

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

13345

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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MUNTAKHABU-L LUBAB

OF

MUHAMMAD HASHIM, KHAFI KHAN

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume is a reprint of the first portion of the seventy-ninth article entitled *Muntakhabu-l Lubab* of Khafi Khan contained in the seventh volume of the original edition of this work. The original documents were listed by Sir H M Elliot and translated by the Editor. The concluding portion of this article will be published in a separate volume under the title of "Later Mughals"

The volume gives a survey of the reign of Aurangzeb. In his prefatory remarks the Editor says "The special works relating to the reign of Aurangzeb have been examined and the most interesting passages translated, but the history of this long rule, has been derived from the great work of Khafi Khan, a contemporary history of high and well-deserved repute. This important history is well known at second-hand. All European historians of the period which it covers have been greatly indebted, directly or indirectly, to its pages. Elphinstone and Grant Duff used it, and they refer to a MS translation by 'Major Gordon, of the Madras Army'. It is not known what has become of this MS translation, for the enquiries made after it have met with no success. Not a line of translation had been provided by Sir H M Elliot, so this heavy labour has fallen upon the Editor."

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The preliminary note (published in another volume) describes how, sixteen years after Sir Henry Elliot's first volume was given to the world, his papers were placed in my charge for revision and publication.

My first intention was to carry out the work on the original plan but as progress was made in the examination of the voluminous materials, the necessity of some modification became more and more apparent. The work had long been advertised under the revised title which it now bears, as contemplated by the author himself, its bibliographical character having been made subordinate to the historical. It also seemed desirable after the lapse of so many years to begin with new matter rather than with a reprint of the old volume. Mature consideration ended with the conviction that the book might open with fresh matter, and that it might at the same time be rendered more available as an historical record.

In the old volume, Sir H. Elliot introduced a long note upon "India as known to the Arabs during the first four centuries of the Hijri Era," and under this heading he collected nearly all the materials then within the reach of Europeans. Since that compilation was made, it has been to a great degree superseded by new and more satisfactory translations, and the work of Al-Idrisi has also become available. The translation of Al-Idrisi by Jaubert was not quoted by Sir H. Elliot, but an English version of the part relating to India seemed desirable. The subject had thus outgrown the limits of an already lengthy note, and a remodelling of this portion of the book became necessary. The notices of India by the early Arab geographers form a suitable introduction to the History of the Muhammadan Empire in that country. They have accordingly been placed in chronological order at the opening of the work.

PREFACE

Next in date after the geographers, and next also as regards the antiquity of the subjects dealt with, come the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh* and the *Futuhu-l Buldan*. In the latter work, Biladuri describes in one chapter the course of the Arab conquests in Sind. The *Chach-nama* deals more fully with the same subject, and the Arabic original of this work must have been written soon after the events it records, though the Persian version, which is alone known to us, is of later date. The Arab occupation of Sind was but temporary, it was the precursor, not the commencement, of Musulman rule in India. On the retreat of the Arabs the government of the country reverted to native princes, and notwithstanding the successes of Mahmud of Ghazni, the land remained practically independent until its absorption into the Empire during the reign of Akbar in A.D. 1592. Priority of date and of subject thus give the right of precedence to the historians of Sind, while the isolation of the country and the individuality of its history require that all relating to it should be kept together.

Upon examining the mass of materials left by Sir H. Elliot the bibliographical notices were found for the most part written or sketched out, but with many additional notes and references to be used in a final revision. The Extracts intended to be printed were, with some important exceptions, translated, and where translations had not been prepared, the passages required were generally, though not always, indicated. The translations are in many different hands. Some few are in Sir H. Elliot's own handwriting, others were made by different English officers, but the majority of them seem to have been the work of *munshis*. With the exception of those made by Sir H. Elliot himself, which will be noted whenever they occur, I have compared the whole of them with the original texts and the errors which I have had to correct have been innumerable and extensive. But with all my care it is to be feared that some misreadings may have escaped detection, for it is very difficult for a reviser to divest himself entirely of the colour given to a text

PREFACE

Printer, would practically have been unheeded by the general reader, and useless to the scholar. In doubtful cases, the affiliation of a word without proofs or reasons would have been valueless, but more than all this, the many Turanian words must have appeared with a Sanskritic or Semitic label upon them. Either too much or too little was attempted, and even if the design could be completely accomplished, a philological work like the Glossary would be a more fitting vehicle for its introduction than a book like the present.

To shorten the work as much as possible it has been determined to omit the Extracts of the original texts, but even then, it will be impossible to include the whole of the materials in the three volumes advertised.

I have throughout been anxious never to exceed my powers as Editor, but to place myself as far as possible in Sir H. Elliot's place. I have not attempted to controvert his opinions, or to advance theories of my own, but palpable errors have been corrected, and many alterations and additional notes have been introduced, which have been rendered necessary by the advance of knowledge. With the unreviſed matter, I have used greater freedom, but it has been my constant aim to complete the work in a manner that its designer might have approved.

It only remains for me to express my obligations to Mr. E. Thomas for many valuable hints and suggestions. I am also indebted to General Cunningham for several important notes, which I have been careful to acknowledge *in loco*, and for placing at my disposal his valuable Archæological Reports, which are too little known in Europe, and some extracts of which appear in the Appendix.

This work, which the author himself styles *Muntalib-ul-Lubab* *Mutalib-ul-Salab* is frequently called *Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan*. It is a highly respected history commencing with the Invasion of Babur AD 1519 and concluding with the fourteenth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah. It contains also an Introduction giving an outline of the history of the Mughals and Tartars from Noah to Babur. It is chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb of which in consequence of that Emperor's well known prohibition it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history. It is however, to that very prohibition we are indebted for one of the best and most impartial Histories of Modern India.

Muhammad Hahim also called Hahim 'Ali Khan is better known as an author by the designation *Khafi Khan*. He was a man of a good family residing at Delhi and he privately compiled a minute register of all the events of the reign which he published some years after the monarch's death. His father Khwaja Mir also an historian was an officer of high rank in the service of Murad Bahadur but after that Prince's confinement and murder he passed into the employment of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Hahim Khan was brought up in Aurangzeb's service and was employed by him in political and military situations. He himself gives an interesting account of a mission on which he was sent by the Viceroy of Guzerat to the English at Bombay on such occasion while commending them in other respects he accuses them of levity in laughing more than befitting the solemnity of political intercourse. (He frequently speaks in his own person reporting what he had himself seen or heard. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was made a dewan by Nizamul Mull (the first of the Nizams of Hyderabad) and wrote with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief. For this reason he is sometimes designated *Nizamul Mulli*.)

His work is a complete history of the House of Timur giving first a clear and concise account of that dynasty from the founder down to the close of Albar's reign. This portion of the work is condensed the events having been so fully detailed by previous writers. The great body of the work is occupied with the hundred and thirty years that succeeded the death of Albar, of which period the author states that the last fifty three years were written from his own personal observation and the verbal accounts of men who had watched the occurrences of the time. It is considered probable that he had composed the first half of the work before he was compelled to stop by Aurangzeb's orders, but, being anxious to

bring down his history to the close of his own life, he continued his labours in secret. It is represented that Muhammad Shah was so pleased with the history that he ennobled the author with the title of Khafi Khan, the word *Khafi* meaning "concealed." This origin of the designation is the one ascribed by all modern writers, and has been fully accredited by our English historians, but I am disposed to dispute the correctness of this story, and to consider Khafi as a gentilitious name denoting the country whence his family sprung. Khaf, or more correctly Khwaf, is a district of Khurasan near Naishapur, and Khwafi so applied is by no means unfamiliar to Asiatics. Thus we have the famous doctor Shaikh Zainu-d din Khwafi, Imam Khwafi, the Khawafi Saiyids, etc., and what is confirmatory of this opinion is that not only does Ghulam 'Ali Shah style our author Muhammad Hashim, the son of Khwaja Mir Khwafi, but he himself gives his father's name as Mir Khwafi. It is not impossible that Muhammad Shah may have indulged in a joke upon the author's original name, and may have expressed himself in some such phrase to the effect that the author was now really Khawafi. [Morley, in his Catalogue of the MSS of the Royal Asiatic Society adopts the former explanation, and says "From the fact of the work having been so long concealed (*khafi*) its author received the title of Khafi Khan." Colonel Lees, on the other hand, arrived independently at the same conclusion as Sir H. M. Elliot. He shows that the patronymic Khwafi was one in very common use, and thinks that the interpretation "concealed" "had its origin in an imperfect and somewhat ludicrous misrepresentation of what Khafi Khan himself says to which has consequently been given a sense the very opposite of its true meaning. Khafi Khan certainly says that he kept all these things locked up in a box, but it was the box of his 'memory.' There might have been some reason for Khafi Khan concealing his work for a year or two after the death of Aurangzeb, but there seems no sound or apparent reason for his concealing his work for nearly thirty years after that event."]

The author of the "Critical Essay", translated and published for the Oriental Translation Fund, speaks of this history as containing a detailed and particular statement of various transactions which the author himself had actually witnessed, regretting at the same time that he had never seen it. When Colonel Dow wrote his History of Hindustan, he was obliged to conclude at the end of the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign because there were no documents calculated to throw light upon the subsequent period. Mill also complains that we have no complete history of Aurangzeb. This defect has since been remedied by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who has judiciously availed himself of Khafi Khan's history, and thus has been enabled to give us a complete narrative

¹ See the passage post under the Eleventh Year of the Reign

² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. III, p. 471

EXTRACTS

Europeans at Hughli

(Text, vol 1, p 468) The *Firings* had formed a commercial settlement at Hughli, twenty kos from Rajmahal in Bengal. In former times they had obtained the grant of a parcel of land for the stowing of their merchandise and for their abode. There they built a strong fort, with towers and walls, and furnished it with artillery. They also built a place of worship which they call "church" (*kalisa*). In course of time they overstepped the sufferance they had obtained. They vexed the Musulmans of the neighbourhood, and they harassed travellers, and they exerted themselves continually to strengthen their settlement. Of all their odious practices this was the worst. In the ports which they occupied on the sea coast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Muhammadans or Hindus who dwelt under their rule, but if one of these inhabitants died, leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and, whether these young children were sayyids, or whether they were Brahmans, they made them Christians and slaves (*mamluk*). In the ports of the Kokan in the Dakhin, and on the sea coast, wherever they had forts and exercised authority, this was the custom of that insolent people. But notwithstanding the notoriety of this tyrannical practice, Musulmans and Hindus of all tribes went into their settlements in pursuit of a livelihood, and took up their abode there. They allowed no religious mendicant (*fakir*) to come into their bounds. When one found his way in unawares, if he were a Hindu he was subjected to such tortures as made his escape with life very doubtful, and if he were a Musulman he was imprisoned and worried for some days, and then set at liberty. When travellers passed in, and their luggage was examined for the custom-

duties, no leniency was shown if any tobacco was found, because there are regular licensed sellers of tobacco, and a traveller must not carry more than enough for his own use. Unlike a Hindu temple, their place of worship was very conspicuous, for tapers of camphor were kept burning there in the daytime. In accordance with their vain tenets, they had set up figures of the Lord Jesus and Mary (on our Prophet and on them be peace!), and other figures in wood, paint and wax, with great gaudiness. But in the churches of the English, who are also Christians, there are no figures set up as idols. The writer of these pages has frequently gone into that place, and has conversed with their learned men, and records what he has observed.

Reports of the unseemly practices of these people reached the Emperor, and when Kasim Khan was sent to Bengal as Governor, he received secret orders to suppress them, and to take their fortress. Kasim Khan accordingly proceeded to Hughli and laid siege to it. The detail of his skilful arrangements and strenuous exertions would be of great length, suffice it to say that, by the aid of boats, and by the advance of his forces both by land and water, he brought down the pride of these people, and subdued their fortress after a siege of three months. Nearly 50,000 *rayats* of that place came out and took refuge with Kasim Khan. Ten thousand persons, *Firngis* and *rayats*, perished in the course of the siege. Fourteen hundred *Firngis* and a number of persons who had been made Christians by force were taken prisoners. Nearly ten thousand persons, innocent *rayats* and captives of those people, were set free. More than a thousand Musulmans of the Imperial army fell in the course of the siege.

REIGN OF ABU-L MUZAFFAR MUHIU-D DIN MUHAMMAD
 AURANGZEB BAHADUR 'ALAMGIR PADSHAH-I GHAZI,
 ELEVENTH IN DESCENT FROM AMIR TIMUR

Aurangzeb

(Text, vol 11, p 2) The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty years' reign of this illustrious monarch is like

trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher, the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative. But for all this, the writer of these pages has resolved that to the best of his ability, and with the most active exertion, after the most exhaustive inquiry and complete investigation he will narrate some events capable of narration which he has heard from the tongues of men advanced in years, which he has fully verified by inquiries from men in office and from the writers of official despatches, and by the evidence of his own eyes during this period of time. Like plagiarists of no ability, he commits one fact out of a hundred to his crude relation, and offers his petition to his intelligent critics and well-informed readers, that if, from his feeble grasp of the thread of narrative, any discrepancies should appear between the earlier and later portions of his work, or if any trifling variations from other histories should appear, they will hold him excused, because in trustworthy books even discrepancies are found arising from varying versions (of the same occurrence)

Birth of Aurangzeb

(Text, vol II, p 3) Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A H (A D 1619) at Dhud,¹ which is on the frontiers of the suba of Ahmadabad and Malwa, whilst his father was subadar of the Dakhin

Illness of Shah Jahan

(Vol II, p 4) On the 7th Zi-l hijja, 1067 A H (8th September, A D 1657) (the Emperor Shah Jahan, called after his death) Firdaus Makani, was attacked with

¹The "Dohud" of Thornton, one hundred miles west of Ujjain, and seventy-seven miles north-east of Baroda

illness, which turned out to be strangury. This produced much derangement in the government of the country, and in the peace of the people. Dara Shukoh looked upon himself as heir to the throne, and even in the time of his father's health he had held the reins of government. But he had fallen into ill repute through having imbibed the heretical tenets of the Sufis. He had declared infidelity (*Kufr*) and Islam to be twin brothers, and had written treatises on this subject, he had also associated himself with Brahmans and Gosains. Seizing the opportunity (of his father's illness), he took the direction of State affairs into his own hands, and having exacted from the ministers their pledges not to publish what passed in council, he closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadabad and the Dakhin against messengers and travellers. But when the intelligence of his officious meddling had spread abroad through the provinces by the *dak-chauki* (post), a strong adverse feeling was shown by the amirs, zamindars and rayyats, and also by the unruly spirits who sought for a field of action. Turbulent men from every corner and quarter, and men eager for a fray, in every province and country, raised their heads in expectation of strife.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Muhammad Suja in Bengal, and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh in Ahmadabad, each of them, vying with the other, had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name. Shuja, with a large force, marched against Bihar and Patna and the news of his movements was carried to the capital. Shah Jahan had from the very first shown great partiality and affection for Dara Shukoh, and generally, in all matters, had done his best to gratify his son. Now that he was ill, and no longer master of himself, he was more than ever inclined to gratify Dara and yield to his wishes. Dara Shukoh looked with an eye of apprehension upon the talents of Prince Aurangzeb, and was made uneasy by the vigour and wisdom which he displayed. So, by various arguments, he induced his father to recall to Court the nobles and generals who were engaged with Aurangzeb in the siege of Bijapur. When

March against Murad Bakhsh

(Vol 11, p 6) ¹On the same day that Sulaiman Shukoh and Raja Jai Singh were sent against Muhammad Shuja, Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Kasim Khan, with the royal artillery and with several thousand horse and some guns of their own, and attended by several amirs of repute, were ordered to march to Ahmadabad and the Dakhin. Their instructions were that they were to ascertain the true state of affairs, and if Muhammad Murad Bakhsh should move from Ahmadabad, Kasim Khan² was to advance with several amirs and some guns to meet and receive him. After receiving intelligence of Prince (Murad Bakhsh's) departure from the Dakhin, the Maharaja Jaswant Singh was to act according to circumstances. If Prince Aurangzeb should begin to move from the Dakhin, the Maharaja and Kasim Khan were to lead all the royal forces across his line of march, and give him battle when opportunity offered. Dara Shukoh made the province of Malwa his own *tika*, and devoted the whole of the revenues to the payment of his officers, so that, their hopes being excited by the riches of that country, they might heartily support each other, and strengthen the army in prosecuting the war.

It also came to hearing that Dara Shukoh had imprisoned Isa Beg, the vakil of Aurangzeb, and had sequestered his house

Proceedings of Murad Bakhsh

(Vol 11, p 7) It was learned from the news-letters (*akhbar*) of Ahmadabad that Prince Muhammad Murad Bakhsh had struck coin and caused the khutba to be read in his name. He had also sent Khwaja Shahbáz, a eunuch, with an army and necessary siege train for the

¹This statement begins with the words, "The news arrived", showing that the author writes from the side of Aurangzeb. This, or a phrase of like meaning, is often used.

²"Kasim Khan's special duty was to act against Murad Bakhsh, and remove him from Gujrat, and to support Jaswant Singh"—*'Alamgir-nama*, p 33

enemies of the State, our brother must be reclaimed, and he must go to pay a visit to the holy temple. It is important that you should allow of no delay in your movements, but should march at once to chastise that presumptuous infidel Jaswant Singh. You must consider me as having arrived on your side of the Nerbadda, and must look upon my numerous army and powerful artillery as the means of securing your victory. You must know that I make the word of God my bail for this treaty and compact, and you must by all means banish suspicion from your mind."

Aurangzeb arrived in Burhanpur on the 25th Jumada-l awwal (1068 A H, 19th February, A D 1658) and remained there a month attending to necessary arrangements, and obtaining accurate intelligence. On the 25th Jamada-l akhir he set out on his march to the capital. Jaswant Singh knew nothing of the approach of the great army of the two brothers until they came within seven kos of Ujjain, when Raja Sheoraj, commandant of Mandu, obtained information of their having crossed at the ford of Akbarpur, and wrote the particulars to the Maharaja Kasim Khan, on hearing that Prince Murad Bakhsh had left Ahmadabad, went forth in haste to welcome him. But when he learnt that the Prince had gone eighteen kos out of the way to meet Aurangzeb, he turned back disappointed. Dara Shukoh's men, who were in the fortress of Dhar, when they beheld the irresistible forces of the two brothers, took to flight and joined the Maharaja.

Raja Jaswant Singh, with Kasim Khan, on the approach of Prince Aurangzeb, advanced a march to meet him and pitched his camp at the distance of one kos and a half. Aurangzeb then sent a Brahman called Kab, who had a great reputation as a Hindi poet and master of language to the Raja with this message: "My desire is to visit my father¹. I have no desire for war. It is therefore desirable that you should either accompany me, or keep away from my route, so that no conflict may arise,

¹ These few words represent the meaning of a great many

and bring about a peace and gave orders that preparations should be made for his journey. But Dara Shukoh was averse to this, and being supported in his representations by Khan Jahan Shayista Khan, he diverted his father from his purpose. It is also recorded that before the news arrived of Raja Jaswant's defeat, and before the two armies of the Dakhin and Ahmadabad had united, the Emperor desired to go towards them, and frequently consulted Khan Jahan about it. Khan Jahan was maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, and was well disposed towards him. He did not approve of the Emperor's design, but spoke of the excellent character and intelligence of Aurangzeb out of the hearty kindness he felt for him. When the intelligence arrived of the defeat of Raja Jaswant Singh, the Emperor was very angry with Khan Jahan for the part he had taken. He struck him on the breast with his staff, and refused to see him for some two or three days. But his old feeling of kindness revived. He again consulted him about going forth to meet his sons, but the Khan gave the same advice as before, so that, notwithstanding the preparations, the intended journey ended in nothing.

