

# TARIKH-I-NUSRATJANGI

*Nawab Nusrat Jang*



ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH

**Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi**  
**Risala Darbayān-i-Ahwal-i-Jahangir Nāgar, Dhakā**  
**(An official Account of Jahangirnagar, Dhaka)**  
by  
**Nawab Nusrat Jang**

**Abdus Sobhan**  
Text Editor and Translator

**Sharif uddin Ahmed**  
General Editor



**ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH**



Nawab Nusrat Jung  
Nayeb Nazim of Jahangirnagar

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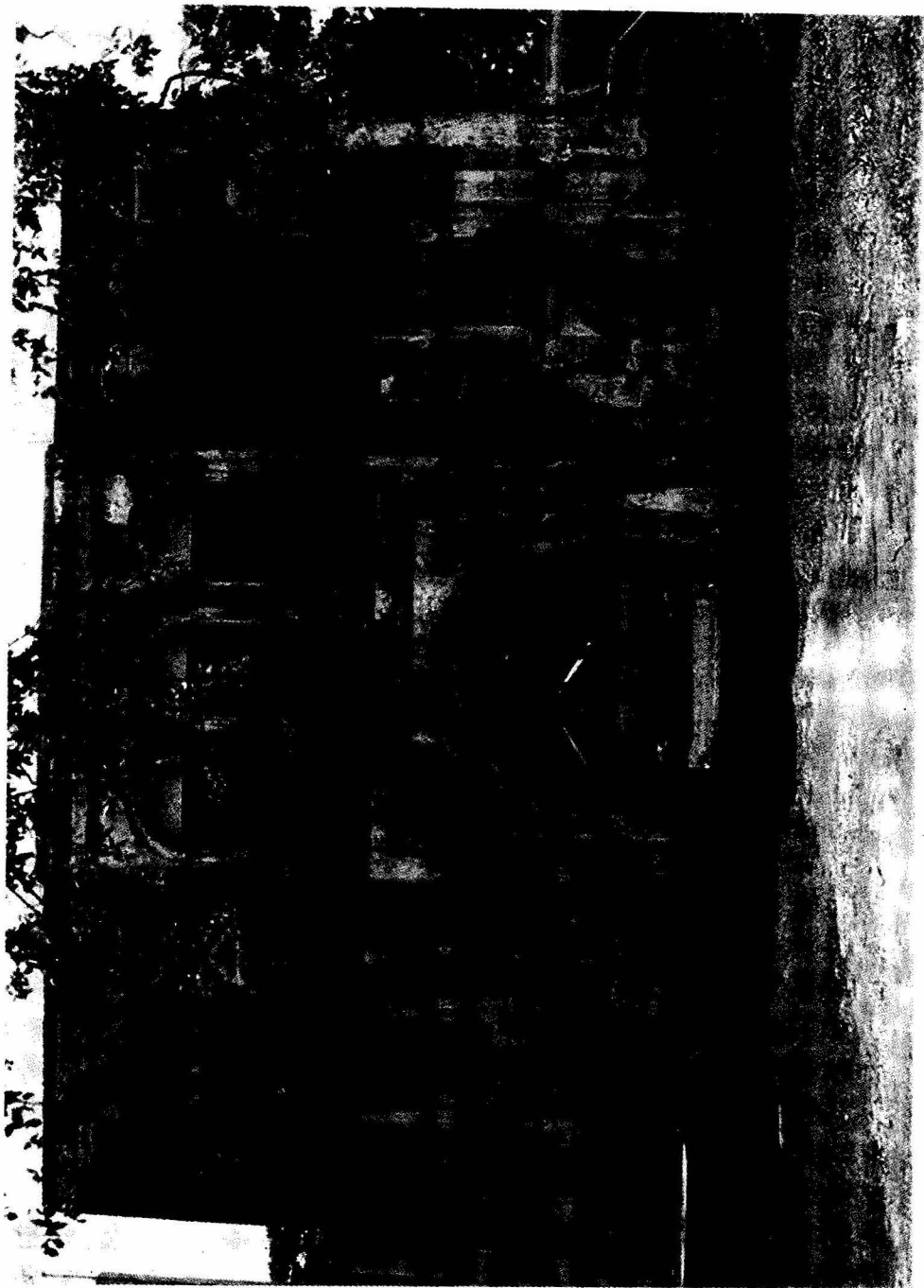
این کتاب در بیان خود که بر اینست حدیث است که در نورو نور کامله است  
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 مستقامت ایشانست صفای روح و گوشت هر آن حاکم و وزیر است  
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 در کتب کوف در حیرت و حیرت کتبات و الاصفیات او  
 چنانچه خود را و عقاید مندر و از دانش بخیر است  
 مضافاً که لا اله الا الله و محمد رسول الله  
 بر اینست که فانیست لاریت جان و لوی و در حیرت است

Initial Page of the Original Mss. of  
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Nimfali Dewri

## General Editor's Note

It had been a long demand of many members of the Society especially those interested in the history of the city of Dhaka to republish an edited version of the Persian manuscript titled *Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi* or An Account of Jahangirnagar, Dhaka, written by one of the Nawabs of Dhaka, Nawab Nusrat Jang. It was also desired that the edition should have an English translation for the benefit of those who do not know Persian. This long felt demand has at last been fulfilled. It is indeed thus a very happy occasion for the Society and for those who wished to make further studies of Dhaka city.

I am indeed very grateful to the Council of the Asiatic Society for nominating me to act as the General Editor and to provide overall supervision for the publication of the work.

We are indeed very lucky to have a renowned Persian scholar and a historian like Professor Abdus Sobhan for editing the original Persian text and rendering a translation of it in English for publication. The task has not been easy and Professor Sobhan, we think, has done a commendable job both in editing and translating the work. We are sure the publication of this book would further the cause of historical research on Dhaka.

Professor Sobhan has written in detail about the manuscript, its place in our historiography as well as its particular significance. Readers will learn all about these matters from the book.

Although there is no need for making any extra comment on the publication still I would like to say something about the overall plan and the manner in which this work has been published.

The manuscript, as is well known, was written a long time ago and although it was published before in 1907, it is not very easily available to the present generation of researchers or general readers. Hence its particular importance.

It may also be pointed out that the manuscript is not a complete story of any event or a period of history and hence it requires some supporting materials to understand the main theme i.e. in this case the history of the institution of *Dhaka-Niabat* and the *Naib-Nazims* of Dhaka. We have therefore resolved to add a short narrative of the Naib-Nazims so that the manuscript could be appreciated and its value understood in the proper perspective. This may also be helpful to the readers who have very little knowledge of the Mughal *Naib-Nazims* or Nawabs of Dhaka.

As for the significance of the manuscript I would also like to say a few words adding to what has been already remarked by the editor of the

text. It has been pointed out by some earlier scholars that the manuscript has little or no value at all. Far from it I share the view with Professor Sobhan that it is of particular importance for knowing the history and society of Dhaka in the early years of British rule.

In bringing out this publication, many members of the Society and others have helped me to all of whom I would like to express my gratitude and thanks. First of all I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to the Council of the Asiatic Society who had kindly invited me to act as General Editor of the book. In this connection I would particularly like to thank the General Secretary of the Society, Professor SM Mahfuzur Rahman who has not only provided me with all kinds of facilities for publishing the work but also constantly encouraged and reminded me to publish the book in due time. I would also like to thank Professor Dr. Sirajul Islam and Professor Dr. Sajahan Miah, of the Society for their personal initiatives in publishing this work. Thanks are also due to Late Mr. Mahbub Alam, Mr. Toriqul Alam Khan, and Mr. Ishtiaque Ahmed Khan, being Trustees of the Jahanara Majid and Mahbub Alam Trust Fund for originally taking the initiative to translate and publish this work. I would especially like to thank Dr. Abu Imam former Professor of the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University, for going through some parts of the manuscript. I would also like to thank and express our gratitude to Bangladesh National Museum and Mr. M.A. Sadeque of the National Museum for helping me to obtain the art work used for the cover. I would also like to thank GSRC for preparing the map which have been included in this book. I would also like to thank my student Md. Kamal Hossain, Department of Persian and Urdu, University of Dhaka for helping me in checking the Persian text and other relevant matters in the publication of the work. Further I would like to express my thanks to Mr. SM Deloar Hossain for composing the English text and performing many other related matters.

My final hope is that the publication of this book would encourage further research works on Dhaka City and inspire the younger generation to become interested in the studies of Persian language without which our understanding specially of the Mughal past of Bengal's history would gradually diminish.

27/12/2015 = without it  
R. S. 2

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Professor  
History Department  
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and  
Director  
National Archives of Bangladesh

## Text Editor-cum-Translator's Note

The *Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi* was written by Nawab Nusrat Jang of Jahangir Nagar (Dhaka), who died in 1822. It is difficult to ascertain the exact year in which the book was compiled. Internal evidence proves that it was completed before 1817, because the manuscript belonging to the Asiatic Society of Kolkata carries on its last page the following note from one Mr. Swinton, who had presented the manuscript to the Society:

"An Account of Dacca by Nawab Nusrat Jang, the present Nawab of City, 1817".

According to the author's preface, written in Persian, the compilation of the book was undertaken at the request of some of his English friends. After Nawab Nusrat Jang's death, the narrative was resumed by his Arzbegi's (head of Army) son, named Syed Abdul Ghani, alias Hamid Mir, who brought the chronicle down to the year 1843, when Ghaziuddin Muhammad, the last scion of the Nawab's family died.

Towards the early years of the last century, this historical treatise attracted the attention of the noted linguist Harinath De (1877-1911). He edited the text with the help of three different copies of the manuscript, including the one belonging to Kolkata's Asiatic Society, and got it published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series of the Asiatic Society in 1907. Harinath De promised to bring out an English translation of the edited text, but he did not live long to fulfil his wish.

For establishing the present text, I have rechecked the 1907 edition with the Asiatic Society copy and have found that the authenticity of the earlier text is beyond the pale of reasonable doubt. Since the text has long been out of print and the need for having an English version of the edited text has been consistently felt by the students of Dhaka's history of the period in question, I have updated the 1907 textual edition and have prepared the English translation thereof for the benefit of all concerned, at the request of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka. The text is being presented in bright *nastaliq*.

The language of the text being highly verbose and pedantic, it proved to be a daunting task for me to keep the translation as literal as possible, and at the same time convey to the readers whatever the author actually meant by his flowery descriptions. English equivalents of honorific

titles of the nobility the author has portrayed have been dropped for the sake of the felicity of the English language.

The interested reader of the book has always felt intrigued by the following remark of the noted Orientalist of the day, Henry Ferdinand Blochmann (1838-1878), written on the fly-leaf of the Asiatic Society copy of the treatise: "The book is good for nothing. The history of Dacca is written in the last two leaves. The other leaves contain the history of Bengal, but most facts are wrong and nothing is new."

Harinath De's comment on Blochmann's note that 'its correctness is more than doubtful' is neither sufficient nor scholarly. Even if Blochmann's remark is taken to be genuine, it will never be correct to say that "most facts are wrong and nothing is new". Blochmann's surmise can at best be dismissed as a very casual and loose statement. Much of what has been recorded by the author may be unpalatable and, at times, may appear scandalous, but they should be accepted as genuine observations of an eyewitness chronicler, as they provide unimpeachable glimpses of the social picture of Dhaka's aristocracy of the period concerned.

**Abdus Subhan**

Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata

20 September, 2001

*Bismillāhir Rāhmān-ur Rāhim*

**A Paragraph in Praise of Allah, who has given him this power of thinking and writing**

This is a short history of the rulers of Bengal with particular reference to the (Dar-us-Surur) happy region called Jahangir Nagar (May Allah protect it from all chaos and dangers) and also of local structures and buildings, which remind us of its rich past. Some of the English officials, who are always desirous or knowing the past history, acquired the necessary Permission form Intizamud Dawlah Nasirul Mulk Syed Ali Khan Bahadur Nusratjang and requested this humble Servant Syed Ali āl-Husaini Kashmiri to prepare such a history. Thus, I went into the job of collecting necessary information within a short time at my disposal and wrote out this short history without going into details. It may not remain a secret that according to Iqbal Nama-i-Jahngiri and Alamgir Nama, the Subah-i-Banglah became part of the Mughal Empire since the days of Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Before that the area was governed by a section of the Afghans led by Uthman Khan, against whom the Royal Mughul Army fought several battles. Ever since the days of Mān Singh, Rather who was appointed Subahdar of Bengal, efforts were made by these Afghan groups to take away Bengal from his hand, but they could not succeed.

Till the days of Emperor Akbar, the Afghan groups were in a position to settle in Jahangir Nagar. In the year 1021 A.H., corresponding to the seventh reginal year of Jahangir's Rule, Islam Khan was appointed by the Emperor as Subahdar of Bengal. He dispatched a big Army under the leadership of Shujàat Ali Khan. After the repeated battles between the Army of the two sides, Shujàat Ali Khan came out victorious and Uthman Khan was killed after sustaining fatal Injuries. Later his son and brother Wali Khan and Umar Khan joined the forces of Islam Khan and brought the Bengal Province under the Mughal Sovereignty. It was under Islam Khan that "Dhaka" was given the name of *Jahangir Nagar* and Chittagong was named *Islamabad*. Islam Khan made great endeavors to beautify and broaden the streets of Dhaka. The region of Assam was annexed to the Imperial territory. After this Islam Khan was relieved of his duty as Subahdar of Bengal and went lack of this Emperor.

**Syed Ali āl-Husaini Kashmiri**

## **On the regime of Qutubuddin Khan and other Nazims Appointed in Jahangir Nagar during Emperor Jahangir's reign**

One of the rulers is Qutubuddin Khan Kukaltash and the other Mahabat Khan Kabuli. Afterwards, during the early part of the reign of Emperor Shahjahan, the eldest son of Jahangir, Raja Man Singh became Viceroy of Dhaka for the second time, and in the later part of his reign, Ibrahim Khan, who would constantly reside in Jahangir Nagar. The rebellion of Rahim Khan Afghan and his hostile acts against the Imperial officials occurred during his time. In short, Rahim Khan, calling himself Rahim Shah, had aligned himself with Shobha Singh, the Zamindar of Chitwa and others in several places, occupied Burdwan, Jessore and Amoa etc. and attacked the Hoogly fort. Nurullah Khan, Faujdar of Hooghly, unable to resist Shobha Singh, fled away, but through courageous use of the artillery by some Dutchmen from a two-storey ship, anchored close to the Hoogly fort, forced the latter towards Sonargaon. On returning to Burdwan, where Rahim Khan joined him, Shobha Singh proceeded towards Murshidabad, where he took up position. He then got enamoured of the ravishing beauty of the daughter of Ram Kishen, the slain Zamindar of Burdwan, whom he had earlier vanquished, and wanted to secure her hands, by force. But each time Shobha Singh made an advance towards her, she kept her guard through various tricks, until one night he was overcome with passion to molest her. The daughter, who had concealed a sharp dagger for use in such an eventuality, stabbed him in the abdomen and killed him.

An evil doer sees his end in evil

From God it comes, and not from beloved.

After Shobha Singh's death, his brother Himmat Singh succeeded him. Enjoying the support of Rahim Khan, Himmat Singh assumed autocratic powers in Murshidabad, then known as Makhsusabad, [P.4] and turned so arrogant that he felt no regard for the royal officers. Rahim Khan mercilessly put to death Niamat Khan, the king's servant and also the latter's nephew. When this horrific news reached Ibrahim Khan, the Nazim of Bengal, at Jahangir Nagar, the latter found himself helpless in the matter and hence sent a report on the whole affair to the Emperor, asking his chroniclers to do the same. Consequently, the Emperor ordered Zabardast Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan, who was a valiant fighter and who succeeded his father to the Nizamat of Bengal, to put down the recalcitrant forces in his dominion. Words of rebuke and warning were also sent to the Nazims and Faujdars of Oudh and Allahabad. As a result, the soldiers and other leaders forsook Rahim Khan's side, and thus the latter was segregated from the help of the rebels. Prince Azimushshan, son of Bahadur Shah II and grandson of Aurangzeb, was appointed Subahdar of Bengal and Bihar.

## March of Prince Azimushshan towards Bengal to crush Rahim Khan

The Prince accompanied by his two sons, Karimuddin and Farrukh Siyar, set out for Bengal with a royal retinue and twelve thousand horsemen. But before the arrival of the prince, Zabardast Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan, quickly proceeded along the river from Jahangir Nagar with the royal fleet and artillery and took up positions on the banks of the Ganges confronting Rahim Khan. The battle having commenced, Zabardast Khan, making dexterous use of the guns, defeated the Afghans. After two days of hectic and brave skirmishes, Rahim Khan was defeated, and fled towards Murshidabad [P. 5] where he again regrouped his army. Zabardast Khan, on hearing this news, dispatched orders to Zamindars and Thanandars of the area for blocking the passage of Rahim Khan and capturing him. After distributing the booties of war among his soldiers, Zabardast Khan reconciled them and won them over. He sent the wounded to Jahangir Nagar and after taking rest for three days due to the physical fatigue, marched victoriously towards Murshidabad. During the course of his journey, the Zamindars and Thanadars of the area joined him. The number of the imperial army thus swelled to such a point that Rahim Khan got frightened and fled to Burdwan. But Prince Azimushshan, feeling uncertain about the Emperor's orders about his promotion, in view of the news of Zabardast Khan's victory over Rahim Khan, hastened to Akbarabad, where he was informed of Zabardast Khan's victory over Rahim Khan and the rebel's flight. As the Prince showed no favour and gave no credit to Zabardast Khans's feat, the latter felt immensely disillusioned with him and left his presence, beating drums and showing no respect to him, and finally left for Shahjahanabad. Rahim Shah, learning of Zabardast Khan's departure and disbelieving Azimushshan's arrival, started his tyrannical onslaughts on the high and sundry in Burdwan, Hooghly and the neighbouring areas, which was subjected to large scale plundering.

When the Prince's entourage entered Murshidabad, the Zamindars, Thanadars and Faujdars met the Prince with presents and received honours in return. On hearing the news of Rahim Shah's tyranny, the Prince turned towards Burdwan and wanted to bring the rebel into subjugation by means of various tricks. But Rahim Shah, who appeared to be obedient, was actually lying in wait for a proper opportunity to make a sudden attack.

Rahim Shah confronted the Prince with his horses and elephants and made the situation hot for him. [P.6] Hamid Khan Qureshi, a noted soldier and a confidant of the Prince, on witnessing the situation, addressed him saying: "Oh ungrateful creature, I am the prince, come and fight with me." At once he threw (towards Rahim Shah) an arrow which he had kept ready in his bow. No sooner had the victim become



aware of the first than he was hit in his head with another arrow. On receiving the two mortal injuries, he became helpless and collapsed on his horse and fell on the ground. The valorous Hamid Khan pounced on him, cut off his head and held it up on the point of his lance. He then ordered for the beating of the drums of victory. The Prince, on getting freed from Rahim Shah, entered Burdwan fort and showered bounties on the Zamindars of the area and populated the devastated areas.

He conferred robes of honour on Jagat Ram, son of Krishna Ram, the slain Zamindar of Burdwan and restored him to the Zamindari. He also decorated Hamid Khan (Qureshi) with the title of Shamsir Khan and that of Bahadur for his commendable service, and made him Faujdar of Sylhet. He connected the fort of Burdwan, which had served as residence of past rulers, with his own palace, after making some new constructions inside the premises. He also built a Jami Masjid for the purpose of facilitating Friday prayers. At the fort of Hooghly he built a town named Shahganj alias Azimganj. After populating the area, he went to Jahangir Nagar and stayed there. As, news about some of the prince's activities such as participation in the Holi festivities and wearing saffron colour dresses, which are prohibited by religion, had reached the Emperor through the public reporters, words of royal rebuke and displeasure were sent to the prince.

Mirza Muhammad Hadi, a soldier by profession, had rendered some excellent service to the Emperor during the Deccan wars and had sentenced his own son to death, in accordance with the Shariat for committing grievous sins and tyranny. As he was a cynosure of the Emperor's eyes, he was first appointed Diwan of Orissa, and then Diwan of Bengal, after being conferred the title of Kartalab Khan. Consequently he went to Jahangir Nagar and managed the financial affairs there with great honesty and integrity moreover he made such in such a way that Bengal's arrangements revenue became safe from the hands of the prince. Whereupon, the Prince passed his days in great disappointment and despondency, but Mirza Hadi was always particular in paying due reverence to the prince. [P. 7]

He ruled over Bengal in an excellent manner by utilizing his vast experience and sent a crore of rupees to the Emperor, who was thus immensely pleased with him. His administrative capability and popularity made the Prince increasingly jealous, and so the latter started planning to remove him from his path. As he had resolved to act upon his plan, he called his acquaintances, noted for their bravery and confidence, and won their hearts by giving them inducements of money and increments in their salaries, and gave them orders to put an end to the Khan's life at an appropriate time. As planned, the conspirators lay in wait for the proper time (to do the job). As a matter of precatation, the said Khan never rode without being properly armed and without his

companions equipped with weapons. Such preparedness did not provide the conspirators with the desired opportunity. On an ordinary day, when he was on his way to have audience with the Prince in the company of his friends, the mischief-makers, thinking the Khan to be off-guard, raised a hue and cry on the pretext of demanding salary dues. The Khan, sensing evil motive on the part of the protesters and thinking all these to be at the behest of the Prince, came out of the situation cleverly along with his friends. Instead, he went straight to meet the Prince and told him in his face that he was responsible for the hue and cry of the protesters. The Prince, on seeing the situation not favourable, treated the Khan with outward courtesy and kindness, and quickly wriggled himself out of the meeting. The Khan, coming out of the *Diwan-i-Am*, immediately wrote to the Emperor about the misbehavior of the retainers at the instigation of the Prince.

As the Khan was not favourably disposed towards the Prince due his ill-behavior, he called a meeting of all the *zamindars* and *qanungos* to fix up a proper place where it would be convenient to collect all sorts of news from all the three subahs and where he could himself stay for some time. After intensive deliberations, Maksudabad, adjacent to Pargana Chunakhali, was selected for the said propose. The Khan went to the place and remained there in the company of his officers, *zamindars* and *qanungos*, without letting the Prince know of it. He also built residences and established *kacharis* for collecting revenue and he himself attended to administrative duties after ensuring comfortable abode. But in consequence of a petition sent by him to the Emperor in the Deccan, an order reflecting royal displeasure arrived to the effect that Prince Azimushshan should give up the administration of Bengal and [P.8] proceed to Bihar as Governor. On learning of the order, he left Sarbuland in Jahangir Nagar as a deputy of *Sultan Farrukh Siyar*, and he himself went to Bihar and reached Monghyr Fort, which was earlier associated with Shah Shuja. He found that the building (at Monghyr) had become damaged and its repair would entail much expense, he selected a new place on the bank of the Ganges, where he settled and named it after himself, Azimabad. After constructing a strong fort there, he settled therein.

At Maksudabad, Kartalab Khan had prepared all the revenue papers for the whole year and in accordance with the current custom, wanted to get it signed by the chief *Qanungo*, who was then Durup Narayan. But the latter did not sign the papers, as he had demanded three lakhs of rupees as his fee for signing the papers. But Kartalab Khan got the papers signed by the other *Qanungo*, Jai Narayan. Without caring for the opposition of the Prince and Durup Narayan, Kartalab Khan himself went with the papers to the Emperor, along with Hundi of a big amount of money and numerous gifts for the Emperor and the Wazir. In return, he received the full Diwani, along with a robe of honour and the title of Murshid Quli Khan, and also the Subahadarship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He finally returned to Murshidabad, fully satisfied and duly honoured.

### Subahdarship of Murshid Quli Khan

On reaching Murshidabad, Murshid Quli Khan appointed Syed Akram Khan the Diwan of Bengal and his son-in-law Shujauddin Muhammad Khan the Deputy Governor of Orissa. Itisam Khan was appointed subahdar of Jahangir Nagar, along with Islamabad and Raushanabad and Sylhet, in place of Zabardast Khan. Murshid Quli made great efforts to populate Maksudabad, which he had earlier named Murshidabad after his own name. He then took out *chakla* of Mednipur from Orissa and got it annexed to Bengal.[P.9] He called all the related zamindars and kept them confined for some time and created assignments for them by way of compensation and livelihood, and thus collected, part by part, all the revenues due from them. But the Zamindars of Birbhum and Bishnupur could not present themselves before Murshid Quli Khan on account of the density of forest and hills through which they had to pass.

On completion of one year, Murshid Quli Khan collected one crore and three lakhs of rupees, apart from *jagirs*, and gifts of native and English men and sent them to the Emperor. In exchange thereof, he received the royal titles of *Alaud Dawlah Mutamanul Mulk Jafar Khan Nusairi Nusratjang*, along with the increased honour such as *Mahi Marateb*. Murshid Quli Khan ruled the Subah in perfect independence for twelve years and several months.

The Germans, who had a factory in Bengal, were also trading in partnership with the French and sent some presents (*nazrana*) through the French to the Emperor who allowed them to construct a settlement at Banki Bazar. First they built thatched houses and then constructed houses, forts and deep ditches and canals, through which the river waters entered inside and on which the boats plied from all sides. They became so prosperous that they enjoyed preference over other Europeans.

On learning of this situation, some self-seeking groups of English and Dutch conspired together to have the German *Kothi* removed and complained to Ahsanullah Khan, Faujdar of Hoogly, against the Germans about their mischievous activities, who in turn spoke to Jafar Khan. The latter issued an order prohibiting the Germans to make further construction. But the Germans, confronted with the humiliating order, decided to face the challenge, and in this the French secretly helped them. But the Germans, facing defeat, took to their heels in the cover of night and consequently sailed for Europe. [P.10]

### A short account of Shah Shuja, brother of Alamgir

During the reign of Emperor Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir, his brother Shah Shuja, by way of rebellion, intended to rule over the three provinces, i.e. Bihar, Bengal and Assam. A battle took place between his army and the royal forces at a place called Kachhwa. Shah Shuja won it

and the royal army was routed. But the royal Amirs manipulated to win over Alivardi Khan, Meer of Shah Shuja, who transferred the Prince from an elephant on the pretext of it being shot by an arrow, to a horse and declared that Shah Shuja had been killed. In fact, Shah Shuja fled with a few soldiers and reached Bengal. By blocking Talpakri Sikri he took shelter at Rajmahal (Akbar Nagar). As in those days, the Assamese had also raised their heads of disobedience, Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir had nominated Khan-i-Khanan Mu'azzam Khan, a brave Iranian of a Syed family and a respected Army leader, as Subahdar of Bengal to meet the two rebellious situations.

### Subahdarship of Mu'azzam Khan

Khan-i-Khanan, on reaching the Sikri Pass and Talpakri, found his way blocked, and he was compelled to take the path through Jharkhand to reach Bengal in great hardship, accompanied by twelve thousand horsemen. He first went to thwart the plans of Shah Shuja, who got frightened, turned towards Jahangir Nagar through the waterway on the royal ship which he had earlier brought from Jahangir Nagar. The Khan-i-Khanan continued his pursuit and reached Jahangir Nagar through land route. Shah Shuja, finding himself helpless, escaped towards Assam with some of his followers. The ruler of Assam, being over-awed by the powerful Khan-i-Khanan, dispatched to him a message of peace and expressed request and apologies through his pleaders. [P.11]

Though in that letter, there was no expression of his guilt and as there was the rebellion of Bhim Narayan, Zamindar of Cooch Behar, against the royal territories, the Khan-i-Khanan thought it expedient to accept his explanations and gave his men permission to leave. He invested Rashid Khan along with some other leaders, with the job of recapturing royal territories from the occupation of the Assamese and giving no access to the agent of Bhim Narayan, Zamindar of Cooch Behar, he arrested him. Rashid Khan, proceeding towards his destination, recaptured royal Parganah Garhibari and some other places right up to the banks of the Beas. As Sujana Singh Bundela, who had not acted upon the order of chastising Bhim Narayan, Zamindar of Cooch Behar, and as in the meantime the Assamese had again taken to the path of rebellion, the Khan-i-Khanan was determined to crush both the rebellions, and took necessary steps in reporting the matter to the Emperor. Accordingly, royal orders were issued to that effect, i.e., to re-occupy both the territories.

In the year 1072 AH, Ihtisham Khan, one of the imperial amirs, was appointed subahdar of Jahangir Nagar and Syed Iftikhar Khan was appointed to assist Ihtisham Khan. Bhagwat Singh was reinstated to his former administrative assignment. After giving the responsibility of managing the navy to Muhammad Muqim he left for Cooch Behar, and waged wars against the Zamindars of the place, and after great efforts

captured territories up to Rangpur. Having converted Bishm Narayan, son of Bhim Narayan, to Islam persuaded him to join the Khan-i-Khanan. Bhim Narayan went to Bhutan foothills and started harassing the people there. Bhutan is situated fifteen *kros* to the north of Cooch Behar between the west and north of Bengal and its length is fifty five *kros*. After conquering Cooch Behar, the Khan-i-Khanan left Isfandyar Beg with few *mansabdars* and four hundred horsemen to act as Faujdar of the area. He named the place as Alamgir Nagar and himself turned towards conquering Assam. Having called up ships from Jahangir Nagar and fighting both on land and river occupied Kudgaon, Silpati and most areas of Assam, and propagated Islam in that region. The Raja of Assam fled towards [P.12] Kamrup. The army of that rebel would lie in ambush among the hills and forests and would mount raids on the imperial army. He left the Khan-i-Khanan, Mir Murtaza Khan and Raja Amar Singh for the protection of Kudgaon and managed the possessions of the Raja of Assam that fell into his hands. He stopped at Mathurapur to pass the rainy season. The Khan-i-Khanan became a victim of the notorious Assamese magic and fell sick with a liver ailment, which grew with the ravage of time and took his life at the fort of Hajiganj, four and a half *kros* from Jahangir Nagar, which he had built as his residence. His colleagues and friends temporarily buried him at the Qadam Sharif called Mahaziganj, in accordance with his wishes, and afterwards his body was sent to Najab Ashraf for final burial.

The fort and the house have both fallen into ruins now, but some portions of the ruined rampart are still standing.

#### **Short account of the children of Jafar Khan Nusairi and others**

After the death of Jafar Khan Nusairi, the Subahdarship of all the three provinces, accordingly went to Shujaud Dawlah, Shujauddin Muhammad Khan, second son-in-law of Jafar Khan Nusairi, who was Deputy Governor of Orissa during his life time and was confirmed in his post through an imperial order. He ruled over the Subah excellently for about twelve years. He was succeeded on his death by Alaud Dawlah Sarfaraz Khan, who appointed his son-in-law Mirza Ghalib Ali Khan, who was a scion of the Safavid family, as Deputy Governor of Jahangir Nagar. But hardly one year and two months and a few days had elapsed after his succession when he was slain in a battle against Muhammad Alivardi Khan. [P.13]

#### **Account of the early period of the rule of Muhammad Alivardi Khan Mahabatjang**

When Muhammad Alivardi Khan Bahadur Muhabatjang held the Deputy Governorship of Azimabad during the subahdarship of the father of Sarfaraz Khan, he was, for reasons of jealousy, not favourably disposed towards Sarfaraz Khan and was always looking for an opportunity to remove Sarfaraz from his path. In unison with Mutamanud Dawlah

Muhammed Ishaq Khan, who was very close to the Emperor, he had maintained an excellent rapport with the ministers and noblemen at the Imperial Court. Through the same channel he had obtained a royal consent for carrying on a war against Sarfaraz Khan and in the event of his defeat and removal from power, dispatch of his confiscated possession to the Emperor, who would consequently confer on Alivardi Khan the Subahdarship of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Alivardi made his younger brother Haji Ahmad Deputy Governor of Azimabad. Declaring that he would proceed to chastise the rebellious zamindars of Bhojpur with a strong army, which had been kept ready for the purpose, he proceeded towards Murshidabad. When he reached Rajmahal after passing through the valley of Shahabad, he sent a message to Sarfaraz to the effect that: "As insult and humiliation to Haji Ahmed before your Excellency have exceeded the limit and reached the point of affront and outrage, your devoted servant, considering the safeguard of his family honour indispensable, has taken himself to this place and has no purpose other than obedience and loyalty (to you). It is requested that Haji Ahmed be sent to me along with his dependents". Sarfaraz Khan, on hearing this news, thought it proper to leave Murshidabad with his army to put up a fight against Mahabatjang, accompanied by the trusted army leaders of his father, such as Muhammad Ghaus Afghan, an unparalleled soldier, Mardan Ali Khan, Mir Murtaza and Haji Saif Ali Khan, each one a fighting hero, and took up his position at a place called Giriah on the bank of the Bhagirati. Mahabatjang also reached the place and started the battle. Though the army of Sarfaraz Khan was not properly equipped, it gave a stiff resistance and fought bravely until a canon ball hit Sarfaraz's head and immediately put an end to his life. Muhammad Ghaus Khan broke into the opposite ranks and killed [P.14] Nandalal and other enemy leaders until he got slain along with his comrades. Similarly some other army generals, who have been mentioned above, giving a good account of their bravery fell on the battlefield for their master (Sarfaraz Khan).

