NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. f. 1. The author, following the tradition of the medieval muslim historiographers started his work with a Quranic verse ‘bismillah’ invoking the Almighty to help him for the successful completion of his work.

2. f. 2. Lines 12-15 are incomplete in the British Museum text.

3. f. 3. This page has only 10 lines in the British Museum text.

4. f. 4. Refers to Prophet Muhammad who is Lord of the universe and he is the last Prophet and is the leader of all the times.

5. f. 4. Reference is to the Muhammad’s supposed journey to the heaven.

6. f. 4. The follower of the religious cult or creed.

7. f. 5. Sadiq: Surname of Caliph Abu Bakr.

8. f. 6. Prayers, blessings.


10. f. 7. The author describes himself as a confirmed ‘Sunni’.

11. f. 8. This means royal titles prefixed to letters. The author had received the letter from the Imperial Majesty about the completion of the book on Sultan Murad’s
conquest of Balkh and Badakshan. This indicates his intimacy with the Imperial Majesty. The letter puts a seal on his claim to be an historian.

12. f. 9. This sealed his determination to take up another assignment in history.

13. f. 9. As an historian he was not interested in describing old tales on “Ruatam and Asfandyar”. With the passage of time the people too have lost interest in these legends. Old military tactics and strategies have lost their charms too.

14. f. 11. Throwing light on why he took up this assignment, he writes that the Sikhs had subdued the entire area right to the foot of the mountains upto Jammu. Isa Khan Munj too had started oppressing a large number of zamindars in the Doaba region. The Afghans of Kasoor under Hussain Khan and a handful of Kashmiri fanatics had set ablaze a country with communal disturbances in Kashmir. Abdus Samad Khan succeeded in suppressing all these revolts, and was welcomed by the people wherever he went.

15. f. 12. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the Nawab’s victories which encouraged him to put on record all these events.

16. f. 12. He appeals to the scholars and other readers to correct whatever mistakes he might have committed while writing this treatise and should not keep mum over them. (Ghulam Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or.1870, London.)

17. f. 14. Date of composition of the *Fuhutat-Namah-i-Samadi*.

19. f. 15. After Guru Gobind Singh’s expulsion from Anandpur Sahib by Wazir Khan, he proceeded towards the Deccan to meet Bahadur Shah.

20. f. 15. Reference to Guru Gobind Singh’s death by a soldier.

21. f. 15. According to the author Guru Banda succeeded in gathering around himself Sikhs in large number with jugglery, charm and sorcery. Khafi Khan also supports this view. Banda succeeded no doubt in winning the loyalty of the Sikhs but the author and Kafi Khan both were ignorant of the basic tenets of Sikhism, which outrightly rejected jugglery etc. (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.651.)


23. f. 16. According to Dr. Ganda Singh, Banda introduced a new war cry ‘fatehdarsan’ was only a slogan to shout Waheguru ji ka Khalsa, Waheguru ji ki Fateh as ‘Nahra-i-Takbir’ is the slogan for the Muslim war cry ‘Allah-ho-Akbar’.
(Ganda Singh. *Life of Banda Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1990, p71.)

24. f. 18. The author’s statement about the merciless killing of the Sayyads and the Shaikhs with great tortures was a reprisal for the torturous death of Guru Gobind Singh’s minor sons who were bricked alive by Wazir Khan.


26. f. 18. The reference indicates that the author was very keen to put on record what was done by Banda. He throws light on Banda’s steps for giving the territories conquered by him a sound system of administration. The territory was carved out
by him into provinces. Each province was placed under the charge of an administrator who commanded Banda’s trust and reverence for his intelligence, power and popularity.

27. f. 19. Banda took vigorous steps to ensure the safety and security of the highways and bridges and stationed troops to guard these.

28. f. 19. The author deserves a credit in introducing absolutely new information on Banda’s farsight in establishing a ‘Sutun-i-Jung’ at Thanesar, the gateway of India. It was a huge wooden pillar made of strong wood which the author reports that it was called a ‘Khumba’. The word Khumba has a great significance in the social and political life of the Punjab. It denotes a dividing line between two persons or two States. The author further confirms the above view by remarking that the Khumba indicated warning to any assailant from the north on Banda’s new State.

29. f. 20. Erecting this ‘Sutun-i-Jang’ establishing a new State gave such a vivid publicity to Banda that groups and groups of Sikhs from various parts converged on the Punjab either by the beat of drum or stealthily.

