hyperbole and rhetoric. He starts his work with praise of God (hamd), prophet (ḥūsain), companions (ṣaḥāba). He has followed Tark system for pagination and used Hijra era and the Arabic month for the compilation of this work. The narration has been rendered in different headline. The author has given several poetical quotations to make this work interesting. It is written in a very plain language without using Arabic quotation. It starts with brief preface, introduction and is followed by content and conclusion. This author has provided sufficient details about himself and his ancestors and devotes about seven folios to the process. He has begun every account with proper headings in chronological order. Furthermore, author does not mention any written sources for the construction of this work. In the preface, he clearly mentions that the whole work is based on truth and only his eye witness and has not inscribed any hearsay account. He quotes a stanza chiragh-i-kizb ra nabud faroghe (lie can’t stay longer).

Author writes, Jahāndār Shāh was born at Mustqarrul Khilaft (Akbarabad) in 1071 A.H./1660 A.D., in the 4th R.Y. of Aurangzeb. Emperor Aurangzeb named him as Sultan Muhammad Mu’izz-ud-Dīn. Later he became famous with the same name. He was the first male child among the real sons of Aurangzeb. On 10th Shawwal, a celebration was organized on a grand scale, along with music and dance parties. On this auspicious event, along with imperial servants, Bahādur Shāh also received gifts from Emperor Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb showed his great love and fondness to this child and used to place always before himself. When this boy

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16The colophon tells us this work is transcribed by Muhammad Aqṣār, the native of Bhatri, in District Ghazipur by the order of Mr. Nicolas. It was sent to London through William Irvine. The place of transcription is Banaras but the year of transcription is not given. It is complete, in good shapes and covering 62 folios, Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 62.
17Khān Javed ‘Ali, The page was not marked numerically, but the last word of the page is put at the beginning of the next page to mark the continuity. This system was used in some old published works, Early Urdu Historiography, op. cit., p. 93.
18Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 7a.
19Ibid., f. 7a.
20Ibid., f. 7b.
attained the age of 8 years, Emperor used to keep this child with himself while travelling. He got training in archery (tīr andāzī) and by the age of 14 years, Muʻizz-ud-Dīn prepared himself with most of skills and arts and surpassed the sons of the nobles of the court.\textsuperscript{21}

Over some period, the campaigns began in the Deccan, and in most of the battles against Maratha showed one over other his best talents. He also showed his bravery against Afghans near Qandhar. When, he reached to the court, he was appointed with his father to capture Prince Akbar and continued to pursue till Prince Akbar left for Iran from Deccan.

In the 25\textsuperscript{th} R.Y. he was deputed with his father at Ramdarrah, for the conquest of the state of ‘Ādil Shāh. He was able to conquer many small forts. After that, he was sent for the conquest of the fort of Golconda, in the Province of Berar. After defeating his powerful enemy, he pursued them till three karoh\textsuperscript{22} with other brave men and drove them away. After that, he was blamed for conspiring and favouring Tānā Shāh (Abul Hasan).\textsuperscript{23} In result, he came under the wrath of the Emperor Aurangzeb with his father and was kept in prison for while. Understanding the role of one of the imperial for this allegation, he had strong desire to take revenge against the same, but his father Bahādur Shāh calmed him down. After the investigation, the truth was known to the Emperor Aurangzeb he conciliated their broken heart and restored them to their earlier positions and showed much favours on them\textsuperscript{24}. By that time, Hyderabad was also cleared from the thorns of the enemies and other hostile people completely. Here author does not inform about the name of that noble who poisoned the mind of Aurangzeb and furnish reasons for this act also.

In his praise, author further writes that Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn passed his days in the court of Aurangzeb with honour and respect. After the arrest of Tana Shāh in

\textsuperscript{21}Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 7b.
\textsuperscript{22}Kos/Karoh is distance nearly equal to two miles, Jhon T. Platts, A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English, , Delhi, 1977, p. 830.
\textsuperscript{23}Mir Shāhāb-ud-Dīn Khān, later he was entitled as Ghazi-ud-Dīn Khān Ghalib Jang also seems to have been the man who poisoned Aurangzeb’s mind against his son prince Muhammad Mu’azzam Shāh and caused the latter’s disgrace and imprisonment, Yahya Khān, Tazkīrat-ul-muluk, op. cit., ff. 107b-108b.
\textsuperscript{24}Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 9a.
the 38th R.Y., he was honoured with a mansab. During these vaccinating events, Bahādur Shāh was sent to Kabul with Mu‘izz-ud-Dīn. As per the request of Bahādur Shāh he was appointed as the sūbedār of Multan. In the battle with his uncle ‘Āzam Shāh, he had showed his valour and saved his brother ‘Azim-ush-Shān from the enemies, during this battle, he shot his cousin Bedār Bakhth with an arrow who died on the spot. During the reign of Bahādur Shāh he was considered a Prince next to Prince ‘Azim-ush-Shān. He was always the confident (nadīm) and close (mahram) to his father and knew all the secrets (asrār) of the state. He had great influence in the administrative affairs of the country.

Nūr-ud-Dīn has avoided any detail about the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh. He writes only that Emperor died at Lahore in 1124 A.H./1712 A.D due to palpitation of heart (khafqan). All the four sons who were present there became claimant for the throne; therefore there arose differences among them. There is a very scanty detail about the period of Bahādur Shāh. But this author seems satisfied from his reign. As he quotes;

جوان در عبد خلد منزل بهادر شاه بندگان پادشاه راز کشش و کوشش چندی چندی صورت عافیت دست داد باکرای دینی و د نیوی امیت خود را مصرف گردانیده بود ند.

