CHAPTER VII

DETAIL STUDY OF PERSIAN PROSE WORKS BY HINDU WRITERS
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDIA

Persian prose works of this period:

The Eighteenth century India was in no way insignificant so far as the Persian language in India is concerned. It is true that the culture of this language had to undergo a tremendous change after the death of Aurangzeb, yet in the light of the quality and quantity of the prose works produced by both Muslim and Hindu writers alike, it is suffice to say that, the curtain was not yet fallen. Like their counterparts books written by the Hindu scholars on almost all the important subjects still hold an unique position in the history of Persian literature in India. The period is particularly remarkable for its Epistolographical works.

The Mughal darbars and the darbars of the subordinate and independent kingdoms of the Eighteenth century enjoyed the pompness and extravaganza in their courts. Although Aurangzeb and for that matter the later kings of the Mughal kingdom had time or no time at all to give a cent percent supervision of the court-customs and other practices which were so common in the past, yet the period could boast of
persons both Hindus and Muslims who excelled in the field of Historiography, Epistolography, poetry, Medicines, Lexicography, transliteration etc. Like their counterparts, the Hindu scholars excelled in the different branches of knowledge and with their deep knowledge of Persian language and literature, they produced fine brand of literary works in the field of almost all the prose works during the period under review.

The contributions made by the Kayasthas who excelled in the Persian language and literature was remarkable so far the Indo-Persian language and literature is concerned. They could produce and compete with their works which have equalled if not excelled their Muslim counterparts. It was specially so with the Munshis who excelled in the works of the Secretariate and Finance. These personnels who were appointed to the post of Munshi or Munshi-ul Mumalik were all proficient in Persian and they had to issue letters, orders and firmans on behalf of the kings and more often then not recorded chronicles. The Firman and letters of these Hindu scholars were collected and given as models to students in educational institutions. Insha-i-Madho Ram, Dastur-us Sibiyan were books of this kind which bears immense value so far the Indo-Persian language of the Hindu is concerned.

Although historiographical works had ceased to be patronised during the period, yet writing on this subject
continued. It was owing to the Muslims that the Hindus developed a taste for writing history and in course of time they wrote a number of historical works. Most of these writers confined their works to the completion of general histories of the world and India like Khulasat-ul Tawarikh, Tarikh-i-Dilkusha, Tarikh-i-Shah 'Alam etc. Local history also found its place in their writings in the works like Tarikh-i-Gujarat, Tarikh-i-Maratha, Ahwal-i-Qilla-i-Gwailor etc. The 'safr Namf which throws light on the socio-economic condition of the period, is a fine specimen of prose works produced by Hindu writers of the period. One change in the attitude of the writers of this period was that, their trend of writing was different from that of the period of Mughal exaltities. The compilers have concentrated their attention on masses rather than those on power.

Another salient feature of this period was that other than Historiography, the art of Tazkirah writing flourished more than before in this period. Tazkirahs of poets, writers, Amirs and saints were compiled but priority was given to the Tazkirahs of poets. An important reason for this particular attention towards the compilation of Tazkirahs of poets was that, it became a general feeling among the people of those days that, the literary masters of Iran did not admit the authenticity of Persian poets of India and did not give any

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1. Islamic Culture: Vol. XIII, 1939, P. 401
importance to their compositions. Under the impact of such a feeling, many Indian writers, both Muslims and Hindus took to Tazkirah writing to protect, preserve and project their names and works. Another interesting point to note so far the Tazkirah writing in this period is concerned that, several Tazkirahs of Urdu poets were also written in Persian in this period which are of no less importance than the Tazkirahs of Persian poets in their expression and style.

Apart from the writing on subjects as mentioned above, there were also works on the subjects of Art and Science like Geography, Lexicography, Geometry, Rhetorics, Medicine, Astrology, Music, Theology etc written by Hindu scholars during this period which will be discussed separately. Although some books on the subjects shunned the literary value and for which no minus point will be given, the present researcher's aims will be confined to their zeal and interest in undertaking the adventure of writing in Persian on varied subjects by the Hindu scholars of the period under review.

Tazkirah (Memoir) works produced during the period:

Tazkirah which is an Arabic word, means 'to memorise, to bring in memory and memorial. In Persian dictionaries, different meanings are found. A few definitions are given
According to Dr. Sayyid 'Ali Raza Naqvi, it means:

The main aim of Tazkirah writing is to leave one's memories and good talks of oneself so that the names of the men memorised is not forgotten from the literature and its history. Muhammad Awfi in his 'Lubab-ul Albab' writes:

It is unfortunate to observe that during the Eighteenth century A.D., Persian language and literature could not receive that lavish patronage which it used to get in the preceding period of the Mughal rule. Yet the Persian literature produced during this period did not lack its qualitative and quantitative improvements. Like previous centuries, both the Muslim and Hindu writers in almost all the branches of knowledge produced

2. Naqvi, Dr. S. A. R.: Tazkirah nawisi-i-Fatsi dar Hind-o-Pakistan, p. 9
One of the important features of the Tazkirah writings of the period was that, unlike the previous practice where the lesser known poets did not get a place of reference in the Tazkirahs and even if they did, their verses did not get a place in those works. Only the important events of the life of famous poets were mentioned in those Tazkirahs. But the Tazkirahs of the Eighteenth century not only included the lesser known poets, their verses and important events of their lives also got mentioned. It shows the marked differences of Tazkirah writing during this period. As for example, there are mention of 254 Persian poets in the Safina-i-Khushgu and 335 poets in Safina-i-Hindi which include both known and lesser known poets. One important feature of the Tazkirahs of this period was that, several Tazkirahs of Urdu poets were also written in Persian and they are as good as any other Persian Tazkirahs so far their expression and style is concerned. Another feature of Tazkirahs of this period is that, unlike the earlier Tazkirah writers who had an universal viewpoint, the approach of the latter biographers was rather limited. They, therefore, compiled Tazkirahs consisting of biographies of poets belonging to some particular place or region, of particular sex, group, religion or the pupils of some particular famous poets. The advantage of such kind of biography is that due to the concentration of attention towards a particular point, the analysis of the state of affairs
can be done more easily. In the following pages some of the Tazkirahs written by Hindu writers of the Eighteenth century are being introduced.

Ahwal-i-Baba Lal Guru

It was composed by Lalji Das during the period A.H. 1158/A.D.1745. The work was composed on the life and activities of Baba Lal Guru who was a devout Hindu Sufi. Baba Lal Guru was alive during the reign of Shahjahan (A.H.1038/A.D.1628-A.H.1077/A.D.1666). Lalji who was his disciple, completed the work giving vivid description of the Guru. The work is important as it throws light on some of the people who used to frequent or came across Baba Lal Guru.

Anis-ul-Ahibba

This Tazkirah was written by Mohanlal Anis, son of Rai Tuta Ram. The work was completed in A.H.1197/A.D.1782 for which he has given the following Chronogram:

4. Abdullah : p. 112; Ma'rif : July, 1918, p. 11
5. MS is in the Library of Bankipore, Vol.VIII, MS No.703; Rieu : Vol.I, p. 376
Anis-ul Ahibba is a biographical notices on Mirza Muhammad Fakhir Makin who was the master and guide of Mohan Lal Anis. The book Anis-ul Ahibba was written at the request of Maharajah Tiket Rai, Dewan of Sarfaraz-ud Daula after the model and style of the famous Tazkirah of 'Ali Hazin and as a counterpart to it on Indian poets. It has been divided into two parts where it contains short biographical notices of 500 poets. The notices are not arranged chronologically. The first part contains the biographies of 33 Muslim poets beginning with Mirza 'Azima Aksir Isfahani and ending with Noor 'Ali Wasili. The second part contains 6 biographies of Hindu poets beginning with Sarup Singh Diwana and ending with Mohan Lal Anis, the author himself. The work is important as many poets have not been mentioned in any other Tazkirahs.

Bhagat Mala

The author of this Tazkirah is Nawnit Ram Suhni Khushabi who wrote it during the year A.H.1113/A.D.1701. The work contains the description of both Muslim and Hindu faqirs numbering 37.

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5. Naqvi, Dr. S.A.R.: Tazkirah Nawisi-i-Farsi dar Hind-o-Pakistan, p. 449
7. Rieu has mentioned 91 poets. See, Rieu: Vol.1, p. 377
8. Abdullah : p. 112
Chamanistan-i-Shu'ara

This monumental work comes from the mighty pen of Lachhmi Narayan Shafique. It contains the biographical notes of Urdu poets and was completed after a hard work of 18 years in the year A.H.1175/A.D.1761.

Gul-i-Ra'na

This Tazkirah written by Lachhmi Narayan Shafique Aurangabadi, is a biographical dictionary of Persian poets arranged in alphabetical order. It was written during A.H. 1181/A.D.1767 to A.H.1182/A.D.1768 by the words in the following versified chronogram:

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\text{ناوُتُ نَامَ هَلّي پَرَقُورَان} \\
\text{ترَیخُ زِمّ صَفیت مَلّی کُری} \\
\text{ارْتغَابُ دِیهَت مدَّعَ در رَحْمَاتِ مَلّی} \\
\text{۱١۸۱ هَمّي}
\]

and according to the following chronogram, it was completed in A.H.1182/A.D.1768.

\[
\text{سِبِرَنَ تَارَخُ نَامَہ مَلّی} \\
\text{آَرَبُ ذِکْرُ اَسْتَمْتَی} \\
\text{۱١۸۱ هَمّي}
\]

The work begins with:

\[
\text{یاد بِقیوَاتِ مَسَانِش مَلّی} \\
\text{درَخَشْ تکْنِی بَلْدَانِ جَای مَلّی}
\]


The work is divided into two parts. In the first part, the Muslim poets have been mentioned and in the second part, the Hindu poets are mentioned. About the composition of the work the author says:

In this work the poet tried to give in details the activities of poets, their works and such other things which the author felt necessary to mention. There are mention of several princes and sovereigns who had a gift of poetry. The work is also important from the historical point of view as it contains in brief the political scene of the period.

Hamisha Bahar

It was written by Kishan Chand Ikhlas. The title multiplied by two gives the date of its compositions i.e. A.H.1136/A.D.1723.

11. For his life, see p.186 of the previous chapter.
The Tazkirah contains about 200 poets who flourished from the time of Emperor Jahangir (A.H. 1014/A.D. 1505 to A.H. 1037/A.D. 1627) to the accession of Muhammad Shah (A.H. 1131/A.D. 1718). The Hamisha Bahar is recognised as a standard biographical work and Azad Bilgrami derived much benefit from it in compiling his 'Khazinah-i-'Amra'.

*Iwar-al Shua'ra*

This is a very extensive but uncritical Tazkirah of Rekhta poets written by Khub Chand b. Rai Salamat Rai b. 'Ajaib Rai Kayastha with the takhallus 'Dhaka' (acumen). He lived in Sikandarabad. The work was compiled or at least began to compile in A.H. 1208/A.D. 1793 or A.H. 1213/A.D. 1798-99. According to Sprenger, the author have been engaged in this work more than thirty years since a date as late as A.H. 1247/A.D. 1831 is found on it.

The work is arranged alphabetically beginning with Aftab (Shah 'Alam). The poet has also mentioned his own biography with copious extracts from his Rekhta poems in the Tazkirah.

12. Naqvi, Dr. S. A. R.: *Tazkirah Nawisi-i-Farsi dar Hind-o-Pakistan*, p. 229
13. *Islamic Culture*: Vol. XIII, 1939, pp. 403-404
15. *Ibid*
Safina-i-Hindi

The author of this Tazkirah is Bhagwan Das, the second son of Dalpat b. Harbans Rai of the Kayastha caste. Originally he was known as 'Bismil' but lateron he adopted 'Hindi' as his nom-de-plume.

The Safina-i-Hindi contains biographical notices of Persian poets who flourished in India during the author's time, commencing from the accession of Shah Alam in A.H.1173/A.D.1759 to A.H.1219/A.D.1804, the year in which the work was completed and for which the author has given the following chronogram in the conclusion:

١٧٤٦/١٨٢٤

In the work the notices of the poets are arranged in alphabetical order beginning with Aftab and ending with Yakta. Although the biographies are discussed concisely in this work, yet the value of the work is enhanced by the fact that most of the poets discussed in the work were contemporary to the author and that he met most of them personally and that is why Safina-i-Hindi is treated as one of the best sourced Tazkirahs of the time. It contains notices of 337 Persian poets. It will not be out of place to mention that among these poets of Persian language most of them composed Urdu.

17. For his life, see p.170 of the previous chapter.
poetry also, then called Rekhta and therefore, this Tazkirah is equally useful to the students of Urdu literature as well.

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Safina-i-'Ishrat

It was composed by Durga Das whose takhallus was 'Ishrat'.

It is indeed unfortunate that nothing is known about the author who wrote this book in A.H.1175/A.D.1761 for which the title forms a chronogram. It begins with the following lines:

The Safina-i-'Ishrat is a biographical dictionary of ancient and modern Persian poets with extracts from their compositions. It contains the notices of 455 poets. They are arranged in alphabetical order beginning with Asadi Tusi and breaking off in the middle of the letter ع with the life of Haji Faridun with the takhallus Saba'q.

The work is written in plain style with simple expression, is its preface written in ornate and rhymical prose. The poets who lived at the time of the author, find special attention

18. Hindi : p. 1
19. The only MS is preserved at Bankipore. See Vol.VII,p.699
20. Naqvi, Dr. S. A. R.: Tazkirah Nawisi-i Farsi dar Hind-o-Pakistan, p. 414
in the work, written more elaborately than other poets. The largest biographical note is devoted to Bedil and the most detailed extracts have been quoted from Arzâ's poetry.

Safina-i-Khushgu

It is a well known Tazkirah written by Bindraban Das Khushgu. He was a native of Mathura and lived during the time of Farrukh Siyar and died in A.H. 1107/A.D. 1756 at Patna. His father was in the service of 'Alamgir. Nothing much have been mentioned by the poet himself except occasional references of his own here and there and from which it is gathered that he worked for sometime only to give it up shortly and became a Faqir and lived a wandering life. Nawwab 'Umdatul Mulk 'Amir Khan Bahadur 'Anjam' gave him a stipend of rupees two per day. He was also helped by Haibat Jang at the time of his distress while Khushgu was in Patna and Benares. He was the disciple of Arzu, Sabqat and Begham and was a constant companion to Shah Gulshan and Bedil. He used to attend poetical assemblies on the occasion of the anniversaries of Bedil. Khushgu came across many poets in course of his wandering life. He collected the specimen writings of all the poets that he met, written in their own hands in a

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22. Ibid : Preface II
but it is not to be found anywhere. He had also written of Bedil but this one is also not to be found anywhere.

The Tazkirah Safina-i-Khushgu was composed in three volumes during the period starting from A.H.1137 to A.H.1147/A.D.1724 to A.D.1734. He also made addition in it up to the year A.H.1162/A.D.1748. After the completion of this work he gave it to his guide and philosopher Arzu for correction in A.H.1155/A.D.1742. Arzu made some corrections in it and added accounts of a few poets. Arzu also wrote the preface of the book.

The first two volumes contain notices of poets of ancient and middle ages. The first volume contains the ancient poets in chronological order totalling 362 poets.

The second part of the Safina-i-Khushgu contains 545 biographies. It has about 318 pages, 17 lines in a page. It begins with Jami and ends with Mirza Ahmad Beg.

