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SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC.

III

SAWĀNIḤĀT-I-MUMTĀZ

(FIRST PART)

BY

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM

SAWĀNIḤĀT-I-MUMTĀZ

OF

MUHAMMAD KARĪM

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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FIRST PART

Giving an account of the last years of Muḥammad ʿAlī Nawwāb Wālājāh I and a detailed history of ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II till his death in 1801 A. D.

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INTRODUCTION.

The present volume is the third part in the same series as that published last year. Attention has already been called in the Part I to the chief Persian books of the sources of history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic. Of these, *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* of Burhān ibn Ḥasan, has been done into English and issued in two parts.[1] The present volume comprises a major portion of the English translation of *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz*.[2] This Persian manuscript gives us a detailed history of the reign of Ghulām Ḥusayn 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II (1795-1801 A.D.) with an account of the last years of the reign of his father, Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I, together with a summary of the events in the reigns of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur's successors, 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, and Ghulam Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V.

The author of this manuscript is Muḥammad Karīm Khayru'd-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Ẓāmin, son of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang and a grandson of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I. He was born in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.), received the titles *Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla Jalādat Jang* in 1210 A.H., *Khurshīdu'l-Mulk* in 1231 A.H., and on his father's death in 1236 A.H. (1820 A.D.) *Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang.*

In the beginning of the month of Rajab in the year 1249 A.H. (1834 A.D.), Muḥammad Karīm, while living at Madras,

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(1) Madras University Islamic Series No. 1. 1934 and No. 4. 1939.

(2) This Persian manuscript is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

paid homage to Nawwāb Aʿẓīm Jāh Bahādur[1] who directed him to write up a history of the Nawwāb's great ancestor, Ghulām Ḥusayn Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, similar to the poet Abjadī's famous *Anwarnāma.*[2] Muḥammad Karīm set to work, and finished the writing of this book in 1252 A.H. (1837 A.D.).

This book is, in the language of the author, composed of four *gulzārs* (parts) and each *gulzār* is divided into four *guldastas* (chapters). Thus there are in all sixteen *guldastas.* Each *guldasta* is adorned with a number of *rangs* (sections).

The present volume includes the translation of the first three parts and a few chapters of the fourth part of *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz,* and carries the history of the Carnatic Nawwābs from the last years of the reign of Muḥammad Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I to the death of his son, Ghulām Ḥusayn Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II. This period, comparatively short as it is, includes the history of one of the most interesting personages in the family of Anwar that ruled the Carnatic. This Part III in the series may not have such considerable historical importance as the Part II, but it is superior to the latter in details of social life of the period to which it relates. On the whole, it may be safely said that, allowing for the great crisis through which the country was passing, when European trading companies, especially the English East India Company, were beginning to dominate the land and lord over the native rulers, the period of Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II is not without its significance either social or historical. Before passing to the consideration of these details, a

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(1) Nawwāb Aʿẓīm Jāh Bahādur was the brother of Aʿẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. He acted as Regent during the minority of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, his brother's son.

(2) This book was written by Mīr Ismāʿīl Khān Abjadī of Chingleput in 1174 A.H. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic,* Part I, Preface, p. 8.

brief sketch may be given of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

Ghulām Ḥusayn 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was the eldest son of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I by his first wife Khadīja Nawwāb Bēgam, born in Muḥarram 1161 A.H. (31st December 1747 A.D.). He was named 'Abdu'l-Walī by Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān, his grandfather, who got for him the title *'Umdatu'l-Umarā* from the imperial court of the Pādshāh at Delhi.

He was forty-eight years of age when he became the ruler of the Carnatic. His political relationship with the English East India Company was never happy; but he was enthusiastic in his love and affection for Ṭippū Sulṭān, the ruler of Mysore.

'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was a scholar, and a poet. He must have been practising the art of poetry from his younger days. He has a *dīwān*[1] to his credit. Some of his verses are included in the appendices to this book. From what we have of his works, it will be fully apparent how intensely conventional and artificial the style of poetry was in his days.

A close reading of the book gives us the impression that 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was an amiable, but a weak ruler, ill-fitted to grapple with the fearful peril which overshadowed the last years of his father and finally overwhelmed him. He was a good scholar, devoted to books, gentle and very considerate towards his relatives but, on the other hand, timid, undecided and ignorant of state-craft. Of the many instances, his relationship with Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, his sister, is such as to justify this view. Buḍhī Bēgam, known as Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam[2] was the third daughter of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I by Khadīja Nawwāb Bēgam.

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(1) Anthology or collection of poems.

(2) The first two daughters of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I died in their youth and Sulṭānu'n-nisā became the senior to her other sisters. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part II, p. 9.

Sulṭānu'n-nisā was junior to Muḥammad Anwar Sayfu'l-Mulk, the third brother of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. She was married to a nephew of Muḥammad Ālī Nawwāb Wālājāh I, by name 'Abdu'l-Hādī, with the title *Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dawla*, and had children. One of her sons was Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur.

Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam enjoyed the confidence of her brother, 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājah II. There is a great interest as to the part played by this sister of the Nawwāb. It is unnecessary here to recount the various incidents which show that she was really the power behind the throne. It may be conjectured that the Nawwāb could have promised his sister or at least made her believe that he would nominate her son, Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, as his successor to the throne of the Carnatic. Yet the matter is doubtful, and will, in all probability, never now be certainly cleared up. Convinced at last that she was deceived by her brother, Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam grew very angry and her relationship with him in his last days became unpleasant. On his death, she even refused to allow his coffin to be carried through the *Kamāndarwāza* of Nuṣrat-maḥall towards her palace.

There is a good deal of doubt about his religious views. His leanings to *Shīāism* seem to be evident from the various accounts given in the book. Whether or no there was any truth in the rumour that 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was converted to *Shīāism*, he consistently observed the celebrations in the month of Muḥarram. Yet at the end of his life we have also his confessions to Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Alī ṣāḥib, that he never deviated from *Sunnism*, the faith of his ancestors. If we exclude consideration of this point, 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was a strict Muslim observing punctiliously the prayers five times a day, and not careless of other religious observances.

'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur had also his hobby. He was an ardent student of alchemy and used to work daily in his alchemy house from 10 o'clock in the morning till noon. Every day he prepared gold weighing about five *hān* and distributed it among

the poor and the needy at his gate through his attendant, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm.

Among the various details of the reign of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, we get a full account of the last years of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I till his death in 1795 A.D., and the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the burial of his coffin in Trichinopoly under the vault of Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī.

To those who believe that Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I was a self-seeking ruler, always dependant upon the English for increasing his own power and position, the account of his last years given in this book will give altogether a different picture. It will be clear that his rule was inspired throughout by considerations of the other world rather than of this.

The death of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I destroyed the outward semblance of unity which had hitherto existed between the Carnatic Nawwābs and the English East India Company. From the very moment of his accession to the throne, 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur's readiness to quarrel with the English was apparent, and it became much more conspicuous as time went on. Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, was deeply offended by 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur's neglect to inform him of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh's death and more particularly of the celebration of his own coronation. Worse trouble, however, came when Lord Hobart proposed to 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur that certain taluks should be made over to the English in return for the *qisṭ* money due to them. Nawwāb ṣāḥib insisted that he would pay the *qisṭ* in cash in accordance with the agreement made with Lord Cornwallis in 1792 A.D., and he was naturally incensed at the unreasonable demand of Lord Hobart. Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, condemned the conduct of Lord Hobart "as repugnant to the treaty of 1792, by which the Nawwāb's rights were guaranteed, and as, in fact, involving a breach of faith".

Lord Hobart appealed to the Directors of the Company in justification of his conduct, and Sir John Shore wrote to Dundas, the President of the Board of Control on 12th January, 1796, that the conduct of Lord Hobart was "most unjustifiable, violent, and indefensible on every principle" and also protested that Lord Hobart's attitude "would suggest to the country powers that convenience was the measure of our good faith". Thus the Governor was foiled in his endeavour and Nawwāb ṣāḥib won his point. Lord Hobart received a letter from Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, instructing him to accept the payment of *qist* in cash in accordance with the practice observed during the reign of Muḥammad Ālī Nawwāb Wālājāh I. The Governor was further directed to meet the Nawwāb and offer congratulations on his accession to the throne.

There was also another chief reason for the growing dissatisfaction of the Governor with Nawwāb ṣāḥib. One Mr. Barrett, of Portuguese extraction, who was thoroughly proficient in writing and reading English, became the *dīwān* of the Nawwāb. Messrs. Webb and Close[1] give a most unfavourable account of the man. He was, according to them, "of the worst type of native Portuguese; equally destitute of education, manners, and knowledge". But from this book, Mr. Barrett appears to be a wise, prudent and clever man. He won the esteem of the Nawwāb in the following manner. On one occasion the date prescribed for the payment of the *qist* by the Nawwāb to the Company drew near and the Nawwāb had no money. Mr. Barrett, who met the Nawwāb in those anxious days, undertook to arrange for the payment of the *qist* a day before the appointed date. After taking leave of the Nawwāb,

(1) After the death of Ghulām Ḥusayn 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, Messrs. Webb and Close were appointed by the English Company as commissioners to interview the Nawwāb's heir and ascertain the conditions under which his accession would be allowed.

Mr. Barrett arranged with an English banker for the payment of the *qisṯ* to the English Company, got the treasury receipt for the amount paid, and brought it to the Nawwāb. As soon as the Nawwāb saw the receipt, he was very much delighted and from that day Mr. Barrett became his *dīwān*. The Nawwāb honoured him with the titles *Colonel* and *Bahādur*. Rai Reddi Rao and Rai Anand Rao became the *peshkārs* under Mr. Barrett. The position occupied by Mr. Barrett, and the profound influence that he began to exercise over the administration must have made Mr. Barrett unpopular with the officers of the English East India Company, and this might have developed into one of the chief causes of friction between Nawwāb ṣāḥib and the Madras Council.

That the English Company, later on, might have overcome its prejudices against Mr. Barrett, is clear from the fact that Mr. Barrett was responsible for the entry of the English army into the *Bāgh*, the Nawwāb's residence, when 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was on his death-bed.

The arrival of General Harris[1] and Mīr 'Ālam Bahādur[2] at Madras after the subjugation of the Fort of Seringapatan and the death of Ṭippū Sulṯān, and their interview with Nawwāb ṣāḥib are worthy of note. The information of General Harris, the victorious English general, about the fall of Seringapatan, inflamed the Nawwāb with anger against the English, and stirred up his sympathy for Ṭippū Sulṯān, his late powerful contemporary, but, timid as he was, he composed himself before the English General to show ostensibly his joy at the victory of the English. In the account of the interview of Mīr 'Ālam, 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur displayed his vanity, the usual characteristic of the Indian rulers of his day. He says that the *ṣūba* of the Carnatic is 'a powerful state, for we are distinguished from others by the *manṣab* i.e., *wizārat-i-ṣūbadār* of

(1) *See* F. note 1, p. 133 in this book.

(2) *See* F. note 2, p. 135 in this book.

the *ṣūba* of the Carnatic,' and that he will not be satisfied merely with the civilities and etiquette prevalent in the *Āṣaf-jāhī darbār.*

The machinations of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam to prevent the recognition of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur as heir-apparent, Ja'far Alī's attempt to kill Nawwāb ṣāḥib, and the Company's interest in the succession afford interesting reading. 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur sets forth the position beautifully thus: "I intend my son for the throne; Sayfu'l-Mulk[1] intends that the throne is for him; my senior sister has in mind that her son is meant for the throne after me; and the *frangs* are waiting for their opportunity. But it shall be as the supreme Ruler wills"

The serious illness of the Nawwāb, the increase of the English influence and their interest in the question of succession, the Nawwāb's *waṣiyyat-nāma* written in his own hand in the name of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son, the consequent displeasure of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, and the misunderstanding between herself and her brother,—these details make the last pages of the book specially interesting.

The present volume is valuable again in that it contains accounts of a number of marriage celebrations which show how matches were made, the character of the celebrations essential to different members of the royal family, and the amounts spent on such festivities. The book also abounds in details in regard to the ceremonies at the time of the betrothal, wedding, gifts to the bride, procession of the bridegroom and home-coming of the bride.

The numerous trips, picnics, and visits to shrines and tombs described in several pages of the book show the nature of the life led by aristocrats of the day. They also indicate that the Nawwāb had personal relationship with every member

(1) Muḥammad Anwar Sayfu'l-Mulk was the third son of Muḥammad Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part II, p. 8.

of the family and that he was the favourite of the people at large.

It may be said in conclusion that the period of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur marks, on the whole, the transformation not only of political power from one hand to another, but also of transmigration of ideas in our land. Politically, it is true, the Carnatic ceased to enjoy a separate national existence being merged in the growing British power, but in the intellectual domain also it began to lose its Muslim identity and declare itself in favour of alien culture and ideas.

Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz, the original Persian manuscript from which the English translation is made, is written in a style, not very good, at times very colloquial, and even careless and is marked by many forms of expression peculiar only to the author. The translator has attempted to give the correct forms in the glossary at the end of the volume.

The editor is highly indebted to the ready and generous help of Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University S. India, for the valuable historical notes.

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1st December, 1940.

S. MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN NAINAR.

TRANSLITERATION

ا ٔ	a	ذ	dh	غ	gh
ب	b	ر	r	ف	f
پ	p	ڑ	ṛ	ق	q
ت	t	ز	z	ک	k
ٹ	ṭ	ژ	zh	گ	g
ث	th	س	s	ل	l
ج	j	ش	sh	م	m
چ	ch	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ض	ẓ	و	w
خ	kh	ط	ṭ	ہ	h
د	d	ظ	ẓ	ء	'
ڈ	ḍ	ع	'	ی	y

Vowels.

The short vowels are expressed thus:

a	for	*fatḥa*
i	for	*kasra*
u	for	*ẓamma*

The long vowels are expressed thus:

ā	for	long *fatḥa*
ī	for	long *kasra*
ū	for	long *ẓamma*

ay to express *fatḥa* before *y*
aw to express *fatḥa* before *w*

ERRATA.

P. 12, line 1, *for* ailin *read* ailing.

P. 14, f.n. 1, line 2, *for* Pīr-dastagīr *read* Pīr-dastgīr.

P. 15, section 1, line 9, *for* disciple *read* disciples.

P. 25, line 3, and wherever it occurs, *for* Chōtī *read* Chōṭī.

P. 25, section 7, line 8, *for* Bahāg *read* Bihāg.

P. 25, section 7, line 9, *for* Bharavi *read* Bhairavī.

P. 35, para 2, line 13, *for* ʻīṯr *read* ʻiṯr.

P. 47, line 6, *for* three *read* thirty.

P. 48, section ⁵, line 7, *for* ḥāfiẓs *read* ḥāfiẓs.

P. 50, f. n. 1, *for* is *read* are.

P. 52, para 3, line 3, *read* to *after* go.

P. 55, foot-note, line 3, *for* unseasonably *read* unreasonably.

P. 62, line 2, *for* chaw ghaṛas *read* chawkaṛās.

P. 62, line 3, *for* these *read* the.

P. 67, line 15, *for* may *read* might.

P. 70, line 15, *for* khitābāt *read* khiṭābāt.

P. 70, para 2, line 4, *for* Sāḥibu'd-Dawla *read* Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla.

P. 74, section 1, lines 17 and 19, *for* Ghaṛiyāl *read* Ghaṛiyāl.

P. 76, para 2, line 3, *for* can *read* could.

P. 110, para 2, line 11, *for* bears *read* bear.

P. 138, para 2, line 6, and p. 153, para 3, line 8, *for* Gaṛiyāl *read* Ghaṛiyāl.

P. 138, last para, line 6, *for* Guzarati qamar-band *read* Guzarātī kamar-band.

P. 143, section 4, line 3, *for* Ṣubḥānī *read* Subḥanī.

P. 144, para 2, line 3, *for* Saḥn *read* Ṣaḥn.

Ghulām Ḥusayn ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.
(1795-1801 A.D.)

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

PART III

SAWĀNIḤĀT-I-MUMTĀZ

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

PLENTIFUL praise and profuse thanks are due to the Lord, the Glorious, and the Powerful Who invested every corner of the world in beautiful robes of variegated colours, Who in His perfect wisdom illuminated the earth and the heavens with two lamps namely the sun and the moon, Who settled His creations —genii, mankind, animals, plants and minerals—in the world to worship Him and celebrate His praise, and Who lighted up the lantern of the body of man in particular with the light of wisdom.

"O Lord! Thou alone art Potent and Majestic;
O Lord! Thou alone art the Eternal Judge;
Thou alone art the Creator of the heavens;
Thou alone art the Creator of the earth;
Thou alone art the Creator of the prophets;
Thou alone art the splendour of the universe;
Thou alone illuminated the spheres;
And lit the land and sea."

In praise of the chief of the apostles, the last of the prophets, viz., Muḥammad the chosen. (May Allāh's peace and blessings be on him, his family and his followers.)

A thousand salutations are due to the chief of the apostles Aḥmad the select, Muḥammad the chosen, to his family which is pure, and to his followers who are great, for, says the Lord of the Universe: "But for you I would not have created the various spheres."

"The creation of time and space is due to him;
The existence of the world is due to him;
Muḥammad is the king of the heaven and the earth;
Muḥammad is the rose in the garden of Faith;
Muḥammad is the chief of the apostles;
Muḥammad is the king of kings in both the worlds;
Muḥammad is the *sardār* of the prophets
vide-licet:
The throne of God rested under his foot.
Miraculous power had he, that king of the land and the sea.
He beckoned to the moon and it split into two;[1]
Muḥammad is the rose and Ali[2] the essence of the rose;

(1) This refers to the splitting of the moon, which is a matter of controversy. The 54th *sūra* entitled *al-qamar* (the moon) begins thus:

"The hour drew nigh and the moon did rend asunder. If they see a sign, they turn aside and say: A powerful magic."

Mawlānā Muḥammad Ali has attempted to explain the significance of this occurrence.

See Mawlānā Muḥammad Ali, *Translation of the holy Qurān* without Arabic text, 1928, p. 528 and 529 n. 1.

(2) Ali was the son of Abū Ṭālib and a cousin german, to the Prophet Muḥammad. He married Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad and had by her three sons Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and Muḥsin, the last of whom died in

Between these two was Fāṭima the fragrance of the rose;

Ḥasan and Ḥusayn came out like otto which perfumed space and time.

A thousand benedictions, peace, and greetings be on his followers night and day.

The author's supplication for assistance, from the Exalted Creator

O Lord! In the names of the noble Prophet, his respectable family, and his revered followers, grant long life to the patron of this book, keep him safe and sound for ever; his name is Aʿẓīm happily coupled with Jāh; he is the refuge of the distressed.

O Merciful Lord! I proclaim the name of the author of this book; his original name is Muḥammad Karīm; fulfil his needs quickly. This is my desire night and day.

O Lord! In the name of Muḥammad the chosen, pardon all our sins.

Reason for compiling this chronicle

This humble servant was born in the year 1194 A.H. [1780 A.D.] and the chronogrammatic name is Ghulām Āl-i-Muḥammad. His noble parents blessed him with the name of Muḥammad Karīm Khayru'd-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Ẓāmin. His father's name was Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang (peace be on him) son of Muḥammad Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur the elder (peace be on him), son of Abdu'l-Ḥakīm Khān Shahīd, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh Abdu'l Wālī, the eldest son of Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar, a resident of Gopāmaw.

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infancy. Alī was the fourth *khalīfa* and reigned from 35-40 A.H. [655-661 A.D.] A section of the Muslims held that Alī was entitled to the *khilāfat* on the death of Muḥammad. This gave rise to the *shīʿa* schism,

This humble servant is also the grandson of his highness Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur, (nestled in paradise) being the second son of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam *alias* Fatah Bēgam ṣāḥiba well known as Ṣāḥib-Zādi-i-Khurd, youngest daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur the beloved son of Nawwāb Shahīd Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur (peace be on him), son of Ḥājī Mūḥammad Anwar, the youngest son of Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar.

This humble servant was honoured in the year 1207 A.H. [1792-3 A.D.] by the exalted Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur (nestled in paradise) with the title of Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur, and was favoured with a purple *dushāla.* During the reign of my senior uncle, the exalted Amīru'l Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur (peace be on him), I was honoured in the year 1210 A.H. [1795-6 A.D.] with the title of Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla Jalādat Jang and was presented with *nīm-āstīn,* and a green *rumāl-i-shāl* from among his own robes, and permitted to wear also the *bandī*; during the reign of the exalted Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur (peace be on him), my cousin brother, the beloved son of my uncle, I was honoured in the year 1231 A.H. [1815-16 A.D.] with the title of Khurshīdu'l-Mulk Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla Jalādat Jang Bahādur, presented with *nawbat* and *ghaṛiyāl*; during the reign of the exalted Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Nawwāb A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur (peace be on him), and after the demise of my father in the month of Jumādiu'l-Awwal in the year 1236 A.H. [Feb.-Mar., 1821 A.D.] I was honoured with the title of Khurshīdu'l-Mulk Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang, and was permitted to play *nawbat* and *ghaṛiyāl.* During the present rule of the exalted Nawwāb 'Aẓīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur (may his favours and bounties last for ever by the grace of Allāh) there is, owing

to the boundless grace, kindness and favours of the Nawwāb, great hope of attaining further distinction in view of my rank, dignity, and the happy completion of this book *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz.*

On Thursday the first of the auspicious month of Rajab, in the year 1249 A.H. [Nov.-Dec., 1833 A.D.] this humble servant, a resident of the town of Madras, had been to the exalted Nawwāb Aʿẓīm Jāh Sirājuʾl-Umarā Bahādur (may his bounties last for ever) to pay his respects at 9 o'clock in the morning. The benevolent Nawwāb, who was perusing the chronicle dealing with the administration of Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur (nestled in paradise), was gracious enough to address this humble servant as follows:

" All the events relating to the reign of your grandfather namely Nawwāb ṣāḥib (nestled in paradise), are published through the official gazettes, and in the history of *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī,* which was compiled by the order of Janāb Ḥusāmuʾl-Mulk Bahādur[1], your uncle. Other details relating to the reign of that Nawwāb, which Mīr Ismāʿīl Khān Abjadī had written in his *Anwarnāma* are also well known. But as for the events pertaining to the reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatuʾl-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II, your senior uncle, nothing is known, for the events in that reign were not chronicled; nor did any one write the history of that period. So if a book containing the events in that reign, and the happenings of that period is compiled, it will give me immense pleasure. By the grace of God, there is none at present in the Wālājāhī family like you who has seen those days and who is honourable. You are also an expert in the

(1) He was the fourth son of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur by his first wife Khadīja Bēgam, known as Nawwāb Bēgam.

It was Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh who gave the order that Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī should be compiled, and not Ḥusāmuʾl-Mulk Bahādur.

See S.M.H. Nainar, *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic, Part I,* pp. 22-26 and *Part II,* pp. 7-9.

knowledge of most of the facts of the period of your senior uncle, Janāb Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur (peace be on him). You have thus a very good knowledge of the subject, and it behoves you to chronicle those details which you had witnessed and heard in that period."

I, an ignorant man, accepted the command of the Nawwāb with great respect, and submitted, "All the affairs relating to the reign of my senior uncle and most of the events that happened during that glorious administration, had been entered in the registers in chronological order, by the *mutaṣaddīs* in the office of the *sarkār*. But the facts which have come to the knowledge of this ignorant man through investigation, will be reduced to writing, even though this suppliant is not acquainted with the art of writing history, and never had an opportunity to do such work. Yet, by the grace of the Generous Lord, the support of the Prophet of the Merciful (peace be on him) and the favour, benevolence and kindness of the Nawwāb, I have strong hope knowing the wisdom contained in the verse, 'Attempt the task with a stout heart, the thorns yield themselves to become a nosegay.' The Great Gardener will water this young garden of hope, which may eventually bring forth beautiful flowers. But there is the saying, 'Man is a compound of mistakes and forgetfulness.' If any omission or mistake in these useless pages strike the fortunate eye of the Nawwāb or of the intelligent the kindness of the exalted Nawwāb is relied on to overlook them in his liberality and forgiveness, for 'To err is human, to forgive divine.' Thus there is the hope that he would forgive and honour me."

The Nawwāb was gracious enough to address me further thus: "From every point of view you have an expert knowledge of these events. On this assumption I entrust this work to you; I also appoint as your assistants Muḥabbat Ālī Khān, son of Raḥmān Ālī Khān the elder (peace be on him) who is an intelligent person and an old servant of the *sarkār*, and Mīr

Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī the grandson of Mīr Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān (peace be on him) and the grandson of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān the son of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur the elder (peace be on him) who is your companion, an elegant writer as well and a good hand in recounting facts of history. With the help of these two men, you can get the work done in a proper manner and present it to us so that it may be the cause of our satisfaction and of your reputation as well as a monument for ages to come."

Therefore, I, an ignorant man, was afraid that disobedience to the command of the benevolent Janāb Nawwāb ṣāḥib, meant disrespect, for it was a 'command too high to be disobeyed.' Hence I readily accepted it.

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, this work was begun on the 11th of Rajab in the year 1249 A.H. [24th Nov., 1833 A.D.]. The following details are related in it:

1. The initiation of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur in spiritual discipleship by Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur.

2. The facts relating to the youth of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur beginning from the 17th of Rabī'u'th-thānī in the year 1209 A.H. [11th Nov., 1794 A.D.] and ending with the demise of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur.

3. The coronation of the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur on the 2nd of Rabī'u'th-thānī in the year 1210 A.H. [16th Oct., 1795 A.D.] and other events till the demise of the Nawwāb on the 3rd of Rabī'u'l-awwal in the year 1216 A.H. [15th July, 1801 A.D.].

4. The adornment of the throne of the kingdom of the Carnatic by the exalted Nawwāb 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur on the 19th of Rabī'u'l-awwal in the year 1216 A.H. [31st July, 1801 A.D.] and his demise on the 10th of Shawwāl in the year 1234 A.H. [2nd Aug., 1819].

5. The coronation of the exalted Nawwāb A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur on the 17th of Rabī'u'th-thānī in the year 1235 A.H. [3rd Feb., 1820] and his demise on the 1st of Rabī'u'th-thānī in the year 1241 A.H. [12th Nov., 1825 A.D.].

6. Descent of the right of succession to Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, and his ascension to the Wālājāhī throne on the 12th of Jumādiu'l-awwal in the year 1241 A.H. [23rd Dec., 1825 A.D.] when he was only 15 months old. The oath of allegiance to him was taken on the 15th of that month [26th Dec., 1825]. The exalted Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur was appointed to administer kingdom during his minority.

7. The arrival of the princes of the Tīmūr family in the Carnatic and in Madras.

8. The genealogy of the families of Anwar, Wālājāh, Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, their children and relations, and

9. An account of the author in the concluding chapter.

This book is composed of four *gulzārs* (parts) and each *gulzār* is divided into four *guldastas* (chapters). Thus there are in all sixteen *guldastas*. Each *guldasta* is adorned with a number of *rangs* (sections).

The book is named *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz*.

PART I.

FOUR CHAPTERS

1209-1210 A.H. [1794—1796 A.D.].

First Chapter.

The initiation of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur in spiritual discipleship by Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur.

Second Chapter.

The facts relating to the youth of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the invitation to Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān from Ḥaydarābād, the arrival of Ruknu'd-Dawla Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur from Ḥaydarābād, and the marriage of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur.

Third Chapter.

The illness and demise of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur.

Fourth Chapter.

The coronation of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II, the correspondence between the English and the exalted Nawwāb, an account of the glorious court, conferment of titles of Khān, Bahādur, Jang, Dawla and Mulk on Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān, 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān and others, renting of the taluks of Nellore, Wengol (Ongole) and Palnār to Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, exalting Ruknu'd-Dīn Khān with the title enjoyed by his father, and with the office of *fawjdār* of Muḥammadpūr, the celebration of the marriage of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, the grant of *jāgīrs* to his own sisters and others.

PART II.

FOUR CHAPTERS

1211-1212 A.H. [1796—1797 A.D.].

First Chapter.

The building of Fatah-chawkī, the grant of the title of Umarā, *manṣab* and services to Amīru'l-Mulk Muḥammad Ali Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur and Sirāju'l-Mulk Muḥammad Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, and the management of the affairs of the government.

Second Chapter.

The receipt of a letter from the English king recognising the government of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur along with a portrait, a sword, and a medallion of the English prince, the grant of *pāndān* in token of the appointment of Mr. Barrett to the post of *dīwān* and conferment on him of the title of Colonel, the celebration of the marriage of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur; the demise of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and the attack upon the Nawwāb by Mīr Ja'far Alī.

Third Chapter.

The rebellion of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān Bakhshī, the appointment of Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur as *ṣūbadar* of Muḥammadpūr, the grant of *manṣabs*, situations, and other favours to useful men, the building of Mubārak-chawkī, which later on became well-known as Rōshan-chawkī, and the birth of Ghulām Imām Mahdī Muḥammadī Miyān.

Fourth Chapter.

The grant of situations to different men, the attack of small pox on the author, the second son of the younger sister of the exalted Nawwāb ṣāḥib, the celebration of the marriages of Shahsawār Jang and Tāju'd-Dīn Khān; the Nawwāb's banquet in the gardens of Bahrām Jang and Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī, and the Nawwāb's allegations against Hashmat Jang and other details.

PART III.

FOUR CHAPTERS

1213-1214 A.H. [1798—1799 A.D.].

FIRST CHAPTER.

The appointment of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur as *fawjdār* of the taluk of Nellore, the marriage of Amīru'l-Mulk Muḥammad Ālī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, and the receipt of a letter from the Pādshāh of Delhi.

SECOND CHAPTER.

The excursion to Mīnā-bāzār in the garden of the Nawwāb, the Nawwāb's banquet to his sisters in the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall, and Mubārak-chawkī, the receipt of a letter from Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, and the marriage of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur.

THIRD CHAPTER.

The trip to the vineyard, and to the beach, and the despatch of the coffin of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur to Nattharnagar.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

The meeting of the Nawwāb with General Harris, Mir Ālam Bahādur and his son.

PART IV.

FOUR CHAPTERS

1214-1215 A.H. [1799—1800 A.D.].

FIRST CHAPTER.

The narration of certain events during the reign of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II, the trip to the Pūlimādwāram tank, and to Maḥbūb-bāgh, belonging to Iftikharu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the trip to Frangīkonda and its hill, the illness of the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, and the arrival of Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur

from Nattharnagar for the purpose of visiting the ailing Nawwāb.

Second Chapter.

Serious illness of the Nawwāb, the treatment by the English doctors, the Nawwāb's will in the name of his own son Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, misunderstanding between Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and the exalted Nawwāb, the entry of the English army into the Nawwāb's garden, the demise of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the correspondence between the Governor of Madras and Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, the coronation of Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, and the demise of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

Third Chapter.

The administration of Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the return to obedience of the royal family to the exalted Nawwāb, his kindness towards them, the demise of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, the ascension of Nawwāb A'ẓam Jāh Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh, his administration, his demise; the right of succession to the Wālājāhī throne devolving upon Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān, the regency of the great Amīr, son of an Amīr, a councillor with great wisdom, namely, the exalted Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb 'Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur.

Fourth Chapter.

The arrival of the princes of Tīmūr family to the kingdom of the Carnatic and Madras from the time of Nawwāb Wālājāh till the reign of the Nawwāb 'Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, the genealogy of the families of Anwar, Wālājāh, and Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, and their children, and an account of the author in the concluding chapter.

PART I

1209-1210 A.H. [1794—1796 A.D.].

First Chapter.

The initiation of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur in spiritual discipleship by Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur and other details.

It was the practice with the exalted Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur to decorate every year for seven nights from the 11th to the 17th of the holy month of Rabī'u'th-thānī Kalas-maḥall with *farsh* and green *bānāt*, and light it with chandeliers, *kanwal*, and hanging branched candlesticks of several colours. The outer hall towards the *ḥawẓ* would be furnished with a highly decorated pavilion, and a throne of green colour with embroidery. Two green banners in the name of Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī (may greetings and salutations be on his forefathers) would be erected in front of the two pillars of the pavilion. The arrangements of these would be in the hands of Sālār Jang Muḥammad Najīb Khān Bahādur. Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur would be appointed to collect all those who had the good fortune to become disciples; and Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāhib to lead the thanksgiving prayer performed in two genuflexions. Finishing the *after-sunset-prayer* in congregation, the Nawwāb came to the *'ibādat khāna* every night from the 11th to the 16th at about 8 o'clock, sat on the prayer carpet, invited to his generous presence through Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur all those who sought happiness, gave them guidance and advice in accordance with the regulations of the Faith, and thus admitted them as his disciples.

On the 17th night of the month of Rabī'u'th-thānī in the year 1209 A.H. [11th November 1794 A.D.] he arranged to furnish the building with adornments of more than usual splendour. All the lanterns were lit with wax-candles. The *shaykhs*, the learned, and the pious were assembled together. As he was wont to don for years, he put on, after finishing the *after-sunset-prayer*, the green dress of *shaykhs*, wore the crown of the *khilāfat*, and round his happy neck the rosary composed of one hundred big onyx stones, a holy relic of his religious guide, and held in his hand an ordinary olive rosary for the purpose of saying his salutations. He took in his company Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī, and other *shaykhs*; he adorned the throne with his presence, and requested Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṣāḥib to sit on his right. Then he called to his presence Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib and spoke happily as follows:

"Formerly I honoured you with the *khilāfat* of Qādiriyya.[1] By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, I desire at present to bestow glory on the light of my eye, the fortunate and the intelligent 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the crown prince, by granting him the *khilāfat* of the illustrious Chishtiyya[2] family." Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, who was then present in

(1) This is an ascetic order of *faqīrs* instituted by Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jīlānī, 561 A.H. [1165 A.D.] surnamed *Pīr dastagīr*, whose shrine is in Baghdād. It is the most popular religious order amongst the *sunnī* Muslims in India and elsewhere in Asia.

The *Qādiriyya* order practise both the silent and the audible form of service, reject music and singing, wear green turbans, and one of their garments must be ochre-coloured. The recital of the blessing of the Prophet (*durūd*) is a conspicuous part of their rites.

(2) The Chishtī trace their origin to Abū Isḥāq, ninth in succession from 'Alī, son-in-law of the Prophet, settled at Chisht in Khurāsān. One of his disciples Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn settled at Ajmer (1142-1236 A.D.). His successor was Quṭbud-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, buried near the Quṭb Minār in Old Delhi. The *darqāh* at Ajmer was constantly visited by the Emperor Akbar.

the assembly, was honoured with the rank of the *khilāfat* of Chishtiyya, and initiated into the teachings of that sect. He also invited Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān, Ghulām Asadullāh Khān, Muḥammad Karīm Khān, Ḥabībullāh Khān, 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, his own five grandsons, and other persons who sought the honour of discipleship, gave them guidance and advice in accordance with the regulations of the Faith and thus exalted them by admitting them as his disciples. Then he honoured Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib by choosing him to lead the thanksgiving prayer offered in two genuflexions.

Section 1.

Nawwāb 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur, and other persons, had already been favoured with the distinction of discipleship by the exalted Nawwāb. 'Abdu'l Qādir Khān Bahādur, Ḥaẓrat Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, Ḥashmat Jang Bahādur, Ṣādiq 'Alī Khān Bahādur, and others who had attained already the happiness of discipleship from Ḥaẓrat Raḥmatullāh Ṣāḥib, Shāh Abū Sa'īd Ṣāḥib, Shāh Abu'l-Layth Ṣāḥib, and others became the disciple of the exalted Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb ṣāḥib, with a view to please him, and move along with the times.

After finishing the generous work of initiation, the exalted Nawwāb ṣāḥib, continued to sit in the same happy *majlis* on the throne under that flag, shook hands with his disciples from the highest to the lowest, and then said the holy *fātiḥa*. Then he distributed to every one, high and low, through Sālār Jang Bahādur, Muḥammad Jāwīd Khān, Muḥammad Bashīr Khān,

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Members of this order are partial to vocal music, for the Khwāja, their *pīr*, in one of his religious reveries said that singing was the food and support of the soul.

For other details about this sect, see Herklot's *Islam in India*, (1921) pp. 288-9.

the offerings over which *fātiḥa* was said in memory of the holy Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī[1] (peace be on him).

After dissolving the assembly Nawwāb ṣāḥib fixed daily allowances for his poor and needy disciples, caused orders to be written to the officers of his prosperous government directing them to pay such allowances from the income of different taluks, through Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib after informing Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. The Nawwāb affixed his signature and seal to these orders. He also asked all his disciples to be present every Tuesday at about 8 o'clock in the morning to attain happiness by partaking of the sweet *khichṛī* offered to Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī. The superintendent of this holy *majlis* was Ḥāji Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Maghribī Ṣāḥib.

Section 2.

Every year on the 24th of the month of Shawwāl, his happy birthday, the Nawwāb weighed his dress used in the past year including white *nīm-āstīns* and distributed them as sacred relics through Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib.

Section 3.

One day the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur composed a few verses in Hindī, got them written in big letters on a gold-strewn paper, and presented it in great joy and happiness to the Nawwāb, his exalted father, and spiritual guide, as an acknowledgment for the grant of the rank of the *khilāfat-i-chishtiyya*. The exalted Nawwāb perused it and smiled, and handed it over to Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, Ālī Dil Khān, Ṣādiq Ālī Khān, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān and Hashmat Jang. The verses are:

"If you wish to see the features of Allāh
Go and look at the countenance of Wālājāh,

(1) 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jīlānī is referred to respectfully as Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī (Beloved of the Divine Lord).

It is true; Shaykhjī says
That *'ārifs* see the semblance of *baytu'llāh* in the *butkhāna.*
If you wish to verify this, look at yourself.
The aspect of *shāhinshāh* is hidden in His subjects.
If any one worships him, they say it is blasphemy,
And the worshippers at the shrine are termed blasphemers.
O Mumtāz, stand up for truth, and behold the great beauty.
The semblance of the Prophet of Allāh is in 'Alī Murtaẓā."

Other details in this connection are not known to this humble servant. He has put in writing whatever he has seen or remembered. The rest of it Allāh knows better.

SECOND CHAPTER.

The details relating to the youth of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur; the summoning of Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān from Ḥaydarābād; the arrival of Rukniu'd-Dawla Bahādur from Ḥaydarābād, and the marriage of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur.

During the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur resided from his early days in Bāgh-i-kuhna[1] later on known as Muḥammad-bāgh. As it was not spacious enough, he engaged himself in the year 1209 A.H. [1794 A.D.] when his father was alive, to erect a wooden building according to his own plan, and

(1) This may be identified with Amīr Bāgh built before 1798. It was the property of the Nawwāb who frequently lent it to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, for public entertainments. At a late date the Court of *Ṣadr-i-'adālat* was held there. It was afterwards used by the Agra Bank. Then it became the Elphinstone Hotel and now it is the premises of the Spencer's Hotel, Mount Road, Madras.

shifted his residence there. This building came to be known as Fatah-chawkī. Adjacent to this he got ready another building covered with tiles for the pursuit of his studies in alchemy.

There were always present in his company five *sayyids* from morning till evening and another set of *sayyids* from sunset till midnight who offered prayers and transmitted to him the efficacy of their prayer by the breath of their mouths. Besides these, there were servants who attended on him during the day and spent the night in the *chawkī* in Bāgh-i-kuhna outside the compound of Fatah-chawkī.

Reliable attendants and managers like Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur son of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, Taqī 'Alī Khān the house steward, Qutbu'd-Dīn Khān the *bakhshī*, Rahmān 'Alī Khān Bahādur the *dārugha* of the *kachahrī*, 'Alī Nawāz Khān the *'arẓ-bēgī*, Muhammad Hasan Khān the *mīr-munshī*, Asadu'd-Dīn Khān the *munshī*, Muhammad Mu'īnu'd-Dīn the copyist, Sayyid Nūr 'Alī the news-writer in palaces, Lāla Bhawānī Prashād, and Kishan Rao the clerk, besides other clerks, and *dārughas* of different departments, were present in the *darbār* of the exalted Nawwāb attending to their duties from 10 o'clock in the morning till evening.

Mr. Barrett[1] who was thoroughly proficient in writing and reading English was also an expert in handicrafts, and in repairing *ghaṛī* and other articles of European make. He had great skill in his work, was very wise and sagacious, prudent and enthusiastic in the work entrusted to him. Captain Smith[2]

(1) The author of this book writes his name as Bard and Bart. His correct name was Thomas Barrett. He was entrusted with the administration of the revenues of the Nawwāb. According to the report of Messrs. Webbe and Close, he was "of the lowest tribe of native Portugese, equally destitute of education, manners, and knowledge."

(2) The author might have meant Brigadier General Joseph Smith who was for a long time adviser to Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Wālājāh on all matters including the army.

was distinguished for his services as the *sardār* of the cavalry and armed forces. Mr. Johnson1, the son of Mr. Smith, was appointed to organize and train the armed forces and the cavalry.

Muḥammad Darwēsh and Mīr Ja'far Ālī presented themselves before the Nawwāb at 11 o'clock in the night at bedtime and narrated or read to him stories.

Section 1.

Daily routine of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur.

The Nawwāb went to bed at about 12 o'clock in the night, and got up before 6 o'clock in the morning. He finished his ablutions with hot water that was got ready on a lamp near the place where wood of aloes was burnt in front of him, and said the *early-morning-prayer*. Then he sat facing the *qibla*, and said *tasbīḥ* taught to him by his noble mother, namely, the late honoured and revered Khadīja Bēgam known as Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba. He said *tasbīḥ* counting regularly over his fingers till the rising of the sun. He engaged himself in the same manner after *evening-prayer*, usually till sunset, when he got up for the *sunset-prayer*. When he was engaged in saying *tasbīḥ*, he never spoke to any one. He was very regular in this duty throughout his life.

After the morning prayer was over and when the sun had risen, he sat till about 8 o'clock in the big hall of Fataḥchawkī, giving audience to visitors. Sometimes 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, 'Abdu'l-Ma'būd Khān Jamshīd Jang, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Rustam Jang, Ḥaẓrat Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṣāḥib, Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī, paid a visit to the exalted Nawwāb. Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur came secretly once a week during the night and discussed with the Nawwāb confidential matters pertaining to the *wālājāhī darbār*.

(1) It cannot be ascertained whether Johnson was the son of Smith mentioned above.

At 8 o'clock in the morning Nawwāb ṣāḥib came out of the hall and sat at the dining table for about three-quarters of an hour. First, he granted a portion of his royal repast to those who used to say *durūd*, and then took his meal. On alternate days, he invited Muḥammad Ālī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur[1], the light of his eyes, his beloved son, and ate in his company. Sometimes he invited for breakfast Abdu'l-Karīm Khān known as Khān Bahādur, his second son. On many occasions the Nawwāb kept him in his company, and arranged for instruction through teachers learned in every branch of knowledge. Besides, he took great care to teach him the English language also.

After breakfast the Nawwāb sat alone for an hour till 10 o'clock, smoking hookah and pondering over problems. From 10 o'clock till noon he worked in the alchemy house and prepared six *bānī* of gold which weighed five *huns*. He honoured Siddī Muḥammad Fīrūz Khān, an old loyal and trustworthy servant of the *sarkār* with the appointment of *dārugha* of the alchemy house, and entrusted him with all the work attached to that office, and no one else had access to that place. But occasionally the Nawwāb invited Abdu'l-Karīm Khān Bahādur, his son, and made him work in the alchemy house. The gold which was got ready the previous day was distributed the next day as *nadhr* to Allāh among the poor and the needy at his gate through Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, his attendant and an officer of the *sarkār*.

Section 2.

The *pillow-money*, amounting to five rupees per day and one hundred and fifty rupees per month, was in charge of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm. The Nawwāb sent that amount to Ḥaẓrat Mawlānā Abdu'l-Ālī Ṣāḥib through Mawlawī Imām

(1) After the death of his father, Nawwāb Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur in 1801 at the age of 53, this prince could not accept the terms offered to him by Lord Clive. So Nawwāb Aẓimu'd-Dawla Bahādur was elevated to the throne of the Carnatic.