30. f. 20. Banda and his followers had consolidated their power in the State to such an extent that the Sayyads and the other genteels of Samana who made stupendous efforts to fight against the Sikhs, failed miserably to stem the tide of the Sikhs. The author gives us a penetrating criticism of their helplessness and the superiority and control of the Sikhs. He writes, a human hand is no match for the calamity from heavens that the Sikh were.
31. f. 21. The author’s poem given on this page analyses the character of the Sikhs discussing the following points. Reference to the rapid increase in their number from Lahore to Delhi; the Sikhs’ insistence on keeping unshorn hair; their pride which the new State instilled in them; that they were a calamity on earth for the Mughals.


33. ff. 23-24. Reference on these two pages is to the Mughal attack on ‘Chak Guru’ (The Golden Temple, Amritsar). This was the first time that the Golden Temple was attacked by the Mughal army. Any reference to this attack is not mentioned anywhere else. We find it in the *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*.

34. ff. 24-28. Scholars are invited to read the pages to find how Aslam, the Deputy Nawab at Lahore, was instigated by some die-hard fanatics to lead a military campaign against Banda and his followers whose repeated assaults on the heart of Lahore had caused consternation in the minds of the Lahore residents. What happened to this adventure against the Sikhs and what was the ultimate outcome of the overall situation is given. (Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1990, p141.)

35. f. 28. The author calls the Hindus of Lahore who supported Aslam Khan the Deputy Nawab, ‘Hunudan-a-Ita ‘at rahin’.

36. f. 28. Date of the Lahore campaign is given in chronogram.
ff. 29-31. The author gives a description of Lahore in these three pages. He touches upon the following issues. Lahore a centre of knowledge and justice, Shariat, Tariqat, Fiqah. Philosophy, Saints, Buildings. Sub urbs, Gardens resembling Bag-i-Irm.

f. 32. Bahadur Shah’s march upon the Punjab and Banda’s confrontation with the Mughal forces on the battlefield of Thanesar opposite the ‘Sutun-i- Jung’.

f. 33. On seeing the number and splendor of the Mughal forces the Sikhs preferred to slip away from the battlefield along with Banda.

f. 35. Here is an interesting reference to the Sikhs’ conflict with the Hindu Rajas in the hills. The Sikhs had managed to creep into the mountains and occupied positions on the top of the hills. When the Hindu Rajas tried to dislodge them from their occupied areas the Sikhs defeated them by throwing stones and boulders on them forcing them to flee in humiliation.

f. 36. On Bahadur Shah’s death in 1123 Hijri, a fratricidal struggle among his four sons commenced. Three princes were killed thereby paving the way for the rise of the fourth, Ma’zzudin Jahandar Shah to power. (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.683.)

ff. 38-40. The author invites our attention to Jahandar Shah’s death within only eleven months due to his love for life of ease and pleasure with his beloved Lal Kanwar to the utter disregard of his responsibilities as a ruler. (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.688.)

f. 39. Referred to Farrukhsiyar’s assumption of power in Shahjahanabad with the help of the Sadat-i-Barah.
ff. 39-40. Chronogram on Farrukhsiyar’s assumption of power.

f. 42. The reference is to the impact of the fratricidal war, among the four sons of Bahadur Shah on the Sikhs who were always keen to exploit such situations to their benefit. They spread their tentacles over a vast area on the fort of the mountains.

f. 42. The author refers to the Sikhs who were adamant on destroying the Mughal defences called the ‘Sad-i-Sikandri’ along with dismanteling the ‘Rob-i-Sultani’ i.e. the terror of the Mughal sovereignty from the minds of the people.

f. 43. Reference is to the tenth master Guru Gobind Singh. It was built on a hard soil raised above the ordinary level with small fortress strengthened by building towers, walls, tombs and a trench around it.

f. 44. This page refers to the appointment of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan as Governor of Lahore to wipe out what the Mughals called the Sikh movement a ‘mada-i-ghaliz’ which means filthy element which had overtaken the entire land in the State.

f. 45. According to the author the Nawab Abdus Samad Khan’s appointment as Subadar of Lahore was a product of conspiracy in the Sadat’s ranks for keeping the Nawab away from the Imperial Court lest he should at any attempt to jeopardize the unity and security of their party in the capital. The author further makes it explicit that the Nawab was perhaps not aware of this personally but the author was in no doubt about it.

f. 46. The Sadat leader Abdullah projected the Nawab’s appointment at Lahore as a safety measure for exterminating the Sikh movement which was increasingly
becoming more and more dangerous for the State. At heart Abdullah considered this proposal of the Nawab going to Lahore as a God-sent blessing which would protect his party from any danger from the Turani party to which the Nawab belonged.