The third volume contains the notices of the modern and contemporary poets of the author, most of whom were met by him. It is written in chronological order and detailed informations of the authors and the copies of their verses are mentioned in it. It is divided into two sections begining without any preface.

The language and style of Safina-i-Khushgu is very easy.

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23. For further details see, 'A Critical study of Majma-un Nafais of Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu', M.Phil Dissertation, Delhi University, p. 59; Abdullah : p. 115
and understandable. The mention of the Hindu poets come in handy while assessing their contributions towards the Indo-Persian literature during the eighteenth century. It is therefore, one of the important Tazkirahs, so far the accounts of Persian poets of the time of the author is concerned.

Sham-i-Ghariban

This is another work of importance by the eminent writer Lacchmi Narayan Shafiq. It was compiled in A.H.1182/A.D.1768. A total number of 483 poets are mentioned in the work who came to India from Iran during the reign of Babur to Shah 'Alam and attached themselves either to the Mughal court or to Bahmani Nizam Shahi, 'Adil Shahi or Qutub Shahi courts in the Deccan. There are mention of those poets also who could not approach any court and had to leave this place or settled here in India. There are no mention of any poets of Indian origin in the work.

The descriptive biographical mention of the poets though short are interesting and informative. The author himself selected the verses of 33 poets as specimen of the verses composed by the poets during their period and some of the other selections were taken from the Tazkirah of Azad Bilgrami. The author has also very honestly mentioned the

sources from which he derived his subject-matter. One of such sources was Mirat-i-Wardat by Shah Muhammad Shafi Naginavi which has not been mentioned in any other history or Tazkirah and is extinct now. The work was dedicated to Nawab Asaf-ud Daula of Hyderabad.

Tazkirah-i-Waqai-i-Anandram or Badai-i-Waq'ai

The work was written by Anandram Mukhlis in A.H.1159/A.D.1746. The work is also known as Tazkirah-i-Anandram by Mukhlis.

The work is without any introduction and Mukhlis straightway begins with to give the account of incidents. The first chapter opens with the events from Rajab, A.H.1145/A.D. 1732 while the last event is mentioned to be occurred on the 11th Jomada, A.H.1161/A.D.1748. It is evident therefore, that the events occurred between this period which Mukhlis himself knew and witnessed, found its place in this work. There are also mention of the dates of different events. It is interesting to note that in one place the time of recording these events has been given as 14th Rabi', A.H.1152/A.D.1739 while at another place it is given as 29th Jalusi, A.H.1159/

25. MS No.2611 in the Bankipore Library, Patna with twelve line in each copy.

26. Dr. Abdullah has written A.H.1157/A.D.1744 as the date of composition of the Tazkirah. See, Abdullah : p. 105
A.D. 1746. It appears that these dates have been given at the occurrence of some particular events.

The way Mukhlis emphasised on putting the actual dates of different events that occurred, makes the different dates interesting so far the medieval history is concerned. The dates ascertain the facts that occurred during that time. The Mughal period may be traced from this work as historically correct and nearest to the truth of the incidents or facts. Undoubtedly the author had tried every possible means to the accuracy of different events. The work also reflects the high standard of literary significance so far the literary genius of Mukhlis is concerned.

The work is a first-hand description of the Nadir Shah's invasion of India. The author was an eyewitness of the events that took place during the Nadir Shah's stay in India and the sufferings caused by him on the people of India during that period of turmoil and oppression. Although the work was in the form of a memorandum on the tragic state of affairs, could not be completed, yet the work seems to have been specially devoted to Nadir Shah's invasion.

The work begins with a chapter, "History of the wonderful events that came to pass in Hindusthan in the year of Hijra 1151" which contains an account of Nadir Shah's rise and of the beginning of his march towards India.

27. Elliot & Dowson: The History of India, Vol. VIII, p. 76
Tazkirat-ul 'Umara

The work is a biographical dictionary of the famous Amirs and Khans who served under the Mughal Emperors of India from Akbar to the death of Alamgir II. It was compiled by Rai Kewal Ram, son of Raghunath Das. Kewal Ram described himself as belonging to the Baniyah tribe, Akhanwalah and dwelt in the town of Kasnah, subah of Delhi.

The date of the composition of the work is confusing. It is distinctly written as A.H.1194/A.D.1780 in the book but in some other copies it is shown as A.H.1184/A.D.1770 and even A.H.1140/A.D.1727. Rieu has shown it as A.H.1195/A.D.1780-81, the 22nd year of Shah Alam's reign. In a short notice of the work, Sir H. Elliot gives A.H.1194/A.D.1780 as the date of composition.

The author states that he composed the work on the notices from the official records of the reign to which they related to namely the Akbar Namah, the Iqbal Namah, the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, the Padshah Namah by Abdul Hamid, Shahjahan Namah by Muhammad Kazim and Maa'sir-i-'Alamgiri by Musta'ıd Khan with some additions derived from the Kalmat-i-Tayyibah, Raqim-i-Karim, 'Azad Shah Namah and Bahdur Shah Namah, beginning with . The notices are very concise and they indicate briefly the rank, services and

29. Tazkirat-ul 'Umara: fol. 2b, 1.3
31. Elliot & Dowsen: The History of India, Vol.VIII, p. 192
successful promotions of each Amir and the date of his death. The author further states that he includes in his selection the Khans from the command of nine thousand to that of the hundred men, the untitled Amirs from the command of six thousand to one thousand and lastly the Hindu zamindars and Deccan Amirs from seven thousand to five hundred.

The whole work is divided into two babs, the first containing the Muhammedan, the second the Hindu Amirs and both are mentioned in alphabetical orders.

**Insha (Epistolography) works produced during the period**

The 'ilm-ul Insha generally means epistolography, the art of drafting letters and documents. The term is also loosely applied to the writing of a refined prose style. "The final aim of Insha is to acquire a knowledge of the virtues and faults (muhasin wa ma'aib) of prose composition but the principal forms involved in the study of Insha are Khutab (sermons) and Rasa'il (epistles)." According to the rules of epistolography, all epistles are classes into two main categories, Tanqiat and Muhavarat. There is hardly any

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33. Mohiuddin, Dr. M.: *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughal*, p. 16
34. Rai, Bhupat: *Dastur-i-Shigarf*, MS in British Museum, No. 2017, ff. 90b-91a
other branch of Persian literature which reflects the social setup and character of the society of a period so clearly and poignantly as the works of epistology. Almost in all the epistles, whether private or official, the conventional epithets are carefully graded according to the social status and relationship between the writer and the addresses.

Before coming of Muslim rule to India, the India society was based on castes and sub-castes and so the people of upper-stratas used to benefit more from such a system. Education was not meant for all. But the great social changes that have been brought by the Muslim rule in India, helped people of all walks of life to remove the class barrier and caste system. The culture and adoption brought another changes in to the lives of the people. Almost all works were done in Persian and it is quite logical that the Hindus did not escape the influence of Persian language as both the Muslims and Hindus could not yield to the influences of each other's culture. As Arabic literature owes much to Shu'ubiya, so Indian Persian owes much to the Hindus. Their contribution to the literary output in Persian is no less prolific and splendid then that of the Muslims who, as they thought, had a better claim to mastery of their ancestral language. The growth of literature gained momentum from the time that Hindus applied themselves to the cultivation of prose and poetry and
certain fields hitherto unexplored or neglected found its perspicacious investigations, chiefly Hindus and on the philological scenes they produced most excellent works. The Hindus must have developed affinities with the language of the conquerors from the very beginning and they took so zealously to Persian studies that by the time of Akbar, a section of them was ready to carry out the order of Todar Mal, the Finance Minister of the Emperor Akbar, to the effect that all government accounts should hereafter be written in Persian. From the middle of the seventeenth century, almost all the state departments, particularly the 'Dar-al-Insha' and the Imperial Exchequer were mostly manned by the Hindu Munshis and muharris. They rose to the highest office of Dewan or hold the post of Mir-Munshi or the Munshi-al-Mumallik.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth century it became a fashion with various great writers and personal secretaries of Emperors and nobles to arrange the letters of their masters into a collection so as to prove as models for others to follow and while doing so, these works came out to be more useful for the social scientist to gather materials so far the study of the medieval India is concerned.

36. Mohiuddin, Dr. M.: The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughals, p. 38
38. Like the great Munshi Anand Ram Mukhis who became the Mir Munshi to the Emperor Muhammad Shah.
The work of these Insha writers bear the testimony of the finest works of composition by Munshis who were mostly Hindu Kayasthas and this is the only branch where their pride and position remained unchallenged and is second to none. The eighteenth century will be remembered in the Indo-Persian literature as the finest period so far the contributions by the Hindu scholars towards epistolography is concerned. So many fine works were done during the period under review. Munshis like Harkaran, Wamaq Khetri, Madhoram, Lacchmi Narayan, Jwala Prasad, Ratan Singh Zakhmi, Munshi Shital Das are but some of the famous Insha writers of the eighteenth century whose contributions proved a boost to the Indo-Persian literature. The present researcher has tried his best to include all the Insha works in the following few pages which were written during the period under review.

Ajaib-ul Afaq wa Gharib-ul Dahr

It is a notable collection of epistles compiled by Raja Chimna. The work contains letters written by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah and by the Chief Officers of the state of Raja Chabila Ram and others.

39. Abdullah : p. 259
Baharistan-i-Ma'ni

It is a collection of letters of kings, princess and Amirs with answers from the same and specimens of official letters, mandates, notes and other documents written at the time of Muhammad Shah (A.H.1131/A.D.1718- A.H.1161/A.D.1748). It was compiled by Pratap Ram Rana Nandi known as Hiralal, son of Paras Ram Gobind in A.H.1158/A.D.1745.

The work begins with:

and the work is preceded by a preface from which we learn that the author had written the following works also

After this he says that he was strongly requested by his brothers Late Khan Rai and Santokh Ram to write a work in Persian in ornate prose. Thereafter he collected all the letters and other prose writings and compiled them in the present form of a book. It is divided into eight chapters (Bag) with several sub-divisions (ChamanS) of each chapters.

Balmukund Nama

It is a collection of letters and orders addressed to different nobles, written on behalf of one of the Sayyid

41. Bank : Vol.IX, p.108
brothers who became too powerful after the death of Aurangzeb. It was written for Qutb-ul Mulk by his Munshi Mehta Balmukund. Covering the period from A.H.1132/A.D.1719 to A.H.1133/A.D.1720 that is, immediately after the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, the letters give an insiders' view of the rapidly shifting politico-military forces emerging out of the fast disintegration of the Mughal empire. The letters were originally collected in the form of a book by Mehta Balmukund's descendant Daya Ram who used the collection as a guide book for the art of letter-writing (Insha pardezi) for those who aspired to be Munshis. Daya Ram was hardly aware of the book's worth as a historical document. It went in for a long liberation.

The work is a small manuscript containing 25 folios and comprising 34 letters and orders addressed to different nobles. According to the preface, these letters and orders were written on behalf of Sayyid 'Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul Mulk. The work is supposed to comprise three parts.

I Part : It consists of letters addressed to the great nobles holding the rank of 7000 and 6000.
II Part : It consists of those addressed to the nobles holding ranks of 6000 and 5000.
III Part : It consists of letters addressed to faujdars, qil'adars and dewans.

Most of the letters were addressed to nobles holding
the rank of mansab of 5000 and above. Only a few being addressed to local faujdars. Most of the letters are undated. It has been said that, "history does scant justice to the defeated, for it is nearly always written from the viewpoint of the victor. Most of the contemporary works show a heavy bias against the Saiyids. The letters throw a fresh light on the relations of the Saiyids with the Rajputs and Marathas. They provide valuable glimpses into the social and economic developments in some of the provinces."

Dqaiq-ul Insha

The work is a compendium of rhetoric, prosody and the whole art of refined writing in prose and verse compiled by Ranjhor Das, son of Ranjit Rai Kayastha of Jaunpur. It was compiled in A.H.1145/A.D.1732, but according to Dr. Abdullah, it was compiled in A.H.1146/A.D.1733.

The work is divided into a Muqaddimah, eight Dqiqas and a Khatimah.

Dastur-al Insha

It was compiled by Munshi Vijayram of Lucknow in

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42. Mehta Balmukund : Chandra, Satish, p. 18
43. Ethe : Vol.II, p. 1163
44. Abdullah : p. 117
A.H.1118/A.D.1706. It is a very useful book of letters which contains many new and important facts regarding the history of Bengal and Bihar during the mid eighteenth century from A.H. 1155 to A.H. 1175/A.D. 1742 to A.D. 1761, especially relating to Raja Ramnarain. Most of these letters were written by Raja Ram Narain to the Nawwab and his officers posted in different places and a few letters by Raja Dhiraj Narain, brother of Raja Ram Narain.

47

Dastur-i-Shigarf

It is treatise on the art of composition with copious examples in prose and verse. This work was compiled by Rai Bhupat Rai and the work begins with:

زیبی ممنوعو مودی بی تجویز

49

Dasturu's Sibyan

It was compiled by Navanidh Rai. He belonged to the Vad-Nagara nagar community of Gujrat.

The work is very well-known and it was studied by the beginners in the schools. The work is divided into three

45. Sarkar, J. N.: The History of Bengal, p. 506
46. Dutta, K. K.: Alivardi and his times, p. 189
47. Rieu : Vol. III, p. 1043
48. Ibid
49. Descriptive Catalogue: Gujrat Vidyalaya, Part I, p. 226
50. Abdullah : p. 221
parts. The letters are in the first part which were addressed
to superiors. The second part consists of letters addressed
to subordinates and the third part is full of letters which
were addressed to persons of equal status. All these letters
are meant to serve as models for the study of the art of
epistolography. It is a very useful work.

51
Gharib-ul Insha

It is a short narrative in ornate prose written by
Kishan Singh 'Nishat' in imitation of "Shish Jiha' and the
"Badi'-ul-Jamal" of Dewan Rup Narain. It was written in
A.H.1157/A.D.1744.

52
Gulshan-i-'Ajaib

The work is a collection of letters written in the
name of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asafjah by his Munshi, Ram Singh. He
entered the service of Nizam-ul-Mulk in A.H.1129/A.D.1716 at
the age of seventeen. The letters which have found place in
the present book were revised and corrected by the Amir,
Nizam-ul-Mulk himself. Nothing has been mentioned about the
date of the composition of the book but it appears to have
been written in the life time of Asafjah who died in A.H.1161/

52. Abdullah : p. 117
54. According to Abdullah, it is Rai Singh. See, Abdullah, p.117

The work is divided into two almost equal parts. The first part contains letters addressed to the contemporary Emperors, Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah. Many of such letters are simple congratulatory notes or acknowledgements of presents. The second part consists of letters written to some of the great Amirs of the same time, such as 'Itimad-ud Daula Burhan-ul Mulk, Raushan-ud-Daula and so on. Several of the letters contain accounts of Nizam-ul Mulk's campaigns against the Marathas and his civil and military transactions of the peasod.

Gulshan-i-Bahar

It was compiled by Munshi Jaswant Rai between A.H. 1180-90/A.D. 1766-76.

It is a collection of letters written by various persons during the reign of 'Alamgir II and the early part of Shah 'Alam II. According to Dr. Abdullah, it was compiled in A.H. 1182/A.D. 1768.