(During the reign of Bahādur Shāh, people by their self effort were living in some good condition and were busy in making worthwhile worldly as well as life hereafter.)

After the incident, he started writing a very detailed eye witness account for the war of succession among the sons of Bahādur Shāh. He writes that Nawāb Asad Khān Asaf-ud-Daulā who was an important noble, knew that these differences

25 Jawān Dar Nāmā, op. cit., f. 9b.
26 Ibid., f. 10a.
27 Ibid., f. 10a.
29 Jawān Dar Nāmā, op. cit., f. 5b.
30 Asad Khan, the illustrious wazīr of Aurangzeb had served the Empire for three decades. His noble lineage, great family connections, rich administrative experience and elegant taste built up a vast
would result in war and wanted conciliation between the brothers. But Asad Khān failed in his effort due to interferences of other nobles like Afzal Khān, Ghani Khān and Kokaltāsh Khān. Here, writer leaves all the blame on Kokaltāsh Khān and other noble. So Asad Khān apparently showed partiality and favour for Jahāndār Shāh. Muhammad Ahsan Ijad writes, initially Jahāndār Shāh being frightened with ‘Azim-ush-Shān, wanted to flee to Multan. But Zu’lfiqār Khān thought that if he makes Jahāndār Shāh victorious then all power would rest in his hand. So he instigated other three brothers against ‘Azim-ush-Shān for the cause of Jahāndār Shāh.

For the Prince ‘Azim-ush-Shān, he writes about his over confidence and pride that was the prime reasons for his defeat. Due to the Nizāmat of Bengal, Prince ‘Azim-ush-Shān was also prosperous and powerful. After the death of his father, he took possession of all imperial treasures and wealth and did not consider the remaining three other brothers as his equal. Rai Gujar Mal, who was a wise man, made Khajista Akhtar Jahān Shāh lending support to the claim of Jahāndār Shāh. After getting solemn agreement from Zu’lfiqār Khān that after defeating ‘Azim-ush-Shān, Deccan was to be assigned to Jahān Shāh, and Kabul, Kashmir, Lahore and Multan was to be given to Rafī-ush-Shān, remaining part of Hindustan would be

prestige and renown for him. He was wise, dignified and active administrator of the court of Aurangzeb. He supported the cause of ‘Azam Shāh in civil war of 1708. But he was pardoned and appointed on the post of Wakil-i-Mutlaq by Emperor Bahādur Shāh, Shāhnawaz Khān, Ma’āsir-ul-Umarā, op. cit., Vol I, part I, pp. 310-320.

31 The real name was ‘Alī Murād and he was an old favourite of Jahāndār Shāh. He was appointed Mir bakhshi with a mansab of 7000/7000, and the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur, Zafar Jang and Kokaltāsh Khān and he was responsible for the executions after the accession of Jahāndār Shāh. Finally he was killed in the battle of Agra against Farrukh Siyar, Tazkīrat-ul-Mulūk, op. cit., f. 118b.

32 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 10a.

33 Muhammad Ahsan Ijad, Farrukh Siyar Nāma, Rotograph No. 05, C.A.S, Department of History A.M.U, Aligarh, f. 9b.

34 The original name was Muhammad Isma’il and he was the grandson of Asaf Khān Yamin-ud-Dalah. First he was appointed to the rank of 300 in the 11 R.Y of Aurangzeb. He took part in several campaigns in the Deccan and gave proof of his courage and loyalty. Aurangzeb being highly pleased with his military exertions, bestowed on him the title of Zu’lfiqār Khān and the post of Mir bakhshi, Ma’āsir-ul-Umarā, op. cit., Vol II, part I, pp. 93-106.

35 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 11b.

36 Ibid., f. 14b.

37 Ibid., f. 10ab.
governed by Jahāndār Shāh. After going through the proposal, both the brothers got ready to join Jahāndār Shāh’s army.

When this horrible news reached ‘Azim-ush-Shān that the other two brothers by joining Asad Khān wanted to remove him from the world, he planned to bring Rafi-ush-Shān on his side. He sends one of his reliable men to Rafi-ush-Shān and instigated and induced him to give his support against Jahāndār Shāh. When the news of their meetings continually reached Jahāndār Shāh through spies (Jasusan) and the secret writer (khufya nawishan), in the mid night, with two or three of his favourite servants, in a disguise he reached the tent of Zu’lfiqār Khān and informed him about this matter. Writer points here about the important role played by the Zu’lfiqār Khān, which turned the fate of ‘Azim-ush-Shān. On the persuasion of Zu’lfiqār Khān, Rafi-ush-Shān was not ready to help his brother ‘Azim-ush-Shān and wanted to be aloof with other two brothers also. But after the instigation of his special and confident servants, each of whom Zu’lfiqār Khān had made fearful and hopeful that Rafi-ush-Shān resolved to support the other two brothers.

Seeing the unity of his all three brothers, the Prince ‘Azim-ush-Shān sent some of his own men to Husain ‘Alī Khān, who was Nāzim of Bihar as his deputy, asking him to come post-haste with other Jamādārān of Bengal for his help. On the other side, all the three brothers ordered theirs bakshiyan to collect the soldiers and enlist new ones. Rājā Gujar Mal and Jānī Khān were sent to Mahabat Khān and Khān-i-Zamān Khān to seek support against enemy but they were not ready to join any of these groups.