Two days later, Mahabatjang entered the city of Murshidabad about the middle of Safar 1153 AH and sat on the throne. Then he sent the promised offering to the Mughal Emperor and got the official confirmation of his subahdarship of the three subahs (of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) and the title of Husamud Daula Shujaul Mulk Muhammad Ali Vardi Khan Bahadur Mahabatjang, with rank (*mansab*) of 7000 (horses) and the honour of *Mah-i-Maratib*. Zainuddin Ahmed Khan, younger son-in-law of Mahabatjang, received from the Emperor the title of Ihtiramud Daulah Bahadur Haibatjang and the rank of a thousand horses, *Mah i Maratib*, embroidered palki, Naubat and the Flag. He was also appointed deputy subahdar of Azimabad. Similarly, Nawazish Muhammad Khan was given the deputy-ship of the *chakla* of Jahangir Nagar, Sylhet and Islamabad (Chittagong). But shortly afterwards Nawazish Muhammad Khan was recalled from Jahangir Nagar and was appointed Diwan of the three Subahs, and was given rank of 7000 and the

honour mentioned above. He also got the title of Shahamatjang and Husain Quli replaced him at Jahangir Nagar. As Shahamatjang was not a laborious man and was not competent for managing affairs, Husain Quli Khan, who was credited with sound and wise counsel, was called back from Jahangir Nagar and appointed Shahamatjang's deputy. Husain Quli Khan's nephew Husainudin Khan, an able and wise man, was put in charge of Jahangir Nagar. The new Nawab appointed Sayeed Ahmad Khan, his second nephew, who had held the Faujdarship of Rangpur under Shujaud Dawlah and Sarfaraz Khan, to the charge of Orissa along with usual ranks and honours, and the title of Muhtamimud Dawlah, after the defeat of Murshid Quli Khan, Shujaud Dawlah's son in law. In this way, the Nawab invested his kith and kins and old acquaintances with suitable posts, ranks and honours. [P.15]

### **Mahabatjang's expedition against Murshid Quli Khan and flight of Murshid Quli Khan and other events**

After occupying the seat of government and on settling some of the urgent matters of administration of the Subah, Mahabatjang proceeded with his victorious army towards Orissa, where Murshid Quli Khan was ruling. Though initially the latter sought peace with the Nawab, yet later on, at the instigation of his advisers, he chose to go in for fighting with Mahabatjang. Having been defeated he fled towards Machhli Bandar and accompanied by his entourage and bag and baggage, he escaped the fury of the Nawab with the help of Raja Ratipur, owner of the Jagannath temple, and took refuge at a place in the Deccan, which was within the realm of Nawab Asaf Jah. Mahabatjang entered the city of Cuttack and leaving Sayeed Ahmad Khan in accordance with his promise, Deputy Governor of Orissa, returned to Murshidabad and started attending to the political and fiscal matters of the Subah.

Within a short time, Saulatjang fell out with the noble men and aristocrats of the place, who consequently helped Muhammad Baqir Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan, who, came out from the Deccan and gained control of Orissa and imprisoned Saulatjang. Mahabatjang on hearing this news, went to Orissa again and gave a fight to the usurper and freed Saulatjang and placed the administration of the Subah under Shaikh Masum after whom the next man put in charge of the place was Abdul Nabi Khan, uncle of Mustafa Khan Bahadur Babarjang, who had served under Mahabatjang as the Nawab's Commander-in-Chief. Though his son and also Raja Durlabh Ram, who were earlier given administrative responsibilities such as Diwan-i-Khalis of several places in Bengal and were conferred honours of 5000 and Naubat and titles such as Maharaja Mahinder Bahadur, became Deputy Governor of Orissa. At the end, that province was brought under the *Chauth* of the Marathas and both Mahabatjang and the Marathas agreed to appoint Mir Habib as the Governor of the province of Orissa, which was finally ceded to them. [P.16]

### A short account of Mahabatjang and the Maratha Generals Raghuji Bhosla of Nagpur and Bhaskar Pandit

As in those days, the pillars of the palaces of authority had become weak and the grandeur and power of the rulers had lost their effectiveness, everybody nursed a desire in his heart of annexing territories. Hence, Raghuji Bhosla, the ruler of Nagpur, sent Bhaskar Pandit along with an army of several thousand soldiers to conquer Bengal. Following the route of the Panchet Pass the latter entered Bengal and created widespread devastation in those regions. On hearing this news Mahabatjang, equipped with a suitable force, confronted Bhaskar, who unable to face the Nawab, fled forwards Birbhum. From there he intended to return to his native place. At the instigation of Mir Habib, an Iranian by birth and was for some time associated with Murshid Quli Khan as his deputy but later on joined Raghuji Bhosla, dared enter Murshidabad (on behalf of the Marathas) and created a lot of chaos and disturbance in the area. For some time he forcibly held Katwa region and Bardwan under his control. At last, by dint of his superior planning and supplemented by the courage and conviction of Mustafa Khan Afghan, who was the leader of Mahabatjang's army and himself an unparalleled fighter, and helped by Sardar Khan Rohilla, attacked Mustafa Khan, Bhaskar was forced to go outside the boundaries of Bengal. After the skirmish, Bhaskar did not entertain any idea of annexing Bengal and demanding *chauth* from there for quite some time. But after some time, Bhaskar was again sent to Bengal, this time accompanied by Ali Qarawal, a noble man of the Deccan, and Mir Habib, whose invaders created mischief round Murshidabad. As Mahabatjang's army was a bit tired on account of constant engagement [P.17] on the battlefields, the Nawab decided to employ the means of deception to put down the Maratha menace. Hence, he discussed this plan with Mustafa Khan, who was a shrewd and capable man in all respects. It was, therefore, decided that he would engage the Maratha leaders in initiating talks for concluding peace and induce the Maratha leaders to see Mahabatjang individually in this connection and settle matters relating to *chauth*. This meeting was supposed to have taken place in a camp. So, the Maratha leaders also reached the said camp and got slain by the appointed men of Mahabatjang, while the Nawab lay hidden behind the scene. When the news of the killings reached the Maratha camp, Mir Habib, who did not fall in the trap of Mahabatjang's deception and set out for Nagpur with the fleeing army. Mahabatjang, on seeing his objects fulfilled, returned to Murshidabad and lived in perfect consolation. As in this matter, he had promised to Mustafa Khan that after discussing with the Maratha he would make him Governor of Azimabad. But as Azimabad was in control of Ihtiramud Dawlah Zainuddin Ahmed Khan Bahadur Haibatjang, who was the Nawab's nephew and younger son-in-law, Mahabatjang kept Mustafa Khan in suspense with various pretexts. But, on account of non-



fulfillment of promise, their mutual relationship got strained and friendship turned into enmity.

Mustafa Khan was compelled to resign from his service and on the pretext of returning home, started for Azimabad with full preparations. When he reached near Azimabad, Haibatjang got the information and went into war with him with an army, which he had earlier made ready. Though Haibatjang got frustrated in the two battles, which he fought with Mustafa Khan, fate had ordained doom for him, and so in the third battle a musket ball hit him in the chest and killed him. Murtaza Khan, his son and his friends, being defeated, sought refuge with the Marathas and Mir Habib, and joined the service of Raghujji Bhosla. Incidentally, in connection with some matters relating to Mustafa Khan, a friction occurred amongst Shamsheer Khan and other Afghans, who had acquired fame after Mustafa Khan. This was caused by the fact that Mahabatjang, being dissatisfied, had dismissed them from service on account of showing negligence in their duty during war against the Marathas, with whom they had been at one time conspiring. [P.18] Shamshir Khan and others, who had received their dues, amounting to nearly ten lakhs of rupees, from Mahabatjang and had retired to their native place in Darbhanga and remained at home. As at that time, Haibatjang, in spite of having intelligence and farsightedness, was secretly nursing an ambition to challenge Mahabatjang.

With this end in view he thought of strengthening his army to make in match that of his uncle. With an eloquence of the tongue he got his uncle agree to his plea to enlist Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan along with his brothers and many others to enter his army. As treachery and bloodshed are ingrained in the nature of that race (of Afghans) they set about thinking of conquering Azimabad and decided among themselves to get rid of Haibatjang.

On the following day, he presented himself before the Nawab, accompanied by his aides, with gifts in accordance with the custom in vogue in the country at that time, and slew Haibatjang just at the time when official presentations were made; the slain Nawab having been in the company of several unarmed comrades. At the time when the presentations were being made, he killed him and destroyed his house. Having pillaged Haibatjang's palace they joined the Marathas and Meer Habib, and prepared themselves for confronting Mahabatjang in the battle. When Mahabatjang knew of that tragic event, he lost no time in setting forth, with a big army, to fight the enemy. Mahabatjang did not feel daunted by the magnitude of seventy thousand strong Marhatta army helping the enemy. He tore into their ranks and killed Shamshir Khan. The Marathas and Meer Habib, on witnessing the bravery of Mahabatjang's army, took to their heels and took no rest till they reached their own frontiers. This was one of the last famous battles that took place

between the Maratha and Mahabatjang. Afterwards, small skirmishes occurred between the two sides, which cannot be taken into account. In short, Mahabatjang, after Shamshir Khan had been killed, refurbished the administration of Azimabad and returned to his capital Murshidabad in triumph and passed the rest of his life in great pleasure and peace along with his well wishers.

As no other turbulence occurred in his territory other than the Maratha warfare, he was ready for peace with the Marathas, because he had confronted them for ten years and had overcome them each time with ease and comfort. He had preferred to pass the rest of his life not being in a state of struggle and fight (against his adversaries). [P.19] As he had not visualized his successor, Sirajud Dawlah capable of meeting such challenges, he agreed to cede Orissa against *chauth* in accordance with the wishes of Raghuji and Meer Habib. He also gave away twelve lakhs of rupees in addition to the revenue from Bengal. It was also agreed that Meer Habib would be appointed as Mahabatjang's deputy in Orissa as a representative of Raghuji. After accepting the said money Mir Habib went back to Raghuji. Maslihuiddin Muhammad Khan was appointed to assist Meer Habib in the administration of Orissa. Hence Maslihuiddin Muhammad Khan was dispatched to Meer Habib with the paper of authority and robe of honour for the latter. In this way, Mahabatjang finally settled the festering dispute with his statesmanship and provided relief to all and sundry in the Bengal province from the torments of the Marathas. Now we shall have a short description of the affairs of Sirajud Dawlah and Husain Quli Khan, Deputy of Shahamatjang and that of Husainuddin Khan, Subahdar of Jahangir Nagar.

#### **On Sirajud Dawlah, Husain Quli Khan, Husain Uddin Khan and other celebrities of Jahangir Nagar**

It is not a secret that Mahabatjang had special affection for Sirajud Dawlah, and his love for his grandson reached such a pitch that in spite of his wayward habits, he regarded him as his successor. Hence Sirajud Dawlah went about getting rid of some stallwarts of the government whom he imagined as his rivals, by sowing seeds of hatred in his grandfather's heart against those people. Particularly, he targeted Husain Quli Khan and Husainuddin Khan as his enemies, whereas the said persons were quite innocent. Sirajud Dawlah, however, did not recognise those who were his real enemies. Moreover, he regarded them as his friends, who proved to be harmful to him. By employing various tricks he prevailed upon Mahabatjang to agree to his nefarious plans in respect of his two adversaries named above. He set about fulfilling his plans. First of all he wanted to attack Husainuddin Khan [P.19] who was settled in Jahangir Nagar and then would fall upon his uncle. Incidentally, Mirza Muhammad Baqir and his son Muhammad Sadique, who were Zamindars of Bhati Parganas, happened to be in Murshidabad. Sirajud

Dawlah took them into confidence and put them in charge of this secret design (to launch the planned killings). Muhammad Sadique was given suitable awards and honoured with the title of Sadaqat Muhammad Khan. The latter, on reaching Jahangir Nagar, aligned himself with the *kotwal* of the fort and took position in the fort with four or five hundred soldiers, with the help of which he put an end to the life of Husainuddin Khan. It was heard that in those days the slain was suffering from melancholia, which is a kind of madness, and was wearing a red dress on the day of his death, and would utter the words, "come on, why make a delay", and was looking up towards the sky. When Muhammad Sadiq reached near his target, Husainuddin Khan was attended by some of his aides, who were oblivious of the incident and were unarmed. They, however, took to their heels, when they felt they could not face Muhammad Sadiq. On the morning following the incident, some of the celebrities of the town such as Mirza Ali Naqi, the *Amin* of the town, who happened to be a relative of the slain and Meer Abu Taleb, his deputy accompanied by some others, met Muhammad Sadiq to ascertain from him what authority he had brought for the administration of the area. In reply, he brought out his sword. On seeing the situation they made a pretext of obedience to him and at once went out of the fort and collected a suitable army, first of all, killed his father Muhammad Baqir, who had not sided with his son on account of old age. They then rushed towards Muhammad Sadiq, who had taken refuge at the fort on account of violence. They entered the fort from the eastern side, which was breached due to attacks by the elephants, along with their soldiers but could not find Mohammad Sadiq, who fled the place leaving no trace. Later on during the reign of Meer Muhammad Jafar, the son of Meer Muhammad Sadiq Khan, named Sadaqat Muhammad was shot dead for a small crime. Hence, God avenged the death of Husainuddin Khan in this way, which was bad for him in both the worlds.

Since a lot of disruption was caused to the revenue and administration of Jahangir Nagar after the killing of Husainuddin Khan, Shahamatjang's Diwan Raja Raj Ballabh was deputed by Mahabatjang to look after the affairs of the place. The Raja went there and within two months he successfully managed the administration of the place and confiscated the property of Muhammad Baqir and Muhammad Sadiq and his followers, and then returned to Murshidabad. The period of subahdari of Husainuddin Khan was [P.21] twelve years.

Sirajud Dawlah, after doing away with Husainuddin Khan, turned towards annihilating Hussain Quli Khan. Mahabatjang, on being alerted with the design of his grandson, left for Raj Mahal in order to save himself from the ignominy of his grandson's plan. Shahamatjang himself remained silent in his own palace. Sirajud Dawlah presented himself at his palace with a contingent of army and arrested and killed

him, and put an end to the life of his brother, Haidar Ali Khan, who had lost his eyesight.

It is reliably learnt that when Nawazish Muhammad Khan had brought the two slain persons from northern India, he had promised them full protection in any exigency. It is indeed strange that the respected Mahabatjang, in spite of possessing wisdom and sagacity, had become so enamoured of his love for Sirajud Dawlah that he had consented to his heinous act, which ultimately was not acceptable to Allah, who provided him with suitable retribution for his sins. The whole subahdari was wrested from the scions of Mahabatjang and was placed in judicious hands that managed the affair of the area with equity and justice. In short, Mahabatjang passed away at the age of eighty due to epilepsy in the year 1109 AH.

### **On the enthronement of Nawab Sirajud Dawlah in Bengal and the Nazims of Jahangir Nagar, Dhaka**

As soon as Sirajud Dawlah took over the reins of administration in his hands, he commenced a series of tyrannical acts. The first act of cruelty that he committed was in respect of Ghasiti Begum, wife of Shahamatjang, whose possessions he confiscated and got them entered in the public treasury. Then he, through his hands and tongue, tyrannized the army leaders and noblemen of Mahabatjang to such an extent that all and sundry would pray to the Almighty for his downfall, until after one year and two months they overthrew him with the assistance of Englishmen who were already very much [P.22] incensed on account of the destruction of their fort by him. As a result, Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan occupied the office of the Subahadar of Bengal. Meer Muhammad Sadiq Khan put an end to the life of Sirajud Dawlah, much to the dislike of the Englishmen, who were not in favour of such an act. Consequently, sovereignty went out of the family of Mahabatjang. It is said that after his slaying, his dead body was publicly carried on the back of an elephant and that when the elephant carrying the dead body reached the same place near the Chowk Tirapolia of Murshidabad town where the elephant carrying Husain Quli Khan's dead body had halted, and it is also said that drops of blood from Sirajud Dawlah fell on the spot where those of Husain Quali Khan's had fallen. Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan became subahdar of Bengal for one year in the first instance, but on account of his mal-administration and because of the hardship and torture suffered by the common people at the hands of his son, Miran or Meer Muhammad Sadiq Khan, he lost his power after his son Miran got killed by being struck by lightning. Meer Muhammad Qasim Khan succeeded Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan in 1174 AH.

He brought back system of administration in Jahangir Nagar as was prevalent in the days of Mahabatjang and Sirajud Dawlah. On account of disagreements with the English leadership, Meer Muhammad

Qasim was compelled to leave Subahdarship of the province and he retreated to upper India. In his place, Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan was brought to the *masnad* of Bengal for the second time.

### **On Nawab Jasarat Khan, Subahdar of Jahangir Nagar**

After the slaying of Nawab Husainuddin Khan, when Raja Raj Ballabh returned to Murshidabad after settling the affairs of Jahangir Nagar, the responsibility of running the administration of Jahangir Nagar had been conferred by Mahabatjang on the grandfather of the author, named Nawab Jasarat Khan, in the year 1168 AH. After Meer Muhammad Qasim Khan's escape and during the second term of the subahdarship of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan, the English rulers, having soft corner in their heart for my grandfather, brought him from the company of Meer Muhammad Qasim, to whom he had retreated at his request at Azimabad, to Jahangir Nagar to make him Subahdar of Jahangir Nagar. That my grandfather was deeply [P.23] aligned with the English and the East India Company is quite evident. The English rulers were well aware of his love for them. So it does not need any elucidation. My grandfather occupied his position for twenty-seven years. When he was nearing his death, he desired that his elder brother, named Syed Muhammad Khan Bahadur Hashmatjang, succeed him. With this end in view, he wrote to the then Governor General, Warren Hastings Jalalatjang, who was noted for his wisdom and uprightness, who, in turn, convinced the honourable members of the Company's Council such as Mr. Richard Barwell. Hence the Governor General and other members of the Council, having due regard for the past services and loyalty of my grandfather confirmed Nawab Jasarat Khan's brother as his successor during his lifetime.

### **The Subahdari of Nawab Syed Muhammad Khan Bahadur Hashmatjang**

The period of the Subahdarship of Nawab Syed Muhammad Khan at Jahangir Nagar covered seven years.

### **Accession of Nawab Nusrat Jang Bahadur**

Afterwards, the authorities of the East India Company, having due regard for loyalties and services of my family displayed earlier, I was appointed subahdar of Jahangir Nagar in the year 1200 AH. Therefore, this humble man, with the blessing of the Almighty and on account of the magnanimity of the English administration, has relevant claim to this position.

It is not unknown to any one that the late Nawab Nusrat Jang had compiled the events of his rule, including small pieces of information regarding old houses, bridges and mosques etc. That is why this treatise was virtually incomplete. This lowliest of slaves, named Syed Abdul

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\* From here it is written by Syed Abdul Ghani.

Ghani alias Hamid Meer, son of Syed Mohammad Hussain Khan al Husaini [P.24], who was Arzi Begi to the late Nawab, has prepared this short history of the late lamented Nawab Nusrat Jang and brought it to the period of Nawab Ghaziuddin Muhammad, the last ruler of Jahangir Nagar from Nusratjang's family. A description, however, of miscellaneous information of the late Nawab is appended to the end of this treatise.

### **Short History of Nawab Nusrat Jang**

It is quite evident that the late Nawab Nusrat Jang acquired so much good name and success that he proved to be better than all his predecessors. He was a pride of the family of the late Nawab Jasarat Khan and was like a smokeless lamp of the clan of late Syed Murtaza. After getting his younger brother, Shamsud Dawlah Bahadur married to Badrunnesa Begum, the daughter of Nawab Mubarakud Dawlah, Nazim of Murshidabad, he returned to Jahangir Nagar. He brought the royal music party, which used to play in those days on the Chowk, to his own palace. When the Nawab would take his seat in the royal palanquin, the nobility and the plebeian of the place would pay obeisance to him in large numbers and would receive from him what they desired. It is quite well known that the Nawab's court resembled the majesty of the great emperors of the past. When he reached the age of 63 years, he died of dysentery on a Sunday in the month of Zilqada 1237 AH, corresponding to 1229 of the Bengali calendar and to 1822 AD, and was buried by the side of the stairs of the Husaini Dalan on the following day. On the day he passed away there occurred such a hue and cry, as it would seem that the Day of Judgement had arrived. Many Hindus, Muslims and English residents were afflicted with grief, and sounds of wailing and lamentations arose from almost every house in the city. Ghulam Ali, son of the late Meer Wali, wrote the following chronogram: [P.25]

After the death of the Nawab, most of noblemen, aristocrats and residents of the area passed away about the same time. Accordingly to a poet:

That goblet broke and the Saqi left.

### **On the regime of Nawab Shamsud Dawlah Bahadur**

After the death of his brother, Shamsud Dawlah Bahadur came to know that some of his well-wishers such as Mirza Muhammad Ali and others regularly sent letters to the Governor-General and Members of the Council in favour of his succession to his brother's office. But Shamsud Dawlah had earned a bad name for conspiring with Nawab Wazir Ali Khan of Awadh to overthrow the British administration with the help of Frenchmen. In the conspiracy case, in which other rulers of the area were also involved, the main accused was Nawab Peerjang, son of (Nawab) Mubarakud Dawlah. On account of the said activities, Shamsud Dawlah was imprisoned in Calcutta for seven years. The Directors of the East

India Company were not happy with the Nawab and were always prepared to mount vigilance and investigate into the affairs of the factories under his control. The authorities did not accept the Nawab's request; instead, they dispatched one regiment of Telengana soldiers and two pieces of artillery for Dhaka. They fixed a sum of one thousand rupees as the allowance for the maintenance of the Nawab and took back the Jagir Khalisa and the Nizamat. The Nawab felt highly disgraced at this humiliation and took refuge into the corner of his house. It is rumoured that if the Nawab had tried for the nomination of his son Nawab Qamarud Dawlah, his position would have remained unaltered. But there is no justification for relying on the rumour. As it is said: Everybody considers expedience best.

However, the Nawab put on the robe of grief, sent by the Governor General and stopped holding of a *Darbar Aam* on Sundays, according to custom in vogue for many years, and would stop mixing with people. [P.26] Not caring for the amount of honorarium he was receiving he proved to be magnanimous enough to give up the reins of administration totally to Mirza Muhammad Ali alias Nanku, who was formally a *darogha* of his government. In fact, he was given complete authority in the governance of the province. Mirza Muhammad Ali was a wise and sagacious man, and reinstated all the old and new relation and friends of Nawab Nusrat Jang and Nawab Shamsud Dawlah in his administration and factories and kept on paying them honorarium every month. Still the backbiters and selfish people had made it known that the said Mirza keeps the Nawab away from the favours of the state. But the helpless Mirza bore with these insinuations effectively and fulfilled his responsibility of looking after the interests of the loyal supporters. Nawab Shamsud Dawlah also appreciated the Mirza's endeavours and good administration, and would often write to the Governor-General and the Council Members for his promotions. It was at the instance of Nawab Shamsud Dawlah that the Hon'ble East India Company bestowed on the Mirza the title of Khan Bahadur and a robe of honour. Hence the Nawab bestowed the honours and robe on the Mirza at a public *darbar*, along with some favours from his own side. The said Khan returned to his house in grandeur on an elephant, having a silver *hawda*. A poet has written the following chronogram to commemorate the event of the conferment of the honour thus:

Mukhle Mukhatib chu shud Mirzayam  
 Namudand Shadii-Hama Khas-o-Aam  
 Khirad guft tarikh ba Aish mand  
 Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur Madam.

This was the last festive occasion for Nawab Shamsud Dawlah Bahadur. Afterwards, as he attained the age of 61 years he passed away on being attacked with diarrhoea, at one and a half hour past midnight on a Sunday in the month of Zil Hajj in the year 1046 A.H. and was buried by

the side of his brother at Husaini Dalan, in accordance with his will. May God forgive him! He was a man of high thinking and great courage. He possessed that amount of perseverance of mind that he was suffering for three years from various physical ailments till his final illness, but nobody had heard him complain of his ill health nor was he ever seen to be restless as a patient. The period of his administration continued for eleven years. His title was Nawab Ameer-ul-Mulk Shamsud Daulah Syed Ahmed Ali Khan Bahadur Zulfiqarul Jang. [P.27]

### **Regime of Nawab Qamarud Dawlah Bahadur**

After the death of Nawab Shamsud Dawlah Bahadur, Nawab Qamarud Dawlah Bahadur succeeded to his father's position. It so happened that the daughter of his stable keeper Meer Jiwan, used to accompany her mother, Begum Mughlani Nawab Begum Saheba, to the Nawab's household. Incidentally, Nawab Qamarud Dawlah's approving eyes fell on the daughter, as a result of which he wanted to marry her. So he called her father and proposed to him accordingly. The father readily agreed to the proposal, thinking it to be a heaven-sent opportunity and a matter of pride for himself. Consequently the Nawab went to Meer Jiwan's house and married his daughter. Next morning the news was out and Nawab Shamsud Dawlah was very much upset by the news, but he could not do anything as the arrow had left its bow, so to say. At the end, he died of this grief. The Nawab left the administration of his area to Meer Jiwan, who had already grown to be autocratic. Meer Jiwan, who was by nature an indolent and stupid man, was put to great trouble, as he was incapable of managing the affairs of the state under his control. Ultimately the Nawab became heavily indebted to the (Hindu) Mahajan. When the collection of revenue was disrupted, the Nawab became very nervous. He called some of his well wishers such as Shaikh Muhammad Zameer and Mirza Jafar and others and told that self-committed errors cannot be rectified. He advised them to support Meer Jiwan so that the affairs of the State could be administered properly. Accepting his advice they became active and gradually they brought some affairs under their control. They submitted that as Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur has died his widow, Hurun Nessa Khanam, should be approached for some accountability and be asked to return all such property of the state which was kept in her house. In this way a lot of money could be retrieved. A good many items (of the state) which the Mirza had taken away would be duly returned. Nawab Qamarud Dawlah did not like the idea of going to court in the matter, but on their insistence it was agreed that the Nawab would file a complaint with the civil court. Incidentally, this would be the first occasion when a case, civil or criminal, would be filed by any Nawab since [P.28] Nawab Jasarat Khan.

Hence it is said that once Munshi Muhammad Shafi, one of the Vakeels of the court, had similarly mentioned that the Nawab of Dhaka



was aware of this petition in the court. On hearing this, Mr. Mintford, who was busy preparing the case in the Nawab's defence, immediately ordered that the said Vakeel Munshi Muhammad Shafi be dismissed since he had spoken about the Nawab in insulting tone, and asked him not to go to the court again. However, the Nawab, after the filing of the petition about the late Nawab's widow, regretted his own action, and forgave Mirza Muhammad Jafar, who was responsible for such action. Meer Jiwan, who was lying in wait for such an opportunity, submitted that the salary, which was fixed for Nawab Shamsud Dawlah by the Nizamat of Murshidabad on account of his position as the Nazim's son-in-law, has remained suspended. He further submitted that it was advisable that a confidant of the family be sent to Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad, Nawab Humayun Jah, with a petition, praying for the restoration of the suspended honorarium. On being questioned by the Nawab as to whom he considered suitable for that job, he replied that Shaikh (Muhammad Zameer) was the best man to be entrusted with the embassy. The Nawab, acting upon his advice, sent away the said Saikh with a petition, as stated above. Meer Jiwan, having got a welcome chance to gain some advantage for himself, sent to the Nawab, various kinds of beverages such as wine and *bhang* which intoxicated him to such an extent that he became unaware of the presence of known or unknown persons; nay he grew unconscious of his own self. As these things ended up in disaster, he first of all contracted mental disease and lost his senses, which led to epilepsy.

The ailment having grown intense and severe, he died on Thursday the 8<sup>th</sup> of Rabi-us Sani 1250 A H, corresponding to 31<sup>st</sup> of Sawan 1241 of the Bengali era, at about one and a half hour, and in accordance with the family traditions his body was laid to rest at the feet of (P.29) the mausoleum of Nawab Nusrat Jang. The date of his death has been commemorated by a poet thus:

Dast chun Bardasht Qamarud Dawlah az dunya-o-Deen  
 Gasht mail dar rah-i-haq kard dil ra ustawar  
 Dad Hatif in neda kurbe jawar-i-Panjtan  
 Yaft dar firdaus maskan bargah-i-Gulazar.

Nawab Qudsia Begum, daughter of Nawab Nusrat Jang, who was the wife of the late Qamarud Dawlah, died before her husband's death, on Sunday the 11<sup>th</sup> of Rabiul Awwal 1250 A.H. corresponding to 7<sup>th</sup> of Sawan 1241 (Bengali era). A chronogram of her death is as follows:

Chun Rehlat Qudsia Begum namudand  
 Za dunya ba gham-o-Andoh-o-taklif  
 Khirad sal-e-wafatash Guft afsos  
 Kashida ranjha burdand tashreef.

She was interred at the feet of her father-in-law, Nawab Shamsud Dawlah. The age of Nawab Qamarud Dawlah was 52 years and the period of his Nawbate comprised three years and six months. The title of Qamarud Dawlah was Shamsul Mulik Syed Jalaluddin Muhammad Khan Bahadur Mansurjang.

#### Accession of Nawab Syed Ghaziuddin Muhammad

After the burial of Nawab Qamarud Dawlah, his son Nawab Ghaziuddin Muhammad succeeded to the *gaddi* of his father. Initially, he had to act upon the advice of Meer Jiwan, after whose retirement, he came under the guardianship of Mr. Collicroft, the then District Judge of Dhaka, who was a close friend of Nawab Shamsud Dawlah. As soon as Nawab Qamarud Dawlah died, some well-wishers of the Nawab family, such as Agha Abdul Ali, teacher of the Nawab, submitted that it would be proper if the [P.30] Nawab approached the said English judge with utmost humility so that he may not refrain from being sympathetic to the orphaned Nawab, because the judge was very closely attached to the Nawab's father. He should also be implored to write to Governor General and to the Council to look after the interest of the Nawab in future. Nawab Ghaziuddin Muhammad Bahadur immediately went to the judge accompanied by Agha Abdul Ali and submitted to him whatever was settled earlier. Rather he became nervous and wept before the Judge, who embraced him and having due regard for his association with the late Nawab, he told him that if he followed the Government's instruction, he would be regarded as second Nawab Shamsud Dawlah. We would not default in bettering your conditions.

When Nawab Qamarud Dawlah passed away, the successor Nawab was of minor age, who was much scared of his teacher Meer Ghulam Ali, for children play truant in the matter of reading and writing. Meer Jiwan, finding his benefit in this situation, prevailed upon the young Nawab to exercise his wish or will to undergo teaching. The prince became very emboldened by such insinuation by the Meer, who consequently saw to it that Meer Ghulam Ali the teacher is stopped from coming to the palace. Instead, at the instance of disreputable persons, he took resort to wine drinking and womanising. The Meer, as usual, led him stray in this manner and maintained a grip on the young Nawab. One day Mr. Collicroft and Mr. Milton, the Commissioner, called on the prince and took their seat in the palace called Mubarak Burj. The prince, on hearing of the coming of the English officials, called for the said Meer and himself got busy in talking to the guests.