Bakhsh for the purpose of distributing it among the students. Every day a rupee which was sent from the palace of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, was tied on the upper arm of the Nawwāb to seek protection of the Imām Ẓāmin[1] (peace be on him) against disaster. Thirty rupees thus collected in a month together with the *nadhr* of five rupees to the crescent made a total of thirty-five rupees. This sum was sent as *nadhr* to Ḥaẓrat Mīr Mahdī Ṣāḥib, the calligraphist, through Sayyid Nūr Alī.

The Nawwāb took rest in Fataḥ-chawkī from 12 o'clock to 1 P.M. After waking up, he went on some days to the house of Muḥammad Alī Ḥusayn Khān's mother, Mubāraku'n-nisā Bēgam known as Ghasītī Bēgam, who lived near Fataḥ-chawkī. After staying there for about three-quarters of an hour he returned to his own residence in Fataḥ-chawkī, where he engaged himself till afternoon in playing *shaṭranj* with Mīr Abū Ṭālib Khān and others or sometimes in reading books on history, studying anthologies or trying to compose verses.

Section 3.

Every day at about 4 o'clock he went out sometimes in a *chārat* with a body-guard, for a drive in the big garden as far as the gate of the *dāru'l-amāra* of the big *dīwān-khāna*[2] of

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(1) *Ẓāmin* means 'one who is responsible for another, or enters into bail for him.'

Yak rupaya bābat ẓamānat-i-Imām Ẓāmin, means 'a rupee worn as a protective against disaster or death.'

It is a general custom when a person is about to travel, or when evil befalls him, to tie a copper coin and a metal ring in a bit of cloth dyed with turmeric in the name of the personal guardian, the saint Imām Ẓāmin, and to wear this tied on the left upper arm. When the person reaches his destination in safety or gets rid of trouble, he takes off the coin, and sometimes adding a few more coins to it, buys sweets, or makes cakes or stew and offers the *fātiḥa* in the name of the saint.

(2) This is now occupied by the office of the Board of Revenue, Government of Madras.

Kalas-maḥall; sometimes he drove in a *suksāwan* with two armed guards, two orderlies, two mace-bearers, a corporal and two attendants and got down near the mango tree at the gate of Kalas-maḥall. He opened his knapsack and put on his full dress: a gown made in Europe, or a flower-painted gown with green borders made in Bengal, and a waist-band from Guzerat. He wore a silk *rūmāl* to cover the scar of the wound on his right fore-finger which had been cut off by a gun shot.

In 1204 A.H. [1790 A.D.] a year after the demise of Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, the men in the army under Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Burhān the commandant, collected in large numbers and created disturbance at the big gate[1] of the *bāgh* of the Nawwāb on account of the outstanding wages. They were armed with guns, muskets, and other implements of war taken from the *āshūr-khāna* of the *sarkār*. When Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur received information of this fact, he presented himself in obedience to the command of Nawwāb Wālājāh, at the big gate mentioned above for the purpose of advising the rebels. There were also present with him 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, Mr. Smith the *'uhda-dār* in the army of the prince, and other officers. Just then the sepoys were very clamorous and uproarious. Mr. Smith drew out his sword to threaten them. As soon as the sword was drawn out, one of the sepoys put his loaded gun on his shoulders and aimed at Mr. Smith. He moved aside, but Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur beckoned to the sepoy with his right hand. Just then the sepoy had touched the match of the gun with his fore-finger. As fate would have it, the bullet carried away the right fore-finger of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, passed through the back of the umbrella-bearer wounding him, and then through

(1) This refers to the massive triple-arched gateway at the end of the present Wālājāh Road which was the main entrance to the palace grounds from the west.

the left side of the body of Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur tearing his skin to the extent of one span. By the grace of God, the cords of life of these men were very strong; their wounds were cured after a long time by the treatment of English doctors, and Shaykh Ādam the *ḥajjām*.

The Nawwāb dressed himself up in the manner described above, went to Kalas-maḥall and presented himself before the exalted Ḥaẓrat Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatu'l-Mulk Sirāju'd-Dawla Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Ẓafar Jang. He paid his obeisance in accordance with the convention and then took his seat. He submitted his own petitions and the correspondence with the Governor in Council, for the prince was the vakil representing the Nawwāb. There were also present in the *darbār* at that time Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Ṣafdar Jang Bahādur, Ḥashmat Jang Bahādur, Ṣādiq 'Alī Khān Bahādur, 'Alī Dil Khān Bahādur, Qādir Nawāz Khān, Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī Maghribī Ṣāḥib, and two or three *munshīs* of the Nawwāb. Every one of these submitted his affairs before the Nawwāb, while the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was a mere spectator.

Section 4.

Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Nuṣrat Jang Bahādur presented himself now and then before Nawwāb Wālājāh about the time of *after-noon-prayer*. Occasionally he used to submit his own petitions to the Nawwāb. Out of his brotherly love and kindness Nawwāb Wālājāh offered *qalyān* to Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur and he always used to smoke in the company of Nawwāb Wālājāh.

Section 5.

The exalted Nawwāb 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur[1] always said the *after-noon-prayer* in the company of Nawwāb Wālājāh.

(1) He was the son of Amīru'l-Umarā, the second son of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh, who predeceased his father.

Whenever Nawwāb Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur caught sight of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur would overwhelm him with the kindness of a father. The paternal kindness and affection which Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh had for the exalted Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was beyond description. On many an occasion when Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was present in the *majlis*, the Nawwāb used to address Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur in great joy and happiness thus: "By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, your forehead is exceedingly luminous and resplendent. This indicates that the Creator, Omnipotent Lord, would honour you with glorious and powerful rank by bestowing on you dominion and authority." Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur would pay his obeisance to the Nawwāb for this happy remark[1]. But such expressions were highly unpalatable to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. Yet out of regard for his father's feelings, he outwardly exhibited great kindness to Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur; whenever he met him, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur overwhelmed him outwardly with love.

Section 6.

'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur and others presented themselves at the morning *darbār* of Nawwāb Wālājāh to pay their obeisance to him. Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān and other grandsons of the Nawwāb usually presented themselves at the *darbār* in the company of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur and ingratiated themselves into favour.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening Nawwāb Wālājāh rose from the evening *darbār* to say his *after-noon-prayer*. The exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur took leave of his father and went to the palace of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam known

(1) This turned out to be a true prediction. After the death of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the claims of his son Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur were set aside by the British and Nawwāb Aʿẓimu'd-Dawla Bahādur was chosen as the ruler of the Carnatic in 1801.

as Buddī Bēgam ṣaḥiba, his senior sister, where he partook of the repast. On some days Ḥaẓrat Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam *alias* Chotī Bēgam, well-known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the younger sister of Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur, on some other days, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur, Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam *alias* Daryā Bēgam well-known as Manjhlī ṣāḥib-zādī, and 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam *alias* Fataḥ Bēgam well-known as Chotī ṣāḥib-zādī, all these assembled together at the *maḥall* of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and had their dinner. Sometimes, once or twice in a week, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur dined with his nephews. After dinner the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur stayed there till about 8 o'clock in the night talking and smoking *qalyān*. Then he got into a *chārat* or a *suksāwan* and drove to Bāgh-i-kuhna also known as Muḥammad-bāgh.

Section 7.

Sometimes his happy temperament inclined to make special arrangements for the zenana by hanging lattice in the hall of the palace of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, his senior sister; he invited a company of dancing-girls and musicians including Laṭīfa, Tānū, Ṣājnī known as Sōnā. He directed Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān son of Muḥammad Munīru'd-Dīn Khān and Rām Singh Bayrāgī thus: "Set to music the elegant and significant verses composed by me recently in the following tunes1 *yaman, khamāj, bahāg, lalit, babhās, bharavi, aliyā-bilāval, dhanāsri,* and *asāvari,* and make the dancing-girls sing them in sweet and pleasant voice. Thus

(1) Mr. P. Sambamurti, Lecturer in Indian Music, says that the following *ragas* of South Indian Music closely resemble the tunes mentioned in the text: Yaman=Kalyāṇi; Khamāj=Khamās; Bahāg=Hindustāni Behāg; Lalit=Lalita (but F Sharp or the Prati Madhyama is not used); Babhās=Bhūpālam; Bharavi=Tōḍi; Aliyā-bilāval=A derivative of the Dhira Sankarābharana meḷa; Dhanāsri=Ābhēri; Asāvari=Asāvēri (both the D Natural and D Flat are used in this raga).

the Nawwāb spent the time from about 8 o'clock in the night till midnight listening to music, and enjoying the nautch. On some days in order to oblige the ladies he asked six handsome and comely dancing-girls to put on suitable dresses for a *khravī* dance and enjoyed the tamasha.

On the joyful occasion of the celebration of the birth of Ḥaẓrat Ālī, the commander of the faithful, the leader of the pious, Waliu'llāh and Waṣiu'r-Rasūl,[1] held every year usually in the month of the revered Rajab, the Nawwāb composed in praise of Ḥaẓrat Ālī, some verses in the Hindi language in the form of *ghazal*. He wrote the verses in pencil and gave them to Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān with the following command: "You should, with the help of Bayrāgī Rām Singh, set these verses to music in tunes favourite with me, and train quickly Sōnā, the dancing girl, so that she may sing forthwith." In obedience to the command, the Khān trained her in about an hour and conducted her to the presence of the Nawwāb. The exalted Nawwāb was extremely pleased with her song. He sent for cash from the *maḥall* of his sister and gave a present of one hundred rupees to Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān, fifty rupees to Rām Singh, fifty rupees to Sōnā, and fifty rupees to other dancing-girls.

Dargāh Qulī Khān, a witty person, and a companion of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, was, like Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān, of an entertaining nature. Both these amused Nawwāb ṣāḥib by their drollery and pleasantry. The Nawwāb presented Dargāh Qulī Khān also with thirty-five rupees.

Verses composed in praise of the exalted Ālī, peace be on him.

To-day the chastity of God revealed itself to the world,
Fāṭima is the name given to it by Muṣṭafā.

(1) *Waliu'llāh* (Friend of Allāh), *Waṣiu'r-Rasūl* (Executor of the Prophet's will). These are surnames of Ālī.

When the marriage rites according to law were performed,
The Time spread two *masnads*:
One on the side of Allāh, the other on the side of the Prophet.
Thereupon the essence of Aḥmad became manifest.
To-day a son is born in the house of god,
Prophet took him as his son-in-law
Through him eleven *imāms* were revealed,
Divinity was perfected in that house.
O God! keep us in need of their power and characteristic qualities
Through the mediation of the respectable Prophet.
Mumtāz offers prayers and benedictions.

After some days Muḥammad 'Izzu'd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang Nāmī, son-in-law of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and son of Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān, wrote the following letter to Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur with a view to bring it to the notice of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur.

"To
The Khān ṣāḥib rejoicing in the possession of great benevolence and kindness.
Salāmun-'alaykum: May it be known:

I have heard that a certain poet, a stranger to this land, had been rude in criticizing the poem of Nawwāb ṣāḥib Mumtāz. He had put it in writing and sent it. He records his objection thus in a verse:

"When the son is born in the house of Allāh,
The sense in '*He begets not*'[1] is marred."

I have nothing more to add but hope for your kindness."

(1) This is a quotation from the 11th *sūra, al-Ikhlāṣ* (the Unity).
1. Say: He, God is One.
2. God is He on Whom all depend.
3. He begets not, nor is He begotten.
4. And none is like Him.

Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur submitted this letter to the Nawwāb at the time of his drive. On perusing this letter Nawwāb ṣāḥib was extremely displeased and flew into a passion. He took out a pencil from his pocket, put the letter on the *suksāwan*, and wrote on the back of that letter the following reply:

"Thou hast not understood, O stupid ass!
In truth the birth-place of Ḥaydar is *ka'ba*.
When the son is born in the house of Allāh,
How the sense in '*He begets not*' is marred?"

He also added:

"By God! Who has no peer! out of regard for my senior sister, I do not wish to punish you immediately; I leave the punishment to the Creator; certainly it will come.

The accursed and stupid poet is not in my presence; if he were in my presence now, I would have adorned him with an iron chain and appointed you to teach him poesy. I would have dignified you also with that ornament and sent both of you to the fort of Chandragiri so that the art may be learnt perfectly, for Chandragiri is a fit place for such accursed and mischievous men, and the teacher and the student must remain together in one place till the attainment of knowledge.

Well: In future if such foolish, absurd, and mischievous questions are brought to my notice, by the strength of Allāh!, the tongue and the hand of the culprit will be cut off and he will be kept in perpetual confinement.

God is with us and with you!

Ghulām Ḥusayn."

Then he directed Mīr Ismā'īl Khān thus: "Send this letter immediately to that accursed man. In future you should not bring to our notice such absurd letters from wicked men. This does not become your position and rank."

After giving expression to his indignation, the Nawwāb drove in his *suksāwan*, and went as usual to the *maḥall* of his

senior sister for dinner. There he summoned to his presence Shāh Bēgam, the wife of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Khān, gave vent to his disgust and said: "In future if such improper behaviour is shown by your husband, by God! all considerations will vanish, and I shall immediately cause him to suffer for his offence in the *darbār-i-'ām.*" He also told his senior sister in great anger and disgust all the details, the disobedience, wickedness and foolishness of the Khān. He issued orders prohibiting the Khān from entering the gate of Fataḥ-chawkī, and visiting him. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam also was displeased at the behaviour of her son-in-law and forbade him from entering her house, and from associating with her son Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur.

'Izzu'd-Dīn Khān was very much aroused to a sense of danger when he read the Nawwāb's letter sent through Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur, and heard about the rebuke of Nawwāb ṣāḥib and the exalted Bēgam ṣāḥiba. He was terror-stricken, and was subject to a severe strain of sorrow and anguish night and day. He conveyed a message to Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur through Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur seeking pardon from the Nawwāb for his own error. Five or six months later, on the occasion of the celebration of the happy birth-day of the Nawwāb, Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur after great endeavour secured pardon for the mistake of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Khān and also permission for him to pay his obeisance to the Nawwāb. The benevolent Nawwāb did all these out of regard for the affection he bore towards Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur. Then the Nawwāb spoke personally to his senior sister and secured permission for 'Izzu'd-Dīn Khān to have social communication with the women's apartments and also to visit the *dīwān-khāna* of Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur.

Section 8.

The Nawwāb slept in the *maḥall* of his senior sister when it was too late to go to his own palace after the nautch party

and such other entertainments held in the house of his sister. He slept in the green-chair room of the *bāra-darī*, contiguous to the *maḥall* of his sister. On other days he left his sister's house as usual after 8 o'clock in the night in a *chārat* or *suksāwan* to Bāgh-i-kuhna also known as Muḥammad-bāgh. Whenever he or his senior sister or her son felt indisposed or took a laxative, he stayed in his sister's palace night and day.

During the sickness of his second sister or his younger sister, or sons of his sisters, and also whenever they took laxative, the Nawwāb slept at night in the room of the *bāra-darī* contiguous to the *maḥall* of his senior sister. Early morning his senior sister paid him a visit along with other sisters. They all had their breakfast and dinner with the Nawwāb. After the evening dinner, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur paid a visit as usual to Nawwāb Wālājāh, his noble father. He returned after an hour or two to the *maḥall* of his senior sister. At 8 o'clock in the night when the gun shot was heard, he started for the *bāgh*, his own residence.

Section 9.

Sometimes Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur visited the Nawwāb in the *bāgh* after 10 o'clock in the night and submitted to him in secrecy important matters and other affairs pertaining to the *wālājāhī darbār*. The exalted Nawwāb also amused himself from 10 o'clock till 12 o'clock in the night, by listening to the music of Rām Singh Bayrāgī, an old musician who played *yaktāra*, and by Bhawānī Dās Bayrāgī a new musician who used to play the *sārangī*, and had great skill in his art. The accomplished Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān also sang the new songs composed by the Nawwāb. Now and then the sagacious Qādir Nawāz Khān was permitted to stay in that company, for the Nawwāb regarded him kindly and through him he learnt many details pertaining to the *wālājāhī darbār*. The Nawwāb had so much regard for him that he purchased a beautiful *bāgh*

with a building, contiguous to the *bāgh* of Mr. Wex[1] and opposite to Bāgh-i-kuhna his own residence, and made a present of it to Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur. The Khān was often there in that *bāgh* and during night presented himself before Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. The Nawwāb gave permission to his companions to depart, and himself retired to his sleeping apartments. There he invited Ghulām Murtaẓā, and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the commandant, and listened to their reports on every place, *maḥall*, and other things and gave them further instructions. Then he took hold of the keys of every place, left them on the table opposite to him, and enjoined strictly all the *chawkīdārs* who were present thus: "Whenever any commandant comes to me you must wake me up."

Then he gave the following order to the commandant:

"If any messenger from the exalted Nawwāb Wālājāh, or from my elder sister, or the second sister, or the younger sister seeks for me late in the night, you must immediately get the keys from Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and bring him to me, and at the same time wake me up."

Generally there used to be in his sleeping room women who came through Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the *jama'dār*. This *jama'dār* brought them secretly in carriages and sent them after an hour or two. During the time of rest Nawwāb ṣāḥib always invited Mīr Muḥammad Darwēsh, and Muḥammad Ja'far the romancer and story-teller, and listened to their latest tales and stories. Sometimes he seated them near his bed-chamber, and made them narrate stories. Besides his own body-guard he kept some foot-soldiers in the *chawkī* near the gate of Fatah-chawkī in Bāgh-i-kuhna. They were very alert in their duties. Nawwāb ṣāḥib always had news of their presence or absence. The *chawkīdārs* in obedience to the orders

(1) This may probably refer to the house of Mr. James West situated in the triangle between Triplicane, Whites Road, and Mount Road. It was built as early as 1761 A.D.

of the Nawwāb were armed and ready for action. If Nawwāb ṣāḥib got information of anyone remaining unarmed in the *chawkī*, he rebuked him severely.

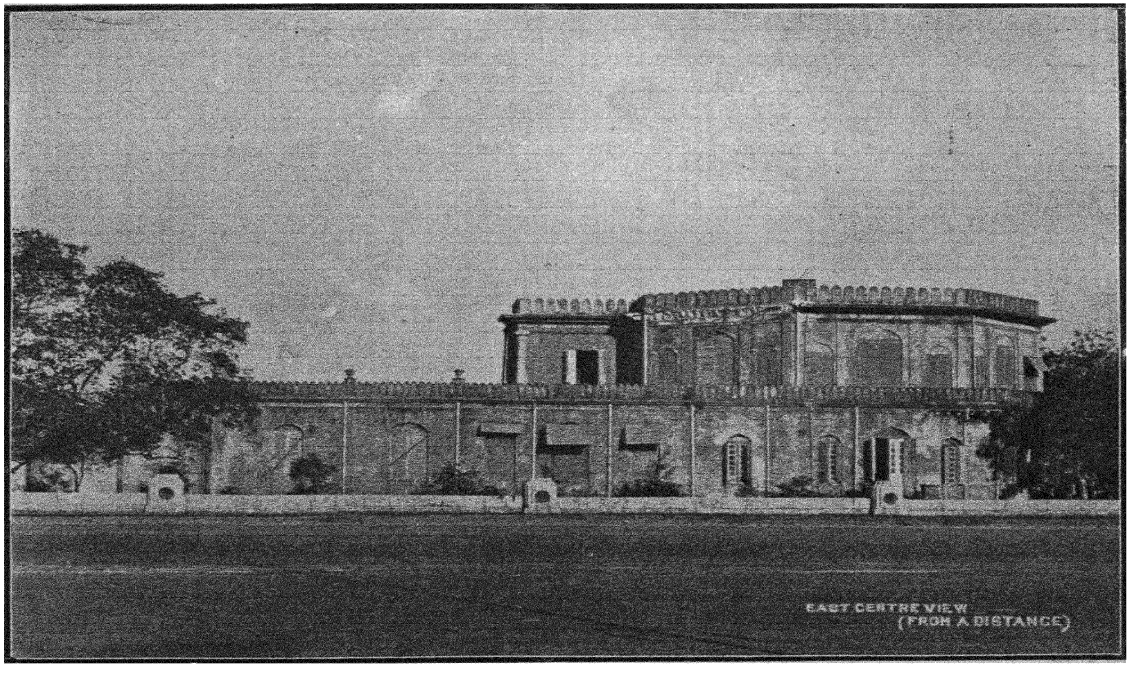
On some days if the Nawwāb was engaged in reading or writing something important, he used to keep awake an hour more than usual. He was always alone when he was busy reading or writing.

Section 10.

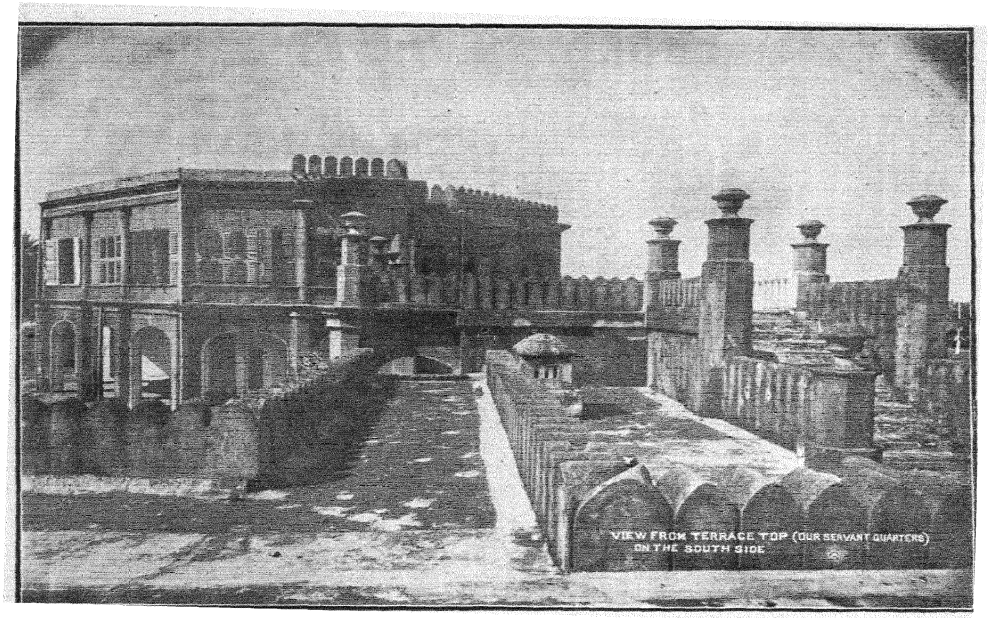
The exalted Dulārī Bēgam ṣāḥiba the eldest daughter of Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla, was the wife of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. She resided in the old building contiguous to Shādi-maḥall on the highway to the big mosque at Tirmalkaṛī (Triplicane). This building was purchased from Mubāriz Jang. Nawwāb ṣāḥib was displeased with his wife for some reason or other. He used to go to her palace on occasions of necessity like the offering of *fātiḥa* during the month of Rajab and such other occasions. But the exalted Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba invited her to her own palace during the festive celebration on the birthday of the Nawwāb. In great pomp and magnificence, she seated both the Nawwāb and his wife on the throne and asked 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam, her own younger sister, to adorn them with flowers got for the occasion. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam presented her younger sister with five hundred rupees cash, and a tray containing *khilʻat* made of silk and cotton.

Section 11.

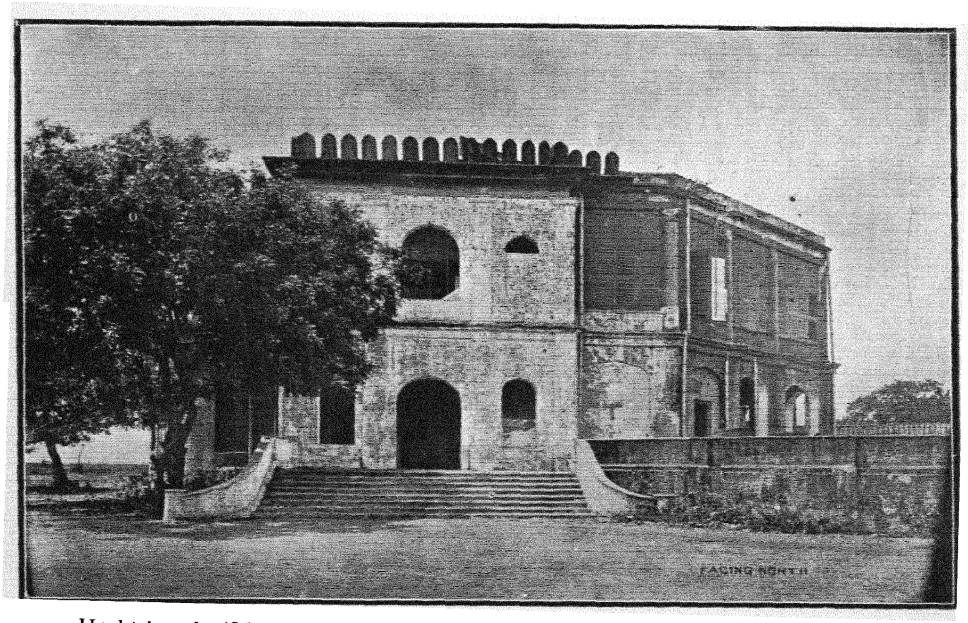
Generally during summer months the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur made arrangements for the zenana either on the terrace of the palace of his second sister or in the *dīwān-khāna* of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, took in his company the senior sister, other ladies, guests, and others, designing to go to the beach on moonlight nights or to see the rising of the sun or the moon.



Hasht-bangla (Marine-Villa) on the site of the present University Buildings.
East Centre view (from a distance).



Hasht-bangla (Marine-Villa) on the site of the present University Buildings.
View from Terrace top on the South side.



Hasht-bangla (Marine-Villa) on the site of the present University Buildings.
Facing North.

He went to the beach by the side of Hasht-bangla[1] adjoining the Bāra-darī. In Hasht-bangla at about midday he seated the two new-come *vīṇa* singers opposite to the windows of the women's apartments and listened to the *sārang rāg*.

The Nawwāb went in the afternoon to the house of his senior sister and had his dinner. Once in a month or two he invited to his own *bāgh* his sister's children and others, sat on the terrace and enjoyed the tamasha of tigers, bears, elephants, camels, horses, and the wrestling matches among *pahlawāns* from 9 o'clock till 11 o'clock. Sometimes he gathered all of them one night in the palace of his senior sister, and from nine till about midnight engaged them in playing the game *bahā-kānt* which was played consecutively for four nights. On the final day the Nawwāb honoured them all with large presents.

Section 12.

The celebration of the holy *'urs* of the exalted Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥusayn (peace be on him) had its commencement from the first of Muḥarram. The Nawwāb gave instructions on that day to decorate Bāgh-i-kuhna known as Muḥammad bāgh with lanterns and wax-candles, planted the ancient banner of Ḥaydar, and directed the *rawẓa-khwāns* to be busy in their prayer till 9 o'clock in the night. Nawwāb ṣāḥib slept every night till the 10th of Muḥarram in the room behind the holy ensign. On the night of the 10th, he summoned the *khallāṣī* from the Company who set up innumerable lights. At about midnight he carried that banner of Ḥaydar in a howdah going on a procession from the *bāgh* as far as Tirmalgaṛī and returned at about 3 o'clock in the morning. On the morning

(1) *Hasht-Bangla* or Nawwāb's Octagon. Col. H. D. Love identified it with Marine Villa at the south end of the Cooum bar. The Nawwāb's Octagon is mentioned in the Madras Courier dated 2nd Feb. 1792. On the site of the Marine Villa stand the University Buildings which house the Departments and the Library.

of the 10th of Muḥarram after the *early-morning-prayer* the holy banner was washed and entrusted to its owner. Then the Nawwāb appointed Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur, Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān, Raḥmān 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Shujā'at 'Alī Khān, and distributed charities in the name of Ḥaẓrat Sayyidu'sh-shuhadā (chief of the martyrs, peace be on him) to all *miskīns* and the needy giving each a piece of *khādī* and a rupee. In the same manner the anniversary of the death of Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba, his noble mother, was celebrated on the 14th of Jumādiu'l-awwal and charities were distributed in his own presence at Bāgh-i-kuhna through the persons mentioned above. The cash and the cost of cloth distributed on those occasions amounted to four thousand and five hundred rupees per *fātiḥa*. These charities were distributed in front of the building in the *bāgh* while the Nawwāb and his companions sat in the upper storey of the building. There used to be a huge crowd; although alms were distributed from morning till evening, there would be still some omissions, and it would be continued next day by order of the Nawwāb.

Section 13.

Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur, the first son of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, was suffering from epilepsy. The *yūnānī* and *miṣrī ḥakīms* and doctors felt helpless, and illness increased day by day. One day Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur spoke respectfully to the exalted Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahadur about the strange illness of his own eldest nephew. Next day Nawwāb ṣāḥib went to visit the sick person in the house of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, his younger daughter, along with Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Mubāriz Jang, Sālār Jang and Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur. He saw the sick person, and offered *fātiḥa* for his recovery. As he was a vigorous youth, the Nawwāb felt great sorrow for him,

shed tears and then returned to his own residence. Next day he suggested to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur and Mubāriz Jang that they should call skilful *ḥakīms* from Ḥaydarābād. He gave orders for writing an *'arīẓa* to the exalted Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur[1], besides another letter to Mushīru'l-Mulk Aristū Jāh[2], the chief minister of Āṣaf Jāh, and sent these through his vakil to Ḥaydarābād. When the *'arīẓa* reached Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur, an order was issued forthwith to send, immediately to Madras, Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur, a skilful *ḥakīm* who was a great success in his profession, and rejoiced in the possession of a good rank. The *ḥakīm* started to Madras, and had come as far as the taluk of Palnāṛ; just then Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur joined to divine mercy by the decree of Allāh, and the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur succeeded his father.

Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur reached Madras, stayed at the *bāgh* of Dādī Shāh Ṣāḥib, and reported himself to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. Six days later, Nawwāb ṣāḥib sent Qādir Nawāz Khān and Ḥakīm Aḥmād Khān Bahādur to the *bāgh* to invite Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān and received the Ḥakīm ṣāḥib at the green-chair room in the house of his senior sister. The *ḥakīm* submitted to the Nawwāb as *nadhr* forty rupees and a bound and gilt book being a short treatise on *Khulāṣatu'l-ḥikmat bā mujmal-i-khulāṣatu'l-ashyā* written by himself. The Nawwāb spoke with him kindly for about an hour. When the *ḥakīm* took leave of the Nawwāb he observed the civilities rendered to guests by presenting him with *'iṭr*, *pāndān*, and *gulāb-pāsh*, and asked Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur and Ḥakīm Aḥmad Khān to act as escorts to him as

(1) Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur is known also as Niẓām 'Alī Khān in English books of history.

(2) He was also known as A'ẓamu'l-Umarā Ghulām Sayyid Khān. He was the minister to Niẓām 'Alī Khān till the end of his own life in 1804.

far as the house of his younger sister where Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur, the patient, stayed. He assigned to the *ḥakīm* the *jāgīr* of Kūlī Nellore which yielded an income of twelve thousand rupees per year. Thus the *ḥakīm* was appointed to treat Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur.

Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur recovered his health in a short while after undergoing the treatment at the hands of Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur. Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur felt happy and was graciously pleased to confer on the *ḥakīm* the title *Malikū'l-ḥukamā* (king of *ḥakīms*).

Section 14.

The talk of marriage for the son of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam began nine months before the demise of Nawwāb Wālājāh. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, with the permission of her father and brother, had correspondence with Bakhshī Bēgam ṣāhiba, the wife of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. As Bakhshī Bēgam ṣāḥiba asked for some poems composed by Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam sent her some of his verses along with presents to Ḥaydarābād.

Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam fixed the marriage of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, her son, with the daughter of Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur. He was related to the late Ruknu'd-Dawla Bahādur the elder. Both these were high officials in Ḥaydarābād. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam invited Ghulām Ashraf Khān and his family with great grandeur and magnificence. When he arrived at Madras, he stayed at the *baġh* of Dādī Shāh Ṣāḥib. In a little while, the new *bāġh* well-known as the *bāġh* of Mr. Oakes was set apart for the residence of guests. After a few days Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba sought permission of the exalted Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur, through Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, to fix the marriage on the

15th of Shaʿbān in the year 1209 A.H. [7th March, 1795 AD.] and she made everything ready for the marriage.

During the night the bridegroom went in a procession with all paraphernalia and with a number of torch-bearers and dancing-girls. Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, nobles and persons of high rank went to the house of the bride, while Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba also went there with all her sisters and other female relations. The ceremony was over and the bridegroom went back to his residence in the same manner of procession as he came up to the bride's house. The bridegroom presented at his house *nadhr* to Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādur and Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur.

THIRD CHAPTER.

An account of the sickness, and the demise of Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādur in the year 1210 A.H.

The exalted Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādur said his *after-midnight-prayer* and retired to rest. He woke up on the morning of the 15th of the victorious Ṣafar in the year 1210 A.H. [31st August 1795 A.D.] attended to the routine duties and as usual went through the wash on a raised seat. As he was getting down from the seat his foot slipped and he fell down. The thumb-nail of the left foot was crumpled up. It caused swelling and also brought on high fever. The illness increased day by day; all the *yūnānī ḥakīms* and doctors of the *sarkār* attended on him, exerting their skill in a thousand ways. Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur also tried his best to make arrangements for the treatment of his father. But the cord of life had become short and the time was drawing near the final journey. His venerable age was 75. All the attempts by way of treatment did not bring him through. The effects of the disease increased day by day; in a short while pus began to come from the shank up to the toe. Seeing this bad symptom

all the *ḥakīms* despaired of his life and secretly apprised Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur of this fact. Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad Alī Khān also understood his own condition and gave up all hopes of recovery. A week before the fateful day he consoled and comforted the ladies of his family, while sorrowful tears trickled down his cheeks. The doctors of the *sarkār* accompanied by all the *ḥakīms* presented themselves before the Nawwāb on the following day, tied up the shank with bandage, and took leave of the Nawwāb. As Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur was much worried, Muḥammad Jāwīd Khān and other servants enquired secretly about the health of the exalted Nawwāb Wālājāh from Shaykh Ādam Ḥajjām, who waited upon the Nawwāb night and day. Shaykh Ādam said in great sorrow and anguish thus: "The doctors had been making gross mistakes from the beginning of the illness of the Nawwāb, which had very much impaired his health. There is pus all over the shank and the cure seems impossible. It is our bad luck that the shadow of such a compassionate, benevolent *sardār* over our heads be removed."

On seeing his own condition which was becoming worse day by day, minute by minute, on account of the increase of the disease, and the decline of strength and energies, Nawwāb Wālājāh addressed Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur in the presence of Sayyid 'Āṣim Khān Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur, and Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī Maghribī Ṣāḥib as follows:

"Take profound interest in what I say and act up to it without fail.

"All that has a place in the domain of reality will cease to live, according to the verse 'Everything on the face of the earth will be annihilated'. It is necessary that every traveller from the invisible valley to this visible world should return to the everlasting world in accordance with the divine command, 'Return unto thy Lord'. For, all prophets, preceptors, saints,

the learned, the virtuous, *shaykhs*, reformers, kings, and persons of high rank in all the seven *iqlīms*, *amīrs*, aliens, *faqīrs*, *miskīns*, sages, old and young never deviated from this inevitable course. It is necessary for us who tread on the path of firm faith promulgated by Muḥammad the chosen, the great leader in both worlds and the last of the messengers (peace be on him, his family and his companions) that in our last moments the glorification of Allāh and praise of the Prophet should be on our tongues and admonitions and exhortations of spiritual guides should be kept in our minds.

"It is necessary for you just now, in my last moments, that you should bring together by my side Ḥaẓrat Mawlānā ʿAbdu'l-ʿAlī Ṣāḥib, Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī, Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī Maghribī Ṣāḥib, and other holy persons who mind their duty to the Lord of the Universe, and who employ their tongues for the glorification of the Prophet; they would occupy themselves in reciting verses of the Qurān, narrating traditions of the Prophet and relating the miracles of Maḥbūb-Subḥanī and I could give my mind to thoughts on my Creator and His beloved messenger. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī Maghribī Ṣāḥib may be requested to read aloud as far as possible the *sūra yāsīn* in a pleasant voice, so that it may bring about my salvation and the remission of my sins. I had followed Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur on many occasions when he led the *tarāwiḥ* prayer in the holy month of Ramaẓān. It is necessary for him that after my death he should read the Qurān every day till fortieth day of mourning and offer this as a present on my behalf to the Prophet, the leader of the world, and Maḥbūb Subḥānī, the pure soul, so that its benefits may come to me." Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur who was present then listened to these directions and was extremely pleased."

The Nawwāb again addressed those present thus: "After my death, it would be best if Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā

Bahādur, my beloved son, could send my corpse to Baytullāh and bury it underneath the steps of the *ka'ba*. If by chance this is not possible you must suggest to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, my beloved son, heir and successor, that he may send it to Nattharnagar, and inter it near the exalted tomb of Ḥaẓrat Ṭabl-i-'Ālam Nattharwali Ṣāḥib (peace be on him) for my Bēgam also is interred under the benign shade of that tomb. If this also be not possible at present, it may be buried for sometime under the roof of Ḥaẓrat Dastgīr Ṣāḥib Sāwī (peace be on him) in Mylapore. May my dust return to the dust of which it was made."

After giving them instructions about the shrouding and furnishing for his funeral, he advised them on matters relating to the administration of government. He addressed Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur thus:

"O! My beloved son, O! my happy successor, listen attentively to the advice of this traveller to the everlasting kingdom and act up to it as long as the bridle of authority rests in your hand.

"First: to discover a thing for the first time and to bring it under your control is the most arduous of all tasks. It is equally so with a kingdom. Mīr Abjadī Ṣāhib, your teacher, has said that in his *Anwarnāmā*. You should have known clearly how the Supreme Ruler favoured this *faqīr*, the slave of Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb-Subḥanī, with sovereignty over the kingdom of the Carnatic. Therefore when you succeed to my throne it is incumbent on you to attend to every work with wisdom and sagacity, prudence and foresight keeping an eye on the success of the undertaking, for it is said 'Far-sighted man is a wise man.' To draw in the well-wishers of your authority is to strengthen the pillars of the building of sovereignty; to understand correctly the worth of persons of rank is to ensure permanency of the foundation of the edifice of government. The minds of subjects

should be kept happy and cheerful by means of justice and equity. For Shaykh Saʿdī says: 'Nōshirwān chose justice and his name is remembered now.' Good government is the result of kindness on the part of the ruler, and the happiness of subjects is ensured by justice, as the saying is 'The kingdom is maintained by benevolence and not by oppression', for, the Lord of the Universe is the real Judge and His prophets and messengers are His *munṣifs* and administrators of justice.

"It is necessary for my son that he should carry on correspondence with the English king and the authorities of the Company and cultivate friendship with them so that they may be pleased with him; not even a trifling error should be allowed to come in between. He should not countenance any deed which is not acceptable to them, for, this would give strength to his authority. He should pay into the treasury of the Fort at Madras the stipulated amount of *qisṭ* as done at present in accordance with the agreement without any excuse or dispute. He should not allow even an inch of land under his authority to come into the possession of others except by way of *jāgīrs*.

"My beloved son! By the grace of Allāh! you are learned and wise, prudent and discreet; it looks as though I am teaching wisdom to Luqmān.[1] It is said, 'Every person knows how best he can meet the exigencies.'

Next day at about 10 o'clock in the morning, Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur went to enquire about the health of Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādur, his elder brother. On seeing the condition of his brother who had reached the last moments of his life, he drew deep audible

(1) Luqmān is a person of eminence, known as Luqmān-al-Ḥakīm (Luqmān the sage). He is mentioned in the Qurān (*sūra* 31, verse 12) as one upon whom Allāh had bestowed wisdom.

Commentators of Qurān are not agreed upon his identity. Mawlānā Muḥammad ʿAlī says that Luqmān was an Ethiopian.

For more details see Hughes *Dictionary of Islam* and Mawlāna Muḥammad ʿAlī *Translation of the holy Qurān*, chapter, 31.

breath expressive of sadness, and shed tears of grief although he outwardly comforted and consoled his sick brother. Then the Nawwāb returned to his house.

Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur learnt the extremely serious condition of his father and came out weeping from Kalas-maḥall. He told secretly Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur to have the care of palaces, treasury, *tōshak-khāna, kachahrī,* offices, and other departments of the *sarkār* and instructed him thus : "I shall be in the house of my senior sister. Every minute you should send me information about the affairs in this place and also the state of health of the exalted Nawwāb ṣāḥib."

He instructed Sālār Jang Bahādur thus: "You must inform the Nawwāb that the doctors entreat him not to remain in the zenana, but to lie down in the *mardāna,* for the women in the zenana will weep on seeing the extreme bodily suffering and that will bring forth more weariness and restlessness, which in his present condition will not be good enough, and increase the illness." In obedience to the command of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Sālār Jang conveyed the views of doctors to Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur. Nawwāb Wālājāh in accordance with the advice of doctors gave up all arrangements for the zenana in his room; he also understood that his life was despaired of.

When the arrangements for the zenana were abandoned, the three daughters of the Nawwāb, and Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam, the younger sister of Nawwāb Wālājāh, endeavoured to get permission from Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur to go and see the exalted Nawwāb Wālājāh. But Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur replied to them thus: "It is not the desire of Nawwāb Wālājāh to permit women to his apartments for such is the instruction of doctors. I am helpless. It is better you stay in your houses and pray for the recovery of the Nawwāb."

Section 1.

Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur ordered ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur and Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur as follows: "You brothers must go immediately to Kalas-maḥall and be present at its gate." He commanded Muḥammad Najīb Khān Bahādur Sālār Jang and Muḥammad Jāwīd Khān thus: "Be present before Nawwāb ṣāḥib, so that nothing may worry or annoy the patient."

Section 2.

In brief, when the sun set on the 28th of the month of Rabīʿu'l-awwal in the year 1210 A.H. [12th October 1795, A.D.] and darkness of the night of the 29th prevailed, Nawwāb ṣāḥib showed signs of great restlessness. At about 9 P.M. Nawwāb ṣāḥib understood that he was passing through the agonies of death, and addressed Sālār Jang and Muḥammad Jāwīd Khān as follows: "My condition seems to be very different now; it is necessary that you conduct to my presence Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī Maghribī ṣāḥib for the purpose of reading *sūra yāsīn* and invite quickly Mawlānā ʿAbdu'l ʿAlī Ṣāḥib and Shāh Qudratul-lāh Ṣāḥib."

On hearing this shocking news, the exalted Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur immediately presented himself before his noble father, saw with his own eyes the condition of the Nawwāb, shed tears of grief, gathered together Mawlānā ṣāḥib and other elders and addressed them as follows:

"Please kindly be present near Nawwāb ṣāḥib, my father, and occupy yourselves with continual prayers to the Nourisher of the World, with glorification of the names and attributes of the Supreme Being and recitation of the miracles of Muḥammad the chosen (peace be on him) and of Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī." He gave orders secretly to Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur to attend to the management of the government. He addressed Sayyid ʿĀṣim Khān Mubāriz Jang Bahādur as follows:

"The Nawwāb is in a precarious state of health. You must all be attentive to your work. If you think it is necessary that you should employ watchmen and *chawkīdārs* for keeping watch in different places, do it now after consulting with Qādir Nawāz Khān. At present I am in no mood to attend to anything. I do not think it is necessary that I should inform the Governor of Madras about the state of the Nawwāb's health; for I am the eldest son and the heir apparent. After the *fātiḥa* on the third day, I can, on my own authority, succeed to the throne of my father. By the grace of God, I do not think that this communication to the Governor of Madras and the members of the Council will serve any purpose."

Mubāriz Jang submitted boldly, "Your highness' opinion is excellent. What can your devoted servants say on this? But your highness may give a hint of this to the Governor if you deem that this would do. Even if this is not done, we, who wish you well, are desirous to obey you."

Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur replied in great vexation of spirit, "Khān ṣāḥib! Where is the necessity for informing any one about the demise of my father?" He then turned to Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur and said:

"I have already given strict orders to Mr. Bātlī in the *Angrēzī-dārū'l-inshā* that as soon as the good soul of Nawwāb ṣāḥib departs from life, he should write a *ḥukm-nāma* to Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, (1794-1798) requesting him that he should arrange to fire seventy-five salutes proportional to the venerable age of Nawwāb ṣāḥib. As soon as the coffin is taken out, the salutes should be fired from the fort of Madras and in the same manner from all other forts in the kingdom. It strikes me that the communication to the Governor of Madras in regard to the condition of the Nawwāb's health just now will not be useful. By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, on the day of my coronation a salute of guns from my *bāgh* expressing homage to me will become perceptible to the ears of the Governor. It is necessary

that you enjoin strictly on the men in the *Angrēzī-dārū'l-inshā* not to write any letter conveying the serious illness or the death of Nawwāb ṣāḥib to the Governor of Madras."

After these directions to them, Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur went to the house of his senior sister and rested there for the night in his own room.

The whole night Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādur suffered pangs of death.

Section 3.

On Tuesday morning, the 29th of Rabīʿu'l-awwal in the year 1210 A.H. [13th October, 1795 A.D.] at about 7 o'clock the good soul departed this life. 'Verily, we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return.'

The news of Nawwāb ṣāḥib's death spread immediately and there arose sounds of lamentation and loud excited utterances of grief in the *mardāna*, zenana, and in all palaces, the houses of the three daughters of the Nawwāb, the big *bāgh*, lanes, *bāzār*, and houses in every part of the town. The violent sorrow and distress of mind caused by the death of Nawwāb ṣāḥib seemed to reach as far as the heavens.

When things were in that condition Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur, and Riẓā Yār Khān, in accordance with previous orders of the exalted Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh II, arranged to close all the doors of the *bāgh* and posted sentinels to guard every door, the treasury, *tōshak-khāna*, *kachahrī*, and the doors of other palaces wherever necessary and awaited further orders from the Nawwāb.

In the meanwhile, the exalted Nawwāb heard this destructive and dreadful news, came out of his sister's house staggeringly with a tear-stained face, got into a *suksāwan* that belonged to Ram Rao, the *mutaṣaddī* at the house of his senior sister, reached the big *dīwān-khāna* in the Humāyūn-maḥall and sat in the room of Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur. He called Mubāriz

Jang Bahādur and sent him in company with Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur to seal the treasury and the offices.

Section 4.

The Nawwāb chose Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṣāḥib, Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib, Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥājī Maghribī Ṣāḥib, 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, 'Abdu'l-Ma'būd Khān Jamshīd Jang, Muḥammad Najīb Khān Bahādur Sālār Jang, Muḥammad Jāwīd Khān, Muḥammad Miftāḥ and others to attend to the details in regard to burial. Some experienced Abyssinians were given for their assistance. The Nawwāb invited his nephews and seated them by his side. He showed favour to Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur by asking him to send quickly a trooper to Mylapore with the following message to Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur. "The carriage of your highness' elder brother is ready to march to the eternal kingdom. May you be pleased to come and give your elder brother a send-off." Another trooper may be sent quickly to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur so that they may come immediately. Finally he gave orders to write a condolence letter to Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur in Nattharnagar.

In a little while Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, and Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur reached the palace. The Nawwāb seated Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur in the *ni'mat-khāna* of the *dīwān-khāna* facing the sea, and Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur in the *khalwat-khāna* facing west, and addressed them as follows: "I seek your advice. I shall let you know later. Please take your seat here."

He sent for Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān through Jāwīd Khān, seated him by his side, and in despite of attempts to induce him to play with three or four children he wept for his father and said every minute *hajū-lāl.* When he wept out thus, others present also wept.

Mīr Ismā'īl Khān who was entitled to the style of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Quṭbu'd-

Dīn Khān Bahādur, Alī Nawāz Khān Bahādur, Raḥmān Alī Khān Bahādur and Shujā'at Alī Khān Bahādur who were then present in his presence were asked to stay on, and to get Sayyid Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn, Sayyid Makhdūm the *risāladār*, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, and Ghulām Murtaẓā the commandant, to his presence with three armed men and be attentive to the orders of the *sarkār*.

Muḥammad Jāwīd Khān and other officers collected the keys of all offices from every one and placed them before the Nawwāb. Nawwāb ṣāḥib put all the keys on the table in the room where he was seated and posted there an armed sentry and a commandant.

The Nawwāb had been, all this while, keeping himself informed of the preparations for the burial. In the meantime Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur came there. At about 11 o'clock Ḥājī Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī Ṣāḥib sent information to the Nawwāb that everything was made ready for the burial. Immediately after receiving this news Nawwāb ṣāḥib went there, placed the corpse in the coffin with the assistance of *shaykhs* and *'ulamā* who stood according to the grade of dignity. Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur and Nawwāb ṣāḥib stood on either side of the coffin giving passionate expression to their grief. Then the coffin was carried to the big *dīwān-khāna* and it lay in state facing the door of *ni'mat-khāna*. The coffin was furnished with a *ghilāf* and *shāmiyāna* crowded with ornaments. Nawwāb ṣāḥib, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, and Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, came out from the *dīwān-khāna* of *dāru'l-amāra* in a style befitting their ranks, to say the prayer for the dead. They were followed by a crowd which was beyond one's reckoning, and comprised the nobility and the rank and fashion, besides the *'ulamā* and *shaykhs*. Nawwāb ṣāḥib left the crowd to say the prayer for the dead on the way to the red-gate and himself returned to the *dīwān-khāna*. The salutes were not fired from the fort in accordance with instructions of the

Nawwāb. The coffin was carried in great state and interred for a year under the vault of Ḥaẓrat Dastgīr Ṣāḥib to the right of the sepulchre adjoining the wall[1].

At about 3 o'clock Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and all the men who accompanied the coffin returned and gathered together in Kalas-maḥall, offered *fātiḥa* and every person of rank proceeded to express his sympathy with Nawwāb ṣāḥib. At that time Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur turned about and addressed Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and Ḥusamu'l-Mulk Bahādur thus:

"My grief at the separation from my father is no less than Jacob's.

But he lost a son, and I a father."

At about the time of *afternoon-prayer*, he invited his three sisters and Nawwāb Ra'īsu'n-nisā Bēgam, Nawwāb Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam, and other wives of Nawwāb Wālājāh to Kalas-maḥall and consoled and comforted them. They wept and lamented. Nawwāb ṣāḥib consoled them in all manner and sent them to their houses. Then the Nawwāb went out.

Section 5.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave instructions to Qādir Nawāz Khān and Sālār Jang to make everything ready for the *fātiḥa* on the third day and for his coronation. Then he went to the house of his senior sister. As the *fātiḥa* on the night of the third day after the death of Nawwāb Wālājāh happened to fall on the night of the first of Rabī'u'l-awwal, the place round about Nawwāb's grave was adorned with carpets and lights. The *ḥāfiẓs*, *durūdīs*, *mawlūd-khwāns*, and others were assembled together and they were occupied the whole night in reciting the Qurān, saying *durūd* and singing the praise of the Prophet. Qādir Nawāz

(1) The remains were later on carried to Trichinopoly and buried in the *dargāh* of Natthar Wali.

Khān, Mīr Ismā'īl Khān and Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī and Sālār Jang were in charge of the entire arrangement. Nawwāb ṣāḥib went there at about 8 o'clock in the morning and took part with others in offering *fātiḥa*. Then he returned to the big *bāgh*, and arranged to distribute charities near the venerable tomb and in the big *bāgh*. Arrangements were kept up in this manner for all *fātiḥas* till the fortieth day of mourning.

Then for a period of six months Nawwāb ṣāḥib offered *fātiḥa* on every Thursday in the following manner. He went out in great state by the sea-gate on every Thursday afternoon in a *suksāwan* accompanied by his nephews and other trustworthy officers. He was followed by *bāndārs*, *ghōza-nawāz*, armed men, and Abyssinian horsemen. Generally 'Abdu'l-Ma'būd Khān Jamshīd Jang used to be present at the sepulchre. Nawwāb ṣāḥib smiled at him indulgently and addressed him thus: "Khān ṣāḥib! you are the intimate friend and companion of the Nawwāb here in this place. Please communicate to him my message and recommend me to him. Please also convey to me what he says in reply." Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib participated in the *fātiḥa* and returned by the same road to his own *bāgh*, and bade farewell to all his companions.

I have written here whatever I knew. Allāh knows the rest.

FOURTH CHAPTER

The coronation of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur; the correspondence between the officers of the company and the exalted Nawwāb; the conferring of titles on Muḥammad Ālī Ḥusayn Khān, and others; renting of the taluks of Nellore, Ongole, and Palnāṛ to Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur; the exaltation of Rukn'ud Dīn Khān to the title of his father, and to the office of fawjdār over Muḥammadpūr; the marriage of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur; the grant of jāgīrs, and other events in the glorious darbār.

Praise be to Allāh and His favours: On Friday, the 2nd of Rabī'u'th-thānī in the year 1210 A.H. [16th October 1795 A.D.] the world-illumining sun shone brightly and shed radiance on the universe, when the ministers of the state and officers of government, in accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb, furnished the *dāru'l-amāra* with carpets, lanterns, *masnad* and *shāmiyāna*. The exalted Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, a person of light and leading, put on his full dress which comprised the following: *Jahāngīrī-dastār* of exquisite quality with a *ṭurra* of pearls, every string of which was of priceless value, a gown, a *nīm-āstīn* with embroidered border, and a *shāh jahānī* waist-band fitted up with an enamel rim, and a sword studded with pearls, and with an enamelled handle. Nawwāb ṣāḥib arrayed himself up thus and came out of the big *dīwān-khāna* at about 11 o'clock in the morning, when his hands rained gems, and his thanks giving to the Great Almighty had been the means of shedding perfume around the people. He caught hold of the hand of Maliku'l-'Ulamā and took his seat on the *Wālājāhī masnad*.[1] Immediately congratulatory expressions were heard from all sides; hand over hand rose up with *nadhr*. Every one was treated kindly to *'iṭr*, *pāndān*, and

(1) The verses which bring out the chronogram of the coronation is given in the appendix A to this book.

rose-water. A round of cannons and muskets were fired. The noise of tambourine, pipe, *nawbat* and festive music from the *bāgh* rose up to the heavens. Of the *nadhrs* that were presented, the Nawwāb took out a tray full of gold and silver and emptied it first into the skirt of Mawlānā ṣāḥib; then he presented other *shaykhs* with plates containing gifts. The Nawwāb gave orders that the remaining *nadhr* should be conveyed to the treasury.

Then he dismissed the assembly, and went to the big room facing west. This room, enclosed with tatties, was the residence of the sons-in-law of Nawwāb Wālājāh. The Nawwāb had arranged, before the coronation, to furnish it with white carpets, chairs and other things.

In the meanwhile news was carried to him that the son of Lord Hobart was present at the *dīwān-khāna*. As soon as he heard this news, he understood the purpose of the visit and told Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur, Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur and others who were present as follows:—"This son of Lord Hobart has come to inquire of me. By His grace, he will return only after an unhappy interview." He commanded Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur thus: "Go and bring him to my presence." Nawwāb ṣāḥib and others were seated on chairs when the son of Lord Hobart presented himself, paid his obeisance, took his seat and submitted on behalf of his father as follows:

"It was a great surprise to me that your highness had not favoured me with the news of the demise of your exalted father. If I had that information, I should certainly have sent the army of the Company wearing such garments as sign of mourning to accompany the coffin in a style befitting the late Nawwāb's state. I should have also ordered to fire a salute of guns from the fort and other places. Furthermore you had the coronation after the *fātiḥa* on the third day. My father says that all this

is not appropriate to the occasion. He also says that Nawwāb Wālājāh was so kind and benevolent as to acknowledge that my father was his son. Therefore it is incumbent on your highness to inform me. I should have arranged to fire a salute of guns from the fort of Madras at the time of the coronation; I should also have been present at the *darbār* and congratulated your highness on this happy event."

The Nawwāb ṣāḥib listened to the message of Lord Hobart and said in reply: "As I was feeling sorrow at the demise of my father, I could not send information. I wonder at your friendship, love, wisdom and learning. It is incumbent on you to express sympathy with me at the death of my father. Instead of this you state your grievance to me. I am the eldest son, the heir apparent, the successor, the king chosen by my father; and I ascended the throne of my father in accordance with the usual practice in the world. There was no necessity to inform that *ṣāḥib* about this."

After giving this reply, he gave the son of Lord Hobart leave to depart, and addressed Qādir Nawāz Khān thus: "Make all arrangements for a state drive. I wish to go the Wālājāhī mosque to say the *jumʿa* prayer." Everything was got ready immediately. Nawwāb ṣāḥib rode a *mahādōl* and went to the mosque in great state. He was accompanied by Sayyid ʿĀṣim Khān Mubāriz Jang and Sirāju'l-Mulk ʿAbdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur. After finishing the *jumʿa* prayer, he offered the thanksgiving prayer in two genuflexions for his coronation. Then he returned in state and alighted at the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, his senior sister, and gave his companions leave to depart.

Section 1.

The Nawwāb's two sisters assembled together at the house of their senior sister, presented him with *nadhr*, congratulated him on his accession to the Carnatic throne and attended to the customary festive proceedings. Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam, design-

ated as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba alias Chōtī Bēgam, the aunt of the Nawwāb came to that palace in the afternoon and offered her congratulations. Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur who was absent at the time of the presentation of *nadhr* in the *dārul-amāra* approached the Nawwāb who was seated on a chair decorated with green *makhmal* in the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and offered his *nadhr*. Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur also offered his *nadhr* then. The Nawwāb addressed him thus: "I entrust with you my *nadhr* to my paternal uncle; please present it to him." Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur, in obedience to the orders of the Nawwāb took charge of the *nadhr*, went to Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd Dawla Bahādur, his own father, presented it to him on behalf of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l Umarā Bahādur, and reported his return to the Nawwāb in about an hour. Nawwāb ṣāḥib was then engaged discussing in private with Mubāriz Jang Bahādur certain affairs of the government. Then Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur was admitted to the Nawwāb's presence. He paid his obeisance, offered congratulations on behalf of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Bahādur and presented *nadhr* on his behalf. The exalted Nawwāb ṣāḥib was overwhelmed with joy and inquired of him thus: "In what direction my noble uncle was sitting in the *dīwān-khāna* when he received the *nadhr*?" He replied, "Towards the south." Immediately Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l Umarā Bahādur got up from his seat, stood southwards, and in great joy offered his thanks to his uncle. Then he said to Mubāriz Jang, "My revered uncle stands for my noble father. He has conferred distinction on me by sending *nadhr* on the occasion of my coronation. For various reasons I could not go in person and present *nadhr* to my revered uncle; therefore I sent it through Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur. By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, I shall pay him a visit one of these days." Then he gave the Khān and Mubāriz Jang Bahādur leave to depart and himself stayed in the palace of his senior sister.

Next morning Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur went out to the house of Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba, his aunt, offered *naḏhr*, and then returned.

On the following day, the son of Lord Hobart, presented himself in the big *dīwān-ḵẖāna* for the purpose of discussing various matters unpalatable to the Nawwāb. He requested on behalf of his father that certain taluks be made over to the Company in return for the *qiṣṭ* money due to it. The Nawwāb gave the reply thus: "The *qiṣṭ* will be paid in cash in accordance with the agreement. Any other idea on your part will be of no avail. By the grace of God, I shall not give even an inch of land. My father in his life-time possessed himself of the throne of the Carnatic through the favour and kindness of Lord Cornwallis Bahādur. I have succeeded to the throne of my father; I have in my possession the treaty signed by Lord Cornwallis."[1]

(1) There were three treaties between Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur and Lord Cornwallis. The first was in 1787. It stipulated that the Nawwāb should pay annually nine lakhs of *pagodas* in times of peace, besides twelve lakhs for his debts; in times of war, the contracting parties should each pay four-fifths of their revenues, and that in case of non-payment by the Nawwāb, he should assign certain districts to the Company as security.

The treaty concluded in 1790 laid down that the British should take direct management of the Carnatic into their hands while the war with Mysore lasted.

The treaty of 1792 stipulated that the Nawwāb should pay annually nine lakhs of *pagodas* to the Company; the Carnatic was to be garrisoned with British troops; the British should collect the tributes from *pālayagārs* on behalf of the Nawwāb; the assignment for his debts was to be reduced, and the British should take over the entire management of the Carnatic in the event of war.

The subsidy fixed by the treaty of 1792 was regularly paid by the Nawwāb, but he had to contract heavy loans to meet his liabilities and hence he assigned the revenues of his country to liquidate them.

After 'Umdatu'l-Umara ascended the throne, Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, authorised Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, to propose to the Nawwāb the assignment of the entire revenue to the Company. Lord Hobart apprehended the influence of European usurers on the Nawwāb,

The son of the Governor of Madras was reduced to a non-plus by this irrefutable reply, and rendered miserable. Then he took leave of the Nawwāb, returned to his father, and conveyed to him the reply he received from the Nawwāb. Then Lord Hobart communicated this news to Sir John Shore, the Governor-General in Bengal, and was devising to get possession of certain taluks in lieu of the *qist* due to the Company. When Nawwāb ṣaḥib became aware of this he was always reflecting upon methods to defeat the object of the Governor. He addressed Sālār Jang, Mubāriz Jang, and Bahrām Jang as follows:

"By the grace of Allāh, I succeeded to the throne of my father. It is not even a week since my coronation day, and I am bothered by unnecessary anxiety. Allāh, exalted be He, is the Protector and the King of kings."

The Nawwāb was grave and gloomy in the week that followed his coronation on account of his correspondence with the Governor of Madras.

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and negotiated without Sir John Shore's consent, for the surrender of only one district. He addressed the Nawwāb "in terms at once offensive to his deceased father and menacing to himself by pressing upon him unseasonably the immediate payment of a debt due to the Company, and other claims real or disputable by threatening compulsory measures."

Sir John Shore acquiesced in Lord Hobart's proposal, but condemned his conduct "as repugnant to the treaty of 1792, by which the Nawwāb's rights were guaranteed—as, in respect of some of the demands pressed on the Nawwāb, unjustifiable—and as, in fact, involving a breach of faith." The Governor-General also asserted that "the magnitude of an advantage could not warrant the prosecution of it by improper means."

Lord Hobart appealed to the Directors in justification of his conduct, and Sir John Shore wrote to Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, on 12th January, 1796, that the conduct of Lord Hobart was "most unjustifiable, violent and indefensible upon every principle." The Governor-General also protested against the principle of forcing the Nawwāb into an acquiescence by indirect means of coercion that "would soon suggest to the country powers that convenience was the measure of our good faith."

Finally the Directors resolved in October, 1797 to recall Lord Hobart.

See C. S. Srinivasachari's Edition of Major Evans Bell's Letters. *The Empire in India* 1935 Letter III—The Carnatic.

Section 2.

On the tenth day after the coronation, the Nawwāb came out of his sister's house in a *suksāwan* at about 9 o'clock in the morning and drove to the *dārú'l-amāra* while he was followed by *ghōza-nawāz* and *jawāns*. He sat on the ivory chair near the window on the upper storey of Kalas-maḥall.

After the ministers, officers, *munshīs* and *mutaṣaddīs* paid their obeisance, Nawwāb ṣāḥib assigned to each individual his work. Mubāriz Jang Bahādur was appointed *dīwān*, Mr. Battley to be the head of the *Angrēzī-dārú'l-inshā*, and Rai Khūb Chand to be the *mīr-munshī* of *Fārsī-dārú'l-inshā*. Sālār Jang, Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur and others were then present in the *darbār*. Nawwāb invited also Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn, his own beloved son, Muhammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur, and Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, the two sons of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur, Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur, 'Abdu'l-Karīm, Nawwāb's another son, Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān I'timādu'l-Mulk, Sarfarāz Khān Ashrafu'l-Mulk, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khān I'tiṣāmu'l-Mulk, and others. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur were also present in the *darbār*. The Nawwāb issued *darbārī* orders and attended to the affairs of the Government. Then he turned to bestow titles.

First he wrote a royal order conferring the title *Malikú'l-'Ulamā* upon Mawlānā 'Abdul-'Alī ṣāḥib and sent it through Qādir Nawāz Khān.

Another royal order containing a list of titles to be conferred upon Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur and others was also signed by the Nawwāb: the title *Naṣīr Jang* for Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān, *Muẓaffar Jang* for Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, *Jalādat Jang* for Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur, and *I'tiṣām Jang* for Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur. In addition to the titles, the *manṣab* of two thousand was conferred upon every one of these men. The Nawwāb asked Qādir

Nawāz Khān to read aloud the order conferring titles upon these men and took *nadhr* from them.

The Nawwāb gave Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur another list of titles which conferred dignities upon the following: Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur was given the title *Sirājū'l-Mulk Dhū'l-faqāriʾd-Dawla Sardār Jang*, the *manṣab* of seven thousand and invested with privilege to *nawbat* and *ghariyāl*; Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān with the title *Amīrul-Mulk 'Umdatud-dawla Ẓafar Jang*, and the *manṣab* of seven thousand. They also presented *nadhr* to the Nawwāb.

Another royal order with the signature of the Nawwāb conferred the following titles: The title *Amīr Jang* on 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur, *Ṣamṣām Jang* on Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammād Nāṣir Khān Bahādur and the *manṣab* of four thousand also was conferred upon each of them. The Nawwāb took *nadhr* from them.

Ghulām 'Alī, the eldest son of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, was ennobled with the title *Ghulām 'Alī Khān Bahādur Sayf Jang*; Walīullāh, the youngest son of Ghulām 'Alī, with *Ghulām Riẓā Khān Bahādur Ḥusām Jang*; 'Abdu'l-Karīm another son of the Nawwāb, with *Khān Bahādur*; Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur with *Rukanu'd-Dawla Bahādur*. Of the two brothers-in-law of the Nawwāb, one was honoured with the title *Wizārat 'Alī Khān Bahādur*, and another with *Dāwūd 'Alī Khān Bahādur*.

Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur was dignified with the title *Bahrām Jang*, the *manṣab* of two thousand and invested with privilege to wear *nīm-āstīn*, and tie a *rumāl shāl*; Mir Ismā'īl Khān with *Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur*; Abū Ṭālib Khān, Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān, Yāsīn Muḥammad Khān, Shujā'at 'Alī Khān, Dargāh Qulī Khān, Taqī 'Alī Khān, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān, and Raḥmān 'Alī Khān, with *Bahādur*. All these persons presented *nadhr* to the Nawwāb.

Then the Nawwāb signed three orders which conferred the title *Nawwāb* on his three sisters and sent them through Sālār Jang Bahādur.

Amīru'l-Mulk Bahādur 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān, and Sirāju'l-Mulk Bahādur 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, were invested with privilege to *rīs*, and tambour in *kāṭs*. The Nawwāb's other nephews and Amīr Jang Bahādur, Ṣamṣām Jang Bahādur and Bahrām Jang Bahādur were invested with privilege to *rīs* only. The Nawwāb accepted *nadhr* from them and gave them all leave to depart.

Section 3.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib was always ruminating over the correspondence with the Governor of Madras. By the grace of Allāh, a *ḥukm-nāma* from Sir John Shore, Governor-General of Bengal, reached the Governor of Madras two months after the coronation of the Nawwāb. It read thus:

"Your proposal that certain taluks should be made over to the company in return for the *qisṭ* is not plausible. Please accept the payment of *qisṭ* in accordance with the practice observed during the days of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh I.

"The exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II took the right step to ascend the throne after his father. Immediately after reading this *ḥukm-nāma* you must meet Nawwāb ṣāḥib and tender my congratulations to him on his accession to the throne and order to fire salutes from the fort of Madras and ships expressing joy on the event."

In obedience to the *ḥukm-nāma*, the Governor of Madras informed Nawwāb ṣāḥib of his intention to visit him and on the appointed day the Governor and the *sardārs* of his Council presented themselves in the big *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall and congratulated the Nawwāb on his accession to the throne. A salute of guns was also fired from the fort and ships. The Nawwāb also was very much delighted in receiving the Governor and his companions and gave orders that a salute of guns should be fired in his own *bāgh* expressing respect to the Governor. The Nawwāb treated the Governor and others to *pān*, *'iṭr* and flowers and gave them leave to depart. Next day,

at 11 o'clock Nawwāb ṣāḥib sat in a *mahādōl* and went in great state to the fort to pay a return visit. He was accompanied by his son, nephews, and the officers of the Government. The Nawwāb returned to his residence after meeting the Governor. A salute of guns was fired from the fort in honour of Nawwāb ṣāḥib's visit.

Section 4.

Generally Nawwāb ṣāḥib held his morning *darbār* in the *dīwān-k̲hāna* of the *dāru'l-amāra*, and the evening *darbār* in the *dīwān-k̲hāna* of Sirāju'l-mulk Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn K̲hān Bahādur at the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba.

During the early part of his reign before the completion of the building of Fataḥ-chawkī, the Nawwāb had his residence at the palace of his senior sister in the green-chair room. Every day at about six in the morning he drove a *chārat* and went out for a walk till 7 o'clock. After breakfast he drove a *chārat* drawn by four horses and reached Bāg̲h-i-kuhna, the residence of the mother of Amīru'l-Mulk Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn K̲hān Bahādur and made inquiries about her health. Thence he went to his alchemy house, and occupied himself with the alchemy work. He rested there for a while in the noon. Then in the afternoon he returned to his sister's house and had his dinner.

Section 5.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib got hold of the keys of certain rooms used by Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur, from the officers who were charged with their care, and also the key of the library in charge of Jāwīd K̲hān. He removed from these rooms to his residence such things as he found useful and left the rest in their respective rooms. He locked the doors and kept the keys in his own box.

Section 6.

The Nawwāb always strove to get a letter from the English king confirming his own government and sent many letters to

England in regard to that. To achieve his end, he employed *shaykhs* who had practised ability in incantation. He also engaged pious men to repeat daily prayers, and read the holy Qurān a number of times.

Section 7.

From his young days Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur did not like Mubāriz Jang Bahādur. But out of regard for Nawwāb Wālājāh he pretended to be very courteous to him. When he came to power, Mubāriz Jang Bahādur continued as *dīwān* to all appearance, but Nawwāb ṣāḥib looked after all affairs taking work from whomsoever he chose. Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, who understood the pleasure of the Nawwāb, did not interfere in any matter. His visits also became infrequent. He used to be present in the morning assembly and pay his obeisance to the Nawwāb. If there was any indispensable duty he attended to it after permission from the Nawwāb.

Section 8.

Three months passed after the coronation; one day at the *darbār* the Nawwāb ratified the orders of the *sarkār*, and then arranged to grant lease of the taluks of Ongole and Palnaṛ to Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. Then the Nawwāb invited Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, entrusted him with rent-service and took *nadhr* from him. After some time he invited Ruknu'd-Dīn Khān and conferred on him the title *Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān* and also honoured him with the office of *fawjdār* of the *ṣūba* of Muḥammadpūr known as Arcot.

Section 9.

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba who was busy making due preparation for the marriage festivities of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, made everything ready by Jumādiu'th-thānī in the year 1210 A.H. She distributed *tōras* through Yāsīn Muḥammad Khān, and Mīr Mahdī Khān, and *khilʻat* through

Rāi Hanmant Rāi Bahādur and Ram Rao. The festivities were begun with the permission of the Nawwāb. Officers like Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, and others were in charge of all arrangements. Every one from the highest to the lowest was presented with gifts; even the broom and groom were given each a share of *khil'ats* with embroidered work. Such distribution of presents was kept up till the month of Rajab. Teachers, *atālīq*, and others were each presented with embroidered robe, shawl, *dushāla* and vari-coloured clothes that befitted the observances of ceremonies like the ceremony of *rang*, *sharbat*, *barī*, *barāt*, and *chawthī*. All the first-rate courtesans, *qawwāls*, and *mīrāthīs* in the kingdom of the Carnatic who had come from different towns were also honoured with such presents. The *dīwān-khāna* of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur behind the green-chair room in the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Begam ṣāḥibā was converted into the *mānja-khāna* of the bridegroom. It was decorated; the walls were adorned with painting of rose flowers of golden hue and other colours which excited the envy of gardens in early spring. On the 13th of Rajab, the marriage ceremonies were begun. Every day at about 9 o'clock in the night the bridegroom was seated on a peacock throne, and led in a procession from the *mānja-khāna* with all paraphernalia, many lamps, and fire-works to witness the nautch which went on till 12 o'clock. Then flowers, and *pān* were distributed. After this the bridegroom was conducted back to the *mānja-khāna* in the same manner. Nawwāb ṣāḥib honoured the *majlis* by his presence in the first two or three days. Afterwards he could not be present at the nautch party or at other marriage festivities in the palace of his elder sister because of the pain caused by the boil in his leg. On the 2nd of Sha'bān when the ceremony of *sānchaq* was performed, all the officers, ministers and servants and others clad themselves in vari-coloured robes and walked in procession from the big *Wālājāhī bāgh* to the house of the bridegroom in

the new garden well-known by the name of the Garden of Oakes, along with 500 *chaw ghaṛas* for the ceremony of *sānchaq*; some of these *ghaṛas* were painted with gold and silver; some were adorned with paintings of azure colour. Thus the entire procession presented the appearance of a garden. It was a marvellous sight; no mortal eye had seen such a sight before or could ever see it in future.

The following is a description of the procession at night:

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba sought permission of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II to engage Bahrām Jang Bahādur to supervise the arrangements with regard to the procession at night. About five hundred lights were lit in a ladder-like arrangement; about five thousand torches were lighted and carried when the bridegroom started with all paraphernalia. Bahrām Jang arranged to repair the *mahādōl* and sent it on the *barāt* day to the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam that she might ride in it along with the bride on the occasion of *jalwa*. Prior to this, when Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba had requested Nawwāb ṣāḥib that she might be permitted to ride in the *mahādōl* on the occasion of the *sānchaq* ceremony, Nawwāb ṣāḥib did not give any reply but kept quiet. The Nawwāb's silence greatly afflicted Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba; she thought out a plan; she returned to her house and engaged immediately the services of a workman to get ready a *mahādōl* in a day and a night. She fitted it with curtains made of gold thread and of embroidery, and covered every side with red *bānāt*; gold *kalsās* were also suspended from the top, as found in palanquins of Mughal type. She rode in it in the afternoon of the *barāt* day, went to the house of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, and addressed her thus: "Your elder brother thought that I was contemptible and unfit to ride in a *mahādōl*, and did not permit me; he also did not reply when I sought permission to ride in a *mahādōl*. Well: Allāh, glory be to Him and Exalted be He, out of His grace, granted

to me in a short while a new *mahādōl* which surpasses in beauty the *mahādōl* of the *sarkār*. I came here riding in it to accompany the *barāt*. Of course it befits your rank and dignity to ride in the *mahādōl* of the *sarkār* and accompany the *barāt* of your beloved son."

Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and her other two sisters smiled indulgently and sent information of this secretly to their elder brother. Bahrām Jang also communicated this news to Nawwāb ṣāḥib. The Nawwāb laughed at the news and sent the following oral message to his aunt at the palace of his sister through Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and Muḥammad Rōshan.

"Nawwāb ṣāḥib pays his respects and desires to convey the news thus: It is learnt that you have made a litter after the model of a *mahādōl* and had come by that to my sister's house intending to accompany the *barāt* of Abdu'l-Ḥusayn. Congratulations on that. But I make bold to submit that riding in a *mahādōl* is not suited to your rank. If you still persist in doing so, I leave it to your pleasure; men would laugh at it."

Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba sent the following reply with her greetings: "It does not matter. This humble *mahādōl* is superior to the *mahādōl* of *amīrs*." Nawwāb ṣāḥib listened to this reply of his aunt and kept quiet.

As Nawwāb ṣāḥib was indisposed on account of the pain caused by the boil in the leg, he could not visit the house of his senior sister for three or four days or be present at the marriage festivities. He stayed at Nuṣrat-maḥall. At about 9 o'clock in the night of the *barāt* day he invited to Fatah-chawkī Khwāja 'Āṣim Khān Bahādur Mubāriz Jang, Maliku'l-Ulamā Mawlana Abdu'l-Alī Ṣāḥib, Alīmullāh Shāh, and Sayyid Nūrullāh for the purpose of tying *sehra* to the bridegroom. After the arrival of the bridegroom, the Nawwāb requested these men at about 12 o'clock in the night, being the auspicious hour, to fasten the *sehra*; then he embraced the

bridegroom and gave him leave to go to the house of his mother and drink *sharbat*.

Then the bridegroom came out of his mother's house riding on horseback and started in a procession in great state. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam in accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb, rode on the *mahādōl* of the *sarkār*, while the other two sisters followed her in their own litters. Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba went in front of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam riding in her own *mahādōl*. The nieces of the Nawwāb rode on three or four *bahals* fitted with canopied litters behind the vehicles of the ladies. Thus the bridegroom went in great state with many lights proceeding step by step towards Nuṣrat-maḥall to see the exalted Nawwāb Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur. The Nawwāb saw his aunt's vehicle, the new *mahādōl*, and addressed smilingly Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur thus: "My exalted aunt is coming by a wonderful vehicle along with the procession. She may also come by the same sort of conveyance from the *bāgh* of the bride on the day of *jalwa*. All would see and laugh at it".

Next day the ceremony of *jalwa* was gone through and in the afternoon Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam brought the bride and bridegroom with great pomp to her house in the big *bāgh*. Every one addressed her with expressions of joy on this event. Then she went before Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur and expressed her gratitude to him.

In the course of marriage festivities of her son, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam was displeased with the Nawwāb because the members of the *frang* community were not present for the marriage. The Nawwāb, who recovered from his illness after some days, invited his three sisters to Fatah-chawkī on the occasion of a show by a Chinese man who had come recently from China and exhibited marvellous feats. The Nawwāb succeeded in a manner to remove the displeasure of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam on that occasion. The Nawwāb invited

the bridegroom Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur and the bride to Fatah-chawkī and on the occasion of the *rūnumā'ī* ceremony the Nawwāb gave a *parwāna* granting *jāgīr* to the bride, conferred on her the title *Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba* and also presented her with an emerald seal-ring. The ring with the words *Nawwāb Bēgam ṣaḥiba* inscribed on it belonged to his own mother and was in possession of his sister.

Section 10.

Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur could not, after his coronation, visit Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur for some reason or other and present *nadhr* to him. But he sent it through his son. After some time on the 2nd of Shawwāl the Nawwāb rode a *suksāwan* in the afternoon and went to the house of Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur in Mylapore to wish him a happy and prosperous *'id* of Ramaẓān. He was accompanied by his nephews, while a large crowd made up of armed *jawāns*, orderlies, *chōbdārs*, *ghōza-nawāz* and others followed them. The Nawwāb reached Mylapore, paid his respects to Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur and presented *nadhr* to him. Nawwāb ṣāḥib stayed there for about an hour and took leave of his uncle. Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur accompanied Nawwāb ṣāḥib as far as the staircase and bade farewell to him. Nawwāb ṣāḥib then visited the zenana, greeted the inmates with expressions of joy and returned to his own residence.

Next day Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur returned the visit. After meeting Nawwāb ṣāḥib he visited Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba in her house, and returned to his own residence. During his lifetime Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur visited Nuṣrat-maḥall and Fatah-chawkī two or three times, and the house of the Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam once or twice.

Section 11.

One day before the *'id* in the month of Dhu'l-ḥajj in the year 1210 A.H., Nawwāb ṣāḥib visited the *dāru'l-amāra* and

called for the *parwānas* for *jāgīrs* granted by Nawwāb Wālājāh to Nawwāb Ra'īsu'n-nisā Bēgam and Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam, to Sulṭānu'n-nisā Begam and her two sisters. He kept these *parwānas* with him and issued new ones, under his own seal to confirm the *jāgīr* and *manṣab* and sent the grants through Sālār Jang Bahādur. Malikū'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the second sister of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, did not accept, for some reason or other, the *parwāna* sent to her. She returned it with the following message: "May Allāh, exalted be He, keep you safe and sound. Your safety is as good as *parwānas* for *jāgīrs*."

PART II.

1211-1212 A.H. [1796—1797 A.D.]

First Chapter.

An account of the building of Fatah-chawkī; the grant of tenures, titles and manṣabs to Amīrul-Mulk Muḥammad Alī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur and Sirājul-Mulk Abdul-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur and others.

One day Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II decided to construct a new building in the big garden for his own residence. He called Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur and Ḥājī Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī ṣāḥib and expressed himself thus: "I wish to demolish Fatah-chawkī from Bāgh-i-kuhna and put another building up in the *bāgh* where the *Wālājāhī-dārul-amāra* is situated." Then he directed Ḥājī Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī ṣāḥib to collect together the next day masons, carpenters and delvers of the *sarkār*, and the order was carried out. Early in the morning of the following day, Nawwāb ṣāḥib came out before breakfast from the palace of his senior sister, went on foot accompanied by Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and Ḥājī Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī ṣāḥib, with a view to select a suitable plot on which the new building Fatah-chawkī may be constructed. They went as far as the vine-arbour near the sweet-water pond, and selected a place with a large number of cocoanut trees, which was nearer to the palace of his senior sister.

The Nawwāb then told Bahrām Jang and others thus: "This plot is more suitable for the construction of the edifice Fatah-chawkī." The Bahādur replied: "Your highness' decision is excellent, but a large number of cocoanut trees have to be cut down. It would be preferable if the plot behind the

sweet-water pond is chosen, for it is empty of trees and also nearer to Kalas-maḥall. But the decision rests with your highness. Whatever place is chosen, may Allāh exalted be He, it will be suitable."

The Nawwāb said, "My exalted father arranged to cut down many cocoanut trees before he began the construction of Kalas-maḥall." Then he appointed Sayyid Ibrāhīm the *risāladār*, and other men directing them to get necessary materials from Bāgh-i-kuhna for the construction of Fataḥ-chawkī. He explained to the masons and others the plan of the new building with a compound wall. When the actual work of construction began, two or three tents were pitched at the place, and every day Nawwāb ṣāḥib went there in the afternoon and guided the workmen with fresh ideas as they struck him. During the period of the construction of this new building his visits to the alchemy house became few and far between; once a week he visited Bāgh-i-kuhna after breakfast and engaged himself in the alchemy work. After the new building Fataḥ-chawkī was completed in a few months, the Nawwāb took up his residence there with great joy and happiness. He got ready on the *ṣaḥn* of the new premises, a tile-roofed building for the alchemy work and other houses for different works, besides some with tiled roofs for the *kachahrī* and *jilaw-khāna*. One more building covered with tiles was got ready behind Fataḥ-chawkī for the residence of the mother of Amīru'l-Mulk Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur. As Fataḥ-chawkī was not spacious, the Nawwāb got ready, in a short while, a building of two floors, called Nuṣrat-maḥall, for his own *dāru'l-amāra*. This building was contiguous to Fataḥ-chawkī and bordered on the portion of the palace of his senior sister occupied by Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī sāḥib.

Section 1.

After Fataḥ-chawkī and Nuṣrat-maḥall were furnished, Nawwāb ṣāḥib made arrangements to screen one half of the

Wālājāhī bāgh for the use of the zenana, and invited his three sisters and their family for a party in the new buildings. The Nawwāb had the afternoon dinner with his sisters and distributed presents in the zenana. He treated his sisters kindly and bestowed upon them gifts. After spending a pleasant day the sisters took leave of the Nawwāb in the evening.

Section 2.

Daily routine of the Nawwāb in Fataḥ-chawkī

Nawwāb ṣāḥib got up from his bed early in the morning. After attending to the routine duties he rode on a *chārat* followed by a trooper and a *jama'dār*; he went as far as Rōshan-bāgh and at about 7 o'clock returned to Fataḥ-chawkī. Till 8 o'clock he sat at the table enjoying his breakfast. Then he took his seat in the outer hall opposite to the gate of Fataḥ-chawkī, where ministers, officers, *'ulamās*, and others were present, busied himself till 11 o'clock in listening to petitions and representations and issuing orders. After dissolving the assembly, he rested for a while in Fataḥ-chawkī. He woke up, worked for a while in the alchemy house and then held the *darbār* at Kalas-maḥall. He broke up the assembly in the afternoon and went to the house of his senior sister for dinner. Then he returned to Fataḥ-chawkī by *suksāwan* and sat in the outer hall facing west, on a couch fitted with *makhmal*, and checked the accounts rendered by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, for the expenditure of the daily allowance of one thousand rupees. This work kept him busy till 6 o'clock. Then he rode a *suksāwan* followed by *ghōza-nawāz* and went to the house of his senior sister. He chatted with his sisters or sometimes played a game of *chawsar* till 8 o'clock and after the gun-shot he returned to Fataḥ-chawkī, where he busied himself as usual in writing or reading matters important to him, composing verses or reading poetical works. At about 12 o'clock he retired to bed in the room on the second floor of Fataḥ-chawkī.

Section 3.

The Nawwāb held the *darbār* one day on the second floor of Kalas-maḥall and sat on an ivory couch fitted with *makhmal*. He summoned Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and invited Amīru'l-Mulk Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, and Sirāju'l-Mulk 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur. The Nawwāb conferred on Amīru'l-Mulk Bahādur the title *Nawwāb Tājul-Umarā 'Umdatū'l-Mamālik Amīrū'l-Mulk* with the privilege to the music of *nawbat*, and to wear *jawāhirāt*; and appointed him to be the *khānsāmān* and the *bakhshī*. Riẓā Nawāz Khān was chosen as the *nā'ib* of Amīru'l-Mulk to look after the affairs pertaining to the office of the *bakhshī*. Sirāju'l-Mulk Bahādur was dignified with the title *Nawwāb Ra'īsū'l-Umarā Sardārū'l-Mamālik Sirājū'l-Mulk* with the privilege to wear *jawāhirāt*, and was appointed to be the *bakhshī* of the office of *khitābāt*. He was also permitted to maintain a *risāla* comprising five hundred armed men. Shujā'at 'Alī Khān Bahādur was chosen as his *nā'ib*. The Nawwāb got from the royal treasury two thousand rupees and presented Amīru'l-Mulk Bahādur and Sirāju'l-Mulk Bahādur each with one thousand for *nadhr* and other purposes. Each of these Bahādurs presented twenty-one *muhr* as *nadhr* to the Nawwāb who sent them in great state to the houses of his sisters to offer them *nadhr*.

Next day the Nawwāb conferred titles on his other nephews. The title *I'tiẓādū'd-Dawla* was bestowed upon Naṣīr Jang Bahādur; *Majdū'd-Dawla Bahādur* on Muẓaffar Jang; *Sāḥibū'd-Dawla* on Jalādat Jang Bahādur; *Nāṣirū'd-Dawla* on I'tiṣām Jang Bahādur, and each one of them was honoured with the *manṣab* of 4,000. Mr. Barret was honoured with the title *Major*, Rai Khūb Chand with the titles *Bahādur* and *Rāi Rāyān*, and Hanmant Rai with *Rāi Bahādur*. Some *mutaṣaddīs* and officers were favoured with the titles *Khān*, *Bahādur* and *Rāi*.

Second Chapter.

An account of the letter that arrived from the English king confirming the title to the succession of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur along with a portrait, a sword, and a medallion of the English prince; the Nawwāb appoints Mr. Barret to be the dīwān, confers on him the title Colonel, and presents pāndān to him; the death of the wife of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, and the affair of Ja'far Alī.