Furthermore, author writes about the speculation of other nobles regarding outcome of this war of succession. When Prince Muhammad Karim with his 7000 sawars and equipments come out with his father ‘Azim-ush-Shān towards Bagh-i-Shalamar, everyone had full confidence that he would win this campaign because he was well equipped with treasure, another materials and top of this, all the imperial nobles joined them except Amīr-ul-Umarā, Zu’lfiqār Khān. Regarding battle, he

38 Ahwāl-ul-Khawāqīn, op. cit., f. 41a.
39 Jahāndār Naṣma, op. cit., f. 11a.
40 Ibid., f. 11a.
41 Ibid., f. 11b, Mahabat Khān and Jānī Khān were two sons of former wazīr late Khān-i-Khānān.
writes very detail account. The battle was started by sudden attack and fierce battle started both opponents had no time to breathe. At first, it seemed that ‘Azim-us-Shān was about to win the war, but Zu’lfiqār Khān instigated and enthused the soldiers to fight bravely. And subsequently, Zu’lfiqār Khān approached Jahān Shāh, to start war, and both Prince Jahān Shāh and Zu’lfiqār Khān fought bravely. In this detailed account, writer has pointed the doubt of Zu’lfiqār Khān on Rafī-ush-Shān as he was appointed at the back (chandawul) in the battle field. ‘Azim-ush-Shān halted his battle for some time in the hope of getting help from Bihar and Bengal. In this short time, Zu’lfiqār Khān encouraged all three brothers to reunite and remain steady fast against ‘Azim-ush-Shān. Finally, ‘Azim-ush-Shān was killed along with several nobles. Jahāndār Shāh with his two other brothers returned victoriously. Author further writes that ‘Azim-ush-Shān’s elephant sank into the depth of the river and could not be saved. His dead body was taken out from the river and was buried.

However, the contemporary writer, Mohammad Qasim Aurangabādī writes in his Ahwal-ul-Khwāqīn that mortal reains of ‘Azim-ush-Shān were taken away by Mirza Rājā Jai Singh to his watan. All the war materials and treasures came into the possession of Jahāndār Shāh.

The writer further gives a detail account of other two younger brothers of Jahāndār Shāh. After the removal of the ‘Azim-ush-Shān, the men of both the brother Jahān Shāh and Rafī-ush-Shān, approached Zu’lfiqār Khān for the division of the country as it was decided earlier. This author does not hesitate to write about the deception of Zu’lfiqār Khān. For him he writes, after defeating ‘Azim-ush-Shān he became so proud that he forgot all the earlier solemn promises. He considered them weak and tried to avoid them. By delaying tactics he wanted to gain time. He believed that both these princes do not have sufficient means to survive for longer time, so they would finish by the time. For defeating Jahān Shāh, Zu’lfiqār Khān began to shuttle between Rafī-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh. One day Zu’lfiqār Khān

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42 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 12b.
43 Ibid., f. 13b.
44 Ibid., f. 24b.
45 ‘Azim-ush-Shān’s remains were send finally to Khujista Buniyad (Aurangabad) by the order of Emperor Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Hādī Kamwar Khān, Tazkirat-us-Salātīn Chaghtā’ī, op. cit., p. 186.
46 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 25b.
went to Jahān Shāh and flattered him, Rustam ‘Alī Khān, who was present during the conversation and had heard the flattering conversation of Zu’lfiqār Khān, he suggested to the Prince Jahān Shāh that Zu’lfiqār Khān should to be killed, because he was mainly responsible for all problems. But the Prince did not give order for this. Jahān Shāh being dissatisfied with Jahāndār Shāh’s behaviour thought, if such things happen on first day, what would future be? Other contemporary writer Yahya Khān says that Jahān Shāh was even ready to satisfy on only one city, still it was denied. Finally, he (Jahān Shāh) ordered his bakhshis to collect soldiers as soon as possible and started the war on eighteenth of Safar 1124 A.H.

Ahsan Ījad writes that to neutralize Rafī-ush-Shān, Jahāndār Shāh sent ten thousand ašharfī for him. Author Nūr-ud-Dīn further writes, in the battle between Jahāndār Shāh and Jahān Shāh great numbers of men from both the sides were killed and Jahān Shāh was about to win but unluckily he was killed with a canon ball of ‘Abdus Samad Khān. The army of Jahān Shāh was routed and Rustam Dil Khān was taken into custody alive. Prince Farkhunda Akhtar was also killed. All the establishments (Kar khanajat) of Jahān Shāh were confiscated and women from his apartment were imprisoned by eunuchs (khwajā sarayan) in the city of Lahore.