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55. Abdullah : p. 117
57. For his life, see p. 214 of this thesis.
58. Abdullah : p. 118
Guldasta-i-Faiz

The work embodies letters and other compositions written in the form of verse and other ornate prose by Thuri Mal Munshi whose surname was Tamkin. It was collected and edited by his grandson Puran Chand Sarshar, son of Bakht Mal, son of Thuri Mal. The work begins with:

The Guldasta-i-Faiz consists of six sections (Fasl), enumerated in the preface. The first section contains the author's letters which belonged to the early period of the reign of Muhammad Shah. The year A.H.1149/A.D.1726 is found in it which shows the letters were written during eighteenth century.

Guldasta-i-Sukhan

It is a collection of refined prose and poetical composition of Mal Rai Shauqi which was edited by his son, Jai Prakash in A.H.1132/A.D.1719. The date is conveyed by the chronogram بیان کلش سبزران. In the preface the compiler states that his father was in the service of Nawab Hifzullah Khan and had left behind him some poetical writings and prose.

60. Abdullah : p. 117
61. Bank : Vol.IX, p. 103
pieces which he edited in the present form. According to the chronogram, Shauqi died in A.H.1119/A.D.1707.

The work is divided into two Tabaquas, the first of which consists of Qasidas, versified letters, eulogies, Ruba'is, Chronograms etc. The second Tabaquas is in prose and contains letters to 'Amirs, Khans, rich men, friends etc.

Gulghasht-e-Bahar Aram

This was written in reply to Mirza Bedil's "Chahar 'Unsur" by Shiva Ram Haya who was a Kayastha.

Insha-i-Majmu'-ul Qawaid

It was compiled by Ram Narain in A.H.1190/A.D.1776 for which he has given a Chronogram

The work is a large collection of historical and official letters from the time of Emperor Shah Jahan II. The work is divided into four sections (Fasl) containing specimens of general letters, a treatise of account, letters of congratulations and condolence.

62. Abdullah; p. 172. For the life of the writer, see p. 187 of the previous chapter.
63. Ethe: Vol. II, p. 2132
Insha-i-Niaznamah

It is a collection of letters written by Sujan Raipury. The work begins with:

Insha-i-Niaznamah is divided into three parts which is as follows.

I Part: It contains the letters of men of rank.

II Part: Some familiar letters are found in this part.

It is divided into two sections (Namat). The first section contains letters of business and the second section contains the letters of friendship.

III Part: It contains miscellaneous compositions.

This work was composed in A.H.1180/A.D.1766.

Insha-i-Roshan Kalam

This is a collection of letters written by Bhupat Rai, who was a Munshi to Nawwab Rad-Andaz Khan, the Fauzdar of Baiswara in Qudh during the early years of the eighteenth century. The letters give a graphic account of the condition of Qudh before Sa'adat Khan, of lawlessness and dacoities in Baiswara and other paraganas of the province. The work is extremely valuable and was used by Charles Alfred Elliot in his "Chronicles of Oonao" published in A.D.1862 (Allahabad Publication).

64. Rieu : Vol. III, p. 988a
Insha-i-Sibyan

The work is a treatise on all possible kinds of letters arranged in 36 Babs in models suitable for the beginners.

The letters have a special connection with the Jat Chief Rajah Jawahir Singh who succeeded his father Suraj Mal in A.H.1178/A.D.1764 and died in A.H.1182/A.D.1768. Some of the letters are written in his name to the Emperors and other letters are addressed to him. Most of these letters contain circumstantial information of contemporary transactions, political and military in various parts of India and of the Deccan. In it there found the references of the following leading men of the period, Ahmad Shah Abdali, Ghaziuddin Khan, Najibud Daula, Zabita Khan, Shujaud-Daula, Mallar Rao Hulkar and Raghu Nath.

Karnamah-i-Chitalmal

This is a collection of letters compiled by Chitmal who was a Munshi of Mutabar Khan. The letters contain the detail accounts of the expedition undertaken by him under the imperial order, dated A.H.1168/A.D.1754.

Karnama-i-Uaqi'a

It is a collection of farmans, letters and other specimens of highly refined prose and poetry. It also contains a great number of Chronograms, elegies etc. The author of the work is called Hindu whose full name was Munshi Chahqamal. The autograph copy of the work is dated 24th Sha'ban, A.H. 1116/ December 20th, A.D. 1704.

Majmu'ai-Baharistan

It is a work on correspondence which was compiled by Khushhal Singh in A.H. 1169/A.D. 1755 to teach his son the art of Insha pardezi.

There is a long preface in ornate prose interspersed with verses and thereafter, there are four chapters (fals). The first chapter contains petitions, the second mandates of nobles to their subordinates, the third, friendly letters and the fourth chapter contains the notes and drafts.

Majmu'a-i-Munsha'at

It is a collection of epistolary models and specimens

67. Ethe: MS No. 21110
68. Gujarat Vidyalaya: Descriptive Catalogue, 1964, p. 226
of ornate prose. Although it is arranged into Babs and fasls, the general appearance is that of an album. It seems very probable that the compiler planned a work on Insha and collected specimens under appropriate rubrics but that something prevented him from bringing his work to a completion. He should therefore be identified with the copyist who was transcribing these extracts. But in fact there are at least three different handwritings, the bulk of the volume having apparently been written by one Utamchand of Gujrat who wrote at Lucknow in A.H.1192/A.D.1778 (Colophon on fol.153v). Some portions of this majmu'a have been written late as A.H.1202/A.D.1787 (fol. 74 v). The other scribe's name is illegible and a third was Lal Shiwji who wrote in A.H.1191/A.D.1777. The major portion of the work has been taken from Bahar-i-Sukhan of Muhammad Salih Kanbu.

The work is divided into seven Babs, each sub-divided into several fals but the copy is exceedingly fragmentary.

Miftah-i-Khazin

It was composed by Sambhulal who was a Munshi to Chait Singh, the Raja of Benares and lateron he was in the service of Francis Fowke, the Resident of Benares. It was compiled in

69. ASB : Curzon Collection, p, 139
70. Rieu : Vol. III, p. 1016
A.H.1197/A.D.1782.

Hiftah-i-Khazin is a collection of general letters and it also contains some of the compositions in prose of the author.

71. Muntakhab-ul Haqiq

It is a collection of letters written by Dalpat Rai. 72. The work was edited after his death by his brother Amir Chand, son of late Lala Khushyabi Mal. The full name of this collection is Muntakhab-ul Haqiq Amir-ul Mulk. The date of the compilation A.H.1209/A.D.1794 is fixed in a versified Chronogram by the words 'باجري دروم (درفاعم)' (i.e. آنشا).

The work begins with:

The letters which were mostly written by Dalpat Rai and by some of his contemporaries in the last year of the thirteenth century of the Hijrah era, are mostly addressed to Ranjit Singh and some other Sikh kings and Chiefs and relate to private and public affairs in the Punjab. It also includes some letters of Ranjit Singh, Timur Shah and Zaman Shah also.

71. Rieu : Vol.III, p. 988
72. Abdullah : p. 118
Munsha'at-i-Madhuram

It is a fragment of an epistolographical work which contains models of official correspondence belonging to the end of the Aurangzib's time and some private letters of the author. It was compiled by one Madhuram, an employee of Lutfu'l-lah Khan who was the son of Sa'dullah Khan and afterwards of Kokiltash Khan in A.H.1120/A.D.1708.

The work is divided into two fasls, the first dealing with the official letters and documents and the second with private letters written to different friends.

Musawwadat-i-Kewal Ram

It is a collection of epistolary models, giving numerous specimens of correspondence between different Indian noblemen as well as a number of business documents. The latest dates found in the work are A.H.1154, A.H.1155, A.H.1156/A.D.1741, A.D.1742 and A.D.1743.

Nawadir-ul Ma'jami

The work was compiled by Mehtab Rai Pandit with the poetical takhallus 'Miskin'. He was a pupil of Pandit

74. Ibid: pp. 135-136
75. Bank: MS No.867,888
76. Nawadir-ul Majami: fol. 36
Lachhmi Ram and served as a letter-writer in the court of Mir Fakhr-ud-Din, son of Qamr-ud-Din during his nizamat at Saharanpur. He was latter attached to Mansoor Jang Muhammad Zain-ul-'Abdin. In one of his letters of Nawadir-ul-Majami, he complains about the unwanted and discomfortable circumstances he faced. It is learnt from the same letter that he remained in service from his youth to the time of composing the present work and passed his earlier life complacently and that he had a son, Shiv Prasad for whom he tried to get some job but without success. The work begins with:

It is a collection of letters and a specimens of simple and refined prose compositions. It is divided into four sections called Fasi in the work. In every section, different type of letters are found. The first section consists of prose compositions on different topics. The second, third and the fourth section include respectively letter written by the author himself to his friends and finally official letters etc. Some of the letters are of historical importance. One of such letters gives an account of the exile of Mirza Jahangir from the capital, his departure to Allahabad and its reaction on the people. In some of his letters he praises Raja Piyaralal and rulers of Jai Nagar. He has made caricature of

77. Miskin wrote a preface of Lachhmi Ram's work, Tazkirahat-ul-Insha, which is found in Nawadir-ul-Majami, fol. 45
78. Nawadir-ul-Majami: fol. 48
79. Ibid: fol. 86, 121
80. Bank: p. 124
Man Singh of Jodhpur in a letter written at the request of a friend. In a letter addressed to Munshi Faiz-i-Azim, the Collector of Shahjahanab, he has congratulated the Collector on his return from a tour of hilly places. Some of the other letters are addressed to some of the prominent persons of that time. Four letters addressed to various persons, contain only such words as begin with (الی). It shows the author's excellence and mastery over the language. The language of some of the letters is flowery and ornate while some letters are written in quite simple language.

Ramz-u-Isharaha-i-‘Alamgiri

It is a collection of short letters to Aurangzib's family and nobles. It contains no letter to Shahjahan. It was collected and edited by Subodh or Sidd Mal or Budh Mal, surnamed Ram at the request of Raja Aya Mal, the Dewan of Sawai Tai Singh of Jaipur. Budh Mal was a clerk of the Raja. It was compiled in A.H.1152/A.D.1739 and the Chronogram and the title of the work are found in the verse:

81. Sharma, S.R.: Mughal Empire in India, p. 453
Risala-i-Faramin

This is a collection of very good letters some of which have historical importance. It was collected by Chaplaram. It was compiled from Walajah Umdatul Mulk Sirajad-Daula Anwaruddin Khan Sahib as he evinced great interest in such writings. At the close of the book, four pages contain some Chronogram and verses dated 20th Rabeehussan A.H.1186/A.D.1772.

Ruqhat-i-Rai Shabilaram

It is a collection of letters written by the Emperors Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah and by the Chief Officers of state to Raja Chhabilaram and his successors, together with the answers of the letters.

Chhabilaram, a Nagar Brahman of Gujrat was one of the early supporters of Farrukh Siyar, who rewarded his service with the title of Raja and the office of Diwan-i-Khalisah. He was afterward appointed Governor of Allahabad, where he died in A.H.1131/A.D.1718.

The work is divided into three fasls (sections) which contains the letters of Chhabilaram.

Ruqqa'i-Gharib

It was compiled by Kishanji Baid who belonged to Ahmadabad. The letters in the Manuscripts bear the date of compilation around A.H. 1200/A.D. 1785.

The work throws light on the events of the social and historical importance during this period. There is the conspicuous tinge of Hinduism in the language and contents. The expressions used are courteous and the phrases are trite and heckneyed as was the practice followed in correspondence during those days.

Ruqqa'i-Lachhmi Narayan

The letters of Raja Lachhmi Narayan which was edited by Muhammad Faizbakhsh. The work begins with:

The dates of the letters range from A.H. 1183 to A.H. 1195/A.D. 1769 to A.D. 1780. Some are more rhetorical exercise addressed to the author's pupil Shaikh Bakir 'Ali; others are written in the name of Nawwab Jawahir 'Ali, Akhund Ahmad 'Ali and Bahu Begum to the successor of Governor Hastings.

86. Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS: Gujrat Vidya Sabha, p. 10
87. Rieu : Vol.III, p. 793b
The letters of Mukhlis is a fine example of Mukhlis maturity in writing. There are three manuscripts copies of the work in the Harding Library, Delhi but Dr. Azhar Ali and Dr. James have mentioned only two copies. Thirty one persons are mentioned to whom the letters were written and some of the wellknown personalities were like Itimad-ud-Daula, Khan-i-Arzu, Nawab Shir Afghan Khan, Qazilbash Khan Ummid and Raja Kushal Chand. It was written in A.H.1164/A.D.1750.

In the begining of the collection of letters, the author has given a short note and it is interesting to note the reason behind as to why Mukhlis collected these letters. He says:

Just after the introductory note, Mukhlis has given first place to the letters of Itimad-ud-Daula. The letter throws much light on the relations between Mukhlis and Itimad-ud-Daula although the letter is devoid of any official trend or political significance. Besides him, Khan-i-Arzu's letters have found appreciable positions in this collection.

88. For his life see the previous chapter.
90. Safar Nama-Mukhlis: pp. 49-56
91. Anand Ram Mukhlis-his life and works(Thesis) No.985, Delhi University.
92. Abdullah : p. 117
The language in the letters are simple but at certain places it is bombastic and less charming. The quotations from the Ghazals and couplets infused the soul of poetry into prose, making the letters more interesting. Moreover, the letters addressed to poets is a fine example of the writer's mastery over the language and at times it is considered to be superior than his 'Safar Nama' in respect of language and style.

Rugqat-i-Munshi Bhagchand

The author seems to be an adept in the art of letter-writing. Some of the letters are addressed by the author to his friends and relations in his personal capacity and the language of the letters are very verbose and ornate.

Rugqat-i-Munshi Sahib Rai

It is the second part of the epistolary of Munshi Sahib Rai. It contains letters written in the name of Muhammad Khan Bahadur Ghazafar Jang to some of the leading Amirs of his time. Nothing much is known about the work.

93. Descriptive Catalogue: Gujarat Vidyalaya, Part I, p. 489
Taraz-ul-Insha

This is a treatise on rhetoric, prosody and poetical figure written by Indrajit, poetically named Muhakkar. The work begins with:

\[
\text{شِرَكٌ ٍ بِفْرَاشٍ أَلَٰٓ ضَفَّتُ مَّا نِفَٰ سَانُنَرَ}
\]

It was written for the author's son Raj Inder Rai and it is divided into a Mukaddimah, five sections called and a Khatimah. The date of the composition of the work is mentioned as A.H.1130/A.D.1717 which is expressed in a versified Chronogram at the end of the words

Tarikh-i-'Alamgir

This is a diary (Bayad) of Shivlal of Ahmedabad whose father's name was Sunderlal.

The work contains a preface, stray letters and verses. It was completed in A.H.1162/A.D.1748. The preface was prepared by Mehta Udai Rai. The prose portion of it has been interspersed with verse. The first letter is by Nandalalji, the second is from Udairam and it is followed by two letters of Reva Shankar Patwari one of which bears the date A.H.1175/A.D.1761. There are also letters from Rajashankar, the son of Tuljashankar Jivanji, Sadashankar Ranchhoddar, Sukhram and Munshi Gulabchand. In the end, there are some verses from some Qasidas.

94. Rieu : Vol.III, P. 1043
95. Descriptive Catalogue: Gujrat Vidyalaya, Part I, p. 26
Tilismat-i-Khayal

It is a large collection of state documents, official and private letters, specimens of flowery ornate prose, Qasidas in praise of saints written in inflated style.