By the grace of Allāh, when the letter from the English king reached the Governor in Council at Madras, Lord Hobart Bahādur sent a note to Nawwāb ṣāḥib on the 19th of Jumādiu'th-thānī, 1211 A.H. [19th December, 1796] informing him of the arrival of a letter and presents from England. Immediately after learning the news, the Nawwāb prostrated joyfully as a token of submission and thanksgiving to Allāh. Then he communicated this happy news to his sisters. He invited Sālār Jang Bahādur and Bahrām Jang Bahādur and told them that he was rejoiced to hear the news of the arrival of the letter and presents from England and expressed thus: "By the grace of the eternal Lord, a letter has arrived from 'the Prince of Wales' (English king?)[1] my kind friend and affectionate brother. I wish to take delivery of it on the auspicious Friday, the 20th of this month, at about ten in the morning at the *Wālājāhī dāru'l-amāra*". Then he ordered a note to be written to Lord Hobart about that.

He gave orders to Sālār Jang and other officers that the *dīwan-khāna* of the *dāru'l-amāra* should be furnished on

(1) King George III, was active and steady in the year 1796, and his eldest son was not acting then as regent. His eldest son, the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, was regent during the insanity of his father in 1788 when he recovered before the regency bill was passed, and from 1811 till the death of George III in 1820.

The Prince of Wales always kept up a rival Court with great pomp at Carlton House.

Thursday with carpets, *bānāt*, *masnad*, canopy, couch, and chairs taken from all the offices to provide accommodation for all the *frang sardārs* who might come to deliver the letter, and that arrangements should be made to distribute *pān*, flowers, *'itr* and other things suggestive of the joyful occasion. The *mīr-munshī* of the *Fārsī-dārū'l-inshā* was instructed to write letters to all the members of the royal family, the nobles and officers inviting them to put on rich dress and be present in the *dārū'l-amāra* at the appointed time.

Then he directed Bahrām Jang Bahādur to arrange to get together early in the morning all the paraphernalia for a state drive, to put a silken chair in the royal howdah and send these at 8 o'clock to the residence of the Governor so that the letter of the English king might be brought in that howdah to the *dārū'l-amāra*; to fire a salute of twenty-one guns on the arrival of the letter to the *bāgh*, a salute of twenty-one guns after reading the letter and a salute of nineteen guns at the time of the Governor's arrival to and departure from the *bāgh*. Bahrām Jang Bahādur carried out all these instructions.

On the morning of the 23rd, when the sun tore the veil of darkness and shed light on the earth and sky, Nawwāb ṣāḥib put on rich robes, decked himself with jewels, glittering arms, and a tassel of priceless pearls on his turban. At about 9 o'clock in the morning, he drove from Fataḥ-chawkī to the *dīwān-khāna* of the *dārū'l-amāra* which was thronged with all officers, nobles, *munshīs*, *mutaṣaddīs*, servants and others; he arranged a relay of troopers between his big *bāgh* and the *bagh* of the Governor to bring information about the party which carried the letter. In this manner the Nawwāb waited for the arrival of the letter. In the meanwhile news came about the departure of the party carrying the letter from the garden of the Governor and in a short while the letter, the portrait of the 'prince' and presents which were carried on the howdah, entered the *bāgh* in great state, accompanied by members of the

council and others. Immediately a salute of guns was fired from the *bāgh* and the fort. The howdah, where the son of Lord Hobart sat holding the letter, made a halt in front of the *dīwān-khāna*, when Nawwāb ṣāḥib went towards it. Lord Hobart and other *sardārs* who came by *chārats*, alighted from their carriages outside the door of the *dīwān-khāna*, and advanced to the howdah. Lord Hobart took the letter from his son, went into the *dīwān-khāna* and delivered it to Mr. Fāknar[1] who was by the side of the *masnad*. Then he opened the box and took out the medallion and the sword. He decorated the Nawwāb's neck with the medallion and added lustre to Nawwāb's hand by placing on it the sword. Then the order was given to read aloud the letter. Mr. Fāknar stood on the *chawkī* furnished with *makhmal* and read out the letter. Then the Governor handed over to the Nawwāb the Persian version of the letter. The Nawwāb gave that to Rāi Khūb Chand Bahādur the *mīr-munshī*, and ordered him to read it. Rāi Khūb Chand Bahādur stood upon the same *chawkī*, read it eloquently and then resumed his seat. Immediately after this a salute of guns also sounded in the *bāgh*, in the army quarters of the *sarkār* and the company. Lord Hobart and other *sardārs* congratulated the Nawwāb on this happy event. Then the Governor brought the box that contained the portrait of the Prince, and showed it to him. Immediately the Nawwāb ordered his men to suspend it on the eastern wall of the *dīwān-khāna*. He very much commended the merits of the 'prince'; he touched the portrait with his hand and said "Thanks to Allāh, by the kindness of this affectionate brother the letter confirming my title to the throne reached me soon". Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib sat upon the *masnad* and received *nadhr*. After the distribution of flower, *'itr*, and *pān*, all the *frang sardārs* and others took leave of the Nawwāb. Then he rode the *mahādōl* in great state accompanied by Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur and Tāju'l-

(1) He may be identified with Major Fitzgerald who was the confidential clerk of the Nawwāb.

Umarā Bahādur and visited the Wālājāhī mosque to say the *jumʿa* prayer. After finishing the prayer, he went to the palace of his senior sister. He received *nadhr* from all his three sisters and others, and distributed large presents in her palace. In the afternoon Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Bahādur visited the Nawwāb and felicitated him on the happy news. Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba also shed lustre on the company by her presence and prayed for long life and prosperity of the Nawwāb. Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur also presented his *nadhr* with expressions of joy on the occasion.

Section 1.

The date prescribed for the payment of the *qisṭ* to the company drew near and there were only four or five days left. Nawwāb ṣāḥib how-much-so ever tried to find money, but it was of no avail. He sent information to Mubāriz Jang Bahādur thus: "The *qisṭ* has to be paid to the company in four or five days' time. I could not do anything. If you could manage it by any means, I will feel great joy." Mubāriz Jang appeared before the Nawwāb and submitted as follows: "I tried all means. As there are outstanding debts from the days of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh, the bankers desire fresh securities and they will not lend money without them." On hearing this news, Nawwāb ṣāḥib became more pensive, went to the house of his senior sister and told her that the time for the payment of the *qisṭ* to the company was drawing near and Mubāriz Jang Bahādur could not manage it. But his sister also feigned ignorance. In the meanwhile Mr. Barrett, who had taken the Chinese *ghaṛiyāl* for repairs, brought it and communicated the news of his arrival to the Nawwāb. Nawwāb ṣāḥib came out, received the *ghaṛiyāl* and felt very happy. But Mr. Barrett noticed signs of anxiety and deep thought in the face of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, and made bold to enquire of him about it. The Nawwāb replied:

"My friend! what shall I say? I am in a fix. How to express myself? By the grace of the eternal Lord, everything turned up as I expected; but some mischief-makers look out for an opportunity to bring shame upon me in my relationship with the Company. It happens thus: the time prescribed for the payment of the *qist* to the company is fast approaching. If it is not paid in time, it will bring discredit upon me. Mubāriz Jang Bahādur has spoken clearly on the subject; my sister also is apathetic. I am very much agitated and worried about this, for I shall appear a breaker of promise in the eyes of the government, and misunderstanding will arise between the Company and myself. Certainly this should not be. Many matters in which I have interest, are on the *tapis* of the English king and the Company, and non-payment of the *qist* will be to the prejudice of my rights."

Mr. Barrett submitted: "It is a great wonder that Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, in spite of his high position, cannot find the means to provide with the money needed. But the Nawwāb has simply to give an order to anybody that it should be done and the power derived from his majestic order will remove a thousand worries in the twinkling of an eye."

Nawwāb ṣāḥib was very much pleased by this reply and said, "You are wise, sagacious, and learned. I am sure you can manage this work." Mr. Barrett replied, "I am your old loyal servant. If the order is given, the *qist* money will be paid a day before the appointed date, and the receipt of payment from the company's treasury will be brought to you." Nawwāb ṣāḥib was very much pleased to hear that assurance, and felt very happy. Then he said, "Mr. Barrett, if you can manage this affair it will give me great joy, while it will make my enemies look black. By the grace of Allāh you will be appointed *dīwān*".

Then Mr. Barrett paid obeisance and took leave of the Nawwāb. Mr. Barrett succeeded in his endeavour to get an English banker as surety for the payment of the *qist* in the

treasury of the Company, secured the treasury receipt for the amount paid and brought it to the Nawwāb. As soon as the Nawwāb saw the receipt, he was delighted and rejoiced at it. He embraced him, applauded and praised him. Then said the Nawwāb, "You alone could do it, and you are the man. From to-day you are the representative of my authority". Mr. Barrett paid obeisance and returned home.

The Nawwāb ṣāḥib commended the merits of Mr. Barrett in the *darbār*, in the house of his senior sister and in other places thus: "None of my officers can make arrangements for the payment of the *qisṯ* to the Company. But one *Chaṭṭa-pōsh* made arrangements for it, brought to me the treasury receipt for the payment of the *qisṯ* to the Company. In return for this service I made him the agent of my kingdom, and in future this *Chaṭṭakār* shall look after the affairs of my government.

Section 2.

Next day at about 10 o'clock in the morning, Nawwāb ṣāḥib visited Humāyūn-maḥall and ordered Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur that he should immediately send for Mr. Barrett. In obedience to the order the Bahādur presented Mr. Barrett to him. Then the Nawwāb advised Mr. Barrett, as required by convention, conferred on him the title *Colonel Barrett Bahādur* and granted him a *jāgīr*, a *pāndān* in token of the grant, appointed him to be the *dīwān* and presented him with a dignified *khilāt* and a white *dushāla* of great value. A *ḥukm-nāma* signed by the Nawwāb was granted to Mr. Barrett confirming his appointment. Colonel Barrett, who was thus honoured with the *manṣab* and appointment, submitted 125 *ashrafī* as *nadhr*.

In accordance with the order of the Nawwāb, Colonel Barrett had his office in the big *dīwān-khāna*. His room was opposite to the gate of Kalas-maḥall. He appointed Rāi Reddi Rao[1] and

(1) Rāi Reddi Rao served as the *Sarishtadār* of the Nawwāb. He was implicated in a charge of having forged the Carnatic loan bonds in collusion

Rāi Ānand Rao[1] as *pēshkārs* and enjoined on Rāi Khūb Chand the *mīr-munshī*, that he should be present by his side. He furnished his own room with an almirah, some chairs and a table with drawers and locks—all taken from the *kārkhāna* of the *sarkār*. He presented himself at the morning *darbār* from 10 o'clock to 12 o'clock, and spent the rest of the day in the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall. After the completion of Fataḥ-chawkī, Colonel Barrett presented himself at the morning *darbār* in the *dāru'l-amāra* of the *chawkī*; after meeting the Nawwāb, he sat in the vestibule of Fataḥ-chawkī and attended to the affairs of the government. When the Nawwāb held the evening *darbār* from 6 o'clock to 8 o'clock, Colonel Barrett waited for him from sunset at the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, in the green-chair room of the Nawwāb. At about 7 o'clock in the evening, the Nawwāb left Fataḥ-chawkī and went as usual to his room in the palace of his sister. He took his seat on the green chair and discussed with Colonel Barrett the affairs of the government for about an hour. Then the Nawwāb entered the palace of his sister. Colonel Barrett ordered the *munshīs* and others attached to the *darbār* to close their *kachahrī* in the *dīwān-khāna* of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā at 8 P.M. and himself returned home. All the *munshīs*, *mutaṣaddīs*, and others were obedient to the Colonel and were attentive to their duties. Nawwāb ṣāḥib did not consult anyone except Colonel Barrett on matters of government.

One day the Nawwāb expressed to Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur thus: "The Creator has bestowed favour on my administration, by reason of which my authority is maintained and peace of mind is secured. Colonel Barrett Bahādur is a brilliant man, sagacious and ingenious; he cleverly contrived to pay the *qisṭ* to the

with Mr. Battley, the English secretary to the Nawwāb and was committed to trial before the Supreme Court (1807—8 A.D.)

(1) Rāi Anand Rao was the brother of Rāi Reddi Rao.

Company and paid the stipulated amount into the treasury of the Company in a short while." Bahrām Jang Bahādur submitted to the Nawwāb, "Your highness' opinion is excellent."

The exalted Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur out of nobleness of mind conferred distinction on his officers, servants and others by granting them good situations, according to the rank and status of each person. He appointed suitable men to be *fawjdārs* and *'āmils* in the taluks of the Carnatic. Colonel Barrett Bahādur also was honoured with the grant of *jāgīrs* and titles.

Section 3.

On the occasion of the marriage of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur visited one day the palace of Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and endeavoured to remove the misunderstanding that had come in between them for some reason or other. She had declined, on account of the misunderstanding, to accept the *parwāna* for *jāgīr* granted by the Nawwāb. He advised and comforted her; he showed her great kindness by giving her a *parwāna* for *jāgīr* and presenting her with ten thousand rupees for the expenses of the marriage and two thousand rupees to humour her. He appointed Sālār Jang Bahādur to make everything ready for the marriage. Seeing the kindness and favour of her brother, Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam cleaned the sorrow-stricken mind with the wave of her sisterly affection. She accepted the *parwāna* and the cash. She spoke lovingly to her brother for some time and sent him away.

Muḥammadī Bēgam, the daughter of Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam, was married to the writer of this chronicle three years before the demise of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh Bahādur. The marriage was celebrated in a grand style at a cost of forty-thousand rupees, under the supervision of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. On the day of the marriage ceremony Nawwāb

Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh rebuked Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur for his extravagance. But Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur intervened in this affair and procured pardon for Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur who was then enabled to go with the bridegroom during the *shab gasht*.

The marriage of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur with the daughter of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur[1] was settled. Sālār Jang and others made everything ready for the marriage, in accordance with the plan of Nawwāb ṣāḥib. After obtaining the permission of the Nawwāb, Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba took steps to furnish and decorate the *mānja-khāna* through Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur in his own *dīwān-khāna*. Every plan was carried into effect. On the day of *shab gasht* Nawwāb ṣāḥib accompanied by his nobles paid a visit to the house of the bride, remained there for the ceremony of *jalwa* and bestowed honour on the party.

Section 4.

Badru'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāhiba, the daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Bahādur, and the wife of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur was taken ill when she heard the news that Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla Ghulām Riẓā Khān, her youngest son, went away to Nattharnagar to see his wife without informing his parents. She was shocked at this news and in a period of one week she passed away on the 14th of Sha'bān in the year 1211 A.H. Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur paid two thousand rupees for the funeral expenses. The coffin was sent to Nattharnagar with great honours, in accordance with the wishes of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. Nawwāb ṣāḥib expressed sympathy with Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and told him as follows: "Do not give way to grief. I shall send for Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla from Nattharnagar." After he had consoled Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, the Nawwāb returned home with his sisters and others.

(1) He was one of the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh.

He gave orders at the *Fārsī-dāru'l-inshā* that an *'ināyat-nāma* should be sent by *dāk* to Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur at Natthar-nagar with the following contents: "Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla, your son-in-law, ran away from here to see his wife without informing his parents. He has gone over to your place. He must be sent back to Madras immediately after the *fātiḥa* for his mother on the third day."

When this *'ināyat-nāma* reached Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk, he sent Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla to Madras soon after the *fātiḥa* on the third day was over.

Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla reached Madras in a short time, took up his residence at Rōshan-bāgh and conveyed the news of his arrival to Nawwāb ṣāhib. The Nawwāb rejoiced at the news and communicated it to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur through a trooper. Then he took a pencil and wrote in his own hand the following note to the author of this book.

"To

"Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla Karīm Miyān, most precious son! May he enjoy long life and prosperity!

"By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla, the pleasant youth, youngest son of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, has come from Nattharnagar as desired by me. He is residing at Rōshan-bāgh. I intend to send you tomorrow to bid him welcome. It behoves you to get the permission of your mother and junior aunt and present yourself at Fataḥ-chawkī. Allāh is with us all.

"Ghulām Ḥusayn 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Amīru'l-Hind Wālā-jāh."

Nawwāb ṣāhib entrusted this letter to Sayyid Ibrāhīm, and directed him thus:—"Deliver this letter to Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla. Inform my second sister on my behalf that the youngest son of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur has come from Nattharnagar and is residing at Rōshan-bāgh. I wish to send her son-in-law, who is younger in age, to bid him welcome; she should also give

him permission to go, and, before he goes, she should ask him to present himself before me." The *risāladār* delivered the letter to me, the indigent person, and communicated the oral message to the Nawwāb's sister. The noble mother of this author learnt the contents of the Nawwāb's letter and asked me to take the permission of my aunt and go.

Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba sent the following oral reply to Nawwāb ṣāḥib:

"My dear brother,

"I send my greetings to you. Your idea is excellent. We have the greatest respect for it. But Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla takes pride in being the grandson of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur. If some one of adequate rank and *manṣab* is chosen, it will conduce to his happiness. Although Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla, the prosperous son, is not in the first degree, yet he has also the pride of place. He is your sister's son, and also takes pride in being your slave. You may do as you please. Whomsoever you may choose, it will confer dignity upon him."

The *risāladār* went before the Nawwāb and conveyed the message of his sister. The Nawwāb wrote on a piece of paper the following verse and sent it with a message to the house of his sister at about 9 o'clock in the night.

"Those who pride themselves on ancestry
Are verily the dogs that are contented with bones."

The following message of the Nawwāb was conveyed to his sister by the *risāladār*:

"By the grace of Allāh, I have decided to send to your palace a *suksāwan* carved with the design of a lion's head, two armed *pahras*, two troopers, six *bāndārs*, besides *ghōza-nawās*, and six orderlies for the transport of your son-in-law. Please send him quickly to that place, so that he may escort Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla from Rōshan-bāgh to our presence at Nuṣrat-maḥall in Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ.

Malikuʾn-nisā Bēgam listened to the communication of Nawwāb ṣāḥib and sent the following message with her greetings and salutations.

"Ṣāḥibud-Dawla, the prosperous son, will faithfully carry out the orders of the Nawwāb."

Next morning at about 7 o'clock this obedient servant went to Rōshan-bāgh in great state, took Ḥusāmuʾd-Dawla in his company and presented him to the Nawwāb at Nuṣrat-maḥall in Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ. The Nawwāb rebuked Ḥusāmuʾd-Dawla and sent him along with Bahrām Jang to the house of Sayfuʾl-Mulk Bahādur. Bahrām Jang Bahādur was instructed that he should tie Ḥusāmuʾd-Dawla's hands together with a *rumāl* before he introduced him to his father, and let him lie at the feet of his parent while Bahrām Jang should say on behalf of the Nawwāb thus: "I have taken to task this guilty person. Now I am sending him to you. Allāh is the real Forgiver; He forgives all sinners. I shall be happy if you can pardon this offender." Bahrām Jang carried out the instructions. Sayfuʾl-Mulk Bahādur also forgave his son for his offence.

Section 5.

On Wednesday, the 2nd of Shaʿbān, Nawwāb ṣāḥib came out of Fataḥ-chawkī to have his customary drive. The *chawkīdārs* paid their obeisance. Suddenly Jaʿfar Ālī, one of the *chawkīdārs*, drew his sword, came nearer to the Nawwāb in the twinkling of an eye, caught hold of the Nawwāb's skirt and took aim at him. But Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, the *jamaʿdār*, hastened to him and removed the sword out of the hand of Jaʿfar Ālī. In the course of this act, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was injured in his hand. In the meanwhile, other orderlies also came, tore off the portion of the Nawwāb's garment that was in the hand of Jaʿfar Ālī, led the Nawwāb inside Fataḥ-chawkī, and closed its doors. Then Jaʿfar Ālī was taken into custody. This news spread everywhere in the town.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib honoured Muḥammad Ibrāhīm by appointing him to be a *ṣūbadār*. Orders were given that all the doors of the *bāgh* should be closed, and neither the guard nor any other person be allowed to get into the *bāgh*. This order remained in force for two or three days. A large number of relatives, officers and others stayed for about a week or ten days at Fataḥ-chawkī in the presence of the Nawwāb. After some days Nawwāb ṣāḥib summoned Ja'far ʿAlī and made enquiries about his conduct. Bahrām Jang was appointed to enquire into the case. Bahrām Jang and Taqī ʿAlī Khān called Ja'far ʿAlī and told him thus: "If you give out the true facts, it will be better for you; else you will suffer severe imprisonment."

Ja'far ʿAlī submitted: "Whether you believe me or not, I shall submit the facts as they are:

"Ashraf ʿAlī, on behalf of ʿAlī Ḥusayn Khān reported that if the exalted Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur comes to the throne, every one of the *sayyids* will be appointed to good situations and we can lead comfortable lives. Under this regime, we suffer extreme poverty and death is better than starvation. Muḥibb ʿAlī and Muḥammad ʿAlī were also present at that time. This was the motive that induced this slave to act. I came with the idea that death is better than starvation. This slave who has not the strength to endure hunger may be punished with death. The intention of this slave was not to kill the Nawwāb."

Bahrām Jang stated full particulars about Ja'far ʿAlī to Nawwāb ṣāḥib who flew into a rage and said:

"If Sayfu'l-Mulk has the desire to come to the throne after me, it is a vain hope. I intend my son for the throne; Sayfu'l-Mulk intends that the throne is for him; my senior sister has in mind that her son is meant for the throne after me; and the

frangs are waiting for their opportunity.[1] But it shall be as the supreme Ruler wills."

Then he directed Bahrām Jang Bahādur that Ja'far Alī, Muḥibb Alī, Ashraf Alī and Muḥammad Ghawth, should be bound in chains and led to Chandragiri; that one *jama'dār*, and two armed guards, should be sent along with one or two *miyāna* to take Alī Ḥusayn Khān as prisoner, put him in the *miyāna*, and lead him captive beyond the boundaries of the river Krishna, with the warning that he must not return to this land lest he should be put in bonds. In accordance with the order, Bahrām Jang imprisoned Ja'far Alī and others and banished Alī Ḥusayn Khān from the town.

Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib summoned Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur and ordered him to communicate the following message to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. "You have set your mind on the throne. It is vain to do so. If you cling to that idea it will prove that you are ungrateful to the Almighty Lord. It is better to put out of your mind such useless ideas. Else it will bring shame upon you."

On hearing this rebuke, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, took with him a copy of the holy Qurān, went to the house of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba with great apprehensions, and denied the charges. When Nawwāb ṣāḥib visited that place, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur swore solemnly by the holy Qurān that he was innocent, and made himself clear of suspicion. He fell at the feet of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, who raised him from his feet, embraced him and said: "Surely, you will not have such intentions. But Alī Ḥusayn Khān, your companion, is a mischievous man. I will not forgive him." Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur submitted: "Your

(1) Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur and Nawwāb Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son and successor, were suspected by the British to have entertained feelings of friendship with Tippu Sultan of Mysore, since 1792. As this suspicion gained strength from the year 1796, the desire of the British to take over the entire administration of the territories under the Nawwāb was more distinctly pronounced.

Majesty's pleasure. This slave will be always obedient to you." Yet, the Nawwāb was reserved with him, and showed to him courtesy as required by convention.

THIRD CHAPTER.

The revolt of the army against Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān the bakhshī; the appointment of Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur as ṣūbadār of Muḥammadpūr; grant of manṣabs and situations to officers; the building of Mubārak-chawkī, known later on as Rōshan-chawkī; the birth of Muḥammadī-miyān; and reasons for payment of the qisṭ to the Company by the sarkār.

As monthly allowances were not paid to the *jawāns* in charge of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān for about six months, they petitioned to the Khān for the settlement of arrears. But the Khān was evading with some excuse or other. The *jawāns*, who were suffering from extreme poverty, decided upon revolt.[1] On the morning of the 22nd of Muḥarram in the year 1212 A.H., they brought out cannons from the armoury, placed two on the red gate, and two on the big gate, and looked out for Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān.

The Khān rode his horse and was going to the *darbār*. The *jawāns* unseated him from horseback and took him in their custody. They seated him on the cannon and dragged it round the *bāzār* and streets for two or three days and thus degraded and disgraced him. Then they brought him to the gate of the *bāgh*, and kept him as a captive. The access to the *bāgh* was impossible till the revolt which continued for three or four days was over.

(1) Such tumults followed by rioting on the part of the sepoys for the settlement of arrears of pay were common not only in the Carnatic, but also in other Indian *darbārs*, like Ḥaydarābād, Kashmīr, Nepal and other places. See R. Temple: *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir and Nepal*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 16 (1887).

When the information about the revolt of the army reached his ears, the Nawwāb sought of the Company an army to protect himself. The army was encamped in the garden, and the doors of the garden were ordered to be closed. Every day one hundred *hūn* was paid as *bhattā* for the maintenance of the army through Riẓā Nawāz Khān, the *bakhshī*. There was no prospect of suppression of the revolt unless by payment of the arrears. So the Nawwāb gave an order that the treasurer should furnish the necessary amount from the treasury to be distributed to the *jawāns* through Sayyid Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Nawāz Khān the *risāladār* and Sayyid Makhdūm the *risāladār*, who would get receipts for the payment. The treasurer executed the order and liberated Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān from captivity. The Khān went before the Nawwāb weeping out thus: "It is not decent or respectable for this slave to live in this town any longer. Please permit me to go to the holy Makka." Nawwāb ṣāḥib comforted him, presented him with a green *dushāla* from his wardrobe and conferred on him the title *Himmat Jang Bahādur*.

Section 1.

Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur was often trying to get the post of *ṣūbadār* of Muhammadpūr through the mediation of Colonel Barrett. The Colonel represented frequently to the Nawwāb that Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur may be appointed as *ṣūbadār*. Nawwāb ṣāḥib called Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur on the 14th of Rabī'u'l-awwal in the year 1212 A.H., to the *darbār*, gave him the appointment, presented him with *khilʻat*, and *jawāhirāt*. Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur presented *nadhr* to the Nawwāb and then submitted: "Murtaẓā Ḥusayn Khān hopes that your highness will bestow favours on him, that he will be dignified with the titles *Bahādur* and *Jang* and be permitted to wear *jawāhirāt*, play *nawbat* and ride on an elephant in a canopied litter." The Nawwāb smiled indulgently

and said "My brother! this is not easy or free from difficulties. If he could present to me five thousand *hūn* as *nadhr*, he may indeed be dignified with such honours. Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk consented to this proposal of the Nawwāb. Next day he presented himself at the *darbār* in Fataḥ-chawkī and submitted thus to the Nawwāb: "Your slave is ready with *nadhr*, as desired by you. May your highness be pleased to look upon him with kindness." The Nawwāb took into account the recommendations of Colonel Barrett Bahādur and the feelings of Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur. So he conferred on Murtaẓā Ḥusayan Khān the title *Muẖaẓẓam Jang Bahādur*, permitted him to wear *jawāhirāt*, *nīm-āstīn*, and *rumāl*, to ride on an elephant in a canopied litter, and to play *nawbat*. The Nawwāb also appointed him to be the *nā'ib ṣūbadār* of Muḥammadpūr.

Section 2.

Sometime later Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, in consideration of the kindness of Colonel Barrett who always endeavoured to recommend him to the Nawwāb's favour, purchased Mubārak-bāgh from the Colonel. He renovated the building and furnished it with adornments. Then one day he invited Nawwāb ṣāḥib, his sisters, nephews, and others to a sumptuous meal in the morning. Different sorts of dishes were made, fruits from all parts were procured, and the whole thing was done in good style. Thousands of rupees were spent by way of presents to the servants of the Nawwāb. The Nawwāb ṣāḥib was very much delighted with it. He spent two hours pleasantly in the *bāgh* after the morning food. Then he ate his evening meal in the company of his sisters and then returned to his own residence.

Later on, Ḥusamu'l-Mulk Bahādur bestowed Mubārak-chawkī upon his daughter-in-law, the wife of Muṭahhar Alī Khān, as a gift.

Section 3.

One day Nawwāb ṣāḥib started out of Humāyūn-maḥall after dissolving the *darbār*, intending to go to the house of his second sister. When he reached the pool behind the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall facing Sabz-bangla, the idea to construct an wooden building at that place came to the Nawwāb. Immediately he called the Phulchery *mēstrī* and other masons of the *sarkār*, and explained to them the plan of the building. He directed Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm to bring cash for the purpose of purchasing the necessary building materials. When the money was brought, he entrusted it with Sayyid Ibrāhīm the *ṣūbadār* and enjoined on him and the Pulcheri *mēstrī* that they should quickly complete the building. In accordance with the instructions of the Nawwāb, Sayyid Ibrāhīm and others finished their work in a short time. After the completion of the building, the Nawwāb frequently went there after dissolving the *darbār* at Humayūn-maḥall and stayed there a long time. He got ready a small boat providing accommodation for ten or twelve men, and left it in the pool. At noon he made some men row in that boat and enjoyed the tamasha. As this new building was contiguous to the house of his second sister, the Nawwāb visited her house frequently. By the grace of Allāh, one day the Nawwāb made arrangements for the screening of the area from the house of his second sister and his last sister and from the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall as far as the gate of *Chārat-khāna*; then he invited his sisters and others at about 8 o'clock in the morning, had breakfast with them, and spent the whole day in seeing the boat-tamasha and other tamashas. Then he gave away large presents.

The Nawwāb told his second sister thus: "This building is put up here because it is nearer to your house."

"When the ridge-piece was put, I tied to the beam a red piece of cloth with rice and other things in it. Of the *dushāla*, one I gave to the *dārugha*, the other to the *mēstrī*."

The sister told the Nawwāb in reply: "May Allāh exalted be He, make you *fortunate* in this new building! May it be agreeable to you! May Allāh grant you long life and happiness."

As soon as the Nawwāb heard his sister utter the word *Mubārak* (Fortunate) he said, "I give the name *Mubārak-chawkī* to this building, because you mentioned that *word* in your talk."

The royal repast was brought from his own palace and from the house of his sister. They all had their afternoon dinner. Then the sisters took leave of the Nawwāb while he went to Fatah-chawkī. The Nawwāb sent for Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and enjoined on him as follows:

"Every morning after breakfast you should go to Mubārak-chawkī with your friends and teachers and remain there till the time of *after-noon-prayer*."

In obedience to the order of his father, Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur spent his time in Mubārak-chawkī from 9 o'clock in the morning till evening, and then returned. Sometimes Nawwāb ṣāḥib also visited that place.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib intended that Mubārak-chawkī should excel the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall. But he had neither the time nor the opportunity to carry out his plan.

Section 4.

Muḥammadī Miyān, the son of the author of this chronicle, was born at 7 o'clock in the morning of the 18th Rabī'u'l-awwal, 1212 A.H. in the house of Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, his grand-mother. As the child was born in the 7th month, Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba was very much worried. She inquired of every one about the case of a child born in the 7th month, whether there would be any trouble for that child.

All her sisters tried in whatsoever manner to meet her doubts adequately, yet Malikuʾn-nisā Bēgam did not find satisfaction in their explanations. Nawwāb ṣāḥib also stayed at her house with his sisters, and spoke consolatory words to her.

When *ḥakīms* visited the house, Nawwāb ʿUmdatuʾl-Umarā Bahādur called Mubāriz Jang Bahādur and said to him: "Console Malikuʾn-nisā Bēgam. She is subjected to severe strain of mental pain, because of the birth of the child in the seventh month."

The Bahādur sent the following message to Malikuʾn-nisā Bēgam: "Exalted Bēgam ṣāḥiba! You should not give way to grief or doubt. Many babies are born in the seventh month; this slave also was born in the seventh month. You need not have any anxiety. A male child born in the eighth month does not live." Bēgam ṣāḥiba was comforted a little by the assertions of Mubāriz Jang Bahādur. Nawwāb ṣāḥib sent for Mīr Abū Ṭālib Khān Bahādur and Amīnuʾd-Dīn Khān Bahādur also to the house of his sister and said to them: "Mubāriz Jang Bahādur has sent news to my sister predicting prosperous life for the new-born babe; you also convey to her whatever ideas you have on this."

The two Khāns communicated the following news to the Bēgam ṣāḥiba: "The child born in the seventh month will be lucky and blessed with long life. Dargāh Qulī Khān also was born in the seventh month. A momentary look at him will dispel all your fears. You may be at peace; there is no need for anxiety. This child will be lucky and prosperous."

Nawwāb Malikuʾn-nisā Bēgam in accordance with the advice of experienced men, spread cotton on a plantain leaf and laid the baby on it and tended it carefully. Nawwāb ʿUmdatuʾl-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II visited joyfully the lying-in-chamber, took out of his pocket a piece of *shabnam* cloth, a very thin and beautiful fabric, white in colour, containing the length of two *rūmāls* used by Nawwāb Muḥammad ʿAlī

Wālājāh Bahādur and gave it to Muḥammadatu'n-nisā,[1] the daughter of the Bēgam ṣāḥiba for covering the child so that it may bring luck. Then he said: "Allāh, exalted be He, has blessed my dear sister with this grandchild. You should not have any anxiety. By the grace of Allāh, this beloved grandchild will develop into a man of honour and fame. Be happy. I have given him the *rūmāls* worn by your noble ancestor; let the babe be covered with them. No other child was honoured by such a lucky gift, but your child has this unique honour. By the grace of Allāh, it is certain that the child will be lucky."

Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam rejoiced at this lucky gift and the encouraging speech of Nawwāb ṣāḥib; she thanked her elder brother and submitted: "He will be under the shadow of your exalted highness, and looked after affectionately. He will be a lucky man, with your favours."

Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam, Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, ladies of the family of Najībullāh Khān Bahādur, women belonging to different families from Gopamaw, Prasan Bī ṣāḥiba and others stayed in the house of Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba from the date of confinement till the ceremony on the sixth day. Nawwāb ṣāḥib also took up his residence in the *dīwān-khāna* of Majdu'd-Dawla from the date of the birth of the child. Everyday he had his breakfast there along with his nephews, and then attended the *darbār* held in Mubārak-chawkī known as Rōshan-chawkī. After dissolving the *darbār* he returned to the house of his second sister and had his afternoon dinner. He kept up this practice till the ceremony on the sixth day. Nawwāb ṣāḥib got two thousand rupees from Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and sent that amount through his senior sister to Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam for her expenses. On the occasion of the ceremony on the sixth day, the Nawwāb wrote thus on a paper strewn with gold dust.

(1) The mother of the baby.

"27th Rabī'u'l-awwal, 1212 A.H.[1]

"By the grace of Allāh! eminent is His glory! Ghulām Muḥammad 'Alī known as Muḥammadī Miyān, the grandchild of Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam, my dear sister, be ennobled with the title *Naṣību'd-Dawla Ghulām Mujtabā Khān Bahādur Asad Jang*, and the *manṣab* of two thousand, *'alam*, *naqqāra* and be distinguished by the favours of *nīm-āstīn*, *rūmāl*, *jawāhir-i-muraṣṣa'*, and pearls. Allāh, the Glorious, and the Most High, will make these large gifts agreeable to the grandchild of my dear sister.

"Allāh is with us all.

"Ghulām Ḥusayn 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Wālājāh."

The Nawwāb also wrote another chitty relating to the *parwāna* for the grant of *jāgīr* of Balkūdam[2], known as Ṣāḥibnagar yielding an annual income of one thousand and two hundred *hān* to Muḥammadatu'n-nisā Bēgam, the daughter of Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam. He signed the *parwāna*, arranged to affix to it his own seal and stamps of the officers of *kachahrī* in accordance with the rules and left it in the office of Colonel Barrett Bahādur. In accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb, Colonel Barrett sent the *parwāna* through Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur to Nawwāb ṣāḥib in the house of Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam at the time of the ceremony on the sixth day. Nawwāb ṣāḥib had kept with him the *farmān*, and the *parwāna*. In the course of the ceremony, the Nawwāb placed the *farmān* for titles in the hands of the baby, and the *parwāna* for *jāgīr* in the hands of his mother. The *jāgīr* was in possession of this humble person till the kingdom of the Carnatic was confiscated.

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(1) Calculating the date mentioned in section 4, (p. 89) it ought to be 23. It is not clear which of the dates mentioned is wrong.

(2) This may probably be identified with Volcondah in the Trichinopoly District.

Fourth Chapter.

Nawwāb favours his servants with appointments; this humble author suffers from small-pox; the marriages of Shahsawār Jang and Tāju'd-Dīn Khān, the younger son of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur, the feast to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II in the garden of Bahrām Jang Bahādur, and Shāh Maḥamūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī; the Nawwāb's displeasure with Nūru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ḥashmat Jang.

After he ascended the throne Nawwāb ṣāḥib often used to confer dignity upon everyone by granting appointments and *manṣabs* appropriate to the rank of each person. These appointments were made either at his own sweet will or through the recommendation of his senior sister, or at the suggestion of Colonel Barrett Bahādur, his adviser and *dīwān*.

For example: 'Alī Nawāz Khān, the *'arẓ-bēgī* for a long time, was dignified with the title *Bahādur* and appointed to be the *qilā'dār* of Muḥammadpūr. As he stood high in royal favour, he was able to procure for Mīrzā Ghazanfar 'Alī, his brother's elder son, the title *Hādī 'Alī Khān*, and the post of *'arẓ-bēgī*. He also secured for Ṣafdar 'Alī, his brother's younger son, the title *Ḥaydar Nawāz Khān*, and the post of *nā'ib* to the *qilā'dār* of Muḥammadpūr. Then 'Alī Nawāz Khān started with his nephew to Muḥammadpūr.

Shahsawār Jang always remained in the presence of the Nawwāb and was also in charge of the *mēwa-khāna* and the royal stable.

Mīr Mahdī 'Alī Khān was honoured with the title *Bahādur* and appointed to be the *dārūgha* of buildings where elephants and camels were stabled.

Laṭīf Bēg was the *dārūgha* of horses used for *chārat* and by troopers.

Mīrzā Ḥaydar 'Alī was the *dārūgha* of *shikār-khāna*.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Himmat Jang was appointed to be the *amīn* over the affairs of Nattharnagar, till the differences between Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur and Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur settled down, and sent to Nattharnagar as Nawwāb's representative to settle disputes between the two brothers.

Thus the Nawwāb honoured everyone with appointments suitable to his rank and capacity. All these details were given in the registers kept in the office of the *dīwān, bakhshī* and *mīr-sāmān.*

As I do not know other details, they are not recorded here.

Section 1.

The writer of this chronicle had high fever on the 1st of Ramaẓān in the year 1212 A.H. and three days after that he had an attack of small-pox. In a week, the entire body from head to foot was full of eruptions of small-pox. All the *yūnānī* and *miṣrī ḥakīms* in the service of the *sarkār* were present throughout night and day. As usual the Nawwāb took up his residence in the house of his younger sister because of the illness of his nephew; the Nawwāb's aunt and his other sisters also stayed there. Nawwāb ṣāḥib made arrangements for the distribution of daily allowance to the *ḥakīms* and others according to the rank of each person. He ordered that fifteen *yūnānī* and six *miṣrī ḥakīms* should be on duty at the house of his sister. He gave instructions that dinner be served up twice to Maliku'l-ḥukamā Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur from the royal kitchen. Thus the Maliku'l-ḥukamā continued to visit my mother's house till this humble person recovered from his illness.

When Nawwāb ṣāḥib came to see me in my sick bed, he granted me a daily allowance of five *hūn-kuruk.* One day he spoke to me kindly thus: "Mention what you want, I shall grant it." In obedience to this order, I expressed my desire that I should be favoured with the presents of *nīm-āstīn,* green

rūmāl-shāl with the *dūshāla* worn by the Nawwāb; a pocket watch of the Nawwāb, one *farshī ghaṛiyāl*, one Bengali *suksāwan* and one *chārat* with horses inclusive of board-wages. On the following day the kind and compassionate Nawwāb favoured me with all things asked for. He complied with the wishes of my mother till I was quite recovered from my illness.

In brief, the small-pox developed day by day. One day Nawwāb 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, my mother, despaired of my life owing to the severe attack of small-pox, and felt deep sorrow for me. When the two sisters saw her in that condition, they sent word to the Nawwāb. Immediately, the Nawwāb sent for English doctors, brought together *yūnānī* and *miṣrī ḥakīms*, and visited the patient along with these men and Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur. When the condition of the patient was examined, the Nawwāb asked Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān, "When will he get better?" The *ḥakīm* said in reply thus: "Six months ago I met Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla in the *dīwān-khāna* of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur and told him in the presence of Ḥakīm Aḥmad Khān and Ḥakīm 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Khān as follows:

"It can be known from your face that you will have a severe attack of small-pox. It will be better for you to phleb otomize. If not, it will go hard with you and the small-pox will do you much harm. It may not be possible for the *ḥakīms* to bring you through, and it will endanger your life. I also conveyed this news to his mother. But they did not pay heed to the advice of this humble slave. Allāh is great, His Glory is eminent, and His favours are universal. He is the absolute *Ḥakīm*. His institution for the care of the sick is endowed with the ability to cure all. The patient may recover. But symptoms are not encouraging."

After listening to this, Nawwāb ṣāḥib lost hope of the patient's recovery and secretly informed his senior sister about this. Next day he called in two or three doctors through

Colonel Barrett Bahādur, and sent them to examine the patient. They returned immediately after entering the room, and submitted to the Nawwāb, "We have neither seen nor heard of such a case. It is certain that the patient cannot be recovered to life. Whenever your highness intends to visit his room, let a bottle of grape-vinegar be sprinkled first on the wall and then your highness may get into the room." Immediately Nawwāb ṣāḥib sent for many bottles of grape-vinegar, sprinkled them as per directions of doctors and then took them inside the room. After examining the condition of the patient they came out and informed the Nawwāb of the extremely serious condition. After hearing their opinion Nawwāb ṣāḥib also lost all hopes of the patient's recovery. He stayed night and day in the house of his sister and exerted himself to save the sick person.

The patient gradually lost his power to resist the growing disease and became very weak. His condition became worse on the twentieth day. He lost all his senses; he could neither speak nor hear, and to all appearance he was a corpse. On seeing this condition, Nawwāb Malikuʼn-nisā Bēgam was extremely distressed, lost all hopes of his recovery and resigned herself to the mercy of Allāh. She got leaves of the *nīm* tree, soaked them in hot water, took them out after a time and produced a paste by grinding them. She went with that paste to the patient's room, followed by two or three maid-servants, and plastered his body with it. About an hour later, she slowly washed the body with tepid water exposed to the sun's heat with *nīm* leaves soaked in it, and cleaned the pus and other matter. Then she closed the doors of the room and burnt aloes wood. By the grace of Allāh, his condition became better by the evening.

During the illness of this humble servant, his wife was in the sixth month of pregnancy. She was very much worried and distressed on account of the precarious condition of her husband. She wept for him and resigned herself to the mercy,

of Allāh, Who is the refuge of the distressed, and supplicated to the Prophet, the chief of the world. After midnight she saw in a dream a venerable person wrapped up in green cloth. He said "O! the slave of Fāṭima, if you hold the life of the elder more dear, then abandon the life of the younger one that is in your womb. When the child is born it will not live." She submitted in reply: "Of course the life of the elder is dearer than that of the younger. I wish my husband recovers his health."

"By the grace of Allāh", he condescended to say, "From to-day your husband will be restored to health. Let him be given the name *Ghulām Ẓāmin*; he will attain great benefits by means of that name."

The suppliant woke up very early in the morning, performed ablution, and said the obligatory *early-morning-prayer* and the thanksgiving prayer in two genuflexions for the joyful tidings she received in her dream. She spoke to a *sayyida* about her dream and made inquiries about her husband's health.

The bountiful Lord showed mercy on the patient from that day, and he recovered his health gradually. My mother-in-law was always in attendance night and day with the wives of *chawkīdārs* and administered to my comfort.

The beneficence and liberality of His prophet (peace be on him) was the cause for the recovery from this illness in about a week.

My noble mother and aunt offered thanks to the true Ḥakīm saying thus: "Praise be to Allāh! A thousand thanks to Him! A week before, there was absolutely no hope, for his life was despaired of by all the *ḥakīms*. But the absolute Healer preserved him by His power."