For the account of Prince Rafī-ush-Shān, he writes in brief that Rafī-ush-Shān made himself aloof during the battle between Jahān Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh on the promise of getting three suba of Bengal. But after the battle Kokaltāsh Khān clearly denied to give anything to him. Zu’lfiqār Khān also avoided for renewed oath with the

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47 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 26a.
48 Ahwal-ul-Khawqin, op. cit., f. 43b.
49 Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, op. cit., f. 118b.
50 Farrukh Siyar Nāma, op. cit., f. 58b.
51 Tazkirat-us-Salātīn Chaghtā’ī, op. cit., p. 152.
52 Rustam Dil Khān was the grandson of Allah Wardi Khān Shāhjahanī and he was appointed on the post of Mir Tuzuk by Bahādur Shāh. He was appointed to fight against Sikhs and later he joined Prince Jahān Shāh. He attacked on Jahāndār Shāh in the battle of Lahore and after the defeat of his patron Prince, was captured and killed by the order of Jahāndār Shāh, The Later Mughals, op. cit., Vol I, p. 120.
53 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 30a.
offer of *Subedari* of all the three Provinces of Bengal to Rafī-ush-Shāh. The author shows a clear light upon the destitute condition of Rafī-ush-Shāh. Now, the Prince understood clearly that there is no option except fight. He did not have large number of soldiers therefore, he ordered his army to attack at the night as Jahāндār Shāh’s army was tired. But his mischief soldiers were not ready to attack at night. Being helpless he had to wait for morning. In this window of time, one of his noble Fath-ullāh Khān Mughal left his side and met Jahāндār Shāh. Rafī-ush-Shāh with broken heart, fought with Jahāндār Shāh. Finally Rafī-ush-Shāh was also killed along with many nobles and his three sons Mohd Ibrahim, Rafī-ud-Duala and Rafī-ud-Darjat were made prisoners.

For the short reign of Jahāندār Shāh, Nūr-ud-Dīn Fāruqī writes that being satisfied from every side and abolishing all the three brothers, Jahāндār Shāh ascended the throne with a title of Abūl Fatah Mu‘izz-ud-Dīn Jahāндār Shāh on 21st Safar 1124 A.H/30th March 1712 A.D, in Lahore at the age of 52 years. He distributed the important offices among his loyal nobles and they were bestowed with promotions, titles and rewards. Asaf-ud-Daulā Nawāb Asad Khān was appointed on his previous post of wakīl-i-mutlaq. Zu‘lfiqār Khān was made wazīr, Kokaltāsh Khān was appointed on the post of *Mir Bakhtshī* with the title of Khān-i-Jahān. He had worked hard in all three battles for Jahāндār Shāh and expected to get the post of wazīr which was denied, because it was given to Zu’lfiqār Khān. This matter was the main reason for intense rivalry between Zu’lfiqār Khān and Kokaltāsh Khān. It also led to the downfall of Jahāндār Shāh. The post of dīwān-i-tān was given to Ikhlās Khān, Subha Chand was appointed as *Mir munshi* with the title of Rajgi. Hidayat-ullāh got the title of Saad ul allah and post of Khān-i-Samani. Saiyed Raji Khān was appointed as dārogha-i-topkhāna. Hafiz Khān, Khwāa Husain Yazna (sister’s husband) of Kokaltāsh Khān, Muhammad Mah, Rayman, Bahrumand Khān and Raza Qūlī Khān were also promoted too.

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54 *Ibid.*, f. 30b, there was an written agreement between Rafī-ush-Shāh and Jahāндār Shāh that after defeating Jahān Shāh, Jahāндār Shāh would offer three provinces of Bengal in compensation of not supporting Jahān Shāh.

55 Mirza Muhammad bin Mu’tamīd Khān, ‘Ibrat Nāma, op. cit., f. 10b.

56 *Muntakhab-ul-lubab*, op. cit., p. 690.

57 *Jahāндār Nāma*, op. cit., f. 34b.

Mukhlis Khān, Afzal Khān and Rustam Dil Khān were executed and it was suspected that they had instigated other princes against Jahāndār Shāh. The author does not provide any detail about the cause of their executions. Lutf-ullāh Khān Sadiq son of Sa‘ād-ullāh Khān, who was a Jahān Shāhi noble was pardoned and appointed as diwān of Prince ‘Azzi-ud-Dīn. Other nobles such as Mahabat Khān Son of Khān-i-Khāna, Hamid-ud-Dīn Khān, Sarfaraz Khān, Ihtimam Khān, Amin-ud-Dīn Khān including their relatives were all imprisoned and their properties were confiscated.

After distribution of post, promotion and rewards, Jahāndār Shāh decided to leave Lahore for Darulkhilāfat (Delhi). In this compilation, author has also written details about Lal Kunwar and her interferences in the politics of that period. But he has not written anything about his early life and her ancestors. He writes that Lal Kunwar was honoured with the title of Imtiyaz Mahal. She sat near the throne formerly used by ‘Ālamgīr and below her stood the nobles. She got immense cash and jewellery from treasure whose value was more than 15 crores. Her relatives were too given mansab of 4,000 and 5000, and naubat wa naqqāra (drum). His brothers were given the titles of Niamat Khān and Namdar Khān and they were also rewarded with cash, elephant, horses, costly khilāt (a robe of honour) and jewels. Subedāri of Multan was also chosen to be given to Ni‘āmat Khān. But this decision of Emperor was not appreciated by wazīr Zu‘lfiqār Khān. In this account, author describes an event related to Zu‘lfiqār Khān and Lal Kunwar. Once Zu‘lfiqār Khān, demanded a bribe of ten thousand drums (dhol) and five thousand playing instrument (tumbūr) for issuing the sanad. When this matter got delayed, Lal Kunwar brought that matter in the knowledge of Emperor. Jahāndār Shāh asked Zu‘lfiqār Khān about the delay in issuing the farmān and asanad. Zu‘lfiqār Khān replied that he is on the habit of taking bribe and hence demanded one thousand drums of fine quality from

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59Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 36a.
61Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 37b.
Kalāwantān⁶². Khāfī Khān has given full detail about this event and writes that Jahāndār Shāh further asked about the use of drums for Zu’lfiqār Khān, he replied that if Kalāwantān would do our business then these nobles must follow their professions. Emperor Jahāndār Shāh smiled on his reply and cancelled the appointment⁶³.