51. f. 46. The author has further related how the intensity of the Sikh movement had sent shivers in the Mughals.

52. f. 48. The author has referred to the appointment of more than twenty selected members of the central nobility who were deputed to accompany Nawab Abdus Samad Khan to Lahore.

53. f. 51. The Mughals had introduced a law in the army called ‘Qanun-i-Hashmat’. The purpose was to over-awe the ranks and file of the adversary and consequently to make them lose their balance of mind. The entire army was to fall in lines and proceed in a large procession with all the wings of the army including artillery, camels, soldiers, weapons and equipments. But this law according to the author, had lapsed long age and the Nawab reintroduced it for making the Sikhs lose their balance at its mere sight and surrender without giving any more trouble to the Mughals.

54. ff. 51-55. The author has described in detail the exhibits of the various wings of their army. The Nawab organized every wing with a great pomp and show. Those interested in details are invited to read the text on the pages given.

55. f. 57. ‘Roz-i-Bazar’ was a site for elaborate purpose. All sorts of provisions for life were made available not only to the soldiers but also to the common man too. All the people were welcome to such market in order to impress upon the people
the peace and prosperity, glory and splendor, wealth and riches, artisans and artists, dress and clothes, weapons, gunpowder, animals such as camels, horses, donkeys, mules etc. All the transactions were made through gold. The kotwals were especially ordered to ensure the security of all this.

56. f. 57-58. Banda and his followers were not impressed. So confident they were that they ignored all the pomp and show of the procession. They did not put a stop to their activities and continued to indulge in loot and plunder to replenish their resources with men, money, food and fodder, guns and magazines.

57. f. 58. One finds an adjective ‘Khabis’ for Baj Singh whereas no such ill-will was expressed earlier for any Sikh because Baj Singh had spread virtually a terror in the Mughals. He was well-known in the Mughal ranks for his courage, valour and intensity of purpose in fighting. On this occasion too Baj Singh showed remarkable audacity to prevent their advance in the march against the Sikhs. More surprising are the Nawab’s efforts to station his forces on the right, centre, wings, harawal and chandawal. Zakariya Khan had also become leader of the Harawal Dasta.

58. f. 59. The author explains with a great satisfaction. The heavy bombardment from the artillery did not allow the Sikhs to take even a single step ahead.

59. f. 60. Another reference to Baj Singh’s valour is also pertinent. Though dismayed at the large-scale death of his companions on firing from the artillery Baj Singh ventured to make a sudden upon the Mughal forces. Again he suffered a huge loss of men.
60. f. 60. The Sikhs used the dead bodies of the killed as shields against the heavy bombardment from artillery. Death still started them in the face but they were convinced that death on the battlefield bestowed upon them an ever-lasting life. The author was a Mughal and employed under the Mughal bureaucracy. Such words from him were pertinent. He himself was also so carried away by their courage, valour and bravery that to attribute to them the thought of a flight from the battlefield never even occurred to him.

61. f. 67. According to the author, the Nawab was a man of courage and generosity. He was always engaged either in military expeditions or rendering such services which benefited ‘millat-i-Islam’.

62. ff. 68-69. The author has clear reports of what the Sikhs were doing inside the Lohgarh fort. He found them engaged in strengthening their defences. Skilled workmen were occupied giving symmetry to the structure, constructing towers, walls and morchals. Besides, a deep trench was also dug out around the fort. They possessed only such artillery as they snatched from those whom they vanquished but lacked heavy artillery. Of course they were compensated by the wooden guns they themselves constructed from trees.

63. f. 70. Finding themselves vulnerable, the Sikhs preferred to desert the fortress.

64. f. 67. The author noticed how the Mughal forced besieged the fugitive Sikhs. This led to a fight with small weapons and swords.

65. f. 71. The author again testifies to the large-scale massacre of the fugitive Sikhs.

66. f. 72. The author gives further detail of events in these two passages.

67. f. 72. Orders were issued for the arrest of Banda alive.
68. f. 73. Banda accompanied by Baj Singh and a few other companions slipped away in disguise from the most difficult situation.

69. ff. 75-76. The Mughal baildars and others demolished the fortress and the ‘mal-iganimat’ was distributed amongst those who had participated in the demolition process.

70. f. 76. The Nawab attended to the systematizing and strengthening the political and revenue administration of the captured territory.

71. f. 78. Arif Khan was appointed Naib Subadar of Lahore.