The *ḥakīms* also were surprised to learn the news of his recovery. They submitted thus to the Nawwāb: "It can only be said that this is God's grace; the cord of his life is strong. Else how can he recover from this serious illness? It is absolu-

tely impossible." The Nawwāb ṣāḥib said to them as follows: "Of course the cord of his life is strong. Besides, his mother and wife expressed much grief for him and supplicated to Allāh for his recovery. Finally, Allāh, glory be to Him and exalted be He, took notice of the drudgery and distress of his mother-in-law and showed mercy on the patient."

In brief: Two months later I had my bath after recovery from illness and my mother offered food and alms in the names of holy men. On that day Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur made a present of two thousand rupees to my mother for the expenses of *fātiḥas* and gifts to *ḥakīms* and *chawkīdārs*. Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, my mother-in-law, also arranged a sumptuous feast in her house.

Three or four months passed, then a son was born to this author and he was given the name *Abdu'l-Walī*. Nawwāb ṣāḥib granted one thousand rupees to meet the expenses on the occasion, but the child joined to divine mercy within a week.

Section 2.

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba obtained the permission of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur to fix up the marriage of Shahsawār Jang with the daughter of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Qādir Alī Khān, the son of 'Iṣmat Bībī. She invited the Bībī to her own house, settled up the alliance finally and communicated the news to Nawwāb ṣāḥib.

In accordance with the order of the Nawwāb, Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam secured four thousand rupees from the treasury of the *sarkār* for the expenses of marriage on both the sides. She sent two thousand rupees to Qādir Alī Khān, and appointed Yāsīn Muḥammad Khān to make everything ready for the marriage. The house of 'Iṣmat Bībī was set apart for the bride's party; the house of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam for the ladies of the bridegroom's party; the *dīwān-khāna* of Sirāju'l-Mulk for the *mānja-khāna* of the bridegroom. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam invited the mother of Shahsawār Jang and fixed her lodging.

She appointed Mīr Mahdī Ālī Khān and Shujā'at Ālī Khān to provide the guests with necessary things. Thus Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam was in charge of all arrangements for the marriage.

She invited her two sisters and relatives to a feast and commenced the marriage celebration. All the ceremonies relating to the bride and bridegroom were punctiliously observed. Nawwāb's sisters came every day to the *shādī-khāna* and attended to the ceremonies. Nawwāb ṣāḥib conferred dignity on the *shādī maḥfil* by his presence with his ministers on two or three nights. Those who were invited to the party came there every night. On the *barāt* night, Nawwāb ṣāḥib invited the bridegroom to his palace, fastened the *sihra*, and sent him back on horseback. On the day of *jalwa*, Nawwāb ṣāḥib visited the house of the bride with Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and his own nephews in response to the expressed wish of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and joined the *majlis* of *'aqd*, and in the *rasm* of *jalwa*.

After the completion of the ceremonies, Nawwāb ṣāḥib addressed Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, directing his attention to Qādir Ālī Khān, smiled sweetly and said "Look at the generosity of Qādir Ālī Khān! how noble he is! Out of regard for me he agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Shahsawār Jang."

Then he spoke to Qādir Ālī Khān thus: "Khān ṣāḥib! I am very glad that you gave your daughter in marriage to Abdu'l-Karīm. Today I confer on you the title *Bahādur* and raise your allowance from fifty rupees to one hundred rupees; by the grace of Allāh the sum of one hundred rupees will be paid to you month after month." Qādir Ālī Khān submitted a *nadhr* of five rupees, paid his obeisance and submitted as follows:

"May Allāh, exalted be He, grant you long life! We wish you well. Our ancestors got sustenance from this family of Anwar. By all means you will be pleased to keep a sustained effort for our subsistence."

On the occasion of the *rūnumā'ī* ceremony, Nawwāb ṣāḥib presented to Qādir Alī Khān one thousand rupees on his own behalf and on behalf of his sisters, and then returned to his own residence.

'Iṣmat Bībī led the bride and bridegroom to the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba with all the paraphernalia. She made the bride prostrate before Nawwāb ṣāḥib, Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and her other sisters and submitted: "She has been my grand-daughter till this day. Now she has become a slave in your house. I hope that the compassionate Nawwāb will always bestow his kindness on this slave." Nawwāb raised her from his feet, folded her affectionately in his arms and presented her with some jewels set with precious stones during the *runumā'ī* ceremony. All the sisters paid their obeisance and presented *nadhr* to the Nawwāb. In accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba called the mother of Shahsawār Jang and consigned the bride to her care, addressing her with expressions of joy. On the fourth day after the completion of the ceremony of *chawthī*, they sent away the bride and the bridegroom along with the mother of Shahsawār Jang.

Section 3.

The marriage of Tāju'd-Dīn Khān, the younger son of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur, was fixed up with Raẓīya Bēgam, the daughter of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur by his mistress attached to Mahtāb Bēgam. It was celebrated in the same splendid manner as the marriage of Shahsawār Jang. In accordance with the order of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba conducted the marriage. She arranged with Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur that his *dīwān-khāna* be the *mānja-khāna* and *dīwān-khāna* of the bridegroom, and with Shāh Bēgam, her own daughter, that her house be the house of the bride. She received seven thousand rupees from the *sarkār* for

the expenses of marriage on both the sides. She spent three thousand rupees on behalf of the bridegroom and four thousand rupees on behalf of the bride. The marriage was celebrated in a fitting manner. The number of ladies who were guests and other women were more on this occasion than was the case in the marriage of Shahsawār Jang Bahādur. At the time of *jalwa*, Nawwāb ṣāḥib was present with Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur and other relatives. After finishing the ceremony of *chawthī*, they sent the bride and the bridegroom with all the paraphernalia to a separate house adjoining the residence of Mahtāb Bēgam.

Section 4.

One day Nawwāb ṣāḥib said to Bahrām Jang, "I learn that you have arranged your garden in a beautiful manner delighted in by many. I propose to visit your *bāgh* one day after my morning drive and wish to have my breakfast there."

Bahrām Jang Bahādur paid his obeisance and submitted: "The *bāgh* is yours and I am your humble servant. Your highness' visit to the *bāgh* will confer upon this slave great honour and distinction and it will cause the tree of my desire to blossom out into a fruit tree."

Since that day Bahrām Jang Bahādur was forming plans for the feast, and fitting up the garden for the occasion. After finishing all arrangements he represented deferentially to the Nawwāb on the 3rd of Shawwāl in the year 1212 A.H. thus:

"If your highness could shed light on the small garden of this slave by your presence with princes and nephews after the morning drive, I will be the most favoured slave." Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave a smiling consent.

In response to the invitation, Nawwāb ṣāḥib shed radiance around the garden of Bahrām Jang by his presence with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son, and nephews, after the morning drive on the 4th of Shawwāl. In obedience to

the orders of the Nawwāb, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, Taqī Ālī Khān Bahādur, Shujā'at Ālī Khān, Mīr Abū Ṭālib Khān, Muḥammad Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān, Dargāh Qulī Khān, and Ālī Nawāz Khān were also present at that place. Then the Nawwāb gave orders to send quickly a trooper to invite Ḥaẓrat Mawlānā Abdu'l-Ālī Ṣāḥib, Āshūrī Lillāhī, Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, and Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. In response to the invitation these persons also arrived at the *bāgh* in a short while. The Nawwāb sat together with these persons and had his breakfast. Afterwards he went round the *bāgh*. The Nawwāb's warm approbation of the excellence of the garden made the rose-buds blossom.

Bahrām Jang Bahādur presented to the Nawwāb 121 rupees, some trays of *khil'at*,[1] and a number of trays containing fruits by way of *nadhr*. Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave orders to distribute the fruits to all those present there. After spending an hour, Nawwāb ṣāḥib returned to his residence and bade farewell to his companions.

Section 5.

One day Nawwāb ṣāḥib spoke affably to Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī in the *darbār* as follows: "It is long time since this humble person partook of food in your house. I wish I have dinner one day."

The Shāh ṣāḥib made everything ready for the feast in about two or three days and then submitted to the Nawwāb as follows: "If your highness could kindly come tomorrow afternoon at dinner time with princes, and the officers who were present at the *bāgh* of Bahrām Jang, it will add lustre to the house. This will be an act of kindness to the poor and destitute."

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(1) Khil'at is presented by the superior to the inferior. The practice *vice versa* is opposed to established custom.

In response to the request of Shāh ṣāḥib, the Nawwāb started the next day at the appointed time to go for dinner. Other guests also accompanied him. The Nawwāb said the *fātiḥa* for Shāh Dastgīr ṣāḥib, and came to the *dīwān-khāna*. After partaking of the food served with different kinds of dishes, he praised the daintiness of food. Then he returned to his residence.

In response to the invitation of Shāh Maḥmūd ṣāḥib in the month of Rajab, Nawwāb ṣāḥib who had very high regard for him, attended the *fātiḥa* for Shāh Dastgīr ṣāḥib in the early morning and gave leave to his companions to partake of the food.

Section 6.

Ḥashmat Jang Bahādur failed to pay the *qisṭ* money in the *kachahrī* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur, the *dīwān*, as per the *iqrār-nāma*. The ryots also complained to the Nawwāb of his tyranny and acts contrary to the orders of the Nawwāb. Therefore the Nawwāb recalled him from his office and kept him as a prisoner in the garden of Māskilīth. His personal effects and other things were removed in about twelve carts to the house of his elder sister. After some time Bahrām Jang and Colonel Barrett Bahādur, endeavoured to recommend to the Nawwāb that Ḥashmat Jang might be pardoned for his faults. The compassionate Nawwāb agreed to their proposal. Ḥashmat Jang was released from the prison, and his personal effects that were in the custody of his sister were restored to him. As Dharmāsam Mudali stood surety for him, he was appointed by the Nawwāb to another taluk.

Section 7.

I'tibār Khān was earnestly desirous to get from the *sarkār* the title *Jang*, and presents of *rūmāl-shāl*, and *nīm-āstīn* through the mediation of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam

ṣāḥiba. One day she happened to find suitable occasion to broach the subject to the Nawwāb. She got the following reply: "Colonel Barrett is highly displeased with him, for I'tibār Khān does not pay the *qist*, as per agreement. If I'tibār Khān could pay twelve thousand rupees as *nadhr* to the *sarkār*, he may perhaps be distinguished by such honours as desired by him. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba informed I'tibār Khān about the views of the Nawwāb. The Bahādur who had already agreed to give 5,000 rupees as *nadhr* to Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, consented to pay also this additional *nadhr*.

One day Nawwāb ṣāḥib invited I'tibār Khān Bahādur to the green-chair room. The Nawwāb came out of the house of his senior sister after dinner in the afternoon, called I'tibār Khān to his presence, conferred on him the title *Babar Jang*, and presented him with *nīm-āstīn* and white *rūmāl-shāl* from his own wardrobe. He received the *nadhr* through Colonel Barrett Bahādur in secrecy.

PART III.

1213-1214 A.H. [1798-1799 A.D.]

FIRST CHAPTER.

The Nawwāb favours Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur with the post of fawjdār of the taluk of Nellore; the marriage of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur; the Nawwāb receives a letter from Shāh Ghāzī Pādshāh of Delhi at Kalas-mahall.

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur agreed to pay one thousand rupees as *nadhr* to Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and submitted through her a petition to the Nawwāb asking humbly for the following: the post of *fawjdār* of the taluk of Nellore, the privilege to *nawbat*, to ride on an elephant with a canopy, to maintain a trooper and the right to confer titles on his employees. When the Nawwāb went through the list he smilingly said: "Colonel Barrett Bahādur is invested with full authority to deal with affairs of the Government. This petition has to go to the Colonel. I shall also speak to him. Of course it may be favourably received by him. Other things rest with me to decide. If Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur consents to pay five thousand rupees as *nadhr* for all the favours asked for, surely he will be favoured with the appointment of *fawjdār* as well as the other privileges mentioned in the petition." In accordance with this generous view of the Nawwāb, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur made a separate petition to Colonel Barrett Bahādur for the post of *fawjdār* of the taluk of Nellore. He importuned and solicited Colonel Barrett Bahādur for the appointment and paid frequent visits to his office.

One day Colonel Barrett Bahādur informed Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur thus: "By the grace of Allāh I have submitted

to the Nawwāb your petition for the post of *fawjdār*. I shall get it sanctioned. Please keep ready the *nadhr*." Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur replied, "I have reliance upon your kindness. After I am appointed to be the *fawjdār*, I shall be favoured with *khil'at* from the royal wardrobe and *jawāhirāt*. Thus I shall become eminent among the nobles and my equals."

Next day Colonel Barrett Bahādur invited Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur to Fataḥ-chawkī at the time of *darbār* and got him to execute a *qarār-nāma* in accordance with the regulations of the *sarkār*. Then he introduced him to the Nawwāb and dignified him with the order of appointment to the post of *fawjdār*, with *khil'at* and other things asked for in the petition. Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur paid his obeisance to the Nawwāb and submitted one thousand rupees as *nadhr*.

Considering the recommendations of his sister and the opinion of Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Nawwāb ṣāḥib invested him with privilege to *nawbat*, to ride on an elephant with a canopy, to maintain a trooper and other rights sought for in the petition. The order granting these was signed by the Nawwāb. Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur paid secretly to the Nawwāb five thousand rupees through Chīnā Mūdalī. Then the Nawwāb made an order that Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur should ride an elephant, followed by *nawbat* and troopers and go in that manner to the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, submit *nadhr* to her and then return to his house.

In obedience to the order of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, the Bahādur went to the house of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, sent her twenty-one rupees as *nadhr-dastī* and made over the payment of one thousand rupees, the promised amount of *nadhr* to Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, to Kishnasāmī Mūdalī her banker, and took leave of her. Then he went to the house of Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, submitted five rupees as *nadhr* and returned to his house. He arranged to give presents to every *'uhdadār* and others who were present in the procession and bade them all

farewell. He met his wife and told her in detail the favours he received from the Nawwāb. Then he came out of the zenana and entered his *dīwān-khāna* where he received congratulations from all.

Next day he went to the *bāgh* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur to express his gratitude for the favours of the Nawwāb and the kind endeavour of Colonel Barrett Bahādur. The Colonel addressed him with expressions of joy on his appointment and said "It is necessary for you that you should always remember the favours of the Nawwāb, and never fall short of enthusiastic loyalty to the Nawwāb. You should be hearty and persistent in all your duties and show no sign of exhaustion or discomposure. You should neither be a transgressor nor give room for complaints. You must start quickly to your taluk."

In accordance with the suggestions of Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur made preparations for his journey in a week. He sent necessary things in advance and looked forward to the day when he would bid farewell to the Nawwāb. In the meanwhile the compiler of this chronicle had an attack of small-pox. A detailed account of it has already been narrated in Part II, chapter 4 of this book. After my recovery from illness, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur delayed further because some important affair prevented his journey. Then he took leave of the Nawwāb and went post-haste to his destination. He reached his taluk and assumed the reins of government. He ennobled his companions by conferring upon them the titles *Khān*, *Bahādur*, *Jang*, etc., as per his list endorsed by the Nawwāb. He was always industrious and attentive to his duties.

Section 1.

Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II was busy forming plans for the marriage of Tāju'l Umarā Bahādur, his

beloved son. In accordance with the suggestion of his senior sister, he invited Sarfarāz Alī Khān Bahādur, son of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur to her house one day, created a feeling in him that he will be elevated in rank and dignity and said to him thus:

"I have a desire that my beloved son should attain the status of the son of Raḥmatu'n-nisā Bēgam, your sister, through your mediation. If you could settle this affair I shall rejoice at it."

After listening to the Nawwāb, Sarfarāz Alī Khān took his leave, went to the house of his sister and informed her all about the interview with the Nawwāb. They were much worried. They did not know whether they should accept or decline the offer. It was difficult to settle it either way. They were fully susceptible to the inconvenience that would result from the acceptance of the offer and also to the displeasure of the ruler that would ensue on the refusal. Nawwāb ṣāḥib again sent a message to Sarfarāz Alī Khān Bahādur through Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur. Sarfarāz Alī Khān Bahādur, having no alternative, wrung consent from his sister, wrote out an *'arẓī* seeking information on certain points and sent it to the Nawwāb. Nawwāb ṣāḥib read through it and gave his assent to it. He immediately went to the house of his senior sister, invited his other sisters there and after consulting with them all, he made the match and fixed the 13th of Rajab as the first day of the marriage festivities. In accordance with the advice of his senior sister, the Nawwāb sent a large sum of money to Sarfarāz Alī Khān Bahādur through Sālār Jang for the expenses of marriage on the side of the bride. He fixed upon the *dīwān-khāna* of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur for the chamber of the bridegroom; the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall for *majlis* in the night and the house of his senior sister for the women of the bridegroom's party. Then he gave orders for decorating these places. He said to his elder sister thus: "I invest you with authority to conduct

this marriage. I expect that you would pay attention to all details big and small. From beginning to end this marriage must be conducted in a manner appropriate to my rank. You may get from the treasury whatever amount you may need and I have instructed Colonel Barrett Bahādur to pay you."

He ordered Sālār Jang Bahādur to look after the arrangements for lights and decorations of the big *dīwān-khāna*. He appointed Bahrām Jang Bahādur to supervise the arrangements for lights and procession every day when the bridgroom starts from *mānja-khāna* to the big *dīwān-khāna* and from the *dīwān-khāna* back to the *mānja-khāna*. He gave instructions to Bahrām Jang Bahādur that at about 9 o'clock in the night the bridegroom should be carried in a *mahādōl* with all paraphernalia, accompanied by lights and display of firework to the *dīwān-khāna*. After witnessing the nautch, and the distribution of betel leaves, flower and other things, the bridegroom must be led back to the *mānja-khāna* in the same manner of procession.

In obedience to the orders of the Nawwāb, the *dīwān-khāna*, palace and women's apartments were furnished, by the first of Rajab, with carpets, lights, *masnad*, *shāmiyāna* and other necessary things. The walls of the *mānja-khāna* were painted in a variety of colours which presented the appearance of a fresh spring garden.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib visited Fataḥ-chawkī on the second of Rajab at about 9 o'clock in the morning, asked for a sheet of paper strewn with gold dust and wrote upon it the invitation, embellished with flowers of rhetoric, to Lādlī Bēgam ṣāḥiba, his own aunt, the wife of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Bahādur, requesting her to be present at the marriage of Tāju'l-Umarā, his beloved son. He adorned it with his own signature and sent it through Bahrām Jang Bahādur with the following instructions:

"You should read this invitation for marriage with good intonation and expressively to those present in the *darbār-i-ʿām* at Fataḥ-chawkī; then take four copies of this, send three copies to the three sisters and the fourth to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, my brother. Then you should take the original with you to the house of my exalted aunt, and after paying obeisance, deliver it to her." Bahrām Jang Bahādur executed the orders of the Nawwāb.

When Bahrām Jang read the letter at the *darbār*, Mawlānā Ṣāḥib, Shāh Qudratullāh Ṣāḥib, Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāhib Sāwī, and other *shaykhs*, Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, and other nobles and officers of the Government were present. The character and tone of the letter, the picturesqueness and the ornate style of the Nawwāb, won high praise from the audience. In the meanwhile the Nawwāb himself added lustre to the *darbār* by his presence. All those present paid their obeisance to him. Some of the nobles submitted: "The invitation letter is written in a delightful style; the letter is a *gulistān*; the cheerful details contained in it bears the semblance of a *būstān*. It increases the delight. Every sentence is a gem, which will be a source of pleasure to those versed in all branches of learning; every word in it is a touchstone for testing the elocution of an orator. We hope that we will be permitted to take copies of it."

The following order was issued to Bahrām Jang Bahādur: "Whoever has the desire to take a copy of it, he may be permitted to do so." Bahrām Jang obeyed the orders of the Nawwāb. Then the Bahādur took the original with him to the house of the noble mother of Dilēr Jang Bahādur Nawwāb Naṣīru'd-Dawla II, paid obeisance on behalf of the Nawwāb and sent in the invitation to her. She sent back the following reply:

"I wish the Nawwāb joy and luck. May Allāh make this affair a source of happiness to Nawwāb ṣāḥib, his friends and well-wishers."

At the time of compiling this chronicle the author endeavoured to get a true copy of the original letter of invitation from the office of Dilēr Jang Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II through Sharafu'l-Umarā Anwāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. The copy of the letter was delivered to the writer of this chronicle by Muḥabbat Ālī Khān, son of Raḥmān Ālī Khān. It is included in this book.[1]

Before the marriage festivities were begun, *khilʻat* and *tōrah* were distributed to the Governor and other *sardārs* of his council, to Nawwāb's brothers, sisters, relatives, and women, ministers, nobles and all officers high and low. Letters were sent inviting every one to be present from the commencement of the marriage with the ceremony of *chitr* on the 14th of Rajab till the last day of the celebration. In response to the invitation, Ḥusāmu'l Mulk Bahādur from Muḥammadpūr[2], and Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur from Nellore reached Madras before the marriage festivities began. The *rasm* of *mānja* was observed on the 13th of Rajab, 1213 A.H. The *rasm* of *chitr* was gone through in the presence of Nawwāb ṣāḥib on the 14th of Rajab at the big *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall where a large crowd assembled.

Every day people assembled in the *mānja-khāna,* had breakfast and dinner in the company of the bridegroom and spent the whole day there from morning till 9 o'clock in the night, listening to music. In accordance with the order of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, Bahrām Jang Bahādur went to the *mānja-khāna* at about 10 o'clock, adorned the bridegroom from head to foot with fresh *khilʻat* and ornaments set with precious stones. Then the bridegroom was decked with flowers at the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam. After this Bahrām Jang

(1) *See* Appendix B.

(2) Another name for Arcot. During the time of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh, Arcot was named *Muḥammadpūr* and surnamed *Dāru'n-Nūr*. *See* Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part I, p. 60.

Bahādur helped the bridegroom to get into the *mahādōl* and escorted him with all paraphernalia, innumerable lights and firework to the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall, where arrangements were made for dance and music. First, flowers and betel leaves were distributed. Then dance and music began. Musicians who would enliven the spirits, and heart-ravishing dancers were assigned different places in the *dīwān-khāna*. The bridegroom witnessed the dance and then returned to the *mānja-khāna* in the same manner of procession.

Now and then Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur added grace to the *majlis* by his presence. He took up his seat behind the *masnad* of the bridegroom and witnessed the dance and music. Then he would go away sometimes before the party broke up or sometimes along with the bridegroom. The ceremonialism that pertained to the bride and the bridegroom were observed with all paraphernalia to and from the big garden of Mylapore.

One day during the marriage, Nawwāb ṣāḥib intended to invite the members of the Governor's council for dinner and thus create an opportunity to remove the displeasure of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, his sister, who was annoyed because the *sardārs* of the Governor's Council were not invited to the marriage of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur.[1] The Nawwāb instructed Colonel Barrett Bahādur to write a letter in English as if addressed by the Governor to the Nawwāb and to get it translated into Persian and bring both these during his stay at the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam. The English letter read thus: "It came to my knowledge that the festivities in connection with the marriage of the Prince of high rank have been begun since a few days. We wish to associate ourselves in the function. We desire to be present in the *majlis* and

(1) He was the son of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba. His marriage was celebrated in 1210 A.H. *See* pp. 60-65 in this book.

express our joy on the event. The Governors of Bengal,[1] and Bombay and some *sardārs* also look forward to participate in the happy function with others. If a day could be fixed and information is sent to us, we will come."

In accordance with the order of the Nawwāb, Colonel Barrett Bahādur got ready the English letter along with its Persian translation and submitted these to the Nawwāb when he was present at the house of his sister. The Nawwāb went into the zenana with the letters and told his sister thus: "The Governor of Madras and other *sardārs* of the Council seek permission to come one day and be present in the *majlis* and offer congratulations on the marriage of my beloved son. They had addressed a letter to me on the subject. Now it is necessary to invite them to our house. It would be better if Colonel Barrett Bahādur could arrange for expenses on the occasion."

Next day everything was got ready for a liberal reception of the guests, and invitations were sent to all the *sardārs*. The *dīwān-khāna* which was already furnished with adornments was further decorated with more lamps, couches and chairs. A platform covered with embroidered *makhmal* was put up underneath the *shāmiyāna* and a *masnad* adorned with jewels was placed on the platform for the bridegroom. Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Colonel Barrett Bahādur were entrusted with these arrangements.

On the appointed day, Nawwāb ṣāḥib put on rich dress and ornaments set with precious stones. He wore a sword, a *pēsh-qabẓ*, and other arms. He carried in his hand a *dhōp* used by Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur, his father, and added lustre to the *majlis* by his presence. The bridegroom was conducted from the *mānja-khāna* to the *dīwān-khāna* and seated on the *masnad*. The Nawwāb took his seat on the couch and

(1) Lord Mornington (later Marquis of Wellesley) was in Madras from the beginning of January to September, 1798, in connection with the war in Mysore. He was the Governor-General of Bengal.

waited for the arrival of the *sardārs*. At about 9 o'clock the Governors of Bengal, Madras and Bombay with about fifty *sardārs* entered the *majlis*. They were conducted to their seats, either couch or chair, according to rank. Nawwāb ṣāḥib sat on a couch along with the Governors and kept himself busy in talking with them and seeing the dance. The *sardārs* also enjoyed the tamasha of dance.

All the officers were attentive to the duties entrusted to them.

In the course of the conversation, Nawwāb ṣāḥib mentioned the name of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son and heir apparent, and then addressed Lord Wellesley Mornington Bahādur, Governor-General of Bengal thus: "I believe implicitly in your kindness and friendliness; you are steadfast in your friendship and perfectly straight in all your dealings. I believe that the heir apparent will attain the honour of succeeding to the hereditary throne as per the custom."

The Governor ṣāḥib replied: "If such is the wish of your highness, God willing, it shall be in the same manner. I have to make a request. If certain taluks in the Carnatic could be transferred to the Company in lieu of the *qisṭ* payable to them according to the terms of agreement, it will give evidence of your kindness, friendship and love. If this request is fulfilled, the affairs with regard to the succession will be managed in accordance with the wishes of the powerful leader, the representative of the glorious family."

Nawwāb ṣāḥib was annoyed at this improper reply and then said: "It is well known to these ṣāḥibs that my father had undergone many trials before he subjugated this kingdom. He exercised authority over this territory as long as he lived. It is incumbent on me to extend my dominion from day to day with the help of such sincere and sagacious friends like you, so

that it will justify the reputation of your friendship and my strenuous exertions.

"The acceptance of your request will show ignorance and lack of credibility. It is certain that this proposal is opposed to rule. It will be repugnant to the taste of intelligent and wise men as well as the rulers elsewhere."

The Governor ṣāḥib became silent as the grave at this suitable reply. Nawwāb ṣāḥib continued: "This kind of talk is not suited to this happy and joyful *majlis*. It is better to enjoy the dance."

The Governor replied: "All this magnificence and splendour of living are due to your highness' majestic personality. May Allāh grant you long life and prosperity."

The assembly broke up in about an hour and all the *sardārs* adjourned to the big room on the western side where the table was spread with every luxury. They rose from the table after about two hours, took flowers, *'iṭr*, and *pāndān* and then went to see the tamasha of firework at the back of the big *dīwān-khāna* in the *ṣaḥn* of Sabz-bangla. They spent about an hour there and then took leave of the Nawwāb.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib sent the bridegroom to the *mānja-khāna* and himself retired to Fataḥ-chawkī. He was very much worried and made unhappy on account of the conversation he had with the Governor.

On the day of *rasm-i-sharbat* Nawwāb ṣāḥib granted to the mother of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur an elephant and two thousand rupees on his own behalf and three thousand rupees on behalf of his sisters.

Everyday Nawwāb ṣāḥib stayed from sunset till 9 o'clock in the house of his elder sister and he kept up this habit till the marriage festivities were over. He appointed Bahrām Jang Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur to supervise the

arrangements for the *rasm-i-sānchaq*. After the observance of the *rasm-i-rangbāzī* in the big *dīwān-khāna*, he set about to send the *sānchaq* in great splendour, accompanied by nobles, relatives and officers. The Nawwāb rode a *mahādōl* and shed light on the bride's house by his presence before the *sānchaq* party arrived there. On the day of *barāt*, at about 11 o'clock in the night, he brought together in Nuṣrat-maḥall Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṣāḥib, Shāh Maḥmūd Ṣāḥib Sāwī, 'Ālimullāh Shāh Ṣāḥib, Mubāriz Jang Bahādur and some venerable *sayyids* who were *durūd-khwāns*. Then he called the bridegroom and *sehra* was fastened to him by their auspicious hands. Then the Nawwāb helped the bridegroom to ride a horse and himself held the bridle in his hands and walked in procession as far as the big gate of his own *bāgh* in the midst of innumerable lamps arranged in ladder-like manner, and display of firework. When he got into a *suksāzwan* at the big gate, Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur caught hold of the bridle and escorted the bridegroom as far as the house of the bride. The feet of the exalted Bahādur swelled a little on account of the pain caused by walking. Nawwāb ṣāḥib who was pleased with this news, gave Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur an *'ināyat-nāma* appointing him as the permanent *ṣūbadār* of Muḥammadpūr. The Bahādur was ever grateful for that.

The sisters of the Nawwāb, the bridegroom's mother and other relatives gathered at the house of the bride on the occasion of the *rasm-i-jalwa* and it was gone through in the presence of all. They distributed cash and jewels on the day of *rūnumā'ī* ceremony and escorted in the afternoon the bride and bridegroom with all paraphernalia to the house of the bridegroom and observed all the ceremony pertinent to the occasion. Two or three days later the ceremony of *chawthī* was performed; and then the bride and bridegroom were conducted to the house of the mother of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur adjacent to Fatah-chawkī. Nawwāb ṣāḥib was at all times

pleased and delighted with his daughter-in-law. He was very affectionate towards her.

Section 2.

By the grace of Allāh, when a royal letter addressed to the Nawwāb by the Emperor of Delhi came with presents of imperial garments, the Nawwāb gave orders that the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall should be decorated with carpets, lamps, *masnad*, and *shāmiyāna*, and such other decorations that it might have the same appearance as that of the imperial *darbār*. He also ordered that all the *amīrs* and officers should be present on the appointed day at 11 o'clock in the morning in the big *dīwān-khāna*.

The orders of the Nawwāb were executed. All the officers, high and low, were present in the *diwān-khāna* on the appointed day and hour. In accordance with instructions of the Nawwāb, Bahrām Jang Bahādur placed the royal letter on a *nālkī* and started from Nuṣrat-maḥall with all paraphernalia and entered the big *dīwān-khāna*. At that time the Nawwāb, who arrayed himself up with the imperial garments presented by the Emperor, was seated in the *darbār*. As soon as he heard about the arrival of the exalted *farmān*, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired as per orders of the Nawwāb. Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib set out towards the *nālkī*, took out the letter, carried it on his head as far as the *shāmiyāna* and handed it over to Mubāriz Jang Bahādur asking him to stand with the *farmān* in his hands held over the *masnad* underneath the *shāmiyāna*. Then the Nawwāb made his way to *ādābgāh*, bowed deferentially at every step in accordance with conventional rules of making obeisance in the imperial court, came as far as the *masnad*, got the letter from Mubāriz Jang Bahādur and got upon the *masnad* with the letter placed reverently on his *dastār* like a *kalghī*. Then he handed the letter over to Raja Khūb Chand Bahādur, the *mīr-munshī*, and ordered him to get upon the *chawkī*

furnished with red *makhmal* and read it aloud. The *mīr-munshī* did as he was bidden. Immediately after the reading of the letter a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The Nawwāb received *nadhr* from those present. Flowers and betel leaves were distributed and then the Nawwāb dissolved the *darbār*. There was a social gathering that night.

SECOND CHAPTER.

An excursion to mīnā-bāzār in Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ; feast to the sisters in the dīwān-khāna of Kalas-maḥall and Mubārak-chawkī; the receipt of a letter from Āṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur; the marriage of Nāṣiru'd Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur.

One day in accordance with the desire of his sisters, Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave orders to the *kotwāl* of Tirmalkaṛī (Triplicane) as follows:

"A market is to be held round about Sabz-bangla, Mubārak-chawkī and the big *dīwān-khāna*, where jewellers must offer for sale jewels set with precious stones; traders who deal in *shāl*, fruit-sellers, corn-chandlers, sweetmeat vendors, and others must put on the market, goods proper to each of them to the value of about fifty thousand rupees. I wish to buy in the market and provide recreation for the ladies. Therefore you should give instructions to every one of the traders to get ready in a period of three or four days all the commodities pertaining to their trade and to depute their respective wives to sell them. It should be also notified that no male member over six months of age be permitted to enter the area. This market with *chawk* and *bāzār* should come into existence the very moment I order for it."

The Nawwāb appointed Bahrām Jang Bahādur also to attend to this work.

The *kotwāl* executed the orders of the Nawwāb within the prescribed time and sent information about this to the Nawwāb through Bahrām Jang Bahādur.

Next day Nawwāb ṣāḥib made arrangements to screen the area from the house of his elder sister as far as the big *dīwān-khāna* and from the houses of his two other sisters, to erect tents wherever necessary, and to post on all sides armed *pahra*. He invited all his three sisters, their family, other ladies and relatives to Mubārak-chawkī before sunrise. He got ten *kharīṭa* full of coins from a room in Mubārak-chawkī and distributed thus: elder sister, 2,000 rupees, the other two sisters 1,000 rupees each, their daughters and daughters-in-law 200 rupees each, ladies of rank belonging to their family 100 rupees each, some slave-girls from 20 rupees to 5 rupees each; the nephews 200 rupees each, *ṭablūrnī* and such others 2 rupees each.

Then he told them thus: "Each of you should go to the shops and buy what is best in your view. Grains and other necessary things for the morning and evening meals also should be purchased from the shops. You may buy and eat whatever you like."

He gave thirty *hūn* to his sisters asking them to arrange for his meals.

In obedience to the order of the Nawwāb all went about to make purchases. They bought provisions for cooking food, besides jewels and clothes which they took a fancy to. Then they cooked their food. Thus they spent the time from morning till evening. Goods to the value of nearly 40,000 rupees were sold on that day. The Nawwāb had his afternoon dinner with his sisters in the big *dīwān-khāna*. Then he gave the ladies leave to depart and removed the arrangements for the zenana.

The Nawwāb asked Bahrām Jang Bahādur to find out from the *kotwāl* the quantity of goods that were sold out and the quantity left unsold in all the shops. Next morning Bahrām Jang Bahādur turned his attention to this; he appointed two or three *mutaṣaddīs* of the *sarkār* to go round with the *kotwāl* and take stock. After stock-taking it was ascertained that some jewels, *shāls* worth about seven thousand rupees, a small quantity of grains, sweetmeats and such other things alone were left unsold. When this report was sent to the Nawwāb he gave orders that jewels and *shāls* be bought for the *sarkār* and the same be entrusted with Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm; that the price for other commodities also be paid by the *sarkār*. Then he gave orders to remove the shops from the *bāgh* by the evening. Bahrām Jang Bahādur executed the orders of the Nawwāb and the shops were removed.

Section 1.

On the 14th of the month Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave orders that arrangements should be made for the zenana from the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall and Mubārak-chawkī as far as the houses of his two sisters, for the purpose of seeing the full moon on the sea-shore. He gathered together at about 5 o'clock all the ladies in the big *dīwān-khāna* and had his evening meal at Mubārak-chawkī with his sisters and their children. Then he got up the terrace of the Sabz-bangla with his sisters and waited for the rising of the full moon. He also invited the widows of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh to that place and received them with great respect. Then he presented humbly Nawwāb Ra'īsu'n-nisā Bēgam and Nawwāb Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam, the mother of Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān Bahādur, and Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur each with 500 rupees; he presented his three sisters with 500 rupees each, and also gave presents to their dependents according to rank. After fruits and other things were distributed, he bade them all farewell at

about 10 o'clock and removed the arrangements for the zenana. Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib returned to Fataḥ-chawkī.

Section 2.

Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur addressed an *'ināyat-nāma* to Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, congratulating him on the marriage of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son, and sent it to Madras with presents of *khil'at* and *jawāhir* through Sa'īdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the Āṣaf-jāhī vakil. When the news of the arrival to Madras of the *'ināyat-nāma* reached Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, he gave orders to Bahrām Jang Bahādur that he should arrange to decorate the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall and instruct all the officers to be present there at 11 o'clock on the day of the arrival of Sa'īdu'd-Dawla Bahādur.

In accordance with the order of the Nawwāb, all the officers and servants were present in the *darbār* at the appointed time. The Āṣaf-jāhī vakil was given a warm welcome and the *'ināyat-nāma* and *khil'at* were received with high respect. The *mīr-munshī* was asked to read the *'ināyat-nāma* and the Nawwāb rejoiced to hear the contents. He presented the vakil with a *sarpēch* set with precious stones, an expensive scarlet *dushāla, pāndān, gulāb-pāsh* and *'itr-dān*, and bade him farewell.

Section 3.

One day in the month of Dhu'l-ḥajj, 1213 A.H. Nawwāb ṣāḥib paid a visit to his second sister to inquire how she was after she took the laxative. The Nawwāb's other sisters also went with him. In the course of the conversation, reference to the matrimonial alliance of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabību'llāh Khān Bahādur, son of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, was made. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam said: "It will be very commendable to fix up the marriage of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla with the daughter of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān. 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the mother of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla submitted, "If

this is the decision of the elders, I will conform to it." Immediately Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba communicated the decision to Bachnūbī, who belonged to the nobility of Gōpamaw and was the mother-in-law of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān, through Fāṭima Bēgam, the daughter of Najībullāh Khān. Bachnūbī sent the following reply: "I have no concern with this affair. Ghulām Jīlānī Khān, the father of the bride, has interest in this." Then Fāṭima Bēgam invited Ghulām Jīlānī Khān to the house of his mother-in-law and communicated the news of the proposed matrimonial alliance.

The Khān was reduced to perplexity and replied: "I have not got a daughter deserving to be of this relationship. How can poor people like me aspire for a matrimonial alliance with *amīrs*." When Fāṭima Bēgam heard these plain words, she returned to Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, and communicated to her the reply she received from Bachnūbī and Ghulām Jīlānī Khān.

At that time Nāṣiru'd-Dawla became impulsive, as young men are, and importuned Nawwāb ṣāḥib, his uncle, thus: "My dear uncle, at any cost my marriage alliance should be fixed up with that family only. It should be settled this very day." The Nawwāb was moved to laughter and then he asked his sisters: "Why does Ghulām Jīlānī object to this alliance?" The sisters submitted, "There seems to be no other reason except his own malignancy. They are vain people. Well, we will fix up the marriage with some other family."

Nawwāb ṣāḥib said to them, "There should not be malignancy to the ruler. You may all remember how his father behaved badly towards Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur, my father, when he proposed the marriages of my brothers, Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur and Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur, with the sisters of this Ghulām Jīlānī Khān. But his father was treated with indignity and put in prison in the taluk of Nellore; then

only he gave his consent to the proposed matrimonial alliance. Ghulām Jīlānī is his son; perhaps he will also give his consent after undergoing the experiences of his father." Then continued Nawwāb ṣāḥib, "By any means this matter should be settled today. The *rasm-i-ʿaqd* must be performed and other ceremonies pertaining to marriage also should be gone through in the course of this Dhu'l-ḥajj month."

Then he called at once Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur and conveyed through them the following message to Ghulām Jīlānī Khān. "Today is an auspicious day. I wish to settle the marriage of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur, my nephew, with your eldest daughter. It is desirable that the ceremony of *ʿaqd* is gone through today, and the marriage also may be celebrated this very month; for, in a week it will be the sacred month of Muḥarram."[1]

Ghulām Jīlānī Khān was very much agitated and troubled at this imperious message of the Nawwāb. Then he sent the following reply: "It may be presumptuous on the part of this humble slave if he ventures upon a reply instead of giving a tacit consent to the proposal. I submit that you are a lord of bounty, a beneficent master, a *raʾīs*, and an absolute ruler. But this slave is one of those slaves and despicable men who hang about your generous door-steps. Alliance with slaves is no good alliance. Therefore this slave had not the courage to accept the proposal."

The two Bahādurs conveyed the reply of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān to Nawwāb ṣāḥib.

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(1) *Muḥarram* lit. "That which is forbidden" ; anything sacred. It is the first month in the Muslim calendar. The first ten days of this month are observed in commemoration of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the second son of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter. The ceremonies of the Muḥarram differ much in different places and countries.

The Nawwāb spoke furiously thus:

"Ghulām Jīlānī Khān also wants to undergo the same unpleasant experience as his father did when the marriage of his daughters was proposed. His father was put in fetters and kept under restraint. God willing, today the engagement will be decided upon by any means, irrespective of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān's wishes."

The Nawwāb called Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the *risāladār*, gave him 5 *hūn* from his own pocket, and said: "Get ready at once a tray of *khilāt*, four trays full of sugar candy, dates, betel, flowers and other necessary things for marriage and another tray of iron fetters."

The *risāladār* immediately got ready the things and brought them before the Nawwāb, who sent them to the house of his second sister for the inspection of all his sisters.

Then he sent for the trays and kept them with himself. He told Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur thus: "Both of you go again to Ghulām Jīlānī Khān, apprise him of my anger and frighten him into submission by saying as follows: "Your objection and obstinacy in this affair will be of no avail. Your father also put forth meaningless objections when Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur proposed the marriage of my brothers with your sisters. But his impudence was of little avail. It is necessary that he should recall the past to his mind and not deviate from the path of obedience. He must agree to the proposal and give satisfaction to me. The consequence of this will reveal itself in future."

The Bahādurs went again to the house of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān and informed him about the views of the Nawwāb. As the Khān was already informed that fetters had been got ready, he had to get over his rebellious mood and he gave his consent to the proposal with certain conditions. They were:

(1) "Your highness may be pleased to shed lustre on the house of this poor man by your presence and then the matter can be fixed up in your presence.

(2) "'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the mother of the bridegroom, should pay a visit to the house of this humble slave on the day of *jalwa* and raise me in the estimation of others.

(3) "This servant must be granted an allowance of five hundred rupees every month.

(4) "If the status of this humble servant be raised by conferring upon him the titles *Bahādur* and *Jang*, it will not be incongruous with your highness' favour."

The Bahādurs represented to the Nawwāb that Ghulām Jīlānī Khān had acquiesced in the proposal on certain conditions. As soon as the Nawwāb heard that Ghulām Jīlānī Khān had agreed to the marriage proposal, he asked the *risāladār* to take away the iron chains. He consented to fulfil the conditions of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān and also sent information of this fact to his sisters. Then out of regard for the feelings of his own nephew and the recommendations of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the Nawwāb started that very moment with Bahrām Jang Bahādur and others, to visit Ghulām Jīlānī Khān. He gave orders to Bahrām Jang Bahādur thus:

"Let Ghulām Jīlānī Khān be honoured with the title *Ikhtiyār Jang Bahādur*, and be given an allowance of five hundred rupees every month."

In accordance with the order of the Nawwāb, Bahrām Jang Bahādur took steps to carry out the formalities of the law and the Khān was honoured with the title and a monthly allowance.

Ghulām Jīlānī Khān submitted twenty-one rupees as *nadhr* to the Nawwāb and kissed his feet. The Nawwāb raised him

from his feet, and said: "Be at ease; the bridegroom's mother will go over to your house on the day of *jalwa* and take the bride in her company."

Then the Nawwāb commanded the *risāladār* thus: "Bring here at once the four trays of sugar candy, flowers, and other things, from the house of my second sister with music of *nawbat*." The *risāladār* returned in about an hour with all the things.

The Nawwāb told Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur as follows: "You are an *'ālim* read under Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī ṣāḥib. You can conduct the marriage ceremony of the daughter of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān Ikhtiyār Jang Bahādur, with Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Bahādur, the son of Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur. Bahrām Jang will be the vakil for Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh."

The marriage ceremony was thus gone through about an hour before sunset, and those present addressed one another with expressions of joy. Nawwāb ṣāḥib put Ghulām Jīlānī Khān Ikhtiyār Jang Bahādur at his ease, and also communicated his joy to Jīlānī Khān's wife with the following news: "Three thousand rupees will be sent to you today through my senior sister for the expenses of marriage. It is necessary to begin marriage celebrations from tomorrow and finish them early; for, the holy Muḥarram is fast approaching."