The author comments that the above mentioned Kalāwantān, tying royal jewellery on their hands, arms and drums, used to make loud noise in madness. They used to affect common people owing to their pride and arrogance. Every night a few thousand Kalāwantān reached at the Emperor’s court, in state of intoxication and nakedness and they danced. Some time on the hint of Lal Kunwar, they slapped on the head of the Emperor, with a loud voice Break, Break (bshikan-bshikan).⁶⁴

In this account, author has expressed his distress as ‘Emperor Jahāndār Shāh had witnessed the royalty of his forefathers yet he had forgotten everything for Lal Kunwar’. He tolerated the misbehaviour and insolence of those dishonorable but did not open his mouth to stop them. Moreover, he pleased them⁶⁵. After the end of the assembly, forgetting the decorum of being Emperor, playing with the Kalāwantān he come upto the door of the tent and with many new rewards he made everyone of them wealthy⁶⁶. The author of Taẓkīrat-ul-Mulk Yahya Khān also writes that Emperor Jahāndār Shāh had imprisoned his two younger sons Izz-ud-Daulā and Mu’izz-ud-Daulā, only to please Lal Kunwar⁶⁷. Further Nūr-ud-Dīn writes about the influences of these Kalāwantān. For example during those days, Sarbuland Khān⁶⁸ ‘Azim-ush-Shāhi noble, came to the court and got an audience through the Kalāwantān. Sarbuland Khān was appointed on the post sūbedārī of Gujarat through Ni’āmat Khān

⁶²Kalāwantān were the mainly male members of the professional singer class. The women sing and dance and man play accompaniments, The Later Mughals, op. cit., Vol, II, p. 193.
⁶⁴Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 38a.
⁶⁵It was good time for minstrels and singers and all fine tribe of dancers and actors, Muntakhab-ul-lubāb, op. cit., p. 689.
⁶⁶Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 38b.
⁶⁷Taẓkīrat-ul-Mulk, op. cit., f. 119b.
⁶⁸His original name was Muhammad Rafī and belonged to Thun in Persia. He had married the sister of Prince ‘Azim-ush-Shān’s wife. He was appointed governor of Allahabad on 16 June 1714, and replaced Mir Jumla as governor of Bihar on 11 November 1715, replaced Khān Bangash as Governor of Allahabad for the second time in May, 1735. He died in January 1742, Ma’āsir-ul-Umarā, op. cit., Vol III, part IInd, pp. 801-806.
the brother of Lal Kunwar. The author writes that after his accession to the throne she was raised to the status of a queen and even allowed to display an imperial standard and march with drum beating as if she was the Emperor in person. Five hundred gentlemen troopers (ahadi) followed in her train. She was the constant companion of the Emperor and as such enjoyed considerable influence over him. But the author has not mentioned the hostility of Lal Kunwar and Zu’lfiqār Khān. The reasons of hostility might be her influences, which reacted adversely on the prestige as well as the income of the wazīr.

Emperor Jahāndār Shāh was welcomed by Asaf-ud-Daulā Asad Khān and Muhammad Yār Khān in Delhi. The havelīs of Mahabat Khān and ‘Alī Mardān Khān were allotted to the Kalāwantān. The author comments, all the people of far and near places indulged themselves in enjoyment. There was not good event except music and dance. Over here, writer tries to give a glimpse of the misery of lower class people of the society. Common people were suffered the loss of life and property at the hand of Kalāwantān. No one helped them. The ban on the unlawfulness according to Shari’at had completely disappeared. From the Emperor to the soldiers and from the faqīr to the wazīr all indulged in prohibition of Shari’at. Gradually, the respect and the fright of the King disappeared from the hearts of small (sagheer) and the great (kabeer).

Like the king of the chess (Shāh-i-satranj), the Emperor was busy in amusements in the hands of Kalāwantān. Majority of people were suffering from poverty and distress. Although Lal Kunwar was one of the powerful ladies of her time, the author is silent about her role in politics and avoids comparison with Nūr Jahān or Mumtāz Mahal. NūrudDīn nowhere mention that any coin was issued in her name as well. It seems that her influence was limited to Emperor and mainly non political affairs. Over all this author mentions about the reaction of common people for the acceptance of such despised professional class to the elevation of high mansabs.