72. f. 81. The author is a seasoned historian. Occupation of Lohgarh gave him an opportunity to philosophise on the entire administrative system and to introduce reforms. This according to him could be achieved in the State which was fortunate enough to re-establish the terror of the sovereign power with its bounds. He thought that without this much terror in the minds of the people nothing could be achieved by introducing reforms in the system. Keeping this in view the Nawab deputed trustworthy, talented and experienced officers, conversant with political and economic affairs. Their first essential duty was making the people return to their homes, trusting that the government would give them safety and security. Similarly security of the highways and bridges was also ensured. The travellers lost the fear of being plundered.

73. f. 83. The author expressed his faith in the administrative system of zamindars who looked after their respective territories and implemented the royal order and prohibitions faithfully.
The author found the situation in the desert areas quite different. Revenue defaulters often took shelters in the far away desert areas. The rich were haughty and arrogant and their riches often egged them on to tread on the path of revolt. Some of them were habitual offenders who inflicted injuries on others only for the sake of pleasure.

The author confirms that the Nawab was averse to the Kharals. They were habitual thieves and had made one hundred kohs of the territory to loot and plunder. They indulged in robbing the caravans which were on their way from Wazirabad to Kabul and Kashmir.

The Kharals and others were encouraged to violate the State laws because their houses situated on steep hills provided them safety from the reach of the government forces.

ff. 85-87. The author gave the geographical descriptions of the Dullah Bhatti Bar, where the tribes resided. Readers are advised to consult these folios.

f. 89. For details of the Nawab’s expedition against the Kharals and other tribes are available in these folios.

f. 89. The Nawab’s campaign against the desert tribes was at its height and they were sure to be crushed but the Nawab received information that the Sikhs again raised their heads and indulged in depredations, loot and plunder of the towns like Sialkot, Parsarur, Aurangabad, Neemkar, Chamiari, Neshta, Kalanaur and other places.

f. 90. The Nawab received a request from the people to hurry up to take appropriate actions against the rebels and gave protection from the desperados.
81. ff. 90-91. The author had adopted a certain pattern of writing in the manuscript. He gave poem at the end of each chapter. He wrote poetry when he got emotional about the event. The poem in fact constituted the writers’ own response to a given situation.

82. f. 92. The Nawab was at Multan during his campaign against the Kharals, when he got the news about the renewal of the Sikh uprisings in the Punjab. As an experienced and far-sighted commander, he preferred to march back to Lahore to confront the Sikhs. But before returning from Multan, he entrusted the expedition against the Kharals to Mir Rehmat-ullah Khan and Hassan Beg Khan with instructions to exterminate the Kharals and the other tribes.

83. f. 92. The Nawab covered the distance of eighty kohs in a very short period at night. Banda was then staying at Kalanaur. The Nawab decided to march upon Kalanaur the next morning.

84. f. 93. In a special reference to himself, Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din said that Mahabat Khan had deputed him to look after his jagir at Kalanaur. With Hamid-ud-Din Khan’s recommendations he presented himself at the Nawab’s court at Kalanaur. Since then he always remained with the Nawab till the surrender of the Sikhs at Gurdaspura.

85. f. 94. According to the author, the Sikhs sent their troops at Chamiari, Neshta, Suri, and Bhilowal to prevent the advance of the Mughal forces against the Sikhs.

86. f. 95. The author reports that Banda was thirsting for revenge against the Mughals and was often found shedding tears on account of the brutalities that the Mughal perpetrated on the Tenth Master’s family and the other Sikhs.
Reference is to the Shah Nehar. The celebrated engineer Ali Mardan Khan in accordance with the instructions of the Emperor Shah Jahan, started in 1639, the construction of Shah Nehar in Gurdaspur District, to carry the waters of the Shalimar gardens near Lahore. Fazal Khan remodeled it and completed the work within this district. A confrontation took place between the Mughals and the Sikhs in the field at Talibpura near Shah Nehar. (Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Punjab under the Mughals*, Thacker and Company Ltd., Ramport Row, Bombay -1, 1968).

Talibpura had been destroyed by excessive bombardment from heavy artillery.

The authors’ reference is to the trustworthy system of espionage of Banda. They brought him the report of every movement about the enemy troops.

The bombardment from heavy artillery played havoc with the Sikhs.