Defeat of Dara Shukoh by Aurangzeb

(Text, vol II, p 22) On the 16th of Sha'ban (1068 A H, 10th May, A D 1658), Dara Shukoh sent Khalilu-llah Khan, and _____ with some of the Imperial and his own forces, as an advanced force to Dholpur, to make a stand there, and secure the fords of the Chambal. He himself remained outside the city (of Agra) waiting for the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh, who was expected to return from his operations against Shuja. But as Sulaiman did not arrive, he was obliged to start on his march to meet and engage his two brothers. On the 6th Ramazan, near Samugarh, the two armies encamped about half a kos distant from each other. The forces which had been sent to guard the fords had effected nothing at all. Next day Dara Shukoh busied himself in distributing his forces,

putting his guns in position and arranging his train of elephants. He advanced a little and took up a position in a wide plain presenting a front nearly two kos in width. The day was so hot that many strong men died from the heat of their armour and want of water. Aurangzeb also rode forth, but as he saw no advantage in being precipitate and beginning the fight he took his stand about a cannon-shot distance and waited for his adversary to commence the attack. But as he made no sign beyond a parade of his forces after evening prayer Aurangzeb encamped in the same position but gave orders for a strict watch being kept until morning. Next morning¹ Aurangzeb distributed his forces (in the following manner). Muhammad Murad Bikhsh with his famous *sandars* took his place with the left wing. Having made his arrangements he kept with him a party of bold and trusty men of all tribes and placing Prince Muhammad Azam behind in the howdah, he went forth to battle.

The action began with discharges of rockets and guns, and thousands of arrows flew from both sides. Sipahr Shukoh the leader of Dara's advanced force, in concert with Rustam Khan Dikhmi with ten or twelve thousand horse made an attack upon Aurangzeb's guns. Driving back all before them they pressed forward to Prince Muhammad Sultan, who was with Aurangzeb's advance, and great confusion arose in this part of the army. Just at this juncture, by luck, a ball from the enemy's own guns struck the elephant of the brave Rustam Khan, and stretched the animal dead upon the ground. This accident intimidated Rustam Khan, and he withdrew from his attack upon the advanced force, and fell upon the right wing under Bahadur Khan Koka. This commanding officer made a vigorous resistance, but forces were continually brought to support Rustam Khan, and

¹ Or, as the author expresses it, "When the sun, the mighty monarch of the golden crown, with his world-conquering sword, rose bright and resplendent from his orient rising-place, and when the king of the starry host put his head out of the window of the horizon."

the battle grew warm Bahadur Khan at length received a wound which compelled him to retire, and many were killed and wounded on both sides Aurangzeb's forces wavered, and seemed about to give way, when Islam Khan and others brought reinforcements to Bahadur At the same time Shaikh Mir and others, with the Altamsh, came up to support the right wing, and to oppose Rustam Khan and the forces under Sipihr Shukoh A desperate contest was maintained, but at length Rustam Khan was defeated, and Sipihr Shukoh also was hurled back

Dara Shukoh, being informed of the repulse of Sipihr Shukoh and Rustam Khan, led the centre of his army, composed of not less than 20,000 horse, against the victorious wing He advanced with great bravery and firmness from behind his own guns against the guns and the advanced force which had won the victory He was received with such heavy discharges of rockets, guns and muskets, and with such fierce charges from his brave opponents, that he was compelled to retire

Dara next made an attack upon Prince Murad Bakhsh, and led a force like the waves of the sea against that lion of the field of battle The conflict was raging when Khahlu-llah Khan, the leader of the enemy's vanguard, led three or four thousand Uzbek archers against the elephant of Murad Bakhsh The arrows rained down from both sides, and confusion arose in the ranks of Murad Bakhsh, so that many were overpowered with fear and fell back The elephant of Murad Bakhsh was about to turn away covered with wounds from arrows, spears, and battle-axes, but his brave rider ordered a chain to be cast round his legs At this moment Raja Ram Singh, a man highly renowned among the Rajputs for his bravery, wound a string of costly pearls round his head, and with his men clothed in yellow, as bent upon some desperate action, charged upon the elephant of Murad Bakhsh, and crying out defiantly, "What, do you contest the throne with Dara Shukoh?" hurled his javelin against Murad Bakhsh, then he cried out fiercely to the elephant-driver, "Make the elephant

kneel down!" Murad Bakhsh having warded off his assault, shot him in the forehead with an arrow and killed him. The Rajputs who followed that daring fellow mostly fell dead around the feet of the Prince's elephant, and made the ground as yellow as a field of saffron.

It is related in the '*Alamgr-nama* that at this point of the battle Aurangzeb came to the support of his brother, and helped to repulse the enemy. But the author of this work has heard from his father (who was present in the battle in the suite of the Prince, and remained with him to the end of the engagement, although he was severely wounded), and from other trustworthy informants, that the Prince, after repeatedly making inquiries and learning of the progress of the enemy, was desirous of going to the support of his brother. But Shaikh Mir dissuaded him, and advised him to remain patient where he was. Meanwhile the battle raged fiercely, and deeds of valour and devotion were displayed on all sides.

The fierce Rajputs, by their energy and desperate fighting, made their way to the centre (which was under the command of Aurangzeb himself). One of them, Raja Rup Singh Rathor, sprang from his horse, and, with the greatest daring, having washed his hands of life, cut his way through the ranks of his enemies, sword in hand, cast himself under the elephant on which the Prince was riding, and began to cut the girths which secured the howda. The Prince became aware of this daring attempt, and in admiration of the man's bravery, desired his followers to take the rash and fearless fellow alive, but he was cut to pieces.

While this was going on, Rustam Khan again advanced against his brave opponents, and the fight grew hotter. Rustam, who was the mainstay of Dara's army, Raja Sattar Sal, and were killed in this conflict. Dara, seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed and wounded, was much affected. He became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do. Just at this time a rocket struck the howda of his elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste.

from his elephant, without even waiting to put on his slippers, and he then without arms mounted a horse. The sight of this ill-timed alarm, and of the empty howda, after he had changed his elephant for a horse, disheartened the soldiers. The men lost heart in sympathy with their leader, and began to think of flight. Just at this time, as one of his attendants was girding him with a quiver, a cannon ball carried off the man's right hand and he fell dead. The sight of this struck terror into the hearts of those around him, some of them dispersed, and others fled from the fatal field. Dara, beholding the dispersion of his followers, and the repulse of his army, prizing life more than the hope of a crown, turned away and fled. Sipihr Shukoh also, at this time, joined his father with some of his followers,¹ and they all fled in despair toward Agra. A great victory was thus gained. Shouts of exultation followed and the young princes offered their congratulations.

Aurangzeb descended from his elephant to return thanks for this signal victory, surpassing all expectation, and, after performing his devotions, he proceeded to the tent of Dara Shukoh. Everything had been ransacked except this tent and the artillery, so he took possession of the tent, which thus received a new honour. He bestowed presents and praises upon the princes and his devoted nobles, delighting them with his commendation and eulogy.

Prince Murad Bakhsh had received many arrow wounds in his face and body. Aurangzeb first applied to them the salve of praise and compliment, and then had them dressed by skilful surgeons. To the internal wounds of that weak-minded² Prince he applied the balm of thousands of praises and congratulations upon (his approaching) sovereignty. Then he wiped away the tears and blood from his brother's cheek with the sleeve of condolence. It is said that the howda in which Murad Bakhsh

¹The *'Amal-i Salih* says they were only thirty or forty in number. The same work gives a long and laboured account of this battle, but it is not so circumstantial as that of Khafi Khan.

²Sadah-lauh, "tabula rasa"

rode was stuck as thick with arrows as a porcupine with quills, so that the ground of it was not visible. This *howda* was kept in the store-house in the fort of the capital as a curiosity and as a memorial of the bravery of that descendant of the house of Timur, and there it remained till the time of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.

Dara Shukoh, with two thousand horse, many of whom were wounded and without baggage, arrived at Agra in the evening without torches. He proceeded to his own house, and shame and remorse for his ruined fortune would not allow him to visit his father. The Emperor sent for him, professing a desire to talk and take counsel with him, but he excused himself. In the same night, after the third watch, he went out of the city towards Dehli, intending to proceed to Lahore. He took with him Sipihr Shukoh, his wife and daughter and several attendants. He also carried off on elephants, camels and mules, his jewels, gold, silver, necessaries, and whatsoever he could. In the third day's march he was joined by nearly 5,000 horse, and some nobles and equipments, which were sent after him by his father.

After resting a while from his victory, Aurangzeb addressed a letter to the Emperor (*recounting what had passed*) and excusing himself by referring all to the will of God. Soon afterwards, Muhammad Amin Khan, and Khan Jahan, son of Asaf Khan, with many other nobles, who were the props of the State, came and proffered their services to Aurangzeb, and he honoured them with gifts of robes and jewels, horses, and elephants. On the 10th Ramazan Aurangzeb marched from Samugarh for Agra, and encamped outside the city. There he received from his father a consolatory letter written in his own hand. Next day Kudsiya Padshah Begam, by command of her father, came out to her brother, and spoke to him some words of kindness and reproach by way of advice and as a proof of affection. The answer she received was contrary to what she had wished, and she returned. The Emperor then wrote another admonitory letter, and with a sword which bore upon it the auspicious name "Alamgir" (world-conqueror), he sent it with kind messages by one of

his personal attendants to Aurangzeb. The word "Alamgir" immediately attracted notice. It was deemed a good omen, and called forth congratulations. Aurangzeb then sent Prince Muhammad Sultan to restore order in the city, to rescue it from the violence and oppression of the army and the mob, and to give peace to the people. To Khan Jahan, son of Asaf Khan, he gave the title of Amiru-l umara and many of the other nobles who had come to wait upon him were rewarded with increase of rank and presents of money and jewels.

Confinement of Shah Jahan,

(Vol II, p 32) The authors of the three '*Alamgir-namas* have each described the seclusion of the Emperor Shah Jahan by the will of Aurangzeb, but 'Akil Khan Khafi, in his '*Waki'at-i 'Alamgir* has entered fully and particularly into matters, and has described the investment of the fort (of Agra), the confinement of Shah Jahan, the closing up of the waters (*band-namudain-i ab*),¹ and the somewhat bitter correspondence which passed. From this it appears that on the 17th Ramazan, 1068 (8th June, 1658), Aurangzeb directed Prince Muhammad Sultan to go into the fort of Agra, and to place some of his trusty followers in charge of the gates. Afterwards he was directed to wait upon his grandfather, to deliver to him some agreeable and disagreeable messages respecting his retirement, and to cut off from him all means of intercourse with the outside. Accordingly Prince Muhammad Sultan went in and acted according to his instructions. He took from the Emperor all power and choice in matters of rule and government, and placed him in seclusion.

Muhammad Ja'far Khan was sent to secure Mewat, which formed part of the jagir of Dara Shukoh. Twenty-six lacs of rupees, with some other requirements of royalty, were presented to Murad Bakhsh. On the 22nd Ramazan Aurangzeb made his entry into Agra, and took up his abode in the house of Dara Shukoh.

¹ Probably figurative. Bringing matters to a crisis.

Flight of Dara Shukoh

(Vol. II, p. 33) When Dara Shukoh reached the vicinity of Delhi the close pursuit of Aurangzeb's forces and the apprehension of being shut up in the city determined him to remain outside. There he employed himself in gathering money and supplies. Whatever he found in the royal stores or in the houses of the *amirs*, he laid hands upon. He remained some days waiting the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh who after his defeat at Shuja was wandering about in Bihar and Patna in a state of perplexity—for the news of the success of Aurangzeb frightened him from going to join his father. Dara perceiving that if he remained longer he would fall a prisoner into the harsh hands of his brother marched off towards the Panjab with the new army which had gathered round him numbering about 10,000 horse. Every day he wrote letters to Sulaiman Shukoh describing his wretched condition and his approaching arrival at Sirhind and Lahore. He also wrote conciliatory letters to the *faujdar*s and governors of the Panjab in which he mingled promises and threats. He repeatedly wrote to his father lamenting his inability to wait upon him through his adverse fortune and the unhappy disension between the two brothers and their respective adherents.

Aurangzeb also frequently resolved to go and see his father to make excuses, and to seek forgiveness of the offences of which he had been guilty, by no choice of his own but through the divine decrees of fate, and the unseemly conduct of his brother. But he knew that his father's feelings were strongly in favour of Dara Shukoh, and that under the influence of destiny he lost all self-control, so he determined that it was better not to pay the visit. Instead of going himself, he directed Prince Muhammad 'Azam to go and wait upon the Emperor with many apologies. The Prince accordingly presented 500 *akhrafis* and 4,000 rupees, and the Emperor, half in joy, half in anger took the Prince to his bosom, and shed tears over him as he embraced him.

Aurangzeb next turned his attention to the pursuit of Dara Shukoh. He left Prince Muhammad Sultan with to attend upon the Emperor, and he appointed Islam Khan to be the Prince's director (atalik). On the 22nd Ramazan he started in pursuit of his brother. On his way he learnt that Dara had left Dehli on the 21st Ramazan, and had gone towards Lahore. He sent Khan-dauran to supersede Saiyid Kasim Barha in command of the fortress of Allahabad. If the Saiyid gave over the fortress, he was to be treated with courtesy and sent to Aurangzeb, if he refused to yield, Khan-dauran was directed to invest the fortress, and to call for reinforcements if necessary.

Shah Jahan, while in confinement, wrote secretly to Mahabat Khan, Governor of Kabul (a long letter, in which he said) "Dara Shukoh is proceeding to Lahore. There is no want of money in Lahore, there is abundance of men and horses in Kabul, and no one equal to Mahabat Khan in valour and generalship. The Khan ought therefore to hasten with his army to Lahore, and, having there joined Dara Shukoh, they might march against the two undutiful sons, to inflict upon them the due reward of their misconduct, and to release the Emperor, the Sahib Kiran-i sani, from prison."

Imprisonment of Murad Bakhsh

(Vol II, p 37) This simple-minded¹ Prince had some good qualities, but in the honesty of his heart and trustfulness of his disposition, he had never given heed to the saying of the great man (Sa'di) that two kings cannot be contained in one kingdom. He was deluded by flattering promises, and by the presents of money, etc., which had been sent to him, but they were deposits or loans rather than gifts. On the 4th Shawwal, while they were encamped at Mathura, twenty-five kos from Agra, Murad Bakhsh was made prisoner by a clever trick, which was aided by fortune, and into the particulars of which it is

¹The 'Alamgir-nama calls him "stupid and ignorant"

needless to enter Chains were placed upon his feet That same night four elephants with covered howdas were sent off in four different directions, each under two or three sardars and an escort The elephant which was sent to the fort of Salim-garh carried the prisoner Murad Bakhsh This precaution was taken lest the partisans of the Prince should fall upon the howda in which he was confined All the treasure and effects of Murad Bakhsh, not one *dam* or *diram* of which was plundered, was confiscated

Flight of Dara Shukoh Aurangzeb Ascends the Throne

(Vol II, p 39) Dara Shukoh, in his progress through the Panjab, broke up, burnt or sunk the boats where he crossed the rivers It was reported that upon his arrival at Lahore he had seized upon nearly a krór of treasure, together with all the stores belonging to the government and the royal amirs, and that he was engaged in enlisting soldiers and collecting munitions of war On hearing this, Aurangzeb, not caring to enter the fortress of Dehli, encamped in the garden of Aghar-abad, now called Shalamar, and he sent on an advanced force, under Bahadur Khan, in pursuit of Dara On the 1st Zi-l Ka'da, 1068 A H (22nd July, A D 1658) after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindustan, without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage or having it repeated in the *khutba* Such matters as titles, the *khutba*, the coinage, and the sending of presents to other sovereigns, were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne

Sulaiman Shukoh

(Vol II, p 41) Intelligence now arrived that Sulaiman Shukoh had crossed the Ganges, and intended to proceed by way of Hardwar to join his father The Amiru-l umara and were sent off to intercept him, by forced marches On the 7th Zi-l Kada Aurangzeb began his march to Lahore in pursuit of Dara The reporters

now sent in the news that when Sulaiman Shukoh was approaching Hardwar, he heard that a force had been sent against him, and he had consequently turned off to the mountains of Srinagar. His expectations of assistance from the zamindars of this country had not been fulfilled, so some of his adherents had parted from him, and were repairing to Aurangzeb. There remained with him altogether not more than five hundred horsemen, so, not deeming it prudent to stop longer there, he went off in the direction of Allahabad. Before reaching that city his guardian¹ (*atalik*) fell ill, and parted from him with more of his followers. Not more than two hundred now remained with him, so he returned to the Zamindar of Srinagar. His road passed through the jagir of the Princess Kudsia. He extorted two lacs of rupees from her manager, plundered his house, carried the man off prisoner, and afterwards put him to death. The remainder of his men now deserted him, and there remained only Muhammad Shah Koka and a few attendants and servants. The Zamindar of Srinagar coveted the money and jewels that he had with him and kept him as a sort of prisoner in his fort. After this had been reported, *Amiru-l umara*, who had been sent to intercept Sulaiman Shukoh, was directed to send him prisoner in charge of a detachment, and to go himself to Agra to Prince Muhammad Sultan.

Dara Shukoh

(Vol II, p 42) After leaving Lahore, Dara Shukoh busied himself in raising forces, and in winning the hearts of the dwellers in those parts. He made promises and engagements in writing to the zamindars and faujdars, to conciliate them and augment his army. So he collected nearly twenty thousand horsemen. He wrote to his brother Shuja, and made the most solemn promises and oaths, that after bringing the country into subjection they would divide it between them in a brotherly way. These deceitful and

¹ "Bahadur Khan"—'Alamgir-nama

Dara Shukoh

(Vol. II, p. 41) Dara Shukoh's increased army had been greatly reduced by desertion and he was alarmed at the approach of Aurangzeb, so he fled with three or four thousand horse and a few guns towards Hattai and Multan. He left behind Daud Khan to obstruct as much as possible the passage of the rivers by the army of Aurangzeb by burning or sinking the boats. After a while the intelligence arrived that Dara Shukoh after

staying at Multan for a short time, had gone off towards Bhakkar, and that his followers were daily decreasing. In the beginning of Muharram, 1069 A H, Aurangzeb (continuing his pursuit of Dara) pitched his camp on the banks of the Ravi near Multan.

Prince Shuja

(Vol II, p 45) Intelligence now arrived that Muhammad Shuja had marched from Bengal with 25,000 horse and a strong force of artillery, with the intention of fighting against Aurangzeb. This proceeding changed the plans of Aurangzeb, who deemed it necessary to give up the pursuit of Dara, and to direct his energies to the repression of this graceless brother. So on the 12th of Muharram, 1069 (30th September, A D 1658) Aurangzeb fell back towards Dehli, the capital. On the last day of Muharram, he started from Lahore, and on the 4th Rabi'ul-awwal, he reached Dehli. There he learned that Muhammad Shuja had advanced as far as Benares, and that Ram Das, the commandant, who had been appointed by Dara Shukoh, had surrendered the fort to Shuja. The commandants of Chitapur and Allahabad had also surrendered their fortresses and joined him. After exacting three lacs of rupees under the name of a loan from the bankers of Benares, Muhammad Shuja continued the march. He sent a force against Jaunpur, and the commander of that fortress after its investment surrendered and joined Shuja.