In the meantime the said Meer arrived. The prince called for chair to be brought for the Meer. As the said Englishmen knew of the affair regarding the daughter of Nawab Shamsud Dawlah and affliction of Qadsia Begum, Mr. Collicroft particularly tried to make Nawab Qamarud Dawlah understand that it is better for him to divorce Meer Jiwan's

daughter. But Nawab Qamarud Dawlah turned a deaf ear to the pleadings of the judge. [P.31] Hence, the latter did not see Nawab Qamarud Dawlah again for the rest of his life. He also became inimical to the Meer. When they saw the Meer and heard the prince ask him (Meer) to sit, they suddenly got up and said: 'we are ourselves leaving. He (Meer) needs not come'. Saying this, they got into their cart and went away. The prince and others concerned went into consultation. At last, they agreed that the hostility of the Englishmen concerned was dangerous, particularly when the (expected) letter for the restoration of the salary had not yet arrived. It was further proper to keep the Meer confined to his house for a few days and entrust somebody else to perform his duty. Hence, Agha Abdul Ali was nominated to look after the function, which was the charge of the Meer and was immediately dispatched to the gentlemen concerned. Agha Abdul Ali accordingly held talk with them and finally convinced them. As the gentlemen mentioned above had written to the Governor General for the restoration of the claims and salary of the Nawab, after one month the order was issued, as a result of which the entitlement of the Nawab was revived and his salary restored, excepting Rupees five hundred (*Sicca*) relating to *langar*. After the issuance of the order both the English gentlemen called on the Nawab and gave him whatever advice they had. The Nawab apparently accepted their suggestions and appointed Agha Abdul Ali to perform all the administrative duties and made Meer Muhammad Ali their advisor, while the Nawab plunged himself into the company of the ignoble and depraved people. He busied himself with various kinds of pleasures and entertainment such as dance by ladies and Bhatia and Ghantoo, horseracing, cock fighting, wine drinking, womanising and other lewd acts. Besides, he indulged in excessive expenditure and granting undue awards. If any old family member and relative tended any good words of admonition, he would fly into rages and would dismiss them. Hence, all and sundry chose to remain tight-lipped. Rather, most of the gentry and mobility sought refuge in the corner of their house. As Agha Abdul Ali and Meer Muhammad Ali could not meet the expenditure from [P.32] the revenue of the state, they gave up their posts. The Nawab too, considering their self confinement a good opportunity, appointed Husain Bakhsh, son of Jaisi as Meer Saman, as he was constantly in attendance on the Nawab. As the proverb goes, everybody thinks according to his own capability. Within a short time, that worthless fellow took for himself the precious jewels and special dresses of the Nawabs such as shawls, golden and bejeweled robes and also distributed some items among his friends such as Jafar Khan Qawwal, Muhammad Husain and Mirza Noor Wazir Ali. His extravagance reached such an extent that he could distribute within two or three months the salary for one month only. [P.33]

During this time, a woman of ill repute, named Zahooran, arrived from Rangpur. She was ordered by Husain Bakhsh to be present at the

court for dancing. When that destroyer of the Nawab's dynasty came, the lascivious eyes of the Nawab fell on her and he developed such a passion for the prostitute that she was admitted into his harem and was conferred the title of Nawab Begum. Husain Bakhsh and friends paid her more respects than before. The English gentlemen particularly Mr. Collicroft knowing of such a situation, felt highly surprised and regretted their earlier favours on the Nawab. Some old retainers of the Nawab's family, on hearing of these scandals, sent constant petitions to Nawab Badrun Nisa Begum, widow of Nawab Mubarakud Dawlah, requesting her to come from Murshidabad to Dhaka in an effort to save the family from rack and ruin and to rectify the Nawab's character. In response to the petitions, the Begum condescended to go to Dhaka, but her coming produced no results. According to Sadi,

When bad traits of character become settled,  
they cannot be removed till death.

Hence, her Highness felt very much humiliated by going to Dhaka and therefore left for Murshidabad.

In the meantime, at the time of the departure of her Highness, the said Zahooran, being displeased with the Nawab had retreated to her mother, who was staying elsewhere. However much the Nawab called her back, she did not return. On inquiry it was learnt that she was not happy with Husain Bakhsh and that she would not go back as long as he was there. The Nawab then and there turned out Hussain Bakhsh with all his men and asked them not to come again. In other words, the Nawab threatened that if he dared enter the palace again, he would face dire consequences. Abdul Alim, who was Darogha under Her Highness and was a clever and resourceful man, got the opportunity of getting closer to the Begum and through her to the Nawab. With soft and conciliatory words, he won over the heart of the Begum and got his past mistakes forgiven. Her Highness, considering this as a welcome sign, thanked Almighty and after hearing Abdul Alim with the Nawab for seven or eight days, returned to Murshidabad.

### **Daroghaship of Moulvi Abdul Alim**

Afterwards Husain Bakhsh, Moulvi Abdul Alim was appointed Darogha. He took over the administration of the state and let it be known publicly that whatever steps he took carried the consent of Commissioner Shore. At times he would call on the commission for the consultation of the people. To *Khairati*, who was one of the confidants of the palace, he gave charge of Jamadar for the nobility, and instructed him to attend the Nawab all the time and not to be negligent of his duty to keep the Begum, i.e., Zahooran, in good humour. He should not share his duty with anybody else. Darogha Abdul Alim got a letter written on behalf of the Nawab that Hussain Bakhsh and fourteen others had looted the property

of the state, for which their house should be searched and if found guilty, proper punishment should be given. And he sent the letter to the Magistrate, who on receipt of the complaint, gave orders for searching the houses of the persons named [P.34] and for presenting them before him under arrest.

These miscreants on hearing this development took to their heels. After this achievement, the Darogha turned towards settling other matters of the state. First of all he ordered cuts in the salaries of the nobility and the gentry. Then he turned towards the kitchen management and stopped many normal activities. Khairati Jamadar, on account of his nearness to the Nawab, brought Zahooran under his control to such an extent that the latter called him father and his wife Hariyya mother. Because of this connection, he received abundant favours (from the Nawab). As Abdul Alim Darogha did not like Khairati to be enriched with so much favours and gifts, it was but natural that the said Jamadar considered the Darogha as a great hurdle on his path. Hence he started working against him and prevailed upon the Nawab through his wife (Zahooran) to dismiss the Darogha from his official position. The Nawab meted out many ill treatments to the Darogha. The Darogha, being disgusted with the situation, appealed to Meer Ali Ashraf, the Sarishtadar of the Commissioner, through whom he made the Commissioner agree to his point. Petitions, reflecting deterioration in the administrative machinery of the Nawab, were sent through the Commissioner to the highest authority. But orders came from the Governor General's office that the Nawab has the authority and prerogative over his own household. On receipt of this order, Darogha Abdul Alim was dismissed from service, and the administration of the affairs of the state was placed in the hands of the said Jamadar.

### **On Khairati Jamadar**

When the State administration came into the hands of Khairati Jamadar, he submitted to the Nawab, pretending to remove the stigma of ignominy from his name, that it would be advisable for the Nawab to go to the house of Agha Abdul Alim, the trusted well-wisher and his teacher, to bring him back and reinstate him to the post of Meer Saman, so that the function of the state may be carried out in a proper manner. The Nawab acted upon his advice. This is the second time that [P.35] Agha Abdul Alim was given the post. As Agha had no specific assignment he would come to the palace everyday and remained idle like an additional finger (of a hand). Whereas the said Jamadar, keeping himself in command of the Nawab's household, acted as he liked; the Agha being only a titular entity and so after some time, on seeing the situation, retired into the corner of his house. The said Jamadar, at the instance, of Madan Fotedar, the Treasurer, and Bhagan Jamadar, gained complete control over the Begum, so that all the gold and silver jewellery and dresses of the old

Nawab family, were at his disposal, and the Nawab was reduced to a name only. Moreover, he would not allow anybody to visit the Nawab, not even his kith and kin, excepting, of course, his own relations. Apart from these, he always behaved himself as a respected invitee. In fact, he had made the Nawab completely obedient to him by employing many tricks, both worldly and unearthly. The Nawab also became his pupil and would plan illusory things. He would even teach the Nawab the usually feminine art of playing the *tabla*, in which he had great proficiency. He would use baseless words and would claim to control demonic forces such as *jins* and devils to get his objects fulfilled. In short, he always kept the Nawab terrified.

When his manipulation reached its climax and his luck seemed to desert him, according to the proverb, 'Every excellence has its decline.' It is said that one day when the Nawab was going along a road, he saw a women juggler showing some tricks. The Nawab ordered his men to see that the juggler is presented before him at his home immediately. When the Nawab returned, he found that the juggler was present. When he enquired, he was informed that she had come but nobody informed the Nawab of her coming. One day the Nawab asked the Meer Khansaman why was his order of presenting the juggler not carried. Getting a suitable opportunity the Meer submitted: "Who could inform the Nawab of such things without the consent of the Jamadar." The Nawab was extremely annoyed with this reply and told Munshi Enayat Ali the next day that he was fed up with the Jamadar. He said, 'I am at a loss to understand what I should do to get rid of him. I am afraid he may kill me by means of magic.' The said Munshi [P.36] submitted that the Jamadar could do him no harm. The Nawab has everything under his control. At this time this writer arrived on the scene and I said that the said Jamadar has been summoned to the Magistrate's Court. Hence, it is desirable if a letter is at once sent to the Magistrate. Hence, accordingly, the Munshi was ordered to send a letter immediately to the Magistrate. The said letter was actually sent at once. The Magistrate lost no time in dispatching the Nazir of the court, Altaf Ali with adequate force to arrest the Jamadar. The Jamadar, somehow or other got the news and made good his escape through the back of his house. His followers, who were around him, also vanished. Rightly has a poet said:

Falak in lobat-i- chin o chagal ra  
Che lobat gar zamani chid bar chid.

#### **Daroghaship of Mir Ali Naqi and Gulzar Begum and Mahboob Mir Muhammad Ismail and Sultana**

After the death of Khairati Jamadar, the Nawab visited the residence of Hayatunnesa Begum, the Nawab's mother, who enquired about his untimely arrival. The Nawab related the whole event as it happened. The Begum, on learning of the scandalous affairs of the

Darogha Mirza Hengan, which were later on hushed over, asked whether he had succeeded in getting hold of the juggler woman. The said Mirza, after considerable hope had brought into his possession the said woman and presented her to the Nawab, who in return forgave all his past mistakes and reinstated him in his previous post. After fulfilling all his objections with the divine help, the Nawab restored to this sinner the post of *Mir Saman*. In this way, the administration of the department remained entirely suspended for seven days. But this humble sinner (writer), considering myself incapable of performing my official duties, stepped aside and was [P.37] permitted to do so. But in order that the work of management of the affairs of the administration is properly carried out, I desired that the job should be allotted to a person considered senior and also regarded as a well wisher of the establishment. The Nawab selected, from among them, Mir Ali Naqi, son of late Nawab Sher Jang, and ordered for his presence. After being present, he was given charge of the said post. The Mir, on receiving the charge, had to act in accordance with the advice of the clerks, on account of his incapacity. Mirza Hengan (mentioned above) was also available round there. The Nawab, after getting the hands of the juggler woman, showed less attention to Zahooran Begum, who was obviously very disillusioned. Mirza Hengan, in order to allay her ruffled feelings, sent her to Khurd Mahal in the service of Her Highness the mother (of the Nawab) so that she would reconcile her. At times the Nawab would also pay visit to his estranged wife.

In the meantime, one Shahbaz Khan, who was among the retainers, purposely started talking about the physical beauty of a certain noble woman, named Gulzar Begum, to the extent that the Nawab developed a passion for her. Shahbaz Khan retreated to his house after exciting the Nawab's passion for the woman in question. On being summoned, he replied that the woman of peerless beauty, which is sufficient to bewilder the eyes of the sun, could not be had by the Nawab without proper marriage and suitable dowry. The Nawab, on being satisfied by the juggler woman, decided to go all out for the beautiful woman mentioned herein. Mir Ali Naqi and Mirza Hengan, observing forethought, managed to present the woman to the Nawab on a certain night within a week, after consulting the trusted men of Gulzar Begum, on condition that Shahbaz Khan would be present there. The said Begum, being extremely clever and highly experienced, and conversant with the ups and downs of the time, was particular that the said Khan should remain in her company, so much so that nothing other than a friendly meeting occurred, after which she returned home. Next day, the Nawab ordered Mirza Hengan and Mir Ali Naqi to present the previous night's woman by hook or by crook.

On receiving this order (of the Nawab), these two persons found themselves in impending trouble, and with the help of Mir Burhan Ali,

brother of Mir Ali Naqi, they brought the said woman into the wedlock of the Nawab, keeping Shahbaz Khan in the dark. Zahooran Begum, on hearing this news, got into an instant rage and wanted to commit suicide. The Nawab, being alarmed, brought her from Khurd Mahal and placed her in a house in front of Dewan Khana. He turned out the juggler woman. As Mirza Hengan and Meer Ali Naqi, following the marriage of Gulzar Begum to the Nawab, were inaccessible to Zahooran Begum, who was herself not accessible to them. This situation made the Nawab restless, and hence this humble servant was entrusted to look after [P.38] the affairs of Zahooran Begum. For five months the latter remained confined to the Nawab.

After Gulzar Begum's marriage, the Nawab came to know that the woman had three children, while some reported she was still carrying the baby of one Jagan Bania Kothiwai. Being disgusted with these words, the Nawab divorced Gulzar Begum on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of the marriage. After her departure, the Nawab wanted to mend fences with Zahooran Begum with all kinds of inducements and encouragement, and after properly marrying her, gave her some pieces of land and villages by way of dowry. When Zahooran Begum saw that her company had become free from unwanted persons and she found herself in a commanding position, she first of all thought of getting rid of Mirza Hengan. The Mirza, being confronted with this situation, abstained himself from attending *darbar*, and stayed put in Khurd Mahal. But Mir Ali Naqi started appeasing the said Begum and brought her to his side, but could not put an end to the spendthrift habit of the Nawab. For example, the salary of Zahooran Begum was raised to thousand rupees, a hundred rupees a month to Husaini Begum, the step-mother of the Nawab and three hundred rupees to Hayatunnessa Begum, the Nawab's own mother and these allowances got multiplied. Besides, an item worth one rupee was purchased at ten rupees. Rather, it would not matter if it were bought at a hundred rupees. As the capacity of the administration was not big, irregularity occurred in the matter of making payments of salaries. It was paid sometimes in one month, or two months or three months and that also whoever was present at the time of payment got it, while those who failed to turn up or came late were disappointed. Hence, the retainers and claimants in respect of the Nawab decided to petition the Governor General, through Commissioner Luce of the area, to take away the responsibility of payment of their salaries from the Nawab and to give it instead to the Commissioner.

On being asked by the authorities concerned, the Nawab gave a sufficient reply. In other words, Mirza Muhammad Jafar, Mir Muhammad Ali, Mir Ghulam Ali, Mirza Jalaluddin and Mirza Vilayat Ali, in all fourteen people of the administration, who had made the petition, were really old retainers of the government and deserved support. But their salaries were linked to the Langar until the Company



stopped them. "Where is my fault", he declared. Thus this reply proved to be favourable to the helpless people. After a few days [P.39] one by one they presented themselves before the Nawab and made apologies, and the Nawab too in consideration of their past services and those of their predecessors, forgave them.

In the meantime, one day Chunilal the pimp brought a teenaged girl, daughter of one of his adopted sons, and left her for a day at Mubarak Burj for providing comfort to the Nawab. As Mir Ali Naqi was entrusted to serve Zahooran Begum, he was obviously avoided for being asked to serve the newly procured mistress. The Nawab would consequently consult and interact with Mir Muhammad Ismail, who was superintendent (*darogha*) of palaces, Naubat Khanas, Mashal Khana and Filkhana (Elephant stables). As Mir Muhammad Ismail was a wise, intelligent and right-thinking man and used to keep the Nawab pleased and satisfied with him, his position received a boost, which resulted in his being appointed as the chief superintendent (*Madaral Maham*) of the Nawab's administration. Mir Ali Naqi was compelled to side with Mir Ismail, for he was all the time concerned about the security of his position, for which he was committed to please the Nawab and his Begum. But Mir Ismail did not try to harm him, as it was not in his nature, like others, to be mischievous to anybody. Though the new mistress returned to her place in a short time, Zahooran Begum, working under the impression that the mistress concerned was introduced by Mir Ali Naqi, worked towards his demotion and made the Nawab suspicious of the said Mir by telling him that "Mir Ismail was a supporter of the mistress", a statement which was made by the other Mir to Zahooran Begum. As a result, Meer Ismail replaced Mir Ali Naqi.

One day the Nawab going out in his carriage accompanied by an attendant named Bakhshu noticed on the way that a woman, dressed in resplendent green, cast her glances at the Nawab expectantly. The Nawab returned home, stricken with instant love for the woman, whom he immediately called to his presence. The said Bakhshu, who was already on the look out for her, reported that the woman's name was Sultana, that she had her mother and sister and was not a prostitute. The Nawab grew impatient to get her. At last it was suggested that he should himself visit her house alone at night, since he was left with no alternative. The Nawab, having accepted the suggestion, rode a Palki in the company of Bakhshu, keeping both Mir Ali Naqi and Mir Ismail in the dark, and reached the residence of Sultana at midnight. He returned home after staying there for three hours. [P.40] When such visits continued for three or four nights consecutively, the matter did not remain a secret, rather it received full publicity. The passion of the Nawab reached such a point that he started visiting the said place even in daytime. As the woman belonged to a fisherman's family, some relatives and well wishers of the Nawab could no longer remain silent and after openly discussing the

scandal among themselves requested him to desist from the nefarious activities. Their pleadings had no effect on the Nawab, who became rather more daring and would pass four or five days with the woman. Hence everybody, from the low to the high, felt unhappy with the Nawab for his despicable acts. Zahoornessa Begum also felt very much hurt and uttered very harsh words to the Nawab when she met him. Rather she was very sarcastic in her remarks and castigated him right and left. So the Nawab stopped visiting his own house and took up residence in an adjacent house.

**On the Daroghaship of Shaikh Kanu Machhwa and Mir Afzal Ali,  
guardsman of the Nawab**

At the instance of the said Sultana, her brother-in-law (sister's husband) Shaikh Kanu by name was entrusted with the superintendence of all the affairs of administration. The said Shaikh Kanu, merely out of enmity, made complaints to the Nawab about Mir Ismail and Mir Ali Naqi. As the Nawab was favourably inclined towards him, he lent his ears to him. The two Mir Sahebs one by one retired to their homes observing the changed attitude of the Nawab towards them. When there remained no guardsman for the palace, Zahooran Begum, who had already become greatly disillusioned, built a new house and started living there after leaving Aina Mahal, having taken with her all the possessions, which belonged to her. On hearing this news, the Nawab went to that house and addressed all his relatives thus: "I have heard that Zahooran Begum has come out of the Aina Mahal at the instigation of Mir Ismail. [P.41] I have dismissed Mir Ismail from the post of Mir Saman. In that post I have appointed Shaikh Muhammad Kanu and on his sister-in-law I have conferred the title of Sultan Begum. Henceforth the former should be called as Darogha and the latter Begum Sahiba." Hence it is clear when the Daroghaship of the administration has reached such a low level it is wondered how the state would be run. In short, distribution of salaries was fully stopped. If, after two or three months, the payment was resumed, only those happened to be present and privileged were benefited. The condition of the gentlemen of honour was deplorable. There was, however, no way out. After a few days the Nawab went to the palace along with the Begum Saheba and new Darogha and discussed the problems with the colleagues of the Darogha. No old-timer of the dynasty had any access. When scandals had crossed all limits, Her Highness Badrunessa Begum Saheba from Murshidabad and Hayatunessa Begum, the mother of the Nawab had been consistently writing to the Governor General about the misdeeds of the Nawab and about the appointment of a guardsman for the establishment concerned, along with the petition of aristocrats and retainers of the administration to members of the Council. Consequently, on the basis of the petitions, the Governor-General confirmed Mir Afzal's appointment as guardsman. So the Nawab was entitled his own salary only. Mir Afzal would receive the salary of

the Nawab from the collectorate and other requirements for disbursement to persons concerned, and whatever amount remained (after payment) was utilized for paying off the debts of the Government. As the Nawab was in the habit of extravagant spending and had suddenly become incapable of continuing with that life, letters, written in English and Persian, were consistently sent in this connection to the Commissioner and the Council. But nothing positive resulted. Four or five months passed in this way when Mir Afzal Ali Muhafiz had to go to Murshidabad on some errand, leaving Agha Abdul Ali in his place. The Agha acted as per order only, for fear of scandal. In the meantime, the previous Commissioner left, and his place was taken over by Mr. Garden, who reported to the Governor General, on the basis of the opinion of the Muhafiz, sought exemption from the responsibility of the Nawab's duty, because of his own pre-occupations with the company's work. [P.42] It is proper if the said responsibility is given over to a particular *sarishhta*. It was ordered that Agha Abdul Ali and the Muhafiz be dismissed. They made over their charges accordingly. Thus their efforts to get a Muhafiz appointed during these days were ended in failure due to their stupidity.

The people once again came under the tutelage of Shaikh Kanu. But the latter felt very much terrified at the prospect of the Muhafiz getting back his power and subsequently losing his own job. Accordingly he started restraining the Nawab from incurring unnecessary expenditure and increment in salaries; rather he would practice delay in carrying out such orders. He would also object to payments even on demand. Being disgusted, the Nawab seriously consulted Mir Ismail who advised him in return to complain to the magistrate concerned that Kanu had taken away to his house many goods of the state and had made fraudulent use of these things in a highhanded manner. The magistrate was requested to initiate necessary enquiry. The magistrate immediately sent orders in these matters to the Kotwal, who was at that time Moulvi Muhammad, who was a supporter of the government and was an upright man. Immediately on receiving the order the said Kotwal carried out the search at Kanu's house which resulted in the confiscation of much state goods and a sum of Rupees five thousand in cash. The Kotwal brought him to the criminal court in great humiliation. Having been sent to the Sessions court, he was sentenced to five years' jail term. The confiscated goods were auctioned and the money received therefrom was used to pay off the debts of the creditors.

#### **On the Daroghaship of Meer Muhammad Ismail for the second time and Agha Jan**

When Kanu received his punishment due to Meer Ismail's endeavour, the Nawab restored the post of Meer Saman to the Meer. As the latter was well aware of the mind of the Nawab, it became easier for him to conduct the affairs of the state in [P.43] a better manner. Though

he could not restore the distribution of salary every month, yet it was regulated in a better manner than in other regimes. He also kept the Nawab and the Sultan Begum apprehensive about the future in the matter of appointing Muhafiz. The people too were happy with him, as they considered his regime better than others.

Two years passed in this way when a dancing girl named Agha Jan of Calcutta arrived in Jahangir Nagar, hearing the philandering habit and magnanimous philanthropy of the Nawab. She was, first admitted to the court for dancing, but when, she could not win the heart of the Nawab, she went away. One day the manager of the Huqqa Khana, Qader Bakhsh by name, who had close relation with the said woman, got an opportunity to report to the Nawab that there was no woman in the town like Agha Jan and that she was extremely enamoured of him, so much so that she refused to agree to the offer of one James, son of Hallow, the clerk, to the extent of one thousand rupees for a single night. She replied that she had undertaken the journey (to Jahangir Nagar) exclusively to meet the Nawab. She added that if her desire was fulfilled, it was welcome, otherwise she would return home, for she had many lovers in Calcutta. On hearing this, the Nawab was duped, and he went for the hands of the woman. He lost no time in sending for Qader Bakhsh. The hemistich "when death comes the physician falls sick" seems to have come true in this case, otherwise the same woman had come to dance several times in the past. However, the said *tahwildar* (Qader Bakhsh), being afraid of Mir Ismail, taught the woman some tricks in order to get rid of Mir Ismail, because she was told that she would not succeed as long as the Mir was in position. Hence the said woman started her manipulations with the backing of Qader Bakhsh. The Nawab, on account of relationship, indirectly raised objections and asked the Mir not to visit the palace again. The Meer, stricken with apoplexy in those days, on learning the unexpected disaster, reached the presence of the Nawab somehow or other. As the Mir enjoyed great popularity the order against him was not carried out. The Nawab also remained silent. The Mir also, despite having fever, [P.44] submitted his explanation. The Nawab remained speechless and making no reply retired to his palace on some pretext. The Mir went back disappointed.

#### **Daroghaship of Munshi Inayat Ali and Lakhi Narayan Das and Birja Shah Mahajan and Manik Gomashta**

After the retirement of Mir Muhammad Ismail, Nawab Saheb called Lakhi Narayan Das at the instance of the *tahwildar* and bestowed on him the earlier duty. As Lakhi Narayan was a former treasurer, Mir Muhammad accused him of misappropriation and dismissed with information to the Nawab and appointed in his place Birja Shah, the Mahajan, who supplied Gotha, Patha and cloth to the government. The latter started his work through Manik Gomashta. So Lakhi Narayan bore

great enmity towards Mir Muhammad Ismail; as it were, this was the day he was expecting to occur and for which he was praying to God. He presented a sum of rupees one thousand to the Nawab, who had asked him to pay for gifting it to that fallen woman mentioned above. In return, Lakhi Narayan desired the post of treasurer (*khazanchi*). The Nawab called Munshi Enayat Ali, the Meer Munshi, and ordered him to prepare a *sanad* for appointing Lakhi Narayan as *Khazanchi* and the said Meer as Darogha. The Meer submitted some reservations about Lakhi Narayan's appointment. Hence the Nawab changed the designation from Darogha to Ameen for factories. This writer was not present at that time, for he was on leave for two or three days for some other business. When I returned, I came to know that the Nawab had asked the Meer Saheb to sit at home for some time. Being disappointed at hearing the news, I at once went (when five or six hours had passed) to the house of Meer Saheb and asked him about the abominable events. The Meer narrated the events and complained about the bad turn of the fate. This writer wanted to go to the Nawab and settle the matter. Meer Saheb agreed to whatever I could do. He took Manik Gumashta (who was Meer Saheb's Mahajan), who was present at the moment, and went to the Nawab's palace. He entered the palace, leaving the Mahajan outside. The Nawab demanded to know the reasons for his arrival at unexpected hours and [P.45] without summons. This humble servant made his absence for three days a pretext and discussed the matter with him. The writer unknowingly expressed his sorrow at the illness of the Meer Saheb. The Nawab said: "Have you not heard that I have dismissed the Meer Saheb and appointed Munshi Enayat Ali in his place and reinstated the old *khazanchi* Lakhi Narayan to his old position, that I have taken one thousand rupees from him." This writer submitted that if this amount were demanded from Meer Saheb he would have given him. Rather now that Manik Mahajan is present, what to speak of one thousand rupees, he could give four thousand rupees. The Nawab, taken aback at this conversation, said: "As you are one of the friends and well wishers of the Meer, why don't you understand that a promise has already been made." That woman and the *tahwildar* also supported the Nawab's argument. The writer found the situation unfavourable to him and sought permission to go, and he retired for a few days in this manner, expecting the dust of displeasure raised in the Nawab's mind may settle down, and afterwards he would do whatever is thought proper at the appropriate time. As the secret was out, I asked Manik to leave. When the Nawab noticed that this humble servant was not uttering the name of Meer Muhammad Ismail even once, and comes more frequently than earlier, made up his own mind and became convinced about me and appointed me superintendent (Darogha) of the private purse. The writer also, thinking it an opportunate time, became more obedient in service than earlier. After a few days, he said to me: "You carry out the duties of the Meer Saman along with Munshi Enayat Ali. He then appointed Wahhab Khawas, one of his confidants, as

*tahwildar*. The writer accepted the arrangement as he considered it his duty to accept whatever is received from a friend. As the said *Khazanchi* knew that both of them owed their positions to me they maintained their egoistic attitude. Therefore, they had no consultation with me. They did what they wanted in their own way. They prepared petitions, submission and letters and obtained the Nawab's signature and seal whenever they desired and showed statements of income and expenditure to the Dewan, Peshkar and Muharrir. The Munshi would approve them. This humble self would approve the opinion of the Nawab.

One day, Lakhi Narayan, after acquiring the Nawab's salary from the collectorate, wrote a resignation letter sent from his house, stating that "the expenditure of the state has exceeded its income and that irregularity has been noticed in the distribution of salaries. In these circumstances, (P.46) if a proper scrutiny is made, the income and expenditure will tally and this humble servant can do the needful, otherwise my resignation be accepted." The Nawab did not like this impertinence. Being thus incensed, he asked my opinion. This humble sinner did what he could to get mistakes of the Meer Saheb forgiven. However, he received whatever he desired. In other words, if initially the Nawab, not accepting the proposal, said that: "I appointed you Darogha of this state, whereas you appointed somebody else as a *Khazanchi* started the state work accordingly." He called servants like Nazir and Jamadars and Muharrir and ordered them that I have appointed Hameed Meer as Meer Saman; hence you should follow the appointed Darogha in accordance with the custom of the predecessors." But this humble servant submitted that the orders of the Nawab will be followed, but this writer desires that he should be given the power to call anybody he considers fit to have a work done. The Nawab said, "you are permitted to do so." As soon as he gave this order, this humble man went to the house of Meer Saheb and narrated before him the Nawab's order. After considerable requests and entreaties, he persuaded the Meer to meet the Nawab, which he promptly did. After tendering his apologies, the Meer was reinstated in his earlier post, though, in the meantime, Lakhi Narayan had sent another petition regarding completing the accounts of the expenditure of the state, but the petition did not go any further. Hence it has been said: "The bird that has left its case cannot be caught".

### **Darogaship of Mir Muhammad Ismail for the Third time**

When Mir Muhammad Ismail was appointed Darogha of the state for the third time, the Nawab, in the context of Lakhi Narayan's petition sent after his resignation, was convinced of the matter that if the Meer Saheb failed to carry out the orders he would be dismissed and will be replaced by the said *Khazanchi*. After tendering this warning (to the Meer), the Nawab extended his thrift hands all around without any check. The Meer Saheb, who had earlier raised objection to extravagant spending

of the Nawab, such as unnecessary expenditure in the matter of purchase of commodities of various kinds, completely refrained from doing so and got himself busy in pleasing and obeying the Nawab, so that his position may not be jeopardised. As a result, many irregularities occurred in the administration, which resulted in chaos and scandals. At the behest of [P.47] Badrunnesa Begum other warning letters reached from the side of the Governor, but to no effect. At last, on 25<sup>th</sup> of Rajab 1260 A.H. corresponding to the seventh of Bhadra of the Bengali year 1250, on Wednesday at about one hour and a half in the day passed away Amirul Umara, the aristocrat of the aristocrats, the Prince of the Poor, Helper of the Poor, the wretched and helpless, Nawab Syed Ghaziuddin Muhammad Khan, firstly due to apoplexy and then periostitis. As the people were not aware of the Nawab's illness, they were stunned to hear the news of his sudden death and hue and cry was raised in every lane and market. Men related or unrelated hastened towards his palace, whose courtyard as if appeared to be scene of the day of resurrection. Sounds of wailings and cries broke our hearts. He was buried by the side of his father (May God bless him!).

He was a man of great courage and magnanimity. If any body was in need of money, he extended to him his hands of succour. Everybody from the high or low was indebted to him for many things. Besides, he bore no enmity against anybody. If anybody had done any mischief to him, no matter how many times, he would always forgive him. Apart from these, he was well behaved, witty and magnanimous. The English gentlemen also were deeply saddened by his death, more particularly because he died childless. The relatives and friends of the family were highly disappointed at not having a successor to his *gaddi*. Though Hayatunnesa Begum, mother of the deceased, stated that one Amirunnesa bore an illegitimate child of her son, Nawab Ghaziuddin, but the English authorities did not believe the story and withdrew the salaries of the Nawab, by declaring the unpaid salary as pension. The age of the deceased was twenty-eight years and the period of his regime comprised two years and five months. His title was Najmud Dawlah Qamarul Mulk Nawab Syed Ghaziuddin Muhammad Khan Bahadur Firoze Jang.