The author’s keen and penetrating observation must be applauded. The Sikhs according to him always transcended the bounds of possibility. Their perseverance on the battlefield was always remarkable. Their zeal and efforts for pursuing the most stupendous efforts to achieve an objective is unparalleled and they pursued all these acts with a sort of burning indignation while their courageous acts during the artillery battles were always massive and extraordinary. He sums up all these qualities of the Sikhs in one word ‘a collection of calamities’.

According to the author, Nawab Abdus Samad Khan outrightly rejected the suggestions of his followers for an immediate attack on Gurdaspura to capture
it. He as an alternative selected the ominous and forbidding proposal to lay a siege around the residence of their leader.

93. f. 102. The writer again described in detail, the efforts he undertook to besiege Banda’s residence appointing high ranking commanders to different morchals. Artillery, Jazairs, Rahkalas, Ghazbans and Ramjangis etc. which spewed fire were frequently deployed. Sending a letter to the Imperial Majesty he informed the Emperor of his success over the Sikhs and about Banda’s efforts for building a new fort. He further submitted that royal orders to the faujdars, chakladars and zamindars of Jammu for rushing to the Punjab for assistance be issued and that a sum of rupees thirty lakhs for war expenses may also be sent to him. These lines speak volumes for the Nawab’s love for details.

94. f. 103. The Majesty deputed very experienced and trusted commanders to proceed to Lahore for the Nawab’s assistance.

95. f. 104. All the important hill Rajas were ordered to immediately rush to the aid of the Nawab.

96. f. 104. A network of morchals all around the fort were also set up and the command entrusted to the most distinguished ones.

97. f. 105. All the trenches on the North were placed under the command of Qamar-ud-Din Khan. Zakariya Khan was made incharge of the south. The western part was handed over to Arif Khan, Sayyad Quli Khan and Quachak Khan while the eastern command was entrusted to Ikhlas Khan Khesghi. Similarly, the hill Rajas and Isa Khan were also placed on important positions. These measures according
to the author, enlightened the readers about the Nawab’s strategies to face every new position.

98. f. 105. The Nawab was keen to exterminate the Sikhs without sacrificing even a single soldier from his own ranks. For success on the implementation of this aim he left a wide passage in the siege unguarded to tempt the Sikhs for their exit to get out from this unguarded portion. Actually he had directed his own men to massacre all those who sought to flee from the besieged fort.

99. f. 106. The author mistakenly calls the Sikhs stone-hearted when they engaged themselves in most reckless firing from artillery. This sealed every exit from the morchals. No one ventured to stir out of their morchals.

100. f. 106. The Sikhs successfully repaired or reconstructed the damaged parts of the fortress immediately.

101. f. 106. It was surprising for the author to see them constructing a wall ten yards wide all around the fort with in a very short time. They constructed towers, turrets and tombs in no time.

102. f. 106. They continued their night assaults on the enemy.

103. f. 106. Old, young and the wise in the Mughal ranks were struck with wonder at the recklessness and fearlessness of the Sikhs engaged in fight.

104. f. 107. In adverse circumstances their zeal in fighting with smaller weapons was just remarkable.

105. f. 108. Readers are advised to consult folios 106-109 for further information.
106. f. 111. The author after noticing the actual fight between the two commented upon the situation with wonder that contestants would give preference to death over such a life.

107. f. 112. According to the author the Sikhs occasionally ventured to jump out of their hidings to seek deliverance from the harshness of their life inside the fort but death awaited them even outside and if they thought of going back they found that their strength was reduced to half by death.

108. f. 112. The author brings out the seriousness of the situation by remarking that the Nawab himself rushed into the thick of the battle for personally encouraging his men. Even in modern warfare the commanders never rushed into the actual fighting.

109. f. 112. The author is further struck by the Nawab’s admirable quality for planning new strategies and implementing them in the battlefield. One such effort was the construction of the new fort and making water from the Shah Nehar freely all along the morchals.

110. f. 112. The author’s love for details is further exemplified by the comments he made on the situation when he found the Sikhs reduced to a situation of such helplessness that they could not use their own weapons or even willingly sacrificing their lives for the success of their ultimate objective.

111. f. 112. The Nawab’s such measures, according to the author, destroyed all the animals within the fortress for want of food.

112. f. 113. The author further marvelled at the Nawab’s reintroducing the tactics which were earlier employed by Aurangzeb for the conquest of the forts in
Deccan. One such tactic was making the morchals moving and hurriedly taking them near the besieged fort.

113. f. 113. The author enlightens the reader how the ‘Kohshikan’ gun brought from Lahore and installed on the highest tower fired death and destruction within the besieged fort. The author’s comments on the destruction wrought by the ‘Kohshikan’ within the fort virtually opened the door to death for the besieged.