Mir Jumla Mu'azzam Khan

(Vol II, p 44) Instructions were sent to the Dakhin, directing the release of Mu'azzam Khan, alias Mir Jumla, whom Aurangzeb had deemed it desirable to leave in confinement at Daulatabad¹. Mu'azzam Khan now arrived from the Dakhin, his zeal having urged him to make a quick journey. He brought with him his military *materiel*. Aurangzeb received him graciously, and acted under his

¹These few lines are found four pages earlier in the text

... in the army. He and his son Muhammad Amin Khan with some other devoted adherents were appointed to attend Aurangzeb, who was with the centre of the army.

THE BATTLE OF SAURASTRA

About two hours of the night remained when Iswant Singh in league with other Rajput leaders set their numerous followers in motion and began to move off, destroying and plundering as they went and cutting down all who opposed them. The forces under Prince Muhammad Sultan suffered especially from their attacks. No tent small or great, escaped their ravages. All his treasure and effects were plundered. Then they made towards the royal quarters ransacking everything and not a tent near the royal pavilion remained safe from them.

¹⁴At the village of Kori — *Haraur-nama*. Shuja's army rested by the tank of Khajwa or Kichhwa — *An al-i-Salikh*.

¹⁵He had been placed with other Rajas in the right wing.

¹⁶A very funny expression of the abuse heaped upon him.

For some time the cause of all this disorder was unknown. All kinds of erroneous surmises were made, and a panic was spreading through the whole army. Many men were so disheartened that they joined the plunderers, thinking that the best way of escaping from the disaster. One party fled to the open country, another approached the enemy's army, and set about ravaging. But for all this confusion in the army, nothing shook the resolution of Aurangzeb. It was now reported to him that the traitor had moved off towards his home. Then Aurangzeb descended from his elephant, and took his seat in a litter that all the panic-stricken men who beheld him might see that he was resolute, and had no intention of retreating. He sent orderlies round to the commanders, directing them to forbid all riders of elephants or horses to stir from their places¹. Without exaggeration, half the army had gone away to plunder or escape, and many had joined the enemy. Intelligence was brought of Jaswant Singh having marched away towards Agra.

Aurangzeb's devoted servants now gathered round him from far and near. He then again mounted his elephant, and without a cloud upon his brow rode forth to arrange his order of battle. Mu'azzam Khan received authority to make such alterations in the disposition of the forces as he deemed necessary. The battle began about the fourth or fifth *ghari* of the day with a cannonade which made the earth to tremble, and filled the hearts of both armies with awe and trembling. A cannon-ball from the Emperor's army reached the elephant on which Sultan Zainu-l 'abidin² was riding, and although it did not strike the Sultan,³ it carried off one leg of the elephant-driver, and one leg also of the personal attendant who was seated behind the howda. This circumstance greatly discouraged many of Shuja's army. Saiyid 'Alam Barha, with three elephants, made an attack upon the left of the royal army,

¹ More eulogy of the Emperor's firmness and resolution follows here and afterwards

² "Son of Shuja"—*'Alamgir-nama*

³ "Or the elephant"—*Ib*

and the vigour of his assault spread confusion in the ranks of his opponents, and many of them took to flight. The retreat of the left wing made the centre waver, and the Emperor was left with only 2,000 horsemen to protect him. Greatly encouraged by the sight, the enemy made a bold and fierce attack upon the centre. The Emperor mounted upon an elephant, moved about inspiring his men and shooting arrows against his enemies. Murtaza Kuli Khan, of the left wing, with several others, made a bold charge upon the enemy, and the Emperor, seeing how matters stood, joined in the charge. This gave a severe check to the enemy, who lost many men killed and wounded.

The vigour of the Saiyids of Barha had abated, but their three elephants, each of them dashing about with his trunk a chain of two or three *mans* weight, overthrew and crushed every one who came in their way. One of them at length charged towards the elephant of the Emperor. Without moving from his place or changing countenance, the Emperor made signs for his guards to shoot the animal's driver. One of the guards brought the man to the ground, and then one of the royal elephant-drivers got upon the elephant's neck and led him off. The other two elephants then charged the right wing of the royal army and other forces of the enemy coming up, this wing fell into confusion. The Emperor was urged to move to its support, but he was hotly engaged himself. He sent messages to the officers of the right wing, urging them to stand fast until he could come to their assistance. Several of the enemy's leading men now fell, and the efforts of the forces opposed to the Emperor relaxed, so that he was able to proceed to the succour of his right. This encouraged the men. Cries of "Kill! kill!" were raised on every side, and many of the enemy were killed. A general attack was made on the enemy's centre, and then several chiefs, who had thought it expedient to support him, came over and joined the Emperor. Victory declared in favour of the Emperor, and when the glad news of Shuja's flight was brought, shouts of congratulation and victory arose, and the drums and trumpets sounded in triumph.

The victors fell upon the camp of the enemy and thoroughly plundered it, every man took what he could lay hands on, but 114 guns, 115 elephants, and much treasure, and many jewels, came into the possession of the Emperor. After descending from his elephant, and returning thanks to God for his victory, he praised his nobles for their exertions. Then he sent his son Muhammad Sultan¹ in pursuit of Shuja, with directions to use every exertion to cut off his flight.

Flight of Dara Shukoh

(Vol II, p 60) Intelligence was brought that Dara Shukoh had arrived at Bhakkar in a wretched condition, with only three thousand horse. Want of porters, and the desertion of many of his adherents, compelled him to leave part of his treasure and baggage under charge of some of his servants at Bhakkar. Dense thorn-brakes, toilsome marches and loss of porters impeded his progress through the salt desert beside the river of Thatta, this, with the loss of baggage, which fell into the hands of his pursuers, allowed him no rest. Through want of water, the hardships of the march, and various diseases, many of his men died or fell away from him. Shaikh Mir, his pursuer, kept treading on his heels, and, after crossing the desert, he had not more than a thousand horsemen left. After arriving at Siwistan he determined to proceed to Ahmada-bad.

The force of Shaikh Mir, the pursuer, also suffered greatly from want of water, and the long and rapid march. Loss of horses and porters, added to the other hardships, killed and scattered them. Most of those who remained had to march on foot. On these facts being reported, Shaikh Mir was ordered to return.

Surrender of Allahabad

(Vol II, p 61) On the 1st Jumada-l awwal Aurangzeb proceeded towards Agra, and at the second stage he

¹“Mu'azzam Khan was sent with him”—*Amal-i Salih*

received a despatch from Prince Muhammad Sultan, reporting a second success over Shuja Saiyid Kasim, commandant of the fortress of Allahabad, left a deputy in charge of the fortress, and accompanied Shuja to battle. After the defeat, Kasim Khan returned to the fortress, and busied himself in making it secure. When Shuja arrived, he made plausible excuses for not giving up the place. He went out with alacrity to meet the Prince, made promises of fidelity, and entertained him, after which he was dismissed to his post. When Prince Muhammad Sultan drew near, he wrote to him a repentant letter, professing his obedience, and sending to him the keys of the fortress. On hearing of this, Aurangzeb ordered Khandauran to be placed in command of Allahabad and Kasim Khan to be sent courteously to his presence.

Raja Jaswant

(Vol II, p 61) Aurangzeb appointed Amir Khan and with ten thousand horse to punish the traitor Raja Jaswant. He also joined to this force Rai Singh Rathor, a nephew of Raja Jaswant, who had a family feud with his uncle. This chief was honoured with the title of *raja* and many presents. Hopes also were held out to him of a grant of Jodpur, his native country.

Dara Shukoh

(Vol II, p 62) Directions were sent to Amir Khan, Governor of Lahore, that upon the return of Shaikh Mir from the pursuit of Dara, he was to remove Prince Murad Bakhsh from Salim-garh, and send him under charge of Shaikh Mir to Gwalior.

On the 18th Jumada-l awwal Aurangzeb reached Agra, and on the 23rd he again set out. He now learnt that Dara Shukoh had passed through Kachh to the borders of the province of Ahmadabad. He had collected round him three or four thousand horse. After the troops of Aurangzeb had given up the pursuit of him, he proceeded leisurely endeavouring to gain over the faujdars and

zamindars, and to collect soldiers By presents of money and jewels he won over the Zamindar of Kachh, and affianced his daughter in marriage to Prince Sipihr Shukoh The zamindar sent him on with an escort through his territory towards Ahmadabad Upon his arriving there, Shah Nawaz Khan, the subadar, one of whose daughters was married to Aurangzeb, and another was in the house of Murad Bakhsh, went out to meet him, accompanied by Rahmat Khan diwan, and others They presented to him near ten lacs worth of gold, silver and other property belonging to Murad Bakhsh, which was in Allahabad Dara Shukoh then exerted himself in collecting money and men, and in winning adherents by presents of robes and jewels, and by promotions in rank and title He appointed officers who took possession of the ports of Surat, Kambayat, Broach, and the districts around In the course of a month and seven days he collected 20,000 horse, and he sent requisitions to the governors of Bijapur and Haidarabad for money and men He also thought over several plans for going to the Dakhin, and for joining Raja Jaswant Singh On the 1st Jumada-1 akhir Dara Shukoh began his march with a well-appointed army and a large train of artillery, for he had obtained thirty or forty guns from Surat As he pursued his march, he every day received false and delusive letters from Raja Jaswant, befooling him with promises of coming to his assistance

When Aurangzeb received intelligence of these proceedings, he marched towards Ajmir Mirza¹ Raja Jai Singh had interceded with him on behalf of Raja Jaswant, so he pardoned his offences, and wrote to him a conciliatory letter, reinstating him in his *mansab*, and restoring to him his title of Maharaja He at the same time directed the Raja to write to him about the state of affairs, and send the letter, by swift messengers Muhammad Amin Khan, who had been commissioned to punish the Raja, was recalled Raja Jaswant, who had advanced twenty kos from Jodpur to meet Dara Shukoh, on receiving

¹The same title is given to him in the '*Amal-i Salih*

the Emperor's letter, broke off his alliance with Dara, and returned to his own country

This defection greatly troubled Dara, who opened a correspondence with the Raja, and endeavoured to win him over by promises and flattery, but without effect. When Dara came to a place twenty kos distant from Jodpur he sent a Hindu named De Chand to the Raja, but he artfully replied that he remained true to his engagement, but that it was not expedient for him to move just then. Dara Shukoh, he said, should go to Ajmir, and open communications with other Rajputs. If two or three Rajputs of note joined him, then the Raja would also come to his support. Dara Shukoh, having no other course open, proceeded to Ajmir, and again sent De Chand to Jaswant, but all his persuasions and remonstrances were in vain, and it was evident that all the Raja's statements were false and treacherous. The fact of his having received a letter of pardon from Aurangzeb was also publicly talked about. It has been said that "Necessity turns lions into foxes," and so Dara Shukoh, notwithstanding his knowledge of the Raja's perfidy, sent Siyahr Shukoh to him, but although the Prince flattered and persuaded, and held out great promises, the traitor did not listen, and the Prince, like De Chand, turned empty away.

Deprived of all hope of assistance from Raja Jaswant, Dara Shukoh was at a loss as to what course to pursue. Then he heard of the near approach of Aurangzeb, and resolved to fight. But not deeming it expedient to fight a regular battle, he determined to retire into the hills about Ajmir, and to throw up lines of defence. Accordingly he moved into the defiles, blocked up the roads with barriers of stone and earth, and stationed his guns and musketeers so as to make his position secure. He himself took his station with the centre. Aurangzeb directed the commander of his artillery to advance his guns against Dara's lines. For three days most vigorous attacks were made, but Dara's position was very strong, and his men fought bravely, so that the assailants made no impression. Dara's

KHAFI KHAN

forces indeed sallied out, and after causing considerable destruction of men and beasts, returned to their positions. The artillery practice of the assailants damaged only the defence works. On the fourth night Aurangzeb called around him some of his most trusty servants, and incited them by strong exhortations and promises to undertake an assault. Next day Aurangzeb sent Raja Rajrup, Zamindar of Jammun, with his infantry, against the rear of a hill, where an assault was not expected, and where the concentration of forces was thought to render it impossible. But he forced his way, and planted his banner on the summit of the hill. The success at the beginning of the battle was due to Raja Rajrup, but at last the victory was owing to the devotion of Shaikh Mir, and the intrepidity of Diler Khan, Afghan, who attacked the lines held by Shah Nawaz Khan. Pride and shame so worked upon Shah Nawaz, that he gave up all hope of surviving, and died fighting most courageously.

Dara Shukoh seeing the defeat of his army, and hearing of the death of Shah Nawaz Khan, seeing also the approach of his victorious foes, lost all sense and self-control, and fled with Sipahr Shukoh, Firoz Mewati, and some of the inmates of his harem, in great consternation and sorrow. Of all his nobles none accompanied him but the two above named. He managed to save some jewels and money, and with some of his women, his daughter, and a few attendants, he went off towards Ahmadabad. The fact of his flight was not known for certain until three hours after dark, and fighting went on in several parts of the lines until the flight of the enemy and the abandonment of the lines were ascertained. Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur were sent in command of a force in pursuit of Dara Shukoh. Aurangzeb made a short stay at Ajmir, and started from thence for the capital on the 4th Rajab, 1069.

Prince Shuja

(Vol II, p 75) Prince Shuja fled before the pursuing force of Prince Muhammad Sultan to Jahangir-nagar (Dacca),

and Muazzam Khan obtained possession of the fort of Mongir. Shortly afterwards the fort of Chunar, which Shuja had got into his power, was given up to Aurangzeb.

Second Year of the Reign (1659 A D)

(Vol. II, p. 77) The second year of the reign commenced on the 4th Ramazan, 1069 A H. The Emperor's name and titles were proclaimed in the pulpit as "Abul Muzaffar Muhu-a din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Alamgir Bad-shah-i Ghazi." In former reigns one side of the coins had been adorned with the words of the creed and the names of the first four Khalifs, but as coins pass into many unworthy places, and fall under the feet of infidels, it was ordered that this super-scription should be changed (*for certain couplets containing the Emperor's name*).

(Vol. II, p. 79) Since the reign of the Emperor Akbar the official year of account and the years of the reign had been reckoned from the 1st Farwardi, when the Sun enters Aries, to the end of Esfandiari and the year and its months were called Bahi, but as this resembled the system of the fire-worshippers the Emperor in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) new year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers, and men who have studied history know that the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tankhuah* of the *jaqirs* and the money of the *mansabadars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar, still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession.

Dara Shukoh

(Vol. II, p. 80) The sad circumstances of the remainder of Dara Shukoh's career must now be related. On leaving

the mountains of Ajmere, he proceeded with his wife, daughter, some jewels, a little money, and a few domestic servants, towards Ahmadabad. The rest of his treasure, goods, and necessary baggage, with some female servants borne by twelve elephants and horses, he left behind in charge of servants, some of them old, some new, in the company and under the superintendence of some trusty eunuchs, with orders to follow as quickly as possible. When this party had marched four or five kos, all the servants¹ began to plunder the property, and struggling and fighting with each other, every man seized what he could lay hands on. The baggage was taken from the backs of the elephants and placed on camels, and the women were stripped of their jewels and taken off the camels to be mounted on the elephants, then the plunderers, with camels and horses laden with money and articles of great value, made off for the desert. The eunuchs were unable to prevent the proceedings of their escort. In great distress, and in dread of the pursuit of the victorious troops, they were intent upon preserving their own honour and that of their master, so they led off the women on the elephants, and pursuing all night the track of Dara through the desert, after a night and a day they overtook him.

That forlorn fugitive, in sore distress, without baggage, and despoiled by plunderers, wandered on through the desert. In eight days' time he approached Ahmadabad. But the officials of the city proclaimed Aurangzeb, and took measures to prevent Dara from entering. The fugitive perceived that ill-fortune everywhere awaited him. He gave up all hope of getting possession of the city, and went to Kari, two kos from Ahmadabad. There he sought assistance from Kanji Koli, one of the most notorious rebels and robbers of that country. Kanji joined him, and conducted him through Gujrat to the confines of Kachh. Here he was joined by Gul Muhammad, whom he had made governor of Surat and Broach, and who brought with him fifty horse and two hundred matchlockmen. The

¹ The text says simply "all," but it is clear from the context that this means the servants.

zamindar of Kachh, when Dara lately passed through the country, entertained him, treated him with every respect, and affianced a daughter in marriage to his son, all in expectation of future advantage. Dara, in his distress, now looked to him for assistance but he heeded not, and did not even show the courtesy of a visit. After two days spent in fruitless efforts to soften the zamindar, Dara, with tearful eyes and burning heart resolved to proceed to Bhakkar.

On reaching the frontier of Sind Firoz Mewati who had hitherto accompanied the unfortunate Prince, seeing how his evil fate still clung to him, abandoned the ill-starred fugitive and went off to Dehli. Dara, in a bewildered condition, proceeded toward the country of Jawan¹, but the dwellers in the deserts of that country closed the roads with the intention of making him prisoner. With some fighting and trouble he escaped from these people and made his way into the country of the Makashis. Mirza Makashi the chief of the tribe, came forth to meet him, took him home with great kindness, and entertained him. After this he proposed to send him towards Iran under an escort which was to conduct him to Kandahar, twelve marches distant from where he was, and he strongly advised the adoption of this course. But Dara could not give up his futile hopes of recovering his throne and crown, and resolved to go to Malik Jiwan, zamindar of Dhandar² who had long been bound to him by acts of generosity, and sent to assure him of his devotion and fidelity.

When Dara reached the land of this evil zamindar, Malik Jiwan came out like the destroying angel to meet him. As a guest-murdering host he conducted Dara home,

¹ "Crossed the Indus and proceeded to the country of Chand Khan (or Jandban)"—*'Alamgir-nama* p. 412. The name Jawan is confirmed by both MSS of Khafi Khan.

² Elphinstone has mistakn the name of the man for that of his country. He calls him "the chief of Jun on the eastern frontier of Sind." The *'Alamgir-nama* calls him "Malik Jiwan Ayyub, an Afghan," and the name of his state is given as "Dadar" or "Dhadhar." In the *'Amal-i Salih* it is "Dhavar." It is probably Dadar in Kachh Gandava.

and exerted himself to entertain him. During the two or three days that Dara remained here, his wife, Nadra Begum, daughter of Parwez, died of dysentery and vexation. Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dara, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium. Without considering the consequences, he sent her corpse to Lahore in charge of Gul Muhammad, to be buried there¹. He thus parted from one who had been faithful to him through his darkest troubles. He himself remained, attended only by a few domestic servants and useless eunuchs.