In such situation, suddenly spies brought the news that Muhammad Farrukh

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69 Mohd Yar Khān was a Qilādār of fort of Delhi, Jahāndār Naāma, op. cit., f. 38b.
70 Ibid., f. 9b.
Siyar son of ‘Azim-ush-Shān has arrived at Bihar from Bengal and was busy in recruiting soldiers and winning over the people for acquiring throne. Now everyone regained their senses from carelessness and arrogance and they tried to think for solution. But at this moment, everything was already out of control. For the fate of Jahāndār Shāh Nūrur-ud-Dīn quotes a beautiful verse;

دریي حذیقہ تہار و خشاى ہن اغوش
سهاى جام تذست و جٌاسٍ تزدوش است
(This world entails autumn and spring in parallel, Like walking with cup of wine in hand and funeral on shoulder)

For the accession of Farruṣh Siyar, author writes, when ‘Azim-ush-Shān was fighting against his three brothers, Farruṣh Siyar was in ‘Azimābād. Hearing the death of his father, on the advice of some Mashāikh and astrologers (munajjiman) he issued the coins and ordered for khutba and he ascended the throne in Patna. With the help of Saiyids brothers he collected an army and also won over many nobles like Saiyid Husain ‘Alī Khān, Ahmad Beg, Khwajā Asim, Khwajā Fakhr-ud-Dīn and Mir Ishaq.

For the preparation of the battle against Farruṣh Siyar, Nūr-ud-Dīn writes that the news of the rise of Farruṣh Siyar reached the Emperor and nobles of court continuously; they tried to seek advice of each other. But due to the enmity between the wazīr and Mir bakhshe they opposed each other’s advice and plan. None of these nobles were ready to undertake this responsibility, it was finally decided that the Prince ‘Aziz-ud-Dīn, had to be sent with Khwajā Husain and Rājā Gopal Singh Bhadoriya with a large army. Amīr-ul-Umarā Zu’lfiqār Khān did not want that all charge should be given to Khwāja Husain. The author tries to indicate that real problem of Emperor Jahāndār Shāh was the disunity among nobles. Yahya Khān writes that, hearing about Aziz ud Dīn, Farruṣh Siyar was not ready to fight. It was...
Mir Ahmad\textsuperscript{77} and Khwajā Asim\textsuperscript{78} who advised Farrukh Siyar to fight. A fierce battle was fought at Khajwa. But during the war the Prince ‘Aziz-ud-Dīn was instigated to flee by Khwajā Husain\textsuperscript{79}. At first he was not ready to flee but due to instigation of Khwajā Husain, he ran away to Akbarābād\textsuperscript{80}. Consequently the Prince and his belongings were looted and plundered. Much of the war plunder fell into the hands of Farrukh Siyar. Thus, Farrukh Siyar collected an army contingent of around forty thousand and began to await the arrival of Jahāndār Shāh\textsuperscript{81}.

Author further writes about the reaction of the Emperor Jahāndār Shāh. When, the news of the defeat of Prince ‘Aziz-ud-Dīn reached the Emperor and imperial nobles, how did they become impatient? Afterward, they began to distribute wealth among the old and new soldiers to keep them to his side. They tried to collect soldiers and enough war materials. According to the auspicious time fixed by the astrologers, Jahāndār Shāh with a large army, pomp and show marched towards Agra. As author mention here that he was also present in this battle. Both the army reached near Sikandarā and a fierce battle was fought. Some of the famous nobles and soldiers on both the sides were killed and wounded\textsuperscript{82}.

In this account, he has mentioned about the Jāt Churaman. Author writes that he (Jat Churaman) was also present in that battle, raided the back (chandawul) of the imperial army and drove away many elephants. In this critical moment, elephant of Jahāndār Shāh got hurt by an arrow in his eyes and became restless. Seeing this situation, Lal Kunwar took him in his own canopied litter (immāri) and fled away to

\textsuperscript{77}Mir Ahmad was the foster brother of Jahāndār Shāh, being disappointed with his behaviour, he joined Farrukh Siyar. During his reign, he was entitled with Ghazi-ud-Dīn Khān Ghālib Jang and was promoted to the mansab of 7000/7000 and on the post of dārogha-i-topkāna. Later Amin-ud-Dīn Khān Sambhalī tried in vain to wean him away on imperialist side in the battle of Hasanpur but he stuck to his resolve to side with Saiyid ‘Abdullah Khān, and fought for Sultan Ibrahīm, \textit{Tazkīrat-ul-Mulūk}, op. cit., f. 122b.

\textsuperscript{78}Khwajā Asim was the son of Hāsim, who originally belonged to Badakhshān. His grandfather came to India and settled down in the Punjab. His father enrolled as wālā Shāhi of ‘Azim-ush-Shān. Subsequently the family shifted to Agra. He acquired a great name in the time of Farrukh Siyar. Muzaffar Khān was also his real brother who called himself the mujtahid of the age and was suspected of Shi‘ah tendencies, \textit{Tazkīrat-ul-Mulūk}, op. cit., f. 122b.

\textsuperscript{79}Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 47b.

\textsuperscript{80}Farrukh Siyar Nāma, op. cit., f. 58b.

\textsuperscript{81}Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 49b.

\textsuperscript{82}\textit{Ibid.}, ff. 49b-55a.
Agra\textsuperscript{83}. This created disorder and confusion in the imperial army; in result many Jahāndār Shāhī soldiers were killed. Zu’lfiqār Khān appointed men to locate the position of Jahāndār Shāh and his son, Aziz-ud-Dīn, so that he could be able to re attack enemy. But after a lot of search, no trace of them was found out. Finally, Zu’lfiqār Khān also took flight for Agra. During this battle many famous Jahāndār Shāhī nobles like Jani Khān, Mukhtar Khān Razā Quli Khān, Islām Khān, Murtuza Khān lost their lives\textsuperscript{84}. On their bad luck he quotes;

\textit{کہ افتاد شان مرگ پے انتیار
میسر نشداًدن جان زدست} \textsuperscript{85} (When the time of braves turned ill they died even without sufficient cause, When luck turned hard they could not even commit suicide.)