#### On some leaders and aristocrats of the area

[P.48] A period of some twenty years has passed between the death of Nawab Nusrat Jang and Nawab Ghaziuddin Muhammad Khan. Many leading personalities and aristocrats of the area passed away one by one. The family, which proved to be rival of the Nawab's dynasty, went out of existence. Among others was the late Meer Ashraf Ali, whose monthly salary was Rupees twenty thousand, had his zamindari in the town of Kahal, maintained the lives of hundreds of farmers, and there were few people in the town who were not indebted to him in some way or other, as his expenditure was enormous. His young sons, Ali Mehdi Khan Bahadur and Ali Hasan Khan Bahadur have also passed away.

Inspite of having capable sons and big zamindari, the fate willed in such a way that Ali Hasan Khan Bahadur died and their palaces were destroyed in such a way that no trace of them be left today. The Company on account of arrear dues attached the entire zamindari.

Though Ali Mehdi Khan Bahadur is still alive, he is like a living man in grave. His life and death have almost become same. The late Meer Nawab was zamindar of Abdullah Parora Atiah, which produced an income of about three thousand rupees per month. He was an extremely well mannered and witty man. May God forgive his sons! Many people were benefited by his charities. If any body called on him, he would say days are all Eid and nights Lailatul Barat. He left behind five sons, three daughters and a large property. The revolving sky was so merciless that only ruins of wall and gates remained of his big palaces and the Imambara that had no parallel in the city in the past. In the courtyards of his palace, wild trees and thorns have replaced thousands of roses and hyacinths that grew at that time. His children are wandering here and there for daily bread.

There was one Mirza Muhammad Kazim Khan, zamindar of Khal and Tharla that had monthly revenue of two thousand and five hundred rupees. In the year when the late Nawab passed away, he was drowned in the area of Manikganj and his dead body too could not be recovered, despite best efforts. [P.49] He was survived by one son, four daughters and a wife. Another aristocrat was Meer Aatur Rahim, Zamindar of Salasi, yielding revenue of two thousand rupees per month, and was pious and God-fearing. He gave away alms secretly and people got many benefits from him. Three sons and two daughters survived him. The fate annihilated the family in such a way that the pen cannot describe it. His descendents are now beggars - a scene that is pathetic to see.

Mirza Hasan Ali, zamindar of Majlispur and other places, fetching monthly revenue of two thousand rupees, was a thorough gentleman and religious minded, and was survived by two sons and three daughters. After the death of his father, Mirza Latif Husain shifted to another building. Mirza Zainuddin Husain, who was the younger brother of the latter, lives in that house with some of his relations, and does not help anybody but at the same time is not harmful to any person. Similarly there are persons like Raja Parsuram, Mirza Haidar Ali, Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur and Khwaja Aratoon Armani and others, each of who maintained an aristocratic style of living and was also philanthropic to hundreds of clients. Particularly people of noble extraction, who were completely ruined, passed their days under the guardianship of these people. Now a days, wealth seems to have passed on from the gentry and nobility, from whom the have-nots received nourishment, to the hands of those plebeians, who were themselves indigent. Of the old nobility and aristocracy, none has remained now who could spread hands of help to the poor descendants of the gentry. It is a strange time! May God preserve and guard the honour and name



of every body from the vicissitudes of time, in the name of the holy Prophet and his family.

#### Miscellaneous notes which Nawab Nusrat Jang himself had written

[P.50] As for the buildings and great remnants of the city of Jahangir Nagar, Meer Abul Qasim Khan, the Dewan of Prince Azimushshan, had constructed the Katra Kalan, by the order of the said Prince in the year 1050 AH. As the prince did not like the building the same was given to the said Meer; he also built the Eidgah in the same year for the Prince to perform prayers. Now some of his remaining descendants are in occupation of the place. Nawab Shaista Khan constructed the small Katra, and also built Lal Bagh, which he had received as a gift from the Emperor Alamgir, on becoming Subahdar following removal of Shahzada Azimushshan. Also during the time of Prince Azimushshan, Meer Murad, who was a Syed and Superintendent of royal building (*Meer Imarat Badshahi*), had constructed the holy Husaini Dalan. Muhammad Muqim, the Darogha of Navy, built Katra Muhammad Muqim in the year 1072 AH during the regime of Ihtisham Khan. Nawab Jafar Khan Nusairi, who bore the title of Kartalab Khan and Murshid Quli Khan, built the mosque of Kartalab Khan and adjacent market, which was dedicated to the mosque. Similarly, there is a tomb in Lal Bagh where *Iran Dukht*, the daughter of Shaista Khan, lies buried. The tower and fort which is situated in Narayanganj was built by Khan-i-Khanan Muazzam Khan who also constructed the *Top-i-Kalan* (the big artillery) which fell in Sawari Ghat and the other artillery which fell into water at Mughlani Char with two cannons for chastising the army of the Khan-i-Khanan. The building Zanjira and the bridge are the legacy of Ibrahim Khan Subahdar. In the year 1246 AH Mr. Walters, the magistrate, had lifted the artillery of Sawari Ghat from the water [P.51] and had fixed it at the chowk. In that year also the same magistrate had himself reconstructed with iron the damaged Dulani bridge for the benefit of the common people who could not cross the river without the bridge. In 1243 AH Mr. Denis constructed the bridge at Babu Bazar and also repaired the Bridge of Moinuddin and the Bridge of Chand Khan, both of which were damaged. The Ramna garden and some cantonments of the Company were also constructed. The fort of Aurangabad, commonly known as Lal Bagh, along with the tomb of Bibi Pari, was associated with the late Nawabs from previous time. In the year 1258 AH, during the regime of late Ghaziuddin Muhammad, the Magistrate, Commissioner Garden, Father Shephard and Dr. Taylor, with the permission of the Nawab, cleansed the ponds and houses, which lay in virtual ruin, and converted them into place of recreation. The Tongi Bridge was built by a mendicant named Tongi during the subahdari of Ibrahim Khan and in the period of Aurangzib Alamgir. The northern side of the city of Jahangir Nagar approximately covered an area of five or six kros.

The End

# تاریخ نصرت جنگی

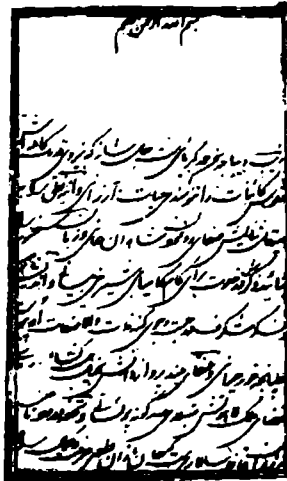
(رسالہ در بیان احوال جہانگیر نگر، ڈھاکہ)

تألیف

نواب نصرت جنگ

بسی و اہتمام و با انضمام ترجمہ انگلیسی

عبد السبحان



ایشیاٹک سوسائٹی آف بنگلہ دیش

ڈھاکہ

۲۰۰۵

# فہرست مضامین تاریخ نصرت جنگی

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- ۵۰ ذکر متفرقات کہ نواب نصرت جنگ مرحوم بقید قلم خود در آورده بودند یعنی

## بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ ط

زیب دیباچه سخن حمد کبریا نیست جل شانه که به نیروی قدرت کامله اش نفوس کائنات را تو مندی حیات ارزانی و آئینه نطق را بصیقل تنائیش صفائی رونمودن شاهدانه معانی و زبان سخنور را بتاید ذکرش در خلوت سرای کامیابی شیرین بیانی و اندیشه رسا و فکر شگرف در حُجست و جوی کُنه ذات و الا صفات او پیوسته طیا سنجه خور جزائی و عنقای بلند پرواز دانش بنجیال بال کشائی در هوای فضای ملک لاهوتش بتلای صدگونه پریشانی و تحفه درود نامعدود و بر روان قافله سالاری است که جان بازان و وادی معرفت و کمال پروانه آسما محو و بتلای شمع جمال جهان آرای خویش ساخته و بطلوع طلیمه خورشید وجود مسعود خود ناهجان مشاء صورت را از ظلمت ضلالت و تیرگی غوایت پرداخته و هزاران تصلیه و ثنا تثار و جوه عقبات طیبات او که از لمعات سیماهای ماه مثال شان قلوب ارباب ایتقان و اصحاب عرفان روشن و سطح گیتی بنظهور بهار فرط طلعت شان از ازل تا ابد گلشن است.

من بعد این مختصر بیست و ششتم بر بیان برخی از احوال فرمان رویان ملک بنگاله سیمائو بینا اینکه مدار السور و شهر جهانگیر نگر صاهنهای اللہ تعالی عن الفتن و المخطر قدم بر چار بالش ریاست گذاشته بانتظام امر خطیر ایالت اینجا همت گماشته اند و نیز نمودن حجتی از حقیقت ابنیه عمارات رفیعہ اینجا که هنوز از نقش و نگار دیوار شکسته آن نام و آثار آن صنادید عظام بر صفحه روزگار باقی است. از آنجا که برخی از گروه و الا شکوه انگلیسین که همت عالی نهمت شان مصروف ادراک حقایق عالم می باشد مشتوق شده اشارت خلت بشارت بتالیف آن باین اضعف عباد اللہ و اقل خلق اللہ سید علی الحسینی القزوینی که از پیشگاه فضل و عا طفت خسروانی المخاطب بانتظام الدوله نصیر الملک سید علی خان بهادر نصرت جنگ ست فرمودند

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لهذا بجمع آن کرمیمت بسته باندک وقتی بغایت اجمال بلا فصل و الافصال بیکپتیره نگاریها ترتیب داده بنظر اخلاق منتظرشان جلوه گر ساخت مخفی نماند که از روی تاریخ جهانگیری موسوم به اقبال نامه و عالمگیر نامه چنان معلوم و مستنبط شده که صوبه بنگاله از عهد سلطنت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه داخل قلمرو شاهی گشته است و قبل آن فرقه افغانه بران تسلط داشتند جنود شاهی را مکرر با عثمان خان سردار ایشان حروب و پیکار رود داده خصوص هرگاه راجه مان سنگه را مهور که از ابطال رجال و عمدۀ آراکین سلطنت بوده بصاحب صوبگی این ملک مأمور شد رسیده هر چند بجنگ های نمایان استخلاص این ملک از چنگ ایشان کرد هرگز با تمام میسر نشد مگر دید و تازمان ادرنگ آرای آن پادشاه بانام وجاه هم چنان در آبادی اختیار آن فرقه مانده بعد از آن چون در سنه هفت جلوس نورالدین محمد جهانگیر پادشاه مطابق سنه یک هزار و بیست و یک هجری اسلام خان از حضور سلطانی بصوبه داری بنگاله سرفراز شد او فوجی جری و کارگذار بسرکردگی شجاعت علی خاں تعیین نمود آخر بعد از تقارب فریقین مکرر از طبرین حربهای مردانه در میان آمده نسیم ظفر و فیروزی بر پرچم لوی شجاعت خان وزیر و عثمان خان در عین دار و گیر زخمی جان گزابر داشته ازین عالم درگذشت و پسرش و برادرش ولی خان و عمر خان با جمعی از رفقای او به اسلام خان در پیوستند و ملک بنگاله بر اولیای پادشاهی فرار گرفت و در عهد ریاست اسلام خان دها که صدر و ناظم نشین و ملقب بجهانگیر نگر و چانگام موسوم باسلام آباد گردید و او آبادی و انتظام جهانگیر نگریمت خود را باقصی الغایت مقصور ساخته شهری در کمال وسعت و فسحت و صفای وزینت ترتیب داده و هم در عهدش ملک آشام مفتوح و ضمیمه ممالک و قلمروی پادشاهی شده بود من بعد اسلام خان از صوبه داری بنگاله معاف و مرفوع شده و بحضور شاهی آمده و از پایۀ رفیع وزارت کلاه گوشه عزت بعیوق کیوان سود -

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ذکر صوبہ داری قطب الدین خان وغیرہ و ناظران دیگر کہ در زمان  
سلطنت جہانگیر نگر پادشاہ بامرایالت جہانگیر نگر مامور شدند

یکی قطب الدین خان کو کل تاش و دو می ہہابت خان کابلی ست۔ و بعدہ در اوائل  
عہد شاہجہان پادشاہ شہاب الدین محمد مہین پور جہانگیر کرت ثانی را جہان سنگھ و در آخر  
عہدش ابراہیم خان بآن سرکار سرفرازی یافت و او پیوستہ در جہانگیر نگر اقامت می داشت و شورش  
رحیم خان افغان و بنی و عنادا و با منتسبان سرکار پادشاہی در وقتش ظہور یافتہ مجلی از مفصلش  
اینکہ رحیم خان خود را ملقب بہ رحیم شاہ ساختہ با سوبہا سنگھ زمیندار چتوہ و دیگر بعضی جاہا متفق  
گشتہ بردوان و جسر و اموہ وغیرہ را متصرف شدہ بر قلعہ ہوگلی ناخۃ نور اللہ خان فوجدار آنجا تائب  
جنگ با سوبہا سنگھ نیاوردہ گریخت و لیکن جمعی از فرقہ ہولندیز سوارہ برد و منزل جہاز از راہ دریا  
لمحی تعلقہ ہوگلی شدہ بتوپ اندازی ہا چندان داد مردانگی دادند کہ سوبہا سنگھ تائب اقامت  
نیاوردہ بطرف سونار گام گریخت و باز از آنجا مراجعت بسمت بردوان کردہ مع رحیم خان  
بجانب مرشد آباد لشکر کشید و ہم در آن جا رحل اقامت انداخت و دختر رام کشن زمیندار مقتول  
بردوان را کہ بغارت آوردہ بود بسبب و فور حسن و جمالش عشقی از و در خاطر خود جا دادہ تھا  
کہ بچرا و را بتصرف در آوردہ لیکن ہر بار کہ سوبہا سنگھ قصد بجات او کرد او خود را بلطائف  
الحیل از و نگاہ میداشت ناگاہ شبی بفلیان شہوت خواست کہ شیشہ ناموس او را بسنگ حرام  
کاری بشکند۔ دختر مذکور کہ خجرتیزی از برای چنین روز پنهان با خود می داشت در هجوم نشہ  
شہوتش زیر ناف او چنان زد کہ واصل بچہم شد۔ مؤلف

سرا انجام بدکار بد میرسد      بدان از صنم کز صدم میرسد  
بعد از فوت سوبہا سنگھ برادرش ہمت سنگھ قائم مقام او شدہ با ستہار رحیم خان دم انتقال  
زده در مرشد آباد کہ در آن زمان مخصوص آباد نام داشت کوس انا و لا غیر میسواخت و

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باده نخوت و عز و سرخوش گشته وجود و عدم کارکنان سرکار بادشاهی را یکسان می انگاشت و رحیم خان نعمت خان نوکر بادشاهی را با برادرزاده اش بسبب آنکه سر باطاعت و فرمان برداری او در نمی آورد تیغ پدیدین گشت چون این خبر متوحش بجهانگیر نگر به ابراهیم خان ناظم بنگاله رسید تدارک این معنی را از حیطة امکان خود بیرون دیده عرضداشت کیفیت حال بحضور معلی ارسال داشت و از واقعه نگار و سواخ نگار نیز نویسانیدر بر طبق آن فرمان قضا جریان بنام زبردست خان خلیف ابراهیم خان که مبارزی بس شجاع و دلیر بود و بعد از آن پس از پدر خود در زمان سلطنت اورنگ زیب مالمگیر بادشاه بامر ریاست اینجا سفر از شده برای دفع شورش این گروه فتنه خیزه صادر شد و نیز بنام ناظمان و فوجداران صوبه اوده و اله آباد ریغ معلی در بنجاب تهدید تمام ورود یافت بنابراین لشکریان و دیگر عطا از رفاقت رحیم شاه پهلوئی کردند چنانچه او با شتر ذمه قلیلی در ماند و هم اشاره فیض بشاره به شاهزاده عظیم الشان پسر بهادر شاه نیره اورنگ زیب بادشاه بصوبه داری بنگاله و بهار تفاق یافت -

## ذکر روانه شدن شاهزاده عظیم الشان از حکم پدر بطرف بنگاله بر سر رحیم خان

آن نتیجه سلطنت با سلطان کریم الدین و سلطان فرخ سیر پسران خود جمعی از بند های بادشاهی و دوازده هزار سوار عزم بنگاله فرموده اما تا وصول شاهزاده زبردست خان پسر ابراهیم خان بانوارة جنگی و احشام توپخانه بادشاهی از جهانگیر نگر با تیارى تمام بسرعت سرریزه دریا گذرشته با رحیم خان که برکناره گنگ خیمه زده بود بحرب در پیوست و توپ اندازیهایی شالسته کرده بر افواج افغانه غالب آمد روز اول تا سه پاس روز دوم آن نیز تا دو پاس از هر دو طرف کوشش و کوشش و حرب های مردانه آشکارا شد آخر رحیم شاه هنریمت یافته عزیمت بسمت مرشد آباد نمود



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در آنجا رسیده در فرام آوردن افواج مصروف شد و زبردست خان با صفای این خیر پروانجات بنام زمینداران و تنهانه داران بجهت مسدود ساختن راههای عبور و مرور رحیم شاه و اسیر نمودنش نوشت و اموال مغرورانه را بفوج خود قسمت نموده دلهای سران لشکر را از خود راضی ساخته بدست خود آورد. مجروحان را روانه جهانگیر نگر نمود و سه روز رفع ماندگی کرده بایلغار تمام بجانب مرشدآباد نهضت آراگشت و در اثنای طی مراحل و منازل زمینداران و تنهانه داران بنگاله با افواج زبردست خان ملحق می شدند. و تا داخل شدن مرشدآباد در زیر لوای ظفرهای او افزونی فوج چندان گردید که رحیم شاه را هدایت آن بسمت بردوان فرار نمود. اما شاهزاده عظیم المشان بنجیال آنکه خبر حیرت دستهای زبردست خان بر رحیم خان اگر بحضور معلی خواهد رسید معلوم نیست که در باره سرفرازی او چه حکم نفاذ خواهد یافت عجالت خود را تا اکبرآباد رسانید و هم در آنجا عرض داشت زبردست خان مشعر بر خبر گریختن رحیم شاه و ظهور فتح و نصرت نمایان بحضور او رسید ولیکن چون از شاهزاده بجلدوی این خدمات شائسته که از زبردست خان بعمل آمده نوازشات مبذول نگشت بل بی التفاتی کمال بظهور پیوست لهذا بیدل شده و پاس ادب شاهزادگی نه نموده نقاره زنان از مقابل دایره دولت شاهزاده گذشته روانه شاهجهان آباد گردید. رحیم شاه رفتن زبردست خان را غنیمت و خیر آمدن شاهزاده افسانه پنداشته دست تطاول بر مال اصاب و کابر بردوان و هوگلگی و حوالی آن دراز ساخته بویرانی آن ملک دقیقه فرونگذاشت. چون دایره دولت شاهزاده بمشادآباد نزول فرمود زمینداران و تنهانه داران و فوج داران باندر پیش کش حاضر و رجوع گشته فراخور حال خود سرمایه سرفرازی دریا فتنه و شاهزاده بادراک خبر ظلم و بدعت رحیم شاه عنان توجه بجانب بردوان منعطف ساخته خواست که رحیم شاه بلباطیفت الحیصل حلقه اطاعت بگوشش اندازد ولیکن او بدعا بازی پوشیدن جامه اطاعت را بظاهر قبول کرده مترصد قابوی وقت می بود تا وقتی که میسر شد دفعه بمحاربه پیش آمد و اسپ خود را جولان داده با فیصل سواری شاهزاده چپانید و عرصه را بر و تنگ ساخت حمید خان قریشی که یکی از شجاعان نامی و فریق

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شاهزاده بود بمعاینه این حال بانگ برود که ای نمک حرام شاهزاده منم با من مقابل شو و بس برعت تیری جگر دوز درزه کمان نهاده بر سپهروی حیم شاه چنان زد که ترازو شد آن مجروح به تدارک آن تیسر پرواخته بود که فوراً تیری دیگر بر سرش زد و مجبور رسیدن دوزخ کاری طاقتی درو نمانده از اسب پرگرددید و بر زمین افتاد خان تهور نشان بچپتنی رسیده سرش برید و بر نیزه کرد و ایما بنواختن نقاره فتح نمود.

شاهزاده بعد فراغت از کار حیم شاه داخل قلعه برد و آن گشته زلال رحمت بر حال زمینداران آنجا ریخته هر یکی را به نعمت استمالت بنواخت و ویرانها را آبادان ساخت و جگت رام پسر رام کشن زمیندار مقتول آنجا را خلعت داده باز بر زمینداریش قائم فرمود و حمید خان را در ازای آن چنان جانفشانی با ضافه منصب و خطاب شمشیر خانی و بهادری و خدمت فوجداری ستخانه سهلت و غیره سرفراز ساخت و قلعه بردوان را که مسکن حاکمان پیشین بود بعمارت جدید آراسته نشین نمود مقصد فرمود و نیز جهت ادای نماز جمعه مسجد جامع آنجا بنا کرد و هم در بندر هونگلی گنجی جدید آباد کرده موسوم به شاه گنج عرف عظیم گنج ساخت و بعد فارغ شدن از آبادی آن دیار در جهانبگیر نگر آمده سکونت فرمود چون در آن روز با خبر بعضی حرکات شاهزاده مثل هولی بازی و پوشیدن لباس رنگ زعفرانی که از منہیات شرع است بوساطت وقایع و سواخ نگار تذروه عرض باریافتگان اشرف و اعلی رسیده بود لهذا فرمان تهدید آموز بخط خاص بنام شاهزاده صادر گشته در غناب حضور افتاد و مرزا محمد هادی مردی سپاهی پیشه که در ایام محاربه دکن در حضور بادشاہ ترددات شائسته بظهور رسانیده بود و هم بقصاص منطومی با سترضای خالق جان آفرین بحکم شریعت پسر خود را گشته و منظور نظر سلطانی گشته بخدمت دیوانی صوبه اریسہ سرفراز شده بود از حضور معلی بخطاب کار طلب خان ویدیوانی بنگاله مأمور گشته وارد جهانبگیر نگر گردید و با سواخ منجیح امورات بادشاهی چنان با مانع و دیانت مصروف شد که دست تصرف شاهزاده از بنگاله حاصلات آن کوتاه گردید. اوقات شاهزاده بگذرورت و ملال انجامید و لیکن مرزای مزبور بیاس حرمت شاهزادگی بجز او سلام همیشه حاضر می بود و در اطاعت و انقیاد ظاهراً از خود تفاوت نمی نمود

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و ملک بنگاله رایه کار داینهای خود تشخیص جمع بندی کرده و نسخه یک که در رویه تیار ساخته بحضور معالی  
 فرستاد و بیشتر از پیشتر مورد تحسین و آفرین گشت. شاهزاده بملاحظه تدابیر صائبه و افزونی رشد  
 و اعتبار او پیوسته بر عباد و کین می افزود و در پی آن می بود که او را منعدم فرماید. چون تدابیر حصول  
 این مدعا ضرور افتاد لهذا شاهزاده سایر نوکران قدیم نقدیرا که از شجاعت و پردلی نصیبی وانی داشتند  
 و موافقت با بادشاهزاده حاصل بود بر تعزیر انعامات و اضافه کمشاهره در اخفا با خود متفق ساخت  
 ایما کرد که در وقت فرصت براه گزیری کارخان مشارالیه را تمام سازند آن فرقه حسب الحکم شاهزاده  
 منتظر وقت می بودند چون دستور خان مزبور بود که بوقت سواری بی تعبیه اسلحه بر خود سوار می شدند و  
 رفقایاش نیز بهمان آلات همراهی شدند بنا بر آن قابول نمی یافتند تا او روزی از روزهای دیوان  
 علی الصباح بروضع خود با تکی چند از رفقا بحضور شاهزاده میرفت که آن فرقه او را غافل پنداشته  
 بهانه زرتخواه بر او شورش کردند و رقم این معنی را از ناصیه حال آنها خوانده و این فتنه را از اشاره  
 شاهزاده تصور کرده بچالاکي مع رفقا از هجوم آنها برآمده و روبروی شاهزاده رسیده بی ادبانه زانو برانو  
 نشست و دست بچم کرده گفت که این هجوم و فتنه با اشاره شما است شاهزاده چون قافیه  
 وقت بر خود تنگ دید با خان مشارالیه بساجت و مدارایش آمده خود را از ورهاند خان مرقوم فوراً بران  
 عام آمده عرضداشتی مشعر بر بی اعتدالی نقدیان با اشاره شاهزاده بحضور معالی ارسال نمود. چون از  
 سلوک شاهزاده او را دل جمعی و اطمینان حاصل نبود لهذا سائر زمینداران و قانون گویان را طلب  
 داشته اشاره در باب تجویز و تعیین جای مناسب که از آنجا خبر نیک و بد هر سه صوبه توان دریافت  
 جهت سکونت اختیار نمود آخر بعد کنگکاش بسیار سز زمین مخصوص آباد متعلقه پرگنه چونه کهانی به پسند آمده  
 و مع ارباب دفاتر دیوانی و قانون گویان و زمینداران بی اجازت شاهزاده در آنجا آمده طرح اقامت  
 انداخت و در گلپدیه که آبادی نداشت محل سرا و دیوان خانه کچری بادشاهی جهت تحصیل مال واجب  
 تعمیر نموده و فارغ البال در آنجا سکونت ورزیده بخوبی بکار سرکار بادشاهی می پرداخت. اما عرضداشت  
 مرسله او در بلاد دکن بملاحظه بادشاه در آمده فرمان عتاب آموز برای او گذاشت صوبه بنگاله و

اقامت بصوبه بهار بنام شاهزاده عظیم الشان صادر شد بادراک این معنی شاهزاده سر بلند خان را در جهانگیر نگر یا سلطان فرخ سیر نائب گذاشته مع سلطان کریم الدین بصوبه بهار در قلعه موئنگیر که سلسله شاه شجاع بود رسیده ملاحظه فرمود که عمارتش بشکست و ریخت درآمده است و برمت آراست آن انراجات سنگین متصور لهدار آنجا فرود نیامده بلب گنگ جای پسند ساخته شهر عظیم آباد را بنام خود آباد ساخت و قلعه و شهر پناه محکم احداث فرموده سکونت گزید و چون در مخصوص آباد کار طلب خان بسال تمامی مجمل کرده برای دستخط کاغذات تشخص و تحصیل بدرپ نران قانون گوی صدر بر حسب دستور آنوقت که بدون دستخط قانون گوی کاغذات مالی و ملکی وغیره منظور دیوان کل خالصه بادشاهی نمی شد تکلیف کرد او درخواست سه لک روپیه در وجه رسوم خود نموده بعد از آن دستخط نه کرد ناچار مشارالیه از جی نران قانون گوی دیگر که شریک درپ نران بود بر کاغذات دستخط کنانیده و پروای مخالفت شاهزاده و درپ نران نکرده بحضور معالی رفته هند و پهای زر کثیر و تخائف پیشکش بی شمار از بنگاله بحضور معالی و وزیر گذرانید و کاغذات صوبه به مستونی و دیوان کل سپرده از حضور بخلعت و خطاب مرشد قلیخان سرفراز و باضافه منصب و صوبه داری بنگاله و بهار و اڑیسه و انتظام امورات دیوانی آن تمتاز گشته معاودت نمود -

## ذکر صوبه داری مرشد قلی خان

از بعد رسیدن بمرشد آباد خدمت دیوانی بنگاله به سید اکرم خان و نیابت اڑیسه به شجاع الدین محمد خان داماد خود مقرر نمود و در آن زمان بعد از زبردست خان اعتصام خان از حضور والا بصوبه داری جهانگیر نگر مع اسلام آباد و روشن آباد و سلهت مقرر بود بالجمعه مرشد قلی خان در آبادی و معموری شهر مخصوص آباد باقصی الغایت کوشیده موسوم بمرشد آباد ساخت و چکله هیدنی پور را بر طاق مصلحت وقت از صوبه اڑیسه خارج نموده مضافات صوبه بنگاله گردانید و سائر

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زمینداران معمولات خود را بجمهور طلب داشته در قید نگاه داشت و جهت وظیفه و معاش آنان کارها مقرر ساخته بجزرسی از رعایا مال واجب سرکاری گرفت مگر زمیندار پیر سهوم و لبش پور بحایت انوه جنگلی و کوه نزد مرشد قلی خان رجوع نیاورده معرفت و کلاهی خود وجه پیشکش مقرری فرمایند نذورات را میرسانیدند و مرشد قلی خان بعد سال تاهمی مجمل نموده یک کرور و سه لک روپیه علاوه محاصلاً جاگیر تحایف این ملک و ولایت انگلند ارسال حضور معلی نموده در جلد وی حسن ترددات خود بکفایت سرکار بادشاهی از پیش گاه واقعی شاهیه بخطاب علارالدوله موتمن الملک جعفر خان نصیری نصرت جنگ و یا ضافه منصب و عطیة علیہ ماهی مراتب سرفراز شده با استقلال تمام مدت دوازده سال و چند ماه بصوبه داری این ملک پرداخت و قوم ایمان که در بنگاله کوٹھی تداشت و کار و بار تجارت معرفت فرانسیس می نمود با اتفاق فرانسیس تذرانه بجمهور او گذرانیده سند حاصل ساخته مکان کوٹھی در باگی باز گرفته اول خانهای کاهی برپا نموده طرح اقامت انداخت و بعد از آن عمارت و بروج و حندق عمیق و پهناء و که آب دریا اندر و جاری و راه آمد و رفت سُلپ از هر چهار طرف باشد به اخراجات کلی تیار نموده و بر تبه کار و بلندی پذیرفت که بر کلاه پوشان دیگر تفوق می جست بمشاهده این حال دیگر بعض گروه خود پشروه انگلیشیه و قوم هولندیز ب فکر برداشتن کوٹھی از متفق گردیده با احسن اللہ خان فوجدار بندر هوگی شکایت فتنه پرداز و خون ریزی و احداث کوٹھی یا این متانت نمودند خان مشارالیه کیفیت حال را بجعفر خان عرض داشت و بر طبق آن از حضور جعفر خان پروانه محتوی بر مانعت بنای کوٹھی بنام احسن اللہ خان صادر شد و لیکن ایمان تخمیر این حکم نموده بمجادله پیش آمد و فرانسیس نیز مخفی تمک ایمان می نمود. آخر در جنگ و جدل تاب مقاومت نیاورده در پرده شب با عیال و اطفال از کوٹھی برآمده راه ولایت پیش گرفت بالجمله چون درین مقام در ضمن شرح احوال بنگاله تحریر برخی از کیفیت احوال آشامیان و مال حال شاه شجاع ضرور شد لهذا بر دیباچه اعلان می نگارد.