114. f. 114. According to the author, the Nawab announced that no one should go in for fast during this month of Ramzan because fasting induced physical weakness and was detrimental to health for fighting in the battlefield.

115. f. 116. Lean and hungry Sikhs approached their leader and sought an explanation about the non-receipt of reinforcements from outside, or providing them a passage for safe deliverance from the fatal situation. They recommended surrender to the enemy.

116. f. 117. According to the author the foul smell emanating from the dead men and animals, hunger and starvation was too much to bear. Banda told Baj Singh and the representatives that time had come for him to sacrifice his own life.

117. f. 117. Baj Singh considered Banda’s words an opportunity to approach Arif Khan and made an offer for a conditional surrender seeking only safety and security in return for the surrender. (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.761.),

118. f. 117. Arif Khan reported the tidings to the Nawab who ordered Arif Khan to bring him for a meeting with him.
119. f. 118. Arif Khan seated Banda on an elephant and as ordered by the Nawab Arif Beg Mughal was also seated on the elephant close to Banda. Thus he was brought to the Nawab’s presence.

120. f. 118. The Nawab asked him some questions. Banda and his companions were then chained and provided with some meals. Thereafter, they were handed over to Arif Beg Mughal for security.

121. f. 119. The author further relates that the Nawab was immensely pleased on the turn of events and the subsequence surrender of Banda and his companions.

122. f. 119. The Nawab sent a letter congratulating the Royal Majesty on Banda’s surrender.

123. f. 120. As reported by the author the Nawab immediately issued orders for separating one thousand for sending them to the Imperial Majesty alive. The Nawab further ordered the remnant thousands of the famished Sikhs should be slaughtered indiscriminately. He issued instructions to the executioners to cut off the heads of all the killed Sikhs and be loaded on carriages and on camels for distribution in different towns and cities. More blood of Sikhs was also to be shed on the way leading to cities and the towns. Their skulls were hung on the walls.

124. f. 124. In a note about his own attempt at writing this treatise. He says that he was prompted by two considerations to do so. The publicity to the Nawab’s achievement and an everlasting literary memorial for himself.

125. f. 126. As informed by the writer Banda and other one thousand alive Sikhs were sent to the emperor’s court with Kamar-ud-Din and Zakariya Khan.
126. f. 127. On the receipt of information, the Emperor ordered huge celebrations over the victory. Thereafter the prisoners were presented before the Emperor.

127. f. 128. The Emperor ordered all the captured prisoners be killed and the bodies hung on both sides of the highways and bridges.

128. f. 128. For information on rewards and prizes given to the Amirs and other the readers are advised to read folios 128-129.

129. f. 131 The author has written about his background. He had a humble origin but was very energetic and had kept a few horsemen privately. At Lahore, he was employed by the Mughals. He joined Mughal service under Bahadar Shah and on his death he went to Multan for a job under prince Ma’zzudin Jahandar Shah. During the brief period of Ma’zzudin’s reign he got the mansabdari of four thousand and invested with a ‘Tog and Nakara’. He became a faujdar at Multan. He forcibly took the property and jagir of the people and started collecting government revenues. (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.767-768.); (Massir-ul-Umra, Vol. II, pp.712 & 825-828).

130. f. 132. By pressing elephants into his service and acquiring heavy artillery he began to be called Nawab.

131. f. 132. Nawab Abdus Samad Khan warned him politely against appropriation OF people’s property and revenue from the government jagirs.

132. f. 133. The author reported that Isa Khan ignored such warnings and was rude also which was due to his intimate relations with the Sadat leader Sayyed Abdullah Qutub-ul-Mulk.
133. f. 133. The author says that the Nawab postponed actions against him but continued to devise plans and strategies to set him right.

134. f. 133. When the charge of Lakhi Jungle was added to the Nawab’s territory Shahdad Khan was deputed as a Naib Faujdar and sent to Lakhi Jungle. The Nawab considered it a blessing in disguise.

135. f. 133. He was given robes of honour and appointed the Nawab’s Deputy Faujdar for the Lakhi Jungle.

136. f. 134. The author narrates how Isa Khan had annoyed many Afghans who now joined hands with Shahdad Khan.

137. f. 134. As a companion to the Nawab in all his expeditions Ghulam- Muhy-ud-Din anticipated that Shahdad Khan passing through Isa Khan territory with the beat of a drum would precipitate a crisis between the two. It proved correct when Isa Khan obstructed Shahdad Khan’s passage through this territory.