After performing the ceremonies of mourning, Dara determined to set out the next morning under the escort of Malik Jiwan for Iran, by way of Kandahar. Jiwan apparently was ready to accompany him to Iran, but he had inwardly resolved to forward his own interests by trampling under foot all claims of gratitude,² and of making the wretched fugitive prisoner. So he formed his plan. He accompanied his guest for some kos. Then he represented that it was necessary for him to return in order to procure some further provisions for the journey, which he would collect and would overtake Dara after two or three days' march. Accordingly he went back, leaving his brother with a party of the ruffians and robbers of the country to attend Dara. This man suddenly fell upon his victim and made him prisoner, without giving him a chance of resistance. Then he carried him back with Sipih Shukoh and his companions to the perfidious host, and kept him under guard in the place appointed. Malik Jiwan wrote an account of this good service to Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan, who had been sent from Ajmir in pursuit of Dara, and he also wrote to Bakir Khan, governor of Bhakkar. Bakir Khan instantly sent off Malik Jiwan's

¹The deceased had left a will desiring to be buried in "Hindusthan"—'Alamgir-nama

²The 'Amal-i Salih says that "the zamindar Jiwan was bound in gratitude to Dara by many kindnesses and favours"

letter express to Aurangzeb Upon the arrival of Bakir Khan's despatch, Aurangzeb communicated the fact to his private councillors, but did not make it public until the arrival of a letter from Bahadur Khan confirming the news At the end of the month of Shawwal it was published by beat of drum The public voice spoke with condemnation and abhorrence of Malik Jiwan, but a robe and a mansab of 1,000 with 200 horse were conferred on him

It was now ascertained that Sulaiman Shukoh had sought refuge with the zamindar of Srinagar Raja Rajrup was therefore directed to write to the zamindar, and advise him to consult his own interest and bring Sulaiman out of his territory, if not, he must suffer the consequences of the royal anger¹

In the middle of Zi-l hijja, Bahadur Khan brought Dara Shukoh and his son Sipihr Shukoh to the Emperor who gave orders that both father and son should be carried into the city chained and seated on an elephant, and thus be exposed to the people in the Chandī Chauk and the bazar, after which they were to be carried to Khizārbad in Old Dehli, and there confined Bahadur Khan, after giving up his prisoner, received great rewards and marks of favour

Two days afterwards Malik Jiwan, who had received the title of Bakhtiyar Khan, entered the city, and was passing through the streets of the bazar The idlers, the partisans of Dara Shukoh, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each other, gathered into a mob, and, assailing Jiwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth, and clods and stones so that several persons were knocked down and killed and many were wounded Jiwan was protected by shields held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion If the kotwal had not come forward with his policemen, not

¹The '*Amal-i Salih*' is more explicit, and says that Sulaiman was to be sent to Aurangzeb

one of Malik Jiwan's followers would have escaped with life. Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afghans, and many of the bystanders were injured. Next day the kotwal made an investigation, and it was ascertained that an *ahadi* (guardsman) named Haibat had taken a leading part in the disturbance. He was condemned by a legal decision, and was executed.

At the end of Zi-l hijja, 1069¹ (September 1659), the order was given for Dara Shukoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed on a howda and carried round the city. So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humayun. Sipihr Shukoh was ordered to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior.

Remission of Taxes

(Vol II, p 87) The movements of large armies through the country especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts, had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdari* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pandari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid to the government according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop and the total revenue thus derived exceeded lacs (of rupees). Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as

¹ 'On the 26th day'—*Amal-i-Sahih*

the *car-shumari* *bi-iz-shumari* ¹ *bar-qadi* ² the *charai* (grazing tax) of the *Banjara*, the *tara ana* ³ the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadian saints and at the *jatras* or fairs of the infidels held near Hindu temples throughout the country far and wide where hies of people assemble once a year and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits on gambling-houses on brothels the fines thank-offerings and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts nearly eighty in number which brought in krores of rupees to the public treasury were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these the tithe on corn ⁴ which lawfully brought in twenty-five lacs of rupees was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces by the hands of magistrates and soldiers (*ahad*.)

But although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection the various propensities of men prevailed so that with the exception of the *pandari* which, being mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities, felt the force of the abolition the royal prohibition had no effect and *faujdar*s and *jagirdar*s in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions. Firstly, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear nor dread of punishment remained in the hearts of the *jagirdar*s *faujdar*s and *zamindar*s. Secondly, because the revenue officers through inattention, or want of consideration or with an eye to profit contrary to what was intended made deductions (for these uses) from the *tanhuah* accounts of the *jagirdar*s. So the

¹ A tax on goats, the printed text has *bar-humari* but the MSS agree in writing *buz*.

² This does not appear in either two of the MSS referred to.

³ '*Charai banjara wa tara ana wa hasil i ayyam*' etc. The *tara ana* ought etymologically to mean some voluntary contribution. '*'ashfir jms-i qhalla*

jagirdars, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their tankhwah papers, continued to collect the rahdari and many other of the abolished imposts, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. The mace-bearers forbade the collection of the imposts for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amount. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imposts had no effect.

The rahdari in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost, and oppressive to travellers, but a large sum is raised by it. In most parts of the Imperial territories the faujdars and jagirdars, by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders, and poor and necessitous travellers. The zamindars also, seeing that no inquiries are made, extort more on roads within their boundaries than is collected on roads under royal officers. By degrees matters have come to such a pass, that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandize pay double their cost price in tolls. Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and the zamindars, the property, the honour, and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away. The Mahrattas, those turbulent people of the Dakhin (before the peace and after the peace which I shall have to write about in the reign of Farrukh Siyar), and other zamindars upon the frontier, have carried their violence and oppression in the matter of the rahdari to such extremes as are beyond description.

*The War with Shuja—Defection of Prince
Muhammad Sultan*

(Vol II, p 90) Prince Muhammad Sultan, with Mu'azzam Khan as his adviser and commander-in-chief, pursued Shuja until he reached Dacca, where Shuja busied himself in

collecting munitions of war, men and artillery. The command of the Imperial army and the appointment of the amirs rested in a great degree with Mu'azzam Khan. This was a great annoyance to the Prince, and Shuja, having got information of this, conceived the idea of winning the Prince over to his side. So he opened communications with the Prince, and by letters and presents, and the arts which gain the feelings of young, inexperienced men, he seduced the Prince from the duty he owed to his father, and brought him over to his own side. Soon he offered the Prince his daughter in marriage, and at length the Prince was so deluded as to resolve upon joining Shuja. Towards the end of the month Ramazan, at the beginning of the third year of the reign, he sent a message to Shuja, informing him of his intention and in the night he embarked in a boat on the Ganges with Amir Kuh, the commander of the artillery, Kasim 'Ali Mir-tuzak, who were the prime movers in this business, and with some eunuchs and domestic servants, taking with him all the treasure and jewels he could. When Shuja heard of this step, he referred it to the favour of God, and sent his son Buland Akhtar with several boats and porters to conduct the Prince with his treasure and baggage over the river.

After the Prince had crossed over, and Shuja's men were busy in carrying away his treasure and baggage, the fact of his evasion became known, and was communicated to Mu'azzam Khan. The desertion caused great uneasiness in the Imperial army, and Mu'azzam Khan himself was much annoyed and troubled, but he would not allow this to be seen. He mounted his horse, inspected the lines, encouraged the troops, and did all he could to counteract the effects of this untoward proceeding. The rainy season had come, so, for the comfort of his troops, he removed thirty kos from Akbarnagar to a high ground suitable for a camp in the rains.

Shuja passed over to Akbarnagar by boats, and attacked Mu'azzam unawares, and although the Imperial forces made a splendid resistance, some of their allies were indifferent or disaffected, so they were overpowered and

compelled to retreat Mu'azzam Khan brought up some forces from his centre, and encouraging the waverers, he renewed the resistance and charged Two or three of Shuja's chief amirs were killed or wounded and his attack was eventually repulsed There were several other conflicts with similar results, until the rains and the rising of the river put an end to all fighting Muhammad Sultan married Shuja's daughter, and it was announced that after spending a few days in nuptial pleasure at Akbarnagar, the attack on the Imperial army would be renewed Mu'azzam Khan received reinforcements after the cessation of the rains, and it would be a long story to relate all his bold and skilful movements Suffice it to say that in the course of fifteen to twenty days there were some sharp conflicts, in which Shuja was defeated, and eventually put to flight, and escaped in the war-boats, by means of which he had been enabled to make his attacks on the army of Mu'azzam Many of the war-boats were sunk by the fire of the artillery, and some were captured . Several actions were fought near the streams, and also between the war-boats on the Ganges in the vicinity of Tanda, in which many men were killed and wounded

When Aurangzeb received the intelligence of Muhammad Sultan's going over to Shuja, and of Mu'azzam Khan's obstinate fighting, he thought it prudent and necessary to go himself to the seat of war, and on the 5th Rabi'u-l awwal he set out for the East About the middle of Rabi'u-s sanii intelligence arrived that Prince Muhammad Sultan had left Shuja, and had again joined Mu'azzam Khan The Prince repented of the step he had taken, and communicated to one of the commanders in the royal army that he desired to return .. He escaped with some of his servants and jewels and money on board of four boats, but he was pursued by the boats of Shuja The boats were fired upon and one was sunk, but the Prince escaped His return gave great joy to Mu'azzam Khan, who reported the fact to the Emperor, under whose orders he was sent to Court¹ (*and his associates to prison*)

¹The 'Amal-i Salih says that the prince was confined in the fort of Mir-garh, or in Salim-garh according to 'Alamgir-nama

When the Prince returned to his father's army, Shuja mounted flight but still some hard fighting went on. At length Shuja despaired of success, and retired leaving Bengal to the occupation of Muazzam Khan.

Shah Jahān

(Vol. II p. 101.) Many letters passed between the Emperor Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb full of complaints and reproaches on one side and of irritating excuse on the other. There is no advantage to be gained from recording this correspondence and the copies of the Emperor's letters are not in the author's possession but two or three letters which Aurangzeb wrote to his father are here reproduced verbatim and the contents of Shah Jahān's letters may be inferred from them.

(p. 101.) The third letter is in answer to one written by Shah Jahān to Aurangzeb pardoning his offences, and sending some jewels and clothes belonging to Dara Shukoh, which had been left in his palace.

'After discharging the observances of religion it is represented to your most august presence. The gracious letter which you sent in answer to the humble statement of your servant² conferred great honour upon him at a most auspicious time. The glad tidings of the pardon of his faults and sins have filled him with joy and gladness. Through the gracious kindness of his fault-forgiving and excuse-accepting father and master, he is filled with hope. Thanks be to God that Your Highness listening to the suggestions of equity and merit, has preferred mercy to revenge and has rescued this wicked and disgraced sinner from the abyss of sorrow and misery in both worlds! His firm hope in the mercy of God is that in future no unworthy action will proceed from this humble servant! God, who knows the secrets of the hearts who, according to the belief of the faithful and the infidel, and according to all religions and faiths, takes note of lies and falsehoods, He knows that

¹ Three are given but the last one only has been translated.

² He calls himself *murid*, "disciple," and his father *murshid*, "spiritual teacher."

this servant is not and has never been acting in opposition to the will and pleasure of his august father, as evil-judging men have supposed, but that he has considered himself the deputy of his father, and continues firm in this important service and duty! But the due ordering of the affairs of the State and of the Faith, and the comfort of the people, are impossible under the rule of one who acts as a deputy. So, unwillingly, for the safety of the State and good of the people, he is acting, for a few days, in the way which his heart disapproves. God knows how many regrets he has felt in this course of action! Please God, the moment that peace shall dawn upon the country, and the clouds of strife shall be dispelled, all Your Majesty's wishes shall be gratified to your heart's desire! This humble one has devoted the best part of his life entirely to performing good services and rendering satisfaction (to God), how then can he be satisfied that, for the fleeting trifles of the world, the august days of Your Majesty, to whose happiness the life and wealth of your children are devoted, should be passed in discomfort, and that the people of your palace should be separated from you! Shuja, not knowing the value of safety, came to Allahabad with evil intentions, and stirred up strife. Your Majesty's humble servant, though he feels somewhat at ease as regards his elder brother, has not given up all thought of him, but placing his trust in God, and hoping for the help of the true giver of victory, he marched against him on the 17th instant. He is hopeful that, under the guidance of God and the help of the Prophet, and the good wishes of his old paternal protector,¹ he will soon be free of this business, and do nothing to hurt the feelings of Your Majesty. It is clear to Your Majesty that God Almighty bestows his trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit for a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism. The

¹"Dastgir," the word used, is equivocal, it means both "patron" and "prisoner."

Third Year of the Tensu (1670 A.D. 1669 A.D.)

DISMAY OF PRINCE SHUJA

(Vol. II p. 107.)—The third year of the reign terminated on the 24th Ramadan. Despatches bearing the intelligence from Mu'azzam Khan reporting his successful victories and the flight of Shuja to the country of Rakhang (Arracan), leaving Bengal undefended. It appeared that there had been several actions, in which Shuja was invariably defeated, and that after the last, he loaded two boats with his personal effects, vessels of gold and silver, jewels, treasure and other appendages of royalty. His son had been in correspondence with the Raja of Rakhang (Arracan) and when Shuja saw that he had no ally or friend any more left, and that those whom he had deemed faithful had deserted him, he conceived the idea of occupying one of the fortresses on the frontiers of the Raja of Rakhang, and addressed the Raja on the subject. But he was unable to carry his design into execution and at length, in the greatest wretchedness and distress, he fell into the clutches of the treacherous infidel ruler of that country, and according to

common rumour he was killed, so that no one ascertained what became of him ¹

Beginning of the troubles with Sivaji

(Vol II, p 110) I now relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin and race of the reprobate Sivaji. His ancestors owe their origin to the line of the Ranas of Chitor. In the tribe of the Rajputs, and among all Hindus, it is the settled opinion, that to have a son by a woman of a different caste, or to beget one upon a slave-girl (*kaniz*) is wrong and censurable. But if in youth, when the passions are strong, a man should have a son by a strange woman, he should take him into his house and have him brought up among his confidential handmaids and slaves. But nothing descends to such a son on the death (of the father). Even if the mother of the child is of a better stock than the father, she cannot marry him unless she be of the same tribe. If, through love, a man consorts with such a woman, and has a son, the child is looked upon with great disdain, he is brought up as a bastard, and can only marry with one like himself. If a woman of the merchant caste goes into the house of a man of lower caste than herself, or the daughter of a Brahman consorts with a Khatri every child that is born is looked upon as a slave (*kaniz o ghulam*).

It is said that one of the ancestors of Sivaji, from whom he received the name of Bhoslah, dwelt in the country of the Rana. He formed a connection with a woman of inferior caste, and, according to the custom of his tribe, he took the woman to himself without marriage. She bore him a son. Reflecting upon this disgrace to himself and tribe, he

¹In the '*Amal-i Salih*' it is said, "When Shah Shujah" was informed of (Sultan Muhammad's invasion) he lost heart, and with some of his Khans and with forty or fifty faithful servants, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to Makka. From that time, to the present year, 1081 A H, no one knows whether he is alive or dead." Makka is Mecca, and this was probably what the copyists understood, but it is more likely that the word used by the author had reference to the "Mughls" or inhabitants of Arracan. ²His name is written *Sivaji*.

kept the child concealed in the hills in that position of life which he had determined for him. There he secretly brought him up. He was very devoted to the woman, so that, although his father and mother wished him to marry a woman of his own tribe, he would not consent. When the cup of his affection ran over, and the fact of this maintenance of his child was the common talk of friends and strangers, he secretly took the boy from the place where he had concealed him, and carried him off along with his mother to the Dakhīn. Although he falsely gave out that his son was by a woman of his own tribe, no Rajput of pure race would allow of any matrimonial connection with the boy. So he was obliged to marry the lad to a girl of the Mahrattā tribe, which also claims to belong to an obscure class of Rajputs. From this good stock, in the seventh or eighth generation, was born Sahu Bhoslah. The origin of the name Bhoslah, according to the commonly-received opinion is from the Hindu word "*ghoslah*," meaning "place,"¹ or a very small and narrow place, and as that man was brought up in such a place, he received the name of Bhoslah. But I have heard a different explanation.

After the dominions of the Nizamu-l Mulk dynasty had passed into the possession of Shah Jahan, and that Emperor had entered into friendly relations with 'Adil Khan of Bijapur, the latter proposed to exchange certain districts in the neighbourhood of Khujista-bunyad (Aurangabad) and belonging to Bijapur, for the ports of Jiwal, Babal Danda Rajpuri, and Chakna² in the Kokan, which had formerly appertained to Nizamu-l Mulk but had been taken possession of by 'Adil Shah, as being in proximity with his territory in the Konkan known by the name of Tal Kokān. These districts consisted of jungles and hills full of trees. The proposal was accepted, and both Kokans were included in the territory of 'Adil Khan of Bijapur.

¹ The commonly-received meaning is "bird's-nest."

² Danda and Rajpuri are close together, near Jinjira. Jiwal and Babal (or Pabal) are said in a subsequent passage to be "on the coast near Surat." Chakna a place frequently mentioned, is not a port, but lies a little north of Puna. See an account of Chakna in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol 1, p 61

Mulla Ahmad, an adherent of the Bijapur dynasty, who was descended from an Arab immigrant, held three parganas in this country. At this time two parganas, named Puna and Supa, became the *jagir* of Sahu Bhoslah. Sivaji became the manager of these two parganas on the part of his father, and looked carefully after them. He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence, and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode. Like the zamindars of the country, he set about erecting forts on the hills, and mud forts which in the Hindawi dialect of the Dakhin are called *garhi*.

'Adil Khan of Bijapur was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory. At this time Mulla Ahmad went with his followers to wait upon the Emperor Shah Jahan, and Sivaji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possessions of some other jagirdars. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Kokan and all the territory of the Dakhin. Whenever he heard of a prosperous town or of a district inhabited by thriving cultivators, he plundered it and took possession of it. Before the jagirdars in those troublous times could appeal to Bijapur, he had sent in his own account of the matter, with presents and offerings, charging the jagirdars or proprietors with some offence which he had felt called upon to punish and offering to pay some advanced amount for the lands on their being attached to his own jagir, or to pay their revenues direct to the Government. He communicated these matters to the officials at Bijapur, who in those disturbed times took little heed of what any one did. So when the jagirdar's complaint arrived, he obtained no redress because no one took any notice of it. The country of the Dakhin was never free from commotions and outbreaks, and so the officials, the *rayats*, and the soldiery, under the influence of surrounding

letters to Sivaji, but without effect. He then sent Afzal Khan with a large army to chastise the rebel. Afzal Khan was one of 'Adil Khan's most distinguished and courageous officers, and he pressed Sivaji hard. The truculent rebel, knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negotiation, the deceitful *brahmans* made an agreement that Sivaji should come to wait upon Afzal Khan at a certain place under his fortress with only three or four servants and entirely without arms. Afzal Khan likewise was to proceed in a *palki*, with four or five servants, and without arms, to the place agreed upon under the fort. After Sivaji had paid his respects, and verbal agreements had been made he was to receive a *khil'at* and then be dismissed. When Afzal Khan had taken the proffered tribute and *peshkash*, Sivaji was to entertain and speed him on his way back to Bijapur, or rather he would attend him thither in person upon an assurance of reconciliation.