## برخی از ذکر شاه شجاع برادر عالم گیر بادشاه

هرگاه در عهد دولت محمد اورنگ زیب عالم گیر بادشاه شجاع برادرش طریق بنی وزیده بطرف این هر سه صوبه بعزم تسخیر لشکر کشیده و او را با عساگر گردون مآثر شاهی در مقام کچھوہ اتفاق مجادلہ اقتادہ ظفر بجانب او و ہزیمت بلشکر بادشاهی رودادہ اما امرای بادشاهی بتدبیر صاحب خولیش الہ وردی خان میر بخشی شاہ شجاع را با خود موافق ساختند و او از راه غدر شاہ شجاع را بہانہ خون تیر و تفنگ از بالای فیل بر اسب سوار گردانیدہ آوازہ انداخت کہ شاہ شجاع کشتہ شد چون لشکریان او را بر فیل ندیدند آن دروغ بی فروغ را راست انگاشتہ رو بگریز نہادند و شاہ شجاع با شرم و تہمت قلی فرار نمودہ خود را در بنگالہ رسانید و سد الباب بہ تلیپا کڑی سکری کردہ اکبر نگر عرف راج محل قرار گرفت چون ہمدان ایام آشامیان نیز سر از رقبہ اطاعت بر آورده راہ مخالفت می پیوند نہا بران محمد اورنگ زیب عالم گیر بادشاہ برای تمشیت و کفایت این ہردو ہم عمدہ امرای عنظام عمدۃ الملک خان خانان معظم خان را کہ از جملہ امرای کبار و سپہ سالار و مردی بس جبری و از سادات صحیح النسب ولایت ایران بود بصوبہ داری بنگالہ نام زد ساختہ کیسل فرمود

## ذکر صوبہ داری معظم خان

چون خان خانان بدرۃ سکری و نلیاڑہ کڑی رسیدہ راہ رامسردویافت ناچار براہ جہا کھنڈ با محن شاقہ مع دوازده ہزار سوار در ملک بنگالہ رسیدہ اول در تدبیر کار شاہ شجاع اقتادشاہ شجاع ازین معنی سرسیمہ شدہ بر نوآرہای بادشاہی کہ از جہاں نگر طلب داشتہ بود سوار شدہ بہ تری راہ جہا نگیر نگر میبود و خان خانان از راہ خشکی تعاقب و نمود و جہا نگیر نگر در آمد شاہ شجاع در یخبانیز امکان اقامت نمودنیافتہ با معدودی چند از رفقا بجانب آشام گریخت راجہ آشام ازیم و سطوت خان خانان

پیغام و صلح مفذرت نامه بذریعہ وکیل نزد خان خانان فرستاد و چون در آن نامه اظہار عدم تصور خود و سرکشی و دست درازیهای بیم نرائن زمیندار کوچ بہار بولایت بادشاہی نمونہ بود لہذا خان خانان نظر بر مصلحت وقت غدار و پذیرفتہ وکیل اورا مخلص رخصت فرمودہ و رشید خان را بادیگر چندی از سرداران تعیین نمودہ کہ حسب قرارداد آشامیان ہر قدر ولایت بادشاہی در حیطہ تصرف آشامیان آمدہ است آن را از ایشان استرداد و دخل نماید و وکیل بیم نرائن زمیندار کوچ بہار را پیش خود راہ ندادہ مقید ساخت و رشید خان بسمت مقصود رفتہ پرگنہ گدھی باری و چند پرگنہ دیگر را تا کناف آب بیاس کہ از معمولات بادشاہی بود گرفت و چون سابقاً سجان سنگھ بوندیلہ بہ تنبیہ بیم نرائن زمیندار کوچ بہار تعیین شدہ بود و از تمشیت آن امر نشدہ و درین اثنا باز آشامیان سر از متابعت گردانیدہ شورش و فسادنازہ شروع کردہ بودند لہذا خان خانان تا دیسب ہردو نصب العین ہمت ساختہ عرضداشت کیفیت حال را بحضور معلی ارسال داشت و بر طبق آن حکم ناطق در تسخیر آن ہردو ملک صادر شدہ اور در سنہ ۷۲۰ یک ہزار مہفتاد و دو ہجری احتشام خان یکی از امرای بادشاہی را بصوبہ داری چہانگیر نگر مقرر نمودہ و سید افتخار خان را در کمک احتشام خان مقرر نمودہ و انتظام مہات خالصہ شریفہ را بہ بھگونت سنگھ بدستور سجال داشتہ و اہتمام نواریہ بہ محمد مقیم سپردہ بکویچ بہار رفت و باز زمینداران آنجا جنگ نمودہ بہ تردد تمام تارنگ پور و غیرہ بتصرف در آورد و بشن نرائن پسزیم نرائن زمیندار برضا و رغبت خود حلیہ اسلام پوشیدہ با خان خانان پیوست و بیم نرائن در بھوٹنت رفتہ بدامن کویچ نشستہ در ویرانی رہایا میکوشید و بھوٹنت بہ پانزدہ کرورہ بسمت شمال کوچ بہار مابین مغرب شمال بنگالہ مائل بہ شمال واقع و طولش پنجاہ و پنج کرورہ است و خان خانان بعد از فتح کوچ بہار اسفندیاریگ را مع چند منصب دار و چہار صد سوار بکار فوجداری آنجا گذاشتہ و آنجا را بہ عالمگیر نگر موسوم ساخت و نمود متوجہ بہ تسخیر آشام گردید و نواریہ بادشاہی را از چہانگیر نگر طلب داشتہ و بہ تری و خشکی جنگ در انداختہ کڈگاؤن و سلپاتی و اکثری از بلاد آشام را بقبض و تصرف در آوردہ و مذہب مبین اسلام را در آنجا جاری ساخت۔ و راہ آشام بطرف

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کامروپ گریخت. و فوج آن شقی در کوه و جنگستان بکین نشسته همیشه شورش و فساد تازه بر افواج بادشاهی برپای ساخت و خان خانان و میر تمغی و راجه امر سنگه و غیره را. محافظت کڈگاؤں و غیره و آلات و ادوات راجه آشام که بدست آمده بود مقرر نموده خود در موضع مقرر پور بقصد گذراندن ایام برشکال آمده نیمه ساخت و جادو و سحر آشامیان که مشهور است به خان خانان کارگر شده بدر دجگر مبتلا گردید چون آن در دیو ما فیومادراستداد بود بقلعه حاجی گنج که از شهر جهانگیر نگر فاصله چارونیم کرده واقع است و برای سکونت خود ساخته بود رسیده جان بحق تسلیم نمود و معتمدان و مصاحبینش بر حسب وصیتش نعش او را چند صباح در آستانه قدم شریف که به محاذی گنج مذکور است برسم اسلام امامیه امانت بخاک سپرده در موسم چهار روانه بنجف اشرف که از توابع بلاد عربستان و مزارقاز الوار جناب علی ابن ابوطالب دران سرزمین بهشت آئین است فرستادند و مدفون گردانیدند. و قلعه و خانه اش الحال خراب و ویران است مگر بعض از تفصیل بای شکسته و غیره باقی است اما تمته احوال صوبه بنگاله اینکه : —

## ذکر مجملاً صوبه داری اولاد جعفر خان نصیری و غیره

بعد انتقال جعفر خان نصیری صوبه داری هر سه صوبه بدستور به شجاع الدوله شجاع الدین محمد خان خولیش دوم جعفر خان نصیری که در حین حیانش نائب صوبه اتریس بود از حضور محمد شاه بادشاه مقرر شده و او مدت دوازده سال بان امر بخوبی قیام نموده و بعد حلتش پسرش علامه الدوله سرفراز خان بدستور پدر خود بان امر سر بلندی یافته مرزا غالب علی خان داماد خود را که از سلسله علییه صفویه بود بایالت جهانگیر نگر مقرر ساخت اما یک سال دو ماه و چند روز از تمکن او بروساده ایالت این هر سه صوبه گذشته بود که بجنگ محمد علی وردی خاق بهادر مهابت جنگ کشته شد.



## ذکر ابتدای ریاست محمد علی وردی خان بهادر مهابت جنگ

تبیین این مقال آن که چون محمد علی وردی خان بهادر مهابت جنگ که از قبل پدر سرفراز خان به نیابت صوبه عظیم آباد مامور بود بسبب بعضی امر که باعث بر حسد بود خاطر خود را از طرف سرفراز خان راست نداشت و پیوسته در فکر آن می بود که اگر دست یا بد سرفراز خان را از میان بردارد و لهذا با موتی الدوله محمد اسحاق خان بهادر که بحضور سلطانی تقرب کمال بهم رسانیده محمود وزیر و سایر امرای حضور گردیده بود بقبول یک کرور و پیم پیش کش و رسانیدن اموال ضابطی خانه سرفراز خان تو سل جسته مخفی استدعای خدمت صوبه جات ثلاثه نموده فرمان شاه مستبد جنگیدن با سرفراز خان و انتزاع صوبه جات مذکور از و حاصل ساخته زین الدین احمد خان داماد کهنتر خود را از جانب خود در عظیم آباد نائب گذاشته با شتهار تنبیه زمینداران بهو چوپان با فوجی مردانه که از قبل آراسته بود بطرف مرشد آباد حرکت نمود چون بحسن تدبیر خود از دره شاه آباد گذشته راج محل رسیده عرضی بحضور سرفراز خان باین مضمون ارسال داشت که چون مذلت و خفت بر آدم حاجی احمد حضور سامانی بحد افراط رسیده و کار به بی ناموسی کشیده لهذا فدوی پاس ناموس لا علاج شده تا اینجا رسیده است ولیکن غیر از فرمان برداری و اطاعت مقصودی ندارد امید که حاجی رامع تبعه و لحقه اش نزد بنده رخصت فرمایند سرفراز خان با دراک این خبر مع فوج خود از شهر مرشد آباد نقل بطرف مهابت جنگ نمودن مناسب دانسته بار فقایی قدیم پدر خود مثل محمد غوث افغان که مبارزی بی بدل بود و مردان علی خان و میر مرتضی و حاجی لطف علی خان که هر یکی از ابطال رجال بودند بر آمده بر موضع گریه بر لب آب دریا یی بجا گیری منزل ساخت و از آن مهابت جنگ نیز قریب تر رسیده ب جنگ در پیوست با وجود آنکه فوج سرفراز خان سامان درست نداشت کارزار شناخته و دستبردهای مردانه نمودند تا آنکه گلوله تفنگ بر سر سرفراز خان رسیده کارش را تمام ساخت مع هلا محمد غوث خان فوج طرف مقابل خود را

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هزیمت داده و نندلال سردار آنجانب را کشته بقلب فوج مهابت جنگ در افتاد و بسیاری  
 مردان کاری را بکشت و خود هم بارنقا کشته شد. هم چنین چند سرداری دیگر که نام شان بالا مرقوم  
 گشته بدلاوری جانهای خود را پی آقای خود در باختند. بعد در روز این واقعه عظیمه مهابت جنگ در  
 اواسط شهر صفر سنه ۱۱۵۳ یک هزار و یک صد و پنجاه و سه هجری داخل شهر مرشد آباد شده و  
 بر مسند امارت مستقر گردیده پیشکش موعود را بحضور معلی ارسال داشته بصحبه  
 داری هر سه صوبه و خطاب حسام الدوله شجاع الملک محمد علی وردی خان بهادر مهابت جنگ  
 منصب هفت هزاری و مراتب ماهی مغر و مهابی گردید وزیر الدین احمد خان داماد کتر خود را  
 بخطاب احترام الدوله بهادر مهابت جنگ و منصب هزاری و ماهی مراتب و پاکلی چهار دار و  
 نوبت و علم از حضور سلطانی معزز گردانیده صوبه داری عظیم آباد را اصاله با و داد و هم چنین توازش  
 محمد خان را به نیابت چکله جهانگیر نگر و سلطه و اسلام آباد عوف چاکام مقرر نمود و لیکن بعد چندی  
 توازش محمد خان را از جهانگیر نگر طلب داشته بخدمت دیوانی هر سه صوبه و منصب هفت هزاری و  
 مراتب مذکوره و خطاب احتشام الدوله بهادر شهابت جنگ سرفراز گردانیده و حسین قلی خان را  
 بجایش به جهانگیر نگر گماشت و چون شهابت جنگ مرد مشقت کش و چندان بتمشیت امور  
 فائق نبود لهذا حسین قلی خان را که بارزانت رای و اصابت شعور بود باز از جهانگیر نگر طلبیده به  
 نیابت شهابت جنگ مقرر نمود و حسین الدین خان برادر زاده حسین قلی خان را که جوانی قابل و  
 بجلیه کیاست محلی بود بر منصبش به جهانگیر نگر کسب ساخت و برادر زاده سوم اوسط خود سعید احمد  
 خان را که از عهد شجاع الدوله و سرفراز خان بفوجداری رنگپور مأمور بود بمناصب و مراتب مذکوره  
 مع خطاب هشتم الدوله بهادر صولت جنگ از حضور معلی معزز گردانیده بنوید کار صوبه اریسه بعد  
 انتزاعش از مرشد قلی خان داماد شجاع الدوله نورسند ساخت هم چنین هر یکی از ذوالقربی و  
 رفقای قدیم خود را بخدمات لایقه و منصب و مراتب شایسته بنواخت.

## ذکر رفتن هبابت جنگ بجنک مرشد قلی خان و گر سختن مرشد قلی خان و غیره

بدمکن برسد ایالت و ان فراغ از رتق و فتق مهات صوبہ بنگالہ افواج قاہرہ  
آراستہ عزم بجانب مرشد قلی خان نمود۔ اگرچہ مرشد قلی خان در ابتدا طالب صلح گشت و لیکن باز  
باغواي بعضی از رفقای خود با هبابت جنگ جنگیده و ہزیمت یافته بطرف مچھلی بند ربر  
رفت و آخر الامر با اہل و عیال و مال و منال خود کہ بحمايت راجارنی پور مالک معبد جگزناتھ از  
دست هبابت جنگ مھوون ماندہ بود بہ بعضی از حدود ممالک دکن کہ قلمرو آصف جاہ بود رفتہ  
رحل اقامت نہاد و ہبابت جنگ داخل شہر کنگ شدہ و بند و بست آن صوبہ را درست  
نمودہ بر حسب وعدہ سعید احمد خان بہادر صولت جنگ را بہ نیابت آن صوبہ منصوب ساخت و  
خود مرشد آباد رسیدہ بخاطر جمعی بہات مالی و ملکی پرداختن شروع نمود و چون در اندک زمانی  
صولت جنگ را بسبب بعضی جہات با عاید و رؤسای آن ملک موافقت نشد لہذا باغواي  
و مددگاری آن محمد باقر خان داماد مرشد قلی خان از طرف دکن آمدہ تمامی آن صوبہ را گرفت و  
صولت جنگ را متعذر ساختہ ہبابت جنگ باصفای این خبر بار دیگر در آنجا رفتہ اورا بکنگ  
شدید خلاص ساخت و نیابت آنجا را بہ شیخ معصوم نایب عطا نمود بعد از شیخ معصوم عبدالنہی خان  
عمومی مصطفی خان بہادر بہر جنگ کہ سپہ سالار ہبابت جنگ بود قرار گرفت و ہر چند بعد از وی چندی  
پسرش و نیز راجہ در لہہ رام کہ متعاقب پایہ دیوانی خالصہ شریفہ صوبہ جات بنگالہ و غیرہ سر بلندی یافتہ  
مخاطب بہ ہمارا جہ ہند بہادر و مفتخر بمنصب پنہزاری و نوبت شدہ بود با نیابت آنجا پرداختند  
لیکن بالآخر آن صوبہ در چوت مرستہ مقرر شدہ از جانب ہبابت جنگ و ہم از جانب مرستہ بہ میر  
حبیب تسلیم یافت۔

## ذکر مہابت جنگ و مرہٹہ رگھوجی بھوسلہ راجہ ناگیور و بھاسکر پنڈت

چنانچہ مجلیٰ را مفصلش این است کہ چون در آن روز ہادر قوام قصر سلطنت  
ضعفی تمام را یافتہ بود بنا بران صولت و سطوت امرای شاہی از خاطر ہای کلان تران ملک  
موشدہ ہر کسی را از ہر سمتی داعیہ کشورستانی در دل جا گرفتہ بود چنانچہ رگھوجی بھوسلہ راجہ ناگیور  
بقصد تسخیر ملک بنگالہ بھاسکر پنڈت را مع چند ہزار سوار جرار با این صوبہ فرستاد و از درہ پچیت  
در آمدہ بہ بردوان سر را آوردہ در غارت و ویرانی آن ملک دقیقہ فرو نگذاشتند۔ مہابت جنگ باستماع  
این خبر فوجی آراستہ بر سر آوردت و جنگید بھاسکر تاب جنگ مہابت جنگ نیآوردہ بہ طرف برہوم  
رفت و از آنجا عزم بالجزیم بطرف ملک خود داشت کہ بعض باغوا میرحیب کہ یکی از اہالی ایران  
متوسل و نائب مرشد قلی خان بود و بعد زوال دولتش رفاقت رگھوجی بھوسلہ اختیار نمودہ بود پای  
استقلال فتردہ و پارٹانی بر شد آباد آمدہ در حرب و قتل و غارت دقیقہ فرو گذاشت نمود و تا ماتی  
بزور و شور تمام کٹوہ را دائرہ لشکر خود ساختہ ملک بردوان و غیرہ را در حیطہ تصرف داشت۔ آخر  
بحسن تدبیر مہابت جنگ و مردانگی و کارگذاری بہای مصطفی خان افغان کہ از سر غنہ امرای  
مہابت جنگ و دلاوری بی نظیر بود و سردار خان روہیلہ از نوابان مصطفی خان و دیگر سرداران  
علاقہ اوس بھاسکر مع فوج گریختہ از بنگالہ بدر رفت چنانچہ بعد این معرکہ تادیری رگھوجی را بھوی  
تسخیر ملک بنگالہ و طلب چوت یعنی ربع حصہ از زر تحصیل قلم و بادشاہی کہ قبل آن گاہی در  
ملک بنگالہ راج داشت در خاطر نبود و لیکن باز بھاسکر را با اتفاق علی قراول یکی از عظامی ملک  
دکھن و میرحیب بہ بنگالہ فرستاد آنہا چون آفت ناگہانی بر شد آباد بر سر مہابت جنگ ریختہ حوالی  
آن رنارت کردند چون این بار شکریان مہابت جنگ را بسبب مشتتہای حروب سابقہ کسالت

برایان راه یافته بود و هزارای ههابت جنگ بران قرار گرفت که این بار اینهارا بحمله دفع سازد. چنانچه این امر را مصطفی خان که مردی عیار و زبان آور بکاها بغایت هوشیار بود کفیل گشته و با سرداران مرهه در ساخته سخنان سلوک و مصالحه در مذاخه قرار داد بران نهاد که سرداران مرهه مجریه نزد ههابت جنگ آمده ملاقات نمایند و بتصفیه و معامله تحوت پردازند و بنای این ملاقات در خیمه شده بود چنانچه رسیدن سرداران مرهه تقریب خیمه تنها بهمان و کشته شدن بدست سرداران مقدم ههابت جنگ که اخفا در کیمین بودند بهمان چون این خبر در لشکر گاه مرهه فاش گشت میر حبیب که بدم تزویر ههابت جنگ نیامده بود مع افواج گریخته بطرف ملک ناگپور رفت و ههابت جنگ بانیل مقصود در مرشد آبا در سیده بکام دل باد و ستان بعیش و کامرانی نشست. و چون درین معامله با مصطفی خان و عده نموده بود که بعد فراغت از کار مرهه طصوبه عظیم آباد را با وعطا نماید لیکن بلا حظه احترام الدوله زین الدین احمد خان بهادر حبیب جنگ که برادر زاده و داماد کهرش بود و آن صوبه با و تعلق داشت مصطفی خان را بلطائف الحیل و وعده و عید می گذرانید و لیکن آخر کار بسبب عهد شکنی ناچاقی و رنجش در میان آمده ساغر اتفاق بیاده نفاق مملو شد. و مصطفی خان طوعا و کرها از نو کرمی استعفا نموده بهانه وطن خود بایاری تمام و استعداد مالاکلام بطرف عظیم آباد شتافت چون نزدیک رسید ههابت جنگ خبر وصول مصطفی خان در یافته با فوجی که از قبل آراسته و همیا داشته بود مستعد کارزار گشت هر چند در دوسه حربی که شد بمقابله مصطفی خان فوجش کشته و زبون گردید و لیکن چون خواسته تقدیر بان تمام مصطفی خان بود در جنگ سیومی گلوله تفنگ ناگهانی بر سینه اش رسیده کار او تمام گردید و مرتضی خان پسر و رفقایش مغلوب گشته پناه به مرهه و میر حبیب بردند و ملازم سرکار گهوچی شدند قضا را بعد چندی از معامله مصطفی خان با شمشیر خان و دیگر بعضی برادران افغان نیز که بعد از مصطفی خان در عرضه نام و نشان و اعتماد در آمده بودند ناچاقی در میان آمده صحبت برهم خورد و سببش اینکه در جنگ مرهه که از آنها گونه مسامحت بعمل آمده بود ههابت جنگ کینه آن در دل فرا گرفته و عمل در سازش آنها با مرهه نموده مع رفقایش از نو کرمی جواب داد.

شمشیرخان و غیره سندی باقی خود را که قریب ده لک روپیه بود از هبابت جنگ گرفته بقتضیه در بیکنه که وطن مالوف شان بود رفتند و بیکار در خانه نشستند از آنجا که در آن روزها هیبت جنگ را با وجود فرط شعور و رای دورانیش بنیال همسری هبابت جنگ داعیه آنکه در دل شده بود که سرداران لشکر خوب و مستعد نگاه داشته رساله های افواج خود را بر نهتا جنگ گردانند لهذا بنفایس تقرر از هبابت جنگ اذن گرفته شمشیرخان و سردارخان را با برادران شان جمع کثیر بودند طلب داشته ملازم سرکار خود گردانید از آنجا که شیوه بی وفائی در طینت آن قوم مخمرست و سسک و مار و برحی از سایر اقوام ملک هندوستان موصوف شمشیرخان خیال تسخیر عظیم آباد در خاطر جا داده و مشوره قتل هیبت جنگ در همیگر درست نموده روز دیگر ملازمت که بار قضا برای گذرانیدن نذر بر طبق دستور ملک هند حاضر شد و هیبت جنگ را که دوران وقت جز معدودی از رفقای بی سلاح و برخی از ارباب اهتمام مثل یسا و لا قولاران و نسچیمان پیش او نمودند در عین گذرانیدن نذر بدبسته رستم کشته و خانه اش را تاراج و با مرهٔ و میرحیب اتفاق نموده با فوجی عظیم مستعد کارزار هبابت جنگ نشست چون هبابت جنگ ازین واقعه بائله آگاه شد فوراً با فوجی جزا بر تاخت و بچنگ در ساخت و سرداران لشکر هبابت جنگ کثرت اعدا را که مع لشکر مرهٔ هسقتاد هزار کس بودند در خاطر نیاورده صف لشکر را در دیدند و شمشیرخان را کشتند و قوم مرهٔ و میرحیب بمعاینه این دلاوریها از لشکر هبابت جنگ یکبار رو بفرار نهادند و تا سرحد ملک خود پیش جانیا میزد این از او آخر جنگ های نامی بود که مرهٔ را با نهتا جنگ روداد و بعد از آن باز دوسه بار که در ضلع مدنی پور با لشکر هبابت جنگ مهاریات خفیفه کردند از جمله حرکات مذبحی بود آنرا حسابی نتوان کرد و الحاصل هبابت جنگ بعد از قتل شمشیرخان از سر نو بند و بست صوبه عظیم آباد نموده هم عنان ظفر و اقبال بدارالاماره مرشد آباد نهضت آراگشت در آنجا رسیده تا آخر عمر بفرحت و تنعم یکام خود و دوستان بنشست چون غیر از فساد مرهٔ و خلی دیگر در قلمرو او نبود و اگر چه تا مدت ده سال با آن قوم جنگها کرده و هر بار بیآوری اقبال قرین ظفر و فیروزی گشته لیکن نزد رای زرین خود معامله مرهٔ را سهل و سرسری و حیات باقی مانده خود را قبیل زپایان پذیرفتن

آن بطرز مجادله و مخاصمه کافی نمانگاشته بصلح و صفارضا داد و بعد از خود سراج الدوله را نیز مقام آنها نه پنداشته بر حسب درخواست رگهوجی و میرحبیب صوبه کنگ رادر پوت رگذاشته و از حاصلات بنگاله نیز دوازده لک روپیه بران مضاف ساخت و مقرر چنان نمود که میرحبیب معتمد سرکار رگهوجی است بصورت نوکری هبابت جنگ تائب آن صوبه بوده زر را تحصیل نموده رگهوجی رسانیده و مصلح الدین محمدخان از طرف هبابت جنگ در آنجا نیز میرحبیب مشارک امور بوده پیوسته در تنظیم این کاری پرداخته باشد چنانچه مصلح الدین محمدخان را مع سند و خلعت برای میرحبیب رخصت فرمود و آن قضیه را بدین تدبیر صائب منفصل نموده خورد و بزرگ ملک بنگاله را از اذیت و اهزار مرهمه طه پانند. اکنون برخی از مال حال سراج الدوله و خاتمت کار حسین قلی خان تائب شہامت جنگ و حسین الدین خان صوبه در جهانگیر نگر رادر سلگ تحریر درمی آرذ تا این مختصر نمونه از خرواری باشد.

## ذکر سراج الدوله و حسین قلی خان و حسین الدین خان و غیره امیران جهات انگیر نگر

مخفی نماند که چون هبابت جنگ سراج الدوله را دوست ترمی داشت و غایت مرتبه الفتش او را بران قاصر گردانید که با وجود لایالی محض بودن او من بعد او ولی عهدش باشد لهذا سراج الدوله را داعیه آن شد که حیات هبابت جنگ خاربا یعنی چند از عظمای دولت هبابت جنگ را گمان عدوت و کینه از آنها در دل برداشت راه مقصود خود پاک سازد خصوصاً حسین قلی خان حسین الدین خان را بفهم ناقص خود از عمده معاندان می دانست حال آنکه این هر دو مظلوم خای ازان بودند و کسیکه عمده مخالف جان او بود او را بسبب کوری چشم عقل خود نمی دید بل دوستش می نگاشته که کارش از دست و دستش از کار رفت. القصد بطلافت الحیل اذن آن هر دو مظلوم بیچاره از هبابت جنگ گرفت و بنای کار برین تدبیر گذاشت که اول از کار حسین الدین خان که در جهانگیر نگر

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با استقلال تمام است فراغت نماید و بعد از آن بمبایش پردازد از اتفاقات وقت در آن روزهای مرزا محمد باقر و پسرش محمد صادق زمیندار بعضی از پرگنات سبانی وارد مرشد آباد شده بود سراج الدوله با آنها در ساخته آنها را خضیه برین کار گذاشت و محمد صادق را انعامات لائقه بامیدوار و بخطاب صداقت محمد خان سرفراز ساخت و او چهار انگیر نگر رسیده و با کوه تووال قلعه در ساخته بهنگام شب با جمعیت چهار صد پنجصد مرد در قلعه خزیده حسین الدین خان را کشتن شنیده شد که در آن روز با حسین الدین خان بمرض ما لخواه که قسمی از جنون است مبتلا شده بود و روزیکه مقتول شد لباس سرخ پوشیده هر دم از نشیمن خود برآمده بطرف آسمان می نگرست و می گفت بیایا توقف چرا هرگاه محمد صادق بر سر او رسید و بتقلش جسارت نمود رفتی چند بی اسلحه و بی خیر از کار قضا در خدمتش حاضر بودند مقابلت با محمد صادق نمودن نتوانست فراری شدند صبح آن بعضی از اراکین شهر چهار انگیر نگر مثل مرزا علی نقی شهر امین که قرابت فریبه بآن مرحوم مظلوم داشت و میر ابو طالب نانبش و چندی دیگر پیش محمد صادق حاضر و بتواضع وزمی از او پرسیدند از به تصدی صوبه داری اینجا چه سند بشما حاصل است او ششمی خود را از نیام بر کشید و نمود آن جمع نظر بر مصالحت وقت نموده آداب بجا آوردند و فی الفور از قلعه برآمدند و فوجی لایق ترتیب داده اول پدرش محمد باقر را که بعد ز پیری موافقت با پسر کرده بود کشتند و بعد از آن بر محمد صادق یورش نمودند چون او از ننه کار آگاه شد از نیم فتنه در قلعه مسدود ساخته بود لهندا دیوار جانب شرقی را از هدمات اقبال شکسته مع فوج داخل شدند ولیکن محمد صادق بدست نیامد و بر ایمی چغان گریخت که آثارش پیدانه شد و آخر الامر در عهد صوبه داری میر محمد جعفر خان پسر میر محمد صادق خان صداقت محمد خان را بسبب جرمی ادنی بر سر توپ پرانید و حق تعالی بانستقام حسین الدین خان او را باین پنج خسر الدنیاء الاخره گردانید و چون بعد از کشته شدن آن مظلوم کمال نا انتظامی به مهمات مالی و ملکی اینجا راه یافته بود لهندا جهت بند و بست آن راه راج بلمه دیوان شهامت جنگ از حضور مهابت جنگ تعیین شد و او در بنجار رسیده قریب دو ماه در نظم و نسق مهمات چهار انگیر نگر و ضبطی احوال خانه و زمینداری محمد باقر و محمد صادق و اتباع شان پرداخته و مرشد آباد معاودت کرد و مدت صوبه داری حسین الدین خان مقتول



دوازده سال بود اما سراج الدوله بود فراغت از کار حسین الدین در پی فنای حسین قلی خان افتاد و  
 مهابت جنگ برارده او آگاه شده از برای رفع بدنامی خود را به بهانه شکار بطرف راج محل کشید  
 و شهامت جنگ نیز در خانه خود دم به خود ماند سراج الدوله با جمعی از سپاه برورد دولت سرای او آمده  
 او را گرفتار کرده قتل نمود و برادرش حیدر علی خان را نیز که از نور بهسارت عاری بود بقتل در آورده  
 و از روایت ثقات بد ریافت آمده که هرگاه نوازش محمد خان شهامت جنگ این هر دو مقتول را  
 از هندوستان با خود آورده بود با ایشان عهد کرده بود که در هنگام آفات و عیاشیات حمایت ایشان بواجبی  
 نماید و دقیقه از دقائق حفظ شان نامرعی نگذارد و عجب ازین بزرگ یعنی مهابت جنگ با وجود دانش  
 و رای و فور چنان مسخور الفت سراج الدوله بود که رضای این کار نابکار داد لیکن حرکات قبیح حق تعالی  
 را خوش نیامده سراج الدوله را بپادشاه این عمل زشت گرفتار ساخت و این ممالک با وسعت و فحمت  
 را از قبضه اختیار اولاد مهابت جنگ بر آورده بدست چنان حکام عادل سپرده که در معرض عدالت  
 و انصاف رعایت نفس خویش هم منظور ندارند! المقصود چون مهابت جنگ در سنه یک هزار و یک  
 صد و نه هجری بعرضه استسقا بعرش تاجدار سالی ازین دار فناء گذشت -

## ذکر مسند نشینی نواب سراج الدوله در بیگانه و

### ناظران ڈها که جہس انگیر نگر

سراج الدوله بجایش متمکن گشته صلائی ظلم و ستم در داد اول ظلمی که کرد بر حال گھمینی بیگم  
 خانه خود یعنی زوجه شهامت جنگ بود که اموالش بجز بر و غضب داخل خزانه عامه خود نمود و  
 بعد از آن سرداران لشکر و اراکین دولت مهابت جنگ را از دست و زبان خود چنان بیزارید که  
 همه از برای زوال دولتش دست بدعا بدگره خالق گیر ما بودند تا آن که بعد یک سال و دو ماه  
 از صوبه داری او بحامیت سرداران بانام و نشان انگلیشیه که بسبب غارت نمودن کوهی کلکتہ از

پزدل بودند برود دست تسلط یافتند و میر محمدجعفر خان برمسند صوبه داری هر سه صوبه متمکن گشتند و برخلاف مرضی سرداران انگلیشیه که گاهی مجوز چنین امور نیستند میر محمد صادق خان بقتلش رسانید و دولت و ریاست از خاندان هبابت جنگ انتقال کرد. روایت کنند که بعد کشتن نعش او را بر فیلی انداخته تشهیری نمودند که فیل متصل تر پولیسه چون مرشد آباد رسیده در جای که نعش حسین قلی خان مع فیل قرار گرفته بود و خون از سرش چکیده ساعتی ایستاده و قطرات خون از سر سراج الدوله نیز همدران جا چکید. فاعتر و ایا اولی الابصار. امامیر محمدجعفر خان بار اول یکسال بر چار بالمش امارت متمکن مانده بسبب نا انتظامی رای که خلق خدا از آن خصوص از دست جفای میرن یعنی میر محمد صادق خان پسرش در مصایب گوناگون مبتلا بودند. و بعد سوخته شدن خرمن حیات میرن برق آسمانی معزول شد. در سنه یک هزار و یک صد و هفتاد و چهار هجری بیاوری بخت میر محمد قاسم خان برمسند صوبه داری بجای میر محمدجعفر خان نشست و بدستور هبابت جنگ و سراج الدوله جدید و رر البصوبه داری به جهانگیر نگر برقرار گذاشت و نفاق و منازعات با صاحبان عالیشان انگلیشیه او را روداد آخر تاب مقاومت نیاورده بجانب هندوستان فرار نمود تا نیا میر محمدجعفر خان بر سواده ایالت مربع نشین شد.