138. f. 134. Shahdad Khan commenced hostility against Isa Khan. In the scuffle Daulat Khan was killed by a bullet. This led to Shahdad’s first victory.

139. f. 136. When Isa Khan tried to avenge his father’s death, he too was killed.

140. f. 137. The Nawab was again very sharp in his observation, he noticed that the death of Isa Khan and his father was a great victory for Shahdad Khan and it was justifiably said that the Nawab killed two staunchest enemies with one stroke.

141. f. 139. By way of diversion, the author has given an account of the Afghans of Kasoor whose leader was Hussain Khan Khashgi. Hussain Khan’s ancestors were keen to seek employment under the Mughals. But he had inherited a great fortune from his ancestors who made him a proud and an arrogant man. His vanity
persuaded him to get ‘Khutba’ recited in his own name. Simultaneously, he extended his sway over area upto Multan. He took possession of other people’s jagir in the Lakhi Jungle. This was a challenge to the Mughal supremacy over Afghans.

142. f. 140. The author relates that punishments for such violations were already prescribed under the Mughals, but the Afghans were so intoxicated with pride that they did not bother about such rules and regulations.

143. f. 141. He continued to appropriate to themselves even the government jagirs and refused to listen to any well-meaning advice given to him by the Nawab.

144. f. 141. The author was such an enlightened and experienced historian that the Nawab’s meeting with Hassan Khan Subadar of Multan and Mahabat Khan Subadar of Thatta did not go unnoticed by him. He not only correlates with the happening at Kasoor but points out that all the three were united to frame a policy dealing with such a situation.

145. f. 142. The author seems to be impressed by their recommendations that such matters be resolved through peace and negotiations. War was to be avoided as far as possible.

146. f. 142. In their meeting with Hussain Khan Kheshgi, the Afghans misbehaved and what transpired inside was aptly described by the author.

147. f. 142. The author noticed that Hassan Khan was annoyed at Hussain Khan’s behaviour and misconduct but he refused to be provoked by any such ill-feelings towards the Afghans.
148. f. 143. According to the author what he offered to Hussain Khan was summed up briefly but appropriately. The author described the terms which would have ensured the Mughal resumption of sovereign rights over the Afghans. This, however, annoyed the agitated Afghan leader so much that he left the meeting by beating the drum haughtily and angrily. The meeting was dispersed but the Nawab’s purpose was achieved. War between the Mughals and the Afghans became inevitable.

149. f. 145. The Nawab according to Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din called for Arif Khan, Hafiz Ali Khan and some selected commanders of war to chalk over and plan strategies for the forthcoming war with the Afghans.

150. f. 145. Giving the background of the tussle between the two the author forcefully argued that two communities were perpetually at war since long and efforts to introduce peace between the two were bound to fail.

151. f. 146. The Nawab sounded the bugle for the war.

152. f. 146. According to the decisions taken in the meeting with the advisors the Nawab by-passed Kasoor and stationed his troops on the other side of the Ravi. The author justified the fact that according to the old traditions when a party was bent upon war sought protection under the excuse that they were only on a hunting expedition.

153. f. 146. The Nawab ordered Zakariya Khan to stay at Lahore and look after the affairs of the State.

154. f. 148. The Nawab was a very shrewd ruler. He was keen to prevent the entry of the Afghans to Lahore considering that his son too young to defend himself. To
prevent such an eventually he sought to befriend them. He marched towards Chunnian. On the other hand the Afghans too marched upon Chunnian. This confrontation of the two forces ended in a bitter fighting. (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.861.).

155. f. 154. A bitter battle ensued in which Hussain Khan was killed. The details of this fight are given in the above three pages.

156. f. 155. The Nawab rejected the proposal of his followers to enter the city and indulge in loot and plunder of the city. He showed some sought of consideration to the deceased Hussain Khan and appointed military guards to safeguard his family and the property.

157. f. 156. The author had in memory a part of a couplet. Considering it relevant he wrote the other part, “Hussain Khan bar sar-i-baghi amad wa sarsh biburid”.

158. f. 156. The author narrates the incident how the Nawab informed Sadat at Delhi, who always patronised Hussain Khan, about his death. Sadat took it easy and sent the Nawab return greetings.

159. f. 159. When Farrukhsiyar fell a victim to the Sadat brothers’ conspiracy they went not only celebrating his death but also started planning to set ablaze the whole country.

160. f. 160. Muhammad Rafi-ud-Darjat and his brother Rafi-ud-Daulah died within one year of their accession to the throne. Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah occupied the throne.