Then the Nawwāb left that place and went to the house of his second sister and congratulated them all. He called aside Nāṣiru'd-Dawla and hugged him with affection. He sent for eight thousand rupees from the treasury and sent three thousand rupees to Ghulām Jīlānī Khān, on behalf of his senior sister, through Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the *risāladār*, with instructions that everything should be got ready for the marriage and the celebration finished in the month of Dhu'l-ḥajj. He gave five thousand rupees to his younger sister with directions that

arrangements be made as quickly as possible and in such a manner that the *rasm* of *chawthī* be finished by the afternoon of the 29th of Dhu'l-ḥajj, and the bride be sent to her father's house before the crescent moon was sighted.

In accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb, Ghulām Jīlānī Khān made everything ready, and on the 22nd of Dhu'l-ḥajj commenced the marriage celebrations which were brought to an end as desired by the Nawwāb.

During these celebrations the Nawwāb shed lustre on the happy *majlis* twice by his presence. He visited the *mānja-khāna* of the bridegroom on the day of the *rasm* of *sānchaq* at the time of *rang-bāzī*, when a drop of coloured water fell on his *nīm-āstīn* of white *shāl*. Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur offered to wipe that off with his own robe. Immediately Nawwāb ṣāḥib doffed his *nīm-āstīn* along with contents of the pockets: *gaṛiyāl, ganj, muhr-i-jēbī*, about one hundred *hūn*, and made a present of the *nīm-āstīn* to Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. The Bahādur paid his obeisance for these gifts, put on the *nīm-āstīn* and paid *nadhr* to the Nawwāb. Next day the Nawwāb asked Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur to return the *muhr-i-jēbī* and keep the rest of the articles found in the pockets of *nīm-āstīn*. The Bahādur returned the *muhr* on which was inscribed the *naqsh-i-buddūḥ*.

On the eve of *shab-gasht* Nāwwāb ṣāḥib visited the house of his younger sister to inspect the arrangements in charge of Muḥammad Kifāyatullāh, an old servant of the *sarkār*, whose ancestors had served from the days of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Shahīd. He was in the service of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur and was appointed to assist Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur in this marriage. Muḥammad Kifāyatullāh managed everything with great economy and prudence, which pleased Nawwāb ṣāḥib very much. He invited Muḥammad Kifāyatullāh to the *mānja-khāna* and conferred on him the title *Najābat-Alī Khān Bahādur* and took *nadhr* from him.

When everything was made ready for *shab-gasht*, *sehra* was fastened to the bridegroom, in the presence of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, by Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur and Bahrām Jang Bahādur. The Nawwāb took the bridegroom in his company, went to the zenana, where the *rasm* of *sharbat-nōshī* was gone through. Then he came out with the bridegroom, made him sit on horse-back and sent him away. On the morning of *jalwa*, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the mother of the bridegroom, rode in a *mahādōl* along with her sisters' daughters, and went to the house of Ghulām Jīlānī Khān Ikhtiyār Jang Bahādur. At that time Nawwāb ṣāḥib also shed light on this house by his presence and returned to his happy residence after the completion of the ceremony.

'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba performed the *rasm* of *rūnumā'ī* and *salāmī*, and conducted the bride to her residence in a separate carriage in the company of Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam's daughter, her own niece and daughter-in-law. The two sisters of 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam who were present at her house for the marriage, gave presents to the bride on the occasion of *rūnumā'ī*. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba presented the bride with a *chānd sīsphūl* set with precious stones, and Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba with a *bāzū-band* adorned with jewels. The bride and bridegroom were sent to the bride's house on the 29th of Dhu'l-ḥajj where the ceremony of *chawthī* was gone through. Then 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam led them back to her own house, and sent away the bride alone to her father's house in the afternoon on that day. She conducted the bride to her own house on the 15th of Muḥarram.

Third Chapter.

The trip to the vine-yard, and the sea-shore; the dispatch of an 'arīẓa along with presents to the English King requesting him to recognise the claims of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, his son, to succeed to the throne after him; the sending away of the coffin of the late Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur to Natthanagar.

During the spring when the vine-yard yields good grapes, Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur arranged, in accordance with the desire of his sisters, to make everything ready for an excursion to the vine-arbour. One morning he made arrangements for purdah from the houses of his sisters as far as Nuṣrat-maḥall, Fatah-chawkī, and the courtyard where a pulley was fixed to draw sweet water contiguous to the vine-arbour. Then tents were pitched in the secluded area. He invited all the sisters and their dependants. The Nawwāb enjoyed himself. The sisters were much enlivened; they plucked fruits which were collected and distributed along with other kinds of fruits after the royal repast. The excursion lasted till noon. Nawwāb ṣāḥib presented every one with cash ranging from a rupee to five *ashrafī*, gave them all leave to depart and himself returned to Fatah-chawkī.

Section 1.

During the summer Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur one thousand rupees to get ready a thatched house on the sea-shore opposite to the sea gate contiguous to the house of his younger sister, in order that it might be useful on occasions of excursions to the sea. He was instructed to form plans for a lofty building with straw-covered roof, floor paved with bricks, walls painted in rose-coloured lime, rooms devised in a manner pretty to look at, extensive courtyards, and compound enclosed with bamboo tatty fitted in an elegant style. He was also to

arrange to furnish the house with carpets got from *farrāsh-khāna* and lights from *tablūr-khāna.*

In obedience to the order, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur got ready such a building and communicated the news of its completion to the Nawwāb. Nawwāb ṣāḥib and his sisters with their dependants visited that house every day at 11 A.M.; he took his afternoon dinner there with them all and then distributed fruits and presents. He stayed there till 8 o'clock in the night and then returned. This practice was continued for twenty days.

In the course of his trips to this new building every day, he was planning to send a letter to the English King in regard to the claims of Tāju'l-Umarā, his son, to succeed to the throne after him and was collecting a number of presents for the English King. He always consulted with Colonel Barrett Bahādur in this affair whether it might be sent to the English King (George III) through the exalted Prince (later on, George IV) the agent (Regent) to his majesty the English King.

When the Nawwāb had finished his collection of presents, he brought these to Fataḥ-chawkī. One evening he sat in the thatched house and invited Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur and a few other ministers to his presence. He sent for the boxes that contained all the articles collected at Fataḥ-chawkī; a pair of horses of good breed from the royal stable with trappings, and saddles fitted with *makhmal* and embroidery. He got ready a golden *nalka* for the letters. Among the gifts there were some set with precious stones and unbored pearls. These were packed in small boxes in the presence of a vakil, one of the English *sardārs.* The trappings were packed in big boxes. All these were locked, wrapped in wax-cloth and sealed. The Nawwāb went with the boxes containing precious gifts and letters as far as the boat, entrusted them to the vakil, while other boxes of gifts and horses were shipped in his presence. At the time of getting into the *suksāwan,*

Nawwāb ṣāḥib spoke thus to the officers: "This is a matter connected with long distance. It is not known whether the treacherous time will practise deceit. Allāh is the Preserver and Protector of all." Then he took leave of the officers and others and returned to his palace.

Section 2.

The Nawwāb made everything ready for sending the coffin of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur, his noble father, to Nattharnagar. On the morning of Thursday, the 3rd of Rabī'uth-thānī, 1213 A.H., the Nawwāb went to the house of Shāh Maḥmūd ṣāḥib Sāwī with the officers and got ready all the retinue. He gave orders to Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, and Ḥajī Ḥāfiẓ Maghribī ṣāḥib, thus: "Get the respectable coffin out of the tomb, bring it to the courtyard of the mosque and then send word to me. I shall be present when it is sent off to Nattharnagar."

In obedience to the order of the Nawwāb, Bahrām Jang Bahādur and others brought the coffin out of the tomb, filled the pit with wheat and dried flowers that were there and levelled it. They opened the coffin, perfumed it with *'itr* and other rich perfume, and rose water and closed it. They brought it to the courtyard of the mosque, and communicated the news to the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb went to the mosque. As soon as he saw the coffin, sorrowful tears trickled down his cheeks. He adorned the coffin with a cloth woven with golden threads, covered it with flowers, and placed it under a canopy supported on silver pillars. Then he sent the coffin in great state to the mosque in Sayyidābād, (Saidapet) followed by all nobles, *shaykhs*, *ḥāfiẓs*, *durūd-khwāns* of the *sarkār* as well as those in the employ of the daughters and widows of the late Nawwāb, and a large crowd. He also gave instructions thus:

"Keep the coffin in the mosque of Sayyidābād for two days till other arrangements are made ready for the journey and the

manzils are fixed. I shall go over there day after tomorrow about the time of *afternoon-prayer* and then send it."

Then the Nawwāb left that place, and visited the newly-built house of Mubāriz Jang Bahādur facing the sea and contiguous to the house of Shāh Maḥmūd ṣāḥib Sāwī. About 9 o'clock in the night the Nawwāb gave orders to lay the table and sent for trays of food brought from the houses of Shāh Maḥmūd ṣāḥib Sāwī, and Mubāriz Jang Bahādur. He had his dinner in the company of his nephews and some trustworthy companions and returned to Fatah-chawkī. He wrote from this place a *ḥukm-nāma*, with details in a list, in regard to the dispatch of the coffin, in the name of Bahrām Jang Bahādur. The list contained names of halting places *en route*, instructions to establish rest-houses at every stage for the comfort of travellers, and orders for the grant of four *kāni* of land as *inām* to every one of the rest-houses in these halting places. Next day he called Bahrām Jang Bahādur, gave him the list and a few thousands of rupees for expenses on the way and instructed him thus:

"Get two or three tents from the *farrāsh-khāna*, put the load on elephants and send them to Sayyidābād. The tents will be useful in the stages. Go to the mosque in Sayyidābād early in the morning and make everything ready for the journey. I shall go over there in the afternoon after dinner, and dispatch the coffin."

Bahrām Jang Bahādur carried out the instructions of the Nawwāb and reached Sayyidābād. Nawwāb ṣāḥib arrived at that place at the time of *afternoon-prayer* and dispatched the coffin to its destination. Bahrām Jang Bahādur was directed by the Nawwāb to pass along every *manzil* as per programme and to summon the troops of the English and the *sarkār* when the coffin reached the limits of Nattharnagar and then enter the fort gate followed by a large army. The Bahādur took leave of the Nawwāb and started on his journey.

During that period Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur was at Nattharnagar. As the news of the departure of Bahrām Jang Bahādur

with the coffin was already communicated to Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur, he went out of the fort with all *shaykhs*, *'ulamā*, and *fuẓalā* on the day of the arrival of the coffin and followed it as far as the entrance to the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Nattharwalī ṣāḥib and made arrangements for the burial to the right of the holy shrine, with the assistance of *shaykhs* and *'ulamā*. He made elaborate arrangements for *fātiḥa* on the 3rd, 10th, 20th, and 40th days after burial, and for the distribution of charities. Lighting arrangements were excellent on these occasions.

After the *fātiḥa* on the 40th day, Bahrām Jang Bahādur made all arrangements at the place as per instructions of the Nawwāb and returned to Madras. He appeared before the Nawwāb, and gave a continuous account of his journey to Nattharnagar and the burial of the coffin of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur. His dexterity and good will pleased the Nawwāb who presented him with a white *shāl* and a *rūmāl* from his own wardrobe.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

General Harris Bahādur pays a visit to the Nawwāb; Mīr 'Ālam Bahādur and his son seek an interview with the Nawwāb through General Harris Bahādur.

After the subjugation of the fort of Seringapatan and the death of Tippū Sulṭān Shahīd, the successor to the Bahādur well-known as Ḥaydar Naik, General Harris Bahādur[1] reached Madras and had an interview with Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā

(1) Lieut.-General George Harris succeeded Clarke in March, 1797, as Commander-in-chief of Madras. On the 21st February, 1798, he became provisional Governor and held that office until the arrival of Lord Clive in August, 1798. General Harris commanded the Madras army at Vellore in February 1799, against Tippū Sulṭān. The English army were joined by the Niẓām's army commanded by Mīr 'Ālam. On the 5th April, the allied forces appeared before Seringapatan, drove in the enemy's outposts, and began the siege. A month later, on the 4th May, the assault was delivered by General David Baird, and the fortified city was carried by storm with great slaughter of the defenders. Tippū Sulṭān shot through the head, was found amid a heap of slain. The standards of Mysore were brought to Fort St. George

Bahādur after obtaining permission to meet him at 11 A.M., on the 14th of Ṣafar 1214 A.H. The interview took place in the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall. General Harris jubilantly gave him a continuous account of the battle, the subjugation of the fort of Seringapatan, his own exertions, and attempts to master the enemy, and the endeavours of other *frang sardārs*. He also revealed the feelings of Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur to gain distinction by meeting the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb observed: "Success and victory for friends are equivalent to our success and victory which provide an occasion for our rejoicing. May Allāh, exalted be He, make this victory agreeable to you and all our friends." Then he took out ten *hun-kurk* from his pocket, and gave it to Bahrām Jang Bahādur directing him to purchase immediately sugar for that amount and distribute it. With regard to the meeting of Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur, Nawwāb ṣāḥib said: "I shall meet Mīr ʿĀlam after five or six days. I learn that he is affected with leprosy. I wish to meet him by the side of staircase to avoid giving him trouble. I shall send word to him two days before the date of meeting."

The Nawwāb presented General Harris with *pāndān*, *ʿiṭrdān*, *gulāb-pāsh* and bade him farewell. Then the Nawwāb spoke as follows to Bahrām Jang Bahādur with a tear-stained face: "It is a pity, a thousand pities, that a powerful Muslim ruler, a source of strength and power to the followers of the religion of Muḥammad, (peace be on him) has departed from this impermanent world to the everlasting abode. 'Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return.' The ten *hun-kurk* I gave you in the presence of General Harris for the purpose of purchasing and distributing sugar, was to show ostensibly my joy. But my real intention was that the amount should be

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by Lieut. Harris of the 74th Regiment, son of the Commander-in-Chief, and presented with great ceremony to the Governor-General.

See Henry Davison Love.—*Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. III, pp. 458-461.

distributed to *faqīrs* and *miskīns* in the name of that Sulṭān Shahīd for the benefit of his soul[1]."

Section 1.

A few days after General Harris' interview with the Nawwāb, Mīr 'Ālam[2] was asked to meet him. The *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall was furnished with carpets, lamps, and *shāmiyāna*. All the nobles and officers were instructed to put on white and clean robes and be present at the *dīwān-khāna* on Saturday, the 23rd of Ṣafar, 1214 A.H. The retinue also was ordered to be ready at the *dārū'l-amāra*. At about 7 o'clock on the appointed day, the Nawwāb arrayed himself in rich robes, came out with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur and other nephews, and all nobles, and spoke thus to Mubāriz Jang Bahādur and Bahrām Jang Bahādur:

"Owing to the kindness and favour of A'ẓamu'l-Umarā Mushīru'l-Mulk Bahādur and the endeavour and encouragement of Ḥashmat Jang Bahādur, the Resident[3] at Ḥaydarābād, Mīr

(1) *See* appendix C for the chronogram which gives the date of Tippū Sulṭān's death.

(2) Mīr 'Ālam (Sayyid Abu'l-Qāsim) represented the Niẓām's government at Calcutta in 1786 A.D. When Arisṭojāh A'ẓamu'l-Umarā, the minister of Niẓām 'Alī Khān was taken prisoner by the Mahrattas, Mīr 'Ālam acted as minister. He supported the cause of the East India Company against Tippū Sulṭān in Mysore between the years 1791 and 1799, and was present when Seringapatan was taken by the English. After a temporary eclipse Mīr 'Ālam succeeded Arisṭojāh as minister in 1804 and held that office till his death in 1808. He constructed the well-known lake, named after him, at Ḥaydarābād.

(3) Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick was the British Resident during the reign of Nawwāb Niẓām 'Alī Khān Bahādur (1761-1803). During the eight years (1797-1805) Colonel Kirkpatrick occupied the position of the Resident in Ḥaydarābād, he was very friendly with the Niẓām of Haydarābād and his Prime Minister named Arisṭojāh A'ẓamu'l-Umarā. Major Kirkpatrick lived in oriental magnificence. The Niẓām bestowed on him the title *Ḥashmat Jang* (magnificent in battle). He married a Muslim girl known as Khayrun-nisā Bēgam (excellent among women). His marriage with Khayrun-nisā Bēgam forms an interesting episode in the story of Anglo-Indian romance. Of this union were born two children, a son and a daughter. It was arranged with the mother's consent that the two children aged four and three years should go to England to be brought up there. They found an English home in the house of their paternal grandfather and afterwards with one of their cousins. They were, however, destined never to see their parents again, for a little later

Ālam attained high rank and supreme *manṣab* in the *darbār* of Āṣaf Jāh. He was appointed *fawjdār* to render assistance to the English troops at Seringapatan. He became victorious and is now on his way back to Ḥaydarābād. He expressed his desire through the Governor to meet me. He may have in view the customs prevalent in the *Āṣaf Jāhī darbār*. Perhaps he may not know the customary dignity pertaining to this *darbār*. By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, glory be to Him, and by means of the favours of Shāh Ālam Bahādur Pādshāh Ghāzī, the Emperor at Delhi, this government also ranks among other governments. This is a powerful state, for we are distinguished from others by the *manṣab*, i.e., *wizārat-i-ṣūbadār* of the *ṣūba* of the Carnatic. Therefore when Ḥamīdu'd-Dawla and Hādiu'd-Dawla reached Madras from Ḥaydarābād, during the reign of Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur, he kept in view his own rank and rendered to them civilities at the meeting according to their rank. There is no indication in what way Mīr Ālam intends to meet me. But he is afflicted with leprosy and this offers an excuse for meeting him by the side of the staircase."

Mubāriz Jang Bahādur and others submitted: "Your highness' idea is exceedingly nice."

The Nawwāb gave orders to put a couch of green *makhmal* for himself and three chairs opposite to the couch in *pēshdālān* verging on the edge of the carpet for his beloved son and others, ten chairs and another one for Colonel Barrett Bahādur behind the couch.

Major Kirkpatrick died in Calcutta (1805) and his Muslim widow returned and stayed at Ḥaydarābād. The name *Ṣāḥib Bēgam Bībī Ṣāḥiba* (our little princess and English lady), which her Indian mother had given her daughter, was changed into Catherine Aurora (better known as Kitty). She died at the age of 87 and left many children, while her brother died young leaving a widow with three children.

Kitty was the most fascinating of women and she has been enshrined in English literature. "She is the Kitty Kirkpatrick of Carlyle's 'Reminiscences' and the 'Blumine' of his Sartor Resartus." The famous Scott describes her in one place as "a half Begam: a semi-Oriental Englishwoman."

They arranged seats as per instructions and awaited the arrival of Mīr Ālam Bahādur. At about 9 o'clock the trooper brought the news that the conveyance of Mīr Ālam had entered Bāgh-i-khāss. Meanwhile, the conveyance arrived and it was followed by his retinue composed of retainers, *bāndārs*, *chōbdārs*, armed *jawāns*, *najīb*-troops, numbering about one hundred men. The retinue were left outside the gate of the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall. Only two *suksāwans* occupied by Mīr Ālam and Mīr Dawrān, his son, reached in front of the *dālān* of the big *dīwān-khāna* followed by his select companions, servants, *chōbdārs* and *bāndārs*. At the request of the Nawwāb, the *suksāwan* of Mīr Ālam was brought as far as the edge of the staircase near his own couch. When Mīr Ālam got down from his *suksāwan*, the Nawwāb rose, caught hold of the hand of the Bahādur, and conducted him up the stairs. Mīr Ālam observed all the formalities at the time of meeting the Nawwāb, who also embraced him after the oriental fashion, and requested him to take his seat. Then Mīr Ālam presented Mīr Dawrān, his son, to the Nawwāb. Mīr Dawrān submitted a *nadhr* of five *muhr* and thus took a pride in meeting the Nawwāb. Mīr Ālam sat on a couch near the Nawwāb, while Mīr Dawrān was seated on a chair. Then Mīr Ālam introduced some of his own companions to the Nawwāb, intimating to him the *manṣabs* held by each one of them. They all submitted *nadhr* to the Nawwāb. Among the companions of Mīr Ālam there was one who had the title *Bahrām Jang*. After the formal presentation of this companion of Mīr Ālam, Nawwāb ṣāḥib was silent for a while and then called Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur by his title *Bahrām Jang Bahādur* on the pretext of giving orders, but in reality to indicate that title to Mīr Ālam. Immediately Bahrām Jang, the companion of Mīr Ālam, thought that he was wanted by Nawwāb ṣāḥib and got up from his seat. The Nawwāb remarked: "I called my own Bahrām Jang Bahādur." Mīr Ālam smiled at this and also Nawwāb

ṣāḥib, who observed thus to Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur. "This Qādir Nawāz Khān, in my government also, is virtuous, intelligent, learned, affable and good-natured, and the title *Bahrām Jang* is conferred upon him." Bahrām Jang paid his obeisance to the Nawwāb. Mīr ʿĀlam submitted: "I have heard of the praiseworthy qualities and good disposition of this person, for everyone is loud in his praises."

Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib inquired about the war, the subjugation of the fort of Seringapatan, and other facts about Ḥaydarābād and spent about an hour in conversation on these topics. At the time of leave-taking the Nawwāb presented Mīr ʿĀlam with some trays: one set contained *dushāla* and *khilʿat*, and another *jawāhirāt*. There were also other gifts like *gaṛiyāl*, and *ganj* set with jewels, *mandīla*, and a *suksāwaṇ* made in England with the decorative design of a lion's mouth.

Three *suksāwans* were got from England during the time of Nawwāb Muḥammad ʿAlī Wālājāh Bahādur. Of these, one was presented by Nawwāb ʿUmdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and another to Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur. The Nawwāb got back the *suksāwan* of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and presented it to Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur.

Then the Nawwāb conferred dignity on Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur by offering to him *ʿiṭrdān*, *pāndān*, *gulāb* and flowers personally and bade him farewell. The Nawwāb sent to Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur in the afternoon fifty trays containing various dishes of food.

A week later Nawwāb ṣāḥib sent information of his return visit to Mīr ʿĀlam Bahādur. The Nawwāb started on the appointed day with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, and other nephews and some of the nobles. The Nawwāb was dressed out thus: a *jāma* of white *shāl*, a *rūmāl* tied to the *dastār*, a *Gusarati qamar-band* and a dagger with an embroidered handle stuck in it, a *mandīla* round his waist, an *ulṭ-band* of pea-green colour around the neck, and a sword, the hilt

of which was set with precious stones. Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and others who accompanied the Nawwāb put on rich dress as per instructions and joined the Nawwāb. He sent in advance armed *jawāns*, servants and Abyssinians. He drove a *chārat* drawn by twelve horses, with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, while his other nephews and some of the nobles drove in two *chārats*. They were followed by four female camels, fifty troopers, and a number of pipers and standard-bearers. They all went to the camp of Mīr Ālam Bahādur. As soon as the conveyance of the Nawwāb reached the camping ground, Mīr Ālam Bahādur descended from the upper storey and received the Nawwāb at the foot of the staircase. He took hold of the Nawwāb's hand, and conducted him to the upper storey furnished with carpets and chairs. The Nawwāb stayed there for about an hour. At the time of leave-taking Mīr Ālam Bahādur offered to the Nawwāb *'iṭr*, *pān* and *gulāb* personally, while Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur and other nephews of the Nawwāb were treated to *pān*, *'iṭr* and *gulāb* by Mīr Dawrān in person, and the nobles by Bahrām Jang, the companion of Mīr Ālam Bahādur. Then Mīr Ālam Bahādur accompanied the Nawwāb and his party when they descended from the upper storey and bade them farewell.

When Mīr Ālam Bahādur started back to Ḥaydarābād after some days, the Nawwāb sent him some trays containing food, and provisions for the journey.

PART IV.

First Chapter.

Miscellaneous incidents in the reign of the Nawwāb; trips to the Pulimādavaram tank, Maḥbūb-bāgh belonging to Iftikhārud-Dawla Bahādur, and Frangikonda and its hill; the illness of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur; the arrival of Nawwāb Ḥusāmul-Mulk Bahādur from Nattharnagar to inquire after him.

Every year on the 6th of the holy Muḥarram, Nawwāb ṣāḥib changed his usual dress and put on green garments. He tied *langar-i-mannat* round his loins in the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba. Then in the afternoon he started from there with Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur and some other servants followed by his own retinue and a crowd of *faqīrs* to the house opposite to the big gate in Bāgh-i-kalān where the banner of 'Alī was installed with great ceremony on the night of the first of Muḥarram and kept on flying till the tenth of that month. During the night the Nawwāb made arrangements for the passage of the zenana to the place where the banner of 'Alī was installed and went with Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and some of his own ladies. He kept the *langar* there and paid *nadhr*. On the following days Nawwāb ṣāḥib went there sometimes with ladies and sometimes with officers. He paid *nadhr* and said *fātiḥa*.

Section 1.

Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, after obtaining permission from the Nawwāb, arranged to decorate the *dīwān-khāna* of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur and kept it ready for the birthday celebrations of the Nawwāb from the 20th to the 24th of the

holy Muḥarram. She distributed trays containing various dishes of food and special *khilʿat* to nearest relatives and officers like Bahrām Jang Bahādur through her servants. At 11 A.M. on the 25th of Muḥarram the *rasm* of *rang* was gone through; in the afternoon she weighed the Nawwāb in the zenana. Then in the evening she got up a festive *majlis* to celebrate the event.

On the occasion of the birthday celebrations of Nawwāb Muḥammad ʿAlī Wālajāh Bahādur, it was the custom to fire a salute of guns in proportion to the age of the Nawwāb. But Nawwāb ʿUmdatuʾl-Umarā Bahādur dropped this custom because his senior sister prevented him from observing it, as unpropitious, a salute of guns in proportion to the number of years completed being usually fired for the dead. Instead of that he ordered that a salute of 21 guns be fired in the morning before the ceremony and another salute of 21 guns in the evening after the completion of the ceremony.

On his birthday, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the Nawwāb ordered for one hundred trays containing various dishes of food to be brought to Nuṣrat-maḥall, invited his nephews, nobles and nearest relatives and entertained them in his presence. After the ceremony was gone through, he took *nadhr* in the zenana from his brothers and sisters; sometimes he received *nadhr* from a few at Fataḥ-chawkī, and sometimes in the green-chair room. He permitted some to submit the *nadhr* to Tājuʾl-Umarā Bahādur and some to pay it at the house of his senior sister.

Section 2.

Bahrām Jang Bahādur dispatched, as usual, on the 7th of Safar, tents, carpets and such other things, culinary articles, men connected with each work and guards to the *dargāh* of Pīr Pahlawān ṣāḥib. He went there in person on the 8th of that month, arranged to pitch tents on the sea-coast,

decorate the place, and get ready provisions, and then communicated the news to Nawwāb ṣāḥib. The Nawwāb started to that place with his sons, nephews and trustworthy servants at 6 o'clock in the morning of the 10th. Bahrām Jang Bahādur made everything ready for the breakfast in the big tent and awaited the arrival of the royal party. The Nawwāb arrived at 7 o'clock and had breakfast with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and others. After this, other men partook of the food in the big tent. The Nawwāb went to the *dargāh* at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, offered *fātiḥa*, paid five hundred rupees as *nadhr* and went back to his tent. He had his afternoon meal there and then returned to his palace.

Section 3.

Similarly Bahrām Jang Bahādur sent, on the 7th of Jumadiu'l-awwal, tents, all culinary articles, and other things necessary for the *'urs* of Budū Shahīd ṣāḥib (peace be on him) in the *bāgh* of Frangikonda. Next day he went there in person, arranged to pitch tents and decorate them and awaited the arrival of Nawwāb ṣāḥib. On the 9th, the English guards in that place were appointed to guard the tents. Nawwāb ṣāḥib arrived there in his *chārat* accompanied by the same men who were with him in his trip to the *dargāh* of Pīr Pahlawān ṣāḥib. The party halted at the *bāgh* of the commander in that place.

As soon as Nawwāb ṣāḥib entered the limits of Frangikonda, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Nawwāb ṣāḥib met the commander and had tea with him. Then he reached his own tent and had breakfast. He sent away the children for a ramble round the hill of Frangikonda. He also went out, and in the course of the walk he gave presents to the *pādrī* of the place. At about 12 o'clock, the commander paid a return visit to the Nawwāb. After he went away the Nawwāb sent to him at dinner time some trays containing fruits and various dishes

of food. In the afternoon he went by *suksāwan* to the *dargāh* of Budū Shahīd with his beloved son and some officers, followed by armed *jawāns*, *bāndārs* and pipers. He offered *fātiḥa*, with five hundred rupees as *nadhr* and returned to his tent. He distributed *bhatta* to all children, the English guards, his own companions and men in different works according to rank. He had his dinner and returned home at the time of *afternoon-prayer*, when a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The total amount of expenditure on these trips was about eight thousand rupees.

Section 4.

The Nawwāb used to send to Dādē Shāh ṣāḥib every month a sum of one hundred and twenty-five rupees for the purpose of offering *fātiḥa* to Maḥbūb Ṣubḥānī with all formality on the 11th of each month. He granted to Dādē Shāh ṣāḥib every year one-hundred and twenty-five *hun* to meet the expenses for the *'urs* celebrated on the 11th of the month of Rabī'uth-thānī. In the course of his morning drive Nawwāb ṣāḥib would attend the *'urs* celebrating the anniversary of Ashraf Shāh ṣāḥib whose respectable remains were interred in a tomb on the way to the spring in Mylapore, known as the Great Spring. He offered *fātiḥa* with one hundred and twenty-five rupees as *nadhr* and returned home. The Nawwāb had great faith in that saint. Likewise, the Nawwāb attended in the course of his morning drive, the *'urs* celebrating the anniversary of Fattāḥ Shāh ṣāḥib whose holy tomb was contiguous to the cathedral mosque in Muthialpet, and offered *fātiḥa* with one hundred and twenty-five rupees as *nadhr*.

Section 5.

Generally during summer Nawwāb ṣāḥib fixed upon the house of his senior sister to enjoy the sight of the full moon, when he would gather his sisters and others. One day he said

to his senior sister thus: "Tomorrow is the full-moon day. I wish to enjoy the sight for two or three days. It behoves on you to arrange to clean the *ṣaḥn* and *dālān* of your house, to furnish them with *chāndnī-farsh* of immaculate white colour, and to instruct singers and other guests to dress themselves in white robes for the occasion. You should send invitations to other sisters, and their children Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur and Naṣīru'l-Mulk Bahādur. They must also be dressed in white robes for the occasion. Maid servants also should be present, as usual. Trays full of flowers like *mōgrā* and *shabbo* must be got ready, and also bowls.

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba got ready every thing as per instructions of the Nawwāb. Nawwāb ṣāḥib went to her house at about 8 o'clock in the night, and sat in the *saḥn* till 12 o'clock busying himself in playing various games with his brothers, sisters and nephews. Silver coins were scattered on all sides. One day he seated all his sisters and others present in a circle round the edge of the carpet with a little space between one other. He also sat with them. Then he sent for some pillows and said: "Pass these pillows quickly from one hand to another without allowing them to fall on the ground. Whoever fails to catch, will be loaded with all the pillows and punished. Now, I shall begin the game." This game lasted for about an hour.

Sometimes Sayfu'd-Dawla, Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla, Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān, Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khān, Sarfarāz Khān, Shahsawār Jang, also took part in this game.

One day after the games the Nawwāb sent for a small box containing old silver coins, from Fataḥ-chawkī and told his brothers and sisters thus: "Each one should take out a handful of these coins and place them before me. I shall find out which hand brought out more coins." Each tried his hand at that. It was found when counted up that no hand took out more than forty rupees. Then the Nawwāb himself took a handful and

counted up. There were fifty-one rupees. He smiled sweetly and said, "Praise be to Allāh: My palm is the palm that has the ability to rule, because it is the broadest, biggest and most extensive of all hands." He thanked Allāh for that. He increased the amount of coins taken out by his nephews, sisters and brothers in the ratio of one to two, one to three, and one to five respectively; for example, if ten rupees had been taken out by his nephew, he added twenty rupees and made it thirty; thirty rupees were added to the ten rupees taken out by his sister, to make forty; fifty rupees was added to the ten rupees taken out by his brother, to make sixty. He added ten rupees for every rupee taken out by him and distributed the whole amount among the guests, attendants and musicians.

Generally during the moon-light night, the Nawwāb, in compliance with the wishes of his sisters, took them in a royal *chārat* drawn by four horses, Tāju'l-Umarā, Ra'īsu'l-Umarā and others in one *chārat*, and his nieces and other relatives in another *chārat*. They started from the palace of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam at 9 o'clock in the night followed by two *pahras*. Some horses marched to the right, some to the left, and some in front as per regulations. In this manner they went sometimes to the tank in Sayyidābād, and at other times to the tank in Nungambakkam. He gave orders to the *pahras* that they should vacate the people in those areas; then he got down from the *chārat* with his sisters and went on foot enjoying the tamasha in the tanks. He spent about two hours in this manner. He started back at about 11 o'clock, came to the house of his senior sister, and bid them all farewell, while he rested for the night either at the house of his sister or at Fatah-chawkī.

Sometimes he gave orders to pitch tents either on the side of the sea, or in other *bāghs*. He made arrangements for the seclusion of the area with *qannāt* and *sarācha* and then went there with his sisters. He also invited Sayfu'l-Mulk

Bahādur, the sons of his sisters and brothers, and fixed daily *bhatta* of one *hūn* for each of them. After dinner in the afternoon, he arranged to pitch tents on the broad portions of the *ṣaḥn*. He went out for a walk that side for a while, then sat on a chair and said: "I wish to have a test in running race: two of you must stand shoulder to shoulder and then run." In this race Sayfu'd-Dawla was matched with Majdu'd-Dawla, I'tizādu'd-Dawla with Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla, Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla with Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla, Ra'īsu'l-Umarā with Nāṣiru'd-Dawla, and Tāju'l-Umarā with Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān. Some of these were well matched, and some were not. When Nawwāb ṣāḥib girded up his loins and contested with Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, the Nawwāb won the race. He asked his sisters also to race with some one. But they put forth lame excuses and did not compete. Then he called other ladies present and made them run in a pair. He told Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur thus: "I shall compete with the children in running. When we stand shoulder to shoulder, give the command to run, making a loud noise so that starting may be simultaneous with the command." Thus Nawwāb ṣāḥib had race with children but none went ahead of the Nawwāb though some kept pace with him, while many lagged behind. After the game the Nawwāb distributed presents to every one according to rank through his senior sister.

Section 6.

Nawrōz was celebrated every year in the house of his senior sister, who, in obedience to the order of the Nawwāb, got ready all things necessary for making merry, namely, eggs worked with gold and silver and such other works in different colours. She got ready the royal repast in her own house. Nawwāb ṣāḥib gathered all his sisters, brothers and their children at dinner time and dined with them all. Then he made them play with eggs. Sometimes he himself took part in the

game. At other times he amused himself in *panja-kashī* with boys, and also wrestling with them in jest. The boys placed their hands underneath his and said: "Our strength is not equal to yours". The Nawwāb was very much pleased at this remark and gave them all presents.

Section 7.

Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, in compliance with the wishes of his sisters, made up his mind to go on an excursion to the Pulimādavaram tank. He sat on the green chair and wrote a *ḥukm-nāma* to Bahrām Jang Bahādur giving all details in regard to the arrangements for the journey. He summoned the Bahādur, gave him the *ḥukm-nāma* with the following instructions.

"Get a sum of five thousand rupees from the treasury with the help of Colonel Barrett Bahādur for expenses of the trip, and make very good arrangements for the journey in about five or six days. Take with you requisite things from *farrāsh-khāna, bāwarchī-khāna,* and *tablūr-khāna,* arrange to pitch tents in suitable places behind the *bāgh* of the Governor near the tank and furnish them with carpets and other things. Order Riẓāyār Khān, the *bakhshī,* to keep ready there five hundred armed *jawāns,* fifty troopers, besides *risāladārs* and commandants; direct Muḥammad Riẓā, the *kotwāl* of Tirmalkaṛī to send there about twenty shops including corn-chandlers who deal in different kinds of corn, and others who deal in other necessary things. I shall camp out there with ladies and others for about a week or ten days and none should have any difficulty for provisions. God willing, send information to me after making everything ready. Then I shall arrive there with the ladies. All the officers, *'ilāqadārs* of the *sarkār* and servants of all grades must be enjoined strictly not to cause any kind of damage to the Governor's *bāgh* or the *bāghs*

of other *sardārs*; severe punishment will be inflicted on those who disobey this order."

In obedience to the order, Bahrām Jang Bahādur conveyed all things necessary for arranging the camp. He also sent Riẓāyār Khān, the *bakhshī*, with an army, and the *kotwāl* with shops. Then he went to Pulimādavaram and carried out the instructions of the Nawwāb by erecting tents, and establishing shops in suitable places. He posted guards to ensure safety in every place. Then he sent information to the Nawwāb about the completion of all arrangements.

The Nawwāb sent another *ḥukm-nāma* in the name of Bahrām Jang Bahādur with the following contents:

"If the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur, the sons of Madāru'l-Mulk Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur my brother, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur or any other relative reach that place before my arrival, you must receive them and provide accommodation thus: Iftikhāru'd-Dawla and Amīru'd-Dawla in one tent; the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur and the sons of Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur in one tent. If some of my other relatives come, accommodate them in one tent. All these tents must be erected outside the boundary of the tents of the *sarkār*, near your tent. One big tent should be erected opposite to mine to serve as dining hall. Five or six tents and some *bechōba* must be got ready to the right of my tent for Tāju'l-Umarā, Rā'īsu'l-Umarā and other nephews and arrangements made to send *tōras* of food twice to the ladies. You must keep ready on the day of my arrival fifty trays containing various dishes to be sent to the Governor at the time of mid-day meal."

Bahrām Jang Bahādur attended to every detail and sent information of it to the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb gave orders to Sālār Jang Bahādur thus: "God willing, I intend to go on an excursion to the Pulimādavaram

tank with the ladies tomorrow at 6 o'clock. I shall camp there for about ten days. Please stay at Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ night and day,and get news of the welfare of the widows of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur, family of my sisters and others, written in detail by the clerk of the *dīwān-i-khāṣṣ*, and send it on to me daily through the camel-messengers."

Riẓā Nawāz Khān was given the following instructions: "You must supervise the guards placed at the *chawkī*, the gates of Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ and palaces and be present near Colonel Barrett Bahādur. You should also enquire all news about *kachahrī* and other places, and get it written by Lachman Prasad, the *munshī*, with the knowledge of Colonel Barrett Bahādur. You must find out from him whether any letter or message has been received from the Governor of Madras and send it to me along with other news through Sālār Jang Bahādur."

Nāwwāb ṣāḥib gave the following order also to Sālār Jang Bahādur: "The sons of Nawwāb Maḥammad Ālī Wālājāh Bahādur, the son of Madāru'l-Mulk Bahādur, and some other children also have permission to go to Pulimādavaram. If they apply for carriages it is necessary that you give them each a *suksāwan* with a *bhū'ī* and an armed *jawān* and send them off before I start."

After these instructions the Nawwāb went to the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam at dinner time and had his food. Then he spoke thus after dinner:

"Bahrām Jang Bahādur, in a short while, made everything ready for the trip to the tank. He has erected tents in different places for the use of zenana and *mardāna*. Tents for various works have also been erected. I have received an *'arẓī* from him on the subject. God willing, I propose to start with the ladies day after tomorrow morning before sunrise, and wish to camp there for about ten days. I had already sent to you two thousand rupees through Taqī Ālī Khān Bahādur. You

must distribute the amount in the following manner: 600 rupees to two sisters, 150 rupees to the second sister, 150 rupees to your daughter, and 100 rupees to each of the daughters-in-law. They should be instructed to arrange for carriages for their use as well as for their guests, get provisions ready and reach your palace at the time of *sun-set prayer* tomorrow so that we might all start together the following morning. You need not provide for Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and others. I have supplied them with necessaries."

Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam distributed the sum as per directions of the Nawwāb. All the ladies assembled in her house at the appointed time. During the last part of the night of the 24th of Rabī'uth-thānī, 1215 A.H., Nawwāb ṣāḥib started with all of them to Pulimādavaram.

Bahrām Jang Bahādur who was in charge of the arrangements in the camp, sent *tōrahs* of food, got ready over night, to the ladies, sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur and the nobles who had arrived at Pulimādavaram earlier. He also gave instructions to the *dārugha* of the kitchen that he should send *tōrahs* of food to Nawwāb ṣāḥib and his companions after their arrival. Then at about 7 o'clock in the morning Bahrām Jang Bahādur rode his horse followed by troopers and armed *jawāns* and other *julūs*, and went an hour's distance in advance to welcome the Nawwāb.

At about 9 o'clock the carriage of the Nawwāb, followed by a large retinue, came in view. Bahrām Jang Bahādur dismounted from horse-back and submitted eleven rupees as *nadhr*. He respectfully told him all the details: the arrival of the ladies, the arrangement for various works and the completion of every item of work entrusted to him. The Nawwāb was very much pleased with him. He applauded him, commended his merits and presented him with a green *rumāl-shāl*, and *nīm-āstīn* from his own wardrobe. Bahrām Jang Bahādur submitted twenty-one rupees as *nadhr* for these honours and paid obeisance. Then

he followed the Nawwāb's *suksāwan* walking a little distance representing important details for his consideration. Then the Nawwāb said, "I have an engagement with Lord Clive Bahādur;[1] I shall meet him and then come to the camp. You mount on horse and follow me."

Nawwāb ṣāḥib arrived at the garden of the Governor with his followers and had breakfast with him. He went round to see the garden at the request of the Governor. The garden was full of mango trees and grafted varieties of the best quality, and other kinds of fruit trees, sandal-trees, clovetree, nutmeg, and different kinds of flowers, English as well as Indian. The Nawwāb was delighted to see the garden and said to the Governor thus:—

"I have not seen such wonderful trees in my life. You have afforded me an opportunity to see this marvel."

The Governor ṣāḥib said, "The cultivation of these trees in this country is an arduous task, because the soil and climate are not quite suitable. I got these trees after great endeavour and planted them. I supervised the work with great care and thus got ready this *sayrgāh*. The mango trees have begun to yield this year; they will attain their full growth in a short period.

"I hope for favours from your highness. The encampment of the *sarkār* is contiguous to the *bāgh* of this humble servant. Your officers may be enjoined strictly not to cause any kind of damage to the garden." Immediately Nawwāb ṣāḥib gave orders to Bahrām Jang Bahādur that he should attend to this matter. Then the Nawwāb got into a boat with the Governor and spent about an hour in boat excursion. When he alighted from the boat he gave a present of fifty rupees to the footmen

(1) Edward Clive, son of the first Lord Clive, was born in 1754 He succeeded to his father's Irish Barony in 1774, and sat in the House of Commons until he was, at the age of forty, created a peer of England as Baron Clive of Walcot. On Lord Hobarts' recall Clive was appointed Governor of Madras, and he reached the Presidency on the 31st August, 1798.

and others through Bahrām Jang Bahādur, bid farewell to the Governor and reached the encampment.

He inspected the tents erected in different places for men and women and was delighted with the arrangements. He went into the zenana, and spent about an hour in conversation with his sisters. Then he came out, enquired about the name of the occupant of each tent and went into his own tent. He called Bahrām Jang Bahādur and expressed delight in his knowledge of business and knack of doing things adroitly, applauded him and said: "You must be at this place as long as I camp here and attend to all the work. There is the *tamlar* treasury in my tent. Get the key from the guard through Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and take out money for necessary expenses. Send 350 rupees everyday to my senior sister for the expenses of the ladies and keep the remaining amount for expenses of the kitchen, and payment of *bhatta* and gratuities to men as per my *ḥukm-nāma*. You must send everyday, morning and evening, at the appointed time *tōrahs* of food for the royal repast, and for the repast of the ladies, nobles and others according to rank. Other officers of the *sarkār* should be served food in the big tent in our presence. You must be attentive to other duties as well. If the tents are not adequate in number, write to Colonel Barrett Bahādur for more. I shall also send orders in regard to this."

Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm was ordered thus: "If Bahrām Jang Bahādur requires money for expenses of the *sarkār* and asks for the key of the *tamlar* treasury kept with us, you must get him the key from the guard and let him take from it the sum needed; the account must be entered in the *daftar* of Lala Lachman Prasad."

Meanwhile a *suksāwān* carrying the private money of the Nawwāb and a cart carrying the *tamlar* treasury reached the Nawwāb's tent from Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ with Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the *risāladār*, Shaykh Imām the *jamadār* and two armed guards acting as escorts. The Nawwāb gave orders to

leave the *suksāwan* behind the *masnad* and near his own *suksāwan*, and the cart carrying the *tamlar* treasury in the *ṣaḥn* of the tent opposite to his own, and appointed a trooper to guard these.

Next morning he breakfasted with his sons at about 8 o'clock. Then he made arrangements for the *pardah* and went with the ladies to see the indigo factory and silk farm which were contiguous to his encampment. The silk worms were reared in rooms fitted with glass-cases and fed on mulberry leaves. He spent two or three hours in seeing the tamasha. He presented the workmen in these two places with one hundred rupees and returned with the ladies to the tents. He spent the whole day in *shikār* or other recreation.

At 10 o'clock in the night the Nawwāb invited to his tent Tāju'l-Umarā, Ra'īsu'l-Umarā, Majdu'd-Dawla, I'timādu'l-Mulk, Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān, Nāṣiru'd-Dawla and the writer of this chronicle, and asked them to sleep there. I'tizādu'd-Dawla did not come with this party because of his illness. Therefore the Nawwāb, before he started on this trip, drew his attention to the care of his health, and presented him with three hundred rupees and a gold *gaṛiyāl*. He also deputed a trooper to report to him about the condition of his health. The trooper inquired about the condition of the patient from Maliku'l-ḥukama Aḥmadullāh Khān, and reported the news to the Nawwāb at about 11 o'clock.

Every morning the Nawwāb went through the ablution and finished his usual religious duties by 7 A.M. Then he had breakfast in his tent with his son and busied himself in playing chess with Abū Ṭālib Khān and a Brahman Acharya. At about 10 o'clock he went to the tent of his sister and distributed presents in the zenana. Sometimes he listened there to the music of *mīrāṯhiyān* and other singers. He returned to his own tent at about 12 o'clock and smoked *qalyān* and found recreation in reading history and anthologies for about an hour. Then

he took a nap. He woke up at about 2 o'clock, spoke in a humourous vein with his sons, and Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān and Dargāh Qulī Khān, and distributed fruits to ladies and others. He visited his sister's tent after 3 P.M. and had his dinner there. When he came out after dinner, he arranged sometimes for the tamasha of *pahlawāns* or he got into a *suksāwan* and went with his sons and companions to different gardens in that area. He spent thus an hour or two, purchasing fruits available in the gardens. He distributed half the quantity to all those present there and sent the other half to the ladies. He granted presents to gardeners and watchmen and returned to his own tent.

Sometimes Nawwāb ṣāḥib got into his *nālkī* at the time of *afternoon-prayer* and made an excursion to the lake while his sons rode in *suksāwans*. One day during his trip to the lake, he went near the Governor's garden when he saw a gardener standing in the middle of the road. He held in his hands two very big unripe mangoes and was demanding justice saying thus: "Some one in the employ of the *sarkār* had plucked these two mangoes from the Governor's garden; when this slave attracted his attention, he threw away the mangoes and took to his heels. This slave pursued him demanding an explanation of this unjust act which was contrary to the orders of the Nawwāb. The offender talked abusively and ran away. Therefore this servant is on his way seeking the presence of your highness for redress. I hope that justice will be done. Your highness may be pleased to issue orders to hold an enquiry, catch the culprit and punish him severely." After listening to this well-founded complaint Nawwāb ṣāḥib was very much roused. He left one of the *jawāns* who followed him with instructions to come with the gardener and present him at the camp.

The Nawwāb reached his encampment in the evening. He summoned Bahrām Jang Bahādur and spoke to him in great anger thus: "I had repeatedly told you at the request of the Governor that you should proclaim that none should cause any

damage to or ravage the garden of the Governor or other *sardārs*. Who is this shameful man who plucked two big mangoes from the garden of the Governor, abused the gardener, and ran away, leaving him in the middle of the road to complain to me? What have I to say to the Governor?"

The Bahādur replied thus while his face had a shrunken look: "As soon as I received the orders I announced publicly that if any one behaved contrary to the orders of the Nawwāb he would be punished severely. Every one, from the young to the old, is aware of that order which was repeated frequently. Despite this, a shameless fellow had done this work which the Nawwāb had prohibited." In the course of this discussion the *jawān* arrived there with the gardener who brought the mangoes.

The Nawwāb directed Bahrām Jang Bahādur to inquire into this matter and report to him. The Bahādur called the gardener and enquired about the name and other particulars about the culprit. The gardener replied, "I do not know the name, but he may be described as a lean man wearing a *jāma* with a fine *dastār*." Bahrām Jang Bahādur narrated to the Nawwāb the particulars about the miscreant which he gathered from the gardener. The Nawwāb said: "When the gardener complained to me, the names of the son of Madāru'l-Mulk Bahādur and the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh Bahādur passed over my mind. Now it appears from the description of the gardener that it may not be the son of Madāru'l-Mulk Bahādur but it may be the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh Bahādur." Then he summoned Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. He had already got information of the Nawwāb's wrath, and went before him in great dread. On his way he knocked against a tent-rope and fell down. As his great toe was injured, he had to limp and thus reached the presence of the Nawwāb. The Nawwāb said, "Perhaps you may know who went to the garden of the Governor and plucked the

mangoes." He replied, "I am not aware of such an incident. If I had known it, I would have spoken the truth. This slave had never been that side. If it is proved by the gardener and the witnesses that I am the offender, then this slave deserves punishment." Nawwāb ṣāḥib believed in his statement. He noticed that Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was struck with extreme fear. Nawwāb ṣāḥib called him by his side, embraced him and comforted him thus: "Be at ease! I heard that the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur frequently visited the gardens. The particulars supplied by the gardener indicate that it may be the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur." Then he directed Aʿẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur thus: "Go and fetch immediately the sons of Nawwāb Muḥammad Alī Wālājāh Bahādur. Take my carriage; *jamaʿdār* also will follow you." He came back with them in a short while. The Nawwāb told Qawī Jang Bahādur and Sher Jang Bahādur thus: "The Governor's gardener suspects that you plucked the mangoes. If you did that, speak the truth." They were struck with awe and replied: "This crime was not committed by us. We never heard about that garden nor do we know where the Governor's garden is. If we are found guilty then we deserve censure and severe punishment." The Nawwāb replied, "By God! Immediately after I ascertain the truth, I shall imprison the offender and nothing shall stand in the way." He ordered thus: "Get the gardener, let him identify them." When the gardener came, Nawwāb ṣāḥib told him thus: "You must not have regard for any one in this group. Whoever he may be, point him out without any anxiety." The gardener looked at them one by one and submitted: "This slave can easily discover the offender, for the face will point out the crime. But the offender is not in this group. It is certain that he will be found out with the help of your highness' favour." Then the Nawwāb gave orders to Bahrām Jang Bahādur that he should appoint one commandant and four armed *jawāns* with instructions to go to

every tent with the gardener and discover the offender. If the offender was pointed out by the gardener he was to be dragged to the Nawwāb's presence without any fear or anxiety.

Therefore the commandant, *jawāns* and the gardener proceeded from tent to tent. The gardener was able to identify the offender. He was Ali Mardān. This Ali Mardān had the title *Nuṣrat Ali Khān*. He was a person of rank, one of the old servants of the *sarkār* in the employ of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur. He was sitting in the tent of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur busy in a game of chess, while his master was in the zenana. As soon as the gardener pointed out Nuṣrat Ali Khān, the *jawāns* dragged him before the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb was wild with excitement; he did not inquire about his case, but directed the orderlies thus: "Tie the hands of this disgraceful man together to his *dastār*, and beat him." In obedience to that order Nuṣrat Ali Khān was severely beaten. The Nawwāb said, "O! Disgraceful man! Don't you know me? Didn't you understand my order? Didn't you dread to face my anger? Did you trifle with my command? As you sow, you will reap. If my beloved son or some one from among the nobles had committed this crime, I should have fettered him and whipped him." He gave the whip to Bahrām Jang Bahādur and said: "Ask this shameful wretch why he plucked the mangoes; if he speaks the truth, good; otherwise beat him till he confesses his guilt."

Nuṣrat Ali Khān was fettered and imprisoned in the *maykāt*. The Nawwāb said to Bahrām Jang Bahādur "This is a disgraceful man, a despicable person. By God! I don't wish to show mercy to him. It is necessary that he should be kept in confinement the whole night and sent tomorrow morning to the jail in the *bāgh*. Let the *risāladār* be instructed to load him quickly with more heavy fetters and lead him captive to the fort of Chandragiri in the prison-van with two armed guards and one

ḥawaldār; the gardener be presented with fifty rupees, and instructed not to inform the Governor of this incident." Bahrām Jang Bahādur gave the gardener money and advised him not to inform the Governor of the incident. Then Nawwāb ṣāḥib expressed himself thus: "There is none to equal Tāju'l-Umarā and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā in social rank and high station. Yet if this offence were committed by either of these I would have meted out the same punishment to him without any scruple. This bastard! What did he think of himself? Why did he act contrary to my command? He got the punishment for his offence."

Meanwhile Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur returned to his tent and learnt the details from his companions. He went before Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba weeping out, and related to her every detail about Nuṣrat Ālī Khān. About an hour later Nawwāb ṣāḥib visited the tent of his elder sister and spoke furiously against Nuṣrat Ālī Khān. The sisters submitted, "Well, the unworthy person deserves more severe punishment. As your highness is merciful and generous, severer punishment is not inflicted upon him."

These remarks appeased the anger of Nawwāb ṣāḥib to a great extent. The sisters got some women who were adepts in pleasantry and could talk wittily, and introduced them to the Nawwāb. These women engaged him in pleasant conversation exciting laughter and mirth and thus removed completely the rust of anger formed on the mind of the Nawwāb. He returned to his tent in about an hour, spoke as usual to Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān and Dargāh-Qulī Khān and then retired to rest.

Next day after breakfast Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur went before the Nawwāb weeping out as per instructions from his mother and aunt. He fell on the feet of the Nawwāb and succeeded in obtaining pardon for Nuṣrat Ālī Khān who was then released from imprisonment. The Khān, out of the consci-

ousness of the sense of shame, left Madras in a short while for other cities.

The Nawwāb stayed in the camp till the 1st of Jumādiu'l-awwal, 1215 A.H. He returned to town with the ladies on the 2nd of that month. Thousands of rupees were spent on this excursion.

Section 8.

Some days later, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur formed plans to give a feast to Nawwāb ṣāḥib and ladies in Maḥbūb-bāgh.

This *bāgh* belonged to Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur and was situated on the way to Mylapore near the *bāgh* of Sir George Henry Kalam.[1] It was purchased by Sharafu'l-Umarā Anwāru'd-Dawla Bahādur at a later time.

After the Nawwāb accepted the invitation, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur decorated the entire *bāgh* beautifully. He got tents from the *sarkār* and erected them in suitable places at the back of the garden. When he made everything ready, he screened the garden from the public view on the 9th of Shawwāl, 1215 A.H. He bought fruits from the bazaar, arranged half of them in trays, while he fastened the remaining fruits to the genus of trees to which they belonged in a manner not to appear unnatural but to give the semblance that they hung naturally from the branches. Then he requested the Nawwāb to shed lustre on his garden by his presence and look at the *bāgh* and the fruits on the trees. In response to the invitation Nawwāb ṣāḥib shed light on the *bāgh* by his presence with his sisters and other dependents. He spent two days there enjoying the tamasha. Twice in a day thirty trays of food were sent for the royal repast at the appointed time. A large quantity of food was sent into the zenana and the *mardāna*. *Zunnārdār, bhu'ī,* and others in the employ of the *sarkār* were given *bhatta* allowed for them by the *sarkār*. This trip lasted for two days. Nawwāb ṣāḥib presented his sisters with two thousand rupees for expenses.

(1) This person has not so far been identified.

The Nawwāb, before leaving the garden on the 11th of Shawwāl, 1215 A.H., presented Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur with one thousand rupees and permitted him to play *nawbat*, to maintain, besides a guard in uniform, a trooper who would follow his *sawārī* in taluks, and to play *tambūr* at the time of taking leave of the Nawwāb as also on occasions of his return from the taluks. Then the Nawwāb returned to his palace with his sisters.

Section 9.

As Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba was suffering from palpitation of the heart, Nawwāb ṣāḥib decided to go to Frangikonda and its hill, and stay there for five or six days. He gave orders to Bahrām Jang Bahādur thus: "Send some tents to Frangikonda and arrange to erect three or four tents in the garden of the *sarkār* and one big tent up the hill; request Colonel Barrett Bahādur to write a letter to the Colonel in charge at Frangikonda asking him to place guards around the tents for a period of one week, the period of my stay there; obtain from Colonel Barrett Bahādur six thousand rupees for immedate expenses pertaining to the kitchen and other works, and more money from Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm in case that six thousand rupees is not sufficient."

Bahrām Jang Bahādur made everything ready and communicated the news to the Nawwāb. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba in accordance with the desire of the Nawwāb invited her sisters and other ladies. The Nawwāb started with the zenana and *mardāna* for the *bāgh* in Frangikonda on the morning of the 1st of Dhu'l-ḥajj, 1215 A.H. Each guest was assigned a tent. *Tōrahs* of food were sent both in the morning and evening at the appointed time. Daily *bhatta* ranging from one rupee to one hundred rupees was paid in the zenana through Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and in the *mardāna* through Bahrām Jang Bahādur. Thus the total expenditure per day was nearly two thousand rupees. This

continued for eight days. At 9 o'clock in the morning of the fifth day of the stay, the Nawwāb went up the hill of Frangikonda. He returned to his tent at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon and had his meal as usual in the zenana.

Next day the Nawwāb started in a *nālkī* after his dinner in the afternoon for the top of the hill at Frangikonda, while Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān Bahādur, etc., Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, and his (the Nawwāb's) nephews, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and some other trustworthy officers accompanied him on foot. He reached the hill top and stayed there in the house of Johnson, the *pādre*, for about an hour and rested his companions. He presented the *pādre* with fifty *hūn* and the men in that place with thirty *hūn*. Then he left the place on foot. After walking a short distance he spoke to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur thus: "*Bābā Jān*! You are very weak. Get into my *nālkī*." Then he turned towards Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur and others and addressed them as follows: "Alī Ḥusayn is not in a fit condition of his health. He was down with fever for a week during last month. He has not completely recovered from his illness. His face indicates that he is convalescent. If he walks at this stage his weakness will increase. Therefore I think it is expedient that he should get into the *nālkī*, and you all excuse him for that."

Then the Nawwāb ordered for his *nālkī* and helped his son to get into it. When the *nālkī* descended the hill slowly step by step, the Nawwāb followed it placing his hands on it with a view to confer dignity upon his son. Nawwāb sāḥib spoke to his companions in great joy as follows. "The Creator of the universe and the Cherisher, by the favours of the Prophet, has conferred this dignity upon my beloved son. I wish to conduct him in this manner as far as his tent. It behoves these persons not to mind their walking a little distance to reach the tents which are all very near."

Thus the Nawwāb followed the *nālkī*, while the nobles and other officers walked around him. When they reached the tent in this manner, Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur dismounted from the *nālkī* on the right side and kissed the feet of his father, submitting twelve *ashrafī* as *nadhr*. Nawwāb ṣāḥib accepted the *nadhr*, clasped his son with great affection while tears fell down the cheeks, and said, "May Allāh, exalted be He, bless you and make you worthy of this *manṣab*. May He preserve you from the evil eye of the envious. May He help you to attain your wish and make you prosperous and happy." Immediately all officers and nobles concluded that this was an indication of the right of succession to the throne. This incident became public and got to the ears of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam. It was also reported to her in detail by Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur in great secrecy. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam was perplexed and perturbed. She despaired of her brother's promise and assurance and was displeased with him. His other sisters also were filled with wonder at this incident. They were surprised at the unworthy act of their brother. They imagined that the Nawwāb, may God forbid, lost hope of the expectation of life. This suggestion gained strength in their minds and they also despaired of his life. They always occupied themselves with this thought.

At about 7 o'clock in the evening, Nawwāb ṣāḥib was talking to his sisters in the zenana as usual. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam was hinting at her displeasure right through. Nawwāb ṣāḥib noticed her ironical expressions, which offended him, yet he was courteous outwardly. Next day Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba and Nawwāb 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba inquired of the Nawwāb about the incident in secrecy. They remarked: "If you consider that your dear son should succeed to the throne after you, there is still a lot of time and there is no necessity to express it now. The eldest sister is much perturbed on this." The Nawwāb

replied, "You have a wrong opinion. The fact is that 'Alī Ḥusayn was ill for some days; he is still weak, not in a position to walk. It is for this reason I made him get into the *nālkī*. The right of succeeding to the throne will devolve certainly upon my son in accordance with law. His *sawārī* by *nālkī* yesterday had nothing to do with the idea you express now. Allāh, exalted be He, is Supreme and All-powerful. He will place whomsoever he chooses in high rank and power. The eldest sister is displeased with me without any reason."

The Nawwāb returned to his tent, had a mirthful and humorous conversation with Abū Ṭālib Khān, Amīnu'd-Dīn Khān and Dargāh Qulī Khān and then retired to rest for the night.

On the 7th morning Nawwāb ṣāḥib had an attack of fever, and there appeared two or three boils, one below the neck and two on the right arm. He had a little breakfast without any inclination to eat. In the afternoon he went by *suksāwan* to the zenana. After dinner he returned to his tent and spent the night there. Next day all things were sent back. Some carriages of the ladies also left that day. The Nawwāb started with the ladies on the evening of the 9th at about sun-set and reached Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ at about 8 o'clock in the night and then went to the palace of his senior sister.

Section 10.

Next morning happened to be the *'arafa* day. The Nawwāb told Bahrām Jang Bahādur thus: "To-morrow is *'Id'z-zuhā*. I do not think I shall be able to go to the mosque to-morrow. I have instructed Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur to go there. You must keep ready as usual the retinue, etc., near the gate of Fataḥ-chawkī."

All the nobles and members of the government came in their carriages, one after another according to rank, on the morning of the *'Id* and stood at the gate of Fataḥ-chawkī. The Nawwāb said to Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur thus: "Go to

Fataḥ-chawkī; sit in the *mahādōl* together with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur; seat Bahram Jang Bahadur opposite to yourself and proceed in that manner to the mosque." Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur sat together in the *mahādōl*, while Bahrām Jang Bahādur sat opposite to Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur. They went thus to the cathedral mosque followed by a large crowd. After the prayer they returned to Fataḥ-chawkī where *qurbānī* was offered. Then they went to the house of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam with the same paraphernalia and presented *nadhr* to the Nawwāb and his sister. Some of the nobles sent their *nadhr* to the Nawwāb in the zenana. The Nawwāb authorised Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur to receive *nadhr* on his own behalf from some men, while *mutaṣaddīs* were asked to submit their *nadhr* to Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur in the *dīwān-khāna*. They carried out the orders of the Nawwāb while a salute of guns was fired as usual. Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, the two sisters, and their children went to the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and presented *nadhr* to the Nawwāb.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib was restless because he had a sensation of pain and heat due to the boil and fever. Seeing the condition of her brother Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba felt very uneasy. Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān, Maliku'l-ḥukamā Ḥakīm Aḥmad Khān, Ḥakīm 'Alī Naqī Khān and Ḥakīm Muḥammad Wāṣil, attended on the Nawwāb both in the morning and evening. Besides these, Ḥakīm Kamālu'd-Dīn Khān, Ḥakīm 'Askrī Khān, Ḥakīm 'Abdul-Razzāq Khān, and such other *yūnānī* and *miṣrī ḥakīms* were invited and the state of the Nawwāb's health was explained to them. Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān was diligent in his treatment for fever and boil. Another boil shot out on the back inflicting great pain. His sisters spent their nights in Fataḥ-chawkī. Colonel Barrett Bahādur presented himself during the hour appointed for men visiting the Nawwāb, inquired of him about his health and wrote to Dr. Fazāl about it inviting him to visit the patient. The doctor

went at 11 o'clock and examined the Nawwāb. He also made inquiries about the treatment by the *ḥakīms*. He spoke to Colonel Barrett Bahādur thus: "Three or four boils have shot out in the region from the neck to the back, but the boil on the back may cause peril to his life. The sooner it is treated the better it will be. Else it will be fatal." Colonel Barrett Bahādur represented the opinion of the doctor to the Nawwāb.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib said: "The doctor examined with care the boil on the back. Perhaps it is a cancer". Colonel Barrett Bahādur replied, "Though the boil is on the back, it is not at the particular spot associated with cancer. Your highness need not have any anxiety. The doctor is of opinion that your highness should stay in a house where there is free passage of air. He thinks that it would be agreeable to your health if you could take up your residence in the upper storey. It would be better and more beneficial if your highness could shift to Nuṣrat-maḥall." The Nawwāb said "My sisters do not wish to be separated from me even for a minute." Colonel Barrett Bahādur submitted: "There is no difficulty on that score. The zenana may be kept at the back of Nuṣrat-mahall. They will be nearer to your highness."

The Nawwāb told his sisters thus during the hour assigned to women for visiting him. "The doctor is of opinion that I should not stay in this house. He thinks it would be better if I take up my residence in Nuṣrat-maḥall." Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and other sisters said: "Wheresoever you may desire to shift your lodging, we will be also present there. But we do not desire the doctor to treat you for the boil, because the doctor's method of treatment is very severe. We are very apprehensive of the result." Nawwāb ṣāḥib said: "Doctors only can treat for such boils, for it is surgical work and doctors are experts in surgery which is not possible for *yūnānī ḥakīms*."

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam sent the following oral message in secrecy to the Maliku'l-ḥukamā through Majdu'd-

Dawla Bahādur regarding the Nawwāb's decision in favour of the treatment by doctors. "It is a great wonder why you are helpless despite your consummate skill in your profession to treat for a boil. You are abandoning him to doctors."

The Maliku'l-ḥukamā sent the following reply. "This boil is not fatal. This humble slave has treated for more serious boils. It is not expedient that Nawwāb ṣāḥib should decide in favour of the treatment by doctors, despite the availability of devoted *ḥakīms* who are paid thousands of rupees. There is great risk in the treatment by doctors. Let this humble servant be given freedom to settle the course of treatment. God willing, by the beneficence of the most bountiful Lord, the supreme Ḥakīm, the absolute Healer, the Nawwāb will recover from his illness in a short while. May God forbid! In case this helpless slave fails, doctors may treat him. You can decide as you like."

Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur conveyed the message of the Maliku'l-ḥukamā to Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam. She and her two sisters wept out, prostrated before Nawwāb ṣāḥib and said: "Your highness must approve of the choice of the Maliku'l-ḥukamā in the matter of the treatment for the boil. Allāh, the absolute Healer, will restore you to health."

The Nawwāb said, "God has decreed that a doctor should treat for this illness and not *yūnānī* ḥakīms. I have decided to go to Nuṣrat-maḥall to-morrow morning; then I shall appoint a doctor to treat me for the boil. I have fixed up a house at the back of Nuṣrat-maḥall for your residence."

Next day early in the morning, the Nawwāb went by a small *nālkī* to Nuṣrat-maḥall. Dr. Fazāl came at about 11 o'clock. Govind Rao was the apothecary and surgeon in the employ of the *sarkār*. The treatment for the illness was begun from that day. About eleven leeches were stuck on the sides of the boil.

Next day Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and her sisters shifted their lodgings to a room in Nuṣrat-maḥall, which was

very close to the Nawwāb's room. Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān and other *ḥakīms* stayed always in Fataḥ-chawkī and went to Nuṣrat-maḥall in the morning and evening to inquire how the Nawwāb was progressing. The male relatives and officers went to Fataḥ-chawkī twice a day, to inquire about the health of the Nawwāb.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, Ra'īsu'l-'Umarā Bahādur and other nephews stayed in Fatah-chawkī from morning till midnight in obedience to the order of the Nawwāb spending their time in listening to story tellers who narrated stories or read for them *Ḥamla-i-Ḥaydarī*.[1] The story tellers were appointed by the Nawwāb in batches of two and every batch worked by turns for three hours. The Nawwāb assigned to each batch two hundred rupees which they got from Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm through the princes and utilised for necessary expenses.

Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī ṣāḥib paid a visit to the Nawwāb once in two days along with *shaykhs* and *durūd-khwāns*. They occupied themselves in reciting verses of the Qurān, and narrating traditions of the Prophet. They offered prayers and transmitted to him the efficacy of their prayer by the breath of their mouths. Then they returned in about an hour. During his illness Nawwāb ṣāḥib continued to observe the religious duties both in the morning and evening, and sent gifts and offerings to *shaykhs* and *sayyids* in the name of Allāh. Sheep, rams, cows, elephants and camels were given away as *ṣadqa* in accordance with the advice of astrologers.

One day Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba provided four of her own slave girls with beautiful clothes and jewels and gave them each fifty rupees. Then they were put in separate carriages and set at liberty on behalf of the Nawwāb, one at

(1) This was written by Muḥammad Rafī' Khān Bādhil in the form of a poetical biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him) and 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth Caliph of Islam.

For details see Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 1903, Vol. I, p. 562.

Patan (Georgetown), another at Tirmalkaṛī (Triplicane), the third at Mylapore and the fourth at Pulimādavaram. An alms-house was opened by the sisters and food was distributed twice a day to *faqīrs*. This practice was continued right through the period of the Nawwāb's illness which lasted for three months.

The doctor visited twice a day in the morning and evening and was very attentive to his duties. But there was no symptom of the boil being cured. Therefore the doctor suggested an operation. He comforted the Nawwāb in every possible way and performed the operation of the boil. During the operation the Nawwāb suffered severe pain; he wept out uttering "Allāh! the Bountiful! O! the Almighty, the pain enough! I have had enough! I don't possess greater power, strength, self-control and patience than this." After the operation was over, the doctor comforted and consoled Nawwāb ṣāḥib and directed Govinda Rao to tie up the wound with bandages. Then he came out of the room, narrated the details to Colonel Barrett Bahādur and went away.

After the doctor left, the Nawwāb explained the condition to his sisters and had a little food in their presence. The sisters shed tears on seeing the condition of their brother. But Nawwāb sāḥib said: "God is bountiful. He will show mercy to me." Notwithstanding his suffering from severe pain, the Nawwāb recited verses solitarily both in the morning and evening during the hour when it is supposed that prayers are granted by God. These verses, the Nawwāb's own composition, were expressive of supplication to the Almighty through the intercession of the Prophet (peace be on him). The Nawwāb recited these prayers with tears in his eyes. Then he would apply the tear-drops to the boil as a remedy, for he had faith in their efficacy.

The doctor did his utmost for ten or twelve days after the operation to heal the wound, but of no avail. He was very

much perplexed. One day the doctor informed the Governor of the second operation that he was going to perform for the boil, and went to the Nawwāb's residence in the afternoon with two other doctors and opened out in three places. After the removal of the pus, the wounds were tied up with bandages. The Nawwāb suffered severe pain in the process of operation and cried out from the pain.

Colonel Barrett Bahadur was present every day at 5 o'clock in the evening, told the Nawwāb in English all about the affairs of the government and carried out the orders of the Nawwāb. Generally Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur paid a visit to the Nawwāb in the afternoon to inquire after him and stayed for about an hour. When Colonel Barrett Bahādur and the doctor entered the Nawwāb's room, Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur retired into the room of Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam from where he, in accordance with her instructions, listened with attention to the talk among Nawwāb ṣāḥib, Colonel Barrett Bahādur and the doctor and informed the Bēgam ṣāḥiba of it. When Nawwāb sāḥib got information of it he was displeased a little and stopped his consultations with Colonel Barrett Bahādur.

When the doctor informed the Governor of the serious condition of the Nawwāb's health, the Governor directed the Town Major, that he should visit the palace twice a week, to inquire how the Nawwāb was progressing. The Town Major went to the *kachahrī* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur at 11 in the morning or sometimes at 5 in the evening. Colonel Barrett reported his arrival to the Nawwāb and then presented the Major, who made inquiries about the Nawwāb's health on behalf of the Governor and went away. Before receiving the Major, Nawwāb sāḥib tied round his head a *rūmāl shāl*, wrapped himself up with a *malmal chādar*, sat up with great difficulty and spoke loudly and steadily with a view to hide from the Major the nature of his illness, weakness and feebleness, so that he might get a good impression of the state of his health. After the Major went

away, the Nawwāb expressed the idea he had in his mind and spoke thus: "Although I considered that I should behave in the manner I did, yet it was of no avail. The Major would give a detailed report of my illness to the Governor. The supreme Ḥakīm, the absolute Healer, would recover me from this illness."

In brief, the sickness increased day by day. In due course the holy month of Muḥarram approached. The Nawwāb gave orders to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur that they should erect as usual the standards of 'Alī immediately after seeing the crescent moon. The Bahādurs made everything ready and hoisted the standards of 'Alī on the night of the 1st of Muḥarram, 1216 A.H. The sisters kept company with the Nawwāb from morning till the time of *afternoon-prayer* and then went away to their houses to attend to the work in regard to their respective *'ā<u>sh</u>ūr-<u>kh</u>āna.*

Victuals for distribution among the *faqirs* in the name of Nawwāb ṣāḥib were got ready on the 6th of Muḥarram. These were carried before Nawwāb ṣāḥib in the afternoon, an earnest supplication was made to the Almighty for his recovery and then they were taken by Bahrām Jang Bahādur to the house where the standard of 'Alī was hoisted. Ladies from the house of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam also went there, said *fātiḥa* presenting *<u>nadh</u>r* and then returned. Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur went there on the 10th night as directed by the Nawwāb, and appointed Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur and Balırām Jang Bahādur to supervise the arrangements for lamps and other paraphernalia and remain there till the standard of 'Alī was brought back after procession.

The anniversary of the Nawwāb's birthday was celebrated on the 26th of Muḥarram as described in the earlier pages. Nawwāb ṣāḥib was restless owing to his illness.

Section 11.

When Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur heard of the illness of the Nawwāb, he started from Trichinopoly with Muṭahhar Alī Khān Bahādur, his beloved son, for Madras. Armed *jawāns*, troopers, and infantry numbering about two hundred men with two cannon followed Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur and his son on their journey for protection against waylayers, and *pālayagārs* who were highway men. A day before his arrival to Madras, Nawwāb ṣāḥib had shifted his lodgings from Nuṣrat-maḥall to the house of his senior sister on account of the palpitation of his heart due to sickness. Next day Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur left the *jawāns* and others in Mubārak-bāgh and went with his son to see the Nawwāb and presented him with *nadhr*. Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur felt very happy to meet the Nawwāb, other brothers and sisters. He took up his residence in his own old *bāgh* as desired by the Nawwāb.

Colonel Barrett Bahādur got information about the armed *jawāns* who accompanied Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur and told the Nawwāb secretly thus: "Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk has brought with him a large army and cannon on the pretext of protection against waylayers on his journey. But in reality Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam had directed him to do so, with ulterior plans which are useless and not workable. His army is now in Mubārak-bāgh."

Nawwāb ṣāḥib was very much displeased with his sister. Next day he spoke to her thus: "I don't wish to change my residence from this place, for I feel much better after coming over here. But the doctor is of opinion that the air here is not suitable. He has informed Colonel Barrett Bahādur of this and suggested that the upper storey in Nuṣrat-maḥall would be better because the air is well suited for my health. Therefore, I wish to shift from here to Nuṣrat-maḥall to-morrow early in the morning. You must also move in there as usual."

Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam replied, "Wheresoever you may go we will also come." The Nawwāb went from the palace of his senior sister to Nuṣrat-maḥall on the 14th of Ṣafar, 1216 A.H. The Nawwāb's sisters, *ḥakīms* and servants went there as usual. The treatment by doctors was continued. The Governor inquired frequently of the doctor about the condition of the Nawwāb's health.

SECOND CHAPTER.

The serious illness of the Nawwāb; the treatment by the doctors; the scheme to write a waṣiyyat-nāma in the name of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur; the displeasure between Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur; the English army taking possession of Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ, and the demise of the Nawwāb.[1]

The illness of Nawwāb ṣāḥib took a serious turn day by day. The doctors did their utmost by performing operations, and exerted their skill to heal the wound. Yet they could not bring him through. They dressed the wound twice a day. During the time of cleaning the wound and the removal of pus, the Nawwāb felt severe pain, and in that distressed condition he spoke imploringly to the doctor in English. Everyone present in his room was ill at ease like fish out of water, and melted into tears like candle. The doctor always spoke words consolatorily to him. One day, after the doctor had gone, the Nawwāb told his sisters that his life was despaired of. Seeing his weakness, the sisters wept tears bitter of remorse, although they outwardly comforted their brother thus: "The absolute

(1) According to the chronicler's scheme of chapters the following topics also occur in the second chapter: the correspondence between Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and the Governor of Madras; the accession of Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahadur to the throne, and the demise of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. As this volume of the translation is planned to stop with Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the other topics will follow in the Fourth Part of this series.

Ḥakīm will bring you through and restore you to health. He will grant you long life and happiness."

Section 1.

Next day Nawwāb ṣāḥib invited Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur and Bahrām Jang Bahādur to his room at about the time of *after-noon prayer*, and expressed to them the extremely dangerous condition of his own health. They suggested that a *waṣiyyat-nāma* should be written by the Nawwāb. Therefore Nawwāb ṣāḥib wrote with a strong mind the *waṣiyyat-nāma* in his own handwriting in the name of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son. Sālār Jang Bahādur and Taqī Alī Khān Bahādur were mentioned as witnesses. Then under some pretext he sent for the *muhr-i-khāṣṣ* which was with his senior sister, set his seal to the *waṣiyyat-nāma* and entrusted it to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur in the presence of Colonel Barrett Bahādur and others and spoke thus to his son with a tear-stained face.

"O, my son, my darling, the Almighty, the eternal Lord, has, by means of His grace, conferred upon you this dignity and *manṣab*. It behoves on you to be watchful and cautious not to let the cord of wisdom slip from your hands. As you attend to every affair in the best manner possible, so must the bridle of government remain in your hands, for you have to face very sagacious and prudent men. You take counsel with friends like Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Colonel Barrett Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur. Other facts are given in detail in the *waṣiyyat-nāma*. You will understand them if you read it. Allah, exalted be He, has custody of my beloved son. He will protect him from the envious and keep him safe from harm."

He told Sālār Jang Bahādur, Taqī Alī Khān Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur thus:

"Take the *waṣiyyat-nāma* from Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, go over to his mother's house and communicate to her my message: 'The Lord of the universe has, by the intercession of the

Prophet, the last of the messengers, conferred upon your son the dignity of headship over the kingdom of the Carnatic, and it shall bring happiness to you. It is necessary that you should take care of your son and it must bring happiness to you'."

He called Riẓā Nawāz Khān, the *bakhshī*, and said to him thus: "Allāh, exalted be He, has conferred dignity upon Ālī Ḥusayn by making him my successor. You should always remain in his presence night and day with some *jawāns*."

He told Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur thus: "From this day, you must be by my side at all times; come and go in the morning and evening to inquire after me." Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur acted up to the wishes of his father from that day.

Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Taqī Ālī Khān Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, remained in the presence of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur night and day in accordance with the command of the Nawwāb.

The news about the *waṣiyyat-nāma* was already well-known. When Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam heard it, she was very much depressed and enraged. She complained of her brother to Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur thus: "Nawwāb ṣāḥib has neglected us. He has not kept his promises made to me. He will get retribution for his faithlessness from the absolute Qāẓī." Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur replied, "My sister, these unworthy words do not become you. Do not reveal your feelings to others, for it is improper." Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam was ill-disposed towards Nawwāb ṣāḥib; her displeasure became manifest whenever she met the Nawwāb and had a talk with him. Nawwāb ṣāḥib understood it, and wisely feigned ignorance of it. One day the Bēgam ṣāḥiba expressed her feelings strongly thus: "If my brother harbours any doubt or suspicion against me, let the royal repast be got ready elsewhere." Nawwāb ṣāḥib replied, "I am neither displeased with you, nor I have any doubt about you. You are entertaining such feelings in your mind."

The Nawwāb from that day made arrangements for his food with the mother of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. Generally he had his dinner in the *mardāna* and occasionally in the zenana. The Nawwāb and his sister kept up friendly relations outwardly but there was displeasure in their hearts. When Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam made secret enquiries of *ḥakīms* about the health of the Nawwāb and learnt that his life was despaired of, she transported to her own house the things and boxes of the *sarkār* that were in her custody, while she, at every moment, expressed outwardly her deep grief for her brother.

Section 2.

The *frangs* designed from the earliest time to bring the kingdom of the Carnatic under their control, but it was not possible to do so. Now they found a favourable opportunity in the illness of the Nawwāb. They were keeping in touch with the doctors and ascertaining the condition of the Nawwab's health. One day the Town Major came to Fatah-chawkī to inquire after the Nawwāb as usual. He was admitted into the Nawwāb's room along with Colonel Barrett Bahādur. Then the Major inquired secretly of the Colonel about certain things, told him also something and then went away. The same day Colonel Barrett Bahādur presented himself purposely before the Nawwāb at about the time of *sun-set prayer* and submitted in secrecy thus:

"Hearing that your highness' life is despaired of, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, during the past two or three days when prayers were offered for the recovery of your highness, had collected one hundred armed men in the *dīwān-khāna* of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur. As per the advice of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla also had brought with him from Nattharnagar a large army, cannon and cannon ball, gunpowder, and other implements of war, and had left these in Mubārak-bāgh. In these circumstances, it is not known what kind of

mischief will crop up. This slave had acquainted your highness with the facts."

The Nawwāb was very much disturbed at this painful news, and said, "My friend, what shall we do for this?" The Colonel replied, "It seems to me that a small army may be sought of the company, and they may be placed as guards in Fatah-chawkī and the *bāgh* wherever necessary till your highness recovers from illness. This is a prudent measure. The army may be sent back when your highness recovers your health."

After careful consideration Nawwāb ṣāḥib replied: "I do not think it is advisable to do so. I do not want the English army in the *bāgh*." The Colonel submitted: "Your highness is not in peril of anything. This is a good and wise plan, and there is no impropriety about it. On the other hand, it is the proper way to deal with the seditious and rebellious people. It will guarantee security and tranquillity for your highness and the prosperous prince." The powerless Nawwāb said: "Choose the proper thing and do it in the proper way."

Next day, on the 16th of Ṣafar, 1216 A.H., Colonel Barrett Bahādur presented himself before the Nawwāb early in the morning, inquired how he was, got renewed the order to bring the English troops into the *bāgh*, went to the garden of the Governor, and requisitioned an army. Then he returned to Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ and enjoined on the guards at the gate to let the company's forces and their *sardārs* into the *bāgh* as they had the permission of the Nawwāb to enter.

The English army, which was already in readiness at the Governor's *bāgh*, marched at once under Colonel McLean and other *sardārs* with two elephant-loads of tents, cannon, cannon-ball, gun-powder, and other implements of war, besides manacles, and ten or fifteen *miyāna*. They entered Bāgh-i-khāṣṣ at about 10 o'clock, immediately after Colonel Barrett Bahādur reached Fatah-chawkī, and stationed themselves at its gates.

Nawwāb ṣāḥib was very much perplexed after the arrival of the English troops. He conveyed his *salām* and the following message to Colonel McLean through Colonel Barrett Bahādur.

"Your *pahra* may be stationed along with the *pahra* of the *sarkār* in places assigned to them by Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Sayyid Riẓā Nawāz Khān, the *bakhshī*. Enjoin them not to quarrel or to create mischief. Whomsoever the *pahra* of the *sarkār* stops from entering the *bāgh* or permits to enter it, the English *pahra* also should follow them and act in the same manner. Whomsoever they attack, the English *pahra* also should do so."

Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Sayyid Riẓā Nawāz Khān, the *bakhshī*, were told thus:

"The Governor ṣāḥib, out of his kindness, has sent an army under Colonel McLean as a precaution to ward off certain evils. I have also given Colonel McLean a hint of some matters. You also meet him and form plans to pitch tents for the English army opposite to the *ṣaḥn* of the old building contiguous to the big gate of the *bāgh*. You must also take steps as early as possible to clean the old house and provide quarters for Colonel McLean. Let one English guard be posted at the big gate, two at the other gates of the *bāgh*, and four at the gate of Nuṣrat-maḥall, facing the house of the elder sister. One English guard and a *pahra* of the *sarkār* should be posted at Fataḥ-chawkī. Cannon and such other things must be kept in front of the army quarters." The Nawwāb was busy giving these orders till the time of *sunset prayer*. He gave orders to Colonel Barrett Bahādur that he should arrange to send *bhattā* to Colonel McLean through Taqī Alī Khān Bahādur in accordance with the regulations for the expenses of the Company's army, and that he must attend to all their needs."

As soon as the news about the arrival of the army spread in the *bāgh*, everyone was thrown into a fright. The

Nawwāb's sisters who got information about the arrival of the English army with implements of war, felt grief about it and spoke thus to the Nawwāb:

"May Allāh, exalted be He, keep you safe and sound in life for many years, and make you the medium for bringing about our happiness. It is not known why the English army has come into the *bāgh*?"

Nawwāb ṣāḥib attempted to console them thus, while tears trickled down his cheeks: "Don't take the alarm. It is reported that *pālayagārs* and others in this country are disposed to rebel and defy lawful authority in different areas. So the Governor of Madras, out of kindness and good will, has sent an army of the Company for our protection. Do not be anxious and give way to any kind of fear." The sisters expressed their deep sorrow for their brother, fell at his feet, supplicated to God for his health and took leave of him.

In brief, the illness developed day by day. The Nawwāb's strength and endurance decreased. However much the doctors endeavoured to treat him for the boils, it was of no avail. The Nawwāb was restless day and night on account of the bodily pain. One day he sent for Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and spoke to him some words mixed with good advice. He told him thus:

"Aẓīmu'd-Dawla[1] is humble and meek. It is necessary that you stay always with him and inquire after him. Dine with him and do not leave him alone. Every work must be attended to with skill and intelligence. Everyone should be treated politely and in a friendly manner."

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, in accordance with the advice of his father, kept company with Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur and was very courteous to him. Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur went twice in a day to inquire after his father, followed by armed *jawāns* and *chōbdārs*. He remained in the presence of his father for about

(1) *See* pages 23-24 in this book.

an hour and then returned. Sometimes Sayyid Riẓā Nawāz Khān the *bakhshī*, at other times Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur and Sālār Jang Bahādur also went with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

Section 3.