## ذکر نواب جسارت خان صوبه ارجهانگیر نگر

چون بعد گشته شدن نواب حسین الدین خان راجه راج بلجه پس از انتظام مهمات جهانگیر نگر بر شد آباد معاودت نمود از پیش هبابت جنگ در سنه یک هزار و یک صد و شصت و هشت هجری نظم و ضبط مهمات جهانگیر نگر سجد مؤلف نواب جسارت خان تعلق گرفت و بعد فرار نمودن میر محمد قاسم خان و تقرر دوین میر محمدجعفر خان صاحبان والا شان انگلیشیه سایه مکرمت و احسان بر جدید و مبسوط داشته از همراهی میر محمد قاسم خان که بنا چاری حسب الطلب و خواهش او اتفاق افتاده بود از شهر عظیم آباد برگردانید و جهانگیر نگر آورده بقبض نفویض امر ریاست اینجا فرمودند. و بعد مروجم میروند که اوقات حیات مستعار خود را قسمی که بدولت خواری و غیر اندیشی

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ورضا جوئی سرکار دولت مدار کمپنی عالیشان صرف فرمودند اظہار من الشمس است و نیز بصاحبان  
والاشان بہتر معلوم بنا بران درین جزو مختصر بشرح آن حاجت نہ نمود اما جد میر و مدت بست و ہفت  
سال بران امر نیام فرمودہ قریب انتقال خود ازین سرای فانی یار السور و جاودانی از برای مقرر شدن  
این امر نیام سید محمد خان بہادر حشمت جنگ برادر بزرگ مؤلف پیش نواب گور زجرل آن زمان کہ عملاً  
الدولہ مسٹر وارن سیٹنگس بہادر جلالت جنگ کہ بحلیہ کیاست و فراست و حق شناسی بکمال مرتبہ  
آراستہ و پیراستہ بود بصاحبان کونسل مسٹر ریچارڈ بارول وغیرہ نگاشتند چنانچہ گور زجرل بہادر و  
صاحبان والاشان کونسل نظر بر قدامت حقوق و دولت خوئی جد میر و واستدعای ایشان بطیب خاطر  
منظور فرمودند و در حیات مستمال ایشان برادر مشارالیه را بر مسند یالت اینجا بدستور آن مرحوم متمکن و  
مستقر ساخت ۔

## ذکر صوبہ داری نواب سید محمد خان بہادر حشمت جنگ

جناب بردار نیز مدت ہفت سال بصوبہ داری این جا پرداختہ ازین دارفنا عالم  
بقارحلت فرمودند ۔

## ذکر مسند نشینی نواب نصرت جنگ بہادر

من بعد آن صاحبان عالی شان بدستور نظر رسوالقی خیر اندیشا ہای این خاندان  
بہ نسبت سرکار دولت مدار کمپنی عالی شان عاصی را در سنہ یک ہزار دو صد و ہجری بمسند صوبہ داری  
اینجا نشاندند چنانچہ این اصنعف عباد اللہ بافضال الہی و ابذال نوازشات سرکار مروح بر آن استقاؤ  
بوظائف دولت خوئی برتر را مہمود استامت دارد مخفی نہاند نواب نصرت جنگ جنت مکان مؤلف  
رسالہ ہذا تا عہد ریاست خود بقید قلم در آورده ذکر متفرقات چون اکنہ قدیم و پل و مساجد وغیرہ نموده  
بودند بنا بر جلد ہذا تا تمام ماندہ بود بندہ فقیر حقیر سید عبدالغنی عرف حمید میر ولد سید محمد حسین خان الحسینی کہ

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بهمه عرض یگی نواب محمود بوده انتقال نموده اند برخی از احوال نواب نصرت جنگ مغفور ذکر ساخته رفوت نواب نازی الدین محمد مرحوم که خاتم مسند ریاست جهاگیر نگر شدند تحریر نمودند که متفرقات نواب غفران مآب را در او اواخر رساله مندرج ساخت -

## برخی از تذکره نواب نصرت جنگ

اظهر من الشمس ست که نواب نصرت جنگ جنت مکان در عهد ریاست خود بسکه نیک نام و صاحب اقبال شدند که سبقت بر پیشینان بردند فخر خاندان نواب جسارت خان مغفور و شمع بی دود و دومان سید مرتضی مرحوم گردید چنانچه که خدائی برادر کوچک خود نواب شمس الدوله بهادر ریابد بالنسبایم صبیح نواب مبارک الدوله ناظم مرشد آباد کنانیده باز گشتند و نوبت شاهی که تا آن زمان بر سر کوچک نواخته می شد بر دولت خود آورده و نواب در پالکی که سواری باد شاهی ست جلوس نموده زینت بخشید و مردمان و ضعیف و شریف و امیرزادگان شکسته حال در سایه همایه آن یگانه دوران خود را رسانیده بمقاصد دلی و سعادت کامیاب گردیدند و مشهور معروف است که در بار آن نجسته اطوار نمونه بارگاه شاهان و رشک افزای محفل سلاطین نامدار بود چون عمر شریفش بشصت و سه رسید تاریخ غزه شهر ذی قعدة سنه ۱۲۳۷ع یک هزار و دویست و هفت هجری نبوی مطابق سنه ۱۲۲۹ بگاله موافق سنه ۱۸۲۲ع یک هزار و هشتاد و بیست عیسوی بر وزیر کشته بهار صبح پیش بر آمد پنج گهری روز این سرای فانی بعالم جاودانی انتقال فرمودند و داغ مفارقت خود بر دل متعلقین و متوسلین گذاشتند شش گهری روز باقی بود که بحسینی دالان متصل زینه چون گنج شایگان مدفون گردیدند انا للند و انا الیه راجعون روز وفات آن الاصفی عجب شور و غلغله در شهر بود گویا قیامت تمام گردید و از هند و مسلمانان تا صاحبان عالمشان انگلیشه بجز چشم گریان و دل بریان بنظر نمی آمد و صدای شیون از هر خانه فریاد و فغان از هر کاشانه چنان بلند بود که گوش فلک ناهنجار را گرمی ساخت ماده تاریخش غلام علی خلیف میر ولی مرحوم چنین گفته - تاریخ

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بسر مزار نصیر ملک نوشت کاتب کن ذکاں کہ حساب سال رحیل اوست ہذا ہوقصر الجنان  
و نیز شخصی دیگر گفته مصرع قال طہتم فتم عقبی الدار بعد از فوت آن صاحب اقبال اکثر از عمائد  
شہر و رؤسا و سکنای این دیار بعرصہ قلیل روانہ عالم بقا گردیدند بقول شاعری مصرع  
آن قرح بشکست آن ساقی نماند۔

## ذکر ریاست نواب شمس الدولہ بہادر

بعد فوت برادر شمس الدولہ بہادر بصواب دید بعضی از حواریان خود چون مرزا محمد علی وغیر  
خطوط متواتر در استدعای مسند نشینی خود برای برادر بحضور نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر و اہالی کونسل آن زمان  
ارقام فرمودند چونکہ نواب صاحب ممدوح از سابق در مقدمہ گرفتاری خط نواب وزیر علی خان بہادر  
صوبہ اودھ و دیگر راجہ ہای اطراف طلبیدن فرانسس در عہد ریاست نواب پیر جنگ خلف مبارک  
الدولہ مغفور کہ اعتماد کل آن سرکار تعلق بایشان داشت بدنام شدہ بودند و بسبب آن تا مدت ہفت  
سال در کلکتہ نظر بند بودند و صاحبان عالی شان انگلستان از نواب صاحب موصوف صاف دل نمودہ  
ہمیشہ در تحسّس حالات و تفتیش کارخانہجات می بودند بنا بر درخواست شان بدرجہ پذیرائی مقرونہ  
نکردہ از راہ دوراندیشی یک پلٹن تلنگہ و دو توپ جنگی ڈھا کہ متعین نمودند و از مشاہرہ نواب نصرت جنگ  
مغفور یک ہزار و پان صد روپیہ سکہ خرچ ذات نواب مرحوم قرار دادہ بانظامت و جاگیر خالصہ بازیافتہ  
فرمودند نواب صاحب موصوف ازین حال بسکہ غمگین و خستہ خاطر گردیدہ گوشہ نشینی اختیار نمودند  
عوام می گویند کہ نواب شمس الدولہ بہادر اگر برای نواب قمر الدولہ پسر خود کہ داماد نصرت جنگ مرحوم  
ست می نوشتند یقین کہ ریاست قائم و مسند برقرار می ماند لیکن گفتہ عوام چہ اعتماد دارد کہ گفتہ اند  
مصرع ہر کسی مصلحت خویش نکومی داند

العرض نواب موصوف خلعت ماتم پرسی مرسلہ نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر  
را کہ فی الحقیقت خود خلعت ماتم بود پویشید در بارعام روزیکشنبہ کہ از قدیم الایام جاری  
بود موقوف ساختند و بامر دکان کم ملاقات می نمودند و مبلغ معینہ یعنی مشاہرہ خود را بسبب عالی دماغی

بنظر نیاورده جمیع نظم و نسق سرکار خود را یک قلم به مرزا محمد علی عرف میان تنکوکه از سابق داروغه سرکار شان بود سپرد بلکه مالک سیاه و سپید گردانید مرزا محمد علی چونکه مرد عاقل و جزریس بود با وجودیکه مشا بهره و خاص شدن نظامت و غیر هم کار خانجات نظام سابق و متعلقان و منتسبان قدیم و جدید نواب نصرت جنگ مرحوم و نواب شمس الدوله بهادر را بحال و برقرار داشته تقسیم مشا بهره ماه می نمود اگر تا هم خود غرضان مشهور کرده بودند که مرزا نذکون نواب صاحب ممدوح را از داد و دیش وارد و صادر بازمی دارد لیکن آن بیچاره این بدنامیها را بر خود پسندیده آنچه لوازمه دولت خواهی و حلال نمکی بود بجای آورد و نواب شمس الدوله نیز بر جانفشانی و حسن تدبیرات او نظر فرموده نیک و خیر خواهش بحضور گورنر صاحب و صاحبان کونسل نوشته عزت افزایش خواستند یا ای نواب صاحب عالی شان از سرکار فیض آثار کمپنی بهادر بخلعت و خطاب خان بهادر سرفراز شد چنانچه نواب صاحب ممدوح بدر بار عام خلعت مرسله را باضافه دیگر از طرف خود سرفراز و ممتاز فرمودند. خان موسی الیه بکرو فر تمام از دولت خانه سوار فیل که ممدوح نقره داشت سوار شده مراجعت نمود و تاریخ خلعت پوشی او شاعری چنین نظم کرده نظم

مخلع مخاطب چو شد میرزام نمودند شادی همه خاص و عام

خرد گفت تاریخ با عیش ماند محمد علی خان بهادر مدام

و این جشن اخیر نواب شمس الدوله بهادر بود بعد ازین هر گاه بعمر شصت و یک سال رسیدند بعارضه چند در چند گرفتار شده آخر الامر بمرض اسهال بتاریخ شهر ذی الحجه سنه ۱۱۴۶ هجری یک هزار و دو صد و چهل و شش هجری بروز یکشنبه در وقت یک و نیم پاس شب گذشته مرغ روحش از قفس تن پرواز نمود و بروز دوشنبه سه پاس روز گذشته بود که در دالان مقدس حسینی متصل زینه به پهلوی برادر خود بوجوب وصیت خویش مدفون شدند خدایش یا مژده که عجب عالی دماغ و مرد صاحب حوصله بود و استقلال طبیعت بان مشابه داشت که در عوارض جسمانی تا زمان مرض الموت سه سال بتلا ماند لیکن کسی درین مدت شکایت مرض یا لفظ آه که مریضان می کنند و اصنظر می نمایند نشنید ایام ریاست یازده سال بود. خطاب نواب امیر الملک شمس الدوله سید احمد علی خان بهادر ذوالفقار جنگ -

## ذکر ریاست نواب قمرالدوله بهادر

بعد از انتقال نواب شمس الدوله بهادر نواب قمرالدوله بجای پدر برمسند ریاست متمکن گردیده به میر جیون که تا آن زمان داروغه اصطبل بود و دخترش در عقد نواب صاحب بدین طریق آمد سرمد میر مذکور مسماة بیگم غلانی نواب بیگم صاحب بویبنا بر دخترش مسماة حسینی بیگم همراه جدّه خود در آن محل سرای آمد شدی داشت اتفاقاً نظر خواهش نواب قمرالدوله بهادر بر او افتاد چنانچه پدرش را طلب داشته خواستگاری نمودند و این امر را تا مید آسمانی تصور نموده و فخر خود شمرده معاقبول نمود و وقت شب بخانه اش رفته در عقد نکاح خود در آوردند صبح این خبر طشت از بام گردید نواب شمس الدوله بهادر با استماع این معنی بسکه غمگین و شکسته خاطر گردید هر چند تلانی و تدارک فرمودند فائده نه بخشید و سودمند نیفتاد که تیر از کمان گذشته بود آخرین رنج و الم فوت نمودند الحال که مطلق العنان شدند امورات نظم و نسق سرکار خود را با وسپردند میر مذکور چونکه کاهل الوجود و خالی از ذهن بود بنا بر انجام امورات و ضبط کارها بجات سرکار مطابق دستور سابق نتوانسته پریشان و مضطرب گردید نواب ممدوح را قرضدارها بجان گردانید و اکثر فتورات در بند و بست مقرره راه یافت نواب موصوف بمعاینه این حال سرایسمه شده بعضی از خیرخواهان قدیم چون شیخ محمد ضمیر و مرزا جعفر و غیره را طلب نموده ارشاد فرمودند که خود کرده را چه علاج باید کرد اکنون شما مهد و معاون میر مذکور باشید تا همگی امورات سرکار بخوبی تمام انجام یابند اینها قبول نموده سرگرم مشورت بوده آهسته آهسته دخیل و قابض گشته عرض نمودند که مرزا محمد علی خان بهادر فوت نموده است الحال بنام حورالنساء خانم زوجه اش برای محاسبه نالش فرمایند و از اسباب نقد جنس سرکار که بخانه اوست همه را باز آرد ازین صورت مبلغ کثیر دستیاب خواهد گردید. اجناس فراوان که مرزا مذکور برده حاکم همه را خواهد بیاورد نواب صاحب ممدوح ازین سخن روی در هم کشیدند موافق رای بلندش نیامد لیکن آنها مکرراتاً التماس نموده آخر الامر برین آوردند که نواب صاحب بنام خانم مذکور بعدالت دیوانی مستغیث شدند و این ابتدائی مقدمه سرکار نواب صاحب ست والا از عهد نواب

جسارت خان مرحوم تا این زمان نام کدایمی نواب صاحبان در سررشته عدالت و با فوجداري ثبت نه شده بود چنانچه نقل است که ورمی منشی محمد شفیع یکی از وکلای عدالت نام نواب شمس الدوله بهادر را بر سیل مثل بدین پنج برده بود که نواب صاحب دهاکه نیز ازین معامله که در پیش است واقف اند مگر مٹفورڈ صاحب بهادر که تجویز مقدمه مرحوم مصروف بودند مجبور شدند این کلام حکم دادند که وکیل مذکور را نسبت بی ادبی که بشان نواب صاحب کرده یعنی گواه قرارداد از وکالت معزول نمود باید که دیگر در کچھری نیامید الغرض نواب صاحب موصوف بعد داخل شدن عرضی استغاثه بنام خانم مذکوره از کرده خود نام و پیشیمان شده مرزا محمد جعفر را که بانی این امور بودند نظر انداز فرمودند میر جویون که جویای چنین وقت بود قلوب یافته بعرض رسانیده که مشاہرہ نواب شمس الدوله بهادر که از سرکار ناظم مرشد آباد بسبب دامادی مقرر بود از وقت انتفال نواب مغفرت مآب مسدود است۔ مصلحت چنان می نماید که یکی از معتمدان و خیراندیشان این خاندان را با عرضی جاری شدن مشاہرہ مقررہ بجمهور ہمالیوں جاہ کہ بالفعل مسند نشین مرشد آباد اند فرستاده شود یقین است بملاحظہ عرضی حکم بحالی مشاہرہ مسدودہ اصدار یابد نواب صاحب ممدوح استفسار فرمودند کہ لائق این کار کرای پی می نمود کور عرض نمود کہ بہتر از شیخ صاحب کسی بنظر فردی نمی آید نواب صاحب ممدوح این رای اورا پسند نموده شیخ صاحب مذکور را با عرضی خود روانہ مرشد آباد فرمودند میر مذکور فرصت وقت یافته برای بہبودی خود نواب صاحب معزی الیہ را با انواع واقسام مسکرات چون شراب و بھنگ و برش و غیرہ چنان محمود ساخت کہ خبر آشنا و بیگانہ نماندہ بلکہ از خود بخر گردیدند چونکہ انتہای چنین کار با بدست آختر نواب صاحب را اول عارضہ دماغی چون صداع و اختلاف حواس خمسہ و غیرہ لاحق شدہ بصرعہ انجامید۔

بعد از اشتداد مرض بتاريخ ہشتم شہربیع الثانی سنہ ۱۲۵۰ ہجری نبوی مطابق سنہ

یکم ماہ ساون سنہ ۱۲۴۱ ہجری روز پنجشنبہ بوقت برآمدن یک نیم پاس روز جان شیرین خود را بجان آفرین تسلیم نمودند و دو ساعت از شب گذشتہ بود کہ مطابق ضابطہ خاندان خود در پائین مزار تھرتنگ



جنت مکان اندرون کوشک مدفون گردیدند تاریخ وفات آن شاعری گفته - شعر  
دست چون برداشت قمرالدوله از دنیا می‌دوان گشت مائل در ره حق کرد دل را استوار  
داد با تفت این مذاقرب جوار پنجستن یافت در فردوس مسکن بارگاه گلغزار  
نواب قدسیه بیگم دختر نواب نصرت جنگ مغفور که زوجه نواب قمرالدوله مرحوم بودند  
قبل از فوت شوهر خود تاریخ یازدهم شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۲۵۰ هجری مطابق به مقتم ماه ساون  
سنه ۱۲۴۱ بنگله روز یکشنبه ازین دار فانی به عالم جاودانی رخت هستی بر بستند -  
تاریخ وفات آن مرحومه -

چون رحلت قدسیه بیگم نمودند ز دنیا با غم و اندوه و تکلیف  
خرد سال وفاتش گفت افسوس کشیده رنجها بردند تشریف

پایین خسر خود نواب شمس الدوله بهادر مدفون گردیدند - عمر نواب قمرالدوله بهادر  
پنجاه و دو سال و هشتگام ریاست سه سال و شش ماه خطاب قمرالدوله شمس الملک سیدالالدین  
محمد خان بهادر منصور جنگ -

## ذکر مسند نشینی نواب سید عازمی الدین محمد

بعد تجبیز تکلیفین نواب قمرالدوله پدر خود نواب عازمی الدین محمد بر مسند زینت متمکن گردید  
بموجب رای میر جیون مذکور چندی عمل می نمودند اما بعد خانه نشین شدن او مسٹر کلی گرفت بهادر که  
سپیش حج این دیار بودند و با نواب شمس الدوله بهادر ارتباط تام و محبت کمال می داشتند محمد و معاون  
نواب صاحب گردیدند بسبب این که هرگاه نواب قمرالدوله بهادر فوت می کنند بعضی از بزرگان  
عاقبت اندیشان این خاندان چون آقا عبدالعلی استاد نواب صاحب مدوح و غیره فهانیدید عین  
مناسب است که حالا حضور پیش صاحب موصوف حاکم این بلده که دوست نواب شمس الدوله بهادر  
اند تشریف برده بعد معجزه نیاز بفرمایند که صاحب راجد بزرگوار کمال دوست می داشتند و یکی از

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مخلصان دلی می شمزدن پس نظر بر اتحاد و یک رنگی آن مغفور فرموده دست شفقت از سر این بی پدر بر ندارد. و برای بهبودی من یتیم هر قدر که ممکن باشد بروح جدم مرحوم بحضور صاحبان عالی شان کونسل و نواب گورز بهادر ارقام فرمایند. نواب غازی الدین محمد بهادر هماندم آقا عبدالعلی را همراه خود گرفته نزد صاحب رفته آنچه مصالحت قرار یافته بود فرمودند بلکه از سر ایسمگی بیتاب شده بصاحب موصوف چسپیده گریستند صاحب مدوح هم نواب صاحب را بسینه خود چسپانیدند. نواب شمس الدوله را بخاطر آورده آب دیده شده گفت اگر موافق گفته ما عمل نمائی انشاء اللہ تعالی شمائانی نواب شمس الدوله بهادر خواہید شد در بہتری شما حتی المقدور کوتاہی نخواہم کرد ہر گاہ نواب صاحب یعنی نواب قمر الدوله بہادر فوت نمودند نواب صاحب مدوح صغیرین بودند از میر غلام علی استاد خود بسکمی ترسیدند و چون طفلان از نوشتن و خواندی گریختند بنا بر میر جیون برای فائدہ خود مطابق بوقت رای صاحبزادہ نموده عرض کردہ۔ الحال حضور را اختیار است اگر خواہند درس گیرند و گرنہ خواہند نہ گیرند کسی را زہرہ آنہ نیست کہ بحضور خیر نماید تا تاکید کند صاحبزادہ موصوف از سخنش دلیر شدہ دست از نوشتن خواند برداشتند بلکہ با یامی میر مذکور استاد خود میر غلام علی را امتناع فرمودند کہ بدولت خانہ نیاید رہنمونی بعضی از اوباشان حاضر الخدمت بمی خواری و زنکہ بازی مصروف شدند۔ میر مذکور بدستور سابق صاحبزادہ را در نیکو پورا رہنا شدہ دخیل و قابض بود روزی مسٹر کلی کرافٹ بہادر و ملٹن صاحب کمشنر برای ملاقات صاحبزادہ آمد در مبارک برج کہ مکان نشست گاہ نواب صاحبان بودند نشستند۔ صاحبزادہ استماع خبر آمدن آنہا میر مذکور را طلب فرمودہ خود بصاحبان موصوفین مشغول ذکر و حکایت شدند۔ درین اثنا میر مذکور ہم در رسید۔ صاحبزادہ بملاحظہ او حکم دادند کہ بزودی برای نشستن میر صاحب کرسی بیارید چونکہ از سابق صاحبان قصہ دخترش و آرزوگی نواب شمس الدوله بہادر و قدسیہ بیگم مرحومہ مطلع بودند خصوص مسٹر کلی کرافٹ بہادر بسبب دوستی نواب شمس الدوله مرحوم نواب قمر الدوله را ہر چند فہمائیدند کہ برای شما خوب نیست بہتر است کہ دختر میر جیون را طلاق دہید۔ نواب قمر الدوله مرحوم سخن او را گوش نہ نمودہ بنا بر صاحب

موصوف از نواب قمر الدوله بهادر تادم زیست دیگر ملاقات نکرد و دشمن جانی میر مذکور بود۔ چون چشم آنها بر میر مذکور افتاد و لفظ نشستن از صاحب زاده شنیدند یکبارگی برخاستند و گفتند بس بس مایان خود می رویم آمدن او ضرورتی ندارد این بگفتند و بگاری خود سوار شده رفتند۔ صاحبزاده و دیگر متعلقان با هم یک دل شده رای زدند که چه باید کرد آخر سخن برین قرار گرفت که آزدگی ایشان بالفعل در حق خداوند سمست تا حال خط بحالی مشاهره و ریاست از صدر نیامده مناسب است که میر صاحب را برای چند روز خانه نشین گردانند و دیگر کسی را بعهدہ میر سامانی مقرر فرمایند چنانچه آقا عبدالعلی رانا مزد نموده کلید کار خانجات که از میر مذکور تعلق داشت گرفته هماندم آقای موصوف را پیش صاحب ممدوح فرستادند آقا صاحب موصوف آنچه مناسب بود تقریرهای شایسته نموده صاحب موصوف را راضی و خوشدل گردانیده آمدند۔ چنانچه بهر الوقت صاحبان مذکورین متفق شده برای بحالی مشاهره نواب صاحب و دیگر مراتبات بحضور گورز بهادر رپورٹ فرمودند تا بعرصه یک ماه حکم بحالی ریاست و اجرای مشاهره نواب صاحب بدستور قدیم سوای مبلغ پانصد روپیه سکه بابت لنگر نفاذ یافت۔ بعد صدور حکم هر دو صاحبان نامبردگان خود بدولت خانه نواب صاحب آمده تخلیه نموده آنچه لوازم بند و نصیحت بود گذارش نمودند نواب صاحب حسب ظاهر قبول نموده آقا عبدالعلی را برای انجام و اتمام امورات سرکار مقرر فرمودند و میر محمد علی را ممدو و معاون شان نمودند و خود سرگرم صحبت او با شان و کینهها بوده با انواع و اقسام عیش و عشرت چون رقص زنان و بهکتیه و گهانو و اسپ دو اندین و مرغ جنگا نیدن و می نوشی و زنکه بازی و اختلاط فحش و غیره مصروف و مشغول گردیدند۔ علاوه ازان دادش بیجا و انعامات زیادہ از حوصله اختیار کردند۔ اگر کسی از متقدمین و متعلقین خاندان بطریق بند و نصائح حرفی می گفت چنین با بر و شده عیض و طیش می فرمودند و آن بیچاره را بر طرف می ساختند تا بر از که تا مه هر خاموشی بر لب نهاده سکوت ورزیدند بلکه اکثر سنجبا و شرفا خانه نشین گردیدند آقا عبدالعلی و میر محمد علی عهده برائی این اخراجات

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در آمدنی سرکار نه دیده دست بردار از عهده معینه شدند نواب صاحب هم خانه نشینی ایشان غنیمت شمرده عهده میر سامانی را به حسین بخش پسر جاسسی که در آن هنگام انیس و جلیس بود تفویض فرمودند مثل مشهورست مصرع فکر هر کس بقدر همت اوست - آن نابکار بفرصه تخیل اکثر از جوهر آتش بیش قیمتی و ملبوس خاص نواب صاحبان چون دوستانه و خلعتهای زیرین و زرداری و قباهای کنوایب و غیره را خود هم گرفت و بیاران خود چون جعفر خان قوال و محمد حسین و مرزا نور وزیر علی و غیره هم دہانید و بسبب فضولی خرچی عهده بران شده در دو سه ماه یک ماه مشاہرہ ملازمان تقسیم می کرد - درین ایام زنی از قسم طائفہ دار باشنده رنگپور ظهورن نام وارد گردید حسین بخش برای رسوخیت بجنور اطلاع نبود بر طبق آن حکم حاضر نمودن او برای رقص نفاذ یافت - چون آن خراب کن این خاندان بموجب حکم حاضر آورد نظر خواہش حضور بر او افتاده چنان والہ و فریفتہ او شدند کہ آن زن بازاری را داخل محل سرای خاص نموده بخطاب نواب بیگم سرفراز کردند و حسین بخش و بیاران او را بیشتر از پیشتر سرفراز و ممتاز فرمودند صاحبان عالی شان خصوصاً مسٹر کلی کرافٹ بہادری باستماع این حالت دست تخریب بدان تفکر گزیدن گرفت و از کرده و نوشته خود نادام و پشیمان گردید متعلقان و منتسبان قدیم بمعاینہ این حال عریضہ نمودند بحضور نواب بدر النساء بیگم صاحبہ جدہ نواب صاحب کہ دختر نواب مبارک الدولہ مفقود بودند فرستاده امیدوار این امر شدند کہ اگر جناب عالیہ از مرشد آباد تشریف آری فرمایند یقین است کہ مفسدان خراب کن این دو دمان مفقود و مقهور گردند - و نواب صاحب ہم متنبہ شدہ صلاح پذیر شوند بموجب درخواست آنها خود بیگم صاحبہ موصوفہ نیز نظر بر خداوندی قدماپوری فرمودہ تشریف آوردند و ہر چند فکر تدبیر نمودند سود مند نیفتاد بقول سعدی علیہ الرحمۃ

الرحمۃ ————— بیت

خوی بد در طبیعتی کہ نشست

ز رود جز بوقت مرگ از دست

چنانچہ جناب عالیہ از آمدن خود محبت و منفعل گردیدہ عازم مرشد آباد شدند -

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درین اثنا بحین روانگی بیگم صاحبہ معظمہ ظہورن مذکور از نواب صاحب ناراض شدہ نزد مادر خود کہ بمکان دیگر می بود رفتہ نشست ہر چند حضور بطلب از کسان فرستادند نیا مد عند الاستفسار معلوم شد کہ اوشکایت از حسین بخش دارد تا کہ اودرین سرکار است نخواہد آمد نواب صاحب ہمال دم حسین بخش را مع ہواخواہانش بیرون کردہ مانعت دخول فرمودند یعنی درین ڈیوڑھی دولت خانہ اگر پانہد بشکنند عبدالعلیم داروٹہ سرکار جناب بیگم صاحبہ معظمہ بسکہ چالاک پرتدیر بود فرصت وقت یافتہ با مسماة مذکورہ پیوست و بصحابت آن بحضور نواب صاحبہ رسائی نمودہ بسخنان ملایم دلجوئی ہای نواب صاحب کردہ بخدمت جناب عالیہ بیگم صاحبہ بردہ بقدم انداختہ عفو تقصیرات کنانید جناب بیگم صاحبہ این معاملات را از اقبال خود تصور فرمودہ شکر خدا بجا آورده و بعرضہ ہفت و ہشت روز عبدالعلیم را پیش نواب صاحب گذاشتہ خود روانہ مرشد آباد گردیدند۔

## ذکر داروغگی مولوی عبدالعلیم

بعد حسین بخش عبدالعلیم بعدہ داروغگی سرکار سرفراز شدہ ضبط و نسق جمیع امورات برای خود نمودہ شہرت داد کہ آسپہ می کنم بحکم شور صاحب کمشنری کنم و گاہ گاہی برای تیعن مردمان پیش صاحب کمشنر مذکور ہم می رفت و مسمی خیراتی کہ سابق در زمرہ خواصان بود بجمع داری خواصان سرفراز کنانیدہ بحضور متعین نمودہ تا کید تمام کرد کہ شب و روز از پیش نواب صاحب جدا نشود و از دلجوئی و خاطر داری بیگم صاحبہ یعنی ظہورن مصوفہ نافل نباشد و بجز آدامان خاطر جمعی خود بکسی راہ نمد و خود بچالاک قطعہ خط از طرف حضور بدین مضمون نویسانیدہ کہ مسمی حسین بخش وغیرہ چہارہ کسان از نقد و جنس این سرکار تغلب و تہرت نمودہ اند خانہ تلاشی اینہا نمودہ سزای قرأ واقعی دہند و پیش صاحب مجسٹریٹ فرستاد صاحب موصوف مطابق خط بحکم خانہ تلاشی نامبردگان

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بنام ناظر فوجداري قطعہ پروانہ جاری نمودند کہ آسامیان را گرفتار کرده بحضور حاضر آرد آن مفصل  
 باستماع این خبر آوارہ شهر و دیار گردیدند بعد این تدبیر داروغہ مذکور باطینان خاطر در  
 بندوبست مصروف شدہ اول مشاہرہ نجبا و شرفاہ متعلقان ندیم را تخفیف نمود بعد ازان  
 دست در باورچی خانہ وغیرہ کارخانجات انداختہ اکثر معمولات را موقوف ساخت  
 و جمعدار مذکور بحضور نواب صاحب بودہ ظہور نمود و فرمودہ را چنان از خود موافق کردہ کہ اورا  
 پدر و زنش مسماۃ ہر بیہ را ما درمی خواند و بسبب این وسیلہ از فراوان بہرہ مند گردیدیم <sup>العلم</sup>  
 داروغہ چونکہ جمعدار مذکور را از گرفتار ہم چون انعامات لائہایات مانع می شد بنا برین جمعدار  
 داروغہ را سنگ راہ خود تصور کردہ در پی او شد و نواب صاحب را بوسیلہ یکم موصوفہ برین  
 آورد کہ اورا از کار معینہ معزول سازند چنانچہ نواب صاحب بجالاوی التفاتی نمودہ  
 اکثر بد مزاجی و چشم نمایی می فرمودند۔ داروغہ ازین واقعہ خستہ خاطر گردیدہ التجا بمنشی میر علی  
 اشرف کہ سررشتہ دارکشتر بود آورد و بوساطت و تائید او کمشتر را بپہ خود آوردہ و خطوط در مادہ  
 ابتری خانہ و کارخانہ نواب صاحب بذریعہ صاحب کمشتر رقم کنانیدہ بصدر مالیہ فرستاد اما از حضور  
 نواب گوزر جنرل بہادر حکم اصدار یافت کہ نواب صاحب مالک و مختار خانہ خود اند۔ ہرچہ خواهند  
 کنند بوردایں چٹھی نواب صاحب عبدالعلیم را معزول ساختہ جمع ضبط و نسق سرکار را بجمعدار  
 مذکور سپردند۔