It was compiled by Nawal Kishore whose takhallus was 'Nazakat'. He states that he started the work in A.H.1197/ A.D.1782 for which he gives the Chronogram طليسمات خیال وی. The work is divided into seven tilismat. It must have been completed in the early years of thirteenth century A.H. because there are letters dated A.H.1200/A.D.1785.

Tarikh (Historiographical) works produced during the period

The Eighteenth century will be remembered as one of the finest period so far the history writings by the Hindu writers are concerned. This period saw some of the finest historical works written by Hindu scholars whose writings were no less inferior than their Muslim counterparts. Although it was an accepted fact that," prior to the coming of Muslims, India was poor in the science of history" but with the establishment of the Muslim rule, specially during the Mughal rule, a great deal of achievement was made by Hindu scholars along with the Muslim historians that the eighteenth century could very well be termed, 'a century of full of history writing.' " Historiography was never a

strong point of the Hindus. But after the reign of great Mughal kings many Hindus, after mastering Persian language, entered the arena of Indo-Persian historical biography by following the same technique, style and expressions. It was owing to the Muslims that the Hindus developed a taste for writing history and in course of time they wrote a number of historical books which can now be grouped into a long series.

One notable feature of the eighteenth century was that, after the death of Aurangzeb though the period saw the gradual downfall of the romp and pomp of the Mughal kingdom and inspite of the very disturbed atmosphere in the whole of the country resulting into the indifferences of the art and literature, yet it is pain to note that the later period of this century can boast of some of the finest historical works produced in India by Indian writers. The quantity of the historical works compiled in this period is much more than the number of books written in the past, though their quality may be a matter of comment and discussion. Moreover these works variate with one another in value and importance. Most of the historical works written in this period, were written under the influence of the everchanging political conditions of the country. The war of succession to the Delhi throne after the death of Aurangzeb, the invasion of Nadir Shah

98. Islamic Culture: Vol., 1939, p. 1
(A.H.1151/A.D.1738), of Ahmad Shah Abdali (A.H.1170/A.D.1756), the rebellion of the Marathas and the Sikhs, the assault of Sayed brothers and the tumult of the Rohillas became the cause of affliction and admonition for the wise. Being influenced with this condition, they compiled histories in which the feeling of inability of the world and the infermity of worldly pomp and grandeur is much more apparent. Sujan Rai in the preface of his monumental work, 'Khulasat-ul Tawarikh' writes:

So, many numerous books were written in this period just for amusement without any aim. Their main incentive was to show their mastery over the language. However, some of the works written about a particular area or part of the country, show their depth of seriousness in dealing with the situation.
supply of informations on geographical accounts in the history books written during this period under review, is significant. They tried to explain the geographical situation in describing a historical event and in many of the works of the Hindu historians, their handling of such situation with narration is another feature of the historical works of this period.

In conclusion it can be said that most of the historical works of this period are uncomparable with the classical-historical works written in earlier periods in the matters of range and comprehension of the subject is concerned. But so far the usefulness and importance of the former is concerned, the value and dictum is of not inferior value. Like the previous practices, they may not concern themselves with the description of what is happening outside the centre of description or interest of their main works. They used to confine to a particular centre and it helped them to be more specific. In this way, this period may be said as one of the richest period in the history of Indo-Persian literature so far the writings of historical works are concerned. In the following few pages the present researcher has tried to give the accounts of the historical works written by the Hindu writers during the eighteenth century. He has also tried his best to include as far as possible all the historical works of the Hindu historians of the period under review.
Ahwal-i-Najib-ud Daula Amir-ul-Umra Sabit Jang

The work was written by Bihari Lal, a nephew of Mansukh Rai who was a confidential wakil of Najib. The work was composed in A.H. 1202/A.D. 1787 at Fatehgarh. It was written for Col. Stuart. The work is the source of information about the Shuja's policy towards the Ruhillas and the relation between him and Zabita Khan.

Ahwal-i-Qila'-i-Guwalior

It is a short historical account of the fortress of Guwalior from its foundation under the ancient Rajas down to the twenty second years of Shah Alam's reign in the year A.H. 1194/A.D. 1780 and most probably it was the year of its compilation. It was compiled by two natives of Guwalior, Moti Ram and Khushhal at the request of Captain William Bruce.

Akhbarun-Nawadir

The work which is also known as 'Chahr Gulshan' and 'Khulasat-ul-Nawadir' was composed by Rai Chatar Man who was

101. Abdullah: p. 104
a Kayastha, at the instance of Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din Khan alias Shahabuddin at the time of the second invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (A.H.1173/A.D.1759), given in a versified Chronogram which gives 1173 (A.D.1759) as its year of composition. The author died one week just after the compilation of the last sheet of the work. The work was finally arranged and edited by Chatar Man's grandson, Rai Chandar Bhan Munshi, called Rayzadah, without adding anything to the text. But subsequently Rayzadah wrote a second preface in A.H.1204/A.D.1789 given in the Chronogram:

105

and added a note.

The work is a general history of India from the earliest times to the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan II (A.H.1173/A.D.1759). It is divided as the name implies, into four sections called Gulshans. The editor says that the work contains so much informations in a small compass that it 'resembles the ocean placed in a cup'. The historical part is a mere abstract and of no value. And also it has not quoted any authorities for its statements. But the work has other point of interest, specially in the matter of biographies of the Muhammedan

104. Rieu has wrongly mentioned as 'Rai Khan Murshi'. See Rieu: Vol.III, p. 901
106. Ibid. But not 'Chamans' as mentioned here.
siants. Though the writer is a Hindu, the biographies are written in a true spirit of belief of the Muslims. The accounts of Hindu Faqirs, the itineraries and the statistical Tables of the twenty two Subhas which were under the kings of Hindusthan, are also useful.

The work contains the following 'Babs':

Gulshan I : The kings of Hindusthan from Judhisthira to the fall of the Mughal empire with a statistical account of the several Suthas of Hindusthan proper and of their rulers and saints.

Gulshan II : An account of the Southern Subhas of India and of their rulers and saints.

Gulshan III : Itineraries from Delhi to the different quarters of India.

Gulshan IV : An account of the Hindu Faqirs.

Amir Namah

Baswanlal Shadan, son of Tansukh Rai Shadan, is the author of Amir Namah. It is a biographical account of Amir-ud-Daula Muhammad Amir Khan, the Afghan general under whom

107. Abdullah : p. 108
109. The MS is in Aligarh. Salam MS No.192/58.
Shadan served as an assistant Chief Secretary. It is a history of the Amir's period opening with the verse:

نام خدا را پیش و پس کر فسح ستاد را 

Shadan wrote the book at the instance of Amir and perpetual enducement of Muhammad Wazir Khan, the son of Amir. Shadan mentioned that he made use of Makhzan-i-Afghani, Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha and Majma'ul-Ansab in the compilation of the present book. The book was completed in the year A.H.1240/1124 which can be found from the Chronogram.

Amir Namah is divided into four chapters (Bahar), the contents of which are described in the following verses.

Shadan tried to trace the family origin of the Amir from its very beginning when the first member of the family came to power. He also tried to give a detail narration of the circumstances which virtually led Amir to power, his day

110. Shadan, B. : Amir Namah, fol. 2a
111 Ibid : fol. 3a
112. Shadan : op. cit.
113. Ibid.
to day transactions with others rulers of his time, his wars
with others and the people who came in contact with him.
Besides this, the account of Amir's son, their manners and
behaviours, their marriages etc are given in the work.

Anis-ul Akhbar

Mohanlal Anis is the author of this work. It was
written in A.H.1193/A.D.1779.

Anis-ul Akhbar is an interesting biography of Mirza
Fakhir Makin and his pupil. Besides, this, Anis has also
given an account of the six Hindu pupils of Mirza Makin
who used to show their writings to Mirza.

A'zam-ul-Harb

It is a history of the reign of Muhammad 'Azam Shah
son of Aurangzeb, written in the year A.H.1120/A.D.1708.
It deals with the civil war between 'Azam and his brothers.

The book was written by Kamraj, son of Nain Singh.
Kamraj describes himself as a Kayastha who was an inhabitant
of Phaphund and was an ardent servant of Muhammad 'Azam Shah.
Of his father, it is incidently stated that he served as an

114. For his life see the previous chapter.
115. Islamic Culture: Vol.XIII, 1938, p. 405
assistant in the Wala Shahi artillery which accompanied the prince on his way to Malwa in A.H.1118/A.D.1706. The forefathers of Kamraj had been in the imperial service for three generations. Kamraj writes in the preface of the book that abundant material was procured for him by the Waqa'i-Nigar-i Huzur. The book was written in a rather ornate and diffuse style where he has given an account of the short-lived rule of the ill-fated Muhammad Shah. The author often gives expression to the sense of obligation of himself and his family to the Timuride court for their being with them for long three generations.

117

Bansawali

It is a history of the Rajas of Dhundhar from their origin, about A.H.380/A.D.990 to A.H.1198/A.D.1783. It begins with:

It appears from the preface that the present history was translated from a Hindi original, obtained from Jaipur in A.H.1198/A.D.1783 by James Brown. The Persian version is due to the Major's Munshi Jan 'Alam Shirin-Rakam who completed it in Agra in the month of Shawwal of the same year.

The narration begins with Isar Singh who held sway in Guwalior and Narwar about A.H.380 and whose grand-son Dulah Rao became the founder of the Kachwahah dynasty in Dhundhar. It grows more circumstantial as it reaches the time of Aktar when Raja Man Singh, son of Bhawant Singh and his successor began to play a conspicuous part in the Mughal empire and it comes to a close with the first year of the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh, who was reigning at the time of the composition of this work.

Bisat-ul Ghanaim

This is a compendious history of the Marathas from their origin to the battle of Panipat in A.H.1174/A.D.1760. This book was compiled by Lacchminarain Shafiq Aurangabadi in A.H.1214/A.D.1799 for the title forms a Chronogram.

The Bisat-ul Ghanaim is undoubtedly the best book coming out of no less literateur than Lacchminarain's calibre who had a profound knowledge of the contemporary ruling

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118. Bansawali: fol. 40a
120. Ibid: p. 328
121. Abdullah: p. 110
122. Lacchminarain must have the second word of the title instead of because the numerical value of would be 1204 and not 1214.
powers of India. The work is the history of the Marathas. In
the introduction of the book, the author has reflected without
reservation the unfair and contemptuous spirit in which the
Muslim writers generally deal with the people of another
faith. The author claims the credit of having drawn his
informations from reliable persons who had profound knowledge
of the history and language of the Marathas.

Brij Mahatum

The author Rupnarain was a native of Sialkot. His
father was Hari Ram Khatri.

Brij Mahatum is a book of the sacred places of the
Hindus. The book was written in A.H.1129/A.D.1716.

Bazm-i-Khayal

The book is a versified sketch of Indian history
written by Rai Amar Singh Khushdil. The book containing the
political accounts of his days, deals chiefly with the English
rulers of India down to A.H.1210/A.D.1795 and it forms the major
part of the book. It was completed in A.H.1211/A.D.1796.

123. Islamic Culture : Vol. XIII, 1939, p. 404
124. Rieu : Vol. III, p. 1017
125. For his further reference, see the previous chapter.
Chahar-Gulzar-i-Shuja’i

The author of the book was Hari Charan Das, son of Udai Rai, son of Makund Rai, son of Sagar Mal, the Qanun-gu of paragana Meerut in the province of Delhi. Hari Charan tells us that he was in the service of Nawwab Qasim Ali Khan of Delhi, a relation of Ishaque Khan Najmud-Daula. In the first year of the reign of 'Alamgir II, he accompanied his master, the Nawwab Qasim Ali Khan and his daughter, Najbu-n-Nisa Khanam alias Bibi Khanam, wife of the late Nawwab Najmud-Daula who came to Audh to have an interview with Nawwab Mirza 'Ali Khan Iftikhar-ud-Daula and Salar Jang Khan-Khanam, the brothers of the deceased Nawwabs and sons of Nawwab Ma'tamad-ud Daula Ishaque Khan. Harcharan Das remained in the service of Bibi Khanam who lived at Faizabad. He was granted a masad-i-maash by Shuja-ud Daula through the recommendation of Bibi Khanam and Shafique 'Ali Khan and he continued to receive it for seventeen years, that is upto A.H.1184/A.D. 1770 when it was stopped by Beni Bahadur on account of some misunderstanding between him and Bibi Khanam. The situation led Har Charan Das to penniless and distress but for a time being. He started to receive the grant once again when Beni Bahadur became blind when power and authority was withdrawn.

127. Elliot & Dowson : Studies in Indian History, part III, p. 47
128. Ibid
129. Ibid
from him in A.H.1181/A.D.1767. Har Charan Das referring to the stoppage of the allowance vents his spleen on Beni Bahadur in these words:

Although the consideration was made once again through the wishes of Bibi Khanam in whose immediate employment he was, yet he felt it his duty to make some return to the favour and kindness shown to him and therefore, the compiler thought it proper to dedicate the book to him and gave it the title of Chahar-Gulzar-i-Shuja'i (The four rose gardens of Shuja).

Chahar-Gulzar-i-Shuja'i was completed in the year A.H.1201/A.D.1786. The book is divided into two parts, the first part deals with the Hindu period and the second part discusses the Muslim rule in India.

The contents of the book in part I is as follows:

Book I: History of Brahma, Mahes etc.
II: The Treta Yuga and the Avatars
III: Account of Satya Yuga
IV: The Dwapara
V: The Kali Yuga

130. Shrivastava, A.L.: Shuja-ud-Daulah, p. 382
131. Abdullah: p. 104
132. Elliot & Dowson: Studies in Indian History, part III, p. 50
Pasturul 'Amal

It was written by Thakur Lal who was the son of Bhoj Das Kayastha. He was a native of Matur in the district of Burhanpur.

Dasturul 'Amal was written in the year A.H.1139/A.D. 1726. The book contains a list of various events of India and the Deccan.

Farmarawayan-i-Hunud

It was the outcome of the pen of Rai Amar Singh Khushdil. It is a history of the Hindus of India from the earliest times down to the reign of Sultan Alauddin Ghori. The language and the style of the book speaks highly of the calibre and ability of the author.

Fihrist-i-Taimuriyan

It is a compendium of the history of Indian Taimurids written by Janaki Ram in A.H.1203/A.D.1788. It begins with:

133. Islamic Culture: Vol. XIII, 1939, p. 403
134. For his life, see the previous chapter.
The work starts with a short preface in which the author says that he wanted to know the history of Taimurids and since other sources were scanty, he compiled the present work to fulfil that side of his desire. So that it can come handy as a ready reference to others as well.

The history begins with Taimur and is brought down to Ramazan, A.H.1185/A.D.1771 when Shah 'Alam was treacherously blinded by the Rohilla Chief, Ghulam Qadir Khan.

Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri

The author of this chronicle, Ishwar Das was an exceptionally important chronicler among the contemporary and near contemporary chroniclers of Aurangzeb. He said in the preface of his work, 'Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri' that, "He was a Nagar Brahman and an inhabitant of Pakpattan." It shows, therefore, that he belonged to an old and respectable family of the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat who had been known for their piety, scholarship and administrative capabilities. It may be mentioned that, though born and brought up in a traditionally orthodox family of the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat, he was free from all religious fanaticism. He was

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137. Rieu : Vol. I, p. 269
138. According to Dr. J.S. Bird, his name was Shridas. See, History of Gujarat : p. 89
139. Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri : fol. 6a
highly impressed by the Islamic philosophy and had profound regard and tolerance towards that religion.