161. f. 160. Nasir-ud-Din took the reins of the government in his own hands and gave way to immature and foolish thoughts in his head.
162. f. 160. He disdained with contempt all the members of the nobility and army commanders.

163. f. 161. According to the author Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fateh Jang, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and Saif-ud-Daulah Abdus Samad Khan who hailed from the same dynasty were united against Nasir-ud Din.


165. f. 161. The author has narrated that the Sadat brothers were extremely agitated at the conspiracy of their enemy and started planning many measures in return.

166. f. 161. Qutub-ul-Mulk Abdullah was at Sahjahanabad at that time. He apprehended that if Abdus Samad Khan returned to Shahjahanabad they would not be able to defend what he destroyed.

167. f. 162. The author unravels Abdullah’s conspiracy by persuading the Emperor to send his brother Amir-ul-Umra Sayyad Hussain Ali Khan in an expedition against Nizam-ul-mulk in the Deccan. Abdullah was convinced that under Indian Martial Law the entire Indian army would also accompany Amir-ul-Umra to the Deccan leaving the Emperor without any security.

168. f. 162. Some well-wishers warned them of the division between the two brothers.

169. f. 162. But destiny was keeping its cards in hiding and would not dissuade Abdullah from his determination.

170. f. 162. Amir-ul-Umra was sent to the Deccan, he had hardly travelled four stops when a man named Mir Haider stabbed the Amir-ul-Umra Sayyad Hussain Ali

171. f. 162. All members of the nobility joined hands and unitedly proceeded against Abdullah Qutub-ul-Mulk.

172. f. 162. On the flight of Sayyad Abdullah the united nobels turned their attention to the Deccan and conspired to persuade the Emperor to take action against Sayyad Abdullah Qutub-ul–Mulk.

173. f. 163. Etmad-ud-Daulah sent urgent summons to Abdus Samad Khan to reach the capital without delay.


175. f. 163. Abdullah Qutub-ul-Mulk came out of Shahjahanabad and engaged the royal army in flight.

176. f. 163. The royal forces got him arrested alive.

177. f. 164. The Emperor’s troops were victorious and he entered Shahjahanabad.

178. f. 164. Nawab Abdus Samad Khan was highly pleased.

179. f. 165. The Nawab Abdus Samad Khan and his son Zakariya Khan returned to Lahore loaded with prizes, ranks, rewards, robes and honours.

180. f. 168. There was a communal turmoil in Kashmir. The author has referred to two causes to the rise of disturbances in Kashmir. Hindu creditors especially one sahu who failed to meet the demands of his creditors for repayment took shelters with either one or the other group.
Religious fanaticism was another cause. They considered it a serious challenge to Islam. This group did not hesitate to set ablaze the houses of the Hindus and were often accused of killing Hindus.

The Naib Faujdar Mir Ahmed Khan failure to curb their unlawful activities and illegalities further incited trouble.

The author relates that Mir Ahmed’s efforts in sending army against the rebels failed to produce the desired results. It on the other hand provoked the rioters to a siege around his Haveli. They did not respond to his strict warning about refraining from violent disturbances.

Mir Ahmed did not opt for massacring his own people and removed his camp outside the city.

They attacked Mir Ahmed’s army-camp even outside the city.

The author says all these turbulences and violent incidents destroyed the terror of the government from their minds. Rather it incited them and they removed government officials from their respective posts. The days of Mir Ahmed Government appeared numbered (Khafi Khan Mohammad Hashim, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Calcutta, 1874. Vol. II. p.867).

Not content with this they closed the entrance and exit to Kashmir with a cemented wall.

The Emperor ordered the transfer of Mir Ahmed from Kashmir and he was replaced by Zakariya Khan whereas the Nawab was appointed Governor.

The Nawab proceeded to Kashmir after he had installed Zakariya Khan as Governor Punjab.
190. f. 170. The author has given references to how the Nawab prepared himself to exterminate this turmoil from the State. He dispatched the gun-powder and other war material and arrived at the valley of Bhimbar.

191. f. 170. He levelled the small hills and mounds. He moved from Pirpanjal to Hamirpur pass. He filled the area with full splendor and glory which had a remarkable effect on the people.

192. f. 170. The author referred to how the Nawab punished the rioters adequately according to the “Law of Yasa”.

193. f. 172. The author further relates that the Nawab appointed Najib Khan Deputy Governor and came back to Punjab after spending some time in the beautiful valley of Kashmir.