After the defeat of Jahāndār Shāh, Nūr-ud-Dīn further writes about his last hope of getting help from Nawāb Asad Khān. Jahāndār Shāh in ruined conditions and lot of sorrow accompanied with females reached Agra and after that Delhi. He left Lal Kunwar to Muhammad Māh’s house\textsuperscript{86} and walked to Nawāb Asad Khān Asaf-ud-Daulā and requested to him for his help\textsuperscript{87}. The Nawāb after consoling and comforting confined him into the fort of Arak. In the mean time, the farmāns of Farrukh Siyar reached for Asaf-ud-Daulā and Ahl-ul-Allah Khān\textsuperscript{88} that Jahāndār Shāh has been defeated at the battle field and has reached Delhi. If he reaches there, he has to be taken into custody. So Jahāndār Shāh was imprisoned in the Tirpoliya\textsuperscript{89}. About the end of the his short reign Nūr-ud-Dīn quotes;

\textit{جبان ای ملک جاوید نیست
زندیاً وفاداری امید نیست}

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., f. 58a.
\textsuperscript{84} Jahāndār Naāma, op. cit., ff. 56a- 58b.
\textsuperscript{85}Ibrat Nāma, op. cit., f. 59b.
\textsuperscript{86} Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 17a.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., f. 60a.
\textsuperscript{88} Ahl-ul-Allah Khān was Qilādār of red fort, Tazkirat-us-Salātīn Chaghtā’ī, op. cit., p. 166.
\textsuperscript{89}Tirpoliya was a name of cell of three gates within fortress. It was bare, dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, pot of water for ablution and a vessel with some drinking water. It was a place to which malefactors as prisoners were kept. Kamwar Khān writes that this cell was destroyed in 4 R.Y. by the order of Muhammad Shāh, Tazkirat-us-Salātīn Chaghtā’ī, op. cit., p. 351.

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The people should not trust on realism of temporary world. Have you not aware about throne of Sulaiman (كوفه سلواى علیہ السلام) which used to float in air morning and evening, shattered at last. It is glad tidings for them who spend his life consciously and reached justice.

The author did not give any further details for the end of Jahāndār Shāh, he only says that Jahāndār Shāh suffered what he had to suffer at the hands of Lachin Beg Qalmaq (as dast e Lachin Beg Qalmaq anchah guzashti bud bar saras guzashat). It seems that this author was not present there so he has avoided furnishing for any details about the murder of Jahāndār Shāh. It is also said, Mahzar was issued recording the charges against Jahāndār Shāh. It was settled that he should be executed.

The writer does not stop this account with end of Jahāndār Shāh, he also covers about the end of Zu’lfiqār Khān. Zu’lfiqār Khān could not meet Jahāndār Shāh at Agra because he had already left for Delhi. First he intended to go to Deccan and take along with him Daud Khān Panni and his other supporters, who were in a good condition, would fight again. But he also thought it is not considered good to fight with Emperor Farruṣiṣir without support of tura. So he went to Delhi and consulted his father. Asad Khān was an old and experienced man who had seen many ups and downs of time. He cautioned his son and suggested not to fight without sufficient war materials. As it would cause only bloodshed, ruin of people and not good result would come out. Whosoever from the race of ʻĀlamgīr wore the Crown on his head, it was compulsory for hereditary loyal servants to pay their respects. In

90 ‘Ibrat Nāma, op. cit., f. 61b.
91 Lachin Beg got the title of Bahādur Dil Khān during the reign of Farruṣiṣir Siyar. He was leaders of Mughals and was also popularly his nicknamed tasmah kash (strangler), The Later Mughals, op. cit., Vol IInd, pp. 331-332.
92 Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 60b.
93 Cf, a wakil report Addressed to Maharaja Rājā Jai Singh Sawai, dated Phālgun Sudi 2, 1769/16 March 1713, by Jag Jivan Dās, op. cit., Calendar no 48, p. 95.
94 A law instituted by Changez Khān that was sacredly observed by Mughals in their parties, their festival, and courts etiquettes, Khān Iqtidar Alam, The Turko Mangol theory of kingship, p. 14.

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short, he checked his son and suggested him to wait till the arrival of Emperor Farrukh Siyar\textsuperscript{95}.

At the end of the account of Jahāndār Nāma, the author writes that Saiyid ‘Abdullah Khān had reached Delhi for the arrangement of fort of Arak five to six days earlier to Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Nawāb sent a message of console Asad Khān about his hereditary benevolence (\textit{khair khwāhī}) to the family of Tīmūr and his closeness (\textit{qarābat}) to the sons and descendents of ‘Ālamgīr, which was well known. If he present before the Emperor through him, there would be no reduction in his \textit{mansab} and honour. But Zu’lfiqār Khān was not ready due to his high self respects. In the mean time, news of arrival of Emperor Farrukh Siyar reached them through \textit{qāzī} ‘Abdul Turānī,\textsuperscript{96} the father and son went to visit to Emperor near Barapula.\textsuperscript{97}

Simultaneously, Emperor Farrukh Siyar also took advice from his nobles for the matter of Zu’lfiqār Khān and Jahāndār Shāh. Saiyed ‘Abdullah Khān and Lachin Beg suggested executing them\textsuperscript{98}, however, Asad Khān was shown favour and was allowed to go. Finally verdict pronounced as per the suggestion of Saiyed ‘Abdullah and Lachin Beg, and Zu’lfiqār Khān was taken into custody for the allegation that he was responsible for the murder of ‘Azim-ush-Shāh and his son Muhammad Karīm. Because of his high self respect, he used foul words for Farrukh Siyar and finally he was executed by Farrukh Shāhī nobles. The author does not write about planning of these executions and also fails to say about the order of putting to death. It is not apparent whether this deed was solely the intention of Emperor or he was instigated by other nobles\textsuperscript{99}.