Although he is treated as one of the famous chroniclers of the later Mughal period, surprisingly enough, there is dearth of information as regard to the date of his birth. His book does not throw light on this point. The author has avoided mentioning not only the date of his birth, he has also not mentioned the date of his joining the Qadi excepting the information which is mentioned in the preface of the book, that "he joined the service of Qadi-ul-Quddat Shaikh-ul-Islam at the first stage of his youth and remained attached to him (the Qadi) till the age of thirty." The contemporary and the near contemporary chroniclers are also quite silent in this matter. If it is accepted that he joined the service of Qadi at the age of fourteen, then he completed his thirty years in A.H.1096/A.D.1684. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that he was born around A.H.1065/A.D.1654 and the year of his joining Qadi would be A.H.1079/A.D.1668. Nothing has been mentioned about his leaving of Qadi and no reason is given. Lateron he took up a job under Shuja'at-Khan,

140. Islamic Culture : Vol. XLIX, No. 4, 1975, p. 224
141. SaqiMusta' id Khan : Ma' aṣṭhīr-i-' Alamgīrī, (Tr) Sarkar, J. W., p. 148
142. Islamic Culture : op. cit.
143. Ma' aṣṭhīr-i- ' Alamgīrī : op. cit, p. 239 and 394
144. His real name was Muhammad Beg and was in the service of Prince Murad Bakhsh and was made Governor of Gujarat in A.H.1098/A.D.1686 by Aurangzeb.
the Governor of Gujarat. In the concluding chapter, Ishvar Das relates an event in which he was personally involved in the surrender of Safiyat-un-Nisa and Buland Akhtar by Durga Das Rathor. As the author was appointed an Amin in Jodhpur by Shuja'at Khan, he became intimately connected with the Rajput chief and persuaded him to secure the pardon of the Emperor through the surrender of the children of Muhammad Akbar, the rebel prince. In reward of this service, the author was given the commander of 250 and was given a Jagir in Maira (Marwar) and posted him to Ahmadabad.

The object of writing Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri by Ishwar Das was neither to glorify the period of Emperor Aurangzeb nor to denigrate it, nor to win any person's favour. According to him, his main intention was that, "after going through it, the high-born may realize its importance, the educated may derive intellectual benefits, the illiterate gain knowledge and the brave may seek inspiration of bravery. The cowards on the other hand, may also long to undertake valorous deeds." Therefore, it can rightly be said that the book was composed for the benefit of prosperity. Further he states that, "I wanted to write a detailed account of the achievements of the predecessors and its information was obtained from the Qadi or was witnessed which I thought would

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145. Islamic Culture : Vol.XLIX, No.4, 1975, p. 224
146. Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri : fol. 166 to 168
147. Ibid : fol. 6
comprise volumes. Keeping this in my mind, I decided to write a brief but important account of Aurangzeb's reign which is captioned as Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri and it comprises seven topics.

Ishwardas did not mention the date of the composition of his book. J.N. Sarkar in his book, "Studies in Mughal India," says, "Ishwardas completed the Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri on 21st Rabi'1, A.H. 1143/23rd September A.D. 1730 (12th year of Muhammad Shah's reign), when he was seventy six years old. J.N. Sarkar has not supported his conclusion with any argument based on facts. Most probably he seemed to have established this date on the basis of the date given at the end of the MS which mentions that:

It shows that the copy of the work prepared for Lala Khushhal, was dated Sunday, 21st Rabi'1, A.H. 1163/ Saturday, the 17th February, A.D. 1750, the date which is also mentioned by Rieu. In the light of these facts, the date given by J.N. Sarkar seems

148. Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri: fol. 6b
149. Sarkar, J.N.: Studies in Mughal India, p. 128
150. Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri: fol. 168a
to be erroneous because it is the date of the transcription of the work and not the completion of the work. Its date can be established on the basis of the last chapter which deals with the appointment of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur as the Subedar of Lahore and the arrival of Sultan Akhtar and Durgadas at the imperial court. Therefore, it can be said that the author has avoided the events covering not only the periods A.H.1110-1113/A.D.1698-1701 but also the events upto the death of Aurangzeb in A.H.1119/A.D.1707. Under the above circumstances, there can be two possibilities, i.e., first Ishwardas completed the work in A.H.1111/A.D.1699-1700 when he was forty-seven years old and presented it to Sanju'at Khan and lived thereafter without adding anything to it. Secondly, he did present the book to the Khan before the later's death in A.H.1113/A.D.1701 and died in the same year. The work starts with the war of succession and ends with the reconciliation of Aurangzeb with Durgadas. Though it does not cover the entire period of Aurangzeb's reign yet many valuable informations can easily be gathered from the book. The importance of the work can be judged from the fact that the author of Mir'at-i-Ahmadi has utilized the book as one of the sources and based on it his account of the surrender of

152. Rieu : Vol.7p 270
153. Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri: p. 395
154. Islamic Culture : Vol.XLIX, No.4,1975, p. 226
Saifunnisa Begum, Buland Akhtar and Ourgadas. The author tried to avoid portraying the individual character of the Mughal nobles. Moreover, he is the only Indian writer who provides us minute information about the measurement of the Qila-i-Bijapur and the artillery pieces fitted there.

As far the literary value of Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri is concerned, it was not written in the style of 'Alamgir Namah. The work begins with a highly verbose encomium on God, the Prophet and the glorification of Aurangzeb and the narration is simple. Although the records of the events are lengthy, yet the style is not pedantic. Occasionally he uses Persian verses also, as:

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\text{His description is not without authenticity. He did not impose his own views in the characters quoted by him. It was an objective history written by him and viewed the past as it actually was but never as it should have been in accordance with his ideals and it was to illustrate or to emphasise by contrast that he selected his events.}
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Gulshan-i-Aasar

It was written by Nim Narayan, son of Chin Rai Khetri.

156. Islamic Culture : Vol.XLIX,No.4,1975,p. 229
157 Rieu : Vol. III, p. 917
He was a Munshi of Hakam Singh during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. The book was written in A.H.1125/A.D.1713.

It is a critical history of the Hindus based on the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagawat Gita and the Harivamsa.

Gwallior Namah

This is a history of the fortress of Gwallior from its origin up to A.H.1078/A.D.1667. It was written by Hiraman, son of Munshi Girdhuradas. The work begins with:

The author Hiraman was a Munshi to Mu'tamad Khan who held the command of Gwallior from A.H.1071 to A.H.1078/A.D.1660 to A.D.1667. It has been mentioned that he was siding Aurangzeb in his great battle with Shu'ja near Shahjahanpur in A.H.1069/A.D.1658.

Mu'tamad Khan who was a eunuch was called Khwajah Nur previously and was attached by Aurangzeb in the first year of his reign to the service of his captive father, with the above title. He was afterwards appointed in succession to the command of the fortress of Delhi, Gwallior, Agrah and returned to the court after a second term of office in Gwallior in A.H.1091/A.D.1680.

158. Abdullah: p. 101
159. Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. I, pp. 303-304
The history begins with the foundation of Gwallior. It was completed with the reign of Aurangzeb, whose wars with his brothers are related at some length, down to the imprisonment of the princes Muhammad Sultan and Sulaiman Shaikh in the fort of Gwallior.

The last chapter of the work treats of the governorship of Mu'tamad Khan and the various buildings erected by him in Gwallior. It concludes with his appearance at the Emperor's court on his transfer from Gwallior to Agrah in A.H.1078/A.D. 1667. The early part of the present work down to the reign of Shahjahan is borrowed without acknowledgement from a book also called 'Gwallior Namah' written in A.H.1050/A.D.1640 by one Shaikh Jalal Hisari.

Halat-i-Hyderabad

The work was compiled by Lacchminarain Shafiq in the year A.H.1214/A.D.1799.

The work contains the accounts of the mosque, monuments, gardens etc of the places like Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Bedar.

160. Gwallior Namah : fol. 28 See, Elliot & Dowson, Vol.VIII, pp.303
161. Elliot & Dowson The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. 1, pp. 303-304
162. Abdullah : p.110
163. Naqvi, Dr. S.A.R.: Tazkirah Na'wi Farsi dar Hind o Pakistan, p. 441
Halat-i-Maratha

It contains the account of the Maratha Pesuas and their activities. It was written by Raghunath in A.H. 1188/A.D. 1774.

The work contains about the Marathas from the appointment of Saji Rao to that office by Raja Sahu to the negotiations carried on by Raghunath with Colonel Upton in Purandhar in A.H. 1190/A.D. 1776. The work begins with:

Haqiqat-hai Hindustan

The book Haqiqat-hai Hindustan was written by Lacchmi Narayan Shafiq, the title of which expresses numerically the date of its composition in A.H. 1204/A.D. 1789, is a book on history and topography of the Subhas of Hindustan and the Deccan. The work begins:

While giving the account of the origin of the work, the author says that, in around A.H. 1204/A.D. 1789 while he was staying in Hyderabad, some old and worm-eaten revenue returns

164. Rieu : Vol.II, p. 801
165. Indo-Iranica : Vol.XIII, 1939, p. 405
166. Abdullah : p. 106
167. Rieu : op. cit.
169. For further reference, see the previous chapter.
were sent to him from Aurangabad by his father Rai Mansaram who was the Dewan of Nawab Asaf Jah. These revenue returns were drawn up by his grand father and signed by Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah. They were brought down from various dates upto the year A.H.1139/A.D.1726. Realising the great importance of them, Shafiq was induced to write them in a more intelligible form and supplemented them with additional informations for the benefit of his munificent patron, Captain William Patrick.

The book is divided into four Maqalas, the description of which speak for itself Shafiq's interest.

Maqala I: It deals with the old revenue returns drawn up by his grand father and signed by Nizamul Mulk extending as far as the year A.H.1139/ A.D.1726 with further addition and supplements.

Maqala II: It gives an account of some of the Subhas of northern Hindustan.

Maqala III: It gives an account of some subhas of the Deccan.

Maqala IV: It contains a short chronicle of the Muslim rulers of India from Sultan Muizz-uddin-Sam down to A.H.1204/A.D.1789 in the reign of Shah 'Alam.

170. Catalogue, Govt. Oriental MS Library, Madras, No.53, p. 54E
The credit of compiling this historical work goes to Kam Raj, son of Nain Singh. Kam Raj, according to his own statement, was a Kayastha and an inhabitant of Paphund. He is also the author of another historical work, 'Azam-ul-Harb'.

The work 'Ibrat Namah contains the history of India from the time of the accession into throne of 'Azam Shah, who was the third son of Aurangzeb, in A.H.1119/A.D.1707 up to the elevation of Prince Raushan Akhtar to the imperial throne under the title of Muhammad Shah in A.H.1132/A.D.1719 by the Sayed brothers.

Karzar-i-Sada Shiva Bhauwa Shola Ahmad Abdali

A.L.Srivastava in his book, 'Shuja-ud Daula' writes:

There is yet another historian who apparently belongs to this period, though his work was composed and published in 1780, five years after Shuja-ud Daulah's death (A.D.1775). A Maratha Brahman by birth and upbringing Kashi Raj had spent most of his life in the service of Safdar Jang and Shuja-ud-Daula and was a distinguished diplomat and writer and master of Persian in which language he wrote a

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172. Abdullah : p. 58
173. He is already mentioned along with his work 'Azamul Harb in this chapter.
lucid and polished style, rich in vocabulary and
to the historical point of view, this
work occupies the first place among the Chronicles on the fateful third battle of Panipat.  

The work bears the testimony of the famous third battle of Panipat which Kashi Raj had the fortune of witnessing it. Kashi Raj wrote this account of the battle after about nineteen years of the occurrence. His account of the battle, "is the fullest and most trustworthy source of the battle itself."  

Khatt-e-Holkar

The author of this historical work was Mukand Rai. It was compiled in A.H.1190/A.D.1776.

Khatt-e-Holkar contains the account of the political letters of Raja Holkar which were translated by the above named author. The book is a source to know the affairs of the Holkar family.  

Kiguhar Namah

The work contains the history of the Kohkan tribe of the north. It also contains the references of the Mohammedan  

176. Islamic Culture: Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, January, 1953, p. 74  
177. Abdullah : p. 104  
178. ASB : MS No. 188; Rieu : Vol. II, p. 1012b
saints of the tribe down to the year A.H.1137/A.D.1724. The author, Duni Chand Bali, traces the history of the origin of the tribe from Isfahan and states that due to the non-availability of sufficient food, this tribe migrated to Ghaznin from Isfahan. The first known king of the tribe who ruled over Tibet was by the name Sultan Aqid of this dynasty. The author further states that Sultan Qab invaded Kashmir and defeated them. The Kashmir king Munawar-ud-Din gave his daughter in marriage with Sultan Farrukh, son of Sultan Qab after a truce was accorded. It is further stated that fourteen kings of the tribe ruled over Kashmir and the last king of the tribe, Sultan Rustam was slain and the whole tribe was forced to retreat to Ghaznin. They reorganised the tribe and became powerful once again under the leadership of Kakar Shah who finally restored the lost prestige and ruled in Kabul. They again came to India around A.H.587/A.D.1191 when Shahab-ud-Din Ghuri was busy fighting with the combine army of the Hindu Rajas of the north under the command of Rai Pithora or Prithiraj at the battle of Tarain or Talawari. Since then the tribe settled in Sind under the leadership of Bijli Khan.

Majma'ul Akhbar

It was compiled by Harsukh Rai, son of Jiwan Das, son

179. Smith, V.: The Oxford History of India, p. 218
180. Elliot & Dowson: History of India as told by its own Historian, Vol. VIII, p. 357
of Babant Ram, a Sakhal Khatri who all belonged to Lahore. Harshukh Rai's grandfather, Rai Basant Ram was the Governor of Agra for many years. The great-grandfather of the author Daya Ram was the Diwan of Mubrizul Mulk Nawab Sarbuland Khan.

Harsukh Rai compiled the present work in A.H.1214/A.D. 1799 or the forty-second years of Shah 'Alam and the chronogram in the preface which is formed by combining 'Majma'ul Akhbar' with another word, gives also 1214 but as he carries down the history to A.H.1220/A.D.1805 or the forty-eight years of Shah 'Alam, it is probable that an incorrect date has been assumed in order to make it accord with the title of the work. Although the work is a mere compilation of historical events, yet it is useful in many respect which is well scribbled.

The work is divided into eight books (akhbar) and several chapters (khabar).

Maa'dir-i-Asafi

Among the historians of the eighteenth century Deccan, Lacchminarain Shafiq holds an important place. His grand-father was a trusted servant of Firoz Jang, the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Nizam dynasty of Hyderabad. The father of Lacchminarain, Lala Mansaram was the Secretary of

182. Elliot & Dowson : The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol.VIII, p. 357
Nizamul Mulk. He was with Nizam-ul-Mulk till the latter's death in A.H.1162/A.D.1748. The family settled in Aurangabad and as such Lacchminarain is known as Aurangabadi.

The present work is the general history of the ruling house of Hyderabad, the Aasafjah Nizam. It was composed in A.H.1208/A.D.1793 which covers the history from Khwajah Amid to Asafjah II.

It is a valuable work and gives much reliable information on the Asafjah dynasty and also it gives much reliable other information about the Nizam's relation with Oudh. It also contains the history of Marathas.