The designing rascal by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khan, who fell into the snare, believing all his false deceiving statements, and observing none of that caution which the wise commend. Without arms he mounted the *palki* and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair. Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms and with limbs trembling and crouching. He begged that the armed men and the servants who had accompanied Afzal Khan's litter should move farther off. Sivaji had a weapon, called in the language of the Dakhin *bichua*¹, on the fingers of his hand hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not

¹The primary meaning of this word is "a scorpion." The weapon is also called *wag-nakh*, "tiger's claws." Grant Duff gives a drawing of one.

be seen. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, "I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon, the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers." He had given orders to his troops also that as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khan, and do their best to attain success.

Afzal Khan, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place, was confident in his own courage, and saw Sivaji approach unarmed and fearing and trembling. He looked upon his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khan, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Sivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khan, killing, plundering, and destroying. The blood-thirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops. He obtained possession of the horses, elephants, treasure, and all the baggage and stores. He proposed to take the soldiers into his service, and gained them over. Then, as usual he went on collecting stores and men.

'Adil Khan of Bijapur, on hearing of this defeat, sent another army against Sivaji, under the command of Rustam Khan, one of his best generals. An action was fought near the fort of Parnala, and Rustam Khan was defeated. In fine Fortune so favoured this treacherous worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day. He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bijapur. He attacked the caravans which came

from distant parts, and appropriated to himself the goods and the women. But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *pul-siyah* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper should belong to the man who found them, but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Sivaji's government.

March of Amiru-l umara¹ to punish Sivaji

(Vol II, p 119) When Aurangzeb was informed of Sivaji's violence, he directed Amiru-l umara who was Subadar of the Dakhin, to punish and put him down. Amiru-l umara marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of Jumada-l awwal 1070 (end of January, 1660 A D), and marched towards Puna and Chakna, which in those days were Sivaji's places of abode and security. He left Mumtaz Khan in command at Aurangabad, and on the 1st Rajab arrived at the village of Seoganw belonging to Sivaji. At this time Sivaji was at the town of Supa² but upon hearing of Amiru-l umara's movements, he vacated that place, and went off in another direction. Amiru-l umara took Supa without opposition, and left Jadu Rai there to take charge of it, and to provide supplies of corn

¹ *Shayista Khan*

² About forty miles south-east of Puna

for the army. The daring freebooter Sivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage¹ of Amiru-umara's army wherever they met with it. When the Amir was informed of this, he appointed 1,000 horse under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Sivaji's Dakhins swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men and whatever they could secure until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them and harassed them so that they lost courage and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Puna and Sivapur, two places built by that dog (Sivaji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.

Then the royal armies marched to the fort of Chakna and after examining its bastions and walls, they opened trenches, erected batteries, threw up intrenchments round their own position and began to drive mines under the fort. Thus having invested the place, they used their best efforts to reduce it. The rains in that country last nearly five months, and fall night and day, so that people cannot put their heads out of their houses. The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for without them one man cannot see another of a party. But for all the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt, and the bows deprived of their strings the siege was vigorously pressed, and the walls of the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns. The garrison were hard pressed and troubled, but in dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness. Sometimes the forces of the freebooter on the outside combined with those inside in making a simultaneous attack in broad daylight, and placed the trenches in great danger. After the siege had lasted fifty or sixty days, a bastion which had been mined was blown up, and stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons. The brave soldiers of Islam trusting in God, and placing their shields before them, rushed to the assault and fought with great determination.

¹ *Kahi*, "forage, provisions"

But the infidels had thrown up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and had made intrenchments and places of defence in many parts. All the day passed in fighting, and many of the assailants were killed. But the brave warriors disdained to retreat, and passed the night without food or rest amid the ruins and the blood. As soon as the sun rose, they renewed their attacks, and after putting many of the garrison to the sword, by dint of great exertion and resolution they carried the place. The survivors of the garrison retired into the citadel. In this assault 300 men of the royal army were slain, besides sappers and others engaged in the work of the siege. Six or seven hundred horse and foot were wounded by stones and bullets, arrows and swords. The men in the citadel being reduced to extremity, sent Rao Bhao Singh to make terms, and then surrendered. Next day Amiru-l umara entered and inspected the fortress, and having left Uzbek Khan in command of it he marched. After Sivaji. After a time he gave the name of Islamabad to Chakna, and called Ja'far Khan from Malwa to his assistance. Amiru-l umara reported that the fort of Parendā had been won without fighting¹

Sulaiman Shukoh

(Vol II, p 123) Sulaiman Shukoh had for some time found refuge in the hills with Pirthi Singh, Zamindar of Srinagar, and Tarbiyat Khan had been sent with an army to overrun that territory. Pirthi Singh now wrote, through the medium of Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences, and offering to give up Sulaiman Shukoh. Kunwar Rai Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, was sent to fetch Sulaiman Shukoh, and he brought him to Court on the 11th Jumada-l awwal. He was led into the presence of the Emperor, who graciously took a lenient course and ordered him to be sent prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, along with Muhammad Sultan, who had been confined in Salim-garh

¹“It was surrounded by its commandant named Ghalib, who had been appointed by Ali Mardan Khan”—*‘Alamgir-nama*, p 596

Season of Scarcity ٤٧

(Vol II, p 123) Unfavourable seasons and want of rain, combined with war and movements of armies, had made grain very scarce and dear Many districts lay entirely waste, and crowds of people from all parts made their way to the capital. Every street and bazar of the city was choked with poor and helpless people, so that it was difficult for the inhabitants to move about. An Imperial order was issued, that in addition to the regular *bulghur-khanas*, where raw and cooked grain was given away, ten more *langar-khanas* (free houses of entertainment) should be opened in the city, and twelve *bulghur-khanas* in the suburbs and among the tombs, and careful men were appointed to superintend them. Instructions were also issued for the *amirs* to make provision for *langar* distributions, and orders were given for the remission of taxes on (the transport of) grain, with the view of favouring the gathering of stores.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1071 A H (1661 A D)

(Vol II, p 128) Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam married (in 1071 A H) the daughter of Raja Rup Singh

Campaign of Khan-khanan Mu'azzam Khan (Mir Jumla) against Assam ٤٨.

(Vol II, p 130) The country of Asham (Assam) lies to the east and north of Bengal between long ranges of hills Its length is nearly 100 *jaribi kos*, and its width from the mountains on the north to those on the south side is eight days' journey. It is said to be the native land of Piran Warsiyā, the wazir of Afrasiyab, and the Raja of the country traces his descent from this Piran. In the beginning the Rajas were fire-worshippers, but in course of time they became identified with the idolators of Hind. It is the established practice in that country that every individual pays annually one tola of gold-dust to the government of the Raja. When the Raja of that country or a great Zamindar dies, they dig a large tomb or apartment in the earth, and in it they place his wives and concubines, as also

his horses and equipage, carpets, vessels of gold and silver, grain, etc., all such things as are used in that country, the jewels worn by wives and nobles, perfumes and fruit, sufficient to last for several days. These they call the provisions for his journey to the next world, and when they are all collected the door is closed upon them. It was in consequence of this custom that the forces of Khan-khanan obtained such large sums of money from underground. The country of Kamrup borders upon Assam, and the two countries are friendly. For the last twenty years the people of this country had been refractory. They were in the habit of attacking the Imperial territories in the province of Bengal and of carrying off the ryots and Musulmans as prisoners. So great injury was done to life and property and great scandal was cast upon the Muhammadan religion.

Islam Khan, Subadar of Bengal, led an army against the country in the reign of Shah Jahan, but he was recalled and appointed to the office of wazir before the work was accomplished. Afterwards Shuja went to seek refuge with the Zamindar of Rakhang, who was one of the zamindars of those parts, and his fate was never ascertained. After Khan-khanan had settled the affairs of Dacca and other parts of Bengal, he resolved upon marching against Assam, and began to collect men and supplies for the campaign. When the Raja of Assam and the Zamindar of Kuch Bihar, named Bhim Narain, heard of this, they were greatly alarmed, and wrote penitent letters making submission and seeking forgiveness. These were forwarded to the Emperor, but orders were sent to Khan-khanan for the extermination of both of them. So he marched against that country with artillery, provisions for sieges, and a number of boats, which are of great importance for carrying on war in those parts. [Long details of the campaign.] Khan-khanan had the *khutba* read and money coined in the name of the Emperor. He set aside the Government of the Raja, and was desirous of pursuing him, but the rainy season was coming on, and in that country it lasts five months, and rains almost incessantly night and day. Large quantities of gold and silver were obtained from the places of sepulture

Khan-khman left the commander of his artillery in the conquered fortress of Ghar-ganw to take charge of it, and to get his guns in order for artillery is all-important in that country. The Khan then retired thirty kos and a half from Ghar-ganw to Mchuripur, which is situated at the foot of a hill, and is not liable to inundation. There he found entrenchments in which to pass the rainy season. For seven or eight kos round he stationed outposts under experienced officers to guard against surprise by the Assamese. The infidels repeatedly made attacks on dark nights, and killed many men and horses.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN COMMENSURING TO 1072 A.H.
(1662 A.D.)

(Vol. II, p. 154) The fifth year of the reign began in 1st Shawwal. Soon after the celebration of the fifth anniversary, the Emperor was attacked by illness. In the course of a week the fact got noised about in the vicinity of the capital where it interrupted the ordinary occupations of the people, and excited the hopes of the disaffected. But His Majesty's health soon recovered, and on the 7th Jumad-ul-awwal he started from Delhi for Lahore on his way to Kashmir.

Murder of Prince Murad Bakhsh

(Vol. II, p. 155) The author of the *Hamqir-nama* has given an account of the killing of Murad Bakhsh as suited his own pleasure (*marzi*). I now give my version of it as I have ascertained it from written records and as I have heard it from the evidence of truthful men of the time, and from the mouth of my own father who was a confidential servant of Murad Bakhsh, and until his services were no longer needed lived at the foot of the fort (of Gwalior), intent upon raising a rope-ladder (*lamand*) and of rescuing his master, without even thinking of taking service under Aurangzeb. When Muhammad Bakhsh was sent to the fortress, a favourite concubine, named Sar-un Bai was at his request allowed to accompany him. The unfortunate prisoner used to give away half what was allowed him for his

support in cooked food to the Mughals and Mughal woman who had followed him to his place of captivity, and lived in poverty at the foot of the fortress. After many schemes had been proposed, the Mughals contrived a plan for fastening a rope-ladder to the ramparts at a given time and place. After the second watch of the night, before the world was asleep, Murad Bakhsh communicated his intended escape to Sarsun Bai, and promised to do his best to return and rescue her. On hearing this, Sarsun Bai began to weep and cry out in such a way that the guards heard what she said, and with lights and torches searched for and discovered the ladder. When the plot was communicated to Aurangzeb, he felt some alarm for his throne. At the instigation of some of the Emperor's friends, the sons of 'Ali Naki, whom Murad Bakhsh had put to death, brought a charge of murder against him. The eldest son refused to demand satisfaction for his father's death, but the second complied with the expressed wish, and brought a charge of murder in a court of law against Murad Bakhsh. The case came at length before the Emperor, and he directed that it should be submitted to a judge. After it had been decided according to law, the order was given in Rabi'u-s sani, 1072 A H, for the judge to go along with the heir of the slain man to Murad Bakhsh to pronounce the sentence of the law, upon the murder being proved. The date of his death is found in the line *Ai war ba-har bahanah kushtand*, "Alas and alas! on some pretext they killed him." His gracious Majesty rewarded the eldest son for not enforcing his claim of blood.

The Campaign in Assam 5

(Vol II, p 157) I now revert to the campaign of Khan-khanan in Assam (*Long details of the sufferings of the troops from the constant attacks of the natives, from the rains and floods, from want of food and from sickness and disease*). The men of the army were reduced to such extremity that some of the officers, after consulting together, were about to move off and leave Khan-khanan. He got information of this, and took measures to prevent it. He gave public orders for the army to move its position towards that held

by the Raja, but privately he prepared for a (backward) march, and comforted his men with prospects of peace and return. When the Assamese got intelligence of the movement they assembled in great numbers, and showed great insolence. Diler Khan resolved to punish them, and thousands of them were slain and made prisoners. Khan-khanan ordered that the prisoners should have the heads of the slain tied round them and be thus exposed to the derision of the camp. He then sent them to the outposts to be again exposed, and afterwards put to death. The Raja at length consented to terms of peace. He agreed to pay 120 000 tolas of silver, and 2 000 tolas of gold and to present fifty elephants and one of his ugly daughters to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khan-khanan together with some cash and goods. It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions.

— In the middle of Jumada-l-awwal, in the fifth year of the reign, the Khan-khanan began his return march with an army broken down by disease, and with many of the officers and nobles at the point of death. The Khan-khanan himself was seriously ill, but he strove to the last in the service of his master. Concealing his own suffering or making light of it he exerted himself night and day to direct and comfort his army, until he was overpowered by disease, and knew that the time of his departure was near. He appointed certain of his officers to march against the Raja of Kuch Bihar who had failed in keeping his engagements and paying tribute. Then he spoke a few last words of kindly counsel, and died at Khizrpur on the frontiers of Kuch Bihar, on the 12th Ramazan, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1073 A H (1663 A D)

Sujan surprises Shayista Khan at Puna

(Vol. 1., p. 171) The Amiru-l-umara (Shayista Khan), after taking several forts and strong places, proceeded to

Puna, and lodged there in a house which had been built by that hell-dog Sivaji. From thence he sent out detachments to destroy the power of Sivaji, and to make him prisoner. A regulation had been made that no person, especially no Mahratta, should be allowed to enter the city or the lines of the army without a pass, whether armed or unarmed, excepting persons in the Imperial service. No Mahratta horseman was taken into the service. Sivaji, beaten and dispirited, had retired into mountains difficult of access, and was continually changing his position. One day a party of Mahrattas, who were serving as foot-soldiers, went to the kotwal, and applied for a pass to admit 200 Mahrattas, who were accompanying a marriage party. A boy dressed up as a bridegroom, and escorted by a party of Mahrattas with drums and music, entered the town early in the evening. On the same day another party was allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the enemy had been made prisoners at one of the outposts, and that another party was bringing them in pinioned and bare-headed, holding them by ropes and abusing and reviling them as they went along. They proceeded to the place agreed upon, where the whole party met and put on arms. At midnight they went to the cook-house, which was near the women's apartments. Between the two there was a small window stopped up with mud and bricks. They proceeded by a way well known to them, and got into the kitchen. It was the month of the fast. Some of the cooks were awake, and busy in preparing the vessels for cooking, and others were asleep. The assailants approached noiselessly, and, as far as they were able, they attacked and killed unawares those who were awake. Those who were asleep they butchered as they lay. So no great alarm was raised. They then quickly set to work about opening the closed window in the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a servant who was sleeping in a room next to the wall of the cook-house. He went to the Amiru-l-umara (Shayista Khan), and informed him of what he had heard. The Amir scolded him, and said that it was only the cooks who had got up to do their work. Some maid-

servants then came one after another, to say that a hole was being made through the wall. The Amir then jumped up in great alarm, and seized a bow, some arrows, and a spear. Just then some Mahrattas came up in front and the Amir shot one with an arrow, but he got up to the Amir, and cut off his thumb. Two Mahrattas fell into a reservoir of water, and Amiru-l umara brought down another with his spear. In the midst of the confusion two slave-girls took Shayista Khan, Amiru-l umara by the hand, and dragged him from the scene of strife to a place of safety. A number of Mahrattas got into the guard house, and killed every one they found on his pillow, whether sleeping or awake, and said "This is how they keep watch!" Some men got into the *nakar-khana*, and in the name of the Amiru-l umara ordered the drums to be beaten, so such a din was raised that one man could not hear another speak and the noise made by the assailants grew higher. They closed the doors. Abu-l Fath Khan, son of Shayista Khan, a brave young man, rushed forward and killed two or three men, but was himself wounded and killed. A man of importance, who had a house behind the palace of the Amiru-l umara, hearing the outcry, and finding the doors shut, endeavoured to escape by a rope-ladder from a window, but he was old and feeble, and somewhat resembled Shayista Khan. The Mahrattas mistook him for the Amiru-l umara, killed him and cut off his head. They also attacked two of the Amir's women. One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds. The assailants gave no thought to plundering, but made their way out of the house and went off.

In the morning Raja Jaswant, who was commander of Amiru-l umara's supports, came in to see the Amir, and make his apology, but that high-born noble spoke not a word beyond saying, "I thought the Maharaja was in His Majesty's service when such an evil befell me." When this occurrence was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the Amir and Raja Jaswant. The Subadari of

KHAFI KHAN

the Dakhn and the command of the forces employed against Sivaji was given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam The Amru-l umara was recalled, but a subsequent order sent him to be Subadar of Bengal Maharaja Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1074 A H (1664 A D)

(Text, vol 11, p 177) Despatches arrived from Prince Mu'azzam to the effect that Sivaji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans He had seized the ports of Jiwai, Pabal and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound to Mecca He had built several forts by the seashore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Raj-garh Maharaja Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail Raja Jai Singh [and many other nobles] were sent to join the armies fighting against him

EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1075 A H (1665 A D)

War in the Dakhn *Surrender-of Sivaji*

Raja Jai Singh proceeded to his command and paid his respects to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at Aurangabad He then went to Puna, and having arranged the affairs of that district, he employed himself in distributing the forces under his command to ravage the country and attack the forts of the enemy He himself proceeded to the most noted fortresses in the country, which had formerly belonged to Nizamul Mulk The two forts were close to each other Diler Khan and Rudarmal¹, two of the advanced force The two forts were close to the forts were invested The garrison made a vigorous

¹ The text calls them "Pundhar and Rud-Mal" Purandhar is about 20 miles south-east of Puna and Rudarmal was one of it' outwalk See Grant Duff, vol 1, pp 201, 207

defence Jai Singh arrived with his son Kesar Singh After a bastion had been blown up on one side, a panic seized the defenders of the foot of the hill The besiegers then attacked them and succeeded in making their way to the top of the hill, when the defenders called for quarter, which was granted to them by the Raja and Diler Khan The two commandants waited upon Diler Khan, and were sent to the Raja, who disarmed the garrison, and took possession of the forts Eighty men, horsemen, infantry and sappers, were lost in the siege, and more than a hundred were wounded

After the conquest of the two forts, Raja Jai Singh sent Daud Khan and with seven thousand horse to plunder and lay waste the country which Sivaji had won by force and violence Great efforts were made on both sides, and for five months the Imperial forces never rested from harassing and fighting the enemy At Sivapur, which was built by Sivaji, and at the forts of Kandana¹, and Kanwarigarh, not one trace of cultivation was left, and cattle out of number were taken But on the other hand, the sudden attacks by the enemy, their brilliant successes, their assaults in dark nights, their seizure of the roads and difficult passes, and the firing of the jungles full of trees, severely tried the Imperial forces, and men and beasts in great numbers perished But the enemy also had suffered great losses, and took to flight The fort of Rajgarh,² which Sivaji himself held, and the fort of Kandana, in which were his wife and his maternal relations, were both invested and the besiegers pressed the garrisons hard The roads on all sides were blockaded, and Sivaji knew that, however much he might desire it, he could not rescue his family and carry them to a place of safety He also knew that if these strongholds were taken, his wife and family would be liable to the consequences of his own evil deeds Accordingly he sent some intelligent men to Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness of his offences, promising the surrender of some forts

which he still held, and proposing to pay a visit to the Raja. But the Raja knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously until the intelligence was brought that Sivaji had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmans now came from him, and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths.