This work has also some shortcomings like, author was not certain about dates. The author did not write much about the execution of Emperor Jahāndār Shāh and its dates. It is a very brief account which deals only with the politics of that

\textsuperscript{95}Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 60b.
\textsuperscript{96}He was earlier appointed on the post of Qazi in sūba Bengal, later he got a \textit{mansab} of 7000/7000 with title of Mir Jumla Bahādur by Emperor Farrukh Siyar, Shiv Das, \textit{Shāhnāma}, op. cit., f. 2b.
\textsuperscript{97}Barpula is around four miles south of Delhi Gate of modern city, \textit{The Later Mughals}, op. cit., Vol Ist, p. 247.
\textsuperscript{98}\textit{Tażkīrat-ul-Mulūk}, op. cit., f. 122a
\textsuperscript{99}Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 6’1a.
period. The author has simply narrated those events, which he had seen. For the other information, he has not given any detail references. This author nowhere mentions the name of person from whom he heard about the incidents. He has also not provided any description about Emperor’s relation with other subedār of any provinces. He centered his account upto the imperial personalities only. For the details of Kalāwantān he seems to have used some exaggerations. Although he was present in the battle of Jaju but he has not provided any detail of the battle. He has avoided citing about Bahādur Shāh’s reign. It seems that he might be aware that written material already exists for Bahādur Shāh’s reign.

Inspit of the writing of this work in Farrukh Siyar’s reign, he simply avoided to give any detail for the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. He writes only about the bad scenario in which he has completed his writing. He seems not happy with the reign of Farrukh Siyar and his account seems exaggeration as well. He quotes;

 محمد فزخ سیز در سال یک‌هار ویکصذ وتست وچہارہٌگاهہ ارای ہای تسیار تادضاٍ
ضذ تا ہفت سال سکہ وًوتت ًواخت ودر سلطٌت خود گاھے روی راحت ندید از
سادات بکچدار و مریز گدشار نید انجام بذلت خفت وبسر آمد و بخاک خفت و جبان
راپشوش بگذاشت ًتا این وقت جای ان و عافیت بنظر نمی آید بر کس برحال خود
گرفتار است۔

(After period of long havoc, in 1124 A.H, Farrukh Siyar became Emperor and ruled for seven years. During his reign, there was no peace and there remained continued dispute and tussle between him and Sa‘ādat. At the end he met confinement and was killed disgracefully and left this world in hardship. Even from very beginning of his reign, common people were not very happy and faced several problems continuously till now (upto end of his reign).

His whole work mainly moves around battle field, arms and soldiers only and it does not refer much about social cultural, economic conditions of the time or even of any ruler’s interest in social and cultural activities. Religious belief of Emperor also do not find place in this work. It appears that he prepared his mind and geared his style to deal with military situation only. It also seems that he was least interested in the working of the administrative institutions and has not explained anything

\[100\] Jahāndār Nāma, op. cit., f. 5b.
properly but only through indirect orientation some related information can be inferred. He also does not appear accurate in writing the date of the period. In his introduction he says that he is writing this account in 1128 A.H after the thirteen year of the death of Aurangzeb. That date seems wrong as thirteenth year after Aurangzeb’s death which comes to (1118+13=1132 A.H). The internal evidence of this work also shows that this work is written somewhere around 1132 A.H/ 1719 A.D.

The importance of Jahāndār Nama lay in the fact that it is the first eyewitness contemporary account and the later historians gathered information for the short reign of Jahāndār Shāh from this work. The author did not cover the whole field but confined himself only those facts about which he was aware. The account of nobility seems selective in nature, but whatever is written is based on his personal observation. He has written for his own delight without getting any favours from nobles and Emperor. However, it is not a comprehensive account, but seems unbiased for any particular group of the court nobles. He also writes that he had worked hard from the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh to the murder of Prince Rafī-ush-Shāh but he did not find any favour from Jahāndār Shāh. Although, he was not satisfied with the reign of Emperor Jahāndār Shāh, but writes that people were living in better condition in comparison to the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Other important of this work is that he covers the period which is generally ignored by other contemporary writers. This source is also important for making the list of those nobles who participated in wars of succession. It appears that he prepared his work largely on the basis of reminiscence; however his information is correct and corroborated by other sources.

Despite these shortcomings, conclusively we can say this work contains eyewitness details of the wars of succession among the four sons of Bahādur Shāh and between Emperor Jahāndār Shāh and his nephew Farrukh Siyar. Other details like his early life, his short reign, negligence as Emperor, influence of Kalāwantān, conflicts among the nobles are also written. Being not a great scholar, author has written in plain and unvarnished colloquial Persian. In between the text the author has also shown the social and economic condition of the common people. Nevertheless, this is also the only source that deals exclusively with the short reign of Jahāndār Shāh.