When the illness reached a stage in intensity, the strength and vitality of the Nawwāb declined. He was having a sensation of heat and pain due to the boils. During the morning hours he recited in solitude verses expressive of humble supplication to the supreme Healer and the true Ḥakīm for his recovery. He would recite one hundred verses and then say *istighfār*; then he would repeat the words *tawba*, and *al-'afw*, while tears trickled down his cheeks. His supplication and lamentation reached downstairs and those present there expressed their deep sorrow for the Nawwāb. Whenever Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī ṣāḥib, Sayyid Shāh Karīmullāh ṣāḥib, and Shāh Maḥmūd ṣāḥib Sāwī, paid a visit to the Nawwāb, he entreated them to pray for his recovery and said: "I am in a precarious state of health and cannot be recovered to life." They comforted the Nawwāb thus: "Your highness need not be disturbed. Allāh, exalted be He, is the supreme Ḥakīm, and the true Healer. His institution for the care of the sick is endowed with ability to cure all. Allāh, glory be to Him, will keep your exalted highness safe and sound for many years. The present suffering will not last for more than two days, for says Allāh, 'Surely with difficulty is ease: With difficulty is surely ease!'" Then they recited some verses from the Qurān and transmitted to him the efficacy of their recitations by the breath of their mouths and then took leave of the Nawwāb. The exalted Nawwāb called back Mawlānā ṣāḥib, seated him nearer to his pillows, took hold of the Mawlānā's hands, placed them on his own head and eyes and said:

"This old slave is named *Ghulām Ḥusayn*. This name was chosen for this decrepit man by his venerable mother who

got the guidance in *istikhāra*. The exalted Nawwāb ṣāḥib, my father, gave me the name *Ghulām Walī*. But men without understanding think that I do not conform to the faith of my ancestors because of my name *Ghulām Ḥusayn*, and my raising the standard of Alī during the month of Muḥarram. But the truth of it is as follows: During the reign of my exalted father, my dear brother Naṣīru'l-Mulk Lālūmiyān, used to hoist the standards in the month of Muḥarram with my permission in our residence. I also gave my influential support to that. On the night of the 10th of Muḥarram, the standards were taken out in a procession on a howdah with lights and retinue. During my reign also, permission was given to hoist the standards in the old house, opposite to the gate of Bāgh-i-kalān, out of regard for the wishes of my senior sister. She used to go to the old house with *langar-i-mannat* of the ladies as well as of myself and hoist them. If *'ulamā* saw in it reason to suspect the strength of my *īmān*, then Allāh knows what is what. I never deviated from the right course even for a minute. I make a confession of my faith to you. Allāh is my witness. I declare that I follow the religion of my father. I am certain that I shall not recover from this terrible illness, for it increases day by day; weakness has taken hold of me; I am sinking. God wills that it should be so. We have to submit to His will. I trust that your holiness will be by my side in my last moments, and teach me the names of Allāh, the Creator, and His prophet. You must also ask Shāh Alīmullāh ṣāḥib to read the *sūra-i-yāsīn*. After the spirit takes flight, supply me with provisions for my journey to the next world in the same manner as was done for my forefathers, so that I might find my salvation."

Mawlānā ṣāḥib came out with a tear-stained face, and recounted the talk he had with the Nawwāb to Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur and others.

Next day the doctor also lost hope of the Nawwāb's recovery. He told Colonel Barrett Bahādur thus: "Today the condition of the patient seems to be that the boil cannot be healed, for the heart is infected with it. He will be alive for two or three days. It is a pity that all the treatment has been wasted. I had great hopes of his recovery."

After listening to the doctor, Colonel Barrett Bahādur was very much disturbed. He went with Sālār Jang Bahādur, and Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur in Fatah-chawkī and communicated to him the opinion of the doctor. Then they consulted with one another and decided to arrange for certain things.

Two or three days passed in the same restless condition for the Nawwāb. On the 2nd of Rabī'u'l-awwal, 1216 A.H., Nawwāb ṣāḥib felt great restlessness, and underwent pangs of death. Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān and some other *ḥakīms*, all officers and relatives remained there from sunset till next morning. The sisters were inquiring every minute after the condition of the pulse.

Section 4.

The world-illuminating sun appeared on the 3rd morning, but the veil of restlessness and sorrow was not lifted up and the hearts of the people were rent by pain. Sālār Jang Bahādur, in accordance with the order of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, invited Mawlānā ṣāḥib, Shāh 'Ālīmullāh sāḥib, and other elders and gathered them together before Nawwāb ṣāḥib to recite verses of the holy Qurān, and traditions of the Prophet, so that the Nawwāb might give ear to the sound, strengthen his *īmān* and find his salvation.

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur who was affectionately devoted to the Nawwāb, recited the *sūra-i-yāsīn*. When the sisters heard the sound of the reading of the *sūra-i-yāsīn*, they wept out in the zenana. This depressed Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. He went into the zenana and admonished his aunts thus: "You

are close by the *mardāna*. The life of the Nawwāb is sinking. Weeping and wailing in this way are not proper, for the noise is heard outside. You may go to your houses." Nawwāb Sulṯānu'n-nisā Bēgam and her sisters were displeased at this stern rebuke. They immediately got into their conveyances, and went to their houses, from where they were constantly inquiring about the health of their brother. Every minute Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān and other *ḥakīms* were feeling the pulse of the Nawwāb. They told Sālār Jang Bahādur and others as follows:—"It is a thousand pities that the state of the Nawwāb's health has come to such a pass. The doctor lost hope a week ago. If he had withdrawn his treatment a month earlier, we could have treated the Nawwāb. We have good wishes for the Nawwāb, but we did not have the good luck. Such an independent ruler as he is, has one foot in grave."

Nawwāb ṣāḥib suffered the pangs of death from early morning till about 8 A.M. Then just as the flame of a candle, that is about to die out, emits much light, the Nawwāb recovered from the agony of death and spoke in a loud voice thus:

"Why all this noise and confusion and such a large crowd around me.? Get out!" Immediately all went out. About an hour later Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and Muḥammad Rōshan, who were present near the Nawwāb, came out in great excitement and informed Mawlānā ṣāḥib and Sālār Jang Bahādur that Nawwāb ṣāḥib had reached his last moments. Immediately the Bahādur and Mawlānā ṣāḥib went near the Nawwāb with Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān. The *ḥakīm* felt the pulse, and permitted others to come near Nawwāb ṣāḥib's bed. 'Alīmullāh Shāh ṣāḥib and others assembled there, and began to recite the verses of the holy Qurān. Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, and Bahrām Jang Bahādur did not come, for they were afraid of the Nawwāb's displeasure. In the meanwhile Colonel Barrett Bahādur came with the doctor and wanted to feel the pulse. Mawlānā ṣāḥib sent word through Sālār Jang

Bahādur that it was not the proper time for the doctor to feel the pulse. Sālār Jang Bahādur approached Colonel Barrett Bahādur and the doctor, and explained to them in a way and managed to send them away from Nuṣrat-maḥall. When Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur entered the Nawwāb's room in Nuṣrat-maḥall with Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, and Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān who was feeling the pulse, turned about and said loudly with a sorrowful and inconsolable voice, 'Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return.'[1] Then the *ḥakīm* rose from his seat.

Immediately after hearing this heart-rending news, the confusion caused by pain and sorrow reached the heavens. Great tumult, as on the judgment day, arose in all palaces, houses, lanes, *bāzārs*, and everywhere. Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, got by the side of the dead body with his nephews and gave passionate expression to his grief. In the meanwhile Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur went into the room and fell at the feet of Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur overcome by deep sorrow. The Nawwāb lifted him up, embraced him, consoled him and conducted him to Fatah-chawkī, his residence, and took leave of him. Then Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur, with a tear-stained face, accompanied the nephews to the house of the senior sister. He consoled all the sisters and their daughters, who lamented for the late Nawwāb and returned to his own residence. An hour or two later, Colonel McLean, the commander in the *bāgh*, in accordance with the orders of the Governor, posted armed *jawāns* at all gates of the palaces, and at the gate of the *bāgh*, in addition to the *jawāns* already posted in those places. After making all arrangements, Colonel McLean returned to his quarters.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur called Bahrām Jang Bahādur and gave orders that he should get quickly three thousand rupees

(1) This verse from the holy Quran is quoted when any unfortunate occurrence, chiefly death, happens.

from Colonel Barrett Bahādur, make ready everything for the funeral in consultation with Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī ṣāḥib and send the coffin of Nawwāb ṣāḥib in great splendour to Natthar-nagar in the company of Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Khān. Bahrām Jang Bahādur received the amount from the Colonel, and busied him-self in washing the dead body and shrouding it under the guidance of Mawlānā ṣāḥib and other *'ulims*.

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam had a discussion with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur through the mediation of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur in regard to the sending of the coffin by *kamān-darwāza* of Nuṣrat-maḥall towards the palace of the Bēgam ṣāḥiba. The washing of the dead body and other religious rites were gone through an hour before sunset. As the Bēgam ṣāḥiba did not permit the coffin to be carried through the *kamān-darwāza*, the coffin, adorned with *ghilāf* and *shāmiyāna*, was left the whole night with guards in the *dālān* of Nuṣrat-maḥall opposite to the *kamān-darwāza*. Next day at about 7 o'clock in the morning, funeral service was held in the *ṣaḥn* of Nuṣrat-maḥall. Then the wall behind Nuṣrat-maḥall was demolished in accordance with the order of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and the coffin was carried through that way in great splendour followed by a retinue and *julūs* and was dispatched to Nattharnagar in the company of Ḥafiẓ Aḥmad Khān. A salute of fifty-six guns in proportion to the age of the Nawwāb was fired from the fort of Madras and the ships.

The Governor of Madras wrote to the commander in Nattharnagar thus: "The coffin of the exalted Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II has been sent to Nattharnagar. The army must follow the coffin as far as the burial ground and a salute of guns should be fired from all forts in the kingdom as far as Nattharnagar."[1]

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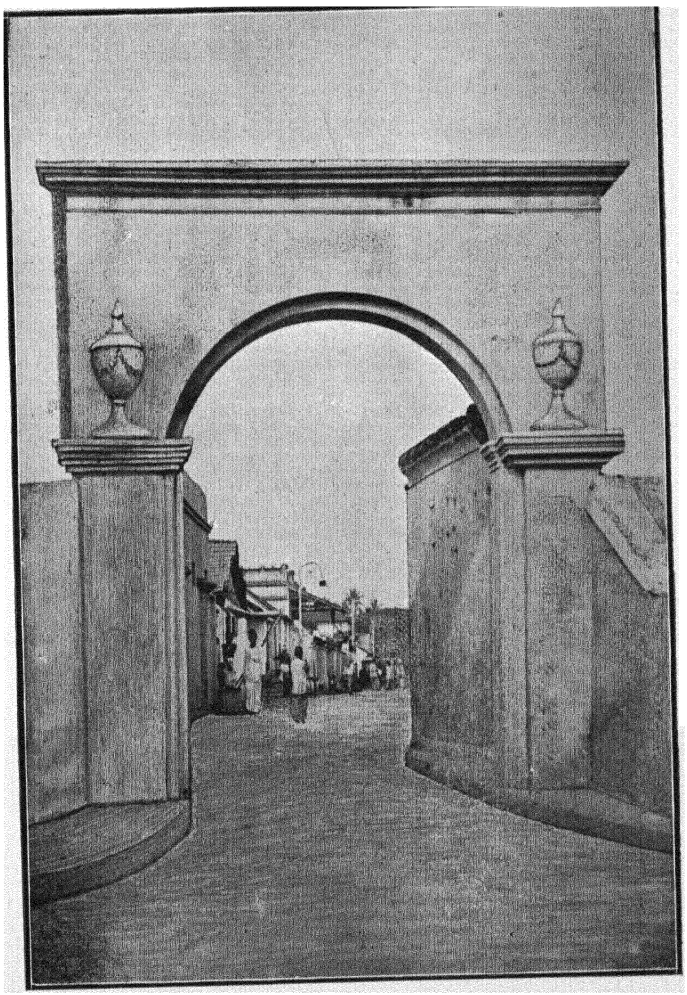
(1) *See* Appendix D for the chronogram which records the death of Nawwāb 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Wālājāh II.



Kaman Darwaza
on the Triplicane High Road.

APPENDIX.

Verses of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II sent to Bakhshī Bēgam of Ḥaydarābād by Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam from Madras.[1]

چل اے دل دیکھ آویں حیدرآباد * جہاں کہتے ہیں عشرت کی ہے بنیاد
جہاں دارین کا نقش و نگیں ہے * جہاں اسلام کا آئین و دیں ہے
جہاں رکتا ہے نقدِ آشنائی * جہاں مفقود رسمِ بیوفائی
جہاں کے لوگ حاکم سے ہیں دلشاد * جہاں حاکم ہے ایسا خانہ آباد
جہاں رکتا ہے تختِ سرفرازی * نظام الدّولہ آصف جاہِ غازی
ہماری کچھ نہ پوچھو یارو تم بات * ہمارا ملک ہے انگریز کے ہات
ہمیں ہر روز آیا کڑکڑو ہی * ہماری زندگانی پر تپڑو ہی
مجھے میرے گھرانے کی محبّت * نہیں دیتی ہے وہاں جانیکی رخصت
میں اس خاطر سے وہاں جانے نہ پایا * نئی ویسی ہی یہاں بستی بسایا
کیا میں مہرِ حیدر دل میں ایجاد * رکھا تب نام اوسکا حیدرآباد
الٰہی جب تلک ہو حشر بنیاد * رہے قایم امیرِ ہند آباد
خلاصہ تھا سو میرے دل کا یہ راز * کیا ایجاد تازہ شعر ممتاز

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1. See page 36 in this book.

APPENDIX A.

Verses which give the date of the Coronation of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II[1].

چونکه آن عمدة امرا خلفِ والا جاه
مالکِ ملک و ریاست شده از فضلِ خدا
به پی نذر سروش از سرِ اعدا بگذشت
رونقِ مسندِ زیبائے ریاست گفتا

۱۲۱۰

APPENDIX B.

Copy of the original letter of invitation for the marriage of Muḥammad Alī Ḥusayn Khān Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur written by his father 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.[2]

چچی صاحبه قبله مدّ ظلّها - بفضله و رسوله و آله اندرین ماهِ مبارکِ رجب المرجّب روزِ تولّدِ سیّدِ اصفیا قبلهٔ اولیا مسجودِ ائمّه احدی العشر و گلِ سر سبدِ خاندانِ پیغمبر، موصوف وَ الَ مَن وَالاهُ معروف اَعدا مَن اَعداهُ، اورنگ زیبِ امامت و تاج، ممیّزِ بارِ تتقِ لیلة المعراج، نیّرِ برجِ دوشِ ارتضٰے اعنی علیّ مرتضٰی، اللّهم صلّ علی محمّد و آل محمّد و بارك و سلّم، آغازِ شادی غرّهٔ غرّاءِ ریاست و کامگاری، و ہلالِ روز افزونِ شوکت و بختیاری، مہرِ سپہرِ عزّت و علا، بدرِ منیرِ آسمانِ اعتلا، معنائے

1. See page 50 in this book.
2. See page 111 in this book.

تُعزّ مَن تشاء و توتي الملک مَن تشاء، صاحب السیف و القلم، نوّاب برخوردار نوّاب امیر الممالک امیر الملک ذو الفقار الدّوله محمّد علی حسین خان بهادر ظفر جنگ طول الله عمره است - نظر بر وفورِ کرم و اغماض که شیوهٔ خدا دادِ این ضعیف است، التماس می نماید که به فرزندانِ خود و قرابتیانِ آنها را از طرفِ این مذنب من عباد الله ایما فرمایند که بفضله و رسوله و آله از آغازِ شادی تا انتهائے آن که روزِ ولادتِ قبله و کعبهٔ ائمّهٔ تسعه است، اللّهم صلّ علی محمّد و آل محمّد و بارک و سلّم، شریکِ محفلِ سرورِ رسومِ مبارکِ شادی بجمیعتِ خاطر شوند و همینکه بفضله و رسوله و آله شادی بخیریت اتمام پذیرد باز بر سرِ کارِ خود سرگرم باشند نوعی که حالا هستند - الله مَعنا و مَعکُم - غلام حسین -

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APPENDIX C.

Verses which give the date of Ṭippū Sulṭān's death.[1]

چوں اهلِ فرنگ ملکِ ٹیپو سلطاں

بگرفت و نمود قتلِ او از تزویر

در سالِ شهادتش بحزن و ماتم

مرّیخِ فلک بگفت گم شد شمشیر

۱۲۱۴

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1. See page 135 in this book.

APPENDIX D.

Verses which give the date of the death of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.[1]

نـوّاب عـمدة الامـرا صـاحبِ كـرم

چوں جاں بحق سـپرد و جهانِ فنا بهشت

دل مى نمود فكرِسنش گفت هاتفم

تاريخِ سالِ رحلتِ او شاد در بهشت

١٢١٩

1. See page 184 in this book.

Muḥammad Abrār Khān

an able general of Muḥammad Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I, admired for his action at Samiwaram, Walkandahpur and Ranjangadh.

(To face p. iii, Part II, *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*)

GLOSSARY.[1]

Ādābgāh, the place of obeisance in the palace of a chief.

Al-ʿafw, pardon, forgiveness, remission of sins.

Alam, a standard, ensign, flag.

Alīband, (Alī's tie) an amulet or charm against sorceries; an ornament, a jewel.

Ālim, learned, intelligent, wise.

Al-qamar, the moon especially from the third day to the end of the month.

Āmils, (sing. *Āmil*) agent, governor, administrator, revenue collector, official, functionary.

Amīn, faithful, trustworthy.

Amīrs, (sing. *Amīr*) commander, governor, chief, leader, prince, person of rank or distinction.

Angrēzī-dārūl-inshā, the office where letters in English language are written.

Aqd, to conclude a marriage; marriage-knot.

Arafa, yawmi ʿarafāt, the ninth day of the month of *Dhūl-ḥajja*.

Ārifs, (sing. *Ārif*) holy man, saint.

Arīẓa, a petition, a letter from an inferior.

Arẓ-bēgī, the person who presents all petitions, either written or by word of mouth.

Arẓī, a petition, memorial or humble representation.

Ashrafī, name of a gold coin, a gold mohur (its value in Calcutta about Rs. 16); by the Regulations of 1793, it should weigh 190,894 grains troy.

Āshūr-khāna, a temporary structure for the celebration of the Muḥarram festival.

Atālīq, private tutor, preceptor.

1. As it is not possible now to ascertain the exact connotation of certain words that were in vogue during the Muslim administration of India, different shades of meaning for them are given.

Bāgh, a garden.

Bahā-kānt, a kind of game.

Bahals, (sing. *Bahal*) she-camel.

Bakhshī, paymaster (in Muslim armies); general, commander-in-chief (the office of the paymaster being combined with that of general); an officer who keeps accounts of all disbursements connected with military tenures.

Bānāt, broad-cloth.

Bāndārs, (sing. *Bāndār*) bowman, archer, rocketer.

Bandī, a kind of ornament worn on the head; a short robe or dress shorter than the *Jāma*.

Bānī, a measure of weight equal to eighty rupees.

Bāra-darī, *lit.* 'having twelve doors'; a summer house generally in a garden.

Barāt, the procession of the bridegroom to the house of the bride, marriage procession; the company or attendants at a marriage.

Barī, wedding garment, ornaments, presents, etc., sent from the bridegroom's house to the bride's previous to the wedding day.

Bāwarchī-khāna, kitchen.

Baytu'llāh, *lit.* 'the house of Allāh', the sacred house at Makka.

Bāzār, market, market-place.

Bāzū-band, ornament worn on the arm, armlet, bracelet.

Bechōba, *lit.* poleless, a kind of tent pitched without a pole.

Bhattā, additional allowance, extra allowance or pay to public servants on special duty, or to officers and soldiers (commonly called *batta*); subsistence money; travelling allowance.

Bhā'ī, chair-porter, pālkī-bearer, bearer (commonly called *boy* by Europeans).

Būstān, *lit.* 'place of fragrance' flower-garden, pleasure garden; name of a celebrated work by the Persian poet Sa'dī.

But<u>kh</u>āna, idol-temple, pagoda.

Chāndnī-far<u>sh</u>, a white carpet. *Chāndnī*, a white cloth spread over a carpet. *Far<u>sh</u>*, a carpet. The combination *Chāndnī-far<u>sh</u>* is peculiar.

Chānd sīsphūl, an ornament for the head worn by women.

Chārat, English *chariot*.

Chārat-<u>kh</u>āna, a building for storing chariot.

Chaṭṭakār, Tamil *Caṭṭai-k-kāran*, European, Anglo-Indian.

Chaṭṭa-pō<u>sh</u>, Tamil *Caṭṭai*, jacket, coat, gown+Persian *Pō<u>sh</u>*, a covering; *Chaṭṭa-pō<u>sh</u>*, one who wears a coat; an European, Anglo-Indian.

Chaw-kaṛā (prob. *chaw-ghōṛa*), a carriage drawn by four horses.

Chawk, a quadrangle, a square; an open place in a town where the market is held (and where also the chief of the police office is stationed); a daily market; the main street or central thoroughfare of a city.

Chawkī, a guard's post, an outpost.

Chawkīdārs, (sing. *Chawkīdār*) watchman, guard, sentinel.

Chawsar, a game like *pachīsī* but played with dice instead of cowries.

Chawthī, a Muslim ceremony observed on the fourth day after *sāchaq* or the day following a marriage, (the bride and bridegroom visit the bride's family, and the married pair, after feasting, make a show of beating each other with sticks covered with flowers).

Chitr, ornamenting, decoration.

Chōbdārs, (sing. *Chōbdār*) an officer who carries a silver or gold staff, and whose business it is to announce the arrival of visitors; mace-bearer, usher, herald.

Daftar, book, account book, register.

Ḍāk, post for conveyance of letters.

Dālān, a hall.

Darbār, court, hall of audience; the executive government of a state.

Darbār-i-ām, public hall of audience.

Dargāh, shrine or tomb of some reputed saint which is the object of worship or pilgrimage.

Dārūgha, the headman of an office; superintendent, manager, master, keeper.

Dārū'l-amāra, the executive office.

Dārū'l-inshā, office of correspondence.

Dastār, a sash or fine muslin cloth wrapt round a turban.

Dhōp, a kind of sword (long and straight).

Dīwān, a chief officer of state, minister; a complete series of odes or other poems by one author running through the whole alphabet (the rhymes of the first class terminating in *alif* the second in *be* and so on; the collected writings of an author.

Dīwān-i-khāṣṣ, privy-council-chamber, cabinet council.

Dīwān-khāna, office; hall of audience, hall, court, chamber; public room detached from the house.

Durūd, prayer; praise, especially of the Prophet.

Durūdīs, (sing. *Durūdī*) one who says benediction and blessing.

Durūd-khwāns, (sing. *Durūd-khwān*) one who pronounces a benediction or blessing (on) and prays (for).

Dūshāla, a pair of shawls (worn like the *du-paṭṭa*).

Faqīrs, (sing. *Faqīr*) possessed of one day's sufficiency for self and family (the entirely destitute being called *miskīn*); poor man, beggar, religious mendicant.

Farmān, mandate; command, order; royal letter.

Farrāsh-khāna, a room in which carpets, etc., are kept.

Farsh, a carpet, a mattress, a mat, a floor cloth.

Farshī-ghaṛiyāl, a kind of *ghaṛiyāl*; (perhaps a large *ghaṛiyāl* with a flat bottom which stands on the ground in contradistinction to a small one which is carried in the hand).

Fārsī-dārul-inshā, the office where letters in Persian language are written.

Fātiḥas, (sing. *Fātiḥa*) the commencement, the opening chapter of the Quran, so called because the recitation in prayer is commenced therewith; prayers for the dead; prayers offered in the name of saints.

Fawjdār, superintendent of the military force in a district, an officer of the police so-called, a criminal judge or magistrate under Muslim government.

Frangs, Europeans.

Fuẓalā, (sing. *Fāẓil*) virtuous man, good man, learned man, the learned.

Ganj, a case (of instruments, or brushes, or razors, etc.).

Ghaṛās, (sing. *Ghaṛā*) earthen water-pot, pitcher, jar.

Ghaṛī, an instrument for measuring time, a watch, clock, etc.

Ghaṛiyāl, a plate of brass, etc. for striking the hours on, a gong. [The word is used in this book in the sense of a *watch* or *clock*.]

Ghazal, an amatory poem, an ode.

Ghilāf, a covering, a wrapper.

Ghōza-nawāz, (corruption of *Alghōza-nawāz*) one who plays on a pipe or a flute.

Ghulām Ẓāmin, a slave of the one who becomes responsible for one's safety.

Gulāb-pāsh, a bottle for sprinkling rose-water, a rose-water bottle.

Guldastas, (sing. *Guldasta*) a handful of roses, a bunch of flowers, a nosegay.

Gulistān, a rose-garden; a flower-garden; name of a celebrated Persian book in prose and verse by Sa'dī of Shīrāz.

Gulzārs, (sing. *Gulzār*) a garden of roses; a bed of roses; a garden.

Guzarātī kamar-band, a waist-band made in Guzarat.

Ḥāfiẓs, (sing. *Ḥāfiẓ*) one who has the whole Qurān by heart.

Ḥajjām, a phlebotomist; a barber; one professionally engaged in cupping.

Hajū-lāl, a kind of childish expression.

Ḥakīms, (sing. *Ḥakīm*) learned, wise man, doctor, philosopher, physician.

Ḥawaldār, contraction of *ḥawāla-dār*, one employed to protect the grain before it is stored; a steward or agent employed for the management of a village; a military officer in native regiments of inferior rank; a head constable.

Ḥawẓ, a large reservoir of water, basin of a fountain, pond, tank.

Ḥukm-nāma, written order, writ, decree, warrant, deed conveying certain authority, licence.

Hūn, the gold coin called by the Europeans pagoda, current at Madras. It is worth about eight shillings.

Hūn-kuruk, a kind of *hūn*.

'Ibādat-khāna, a place set apart in a palace for prayer, religious service and devotion

'Id, the periodical festival; a festival, feast day.

'Idu'ẓ-ẓuhā, the festival of sacrifices held on the tenth of the month of *Dhu'l-ḥajja*.

'Ilāqadār, the person responsible for the payment of the rates, etc., of a village or district.

Imāms, (sing. *Imām*) one who stands before or is followed, a head, chief, leader especially in religious matters.

Imān, belief particularly in Allāh, and in His word, and apostles.

Inām, grant of rent-free land.

'Ināyat-nāma, letter; a grant in writing.

Iqlīms, (sing. *Iqlīm*) clime, climate, region, country.

Iqrār-nāma, written agreement, bond, contract.

Istighfār, asking pardon, begging mercy, craving grace; the Muslim prayer for defence against the evil spirit.

Istikhāra, *lit.* wishing or asking for the best. Conciliating the divine favour; looking in the Qurān, or any favourite book as the poems of Ḥāfiẓ for a good augury.

'Iṭr, perfume, fragrance; essence.

'Iṭr-dān, a perfume-box, scent-case.

Jāgīr, holding, occupying a place; assignment of the government share of the produce of a large tract of country to an individual; a possession in land granted either in perpetuity or for life as a reward for services or as a fee.

Jahāngīrī-dastār, a princely *dastār*, or a *dastār* of the variety used by Jahāngīr, the son and successor of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great.

Jalwa, presenting a bride to her husband unveiled and adorned in all her ornaments; the meeting of the bride and bridegroom; the nuptial bed.

Jama'dār, the head of any body of men; a native officer of the army so-called; an officer of police, customs, or excise second to *dārogha*.

Jawāhir, (sing. *Jawhar*, but used as a singular also) jewels, gems, precious stones; a jewel, a gem.

Jawāhirāt, (sing. *Jawāhir*) jewels, gems, etc.

Jawāhir-i-muraṣṣa', jewels set together; set or studded with jewels or precious stones.

Jawāns, (sing. *Jawān*) young, youthful, in the prime of manhood or womanhood; an able-bodied man, a soldier, warrior.

Jilaw-khāna, a courtyard, an area; a vestibule, porch, antechamber.

Julūs, state, pomp.

Jum'a, Friday prayer; the day of congregation, Friday when Muslims assemble to pray at a cathedral mosque.

Ka'ba, the hallowed edifice at Makka.

Kachahrī, a court of justice, tribunal; a public office.

Kalghī, a spire or ornament on the top of a dome; pinnacle; crest, a plume; a gem-studded ornament fixed in the turban.

Kamān-darwāza, a gate with an arch.

Kāni, (Tamil *Kāṇi*) a land measure=100 *kuli* or nearly 1·32 acres.

Kanwal, the shade of mica and coloured paper representing the lotus within which wax candles are burnt and floated on the water during festivals.

Kārkhāna, workshop, factory.

Kāṭs, this appears to be a corruption of the English word *guards*, see page 160, 1,4 in this book.

Khādī, a very thick and coarse kind of cotton cloth.

Khalīfa, a successor, a sovereign, particularly applied to the successors of Muḥammad the Prophet, a caliph.

Khallāṣī, a native sailor; a native artillery man, a tent-pitcher.

Khalwat-khāna, place of retirement, private apartment, the women's apartment.

Khānsāmān, *lit.* 'master of the stores', a house steward, butler, major domo.

Kharīṭa, a receptacle, pouch, purse of leather, etc.

Khichṛī, a dish made of rice and split pulse (*dāl*) boiled together with ghee and spices.

Khilāfat, the office or dignity of caliph.

Khilāfat-i-Chishtiyya, the dignity pertaining to the succession of disciples of Abū Isḥāq Chishti. (For details see f. note 2, on p. 14 in this book).

Khil'at, a robe of honour; an honorific dress with which princes confer dignity upon subjects, consisting at least of a turban, rope and girdle.

Khiṭābāt, (sing. *Khiṭāb*) a title.

Khravī, a kind of dance (perhaps it may be the *kuravai* (குரவை) dance popular among the Tamils).

Kotwāl, lit. 'the keeper or porter of a castle'; the chief officer of the police for a city or town; a city magistrate.

Langar, victuals distributed amongst *faqīrs*; alms.

Langar-i-mannat, amulets etc. worn in consequence of a vow.

Mahādōl, a large and splendid sort of sedan (or *pālkī*) for great personages.

Maḥall, a palace.

Majlis, assembly, congress, council.

Makhmal, velvet with two faces.

Malmal chādar, muslin cloth.

Mandīla, perhaps the word is a variation of the Arabic *mandīl*, a towel, napkin; a turban or turban cloth woven with silk and gold thread.

Mānja, corruption of *manjā*, the rubbing or anointing the body with turmeric (a religious ceremony observed on certain festive occasions particularly as a prelude to marriage).

Manja-khāna, the room in which a youth about to be married is seated in state for a certain number of days.

Manṣab, post, dignity, office, ministry, magistracy, a high place.

Manzils, (sing. *Manzil*) a place for alighting.

Mardāna, men's apartments.

Masnad, a throne.

Mawlūd-khwāns, (sing. *Mawlūd-khwān*) one who chants poetry on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the Prophet Muḥammad's birth.

Maykāt, this Tamil word appears to be a corruption of the Arabic *Muqayyad*, shackled, fettered in chains.

Mēwa-khāna, a place where fruit is stored.

Mīrāthīs, (sing. *Mīrāthī*) singer (of a caste which follows that profession from generation to generation).

Mīrāthiyān, sing. *mīrāthī*.

Mīr-munshī, head-clerk of an office; chief secretary.

Mīr-sāmān, head steward.

Miskīns, (sing. *Miskīn*) poor, needy, indigent.

Miṣrī, relating to Egypt, Egyptian.

Mēstrī, Tamil form of the Hindī *mistarī*, vulg. *mistri* probably the English *master* pronounced *mistar*, a head artificer, a master mason, or bricklayer.

Miyāna, a kind of sedan or *pālkī* with curtains.

Mōgrā, the double jasmine; jasminum zambac.

Muhr, a gold coin (current in India for about £1-sh. 16), a gold-mohur.

Muhr-i-jēbī, a private seal; a signet. Only two forms are known *muhr-i-dastī* and *muhr-i-khāṣṣ* to denote a signet. *Muhr-i-jēbī* is the form used by the author of this book.

Muhr-i-khāṣṣ, a private seal; a signet.

Munshī, a writer, scribe, secretary, an amanuensis. (In India among Europeans) a tutor, a teacher of Persian or Urdu language, a master.

Munṣifs, (sing. *Munṣif*) a Judge, an arbitrator; (In India a subordinate Judge).

Mutaṣaddīs, (sing. *Mutaṣaddī*) any inferior officer of government, a clerk, writer; an accountant.

Nadhr, gift or present from an inferior to a superior; a fee paid to the state or to its representative on succeeding to an office or to property.

Nadhr-dastī, a kind of *nadhr*, prob. a small present.

Nā'ib, lieutenant, viceroy, vicegerent, deputy.

Najīb, excellent; of noble birth.

Nalka, corruption of *nalwa*, a small tube or pipe in which letters are conveyed.

Nālkī, a sort of open sedan or *pālkī*, used by persons of rank.

Naqqāra, a kettle-drum.

Naqsh-i-buddūḥ, a design of the names of God.

Nawbat, a very large kettle-drum struck at stated hours; a musical band played at stated times before the palace of a king or a prince.

Nawrōz, new year's day according to the Persian calendar when the sun enters Aries initiating a week of festivities. This day which falls usually on the 20th or 21st of March is of great antiquity dating back to the days of Jamshīd. He is said to have fixed the Persian calendar ordaining that the new year should begin on the first day of the Persian month of Farwardīn when the sun enters Aries.

Nīm, the nīm-tree.

Nīm-āstīn, an upper robe or jacket with half sleeves often made of gold and silver tissue.

Ni'mat-khāna, *lit.* house of affluence; a dining room, banquet hall.

Pādrī, Christian priest, clergyman, minister, chaplin, missionary.

Pagōdās, (sing. *Pagōdā*) gold coin once current in South India.

Pahlawāns, (sing. *Pahlawān*) champion, athelete, wrestler, a stout and sturdy fellow.

Pahras, (sing. *Pahra*) watchman, sentinel, guard, a corporal and six.

Pālayagārs, (sing. *Pālayagār*) feudal chief in South India, poligar.

Pāndān, a box in which betel and its apparatus are kept.

Panja-kashī, to interlock fingers with an adversary and endeavour to twist his hand or wrist.

Pardah, a curtain, screen, cover, veil, anything which serves as a screen.

Parwāna, written precept or command, letters patent, grant, order of appointment, vernacular letter addressed to a subordinate officer.

Pēsh-dālān, vestibule, porch, portico, verandah, gallery.

Pēshkārs, (sing. *Pēshkār*) deputy, an officer in court below the *sarishtadār*; steward; a subordinate officer whose business is to write accounts.

Pēsh-qabz, a dagger worn in front.

Pīr-dastgīr, a guardian saint.

Qalyān, a pipe for smoking through water, a kind of *huqqa*.

Qannāt, the wall of a tent, a canvas enclosure round a tent or, with which a sort of courtyard is formed in a camp.

Qarār-nāma, a written engagement, etc.

Qawwāls, (sing. *Qawwāl*) a professional storyteller; a kind of musician who sings and plays (on the *sārangī*); a singer.

Qibla, that part to which Muslims turn their faces when at prayer; the *Ka'ba* in Makka; Makka.

Qiladār, the commandant of a garrison; governor of a fort.

Qisṭ, a stipulated rate and time of payment of revenue etc.; a tax.

Qurbānī, a sacrifice.

Ra'īs, headman, commander, governor, ruler, prince, a person of authority, a person high in rank.

Rang, colour, paint.

Rang-bāzī, sprinkling coloured water in sport on festive occasions.

Rasm, custom and usage, established practice; way followed in respect of doctrine and practices of religion.

Rasm-i-ʿaqd, the ceremony observed on the occasion of the marriage contract.

Rasm-i-jalwa, the ceremony at the time of the meeting of the bride and bridegroom in the presence of their relatives; the ceremony when the bridegroom reads a chapter of the Qurān and for the first time sees his wife's face in a mirror.

Rasm-i-rangbāzī, the custom of throwing coloured water or red powder on one another.

Rasm-i-sānchaq, (*Sāchaq*) the usage observed on the occasion of *Sāchaq*.

Rasm-i sharbat, to give a barber *sharbat* to drink and so seal the betrothel which he has arranged; the present made by a bride and bridegroom to the barber who arranged the marriage.

Rawẓa-khwāns, (sing. *Rawẓa-khwān*) one who recites the praises of Imām Ḥusayn in the month of Muḥarram; a eulogist at the tomb of a saint, or beloved person.

Rīs, (meaning cannot be found out).

Risāla, a troop of horse, squadron, cavalry.

Risāladār, commander of a troop of horse.

Rūmāl, *lit.* 'face-wiping'; a handkerchief, a towel, napkin.

Rūmāl-shāl, probably a *rūmāl* made of shawl-cloth.

Rūnumā'ī, a showing of the face; sight of the face; the ceremony of a bride's unveiling herself for the first time in the house of her father-in-law; the present made to a bride when she unveils herself.

Ṣadqa, alms, gift, a propitiatory offering, a sacrifice to avert misfortune or sickness.

Ṣadr-i-ʿadālat, the supreme court of justice.

Ṣaḥn, a court, courtyard, area, square, a lawn.

Salām, salutation, greeting, compliments, parting salutation, adieu, farewell, good-bye.

Salāmī, a congratulatory present to a bridegroom generally from the father-in-law's household.

Salāmun-ʿalaykum, *lit.* 'peace be on you'. An expression of greeting among the Muslims.

Sānchaq, (corruption of *Sāchaq*) the feast at the bridegroom's house on the day of applying *ḥinnā* to the bride's hands and feet; interchange of wedding garments and presents which takes place the day before a marriage (the bride's garments being sent by the bridegroom's family and *vice versa*).

Sarācha, a tent surrounded with an enclosure.

Sārangī, a musical instrument like a fiddle.

Sārang rāg, name of a *rāg* or musical mode.

Sardār, general, field marshal, officer of rank, chief of any department; prince.

Sarkār, master, lord; court of a king; government, ruling authority.

Sarpēch, an ornament of gold, silver or jewels, generally worn in front of the turban; it sometimes consists of square pieces of gold plates strung together, each plate being set with precious stones; a band of

silk or embroidery, from two to two and a half cubits long, worn round the turban.

Sawārī, anything on which one rides, vehicle, conveyance, equipage, cavalcade, suite.

Sayrgāh, a place of recreation, a place affording a good view or prospect.

Sayyida, the wife or daughter of a *Sayyid*; a lady, a princess.

Sayyids, (sing. *Sayyid*) descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad.

Sehra, a chaplet, diadem, garland, wreath worn on the head by a bride and bridegroom at the marriage ceremony; the song sung on the occasion of placing the bridal chaplets on the heads of the bride and bridegroom.

Shabbo, lit. 'night-smelling', the tuberose.

Shab-gasht, a procession at night.

Shabnam-cloth, a kind of fine linen, a very fine muslin.

Shādī-khāna, a house where marriage is celebrated.

Shādī-maḥfil, a sitting place of the bridegroom surrounded by an assembly of men.

Shāhinshāh, emperor, king of kings.

Shāh-Jahānī waist-band, a princely waist-band, or a waist-band of the variety used by Shāhjahān, the Mughal Emperor.

Shāl, a shawl.

Shāmiyāna, a kind of tent, a pavilion; a canopy, an awning supported on poles.

Sharbat, drink, beverage, sherbet; sugar and water (the most common signification).

Shaṭranj, chess.

Shaykhs, (sing. *Shaykh*) venerable old man; man of authority, chief; abbot, superior of the dervishes.

Shīīs, a sect which follows Alī, affirming that he was the rightful Imām after Muḥammad the Prophet; a follower of the sect (dist. from *Sunnī*).

Shikār, hunting.

Shikār-khāna, a place where necessary instruments for hunting are kept.

Ṣūba, a collection of districts; province (one of the large divisions of the Mughal Empire, such as Bengal, the Carnatic).

Ṣūbadār, the office of the lieutenant of a province, viceroyalty.

Suksāwan, a kind of vehicle. (Perhaps the word is a corruption of *Sukh-āsan*, an easy chair; a couch; a palanquin.)

Sunni, a Muslim who accepts the *sunnat* or traditionary portion of the Muhammadan law, and reveres equally the four immediate successors (*Khulafā-al-rāshidīn*) after the Prophet.

Sūra, a chapter of the holy Qurān (of which there are 114).

Sūra-i-yāsīn, name of the 36th *sūra* of the holy Qurān.

Ṭablūr-khāna, a place where lights are stored. (Probably *Ṭablūr* is the corruption of *Bilaur* vulg. *Bilōr*).

Ṭablūrnī, probably a woman in charge of lighting arrangements.

Tambūr, a tambour, a drum.

Tamlar, (meaning cannot be found out).

Tarāwīh, a form of prayer consisting of twenty or more (*rakū*) genuflexions (according to different persuasions) performed in the month of Ramaẓān, after the ordinary prayers of nightfall, but by pious persons often repeated every morning. The prayer is so called because the performer *rests* after every four genuflexions.

Tasbīḥ, declaring that Allāh is free from every imperfection or impurity, and praising Him (saying *subḥānallāh*, glory be to Allāh).

Tawba, repenting, penitance.

Tōraḥ, a tray or dish of various meats; a number of trays containing various dishes of food.

Tōsha-khāna, place where furniture is kept.

Ṭurra, an ornament worn in the turban; an ornamental tassel or border, etc., a plume of feathers, a crest.

'Uhda-dār, an officer of the Mughal government engaged to collect the revenue of a district for a small percentage; an officer, civil or military authority.

'Ulamā, (sing. *'Ālim*) doctor of law and religion.

'Urs, a religious ceremony celebrating the union of the soul of a deceased saint or *pīr* with the supreme Spirit. The saints' disciples gather round his grave, and read the *fātiḥa* and offer food, incense, lights, etc.

Waṣiyyat-nāma, last will or testament.

Wizārat-i-ṣūbadār, the dignity of *wazīr* of *ṣūbadār*.

Yaktāra, a guitar with one wire or string.

Yūnānī, belonging to *Yūnān*; Ionian; Grecian, Greek; the Greek system of medicine.

Zunnārdār, one who wears a sacred thread, a Brahman.

MEANING OF TITLES.

Amīr Jang, an *amīr* distinguished in war.

Amīrul-Mulk 'Umdatu'd-Dawla Ẓafar Jang, an *amīr* of rank in the kingdom, upholding prosperity of the state and victorious in war.

Babar Jang, a lion in battlefield.

Bahādur, brave, bold, valiant, courageous, high-spirited.

Bahrām Jang, brave in battle (*Bahrām*, the planet Mars).

Ghulām Álī Khān Bahādur Sayf Jang, Ghulām Ali Khān the brave, a sword in war.

Ghulām Riẓā Khān Bahādur Ḥusām Jang, Ghulām Riẓā Khān the brave, a sharp sword in war.

Ikhtiyār Jang Bahādur, the valiant hero invested with authority in war.

I'tiṣām Jang, firm in war.

I'tizādu'd-Dawla, (*I'tiẓādu'd-Dawla*) the prop of prosperity.

Jalādat Jang, valiant in battle.

Khān, chief, a title of Muslim nobles specially those of Paṭhān descent.

Majdu'd-Dawla, glory of the state.

Malikuʼl-ḥukamā, prince among *ḥakīms*.

Malikuʼl-ʻulamā, prince among *ʻulims*.

Muẓaffar Jang, fortunate in war.

Naṣību'd-Dawla Ghulām Mujtabā Khān Bahādur Asad Jang, Ghulām Mujtabā Khān Bahādur, fortunate in the kingdom and tiger in war.

Naṣīr Jang, an ally in war.

Naṣīru'd-Dawla, defender of state.

Nawwāb, deputy, governor, viceroy, lord, man of rank, prince, princess.

Nawwāb Ra'īsu'l-umarā Sardāru'l-Mamālīk Sirāju'l-Mulk, a Nawwāb, chief of the *amīrs*, commander of states, lamp of kingdom.

Nawwāb Tājul-Umarā 'Umdatiu'l-Mamālīk Amīrul-Mulk, a Nawwāb, crown of *amīrs*, pillar of states, an *amīr* in the realm.

Rāi, prince, chief (a Hindu title).

Rāi Rāyān, chief of chiefs.

Rukniu'd-Dawla, a pillar of the state.

Ṣāḥibu'd-Dawla, comrade of the state.

Ṣamṣām Jang, a sharp sword in war.

Sirāju'l-Mulk Dhu'l-faqāru'd-Dawla Sardār Jang, lamp of the realm, (famous in) the kingdom as the sword of Alī, commander in war.

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