Maasir-i-Haidari

This is another noteworthy work on history by the famous scholar Lacchminarain Shafiq. It contains the history of Sultan Haidar 'Ali. The work was compiled in A.H.1214/A.D.1799. Nothing much is known about this work.

Maasir-i-Nizami

It was written by Rai Mansa Ram, the father of the

183. Srivastava, A.L.: The first two Nawabs of Awadh, p. 104
184. Abdullah : p. 110
185. Ibid : p. 111
186. Ethe : Vol. I, p. 182
famous scholar Lacchminarain Shafiq, who was a Secretary in the office of the Sadarat during the time of Nizam-ul Mulk. He is quoted to be saying in his book Maasir-i-Nizami by Dr. S. Abdullah thus:

Bhavani Das, the father of Mansa Ram served under Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jang while he himself acted as Secretary to Nizam-ul Mulk. Thus it can be observed that the family of Mansaram was associated with the family of Nizam-ul Mulk for three generation. So closely associated was Mansaram with Nizam-ul Mulk that he was present at the bed-side of the Nizam when he breathed his last. Mansaram continued to serve the Nizams after the death of Nizam-ul Mulk. He worked for nearly twenty years under Nizam-ul-Ali Khan after which Mansaram retired.

Maasir-i-Nizami was completed in A.H.1200/A.U.1785. It deals with the history of Nawwab Asafjah. It runs into 194 pages. Besides biography, it contains 94 anecdotes.

188. Rao, P. S. M.: Eighteenth Century Deccan, p. 46
189. Ibid : p. 133
Mizan-i-Danish

The author was Anandrup Brahman who was a native of Ghagulnath in the district of Narnol or Narnawal (Madras). The author of an article, 'The Literary Progress of the Hindus under Muslim rule', Syed Sulaiman Nadvi has mentioned his name as 'Gurga Das', which is rather confusing. More so because the date of composition of the book and the reference of the author save the name are the same as are mentioned by Rieu and Dr. Syed Abdullah, the author of the book, 'Adabat-i-Fari main Hinduon ka Hisaa'. The author was a Brahmin and he served for some time in the court of Khaluji Ahonsle. From Nagpur he went to Allahabad in connection with the political affairs of Kasirul Mulk Nasir Jang. The present work was written in A.H. 1182/A.D. 1768.

The Mizan-i-Danish is an abridgement of the general history of India which is divided into four parts and according to Jugi, they are - Sat, Treta, Dwapan, and Kali.

Mukhtasar Tariikh-i-Gujarat

The title of the work means, "An abridged history of..."

190. Rieu : Vol. Ill, p. 910b
191. Islamic Culture : Vol. XIII, 1939, p. 404
192. Rieu : op. cit.
193. Abdullah : p. 103
194. Islamic Culture: op. cit, p. 405
"Gujarat" by Sarabhai Mehta.

It is the history of the Hindu kings, Sultans and Nazims (Governors) of Gujarat up to the domination of Peswas. The last event narrated in the work is of the arrest of Fakhrud-Daula, the deputy of Jawanmard Kahn Bahadur by the Marathas in A.H. 1157/A.D. 1744.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh

The author of the work Jagjiwan Das was a native of Gujarat. His father’s name was Manohar Das. Jagjiwan Das served under Muhammad Mu‘azzam as the Inspector General of Post-offices. All the confidential letters of the state used to pass through him. This gave him ample opportunity to know historical matters as well as other information. This inspired him to gather historical materials. He came to the court of Bahadur Shah I at Lahore and he was well received by the Royal personnels. It was due to the directives of the Royal court, he wrote the present work, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh. Finally he presented the book in A.H. 1120/A.D. 1708. He was decorated with a title and robes of honour as rewards for the task he had so enviously completed.

197. Abdullah: p. 58
198. *Islamic Culture*: Vol.XIII, 1939, p. 403
The Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh is a book of general history. It is a transcription of the Lubb-ul-Tawarikh with a supplement.

Qissa-Daria-i-Gumti

It is an account of the course of the river Gumti written by Fath Chand whose father's name was Udit Chand of Baluram. He was a Kayastha. The work begins with:

According to the statement mentioned in the preamble of the present work, this work was written in A.H. 1180/A.D. 1766 at the request of a Christian Padre (father).

Raja Sohawali

The author Hiram (or Haniram), son of Uhaniram, son of Uhanraja, the Registrar of the paragana of Auram in the state of Lucknow in the subah of Ahmadnagar Audh, wrote the book for Colonel Robert Frith in A.H. 1207/A.D. 1792.

The work is a history of the Hindu Rajas and the Muslim rulers of India. The book contains statistical tables of the

201. Abdullah : p. 104; Ethe : Vol. I, p. 88
202. Raja Sohawali : fol. 2a, 1.6 and fol. 6b 1.10
203. Ibid : fol. 7a, 11, 8 and 9; Abdullah : p. 104
subahs of India compiled from various Sanskrit and Persian sources. The book was written in five tabaqats. The first three tabaqats deal with the Hindu Rajas of India, the fourth deal with the Muslim rulers down to Shah 'Alam (the last date mentioned in the chapter is A.H.1194/A.D.1780, the time of the English occupation of Ahmedabad) and the fifth deal with a statistics of India.

204

Risala-i-Darbar-i-Asafia

It was composed by Rai Mansaram, the father of that great scholar Lacchminarain Shafiq, in A.H.1175/A.D.1761.

The work deals with the rules and regulations laid down by Nizam-ul Vulk in running the kingdom. It took the writer two years to complete the work.

206

Risala-i-Manak Shah

This book was written at the advice and wishes of a British Administrator, Major James Mordant by Bodh Sinan in A.H.1197/A.D.1782. Bodh Singn was ably assisted by Lala 'Ajait Singh in the composition of the book.

The book is the history of the Sikhs from A.H.1178/207 A.U.1764 to the author's time.

Risala-i-Rajawali

It is a short account of the rulers of India from the early Rajas down to 'Alamgir II who reigned from A.H.1167 to A.H.1173/A.U.1754 to A.D.1759. The book chiefly consists of lists and tables with a succinct text, originally drawn up by Raja Walia whose real name was Banwalidas. The work begins with:

There is another copy with the same title. It goes down as far as the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign and it ends with the middle period of his reign. The remainder of this copy of the work is filled with miscellaneous writings, most of which is on epistles on mystic topics, other letters and pieces of ornate prose.

Although the name of the author does not appear and as there is scarcely any differences between the Rajawali and this portion of the other work, it can be presumed that

207. Islamic Culture : Vol.XIII, 1939, p. 405
208. Etbe : Vol.I, No.205 & 206, p. 87
both the portions are of the same book written by the same author.

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211

Sayeed Namah

This is a historical work of Jaswant Rai, son of Shagwanti Rai, son of Sundardas. Although there is no mention of his name in the book except the oft repeated Munshi, it is no doubt that the work was of Jaswant Rai. The present work was completed in A.H.1135/A.D.1722.

The work is an account of the life and history of the ruler of Carnatic, Saa'dat Ullah Khan (b. A.H.1061/A.D.1651 d. A.H.1145/A.D.1732) who had great respect and honour for the author and had a very high opinion for him also.

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214

Shahiul Akhbar

This is a general history of India compiled by Sarup Chand Khatri in A.H.1209/A.D.1794.

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211. Ibid : Vol.I, p. 331
212. Ethe : Vol.I, p. 195
213. For his life etc, see the previous chapter.
214. Elliot & Dowson : The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol.VIII, p. 313
215. Abdullah : p. 105
The work opens with the praise of the God, the Prophet Muhammad and all his family and companions. The work was compiled at the instance of Sir John Shave, the then Governor General of India. Several authorities are quoted by the author in writing the history down to the period of the author.

216

Shahnama-i-Munawar Kalam

Very little is known about the author of this work, Shiva Das. He hailed from Lucknow and was a court Secretary for a long time. Nothing has been mentioned by the author in the preface of this book. The date of the compilation of the work is mentioned by the author of 'Adbiyat-i-Farsi main Hinduon ka Hissa' as A.H.1134/A.D.1721. But A.L.Srivastava in his book 'The first two Nawwabs of Awadh' writes "... the date of the composition is not given but as the author belonged to Lucknow, it is presumed that he must have completed the work before September A.H.1135/A.D.1722, the date of Saa'dat Khan's appointment to Awadh or else he must have given some account of the Khan," but "it was not finished before the year A.H.1217/A.D.1802."

217. Abdullah : p. 102
219. Iqbal, Dr. S. : Indo-Persian Literature during the later Half of the 18th Century, (Thesis), 1979, p. 181
The book is a history beginning with the reign of Farrukh Siyar (A.H.1125 to A.H.1132/A.D.1713 to A.D.1719) and ends with the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah (A.H.1132 to A.H.1161/A.D.1719 to A.D.1748). The author was moved to write the book by the consideration that he (Shive Uas) had been allowed to remain a long time in the society of learned, scientific and highly talented men and had spent his life in the service of the great. He had moreover applied himself to acquiring the art of writing with elegance and so he determined to show the result of his society in his composition. He named his work, 'Shahnama-i Munauwar Kalam' because he had been on terms of intimacy with the great and derived advantages from them." In the composition of the work, he followed the fashion of the historians and 'although a Hindu, he opens his work like a devout Musalman.'

The work is not a coherent history but a compilation of court news, official letters and detached narratives of the day to day transactions in the imperial court after the battle of Hasanpur. Written in a fluent and plain language and free from defects and prejudice or partisanship, the work constitutes a primary source for the history of the period.

220. Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol.VIII, p. 159
221. Ibid
223

Tarikh-i-Ahmad Khani

It was compiled by Nawal Rai, son of Hiralal in A.H. 1170/A.D. 1756. He was a native of Allahabad. It was written at the instance of Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash.

The work consists of two chapters. The first chapter is a poetical account of the carrier of the Rohilla Chief Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash and his protracted war with the Wazir Safdar Jang from the death of his father Muhammad Khan to his peace with the Wazir Safdar Jang and his installation on the Masnad of Farrukhabad in A.H. 1164/A.D. 1750. The second chapter is full of collection of Indian tales and anecdotes.

225

Tarikh-i-Dilkusha

Bhim Sen Kayastha, the author of this book, was the son of Raghunath Das and was born in Burhanpur in A.H. 1059/A.D. 1649 in the twenty third year of Shah Jahan's reign. One of his uncles, Bhagwan Das was a Dewan in 'Alamgir's court and was honoured with the title of 'Dayanat Rai'.

Bhim Sen first served under Rao Dalpat, the Governor of Bundela who had proved himself very useful in the wars of

224. Abdullah : p. 103
the Deccan. So 'Alamgir bestowed upon him the title of Rao and appointed him Commander of three thousand men. Bhim Sen was placed in charge of the fortress of Naldarak which he governed well. Rao Dalpat had espoused the cause of 'Azam Shah and was killed in the battle of Jajowan on A.H.1120/A.D.1708. This work supplies the information of these campaigns and throws light on the general economic conditions of the Deccan and the plight of Jagirdars. In A.H.1120/A.D.1708, Bhim Sen resigned his post and returned home where he passed the rest of his life in literary pursuits. He wrote the history of 'Alamgir's reign, namely the Uilkusha (Heart opener) in A.H.1120/A.D.1708.

The Tarikh-i-Dilkusha is the annals of the contemporary military translation in the Deccan in the reign of Aurangzeb from A.H.1068 to A.H.1120/A.D.1657 to A.D.1708. It throws a flood of light on the noteworthy historical events and social conditions of the times which were generally neglected by the historians of the period. The work begins with:

There is only one MS in the British Museum. An abridged translation of this book has been published by Jonathan Scott under the title, 'Journal of a Bundela Officer.' In one of his articles, Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes:

Bhimsen Burhanpuri, a Kayastha hereditary civil officer and author of Nuskha-i-Uilkusha looked at

228. Ethe: Vol.I, p. 170
'Alamgir's reign through the eye of a contemporary Hindu. He knew the truth and could afford to tell it and was not a lying flatter. He has supplied many things which are lacking in the official history, viz, (1) causes and effects of events, (2) state of the country, (3) condition of the people, their amusements, (4) prices of goods, (5) condition of roads, (6) social life of the official class and (7) incidents in Mughal warfare in the Deccan. His critical approach to Aurangzeb's long, desolating wars, reference to the birth of a new 'tent generation', dislocation and instability in jagirs, oppressive collection of taxes and rents, the flight of peasants from land to join the Marathas to escape from sets of jagirdars are revealing and show Bhim Sen to be a social historian of the time.

There is another book with the same title written by Inayatulla Kanbu, the elder brother of Shaikh Muhammad Salih, the historian. This work must not be confused with the former. The latter work deals with the history of Shahjahan and his predecessors.

231
Tarikh-i-Faiz Baksh

The author Shiva Prasad was in the service of Nawab

231. Rieu: Vol. II, p. 306; Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VIII, p. 175

There is another work by the same name of Faizabad and as both of them concentrated on the same period, there is a great probability of confounding the two works. The work is the history of the Rohilla Afghan Chiefs of Rohilkhand. The renowned historian Elliot writes:

Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh of Sheo Prasad is a history of the Afghans of Rohilkhand and details the transactions between them and the Nawabs of Cudh with such copiousness as to render it worth translation. It was compiled at the desire of General Kirkpatrick in A.H.1190/A.D.1776 by Sheo Prasad who gives the following account of the reasons which induced him to undertake the task. He (Sheo) says that one day in camp between Bilgram and Ballawar he was introduced in Colonel Collins's tent by Captain Keelpatrick to his brother Kirkpatrick who had lately arrived from Chunor and the author was so much pleased with his affability and condescension that he offered his services to that officer who desired him to give an account of the Afghans of Katchr from the time of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan when they first acquired power to the affair of Laldong in order that he might translate it into English and forwarded it to the king of England (Farang). When he returned to the tent, he had a sleepless night and he declares that if he were to tell all the thoughts which occupied and distracted his mind during that night, a volume would not suffice.
Finding on the morrow that General Kirkpatrick was not able fully to comprehend his verbal history, he determined upon writing it in order that that gentleman might at his leisure translate it with the aid of his Munshis. He accordingly set to work to compose his narrative and finished it in March 1776 (A.H.1190).

The work commences with the settlement at Kather (or Katehr) in the reign of the ancestors of the ruling race and gives a connected account of the lives and activities of the Rohilla Chiefs, such as Uaud Khan, 'Ali Muhammad Khan, Hafiz Rahman Khan etc. It also gives the narration of other events that ends with the defeat of Rohillas by Shuja-ud Daula with his English allies and the subsequent peace. The book was dedicated to Nawwab Faizullah Khan, the Rohilla Chief.

Tawarikh-i-Haidari

This is a detailed history of Haidar 'Ali Khan of Mysore, from his birth in A.H.1125/A.D.1713 to his death in A.H.1197/A.D.1782 and the accession of his son Tipu Sultan in the throne in the same year by Lala Bodh Singh with the takhallus 'Munshi'. It took the author three years to

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232. Elliot & Dowson: Studies in Indian History, part III, pp. 21-22
236. He is no doubt identical with the author of 'Risala-i-Nanak Shah'. See Rieu: Vol.II, p. 860
complete the work. Although there is no mention of the date of composition, but it appears to have been written soon after the death of Haidar 'Ali and the date of Haidar 'Ali's death on the first of Muharram A.H.1197/December 7, A.D.1782 is briefly recorded in a subsequent addition.