The Raja promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Sivaji then approached with great humility. The Raja sent his *munshi* to receive him, and he also sent some armed Rajputs to provide against treachery. The *munshi* carried a message to say that if Sivaji submitted frankly, gave up his forts and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivaji received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Raja then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

When Sivaji entered, the Raja arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivaji then, with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Kokan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after that interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders, discharge my duty loyally." The Raja cheered him up and sent him to Diler Khan.

way He died¹ at the end of Rajab 1076 A H (22nd January, 1666), in the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb, who grieved much over his death Shah Jahan reigned thirty-one years, and he was secluded under restraint nearly eight years²

(Vol 11, p 188) Among the events of this year was the subjugation of Sangram-nagar and Chatgam near Arracan. The zamindars of these places had shaken off their allegiance, but Ummed Khan, eldest son of Shayista Khan, Amiru-l umara, defeated them. The name of Sangram-nagar was changed to 'Alamgir-nagar, and that of Chatgam to Islamabad

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1076 A H (1666 A D)

Swari at the Imperial Court

(Text, vol 11, p 189) Raja Jai Singh, in the war with Bijapur, to be described presently, had, with the co-operation of Sivaji, done splendid service. After giving Sivaji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivaji's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khan, should go out to meet and conduct that evil malicious fellow into Agra. On the 18th Zi-l ka'da, 1076, Sivaji, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6,000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj-hazari*. But his son, a boy of eight years, had privately been made a *panj-hazari*, and Nathuji, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Raja Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijapur had been advanced to the same dignity, so that Sivaji had a

¹ "On the 26th Rajab, in the Fort of Agra, having thus entered the 75th solar year of his age"—*'Amal-i Salih*

² "Seven years, five months and eighteen days. The date of his death is found in the words *Shah Jahan Kard Wafat*"—*Shah Jahan-nama* of Sadik Khan

claim to nothing less than the dignity of a *haft-hazari* (7,000) Raja Jai Singh had flattered Sivaji with promises; but as the Raja knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivaji, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out. The *istikhbal*, or reception of Sivaji, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed,¹ and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Ram Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect. When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Raja Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Ram Singh. A letter was sent to Raja Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivaji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Raja's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Ram Singh.

Campaign against Bijapur S

(Text vol II, p 191) Raja Jai Singh, with Diler Khan and his other associates, in obedience to orders, marched against Bijapur. He took with him, as guides and assistants, Mulla Yahya Bijapuri, Purdil Khan, Sivaji, and Nathuji, one of Sivaji's relations, who was his chief supporter, and for whom also a mansab of 5,000 had been proposed. His force amounted on paper (*kalamī*) to 33,000 horse, but he had with him 25,000. Abu-l Majd, grandson of Bahlol Khan, and one of the bravest of the nobles of Bijapur, separated from 'Adil Khan, and joined Raja Jai Singh, whom he assisted in subduing that country. The Raja acted in all matters upon his advice, and he wrote to the Emperor recommending that a mansab of 5,000 and 4,000 horse should be settled upon him, which request was graciously acceded to. Forts belonging to Bijapur were taken by

¹ Three lines of the text are compressed into these three words:

storm, or after a few days' siege, in all directions Sivaji and Nathuji, with two thousand horse and eight or nine thousand infantry showed great skill in taking forts, and won much fame. In the course of three or four weeks three forts, Mangal-pahra and others were taken [Severe fighting]

At length, after two months' fighting, the Imperial forces came to five kos distance from Bijapur. On the 2nd Rajab they began the investment of the city. 'Adil Khan, being now closed in, directed his generals to enter the Imperial territory and lay it waste. Others were sent to oppose the Raja and attack his baggage. The embankments of the tanks were cut, poisonous matters and carrion were thrown into the wells, the trees and lofty buildings near the fortress were destroyed, spikes were fixed in the ground, and the gardens, and houses on both sides of the city were so destroyed that not a trace of culture was left near the city. Khwaja Neknam, a eunuch, joined Sharza Khan, the commander of 'Adil Khan's army, with a reinforcement of 6,000 horse and 25,000 infantry, from Kutbu-l Muluk. Every day there was severe fighting, and the men and animals which went out from the Imperial army to forage were cut off. Diler Khan was present wherever danger was, but to recount all the combats which were fought would be long and tedious.

Sivaji, with Nathuji and several thousand Imperial horse, had been sent to reduce the fort of Parnala¹, but after making some bold movements, he was obliged to relinquish the attempt, and proceeded to Khelna², one of his own forts. Nathuji, who had been corrupted by some of the Bijapur chiefs, separated from Sivaji, and went off along with them. The Raja called Sivaji to him, and treated him very courteously. At length, by the active exertions and clever management of Sivaji, several forts came into the

¹ "Near Kolapur" It lies about twelve miles north-west and is marked in the maps as "Panala."

² Khelna is now called Bishalgarh—Grant Duff, vol 1, p 177 See also Thornton, s.v. "Vishalgarh" It lies in the ghats about sixty miles north-west of Kolapur. When the Muhammadans took it, they gave it the name of Sakhraina

possession of the royal forces. In accordance with Sivaji's own desire, and in performance of the promise made to him, under the Imperial orders he was sent off express with his son at the end of the month of Ramadan to Court. After the departure of Sivaji, the siege of Bijapur was carried on for two months and a half longer, and there were many hard fights under the walls.

At the end of Zi-l ka'da the siege had gone on for eight months, during which neither cavalry nor infantry had rested. All round Bijapur for forty or fifty kos not a trace of grass or fodder was left. No supplies arrived, so the Imperial armies were reduced to great straits. The Raja and Diler Khan therefore deemed it advisable to remove to the neighbourhood of Dharur, to have their wounded tended, to give rest to their troops, and to collect lead and powder. They also hoped to obtain there supplies of fodder and corn. A despatch to this effect was sent off to the Emperor. The Dakhins also inside the fortress found their provisions drawing to an end and their weapons expended or damaged. Both besiegers and besieged were therefore anxious for an arrangement. When the despatch reached the Emperor, he issued an order directing his generals to cease operations against 'Adil Khan. Raja Jai Singh was directed to proceed to Aurangabad, and Diler Khan was recalled to Court.

Sivaji's Escape

(Vol II, p 198) After Sivaji returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwal* to place guards round it. Sivaji, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the amirs and with Kunwar Ram Singh. He sent them presents of Dakhin

¹The *'Alamgir-nama*, p 970, says that Sambhaji received a good deal of notice from the Emperor, and that upon a letter of remonstrance arriving from Raja Jai Singh, the guards were removed from Sivaji's dwelling.

products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance

Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the Brahmins, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmans and Hindus. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper and being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the amirs and the abodes of fakirs. These, swift horses were procured, and, under the pretence of being presents to Brahmans, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen kos from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivaji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a piece of fine muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand, and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivaji, with his son got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the Brahmans and fakirs of Mathura.

Thus, on the last day of Safar, Sivaji got out of Agra, and proceeded to where his horses were posted. Thence, in the course of two watches, he reached Mathura. There he shaved off his beard and whiskers, and smeared his own and his son's face with ashes, and taking with him some jewels and gold, he went off with some of his confederates, who were also disguised as fakirs. He crossed the Jumna at an unfrequented ferry, and proceeded towards Benares, travelling in the night, and being guided by some swift Dakhni runners, whose business is to disguise themselves and travel in all directions. It is said that they carried sufficient money and jewels for their wants in hollow walking-sticks.

him and send him to the Emperor.

Raja Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Bijapur and had arrived at Aurang, had received orders to arrest Nathuji before the escape of Sivaji before he fled, and to send him to Court. After that he was to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage and not suffer him to re-establish his nest in his old haunt, and to gather his followers around him. It is said that Sivaji made such expedition in his flight that no courier could have overtaken him. But his son Sambhaji, who of tender years was with him, and he suffered so much from the rapid motion that Sivaji left him behind at Allahabad in charge of a Brahman, a man of high repute in that place. This Brahman in the Dalhmi had been closely connected with Sivaji's father. Sivaji placed a sum of money with the Brahman and commended the boy to his care. He was not to part from him until he received a letter in Sivaji's own hand, and if he obtained certain intelligence of Sivaji's death, he was to act as he deemed best.

Siege of Bijapur raised

Raja Jai Singh in obedience to orders raised the siege of Bijapur. Knowing that the forts which he had taken could

not be held after his departure, through want of provisions on the inside, against the swarms of Dakhinis outside, he resolved to abandon them. He took out of them such guns as he could carry away. Then he gave the forts up to plunder, and afterwards set fire to them and blew up the strong towers and walls. Then he proceeded to Aurangabad. Information now reached him of the flight of Sivaji, and, in obedience to the Imperial command, he arrested Nathuji and his son, and sent them to Court under close surveillance. Seeing no other chance of escape, he expressed a wish to become a Musulman, which greatly pleased the Emperor. So he was initiated, and received a mansab of three thousand and two thousand horse, with the title of Muhammad Kuli Khan. After some time, when he returned to the Dakhin with reinforcements for Diler Khan, he recanted, and seized an opportunity to join Sivaji.

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1077 A H (1667 A D)
 (Text vol II, p 207) Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was appointed Subadar of the Dakhin, and intelligence reached the Court of the death of Raja Jai Singh.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1078 A H (1668 A D)
 (Text, vol II, p 211) After the expiration of ten years (of this just and righteous Emperor's reign. Nevertheless some competent persons (did write), and particularly Musta'idd Khan, who secretly wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Dakhin, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts, without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the events of some years of the second and third decades. But I have neither seen nor obtained an abridged account of the events of the Emperor's reign, from the forty remaining years of the reign. Consequently, from the eleventh to the twenty-first year of the Emperor's reign, I have not been able to relate the events in the order in which

they occurred, giving the month and year, but, after this year, with very great labour and pains, I collected information from the papers in the public offices, and by inquiry made from truthful persons, the confidential and old servants of the Emperor and old eunuchs. This, and whatsoever I myself observed, after attaining years of discretion, for thirty or forty years I laid up in the strong box (of my memory), and that I have written. And since I heard that Bindraban Das Bahadur Shahi, who was long a *mutasaddi* of Shah 'Alam during the time he was a prince, had compiled a history, and had included in it an account of upwards of thirty years, being exceedingly anxious to see it, I made great search for it. Subsequently when, after great trouble, I obtained a copy, and examined it carefully from beginning to end, in the hope that I might gather the rich fruits of his labours, I discovered that his work did not contain one-half of what I had collected and included in my own history¹

The King of happy disposition strove earnestly from day to day to put in force the rules of the Law, and to maintain the Divine commands and prohibitions. Orders were also issued prohibiting the collection of the *rahdari*, the *pandari*, and other imposts which brought in lacs of rupees to the State. Prohibitions were promulgated against intoxicating drinks, against taverns, and brothels, and against the meetings called *jatras* or fairs, at which on certain dates countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples—when lacs of rupees change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries. The minstrels and singers of reputation in the service of the Court were made ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced to the dignities of mansabs. Public proclamations were made prohibiting singing and dancing. It is said that one day a number of singers and minstrels gathered together with great cries, and having fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wailers, they passed under the Emperor's *jharokha-i darsan*, or interview-window. When he inquired what was intended

¹See Col Lees in *Journ Roy Ass Soc*, NS, vol III, p 471

by the bier and the show, the minstrels said that Music was dead, and they were carrying his corpse for burial. Aurangzeb then directed them to place it deep in the ground, that no sound or cry might afterwards arise from it.

In the reigns of former kings, and up to this year, the *gharokha-i darsan* had been a regular institution. Although the King might be suffering from bodily indisposition, he went to the *gharokha* once or twice a day at stated times, and put his head out of the window to show that he was safe. This window, at Agra and at Delhi, was constructed on the side looking towards the Jumna. Besides the nobles in attendance at the Court, hundreds of thousands of men and women of all classes used to collect under the *gharokha* and offer their blessings and praises. Many Hindus were known by the name of *darsani*, for until they had seen the person of the King at the window, they put not a morsel of food into their mouths. His religious Majesty looked upon this as among the forbidden and unlawful practices, so he left off sitting in the window, and forbade the assembling of the crowd beneath it.

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN¹

Escape of Sivaji

(Text, vol. II, p. 217) Sivaji left Mathura after changing his clothes and shaving off his beard and whiskers, carrying with him his youthful son and forty or fifty individuals, servants and dependants, who all smeared their faces with ashes, and assumed the appearance of Hindu mendicants. The valuable jewels and the gold mohurs and the huns they carried with them were concealed in walking sticks which had been hollowed out for the purpose, and were covered at the top with knobs. Some was sewed up in old slippers, and the wearers, pretending to be Hindu mendicants of three different classes, Bairagis, Gosains, and Udasis, proceeded by way of Allahabad to Benares. One very valuable diamond with some rubies was encased in wax and concealed in the dress of one of his followers and other jewels were placed in the mouths of other attendants.

¹This does not appear in the text.

So they proceeded until they reached a place of which the faujdar 'Ah Kuli Khan, had received private and public notice of Sivaji's escape. The faujdar knowing of the escape of Sivaji on hearing of the arrival of these three parties of Hindu devotees ordered them all to be placed in confinement and an inquiry to be made. All these men and some other travellers remained in confinement a night and a day. On the second night Sivaji at the second watch of the night proceeded alone to the faujdar in private and acknowledged that he was Sivaji. But, said he, "I have two gems, a diamond and a ruby of great value with more than a lac of rupees. If you secure me and send me back a prisoner, or if you cut off my head and forward that, the two priceless jewels will be lost to you. Here am I and here is my head, but still keep off thine hand from wretched me in this dangerous strait." 'Ah Kuli preferred the ready bribe to the hope of the reward which might afterwards accrue to him. He took the two valuable jewels and on the following morning, after making inquiries he released all the devotees and travellers from custody.

Sivaji, looking upon his escape as a new lease of life hastened to pursue his journey in the direction of Benares. He himself in rapid travelling and walking beat even the regular runners, but after reaching Allahabad his young son Sambhi, who accompanied him was foot-sore and worn out. Sivaji therefore at Benares gave a quantity of jewels and money and placed his boy in the charge of a Brahman named Kabkalas who was the hereditary family priest of his family, and who happened at that time to be at Benares. Sivaji promised that if he reached home alive, he would write to the Brahman who was then to conduct the boy to his father by the road and in the manner prescribed in the letter. He warned him against listening to the wishes of the boy or attending to letters from his mother. Having thus provided for the care of his boy, he continued his flight, and he had hardly entered Benares before the government messengers brought the news of Sivaji's escape. Sivaji then continued his flight by way of Bihar, Patna and Chanda, which is a thickly wooded country and difficult of

passage Every place he came to, he and his followers changed their disguises, and so passed on from place to place secretly till he reached Haidarabad, and came to 'Abdu-llah Kutbu-l Mulk There he told such stories and used such arts and wiles to forward his purpose that he deceived 'Abdu-llah Shah

Conquests of Sivaji

(Vol II, p 220) Sundry forts which had belonged to the Kutb-Shahi kings had passed into the hands of the 'Adil-Shahis Sivaji had a great reputation for skill in the reduction of forts and he swore to 'Abdu-llah Shah that if he would supply him with forces and the means for conducting sieges, he would in a short time wrest these forts from Bijapuris, and hand them over to the officers appointed to accompany him, he would not even accept some forts which had belonged to himself, and 'were in the possession of the officers of Aurangzeb, if he recovered them by the means supplied him He vowed also that for the remainder of his life he would remain the devoted servant and adherent of 'Abdu-llah Shah The ultimate objects of the arch deceiver never entered into the consideration of 'Abdu-llah Shah He provided a sufficient force and a suitable siege train, and he appointed to it several officers acquainted with siege operations, whom he enjoined to serve heartily in obedience to and in accord with Sivaji

Sivaji, with the force placed under his command, marched on his enterprise By fraud and stratagem and by his marvellous skill in the conduct of sieges, every fort that he approached fell into his hands after a few days' investment He cajoled the officers who had been sent with him to take charge of the captured forts, with plausible statements, with promises of giving them the command of more important places, and by using the money and property he had obtained from the captured strongholds So he carried them with him to other forts, and in a short time he reduced Sattara, Parnala, and ten or twelve other renowned forts belonging to Bijapur, which it would have taken years and lacs of expense to conquer He then marched against Rajgarh, and other forts which had been captured by Raja

Jai Singh, Diler Khan and other Imperial generals the keys of which he himself had surrendered. Having mastered them all, he placed one or two of them in charge of the officers of 'Abdu-llah Shah.

According to common report, and the oral statements of men of Haidarabad, Sivaji came to that city in the first or second year of the reign of Abul Hasan, and succeeded in wheedling and satisfying that sovereign. When he had finished his fortress-taking, according to his wont he took up his abode at Rajgarh and there again raised the standard of rebellion. In the days when the fortifications of the port of Surat were not yet completed, he attacked and took the place.¹ There he obtained an immense booty in gold and silver, coined and uncoined and in the stuffs of Kashmir, Ahmadabad, and other places. He also made prisoners of some thousand Hindu men and women of name and station, and Musulmans of honourable position. Krores in money and goods thus came into the hands of that evil infidel.

Aurangzeb, on being informed of the capture and plunder of Surat, ordered that the fortifications of that port should be completed, and he placed Diler Khan and Khan Jahan in command of an army to punish Sivaji. It is said that Sivaji got together some ten or twelve thousand Kachh and Arab horses so that when he sent out an army most of the horsemen were *barairs* i.e., they rode horses belonging to him. He rebuilt the forts which had formerly stood on the seashore, and he constructed also vessels of war which were kept under the guns of the fortress. With these vessels he attacked and plundered ships which were proceeding to Europe and to Mecca.

When Sivaji had satisfied himself of the security of Rajgarh, his old retreat, and of the dependent territory, he turned his thoughts towards finding some other more inaccessible hill as a place for his abode. After diligent search he fixed upon the hill of Rahiri,² a very high and strong place. The ascent of this place was three kos, and

¹This was in the thirteenth year of the reign, 1081 A.H. (1671 A.D.), according to the *Ma-asir-i 'Alamgiri*.

²The name was afterwards changed to Rai-garh. It lies due east of Jinjera.—See Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 190.

it was situated twenty-four kos from the sea, but an inlet of the sea was about seven kos from the foot of the hill. The road to Surat passed near the place, and that port was ten or twelve stages distant by land. Rajgarh was four or five stages off. The hills are very lofty and difficult of ascent. Rain falls there for about five months in the year. The place was a dependency of the Kokan, belonging to Nizamu-l Mulk. Having fixed on the spot, he set about building his fort. When the gates and bastions and walls were complete and secure, he removed thither from Rajgarh, and made it his regular residence. After the guns were mounted, and the place made safe, he closed all the roads around, leaving only one leading to his fortress. One day he called an assembly, and having placed a bag of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred pagodas before the people, he ordered proclamation to be made that this would be given to any one who would ascend to the fort, and plant a flag, by any other than the appointed road, without the aid of ladder or rope. A Dher came forward and said that with the permission of the Raja he would mount to the top of the hill, plant the flag, and return. He ascended the hill, fixed the flag, quickly came down again, and made his obeisance. Sivaji ordered that the purse of money and the gold bracelet should be given to him, and that he should be set at liberty, and he gave directions for closing the way by which the Dher had ascended.