## ذکر خیراتی جمعدار

چون انجام امورات سرکار تعلق از خیراتی جمعدار گرفت و از برای رفع بدنامی خود  
 جیلہ کردہ اطلاع نمود مناسب ست حضور آقا عبدالعلیم را کہ قدیم خیرخواہ سرکار و استاد خداوندانند  
 خود تشریف بخانہ نشان بردہ ہمراہ خود بیارند و عہدہ میر سامانی را بدستور سابق باوشان تفویض فرمایند  
 تا بخوبی کار انجام یابد نواب صاحب ہم مطابق ایماہ او عمل نمودند این بار دوم ست کہ آقا صاحب

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بعهدۀ موصوف نامزد گردیدند چونکه سیح کار سرکار از آقا صاحب تعلق نداشت هر روز بدولت خانه آمده بصورت انگشت زاید بیکار و معطل می نشستند و جمعدار مذکور خود خیل و قابض بوده هیچ می خواست می کرد ایشان محض برای نام بودند آخر بر عرصه قلیل از مشاهده این گونه حالات خود خانه نشین گردیدند و جمعدار مذکور بصلاح مدن فوطه دار که خزانچی سرکار بود و بجهن جمعدار و غیره بیگم موصوف را در قبضه خود داشته از هر قسم جوایز و طلا و نقره و ملبوسات و غیره جنسهای گران بها که بسالهای سال و زمانهای دراز نواب صاحبان سلف فراهم آورده بودند تحت تصرف خود آورده و نواب صاحب را بجز نام اختیاری نبود و احدی را نمی گذاشت بجز خویش و اقربا خود حتی که خواصان و فریشان نیز اقربای او بودند حضور باریاب شود و علاوه از آن خود را پیش نواب صاحب دعوتی قرار داده و اکثر شعبه های علوی و سفلی را نموده مطمع و منقاد خود گردانید چنانچه حضور شاگردش شده نقش هوا و غیره بر می ساختند و طبله نواختن که کار سپرد های زنان است و او در آن مهارت تمام داشت نواب صاحب تعلیم می داد و سخنان پوچ پادرها مثل اینکه بر هر کسیکه خواهم جنات و شیاطین سوار کنم و هر که را بخوام بطرفه العین بکشم عرض نواب صاحب را از خود ترسانیده می داشت آخر چون او حبش بانتهار رسید و طالع بلند او به پستی نهاد که گفته اند هر کمالی را زوالی روزی زن بازیگری در آشنای راه بازی می کرد اتفاقاً گذر حضور هم بهمان راه افتاد ترک سواران همراهی خود حکم فرمودند که این را بیارید چون بدولت خانه مراجعت فرمودند او حاضر نبود. عند الاستفسار معلوم شد که آمده بود مگر کسی خبرش بحضور رسانید نواب صاحب را این سخن سخا طماند روزی بحضری خانسلمان میرخانه بوقت حاضری حاضر بود ارشاد فرمودند که زن بازیگر را طلبیده بودم چرا خبر بمن نیاوردند او که از جمعدار مذکور آزرده خاطر بود فرصت وقت می جست قابویافت بعضی رسانید که گریار را که بحکم جمعدار اطلاع چنین امورات بحضور نماید نواب صاحب را سخنش ناگوار تر آمد چنین ابروشده خاموش ماندند روز دیگر منشی عنایت علی را فرودند که من از دست جمعدار مذکور تنگ آمده ام حیرانم چه کنم می ترسم که سحر می کنی یا بسبب آزار خود مرا بکشند منشی مذکور

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بمرض رسانید که اورا چه یار و چه طاقت او که آسیبی بحضور رساند حضور را هر حال اختیار است  
 درین اثنا این عاصی هم در رسید و بنشای حضور از زبانم برآمد که جمعی از مذکور را بمقدمه فوجداری  
 در محکمہ محبسطی طلب است از باعث حضور تا حال مانده کفایت می کند که خطی بنام صاحب محبسطی  
 ابلاغ یا بدینا پنجه موجب آن بنشی صاحب موصوف حکم نفاذ یافت بانا فانا چھٹی حضور رفت و صاحب  
 موصوف ناظر فوجداری الطاف علی رابع پیادگان برای گرفتاریش فرستادند جمعی از مذکور پی بطلب  
 برده بسرعت تمام از طرف پشت دولت خانہ بگریخت و مریدانش چون ز سنگه خواص و امیر فراش  
 وغیره که محیط بودند کافر شدند چنانکه شاعری گفته - فرد :

فلک این لعبت چین و چگل را      چه لعبت گز مانی چید برچید

## ذکر داروغگی میر علی نقی و گلزار بیگم و محبوب میر محمد اسمعیل و سلطانه

بعد مفقود شدن خیراتی جمعی از حضور متوجه خورد محل که جای سکونت حیات النساء بیگم صاحب  
 که والدہ نواب صاحب بودند رونق افزا گردیدند جناب بیگم صاحبہ از آمدن غیر وقت متعجب شده  
 استفسار فرمودند حضور تمام حالات را مین و عن بیان نمودند بیگم صاحبہ بدریافت حال فرز  
 ہینگن داروغہ سرکار خود را بسبب بدنامی بعضی دفعات مصلحتاً نظر انداز فرموده بودند گفتہ  
 فرستادند کہ بہ حال لاکھی آن زن باز گیر را بدست بیاری را بعد عای خویش فائز شوی میرزا مذکور بعد  
 امید زن مطلوبہ را با اختیار در آورده بحضور پیش کش نمود و حضور ہم بطریق انعامات از سر جزایش  
 در گذشتہ بہمدہ مقررہ او سفر از فرمودند بعد حصول مطلب طرفین از راه خداوندی نواب  
 صاحب عہدہ میر سامانی باین عاصی تفویض می فرمودند چنانچہ ہفت روز جمع امور ت سرکار مصل  
 ماند۔ اما این عاصی کہ بی عقل محض ست کارخانہ عالی را قابل انجام خود ندیدہ کنار نمود و امیدوار



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معاف گردید اما نام بزرگان و خیرخواهان قدیم سرکار را شمرده که میانان سپرد شوذنا بخوبی انجام باید۔  
 نواب صاحب از آنها میر علی نقی خلیف نواب شیر جنگ مرحوم را پسندیده حکم احضارشان حکم  
 نفاذ یافت (بعد حاضری شان بعهده مذکوره سرکار سرفراز گردیدند چون میر علی نقی بسرکار نفاذ  
 آتار اختیار یافت بسبب کم حیثیتی بصلاح محرران کاری کرد مرزا هینگن مذکور هم در آن روزها شریک  
 بود و حضور صبیبه بازیگر را یافتی کم التفاتی بحال ظهورن بیگم می فرمودند و او هم برخاستی دل می بود و  
 مرزا هینگن با اطلاع حضور بیگم صاحب مذکوره را برای رفع وحشت شان در خورد محل بخد مت جناب  
 والده بیگم صاحب فرستاد تا والده نواب صاحب دل جویش نماینده و گاه گاه حضور هم پیش نام برده  
 می رفتند و این ایام شخصی شهباز خان که ملازم بود روزی تعریف حسن گلزار بیگم دختر شریف در میان  
 آورد چنانچه حضور مشتاقش گردیدند خان مذکور بازار حسن او گرم نموده خود بنجانشست عیبت الطلب  
 جواب فرستاد که آن معشوقه تکیکتا و جمیله بی همتا که چشم آفتاب از تاب عذارش در چرخ و تاب ست  
 بلا عقد نکاح و کابین خاطر خواه بدست نخواهد آمد نواب صاحب از زن بازیگر سیر شده بصد شوق  
 مشتاق جمال جهان آرایش شدند میر علی نقی و مرزا هینگن دور اندیشی نموده از مردمان معتمد گلزار بیگم  
 ربط بهم رسانیده بعرضه یک هفته بوقت شب برای ملاقات نواب صاحب آوردند مگر خان مذکور هم  
 همراه آمد چون که بیگم مسطوره بسکه چالاک و گرم و سرد زمانه چشیده و کار آرزو بود سوای ازین رضایش  
 خان مومی الیه هم حاضر بود بنا بر چیز ملاقات یارانه هیچ سر و کاری بهم نه پذیرفت و بیکان خود برگشت۔  
 بروز دیگر نواب صاحب مرزا هینگن و میر علی نقی را فرمودند بهر طریقیکه باشند زن شبینه را حاضر آرید  
 بجز حکم اینها قافیه وقت خود هاتنگ دیده بصد جد و کد میر برهان علی برادر خویش میر علی نقی را در میان  
 کرده مسماة مذکور بقصد نواب صاحب باخفای خان مسطور در آوردند ظهورن بیگم با سماع این  
 خبر دیوانه وار خواست که خود را بکشد۔ نواب صاحب سرا سیمه شده او را نیز از خود محل آورده بدیوان  
 خانه پیش خان داشته و آن زن بازیگر را بد فرمودند چونکه مرزا هینگن و میر علی نقی بسبب عقد گلزار بیگم  
 از ظهورن بیگم محبوب بودند و بیگم از او شان کشان بود بنا بر حضور مضطرب شده این عاصی را برانجا

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امورات ضروریه داروغه سرکار ظهور بیگم فرمودند چنانچه تا پنج ماه نامزد بوده خانه نشین شدند نواب صاحب بعد عقد گلزار بیگم شنیدند که این سه طفل دارد و بعضی گفتند که حالاً هم از جنگ بنید کوی طعی والی حائله است ازین سخنان متنفرد شده روز نوزدهم عقد بیرونش کردند بعد رفتن او خواستند که بدستور سابق از ظهور بیگم که موافقت او وحشت میفرود برای دلجویی و خاطر داریش آورده هم عقد نمودند بلکه در کابین او چند قطعه اراضی و گنجیات مندرج ساختند چون ظهور بیگم مجلس از اغیار خالی و بخت خود را بر سر اوج یافت اول به بیخ کنی مرزا هیکن معروف شد مرزای مذکور مشاهده این حال خود ترک حاضر باشی حضور نموده بدر دولت خود محل که مقرر بود مسرور و محفوظ نشست اما میر علی بقی بخوشامد و بر آسمانه مسطوره را از خود راضی و موافق ساخت لیکن فضول خرچی حضور را ضبط نتوانست کرد ششم آن این است که مشاHERE ظهور بیگم هزار روپیه و در ماه حسین بیگم مادر علانی نواب صاحب صدر روپیه و حیات النساء بیگم مادر حقیقی سه صدر روپیه بدین رومضاعف فرمودند علاوه ازین جنس یک روپیه رابده روپیه می خریدند بلکه اگر صد هم می شد مضایقه نمی کردند چونکه گنجایش آمدنی سرکار این قدر نه داشت بنابراین در تقسیم مشاHERE کل فتور واقع می گشت و در سه ماه چهار ماه یک ماه برآمدی گردید و آن هم هر که بوقت تقسیم حاضر آمد یافت و کسیکه در رسیدن تاخیر و توقف ورزید محروم و مایوس ماند لهذا اکثر متعلقان که دعوی پرورش ازین سرکاری داشتند و خود را ذو الحقوق و منتسبان نواب صاحبان سلف می فرمودند با ستمزاج مشرولوس صاحب کمشنر آن عصر قطعه درخواست با استدعای یافتن مشاHERE خود با از مشاHERE نواب صاحب خارج کرده به حمایت صاحب کمشنر موصوف بحضور نواب گورنر جنرل بهادر گذرانیدند عند الاستفسار نواب صاحب جواب شانی ارتقام فرمودند یعنی مرزا محمد جعفر و میر محمد علی و میر غلام علی و مرزا جلال الدین و مرزا ولایت علی و غیره چهارده کسان از متعلقین سرکار که مستغنی شده اند و فی الواقع قدیم و استحقاق پرورش می دارند ما وجه معینه اینها در لنگر بود هرگاه از سرکار کمپنی بهادر خود موقوف شدند قصور این جانب چیست چنانچه این جواب بحق آن بیچارگان ازین سوراخ و از آن سوراخ شده بعد چند روز

یک یک کرده روی نیاز و عذرخواهی به ہمیں در دولت آوردند و حضور نیز نظر بر خدمت گذاری ایشان و بزرگان ایشان فرموده از سر قصور در گذشتند در ہمیں روز باروزی چینی لال طائفه دار برای قص حاضر شده بود محبوب نام صدیقه متبناش که نوجوان نوس بود بعد نظر در آمد و چند روز او را در مبارک سج داشته بعیش و کامرانی مشغول گردیدند چونکه میر علی نقی با ظهور بیگم موافق بودند بنا بر حضور در امور محبوب مذکوره از واحتراز نموده اکثر گفتگوی صلاح و مشورت و بازی و اختلاط با میر محمد اسماعیل که داروغه عمارت خانه و نوبت خانه و مشعل خانه و فیل خانه بودند و میر صاحب مذکور بسکه عاقل و زیرک و فهم درست داشتند و حضور را در حال از خود راضی و شاکرمی داشتند بنا برین روز بروز عزیز و محترم شده مدارالمهام سرکار گردیدند میر علی نقی چارناچار چون انگشت زاید با اتفاق میر صاحب می پرداخت و شب و روز برای سلامتی عهده خویش بد لجویی و خاطر داری نواب صاحب و بیگم صاحب می بود لیکن میر اسماعیل چون دیگران بد نفسی را کار نه فرموده در پی ایند و آزارش نگردید اگر چه بر صده قلیل محبوب مذکوره بجای خود رفت اما ظهور بیگم گمان آنکه محبوب مذکوره آورده میر صاحب موصوف بود ایند در پی انداختن از جاه و مراتب شان می کوشید و حضور را چنین شبیه در دل افتاده بود که میر علی نقی به ظهور بیگم گفته است که میر اسماعیل حافظ و حای محبوب بود بنا بر این تنزل میر علی نقی و ترقی میر صاحب موصوف صورت بست یوزی بخشونام خواصی بر گاری همراه حضور بود اثنای راه زنی سبز رنگ بصد جلوه از در چپه سر بر آورده بجانب حضور مشتاقانه نظر انداخت حضور هم ناوک نظرش بر بگر خورده بسمل را بدولت خانه مراجعت فرمودند و طلب گارش گردیدند تا مبرده بجهتجوی او بوده خبر آورد که زن سلطانه نام دارد و مادر و خواهرش هستند زن فاحشه نیست که بحضور حاضر آید نواب صاحب بازار گریش زیاد اصرار فرمودند آخر برینے انجا مید که بوقت شب تن تنها خود حضور بمکانش تشریف ببرد بجز آن ممکن ندارد و حضور این را قبول فرموده خفیه از میر علی نقی و میر اسماعیل و غیره بر پا لگی سوار شده و تا مبرده را همراه گرفته بنصف شب بجای سکوتی سلطانه مذکوره تشریف بردند تا سه ساعت انگریزی توقف نموده مراجعت

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فرمودند چون بدین نوع سه چهار شب اتفاق افتاد آهسته آهسته طشت از بام گردید و شهرت تمام یافت آخرش نوبت بدین غایت رسید که در روزیم می رفتند چونکه آن زنکه از قوم ما هست فروشان بود اگر چه خود نکرده باشد بنا بر بعضی از خیرخواهان و فاکیش و متعلقان دوراندیش تاب سکوت نیاورده پرده از روی کار بر انداختند و نشیب و فراز این معنی را بعضی رسانیدند لیکن سودمند نیامد بلکه دلیر تر شده بیابا کانه آمد و شد اختیار کردند و تا چهار پنج روزیم بمکانش می نرفتند چنانچه ازین حرکات ناشایسته آنکه تا همه ناراض می بودند و ظهور النساء بیگم نیز آزرده خاطر شده گفتگوی ناملائم عند الملاقات می نمود و سخنان دل خراش و طنطنه های نمک پاش می کرد لهذا نواب صاحب یک بار آمدن دولت خانه موقوف ساخته مدتی بمکان دیگر که متصل خانه بود بود و باش اختیار فرمودند .

## ذکر داروگی شیخ کالو میچوا و میرا فضل علی محافظ سرکار نواب صاحب

بایامی سلطانه مذکوره شوهر خواهرش که شیخ کالو نام داشت جمیع امورات سرکار باو تفویض نمودند تا مرده بیواسطه محض راه عداوت پیچوده نسبت به میرا اسماعیل و میر علی نقی حرف مطلب خود بسمع مبارک حضور رسانیدن گرفت نواب صاحب را رعایت خاطرش منظور بود بنا بر بد رجحان اجابت مقرون می گردید میر صاحبان کم التفاتی حضور مشاهده نموده یک یک خانه نشین شدند چون بدولت خانه کسی محافظ مانند ظهور بیگم که برخاسته دل بود بمکان نو ساخت خود از آئینه محل برآمده منزل گزیده و اسباب و لوازم نقد و جنس که تعلق باو داشت همه را با خود برد حضور باستماع این خبر بهان مکان دربار نموده روبروی جمیع متعلقان ارشاد نمودند که بتحقیق شنیدم که ظهور بیگم باغوا می میرا اسماعیل از آئینه محل بیرون شده است میر مذکور راز

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عہدہ میرسامانی معزول نمودم و دران خدمت راحت جان شیخ محمد کاتورا سرفراز و خواہر زلش را بخطاب سلطان بیگ ممتاز نمودم باید کہ بعد ازین ہمہ کسان ایشان را داروغہ و او شان را بیگم صاحبہ گفتہ و دانستہ باشند پس ظاہرست کہ چوں نوبت داروغگی سرکار فیض آثار بدین نہایت رسیدہ باشد حال ضبط و نسق امور ات ریاست تا کجا خواهد بود مختصر این کہ تقسیم مشاہرہ یک قسم موقوف گشت۔ اگر بعد دو سہ ماہ برآمد کم گردید حاضران خدمت و حاشیہ نشینش بہرہ مندی شد بخبا و صاحبان غیرت را حال تباہ بود اما چارہ نمی رفت بعد از چند روز حضور مع بیگم صاحبہ و داروغہ تو تشریف بدولت خانہ آوردند و با ہمسران داروغہ صحبت می داشتند از قدیمان این خانہ کسی را رسانی نبود چونکہ بدنامی از حد گذشت جناب عالیہ بدرالنسا بیگم صاحبہ از مرشد آباد و حیات النسا بیگم صاحبہ والدہ نواب صاحب خطوط متواتر برای چشم نمائی نواب بہ نواب گورز بہادر و مقرر شدن محافظ برای این سرکار با عرض استغاثہ رؤسای این دیار و متعلقین سرکار بحضور صاحبان عالی شان کونسل پی در پی ارقام نمودند بر طبق آن میرافضل علی از حضور گورز بدین عہدہ مقررہ شدہ آمدند چنانچہ حضور بجز مبلغ جیب خاص بیچ اختیار نامذمیر صاحب محافظ رسید مہری خود مشاہرہ نواب صاحب از کلکٹری حصول نمودہ تقسیم نتخواہ و دیگر ضروریات می کردند و ہرچہ باقی می ماند ادای قرض سرکاری کردند نواب صاحب کہ عادی فضول خرچی شدہ بودند و بالفعل بیسرنمی گردید لہذا در شکایت و خیانت او دائم چٹھی ہای انگریزی و فارسی بصاحب کمشنر و کونسل می نگاشتند۔ اما چیزی حصول نمی شد۔ چہار پنج ماہ بدین ہنج گذشتہ بود کہ میرافضل علی محافظ برای ضرورتی روانہ مرشد آباد گردیدند و آقا عبدالعلی را بجا خود گذاشتند۔ آقا صاحب از ترس بدنامی خود آنچه حکم احکام می نمودند۔ اول آن را از صاحب کمشنر استفسار فرمودہ مطابق رای صاحب موصوف بمل می آوردند۔ درین اثنا صاحب سابق تبدیل شدہ بجائیش مسٹر گارڈن صاحب مقرر شدہ آمد نامبردہ از نواب صاحب واجب العرض محافظ تنگ آمدہ بحضور گورز صاحب بشکایت رپورٹ ساخت کہ مرا از کار سرکار کمپنی بہادر فرصتی نیست کہ با انجام امور ات سرکار

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نواب صاحب پردازم مناسب است که در سرشته تفویض نموده شود از آنجا منظور شده آمد  
آقا عبدالعلی و محافظی برخواست شده کاغذات سرکار را فهمانیده دادند و از ساده لوجی خود  
محنت و مشقت چندین روزها که برای مقرر شدن محافظ بعمل آمده بود بر باد دادند مردمان  
بار دوم بدست شیخ کالوا قناد شیخ مذکور تیرس محافظ گذشته هول خورد که چنانچه نشود  
که باز محافظ مقرر گردد و ما بی کار گردیم بلحاظ این از خریدن اسباب و فضول خرچیهایی  
اضافه مشا بهره و غیره خواست که حضور را باز دارد بلکه بتعمیل اینگونه احکام سستی و کاهلی  
می کرد و عندالطلب بدادن روپیه هم عذری آورد. نواب صاحب تنگ آمده خفیه  
میر اسماعیل را طلبیده بمشورت شان قطعه خط بنام مجسٹریٹ آن عصر بدین مضمون ارقام  
فرمودند که کالوا اکثر از اسباب و اجناس سرکار بیرون آورده و براه دغا بازی و فریب سخانه خود  
برده نهایت تغلب و تصرف نموده می نماید میترصد که تدارک این معنی فرمایند. صاحب  
مجسٹریٹ پروانه نام کو تو ال که در آن وقت مولوی محمد یوسف بود نمود. مولوی موصوف یکی  
از دولت خواهان سرکار و مرد بی ریا بودند مجرد و رود پروانه خانه تلاشی نامبرده نموده اکثری  
از اسباب سرکار و مبلغ پانچ هزار روپیه نقد از خانه اش بیرون آوردند چنانچه کو تو ال موصوف  
او را بصد خواری و زاری بسته بحکم فوجداری حاضر آورد صاحب مجسٹریٹ او را بدیاری سپرد  
از آنجا بمیعا پنج سال مشرف شده بچیل خانه مقید گردید و اسبابهای مفروقه نیلام شده به  
مهاجنان ادا نموده شد.

## ذکر دارو نگی میر محمد اسماعیل مرتبه دوم و آقا جان

چون از تدبیر میر اسماعیل کالوا بسزای خود رسید نواب صاحب میر صاحب  
مرتبه دوم بعهد میر سامانی بدستور سابق بحال فرمودند میر صاحب از اول مزاج حضور را  
در یافته امور ت سرکار و ضبط و نسق کار و بار را واقف بودند باین مرتبه بسبب ولت تمام و بوجه

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احسن انجام و انصرام می نمودند و تقسیم مشا بهره اگر چه ماهواری کردن نمی توانستند لکن از عهد دیگران بهتری نمودند و حضور را هم از حکمت عملی چون باز محافظ مقرر شدن و آزرده خاطر سی سلطان بیگم و غیره از خود ترسانیده می داشتند خلائی هم عهد ایشان را از دیگران غنیمت شمرده راضی و شاکری بودند. سالی دو بدین نوع برآمد که آقا جان نام زنی از طائفه دارباشنده کلکته باوازه عیاشی و شهرت داد و دوش نواب صاحب وارد شهر جهانگیر نگر شده برای رقص باریاب گردید لکن میل حضور نه دیده مایوس شده بازگشت روزی قادر بخش نام تحویل دارحرفه خانه که از مسماة مذکوره رابط اتحاد داشت برای بهبودیش فرصت وقت دیده در حضور بر سبیل ذکر عرض کرد که چون آقا جان زنی در شهر نیست و برخداوند نعمت از جان و دل مبتلاست چنانچه روبروی فدوی چیمس پسر مالوکرانی یک هزار روپیه برای شب واحد می داد او قبول نکرده جواب داد که من محض باشتیاق ملاقات نواب صاحب از وطن خود آواره گردیده زحمت سفر بر خود اختیار کرده بودم و گرنه در کلکته خواهان من بسیارند اگر باز روی خود برسم فهو المراد و نه بعرضه قلیل روانه دیار خود می شوم. نواب صاحب از استماع این سخن فریب خورده بصد اشتیاق مشتاق و هلهلش شدند و نام برده را همان ساعت پیشش فرستاده طلب فرمودند. مخرج چون قضا آید طبیب آبله شود. و گرنه همان زلفت که بارها برای رقص حاضر شده بود. الغرض تحویل دار مذکور از میر صاحب مذکور اندیشیده افسونی چند بمسماة مطلوبه آموخت یعنی میر اسماعیل بالفعل محیط است و تا بود او قیام تو ممکن ندارد باید که اول بیخ شان برکتی چنانچه مسماة مذکوره سلسله جنیان مدعا گردید و نام برده پرورش آن می کرد حضور بسبب صاحبزادگی بیواسطه بر میر صاحب موصوف اعتراض کرده مانعت فرمودند که دیگر میر مذکور درون دیورهی دولت خانه آمدن نتواند. میر مزبور در آن روزها بعارضه ساخجر گرفتار بودند لکن بجز دشنیدن این خبر که چون بلای ناگهانی بود اقبال و خیزان بحضور حاضر شدند چونکه از که تا همه از او شان راضی بودند بنا بر اتمیل حکم چشم پوشی کرده گذاشتند نواب صاحب سرفرو آورده خاموش ماندند میر صاحب در آن حالت تپ هر چه مناسب و خیر خواهی ما

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بود عرض نمودند نواب صاحب هیچ جواب نداده سکوت ورزیدند آخر بهانه برخواست درون محل تشریف بردند میر صاحب مایوس شده بخانه خود باز گردیدند۔

## ذکر داروغگی منشی عنایت علی و لکھی نرائن داس و برجوشاه مہاجن و مانگ گماشته

بعد خانہ نشین شدن میر محمد اسماعیل نواب صاحب لکھی نرائن داس را ایامی تحویل دارند کور طلب فرمودند خدمت پیشین را عطا نمودند چونکہ لکھی نرائن از سابق خزانچی سرکار بود با فضل میر محمد اسماعیل اورا خان ساختہ با اطلاع حضور بر طرف نموده بجایش برجوشاه را کہ یکی از مہاجن بود و در سرکار را گوٹہ و پٹہ و پارچہ وغیرہ می داد مقرر نموده معرفت مانگ گماشته اش اجرای کاری کردند لهذا عدوت تمام لکھی نرائن را از میر صاحب حاصل بود و چنین روز را او از خداجی خواست قبول نموده مبلغ یک ہزار روپیہ کہ حضور برای بخشش زن فاحشہ مذکور طلب فرمودہ بودند حاضر کرد و امیدوار سند خزانچی گری گردید حضور منشی عنایت علی را کہ میر منشی سرکار بود طلبیدہ حکم نوشتن سند فرمودند بعد حاضر شدن سند مطلوبہ حضور لکھی نرائن را خزانچی و منشی مذکور را در وقت سرکار مقرر فرمودند منشی مزبور از نام داروغگی تذررات بسیار آوردہ بنا بر نواب صاحب لفظ امین کار خانجات فرمودہ سرفراز نمودہ چونکہ عاصی در آن وقت حاضر نبود برای کاری رخصت دوسہ روز گرفتہ بود ہر گاہ حاضر گردید با سماع درآمد کہ میر صاحب را حضور خانہ نشین فرمودہ ناسف خوردہ ہمان وقت کہ پنج شش ساعت از شب گذشتہ بود بمکان میر صاحب رفتہ استفسار این مکروہات نمود او شان چگونگی حالات گذشتہ و بی مہری فلک کج رفتار بیان کردند این عاصی خواست کہ اگر ممکن باشد بحضور رفتہ تصفیہ نماید میر صاحب فرمودند مالک اند آن زمان مانگ گماشتہ مہاجن میر صاحب را کہ حاضر بود تا در دولت ہمراہ آوردہ اورا را گذاشتہ خود بحضور رفتہ نواب صاحب از حاضر شدن



بیوقت و بغیر طلب تعجب نموده استفسار فرمودند کمترین غیر حاضری سه روز یا را بهانه ساخت بعد نشستن از هر دو سخن پیوست و خود را ناواقف ساخته به بیمار شدن میر صاحب افسوس نموده حضور فرمودند نشینیده که من میر مذکور را بر طرف کرده غشی عنایت علی را بعد از مقرر نمودم و خزانچی قدیم خود لکھی نرائن را بحال کرده مبلغ یک هزار روپیہ گرفتیم این عاصی عرض نمود اگر از میر صاحب ہم طلبیدہ می شد حاضری کردند بلکه این وقت تا تک ہما حق حاضر است اگر حکم شود یک ہزار چہ معنی چہا ہزار می دہد حضور چین با برو شدہ فرمودند کہ چرا انگوئی آخر از دوستان و خیر خواہان میر موصوف ہستی چیزی بشما اقرار کردہ باشد و آن زن مذکور و تحویل دار مزبور کہ حاضر بودند تا بعد سخن نواب صاحب می نمودند عاصی چون مجلس بزرگ دیگر پیش آمدہ دید خود رخصت گردیدہ چند روز ہمین رویہ را اختیار نمود تا غبار شستہ از دل حضور بر نیزد بعد از آن عند الوقت ہر چہ از دست بر آید قصور نخواہم کرد چنانچہ این راز را بیرون آمدہ تا تک مذکور کہ ہمراہ بردہ بودم گفتم رخصت نمودم۔ ہر گاہ نواب صاحب دیدند کہ عاصی گاہی نام میر محمد اسماعیل بزرگان نمی آرد از سابق زیادہ حاضر باش می ماند صاف دل شدہ بدار و نگگی جیب خاص خود نامزد فرمودہ سرفراز ساختند کمترین تیر غنیمت شمرده سرگرم متابعت حضور پیشتر از پیشتری نمود بعد چند روز ارشاد فرمودند کہ شما بالمتفق غشی عنایت علی عہدہ میر سامانی را انجام و انصرام نمایند و دار و نگگی جیب خاص را موقوف ساختہ و ہاب خواص را کہ یکی از محرمان خاص بود تحویل دار فرمودند عاصی قبول نمودہ چرا کہ ہر چہ آید از دست ہمہ نیکوست چونکہ خزانچی مذکور بزعم خویش می داشت کہ ہر دو صاحبان بطیفیل من سرفراز شدہ اند بنا بر اصل بگفتہ تا بیان نبود ہر چہ می خواست خود عرض و معروض نمودہ بر چہی و خطوط و غیرہ دستخط و مہر از حضور می کنانید و حساب و کتاب آمدنی و خرج سرکار خود بدیوان و پیش کار و محرران می نمود غشی صاحب تصفیہ آن می کردند و عاصی تا بعد رای نواب صاحب می نمود۔ تاکہ روزی لکھی نرائن بعد آوردن مشاہرہ حضور از کلکٹری قطعہ استغفا بدین مضمون نوشتہ از خانہ خود فرستاد کہ اخراجات سرکار زیادہ از آمدنی شدہ در تقسیم مشاہرہ فتوری اقتدرین حدت