The full title of the flyleaf is 'Tawarik-i-Mawwab Haidar 'Ali Khan Bahadur beginning with بارک يار ترازالي است رحمان لله. The author remarks in a short preamle that Haidar 'Ali was the only man in India to challenge the mighty English authority. He says that Haidar 'Ali's family originally belonged to Kuhir, a township about 28 kms west of Haidarabad. His forefathers held the office of Kazi from the time of Sultan Abdullah and his father Mir Fath 'Ali afterwards Fath Naik was from the province of Arcot. Haidar 'Ali is said to have been born in A.H.1131/A.D.1718.

Tarikh-i-Jugal Kishore

It is a general history of India written by Jugal Kishore between A.H.1188 to A.H.1198/A.D.1774 to A.D.1783. The book was written for the Lord Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impay and it begins with:

238. Ibid
239. Ibid
240. Rieu : Vol.III, p. 1029
Jarikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind

The author Kuhman Singh was in the service of General Jayles Estbet. The author states in the beginning of the work that he started the composition in A.H.1196/A.D.1781 at Calcutta at the instance of the above named General. The author says that at the end of the work that it took him about forty four years' labour to complete the work in A.H. 1240/A.D.1824.

The work is on the general history of India. Yet, it is merely a transcription of the other historical works written earlier to its composition and there is nothing original in the work. It begins with the description of the creation of the world according to the Hindu mythology found in Mahabharata. After it he mentions about Noah and his sons, the Rajas of the Deccan, the Hindu Rajas of the other parts of India, the rise of Islam in India and the Muslim rulers in India.

241

Jarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi

It is also known as Nadir-ul-Zamani compiled by Kushal Chand Kayastha, son of Jiwan Ram. Shaikh Abdul 'Aziz Akbarabadi was his teacher for his early education. Kushal Chand was a Munshi in the Diwan office of Delhi.

It is a work on the general history of India and it ends with a record of the reign of Muhammad Shah. The year of composition according to the author is A.H. 1154/A.D. 1741 which he conveys at the end of the first article in the following verse:

But according to Dr. S. R. Gorakar, the year of composition is A.D. 1777 corresponding to A.H. 1191 which is not correct.

He has also written his death occurred in A.H. 1164/A.D. 1750 which has also been mentioned by S. S. Nadvi, which is ten years after the completion of the work, Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi. There is another MS copy of the work which is to the death of Rafi-ud-Daula Shahjahan II in A.H. 1131/A.D. 1718 which has found a mention as 'Tarikh-i-Sahadur Shah' in the history written by Elliot as a separate and anonymous work.

Kushal Chand's Tarikh is divided into two articles (جمال). The first article called 'Majma'-ul Akhbar' comprises of two sections termed as 'Kaifiyat' and it is again subdivided into 'Haqaiq' and 'Daqaiq'. The first article does not contain anything special save the description of the

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244. Rieu: Vol. II, p. 896

245. Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VIII, p. 565
condition of Muhammad Shah. Besides, there are matters not relating to history like accountancy, palmistry, verse making etc which have found a place of description in this part of the history. The second article called 'Zabdatul Akhbar' is again divided into two sections, each called 'Matla'. The author had special likings of the saints of both Muslims and Hindus, the scholars and good writers which have been mentioned according to this work.

247

Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Jawaid

This is a general history of India from the earliest times to A.H.1220/A.D.1805 written by Harnam Singh, son of Gurdas Singh. Harnam Singh was a Sarsut Brahman of Brahmabad of Lahore. From his childhood, he had been attached in the service of 'Ain-ud-Din Khan who was the Governor of Bareily from A.H.1195 to A.H.1199/A.D.1780 to A.D.1784 and then that of Gurakhpur where his father Gurdas Singh acted as Na'ib. Harnam married the grand-daughter of Raja Majlis Ram who was the Dewan of Kamar-ud-Din Khan in A.H.1196/A.D.1781.

Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Jawaid was dedicated to the reigning Nawwab of Audh, Wazir Sadaat 'Ali Khan which begins with:

246. Abdullah : p. 108
A.H.1221/A.D.1806 is incidentally mentioned as the date of composition of the work.

The work is divided into four parts.

Part I: It contains the description of early Rajas according to Mahabharata and to the early morning.

Part II: There are descriptions of Sultans of Delhi from Mahmud Ghaznavi to Shah 'Alam in this part.

Part III: It contains accounts of the Amirs and Rajas of the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula. Also the victories of the Nawab Wazir 'Ali is mentioned.

Part IV: It contains the descriptions of seven climates.

Tarikh-i-Shah 'Alam

This is a history of the reign of Shah 'Alam II (A.H. 1173 to A.H.1221/A.D.1759 to A.D.1806). It was compiled in A.H.1196/A.D.1781 by Mannalal, son of Bahadur Singh. Mannalal or Mannulal was the secretary to the Royal Khalsa office and he was deputed from Allahabad to Delhi to write Shah 'Alam's

References:
- Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Jawaid: fol. 31a. See Raeu: Vol. III, p. 913
- Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VIII, p. 339
- Tarikh-i-Saadat-i-Jawaid: fol. 6b
- Ibid: fol. 31a
- Ibid: fol. 197b and 211b
- Ibid: fol. 223b
diary. The diary gives the good impression of the author's sound merit and keen observation.

The author begins the history with some events which took place at the end of the reign of 'Alamgir II. The events of Shah 'Alam's reign are given year by year. The author says that he has been engaged in the compilation of the work from his fifteenth year and had weakened his eye-sight as he crossed fiftieth year and still he continued in his compilation. Further he says that he had dealt with the annals of the Royal court sufficiently upto the end of the thirtieth year (A.H. 1204/A.D. 1789) and had given a summary account of the events from the beginning of the thirty-first to the fifty-eight year of the reign of Shah 'Alam. The last page of the diary finishes with the last day of Shah 'Alam's life, A.H. 1221/A.D. 1806.

Tarikh-i-Zafrah

It was written by Giridharilal, a resident of Hyderabad in the year A.H. 1185/A.D. 1771. It is one of the source books for the history of Maratha-Nizam relations as the author was contemporary to the events of the eighteenth century. The work has been published and is available in the market.
The work contains 180 pages and is divided into two parts. In the first part which runs 47 pages, we get a brief history of the Qutubshahi dynasty of Golconda and the development of the city of Hyderabad. In the second part, an account of the Mughal Emperors and the Nizam of the Deccan had been given. After a brief description of the rule of Aurangzeb and the rise of Nizam-ul-Mulk, we came across a reference to the Maratha-Nizam relations.

The book is apparently a work full of records of the general impression of the author about the history of the state of Hyderabad. The author is at his best when he traces the development of the city of Hyderabad, its public places, buildings, gardens, bridges and other places of public interest. It can not be said that the author has shown any critical insight in the history of the period with which he has dealt. References to the events of the first Nizam's reign are extremely cursory. There is no reference whatsoever to the campaigns of Palkhed and Bhopal which took place between the Nizam and the Marathas. It can not be said that the book is of any great value as a critical source for the Maratha-Nizam relations. Yet the book is considered as a record of the general impression of the author who does not seem to have

stirred out of Hyderabad and being a poetic bend of mind was given more to poetic descriptions of places of interest rather than a critical appraisal of the events happening in his time.

257
Tanmiq-i-Shigarf

It was compiled by Lacchmi Narayan Shafi in A.H.1200/A.D.1785 for which the title bears a Chronogram. It contains the historical account of the Deccan. It also contains its geographical account, the account of the Bahmani kingdom and the kingdom of the Taimur till A.H.1200/A.D.1785.

The work starts with a topographical and statistical account of the different Subas of the Deccan which is followed by the account of the conquest of the Deccan by the king of Delhi and that of the Bahmani kingdom. At the end of the book, there is an account of the Mughal Emperors down to the year A.H.1200/A.D.1785.

The author followed 'Tarikh-i-Firishta' line by line in its compilation. The book is a replica of his another historical account, 'Haqiqathai Hindustan'.

The book was dedicated to Mr. Richard Johnson, the then Governor of Hyderabad.

258. Abdullah : p. 110
259. Naqvi, Dr. S. A. R.: Tazkirah Nawisi-i-Farsi dar Hind-o-Pakistan, p. 441
Tasnif-i-Mugatram

It was written by Munshi Mugatram of Junagarh. The book is an historical account of the place 'Surat' wherein there is a Qasida written on the wedding of Nawwab Hamid Khan in A.H.1201/A.D.1786. There is also another Qasida on "Chowk Vijay" dated A.H.1204/A.D.1789.

Tuhfat-ul Hind

The author Lalram was the son of Dularam, son of Kunjman Khuld Makani who was in the service of 'Alamgir and got the title of Rai. Dularam was also honoured with the same title and served under Muhammad Shah II as a courtier. The author stated in the preface of the book that he wrote it in the early eighteenth years of Muhammad Shah and presented it to the Emperor in A.H.1148/A.D.1735.

The book is a general history of India, divided into four unequal chapters. Several well-known historical Persian books, such as Akbar namah, Tarikh-i-Firista, Shahnama, Jahangir Namah, Shahjahan namah, Lubb-ut-Tawarikh etc. constituted the sources of this composition.

261. Handlist of Persian MSS in Gujarat Forbes Sabha, pp.30-31
263. Islamic Culture: Vol.XIII, 1939, p. 404
264. Rieu: op.cit.
Zubdatul Akhbar

This is an abridged version of the work Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh written by Umrao Singh of Benares. The work opens in such a manner which would lead us to believe it to be a work of a Muslim than a Hindu.

The work is divided into seven books. The first five books are the abstract of the work 'Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh'. From his own writings we come to know that the author was fond of studying history and had mastery over the languages of Persian and Arabic of which he used to read a number of books. "One day, after reading Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, it came into his head that he would abridged that work because he found it tedious to persue so long a history which was comprised in 656 pages, each numbering 20 lines."

Some of the other Hindu historians and their works which are not elaborately discussed due to the fact that either it has less historical importance or that the present researcher, in spite of his sincere efforts, could not get sufficient materials to scribble it. Some of the names of such persons or books are mentioned below.

Chahar Gulshan (written by Rai Chatarman in A.H.1173/A.D.1759), Malahat-i-Maqal (written by Dalpat Rai in A.H.

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265. Elliot & Dowson: The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VIII, p. 374
1181/A.D. 1767 which deals with Mughal Emperors and Princes), Shahnama-i-Nadir (compiled in A.H. 1162/A.D. 1748), Tarikh-i-'Alamgir (written by Shivlal in A.H. 1162/A.D. 1748) etc.

Some of the historians who existed during the period under review are:

Bhawani Shankar Rai, a Nagar of Petland, left a Diary written in A.H. 1183/A.D. 1769.

Jaggiwan Das, the Waqa'i Nawis of Rajpilla, was living in A.H. 1126/A.D. 1714.

Kishan Das Mugatram was living in A.H. 1177/A.D. 1763.

Kishore Das Chhabildas Uesai of Broach wrote a historical work in A.H. 1186/A.D. 1772.

Nandraj Nagar of Ahmedabad compiled a Diary in A.H. 1162/A.D. 1748 which is full of historical accounts of Gujarat.

It is a fact that the list of Hindu historians about whom discussion have been made in the above pages, many of their works have been destroyed by the ravage of times. It is the fragrant of their works which will be remembered as a fine example of the works of these historians who had a masterly grasp over political, administrative and financial details of the time which helped them to compile their historical works more authoritatively.

266. Islamic Culture: Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1956, p. 216
267. Ibid.
268. Ibid.
Lughat (Lexicon) works produced during the period

The real test of the knowledge of a language is not merely reading and writing it. The true merit lies in the acquaintance with the origin of its words and through a grasp of its phrases and idioms.

During the medieval period of Indian history when Persian was the language of administration and culture, throughout the Muslim influence, the Indian Hindus and Muslims devoted themselves to the compilation of Persian Lexicons and in a short time, the dictionaries compiled in India exceeded those produced in Iran. With regard to the style and diction of the language during the later Mughal period, there arose a controversy. Due to bias and predestiction it became extremely difficult to reconcile to some of the one-sided statements made against the Lexicons produced in India. The ultimate outcome was a large number of standard works on Lexicography and philology. No Persian writing except the works of Amir Khusrau and Shaikh Faizi commands respect in Iran but the value of Persian Lexicons compiled in India has been rightly acknowledged. The most distinguished champion of the cause of Sabak-i-Hindi was Siraj-uddin 'Ali Khan Arzu who made a serious study of comparative philology which before him was in its infancy and produced works like Siraj-ul-Lughat, the Chirag-i-Hidayat, the Nauadir-ul-

269. Hekmat, A.A.: Glimpse of Persian Literature, p. 43
Alfaz and the Tanbih-ul Ghafilin etc. The critical dictionaries were compiled by Indians particularly Hindus during the last days of the Mughal power in India when the controversy over the superiority of Iranian to Indian scholars in Persian learning and literature heightened its tone. Undoubtedly the Lexicons compiled by Hindus reveal their critical acumen, their scholarly research, vast learning and depth of their knowledge. Mukhlis, a worthy pupil of Arzu, advanced Lexicography still further in his Miret-i-Istilah. Siyalkot Mal Warastah applied severe scrutiny to find out the correct meaning of words in their different shades in his esteemed work, the Mustalihat-ush-Shu'ara.

The following are the standard Lexicons of Persian produced by the Hindus in the eighteenth century India.

272 Amadan Namah

It was written by Sukhramdas, son of Nikanth, son of Bhagwatidas Kayastha. It was written in A.H.1214/A.D.1799.

The author who describes himself as a Qanun-qu of the Paragana Silak in Lucknow, compiled this work in order to help children of his cast to acquire the necessary knowledge of Persian. The rules are quoted by illustrations from the quotations of different verses of poets.

273. Abdullah: p. 127
It is one of the most learned Lexicons ever compiled by a single individual. The author Tekchand Bahar has brought down several editions of this monumental work between A.H. 1152/A.D. 1739 to A.H. 1182/A.D. 1768. Each edition was an enlargement of or rather an improvement upon the earlier edition. Tekchand's approach to the art of this science is most scientific and modern. The main feature of this work is to explain the uses of words and phrases by modern scholars.

The value of the original research which kept the author busy for over forty years, can not be over estimated as this being his life work, does away with the necessity of consulting not a few earlier Lexicons. Indeed, it is known throughout the world and both the Eastern and the Western cities of Persia have praised it as the best Lexicon produced in India.

The work was compiled in A.H. 1162/A.D. 1748, the date of which is expressed by a Chronogram:

\[ i.e., 1152 + 10 = 1162, \text{ the year of compilation.} \]

Haft Akhtar

It is a grammar of the Turkish language explained in

Persian by a Kayastha Munshi named Kasi whose father's name was Birbal of Lucknow. The work was compiled at the request of his son Kalikadayal in the year A.H.1182/A.D.1768 which is expressed by a Chronogram.

The work is divided into seven chapters called Akhtar.

Chapter I: Origin of the Turki language and its dialects.

Chapter II: Formative affixes

Chapter III: Letters and Particles

Chapter IV: Prepositions and Adverbs

Chapter V: Assimilation and transposition of letters

Chapter VI: Syntax (Nahu)

Chapter VII: Syntax (Nahu)

276

Mirat-ul-Istilah

It is a dictionary of poetical phrases and proverbial sentences illustrated by copious quotations from Persian poets. It contains words and expressions used by later and contemporary poets of Iran and it is based on original researches.