At the first, Rahiri was attached to the Kokan, and belonged to Nizamu-l Mulk. Afterwards this country and several of the dependencies of Bijapur passed into the possession of the Emperor Shah Jahan. When the Imperial government became friendly with Bijapur, the Kokan, which had belonged to Nizamu-l Mulk, was granted to 'Adil Shah in exchange for territory newly acquired by Bijapur. Fath Khan, an Afghan, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bijapur, and he posted himself in the fort of Danda-Rajpuri, which is situated half in the sea and half on land. Subsequently he built the fort of Jazira¹ upon an

¹ Jazira, the island, but it is more commonly known under the Marathi form "Jinjera."

island in the sea about a cannon-shot distant from Danda-Rajpuri, in a very secure position, so that, if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place

After Sivaji had fixed his abode at Rahuri, which is twenty kos from Danda-Rajpuri, he appointed a commandant of that fortress. In a short time, he reduced and occupied seven other forts small and great, in that neighbourhood and then resolved upon the conquest of Danda-Rajpuri. Fath Khan had observed the triumphant progress of Sivaji, and how fortress after fortress had fallen into his hands. So Fath Khan lost courage, he abandoned Danda-Rajpuri and retired to the island fortress in the sea. Sivaji then resolved to effect the conquest of the island also, and he so conducted matters that Fath Khan was soon reduced to extremities and he offered to surrender the place to Sivaji, upon a pledge of security to himself and the garrison.

Fath Khan had in his service three Abyssinian slaves, Sidi Sambal, Sidi Yakut, and Sidi Khairiyat, each of whom had ten Abyssinian slaves, which he had trained and drilled. The management of the island and of many domestic concerns was in the hands of these Abyssinians. These three men got information of the enemy's power, and of Fath Khan's intention of surrendering the island to Sivaji. They took counsel together, and resolved that no good could come from allowing the island to pass into the hands of any infidel. So they determined to take Fath Khan prisoner, and to make Sidi Sambal governor of the fortress. In the fourteenth year of the reign these Abyssinians seized Fath Khan unawares, placed chains upon his legs and wrote a statement of the facts to 'Adil Shah Bijapuri. They also wrote to Khan Jahan, the Subadar of the Dakhin, begging the aid of the Imperial forces, and requesting him to send his forces by sea from Surat. Khan Jahan graciously bestowed mansabs and presents on each of the three Abyssinians.

Khan Jahan also took measures to thwart the designs of Sivaji. He got together some ships at the fortress (of

Surat), and began the rebuilding which had been ordered. Then he collected some ships of war with the intention of taking a cruise. One night he attacked the vessels of Sivaji which lay near the fort of Danda-Rajpuri, and captured them with two hundred sailors trained for warlike work. One hundred of them were Mahrattas, and had lately been appointed to this duty by Sivaji. Stones were tied to the feet of these men, and they were thrown into the sea. From that day forth the animosity between the Abyssinians and Sivaji grew more violent. Sivaji collected forty or fifty vessels of war to defend the forts of Kalaba and Gandri, which were the strongest of his newly-built forts on the seashore. He then turned his thoughts to the reduction of the fort of Jazira (Jinjera), and the capture of the Abyssinians. There were frequent naval fights between the opposing forces, in which the Abyssinians were often victorious.

Sidi Sambal was advanced to a mansab of 900, and then he died. Before he expired he made Sidi Yakut his successor, and enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience. Sidi Yakut was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress, and to ward off naval attacks. He was armed and ready night and day. He frequently captured ships of the enemy, and cut off the heads of many Mahrattas, and sent them to Surat. He used to write reports to Khan Jahan, and he frequently received marks of approbation from him. He was constantly revolving in his mind plans for wresting the fort of Danda-Rajpuri from the hands of Sivaji. He got together some rockets¹, which he fastened to trees, and discharged them at night against the fort.

Sivaji also was prosecuting his plans for the reduction of Jazira. But he now retired to a dwelling about three kos to celebrate the holi, leaving in command at Rajpuri some officers experienced in siege work, to prosecute incessantly the operations against Jazira during his absence, and he held

¹ *Tophae-Hawar*, lit "aerial guns"

out to them the reward of a man of gold and other presents. One night while the garrison of Danda-Rajpuri were celebrating the holi, and were intoxicated or inattentive, Sidi Yakut sent on shore four or five hundred men under Sidi Khairiyat with ropes ladders and other apparatus. He himself drew thirty or forty boats laden with siege material under the walls of Rajpuri, and gave the signal agreed upon to announce his arrival. They found the garrison off their guard and Sidi Khairiyat assaulted the place with loud cries from the land side. When the enemy took the alarm, and rushed to repel the attack on that side, Sidi Yakut planted his scaling-ladders, which he had brought in his boats and by means of these and of ropes, his brave followers scaled the walls, and quickly made their way up. Some of the assailants were cast into the sea, and were drowned, others fell under the swords of the defenders but the storming party forced its way into the fort, and raised the cry, "Strike ' kill '". Just at this time the powder magazine caught fire, and blew up a number of men, including ten or twelve who were with Sidi Yakut. The smoke and the noise made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe but Sidi Yakut raised his war-cry, and encouraged his men to slaughter the defenders who had escaped the fire. Sidi Khairiyat also scaled the walls on his side and the place was taken.

I the author, was in that country some time, and I repeatedly heard from many men, and from the mouth of Yakut Khan himself, that when the magazine blew up, although Sivaji was twenty kos off, it awoke him from sleep and he said that some misfortune had fallen on Danda-Rajpuri, and he sent men to ascertain what had happened.

At this time Sivaji's forces had gone to attack the neighbourhood of Surat. Within the space of four or five kos from Rajpuri there were six or seven Nizam-ul Mulki forts which had fallen into the hands of Sivaji, but he was unable at this time to render them any assistance. So, Sidi Yakut seized the opportunity to attack them. Six forts surrendered after two or three days' resistance, but the

commandant of one fort held out for a week in the hope of relief from Sivaji. The Abyssinians pushed forward their approaches and kept up such a fire that he was obliged to surrender. Sidi Yakut granted quarter to the garrison, and seven hundred persons came out. But notwithstanding his word, he made the children and pretty women slaves, and forcibly converted them to Islam. The old and ugly women he set free, but the men he put to death. This struck such terror into the hearts of Sivaji and his followers that he was obliged to confine himself to securing Rahiri. Sidi Yakut sent an account of his victory to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, Subadar of the Dakhin, and to Khan Jahan. His mansab was raised, a robe of honour was sent to him, and he received the title of Khan. Similar honours were also given to Sidi Khairiyat (Text, vol 11, p 229). A report reached Sivaji that his son Sambha, whom he had left at Allahabad with the Brahman, was dead, and Sambhaji's wife wanted to become a *sati*, but a few months afterwards the Brahman arrived, bringing Sambhaji with him.

3) Taxes 4

(Text, vol 11, p 229) An order was promulgated exempting the commercial goods of Musulmans from tax throughout the dominions of Hindustan. But after a short time, upon the reports of the revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musulmans, the price of which was not large, should pass free, but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to partners were not to be troubled with duty. The revenue officers then reported that Musulmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *zakat* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, according to the Law, two and a half per cent should be taken from Musulmans and five per cent from Hindus.

[DISTURBANCES AMONG THE YUSUFZAIS]

War with Bijapur

(Text, vol 11, p 236) In the sixteenth year of the reign, corresponding to 1083 A H (A D 1673),¹ Khan Jahan fought a battle with Bahlol, the Bijapur general, near the town of Malkher,² about four stages from Bijapur. Islam Khan Rumi fought splendidly, and the Imperial army was worsting the enemy in all directions, when an explosion of gunpowder took place, which so frightened the elephant of Islam Khan that the driver lost all control of it, and the animal carried off his rider to the lines of the enemy, where Islam Khan was dragged off the elephant and killed. A good deal of the baggage of the Imperial army was plundered, and many men were slain in the battle. Aurangzeb received the news of the defeat of Diler Khan and the death of Islam Khan in the Dakhin, while he was at Hasan Abdal on his march against the Afghans, in the beginning of the seventeenth year of his reign, and he was obliged to defer the punishment of the Dakhinis for the time. The Emperor returned from Hasan Abdal to the capital at the end of the eighteenth or nineteenth year of his reign.

Riot of Hindu Devotees

(Text, vol 11, p 252) One of the remarkable occurrences of this year³ was the outburst of the Hindu devotees called *Sat-namis*, who are also known by the name of *Mundris*. There were four or five thousand of these, who were householders in the parganas of Narnaul and Mewat. These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good name," this being

¹ Just before this the dates become confused.

² See Grant Duff, vol 1, p 78. It lies about thirty miles south-east of Kulbarga.

³ According to the *Ma-asir*, it was the fifteenth year.

army brought down two or three men. Thus they were credited with magic and witchcraft, and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic wooden horses like live ones, on which their women rode as an advanced guard.

Great Rajas and veteran amirs were sent against them with powerful armies. But the revolters were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen kos from Dehli. The royal army went forth boldly to attack them, but the zamindars of the neighbourhood and some cowardly Rajputs seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out. He then wrote some prayers and devices with his own hands, which he ordered to be sewn on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the exertions of Raja Bishan Singh, Hamid Khan and others, several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled.

○ *Re-Imposition of the Jizya*

With the object of curbing the infidels and of distinguishing the land of the faithful from an infidel land, the *jizya* or poll-tax was imposed upon the Hindus throughout all the provinces¹. Upon the publication of this order, the Hindus all round Dehli assembled in vast numbers under the Jharokha of the Emperor on the river front of the palace, to represent their inability to pay, and to pray for the recall of the edict. But the Emperor would not listen to their complaints. One day, when he went to public prayer in the great mosque on the Sabbath, a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of

¹ According to the *Ma-asir*, the *jizya* was imposed in Safar, 1090, in the 22nd year of the reign (A.D. 1680), and it is not associated with the outbreak of the *Sat-namis*, which according to that work, occurred five years before.

seeking relief Money-changers and drapers, all kinds of shopkeepers from the Urdu bazar, mechanics, and workmen of all kinds, left off work and business, and pressed into the way Notwithstanding orders were given to force a way through, it was impossible for the Emperor to reach the mosque Every moment the crowd increased, and the Emperor's equipage was brought to a standstill At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses For some days the Hindus continued to assemble in great numbers and complain, but at length they submitted to pay the *jzya*

Death of Raja Jaswant Singh ③

(Text, vol 11, p 259)¹ Intelligence now arrived of the death of Raja Jaswant Singh, who had gone to Kabul with reinforcements After the death of the Raja, his foolish servants took away the Raja's two sons, named Ajit Singh and Dalathaman, who were of tender years, and the Ranis also Without waiting for permission from Aurangzeb, and without even obtaining a pass from the subadar of the province, they set off towards the capital When they reached the ferry of Atak, they were unable to produce any pass, so the commander of the boats refused to let them proceed They then attacked him, killed and wounded some of his men, and by force made good their way over the river and went onwards towards Dehl

There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Raja Jaswant's tribute, which was aggravated by these presumptuous proceedings of the Rajputs He ordered the kotwal to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the mansabdars, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the Rajputs and keep guard over them After some days a party of Rajputs sought permission to go home Their request was made known to Aurangzeb, and as it seemed right and proper, it was granted

¹See the account of this given by the *Ma-asir-i 'Alamgir*

Meanwhile the Rajputs had obtained two boys of the same age as the Raja's children. They dressed some of the female attendants in the garments of the Ranis, and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left these women and the boys under guard in their camp. The (real) Ranis, disguised as men, went off at night in charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted Rajputs, and made their way with all speed to their own country. The brave and active chiefs, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the Raja were. After two or three watches, when a report of the fact was made, some officials were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the Ranis and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking all the Raja's followers into the fortress. The Rajputs and the disguised women who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their Raja, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped.

The flight of the Ranis was not clearly proved. Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to cover their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the *wazir* had sent out a force to secure them. The royal forces went in pursuit twenty kos from Dehli, but they could not overtake the Rajputs, and returned unsuccessful. The two (substituted) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal harem, and were there brought up. The two boys which the Rajputs carried off were for a long time rejected by Aurangzeb, who refused to acknowledge that they were the sons of Jaswant, until all doubt was removed by the Rana of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family.

The Rana and other Rajputs Defection of Prince Akbar

(Text, vol II, p. 261) At the beginning of Zi-l hijja of the twenty-second year of the reign, Aurangzeb started from Ajmir, with the intention of bringing the refractory Rajputs to punishment. A strict *farman* was sent to the Rana of Chitor, calling upon him to assent to the

payment of the *jzya*, and directing him to bring from the territories of Jodhpur the two alleged sons of Raja Jaswant Singh. After a short stay at Ajmir, the army marched with the intention of ravaging Jodhpur, and other Rajput districts. The Rana, feeling himself incapable of resistance, sent his vakils with tribute and a letter declaring his obedience in the matter of the *jzya*, but offering to give over two or three parganas (districts) in commutation. He declared that he was not supporting the sons of Jaswant, and finally begged forgiveness for his offences. Aurangzeb left Khan Jahan Bahadur to complete the arrangements in this quarter, and returned to Dehli. His journey to Ajmir and back occupied seven months and twenty days.

It was soon after reported that the mean-spirited Rana had again broken his engagements, and showed rebellious designs, so that Khan Jahan could bring him to no final settlement. This kindled the flames of the Emperor's wrath, and towards the end of the same year, he set off again to Ajmir, with the intention of punishing the Rana and the other evil-disposed Rajputs. He wrote to Prince Mu'azzam, directing him to come from the Dakhin to Ujjain, and Prince Muhammad A'zam was ordered to march with all speed from Bengal. When the king's tents were pitched near Ajmir, Prince Muhammad Akbar was sent with a large force to attack and chastise the Rana. Shah Kuli Khan, who was promoted and received the title of Tahawwur Khan, was placed in command of his advanced guard.

When the Rana heard of these preparations, he laid Udipur, his capital, waste, and with the treasure and family and followers of himself and Jaswant Singh, he fled to the mountains and difficult passes. The Prince was ordered to follow him into the hills with a strong force of brave men suited for mountain warfare. Another force was sent to ravage the country of the Rana, and destroy the crops. When Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam arrived at Ujjain, he was directed to march against the Lake of Ana-sagar, which belonged to the Rana, and was about

eighty kos from Ajmir His orders were to station his army about that neighbourhood, and to trample every scrap of cultivation under the hoofs of his horses

It was now announced that Prince Muhammad A'zam had shown such alacrity in the execution of the orders issued to him, that he had compressed four months' march into less than one, and came up with his army He was ordered to march through the mountains and central fastnesses of the Rana, into the territories of the Rahtors, and there to kill, ravage and make prisoners among the Rajputs He was also ordered to employ a force in preventing the transport of supplies to the Rana, and in stopping cultivation Nearly twenty-five thousand horse, Rahtors, belonging to the territories of Jaswant, and other Rajputs, assembled to support the Rana, and had the boldness to attack the royal forces, and to fall upon their supplies They allured several thousand of the royal forces into the heart of the Rana's fastnesses There they attacked them, and killed many, both horse and foot, but the royal forces at length prevailed and beat them Notwithstanding that the Rajputs held all the roads through the hills, and came down occasionally from the hills, and attacked the Prince's forces by surprise, the Prince's army fought bravely, and Tahawwur Khan and others rendered distinguished service in chastising the enemy They employed themselves in laying waste the country, destroying temples and buildings, cutting down fruit-trees, and making prisoners of the women and children of the infidels who had taken refuge in holes and ruined places

Orders were also issued to Muhammad Amin Khan, subadar of Ahmadabad, directing him to take up a position with his forces between Ahmadabad and the territories of the Rajputs, and to march against them wherever he heard of them Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash was reappointed subadar of the Dakhin, and sent to lay siege to the fort of Salir,¹ which had fallen into the possession of the enemy

When the Rana was hard pressed, and his allies were crippled, when not a scrap of grain was left, and not a

¹ Or "Salhir" in the ghats of Baglana

trace of cultivation was to be found, the Rana and the Rahtor Rajputs had recourse again to lies and stratagems. They first addressed themselves to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, and sought to make him an intercessor for their forgiveness, or to persuade him to rebel and join them. The Prince paid no heed to their allurements, and Nawab Bai, the mother of the Prince, being informed of what was passing, gave good counsel to the Prince, and strongly dissuaded him from yielding an assent, and from giving any aid, assistance, or intercession on behalf of the Rajputs. She even persuaded him not to allow the vakils of the Rana to approach him. When they despaired of success in this quarter, the Rajputs betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Akbar, taking advantage of his youth, and the favour of some of his friends. Durga Das was their spokesman. He was noted among them for his plausibility, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with forty thousand Rajput horse, and with abundance of treasure. This so dazzled the Prince that he was deluded, and several of his evil companions artfully used their persuasions. So the inexperienced Prince was led astray from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and covetousness he fell into the snares of the Rajputs.

Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, when he heard of these doings, wrote a few words of friendly counsel to the Prince, to whom he was much attached. He also wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, informing him that the false and deceitful infidels were using all their wiles to mislead the Prince, and that he must watch against being taken unawares. Aurangzeb entertained no suspicions of Muhammad Akbar, but report had cast an evil aspersion on the name of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at the time when Aurangzeb was at Hasan Abdal. The infidels had addressed themselves to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam in the first instance, and Aurangzeb had received information about it, so he now thought that Mu'azzam's letter about his brother Akbar was sheer calumny. Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge,

and praying that the Almighty would keep him in the right course and preserve him from listening to the evil suggestions of designing people

Soon afterwards the secret became public. Thirty thousand Rajputs under Durga Das joined the Prince. The news spread from tent to tent and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had ascended the throne, and that coins had been struck in his name, that Tahawwur Khan had been made a haft-hazari and had received the title of Amiru-l umara, that Mujahid Khan and other great servants of the State, who were with the Prince had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept. The Prince was doing his best to win the affections of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

On the forces being sent off, under the command of Prince Akbar, against the infidels only Asad Khan and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor. All his retinue, counting the eunuchs and writers, did not exceed seven or eight hundred horsemen. A great panic fell upon the royal camp, and wild confusion followed. A letter under the royal signature was sent off in haste to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, urging him to come with all his army, and with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb. When the Prince received it, he marched without a moment's delay to join his father. Leaving his ladies and attendants behind under protection, he set off with all speed, and, pressing nine or ten days' journey into the space of two or three, he joined his father, bringing with him Prince Mu'izzud-din and Muhammad 'Azim.

When Muhammad Mu'azzam arrived with his nine or ten thousand horse and they heard the reports about the mighty force of seventy thousand horse with which Prince Muhammad Akbar was approaching to the attack, no man of the army had any hope of escape. The expressions of some of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam's thoughtless companions roused Aurangzeb's caution and prudence. Suspicion arose in his heart, and he thought it advisable to order that his guns should be pointed against the Prince's

army, and he sent a message desiring the Prince to leave his army, and to come to him in all speed with his two sons. The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to wait upon his father.

The precautions taken by the Rajputs prevented intelligence being obtained of the movements of Prince Muhammad Akbar Shahabu-d din, son of Kalich Khan, a brave and intelligent man, was sent out with a force to reconnoitre. On coming in sight of the Prince's army, Shahabu-d din's brother, Mujahid Khan, who was with the Prince and had found it necessary to temporise, but watched for an opportunity to escape, went to the Prince, and said that if he were allowed he would go to his brother and bring him over to the Prince's side. Permission being given Mujahid Khan took all the money and valuables he could carry, and joined his brother. The two brothers then went together to the Emperor.