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سبندی ملاحظه فرموده کمی نموده شود و مطابق آمدنی خرج گردد پس انجام از فدوی صورت بند  
والاستغفا قبول افتد حضور را این دلیریش ناپسند آمد بی دماغ شده ازین عاصی صلاح کار  
استفسار فرمودند عاصی قالیو یافته هر چه توالنست در باب عفو قصورات میر صاحب پرداخت  
عرض آنچه جوئیان بود میسر آمد یعنی اگر چه بار اول حضور منظور نموده فرمودند که من شمارا بداروغگی  
این سرکار مقرر نمودم شما دیگر کسی را خزانچی مقرر کرده اجرای کار سرکاری نموده باشید و ملازمان چون  
ناظر و جمعدار و محرران را طلب فرموده حکم دادند که من حمید میر را میر سامان سرکار مقرر نمودم شما یان  
نیز امروز بدستور سلف بتابعیت دارو نه زمین پر دازید مگر این عاصی اصرار نموده عرض کرد که آنچه  
حکم شده همان بظهور خواهد آمد لیکن عاصی امیدوار است که حکم شود فدوی هر کار خواهد طلب نموده  
انجام کار نماید ارشاد شد که اختیار داری بجز در فرمودن این کمترین بجان میر صاحب آمده و حکم حضور  
را بیان نموده بعد منت و سماجت راضی ساخته بحضور برد چنانچه بعد عذر خواهی بدستور سابق  
بعده مقرر شد شان بحال فرمودند اگر چه درین اثنا لکھی نرائن دیگر قطعه عرضی باقبال انجام انراجا  
سرکار فرستاده بود لیکن پیش نه رفت که گفته اند مرغ از قفس رفته نتوان گرفت -

## ذکر داروغگی میر محمد اسمعیل مرتبه سیوم

چون میر محمد اسمعیل مرتبه سیوم بداروغگی سرکار فیض آثار مقرر گردیدند حضور بد نظر  
عرضی امیدواری لکھی نرائن خزانچی که بعد استغفا گذرانیده بود مطمئن شده که اگر میر صاحب بتعمیل  
حکم عذر آرد معزول نموده خزانچی مذکور را خواهم طلبید بی تمنا شاد دست باطراف کشادند و میر  
صاحب که هم طریق سابق را که برای تقسیم مشا بهره و احکام نامناسب چون زد و ضرب اصراف  
بجا و اخراجات بی موقع و خریدن اسباب و غیره رود و کد و جود و جهمی کرد و نزدیک قلم موقوف ساخته  
بدلجویی و متابعت حضور و بعضی کسان پرداخته بقای عهد خود را عنینت شمردند لهذا مقهور  
کمال اتری تمام در نظم و نسق و بند و بست سرکار رود داده بدنا میها از حد گذشت و پامیهای

بدرالنسا بیگم صاحبہ وغیرہ خطوط چشم نامی از گورنر صاحب رسید اما فائدہ مند نگردد آخر تا پنج  
 بست و ششم ماه رجب سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری مطابق ہفتم ماہ سجادوں سنہ ۱۲۵۰ جنگہ بروز  
 چہار شنبہ بوقت برآمدن یک ونیم پاس روز امیر الامراء رئیس المرؤسا محب الفقرا رئیس الغریبا  
 و فیض رسان زمان دست گیر در ماندگان و محتاجان آقای ابی نصیبان نواب سید غازی الدین  
 محمد خان جنت مکان و فردوس آشیان اول ببارضہ نما سنا سنا سنا سنا سنا سنا سنا سنا سنا سنا  
 ہفت پہر بسرعت تمام ازین عالم فانی بسرای جاودانی مقیم گردیدند نمود فوت بسال عرس امیر  
 کبیر چون خلائق از ناسازی طبیعت ہم مطلع نبودند یکا یک از خبر فوت آن مرحوم سرا سیمہ شدہ  
 دست و پا گم کردند در ہر کوچہ و بازار رستخیز قیامت نمودار گردید مردمان متعلق و غیران دیوانہ وار  
 بسمت دولت خانہ دویدند از صحن تا جلوہ خانہ گویا صحرای محشر بود صدای شیون و ناله گوش کرو  
 جگر پارہ می شد الغرض پاسی از شب گذشتہ بود کہ یہ پہلوی والد بزرگوار خود مدفون گردیدند۔  
 اناللہ وانا الیہ راجعون خدایش بیا مرزدعجب صاحب حوصلہ و عالی ہمت بود کہ سیکہ لائق دو  
 روپیہ نبود صد ہا رعایت می کرد و از ادنی تا اعلیٰ ممنون و مرہون رعایت او بودند۔ علاوہ ازین  
 کینہ در دل نہ داشت اگر صد بار کسی بدی کردہ باشد چون باز رو برو آید بیشتر از پیشتر سکو  
 و رعایت بیند۔ سوای این خلیق و ظرفیت و کثادہ پیشانی بود صاحبان عالی شان انگلستان  
 بسبب نمودن اولادش دست تأسف مالیدند و متعلقان و منتسبان این خاندان  
 خاک مایوسی بر سر ریختہ مسند ریاست برچیدند و در خود با بی طاقت و بی کار قنادر اگر چه  
 حیات النسا بیگم صاحبہ والدہ آن مغفور ظاہر نمودند کہ مسماۃ امیرالنسا ممنونہ حمل چہار ماہ از  
 نور چشم سید غازی الدین مرحوم دارد مگر صاحبان انگریز را یقین نیامد باقی از مشاہرہ مفرقہ  
 حضور برای وجہ کفایت چندکالی بطریق پنشن مقرر نمودہ ہمگی مشاہرہ را با زیافت فرمودند۔  
 سن شریف شان بست و ہشت سال و ایام ریاست دوسال و پنج ماہ بود خطاب  
 بنجم الدولہ قمر الملک نواب سید غازی الدین محمد خان بہادر غیروز جنگ۔

## ذکر بعض عماید و روسای این دیار

بعد فوت نواب نصرت جنگ جنت مکان تاغازی الدین محمد خان مغفور که عرصه بست سال هشتاد و روسای این دیار یک یک فوت نمودند خانه‌های که همسری دوست خانه نواب صاحب می کرد نیست و نابود گردید چنانچه میر اشرف علی مرحوم که آمدنی همراه بست هزار روپیه داشتند زمینداری شان بلده کهال بود صد ها کسان پرورش می یافتند و از مردمان شهر کمتر باشند که ممنون احساسش نگرددیدند و از وارد و صادر کسی محروم نمی رفت کارخانه عالی و خرج فراوان بود و فرزندان جوان علی مهدی خان بهادر و علی حسن خان بهادر را گذاشته فوت نمودند با وجود بودن فرزندان قابل زمینداری بزرگ فلک کج رفتار چنان نیز نگه‌ها بر انداخت که علی حسن خان بهادر غریقی دریای رحمت یزدانی شدند و مکانات عالیشان چنان نیست و نابود گردید که نشان هم باقی نماند و تمام زمینداری بسرا کار کمینی بسبب باقیات خزانه خاص شد سید علی مهدی خان بهادر اگر چه تا حال در قید حیات اند لیکن زنده بگور توان گفت عدم وجود شان برابر میر نواب مغفور زمیندار عبداللہ پور واسطیه آمدنی سه هزار روپیه در ماه داشتند عجب خلیق و ظریف بودند و خدایش بیامرزند بسیار کسان فیضیاب می شدند اگر کسی بمکان شان می رفت می گفت که روز عید و شب لیلة البرات است پنج پسر و سه دختر جمع جایند مذکور گذاشته انتقال نمودند این چرخ دوار چنان گردش می زد که بالفعل از عمارات سکوتی بزرگ نشان مخصوص امام باطنه که در شهر تنطیر خود نداشت که بجز در دیوار شکسته آتاری ندارد و در ضمن آن که هزار گل و ریاحین بود سوای اشجار خبیثه و خار میخمال بنظر نمی آید اولاد شان بنان شب در بدر محنت ساج اندمزا محمد کاظم خان مرحوم زمیندار بلده کهال و تهرله آمدنی زیاد از دو و نیم هزار روپیه پانزده داشتند بهر زمان سال که نواب جنت مکان رحلت گزین گردیدند ایشان بجوار نانک گنج غریقی و ریاحی رحمت الهی شدند و هر چند جالها بدربیا انداختند اما اثری از

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نغش شان پیدانه شد یک پسر و چهار دختر و یک زوجه بجایش باقی ماندند میر عطار الرحیم مرحوم زمیندار ثلاثی آمدنی دو هزار ماه داشتند مرد پر پیزگار و متقی اکثر او دوشش باختفای کردند و مردمان ازان مرحوم منتفع می شدند سه پسر و دو دختر گذاشته فوت کردند گردون دون چنان آن خانه را بر باد داد که قابل قید قلم نیست اولادشان گدائی می کنند که بملاحظه حال رقت می آید. مرزا حسن علی مرحوم زمیندار مجلس پور و غیره آمدنی قریب دو هزار روپیه در ماه داشتند بسیار وضع دار و قشرع و صاحب بند و بست بودند و پسر و سه دختر گذاشته رحلت نمودند. بعد فوت والد خود مرزا الطیف حسین بجوی دیگر سکونت اختیار کردند و مرزا زین الدین حسین که از برادر خود کوچک تر بود در آن مکان با چندک ان متعلقین گذران می کند اگر چه کسی را فائده نمی رسد مگر نقصان هم نمی کند هم چنین راجه پسر ام و مرزا حیدر علی و مرزا محمد علی خان بهادر و خواهر اراتون ارمنی و غیره که هر یکی برای خود داغ امیرانه می داشتند و عالی و حوصلگی را کاری فرمودند و صد پانزده هزار را پرورش می کردند. علی الخصوص مردمان نجیب که از گردش فلکی بر باد شدند بعزت آبرو تمام بسایه عا طفت آنان گذار و قات می کردند الحال دولت از خاندان امرای قیوم و روسای نامی که از دست فیض هر یکی ازان دامن حاجت مملومی شد منتقل گردیده بجانان های کسان دیده دولت و سفله نشان کم همت که برای ذات خود خرج یک خرمه شکسته راحرام می دانند بلکه تیرس گرسنگی بخلا هم کمتری روند فراهم آمده است کسی ازان بزرگواران و امیران باقی نمانده و منتظر می آید که پرورش و پرداخت باقی ماندگان از بنیاد و شرفا و خبر گیری اهل و عیال و رُسا و مسکنان نماید عجب وقت است. حق سبحانه و تعالی عزت و حرمت هر کس و ناکس را از آسیب حوادث روزگار در حفظ و حمایت خود نگاهدارد بحق محمد و اله الامجاز.

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## ذکر مستقرات که نواب نصرت جنگ مرحوم بقید قلم خود در آورده بودند

یعنی شرح احوال عمارات و آیه عظیمه شهر جهانگیر نگر این که میرالو القاسم خان دیوان تن شاهزاده عظیم الشان بر حسب فرمایش شاهزاده مذکور کتبه کلان رادر سنه ۱۰۵۰ یک هزار و پنجاه هجری ساخته بود چون به پسند شاهزاده نرسید میرمشارالیه عنایت شد و عیدگاه را هم او در سنه مذکور برای گذاردن نماز شاهزاده تیار نموده. الحال بعضی ورثه اش که باقی اندر کتبه و غیره متصرف هستند کتبه کوچک بنا کرده امیرالامرا نواب شائسته خان ست و لعل باغ تیار ساخته شاهزاده موصوف و هرگاه بعهد عالم گیر بادشاه امیرالامرای مشارالیه بعزل شاهزاده بکار نظامت بنگاله سرفراز شد لعل باغ را از حضور معلی در انعام یافت و هم در وقت شاهزاده موصوف میرمرد که از اجله سادات و میر عمارت بادشاهی بود و گاه گاهی عامل پیشگی می نمود دالان مقدس حسینی اینجارا و تعمیر ساخته و کتبه محمد مقیم رادر سنه ۱۰۷۲ یک هزار و هفتاد و دو هجری در عهد صوبه داری احتشام خان محمد مقیم دارونه نوازه بنا کرده و هم نواب جعفر خان نصیری که ملقب و مخاطب بکار طلب خان و مرشد قلی خان بود مسجد کار طلب خان و بازار که وقف آن مسجد ست بنا کرده و آراسته اوست و ایضا در لعل باغ مقبره ایست که ایران دخت صبییه شائسته خان دران مدفون ست و بروج و قلعه که متصل و مقابل نرائن گنج است بنا کرده خان خانان معظم خان ست و توپ کلان که بسواری گھاٹ اقتاد و توپ دیگر که در مغلائی چرمع دو گونه کلان بآب فرو رفته برای تادیب و رفع اذیت ارخنگیان خان خانان ساخته بود و عمارات زنجیره و عبور دریا از آمارات ابراهیم خان صوبه دار سلف ست و در سنه ۱۲۴۶ هجری مسٹر والترس صاحب مجسٹریٹ توپ سواری گھاٹ را از گھاٹ برداشته

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میان چوک نصب کرده و بہان سنہ پل دولانی کہ شکستہ و زرخندہ بود بنا برآمد و رفت مژمان بغیر عبور کشتی امکان نہ داشت صاحب ممدوح بدست گیری خاص و عام آہنی تیار ساختہ و در سنہ ۱۲۴۳ ہجری مسٹر ڈانس صاحب پل در بابو بازار احداث کردہ و پل معین الدین و پل چاند خان کہ خراب شدہ بود مرمت نمودہ۔ زمینہ کہ میدان وسیع است و چندی لشکر گاہ کمپنی ساختہ شدہ بود و قلعہ اورنگ آباد کہ مشہور بہ لعل باغ ست مع مقبرہ بی بی پری از زمان سابق تعلق از سرکار نواب صاحبان مرحومین داشت۔ در سنہ ۱۲۵۸ ہجری بعہد نواب غازی الدین محمد مرحوم صاحب مجسٹریٹ و کارڈن کمشنر و پادری شفر ڈوڈا کٹر ٹیلر ہمہ بالمشورت شدہ از نواب صاحب خواستہ تالاب و مکانات آن را کہ خراب شدہ بود صاف نمودند کہ جای دلچسپ برآمد و پل ٹونگی را در عہد سلطنت اورنگ زیب عالم گیر بادشاہ و زمان صوبہ داری ابراہیم خاں شاہ ٹونگی نام فقیری بنا کردہ است۔ و از آبادی شہر جہانگیر نگر بجانب شمال تخمیناً بفاصلہ پنج و شش کروہ راہ واقع است۔

تمام شد

A  
Short History  
of  
*Dhaka- Niabat and the Naib-Nazims of Dhaka*

by  
**Sharif uddin Ahmed**  
General Editor





**A short History of  
Dhaka-Niabat and the Naib-Nazims of Dhaka**

Sharif uddin Ahmed\*

The Mughal rule in Bengal was firmly established by the early 17th century. The arrival of *Subahdar* or Viceroy Islam Khan in Dhaka in about 1608 and his selection of the place as the capital of the Bengal *Subah* or province marked the beginning of this process. In course of time Dhaka became the metropolis of a large and very prosperous province comprising roughly the modern Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It was from here that several campaigns were launched to subjugate the anti-Mughal forces and conquer new territories. But prior to that several wars were also fought after the victory of Emperor Akbar and his capture of Delhi in 1556 to extend Mughal rule in the eastern regions of India. These were fought in Bihar, Orissa and even in Bengal mostly against the former Afghan rulers. In these earlier campaigns names of great generals like Raja Man Singh were associated.

However, it was from the time of Emperor Jahangir and the appointment of Viceroy Islam Khan that the Mughal rule began to take root throughout the eastern parts of India. Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Assam gradually became the Mughal territory and the golden days of Mughal rule dawned in these areas. A succession of great rulers established peace and tranquility in the region and great economic, commercial and industrial prosperity began. Islam Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan were some of the illustrious Viceroys with whose names the Bengal *Subah* had been associated. They were not only the builders of the Empire but were also great patrons of arts and culture.

From all these developments the city of Dhaka was tremendously benefited. From almost an obscure place it became within a century the 'Queen of the cities of the east'. It grew into one of the largest cities of the world. It is said that in 1700 it was the 12th largest city of the world. Trade, commerce and manufactures flourished. Art, culture and building activities were pursued vigorously. Dhaka became the city of Mosques and the world centre of trade for the finest textiles, the Muslins.

The visiting Portuguese monk Sebastian Manrique noted in 1640, "Many strange nations resort to this city on account of its vast trade and commerce in great variety of commodities, which are produced in profusion in the rich and fertile lands of this region. These have raised the city to an eminence of wealth which is actually stupefying especially when one sees and considers the large quantities of money which lie

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principally in the house of the *Cataris* (Khatri), in such quantity indeed that, being difficult to count, it used commonly to be weighed. I was informed also, that the indigenous population of this Gangetic emporium and its suburbs exceed two hundred thousand irrespective of visitors who came in great numbers from all parts".

As years passed by the commercial and trading prosperities of the city and for that matter of the province further increased. Merchants from far and wide came to this part of the world. In addition the cultural life of the region vastly changed with the coming of the central Asian people as well as the Europeans. However, it was the Mughal culture that dominated the scene and the cultivation of Persian became the literary tradition of the area. The city of Dhaka epitomised this new Mughal and Persian culture.

For more than a century the Mughal rule in the Bengal Subah flourished and the territory became the envy of the empire. However, from the early 18th century things began to go in a different way with the central power in Delhi showing signs of weaknesses.

The Mughal *Subah* or the province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa witnessed a new territorial division called the *Dhaka-Niabab* or Dhaka sub-province in the year 1715 when the *Subahdar* or Viceroy Nawab Murshid Quli Khan following his quarrel earlier with Prince Azim-ush-Shan, Subahdar and grandson of Emperor Aurangzeb formally transferred the province's capital from Dhaka to Murshidabad. Himself only just elevated to the position of a Viceroy, Murshid Quli Khan created this division for administrative reasons as well as for consolidating his own power.

The new territorial division of Dhaka-Niabab was put under the charge of a *Naib-Nazim* or Deputy-Governor also styled Nawab and Dhaka naturally was made the headquarters of this new territorial division.

These administrative changes produced far reaching consequences upon the territory encompassed within the Dhaka-Niabab and brought misfortune specially for the former capital city of Dhaka though not so seriously at the beginning.

The area of the Dhaka-Niabab was quite extensive covering a region roughly representing the present day Bangladesh. Hence the post of Naib-Nazim was an important one and was always awarded to a near relative or a very close ally of the Viceroy. The Naib-Nazim was given exactly the same kind of responsibilities and duties that of a Mughal provincial governor including defence. He had all the paraphernalia of a provincial governor albeit in a reduced form. Dhaka also remained the headquarters of *Nawara* or naval establishment. So Dhaka-Niabab grew into a potential and powerful sub-province within the greater province of

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Nevertheless the political importance of the former province's eastern part waned as that of the western part that of Murshidabad and its neighborhood grew. Moreover the political instability of the Mughal empire which started with the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb (1707) turned all the politically aspirants' attention towards Delhi. Hence though initially the ambitious incumbents considered the appointment or presence at Dhaka profitable, later they avoided their presence in this remote place.

As far as the former capital Dhaka was concerned all these political and administrative changes caused a set-back to its growth and further developments. Fortunately at the beginning these changes did not cause any major harm to its economic, social or even political importance. Rather its trade and commerce grew by leaps and bounds because of the growing presence of the European trading companies so that Dhaka remained a flourishing urban centre.

During the period of the Dhaka Niabat the following Nawabs were appointed Naib-Nazims for the periods mentioned against their names-

Name	Year
1. Khan Muhammad Ali Khan	1717
2. I'tisam Khan	c. 1723-1726
3. Son of I'tisam Khan (name unknown)	1726-1727
4. Mirza Lutfullah	1728-1734
5. Sarfaraz Khan	1734-1739
His deputies: a) Ghalib Ali Khan	c. 1734-1738
b) Murad Ali Khan	1738-1739
6. Abdul Fattah Khan	1739-1740
7. Nawazish Muhammad Khan	1740-1754
His deputies: a) Husain Quli Khan	1740-1754
His deputy: i) Husain ud-din Khan	1744-1754
ii) Murad Daulat	1740-1754
8. Jesarat Khan	1755-1762
9. Muhammad Ali	1762-1763
10. Muhammad Reza Khan	1763-1765
11. Jesarat Khan (the same as No. 8)	1765-1778
12. Hasmat Jang	1778-1785
13. Nusrat Jang	1785-1822
14. Shams ud-daula	1822-1831
15. Qamr ud-daula	1831-1834
16. Ghazi ud-din Haider	1834-1843

(Source: Karim, *Dacca*, 26).

At the beginning the administrative changes proved very beneficial to Dhaka as well as for the territory under the Niabat. Particular measures were taken by the Naib-Nazims to curb the anomalies and corruption in the fields of internal trade duties and commercial activities. Similar measures were also taken to put straight the justice department. The province flourished (Taylor, *Dacca*).

The Niabat also gained glories through military conquests. Mirza Lutfullah, better known as Murshid Quli Khan II was appointed Naib-Nazim in 1728. Under his command Mir Habib conquered one of the most important principalities of the east namely Tripura. The territory was given the name of Raushanabad and its inclusion within the jurisdiction of Dhaka-Niabat further enhanced its political prestige (Karim, *Dacca*, 58).

From the 1740s although Bengal witnessed strong government and economic prosperity with the accession of Nawab Alivardi Khan as the Subadar, the office of the Naib-Nazim of Dhaka became the prey of palace intrigues and personal rivalries in Murshidabad. Moreover, with the repeated incursions of the Maratha *Bargis* or raiders into Bengal the situation worsened and the Dhaka Niabat became a backwater in the polity of the Bengal subah. As Alivardi Khan was beset with the Bargi incursions his grip over the country started to loosen. Moreover, from the 1750s the European trading companies began increasingly to take part in the country's internal affairs which made the situation for the local Nawabs even worse. In 1755, Nawab Alivardi appointed Jesarat Khan the Naib-Nazim of Dhaka. Jesarat Khan experienced the most dramatic events in the political life of Bengal in the mid eighteenth century when he had to strike a balance between the rival factions of the local satrapies and the European contenders. It was he who set up a new line of Naib Nazims of Dhaka which held the post till the institution came to an end in 1843.

### Trade and Commerce

In the heydays of Mughal rule when Dhaka was the Capital, the entire territory which later became Dhaka Niabat enjoyed a period of steady growth in trade and commerce. The presence of *Shah Bandar* or the principal imperial port near Dhaka which controlled both internal and external trade boosted the commercial activities of the area. It has been said that the value of trade handled by Dhaka during the prosperous Mughal period amounted to some Rs. 1,33,93,500/-.

The pattern thus established continued. Moreover, the trading activities of the European Companies grew enormously in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century which resulted in the unprecedented growth of overseas trade of the area. The principal item of the trade was of course the cotton textiles. The trade in the world famous muslin reached its peak at this time and the English East India Company alone exported several lakhs

worth of cotton goods to Europe. The value of cotton goods exported from the area by different concerns in 1747 for example, amounted to some 28 lakhs of rupees. This extraordinary growth in the manufacture and export of cotton goods also led to many other economic activities and general prosperity of the area.

Sadly the political development in Bengal from the 1750s altered the situation and caused enormous harm to the region in general and to the city of Dhaka in particular. The final conflict and conspiracy against the last of the independent Nawab of Bengal, Sirajuddaula and his overthrow after the battle of *Palassey* (1757) hastened the decline and decay of the region. The group of people who eventually emerged as the victor and the new ruler of the country were the English. Their success over Sirajuddaula under the leadership of Lord Clive let loose new forces which eventually destroyed the old regime with all its varied infrastructures.

In the wake of all these developments the territory of Dhaka Niabat lost all the care and supervision from its rulers. Even the Naib Nazim was embroiled in conflicts. When the English army officer Lieutenant Swinton stormed the city in 1764, the Naib Nazim was not present in Dhaka.

In 1765 the English East India Company acquired the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa i.e. the right to collect land revenue and to dispense civil justice. From then on the Company became the real ruler of the country.

The various administrative changes which they later made gradually diminished the importance of the office of the Naib-Nazim. The jurisdiction of the Dhaka Niabat was also reduced causing great harm to its head quarters i.e. the city of Dhaka.

In 1772 the process went deeper when the East India Company directly took over the administration of the country introducing their own system of government. Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General of India who implemented many new policies in revenue, judicial, police and commercial administrations changing the old structures of government. As a result, the Dhaka-Niabat lost many of its administrative functions and with these its revenue, police and judicial staff. The *Nawara* or the Mughal naval establishment was earlier abolished in 1768-69 and part of the land for its maintenance resumed.

From 1787 several smaller districts were carved out of the old Dhaka-Niabat. By 1828 Dhaka had been reduced to a mere district headquarters, though retaining its position as the seat of a Provincial Court of Circuit and Appeal.

The position of the Naib-Nazims became as natural, precarious. Virtually the arrival of Lieutenant Swinton in Dhaka to take control of the

city towards the end of 1764 marked the beginning of the end of Naib-Nazim's rule. Muhammad Reza Khan was at that time the Naib-Nazim. But he was soon replaced. Jesarat Khan who earlier held the post was then a prisoner of Nawab Mir Kasim in Bihar. But he had earlier developed a friendly relationship with the English and came to their rescue in Dhaka when the hostilities between Sirajuddaula and the English reached its climax. So he was soon recalled and re-appointed Naib-Nazim by the English.

For a time being the symbol of his authority was kept and a joint-system of government of the English and the Naib-Nazim set up. At the time the English were represented by an official called the Chief. Charles D'Oyly, Collector of Dhaka and a contemporary provided a detailed account of the functioning of this joint-system of government in the following words:

"Two days weekly the *Naib* communicated to his English colleague his transactions, plans, disbursements and receipts in every department for his satisfaction and the information and approval of the Presidency [Council of Kolkata]. Two days in each week were also set apart, in which the *Naib* and Chief received appeals from the Courts of Justice, and confirmed or reversed their decisions by the assistance of the chief magistrates. By these means the government was amicably conducted; mutual confidence was maintained; and the English became informed of the laws, revenues, and customs of the country" (D'Oyly, 18).

Being self-confident with such experience, as noted above, the English took over the administration of the country directly in their hand in 1772. The new system of government received the approval of the British Parliament with the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773 resulting in striking changes. In 1774 a Provincial Council was appointed in Dhaka to take over the functions and responsibilities of the Dhaka-Niabat and introduce changes. The revenue and judicial administrations were reorganised. The revenue administration was conducted through a group of English officials called Collectors posted in different places and working under the authority of the Provincial Council. For the time being the criminal judicial administration (*Faujdari*) was left in the hands of the Naib-Nazim i.e. Jesarat Khan and his officials. But the Collector became the head of the civil justice (*Diwani*). In 1781, however, the country's criminal judicial administration was taken over by the East India Company. In Dhaka, Duncunson was first appointed judge of the local *Faujdari Adalat*. Thus the authority of the Naib-Nazim virtually ceased to exist.

Earlier in 1779 the long-serving and experienced Naib-Nazim, Nawab Jesarat Khan died and his grandson Nawab Hashmat Jang was appointed Naib-Nazim who held the post for seven years. He was succeeded by his famous brother Nawab Nusrat Jang, the author of

*Tarikh-i-Nusratjangi*. Nusrat Jang continued in the office for a long period of 37 years and became a symbol of Mughal traditions and culture in Dhaka. He was probably the only ruling personality of yesteryears who showed signs of adjustment with the new world around him. His contemporary Charles D'Oyly wrote, 'The Naib-Nazim ... is about sixty years of age, and is a man of mild deportment, universally esteemed for the urbanity of his manners, and the benevolence of his heart. He, moreover, possesses considerable taste of fine arts. He resides at Dacca in a place very splendidly ornamented in the oriental manner, and his audience chamber is so crowded with English prints and paintings that not an inch of the walls can be seen. In all his visits of ceremony Nusrat Jang is attended by an immense train of horsemen and other followers" (D'Oyly, 18).

Whatever the outward showing, the Naib-Nazims were then mere pensioners, depending upon their past wealth and reputation. The decline in the fortunes of the Naib-Nazim showed equally in the decay of the city of Dhaka. Gradually shorn of its past political, administrative and military importance, the city was reduced to a mere district headquarters by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time the importance of Dhaka as a centre of cotton textile-manufacture and trade had also sharply declined, a consequence both of shrinking Mughal markets and also, in the nineteenth century, of the competition of machine made cotton-goods from Britain.

In 1765 James Rennell reported that Dhaka has an estimated population of 450,000 and stretched nearly four miles along the river and two and a half miles deep. By 1801 the population of the city, including the suburban, had declined to an estimated 200,000 while the limits of the city proper had shrunk to three and a half miles by one and a quarter. The population of the city continued to fall sharply during the 1810s and 1820s with the closure of the East India Company's commercial activities in 1817, so that a census of the city and suburbs carried out in 1838 showed only 68,610 inhabitants. By 1840 this decline had reached its nadir and most of the former Mughal city had either been deserted or had fallen victim to the encroaching jungle (Sharif, *Dacca*, 14).

Like the city, the life and condition of the Naib-Nazims gradually grew miserable and pitiful. Soon after the death of Nawab Nusrat Jang in 1822, Bishop Heber visited Dhaka and paid a courtesy call to the incumbent Naib-Nazim, Nawab Shams-ud-daula. He left a graphic account of what he saw of this Naib-Nazim and his life:

"This potentate is now, of course, shorn of all political power, and is not even allowed the state palanquin, which his brother [Nusrat Jang] had. ... He has, however, an allowance of 10,000 rupees per month, is permitted to keep a court, with guards and is styled 'highness'. ... He speaks and writes English very tolerably, and even fancies himself a critic



in Shakespeare. ... But he is now growing old, infirm, and indolent, more and more addicted to the listless indulgences of an Asiatic prince; pomp, so far as he can afford it, dancing girls, and opium, having in fact scarce any society but that of inferiors. ... He is a good looking elderly man, of so fair a complexion as to prove the care with which the descendants of the Mussalman conquerors have kept up their northern blood. ... His son is a man of about 30, of a darker complexion, and education more neglected, being unable to converse in English ... . He was dressed in a plain white muslin, with a small gold tassel of purple silk, ribbed with gold, with some jewels in it. Both had splendid diamond rings. .... The Company's sepoy were turned out to present arms, and the Nawab's own followers raised a singular sort of acclamation as he got into his carriage, reckoning up the titles of his family, 'Lion of War', 'Prudent in Counsel', 'High and Mighty Prince', etc." (Quoted in Dani, *Dacca*, 105-07).

From 1766 onwards the Naib-Nazims lived in the Nimtali Palace in the northern outskirt of the city which the English had built for them in 1766. Bishop Heber visited this palace and wrote about it. "We drove a considerable way," he described, "through the city, then along a shady avenue of trees intermingled with huts, then through an old brick gateway into a sort of wild looking close, with a large tree and some bushes in the centre, and ruinous buildings all round. Here was a company of Sepoys, drawn up to receive us, very neatly dressed and drilled, being in fact a detachment of the Company's local Regiment, and assigned to the Nawab as a guard of honor. In front was another and really handsome gateway, with an open gallery, where the "Nobut", or evening martial music, is performed, a mark of sovereign dignity to which the Nawab never had a just claim, but in which Government continue to indulge him. Here were the Nawab's own guard, in their absurd coats and caps and a crowd of folk with silver sticks, as well as two tonjons and chahtas, to convey us across the inner court. This was little larger than the small quadrangle at All Souls, surrounded with low and irregular, but not inelegant buildings, kept neatly, and all white-washed. On the right hand was a flight of steps leading to a very handsome hall, an octagon, support by gothic arches, with a verandah round it, and with high gothic windows well venetianed. The Octagon was fitted up with a large round table covered with red cloth, mahogany drawing-room chairs, two large and handsome convex mirrors which shewed the room and furniture to considerable advantage, two common pier-glasses some prints of the king. The emperor Alexander, Lords Wellesley and Hastings, and the Duke of Wellington, and two very good portraits, by Chinnery, of the Nawab himself, and the late Nawab his brother. Nothing was gaudy, but all extremely respectable and noblemanly" (Quoted in Dani, *Dacca*, 108).

The Nimtali Palace remained the official residence of the Naib-Nazims till 1843 though they were officially stripped of their power in

1822. With the decline in their fortune their residence palace also showed signs of decay. Shorn of all power, authority, privileges and funds it is no wonder that it was not possible for them to provide the upkeep of the huge palace complex to the extent that it required. With the loss of wealth and power most of the later Naib Nazims also began to get depressed and mentally sick. It was thus more likely that they had behaved in strange ways and even in unexpected and unpardonable manners.

Nawab Gaziuddin Haider was the last Naib-Nazim of Dhaka. He grew into a man of disreputable character and even known as a *pagla* or mad Nawab. He frittered away all the wealth that the family possessed and lived a profligate life. He died in 1843. With his death the last vestige of the Dhaka Niabat disappeared.

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