The author Anand Ram Mukhlis took a considerable time to finish the work. In the beginning of the work he says that

276. MS No.796/810, Bank.

the words 'Tahqiq-i-Istilahat' are equivalent to A.H.1158/A.D.1745 and it expresses its date of completion of the work. But at the end of the work he says that he finished it on the 9th of Rabi, A.H.1157/A.D.1744 in the 26th year of the accession of Muhammad Shah. Mukhlis begins the work with:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

The Lexicon is followed by explanation of words, indicating the names of Indian flowers and fruits. Some prescriptions and good counsels are also given at the end of the work. The work is interpreted with historical notices related to the author's wellknown contemporaries.

To give his work the shape of a Lexicon, Mukhlis has used the alphabetical order and has divided the work into several chapters. There are number of illustrations as he himself says:

منى تحيرت بصره هاي إنزالتم و براك بسرح ما ت ظهر بهل
لا يد مرفأ دروف هاي ستي و درا رروف روايت،باب معطر
داستر،أخر براب اشمال رايم بسريد نبان دانان سحت دادر
نفاشتم

Dr. Sayed Azhar 'Ali in the introduction of the Safar Nama says that, "Nirat-ul-Istilah is a treasure of words and phrases and a museum of technology. Many points about the Safar Nama have been explained through this book which is full of historical, literary, cultural, economic and the
technical know-how. The way of explaining the words and phrases adopted in the work shows Mukhlis' full familiarity with Persian language and it has earned for him a unique position in the Indo-Persian literature. Mukhlis was aware that the critics of his age did not agree with his style and the method used in this book.

Mustalahat-ush-Shu'ara

It is a Persian dictionary dealing specially with words and phrases peculiarity to the modern poets of Iran. The author Warasta states that due to the dearth of poetical phrases in the existing Lexicons of his time, he had been engaged for fifteen years in collecting materials from the linguists of Iran to insert it in the present work.

The work was completed in A.H. 1180/A.D. 1766 for which the work bears a Chronogram. The work begins with:

نأما (لا تلد حُمرة تِل ذٓش وَمِن نَبِي مُرْكَس في زايرم

Nawadir-ul-Nasadir

It is another work on Lexicography by the author of

278. 'Ali, Dr. S.A. (ed): Safar i kama, p. 45
279. Rieu : Vol.II, p. 503
280. For further reference, see the previous chapter.
281. Bank : Vol.IX, p. 33
282. Abdullah : p. 165
of the book, 'Bahar-i-Ajam, Lala Tekchand Bahar. In this work the author tried to trace many Persian words to the early Indo-Iranian form. This work is a specimen of standard Lexicon produced by a Hindu during the period under review. It speaks much of the geniusness and scholarship of the author.

283

Sharh-i-Nisab-i-Badi'

The writer of this work is also the renowned author, Lala Tekchand Bahar beginning with:

The original work is a metrical Arabic-Persian vocabulary in the form of Qitas in various metres, in which the various meanings of such words are given as have the same form or sound in Arabic and Persian. The commentator has given full attention to the correct spelling and the pronunciation of words.

Beside the Lexicons mentioned as above, the following Lexicons, compiled during the eighteenth century, are also, to some extent, bear the testimony of the efforts of the Hindu scholars in the art of Lexicography. These books are, Mudir-ul-Masadir, Shir-o-Shakar, Zuhar-ul-Haruf etc.

283. Bank: Vol. XI, p. 49
Translation works produced during the period

Translation of Indian works into Persian by Indian authors is one of the remarkable features of the Indo-Persian literary activities and cultural relation as well. During the entire Mughal rule, when Persian did not confine to Muslims only, many translations were done by Hindu scholars whose mastery over the language was as perfect and scholastic as their Muslim counterparts. Though the Muslim contribution to the transfer of Sanskrit lore into Persian is undoubtedly great yet the Hindu scholars undertook the task of acquainting their Muslim brethren with the treasures of their knowledge by bringing out a mass of literature into Persian language, through their own efforts. The large number of the texts which were translated, many of which were more than once or twice, into Persian, is a fine example of the expansion of the Indo-Persian literature in India by Indian writers most of whom were Hindus. It also reveal the fact that, the product of this fusion was basically due to the cooperation between the Hindu-pandits and the Muslim scholars and vice-versa.

In view of the fact that the knowledge of Sanskrit has been the privilege accorded only to a small group of Pandits and brahmans, it is not at all unreasonable to believe that the number of educated Hindus who read their religious

284. Indo-Iranica: Vol. XV, No. 2, 1962, p. 21
books in Persian, was not small. Otherwise, the fact that there are at least 24 Persian versions of the Ramayana, 11 of _Shagawat Purana_, 8 of the _Shagawat-gita_, 6 of the _Mahabharata_ written by Hindu and Muslim scholars. These translation works will always remain as the finest blend of Hindu-Muslim cultural relation in general and Indo-Persian literature in particular. Below is the list of works translated into Persian by the Hindu scholars during the eighteenth century India.

'Ain-ul-Zuhur

This is a translation of the _Brahmavairava Purana_, as a description of all the spiritual advantages of the Benares and it was translated by Kishan Singh, son of Rai Pran Nath of Siyalkot with the takhallus 'Mashhat'. It was translated in the year A.H.1150/A.D.1737.

The work is divided into 26 Adhyas. All the Hindu words are marked on the margin of the work in Devanagari character.

Amar Prakash

It is a translation of the _Ramayana_ into Persian by

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285. Mujtabai, F.: Hindu-Muslim Cultural Relations, p. 65
286. Ethe : Vol. II, p. 1095
Amar Singh has mentioned the source books which he utilised for composing the story. They include the Mahabharata and the Ramayana of Valmiki, the Hanuman Natak and some other reliable sources. At the end of the composition, the translator has given some information about his ancestors and his own life. According to it, he was the son of Raghunath Das. His own original name was Amar Das but he called Amar Singh. He performed pilgrimages to various holy places. He spent a considerable time in the composition of the translated work, the Amar Prakash. The translation is written in fluent and simple Persian. As a matter of fact, his work is a critical synthesis of historical events and not merely a literary fiction. Moreover, the emphasis is on the historiography rather than the language and its style.

There is another translation with the title, Amar Prakash from Ramayana, translated by one Amanat Rai of Lalpur in A.H.1169/A.D.1755. It took him long 25 years to complete it. It consists of 40,000 couplets, interspersed with Shahzals at the end of every chapter.

287. Abdullah : p. 88
288. Choudhury, J.B. : Muslim patronage to Sanskrit Learning, p. 87
Bahr-ul-Najat

It is a Persian translation of five volumes of the topographical and legendary description of Benares entitled Kasi-Khanda which was originally taken from Skanda Purana. It was translated into Persian by Anand Khan with the takhallus Khwash. He composed this Persian paraphrase and styled it as 'Cahar-ul-Najat' at the request of Mister Jonathan in A.H.1206/A.D.1791. Khwash kept the old division of Kasi-Khanda in 100 Adhayas with five volumes.

The first volume is dated the 11th Rabi'1 san'1, A.H. 1207/A.D.1792; the second Rajab of the same year/ 21st February,A.D.1793; the third on the 19th of Shawal of the same year/30th May,A.D.1793; the fourth on the 29th of Zual-hijjah,A.H.1207/A.D.1793 and the fifth on the Shaban, A.H.1208/10th March,A.D.1794.

291

Gaya Mahatmya

It is a Persian adaptation of Gaya Mahatmya or the description of the holy sanctuary Gaya in Bihar and the sites connected therewith, originally taken from the Vayu Purana. It was translated by Anandkhan whose takhallus was Khwash in the year A.H.1206/A.D.1791. The author was also the

289. According to Ethe, Anandaghana. See, Ethe: MS no.1959
290. Ethe : Vol.II, p. 1095
291. Ibid
translator of the work Kasi-Khanda.

Gaya Mahatmya is divided in eight Adhyayas and it begins with:

हजार सौ हजार भर रहीं मरने ये मारे राक तोरी न हुमे
ब्रह्मज्ञान इस्तेमाल से निस्वामिने

Harbans Puran

This is a Persian translator of the Hari Vansa and deals in the form of an epopee with the history of the failing of Krishna beginning with:

आहार आहार वर्ण वर्ण आहूँ वर्ण बायस बायस बायस बायस
तो बायस बायस

This work was translated by Kishanchand, son of Ramchand of Ahmedabad. The work was completed on the 15th of Rabi'il-awal, A.H. 1136/13th December, A.D. 1723 at Shahjahanabad.

Karma-Khanda

This is a Jaina work on ethics ascribed to Nami-Chandracharya. It consists of eighty-one distiches termed Gatha in Jain prakrit with a Persian commentary by Uilaram, son of Hansaram, a Brahmin of Uijnor. The text is written in

Uevanagari and the commentary in Persian script. The commentator states at the end that he wrote it for General Claud Martin and completed it in A.H.1211/A.D.1796.

Purannath Prakash

This was translated from Sanskrit into Persian by Zuravar Singh and it was completed in A.H.1190/A.D.1776. It is an expression of the system of Chronology and cosmology of the Hindus of their Shashtas and the genealogies of their kings. The work begins with:

After a long panegyric on Governor General Warren Hastings, the translator states that the Sanskrit original was written in obedience to his commands by the Chief Pandit Radhakanta Tarka and it was due to the advice of the same person that the present translation was made. The margins of the pages contain the handwriting of Mr. Halhed.

Makhzan-ul-Irfan

It is an account of the holy land of Braj and all the

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297. Ibid
places consecrated by the memories of Gopal or Krishna who was written by Roopnarain, son of Hariram Khatri of Sialkot. The author who was a devout worshiper of Gopal, spent four or five years at the holy shrines of Braj. He translated the work at Lahore in A.M.1129/A.D.1716 and this translation is also known as Braj Mahatma or Varja Mahatmya.

299

Hasnawi-i-Kajkulah

This is a mystical Hasnawi written in imitation of Rumi's famous Hasravi by Anandkhan whose takhallus was Khwais who was also the translator of Gaya Mahatmya. It was compiled in A.M.1209/A.D.1794.

The work contains the following stories.

1. The story of disputation between Zia-ul-Haq and Farukh Shah
2. The story of Alexander and the four advices he gave to his sons and ministers in his last hour of life,
3. The story of Darwish Nanak Shah and the Padshah,
4. The story of the Qihqan who wanted to kill another one and instead of that killed his own son,
5. The story of the old Egyptian and Moses,
6. The story of Prince Dara Shukuh and the Darwish Shah Lal to whom the former puts three questions,

299. Ethe : Vol.II, p. 935
7. The story of the Moses and the Beduin and his wife,
8. The story of old Soloman (the wood merchant) and Soloman the Prophet (king Solomon).

Munit-i-Ma'rifat

This is a treatise on Hindu gnosticism, completed in A.H.1167/A.D.1753. The original text belonged to Sri Maharaj Carandas Sukhadevraji which is the work on yoga, samkhya and other related subjects.

The catalogue of the Bankipore has given the name of the translator as Kirpal Das, son of Ram Kiran who was an inhabitant of Haranul in Shahjahanabad. But according to Abdullah and Dr. F. Mujtabai, the name of the translator was Rai Satil Das who belonged to the Dhusar sect of the Hindus.

According to the author, the work is an easy Persian version of Sada Sheo's 'Puthi Sarudi' and that he derived his materials from Bhagat Jog, Senkh Jog and other similar works.

300. Bank : Vol.XV, p. 1455
301. Ibid
303. Bank : op.cit.
Risala-i-Madhab-i-Hunud

This translation was done by Tikchand, son of Himmtchand in A.H.1138/A.D.1725. The work contains the Hindu religious ideas.

Risala-i-Kirparam

This is a treatise on cosmonology, the geographical and astronomical systems, the mythological and historical legends of the Hindus. It was compiled by Munshi Kirparam from the Sanskrit sources and translated into Persian. It was translated in A.H.1190/A.D.1776.

Risala-i-Ragmala

As the title implies, this is a book on the tract of the Rag and Ragonis of India. It was compiled in A.H.1188/A.D.1774.

Shiva-Purana

It is the Persian translation of Shiva-Purana or

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305. Rieu : Vol.I, p. 63a
306. Abdullah : p. 125
rather Shiva-Upapurana. Kishan Singh, son of Rai Pran Math, a Khatri of the Mangal tribe who belonged to Siyalkot, was the translator of this work. Kishan Singh's takhallus was Nashat. He also wrote a Persian version of the Pankarosi and the short narration of it in the style of ornate prose in A.H.1157/A.D.1744.

In the translation work of the Shiva-Purana, the author added the Sanskrit words in Devanagari character on the margin of the work together with many English annotations and paraphrase.

309
Singhasan Batisi

It is a translation of the Ramayana by Hanakram who was a Dhosa Khatri of Siyalkot. His father was Gobind Rai and was in the service of Nawab Asad Khan of Radaun. He wrote this version at the instance of Raja Balkishan and completed it within a short period of twenty one days in the month of Shawwal, A.H.1175/April,A.D.1762.

310
Tarikh-i-Kashmir

It is a history of Kashmir from the earliest times

310. Ethe : Vol.I, p. 203
to A.H.1122/A.D.1710. The work is a translation of the Sanskrit work Rajatrangini written by Pandit Kalhan and rendered into Persian by Narain Kaul surnamed 'Aziz', a Hindu Brahmin of Kashmir. It was composed in A.H.1122/A.D.1710 which begins with:

Narain Kaul had long made himself acquainted with the annals of his native land and had often been urged by the nobles of Kashmir to write its history. Eventually an opportunity came in A.H.1122/A.D.1710 in the fourth year of Shah 'Alam's reign. 'Arif Khan who was the then Naib and Wiwan of the state of Kashmir, had collected the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmir and wished to become familiar with their contents. The present author Narain Kaul procured that translation of that work already done by Malik Haidar but it was too diffuse for the general taste and after comparing it with the Sanskrit originals and eliminating some exaggerated and incredible statements, Narain Kaul gave its substance in a condensed form.

The translated version of the present work contains a preface, name and origin of Kashmir, Rajas, Muslin kings, the conquest of Qasim Khan, arrival of Akbar, governors

311. Abdullah : p. 70
313. A.S.B. : Vol.XXII, p. 491
from the conquest to A.H.1122/A.D.1710, topography and specialities of Kashmir and an epilogue. The author says in the concluding lines that the words 
conoအောက်စိုးသိပ်မယ်သို့
convey at the same time the title of the work and the date of its composition. The Chronogram is only approximate for it suggests A.H.1121/A.D.1709 instead of A.H.1122/A.D.1710.

The work is also known as Waqiat-i-Kashmir.

The MS copies of the work are available at the Bodleian Library (No. 318), India Office (No.Ethe, 511) and the British Museum (No. 11631). The latter comprises 125 fol. 14 lines to a page.

Zubdat-ul Qawanin

It was translated by Harsukh Rai Sehgal, son of Jiwan Das in the year A.H.1211/A.D.1796, a date expressed by the Chronogram 

The work begins with:

The work is divided into 17 sections. It is a treatise on Arithmatic and account keeping.

315. Qureshi, Dr. A.N.: Persian Poetry under the later Mughal Period, (Thesis), Gujarat University, 1969, p. 142
316. Rafiqi, A.Q.: Sufism in Kashmir, p. 277
Some of the other translation works carried out during the period under review are:

Bhagat Mala compiled by Lalji Das in A.H.1162/A.D.1748.
Panchasak-Gai, Risala-i-dar madah-i-Shivaji