Aurangzeb had been greatly depressed by the adverse news which reached him, but on hearing of the approach of the two brothers, he recovered his spirits. He directed that Shahabu-d din should be addressed with the title of Khan, and he also conferred great favours on Mujahid Khan. From the latter he learnt the state of the Prince's army, and about those who were acting with him from choice or from necessity. Some other men of note now came over, and it was ascertained that after the departure of Mujahid Khan, dissensions had arisen in the Prince's army.

Khawaja Makarim, a confidential adherent of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, led an advanced force towards the army of Prince Muhammad Akbar. A skirmish took place. The Khawaja was wounded, and so were two or three men on the other side, but he ascertained that Tahawwur Khan had advanced from the Prince's army with a small escort, intending to desert the Prince and join Aurangzeb. On this being reported to the Emperor, he ordered that Tahawwur Khan should take off his arms before being admitted to the presence. The Khan demurred to putting off his arms, so Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam made a sign

to kill the unhappy man. It was now stated to the Emperor that Tahawwur Khan had come under the orders of Prince Muhammad Akbar, to make known his pretensions and demands. On hearing this, Aurangzeb's anger blazed forth, and he placed his hand upon his sword, and ordered that the Khan should be allowed to enter with his arms. But one of the attendants, in an insulting way, placed his hand upon the Khan's breast to stop him. The Khan struck him a blow on the face and retreated, but his foot caught in a rope and he fell down. Cries of "Strike! slay!" arose on all sides. Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off. After he was dead, it was found that he had armour under his clothes, but there were various opinions as to what his real intentions were.

The author of this work heard from Khwaja Makarim, afterwards Jan-nisar Khan, and from several of his contemporaries, in their old age, that Tahawwur Khan returned in good faith, in consequence of a letter he had received from 'Inayat Khan, his father-in-law, who was a private secretary of Aurangzeb, but that he felt the order to put off his arms was an insult to his position, his services and his character. However it may be, his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's army, and among his Rajputs, and they were much dispirited.

It was commonly reported that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he praised the Prince for having won over the Rajputs as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies. This letter was the cause of great divisions among them. Such is the story I have heard, but not from any trustworthy person. For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was soon informed that the Rajputs had abandoned him. There remained with him only Durga Das, two or three thousand

horse Of all his old servants and men, these alone remained He lost all courage, self-reliance, and hope, and being utterly cast down, he took to flight Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was ordered to pursue him

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1090 A H
(A D 1679-80)

Affairs of the Dakhın Death of Sivaji

(Text, vol 11, p 270) Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash, after arriving at the *Khujsta-bunyad* Aurangabad, according to order, laid siege to the fort of Salır Many Rajputs were killed and many Musulmans also fell He pressed the siege for four or five months, but making no impression, he withdrew to Aurangabad

The hell-dog Sivaji went forth with an army on a plundering expedition, and while Khan Zaman, the subadar, was at Burhanpur, he entered Khandesh, and plundered the town of Dharan-ganw,¹ one of the most flourishing places in that country Afterwards he ravaged and burnt Chopra and other parganas He then marched against Jalna, a rich mercantile place in the Balaghat In the course of the same year he was attacked with illness and died² The date of his death is found in the words, "Kafir ba-jahannam raif," "The infidel went to hell," which was discovered by the writer of these pages Sivaji left two sons, Sambha and Ram Raja The former succeeded him He made Kabkalas,³ the Brahman who brought him from Allahabad, his minister

¹ These places lie about 70 miles west of Burhanpur Chopra is the most northerly

² "On the 24th *Rabi'u-l akhır*, Siva returned from riding, he was overcome by the heat, vomited blood, and expired"—*Ma-asiru-l 'Alamgir*

³ Both the MSS used agree with the printed text in this spelling of the name, but Grant Duff, who refers to our author, writes the name "Kuloosha", and is followed by Elphinstone with "Calusha"

Sivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind, but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them received punishment. But the son, unlike his father, obtained an evil name by collecting round him women of all tribes, and by assailing the honour of the women of the places in which he dwelt. His father never showed any backwardness in attacking and plundering prosperous places, but he never made any attack upon Aurangabad and Burhanpur, the provincial capitals of the Imperial dynasty. If any of his counsellors advised an attack upon these places, he very wisely and prudently forbade it, "for," said he, "if we attack these places, the honour of Aurangzeb will be wounded, and he will march hither himself, and then, God knows how the strife will end!"

When Sivaji was dead, his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th Muharram, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A H (15th February, 1680), he attacked Kakar Khan Afghan, who acted as collector of the *jzya*, under Khan Zaman, the subadar of the Dakhn. Sambha was returning with nearly twenty thousand men from a plundering expedition in Birar. He made a forced march of three or four kos, as was the practice in those days, and early in the morning made his attack while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahadur-pur, one kos and a half from Burhanpur. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it. Jewels, money, and goods from all parts of the world were found there in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, and also another town called Hafda-pura, which was outside of the fortifications, and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, especially upon Bahadurpur, that no one

was able to save a *dam* or a *diram* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children

Kakar Khan, with his men in the city, saw the smoke of these towns rising to the sky, but he had not a force sufficient to go out and attack the plunderers, so he shut himself up within the walls and looked after the security of his gates and defences. Seventeen other places of note, such as Hasan-pura, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places, were plundered and burnt. Many honourable men girded on their swords, and joining in the fight, attained martyrdom. Others submitted themselves humbly to the will of God. Some who were near the fortress took their wives and children by the hand, and fled in distress within the walls. For three days the plunderers ravaged these towns at their will. Large sums of money fell into their hands, much of which had been buried for long periods, and sometimes in places unknown even to the householders. They then repeatedly attempted to carry the fortress by assault. But the officers took their stations at the gates and other points of attack, and with great bravery beat off the assailants. Being unable to enter the city, the plunderers carried off with them the gold, silver, jewels, and other articles of value which were portable, but many other things which they had taken they were obliged to leave behind, because they could not carry them. The property which was thrown into the streets of the bazars and burnt exceeded all computation.

Intelligence of this raid upon the neighbourhood of Burhanpur was carried by runners to Aurangabad, to Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash. He immediately took horse, and accomplished three or four days' march in one day and night, and reached the pass of Fardapur, thirty-two kos distant. There it became necessary to wait three or four watches to rest the animals, and to provide means for crossing the river. According to the current reports of some men who took a worldly view of things, and had a bad opinion of Khan Jahan, some emissaries of Sambhaji came to him with an immense sum of money, and prevailed upon him to halt there for four or five watches. One thing is

certain After the enemy were repulsed from Burhanpur, the burden of their plunder, and the knowledge of Khan Jahan's pursuit, prevented them from reaching their renowned but distant fortresses. They were obliged to go to the fort of Salir, in Baglana, which was the nearest of their strongholds. They went by way of Mustafabad or Chopra. Under these circumstances the proper course for Khan Jahan was to leave Iardpur without delay and, bearing towards his left hand to pass through Dharangaw and Chopra to intercept the marauders. But, through the representations of Shambhaji's emissaries, he went towards his right hand contrary to what was desirable and proceeded to Idalabad. When the enemy heard this he made the most of his opportunity, and carried off all the plunder he could transport and all his prisoners by a rapid march, through Chopra, to the fort of Salir which he reached in four or five days. The principal inhabitants of Burhanpur wrote a statement to Aurangzeb, describing the success of the enemy, the loss inflicted on the property and honour of Muhammadans, and the discontinuance of the public prayers on Fridays. Aurangzeb then wrote a letter strongly censuring Khan Jahan and announcing his own intention of proceeding to the Dakhin. In his anger he took away from Khan Jahan all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year. Considering the disorders in the Dakhin and the flight of Prince Muhammad Akbar, he gave orders for his travelling equipage to move towards Burhanpur.

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1091 A H
(A D 1680)

Prince Akbar

(Text, vol II, p 275) When Prince Muhammad Akbar took to flight, not more than three or four hundred men remained with him. Some of them were his own old followers, and others were Rajputs. All his properties and treasure and guns fell into the hands of the royal

army, as well as one son, a boy of tender years, named Neku Siyar, and two daughters. One son, who had arrived at years of discretion, remained with the Rajputs. The Prince himself was distracted, and knew not whither to go. At one time he thought of going to Dehli and Lahore by way of Ajmir. Then he proposed to go to Persia. Whichever way he turned the faujdars and zamindars, under orders from the Emperor, blocked his way. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam received orders to pursue him, but the common report is that he only made a feint of doing so, and marched leisurely.

Akbar proceeded by way of Lahore and Multan, and under the guidance of the zamindars he then passed by difficult roads through the hills towards the Dakhin. Orders had been repeatedly sent to Khan Jahan Bahadur, subadar of the Dakhin, and to all the faujdars, directing them to stop him wherever he might come, to take him prisoner alive if possible, if not, to kill him. Under these orders Khan Jahan pursued the Prince with the intention of making him prisoner. He came within fourteen or fifteen kos of him, but on approaching nearer he made only a feint of arresting him. The fact was reported to the Emperor by Mir Nuru-llah, who was very unceremonious in these matters. A strong letter of censure was written upon the matter, and strict directions were sent to all the news-writers.

Prince Akbar then proceeded to Baglana, to the territory of Raja Debi Singh, the commandant and faujdar of Malir. Raja Debi sent out a force to take him prisoner, but when the force followed the Prince escaped from Baglana. A few of his Rajputs remained behind, and these were taken to the Raja. Whilst the Raja was making inquiries of these men, another party of his horsemen overtook one of the Prince's followers, who had upon his back a blood-stained jacket belonging to the Prince, but which he had thrown off in consequence of the heat. They attacked and wounded this man, and carried him off to the Raja, under the impression that he was the Prince. The Raja did not believe it, and abused his men for their

stupidity Prince Akbar, after passing through the territories of the Tiringis found unquiet refuge for a while in the hills of Baglana. By means of a bribe of money, he induced the hill-men to guide him to Rahuri, belonging to Sambha. This chieftain came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in about three kos from the fort of Rahuri, and fixed an allowance for his support.

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN 1092 A H (A D 1681)

(Text, vol. II, p. 278) After the *Id-i fitr*, Aurangzeb started for the Dakhin to punish the infidels and to pursue Prince Muhammad Akbar.

On the 11th Zi-l Kaddi he reached Burhanpur the Daru-e surur (abode of joy). Khan Jahan Bahadur, the Subadar, and Amin Khan the Diwan of the four subas of the Dakhin, with the faujdars and the officials and nobles there, waited upon him. Many great men of Bijapur of the Kutb Shahi dynasty, and of the Mahrattas, also came to pay their respects.

The infidel inhabitants of the city and the country round made great opposition to the payment of the *jizya*. There was not a district where the people with the help of the faujdars and mukaddams, did not make disturbances and resistance. Mir 'Abdu-l Karim, an excellent and honest man, now received orders to collect the *jizya* in Burhanpur. A suitable force of horse and foot was appointed to support him, and the kotwal was directed to punish every one who resisted payment.

A fire broke out in a house near the citadel and the chauk. There were several sacks¹ of powder in the house, the roof was blown off, and many men were burnt. It came to Aurangzeb's knowledge that there were thirty sacks of gunpowder in a cellar under his sleeping apartment. An investigation was made, and it appeared that at the very commencement of the reign, when Aurangzeb left Burhanpur to proceed to Dehli, the gunners left this powder there, and during all that time it had never been taken out. The Emperor severely censured the officials who were answer-

¹ Kulah

able for this neglect, and degraded some of them. He told them that if this had happened in the reign of Jāhāngir, that King would have blown them all up with the powder. Aurangzeb's humanity and kindness was such that the severest punishment was reduction of dignity, and this even was soon restored through the intercession and kind offices of men high in office.

Aurangzeb passed three or four months very pleasantly at Burhanpur, he then left for Aurangabad. Before he departed, Mir 'Abdu-l Karim, the *Amin-i nzya*, reported that the *nzya* of the city of Burhanpur for the past year, amounting to 26,000 rupees, had been paid into the public treasury. During the three months that he had been in office, he had settled the sum of one lac and 80,000 rupees as the amount payable by half the towns connected with Burhanpur. He now hoped that he might be allowed to leave with His Majesty, and that the collection of the *nzya* might be deputed to some one else. He was applauded and promoted. He was allowed to accompany the Emperor, and his deputies were to collect the tax.

After Aurangzeb reached Aurangabad, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was sent to take the forts and punish the infidels of Ram-darra in the Kokan, and Prince Muhammad A'zam was directed to reduce the fort of Salir, near the fort of Malir in Baglana, which had been held for some time by the Mahrattas. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam penetrated into the Kokan, and passing through its inmost recesses, passes and thick woods, he laid the country waste in all directions and put many infidels to the sword. Khwaja Abul Makarim, afterwards Jan-nisar Khan, and others, greatly distinguished themselves in this campaign, but the grain and millet and vetches of that country were injurious to strangers, and the climate was very uncongenial to camels and horses. Men in great numbers and quadrupeds beyond compute perished. Horses were so scarce that there was not one left in the stable of the Prince which was fit to carry him. Most men were obliged to walk, and no provisions arrived for the enemy closed the roads on every side. Life became insupportable,

and it was impossible for the Prince to remain there. On the facts being reported to the Emperor, he gave orders for the recall of the army.

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1093 A H (A D 1682)

(Text, vol II, p 281) The fort of Salir, against which Prince Muhammad A'zam had been sent, is not one capable of investment. It is near the sea, and there are so many ravines near, that hundreds of thousands of horsemen could not invest that lofty fortress. Neknam Khan was commandant of Malir and faujdar of Baglana. When the Prince was ordered to conquer it, Neknam opened negotiations with the commandant of Salir, and by promises and presents, induced him to surrender the fortress.

[*Three officers in succession Shahabu-d din, Khan Jahan, and Kasim Khan, fail to take the fortress of Ram Si*]

Prince Akbar

(Text, vol II, p 284) When Prince Akbar went to Rahiri, and became the guest of the accursed Sambha, he was at first treated very kindly and respectfully, and provision was made for the necessary expenses of his followers. One day a *kazi* in the presence of Muhammad Akbar, in a stupid flattering way said to Sambha, "May all the Maharaja's enemies be trodden under foot." The Prince heard this, and being angry, reprimanded the *kazi* for his folly. He also told Sambha that such vain words ought not to be spoken in his (the Prince's) presence, and that it was also unbecoming in Sambha to listen to them. The report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Itikad Khan to effect the conquest of Rahiri. Prince Muhammad Akbar therefore thought it advisable to make his way as best he could to Persia. He bought two small ships, furnished them with provisions for forty days, and was about to start. Sidi Yakut Khan Habshi, who secured the seas in those parts, was at first desirous of stopping

the progress of the Prince, but he at last connived at it. The Prince, with Ziaud-din Muhammad Shuja'i and forty or fifty persons, put his trust in God and embarked on his voyage. His ships were separated and endured great distress, the account of which would be too long for admission here.

Through stress of weather, the Prince's ship fell upon an island belonging to the Imam of Maskat. The people of the island made him prisoner and sent him to the Imam. This ruler is one of the great zamindars or rulers who were dependent on Persia. He affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect, but in reality he kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two lacs of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send one of his officers, the Imam promised to give up the Prince.

Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imam. So the people at Surat sent Haji Fazil, an old sailor in the royal service, to take Prince Akbar in charge. When intelligence of Prince Akbar's arrival in Maskat, and the evil designs of the Imam, became known to the King of Persia, he issued peremptory commands to the Imam, directing him to send the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imam. So perforce the Imam delivered up the Prince to Shah's officers. When the Prince approached Isfahan, Shah Sulaiman went forth to meet him. On the death of Shah Sulaiman, his successor showed the Prince even greater hospitality and attention, so that the Prince asked for an army and money to assist him in Hindustan. Shah Husain excused himself and the Prince then asked permission to go to Garmsir in Khurasan. This was granted, and provision was made for his maintenance. He retired thither, and died there towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1094 A H
(A D 1683)

(Text, vol II, p 290) The author of this work has not been able to obtain such satisfactory accounts of these two or three years (*in do sih sal*) as to be worthy of being committed to writing. But he has here recorded what he has heard from the mouths of trustworthy witnesses, also what he heard from his late brother, Muhammad Murad Khan, who was a servant of the Court, and on whose statements he places implicit trust, and lastly, what the author himself witnessed in his travels and at Haidarabad. He has compared and considered the information derived from these various sources, and has reduced it to writing. If there should appear to be any excess or deficiency, the pardon of the reader is solicited.

Siege of Ram-darra

(Text, vol II, p 290) In the beginning of the twenty-seventh year Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam marched from Ahmadnagar to lay siege to the forts of Ram-darra, belonging to Sambha, which were in a part of the country never before penetrated by an Imperial army. The roll of his army numbered 20,000 horse. On the march through the narrow passes, there were many sharp fights with the enemy, in which numbers of the royal soldiers fell, but the enemy were put to flight. On reaching the village of Sampganw, the fort of that place was invested. The besiegers showed great bravery, and took the fort in two days. They then entered the country of Ram-darra. It was in a very strong position, and the air of the place did not suit the invaders. The enemy swarmed around on every side, and cut off the supplies. On one side was the sea, and on two other sides were mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents. The enemy cut down the grass, which was a cause of great distress to man and beast, and they had no food but cocoa-nuts, and the grain called *kudun*, which acted like poison upon them. Great numbers of men and horses died.

Grain was so scarce and dear that wheat flour sometimes could not be obtained for less than three or four rupees. Those men who escaped death dragged on a half existence, and with crying and groaning felt as if every breath they drew was their last. There was not a noble who had a horse in his stable fit for use. When the wretched state of the royal army became known to Aurangzeb, he sent an order to the officers of the port of Surat, directing them to put as much grain as possible on board of ships, and send it to the Prince's succour by sea. The enemy got intelligence of this, and as the ships had to pass by their newly-erected fortresses, they stopped them on their way, and took most of them. A few ships escaped the enemy, and reached their destination, but no amir got more than two or three *palas* of corn. The order at length came for the retreat of the army, and it fell back fighting all the way to Ahmadnagar, where Aurangzeb then was.

Kutbu-l Mulk

(Text, vol 11, p 292) It now became known to the Emperor that Abu-l Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, Sovereign of Haidarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Madana and Akana, two infidels who were bitter enemies to the Musulmans, and brought great and increased troubles upon them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery. Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarabad, and the subjugation of Abu-l Hasan, he first sent Khan Jahan Kokaltash with his sons and _____ with a detachment against certain adherents of Abu-l Hasan, who had taken possession of some districts dependent upon Zafar-nagar, on the pretence that they had formerly formed part of the country of Telingana. Their instructions were to chastise these men, and to recover the districts. After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with _____ were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingana.

Aurangzeb now sent Mirza Muhammad, the superintendent of his *ghusl-khana*, to Abu-l Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, with a message to this effect. "It has come to our hearing

that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 *surkhs* in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due.' But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the two diamonds which he did not at all want but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him.

Upon the arrival of Mirza Muhammad, he demanded the diamonds, according to his instructions. Abu-l Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them. Such stones as his predecessor possessed had been sent to the late Emperor.

Mirza Muhammad returned and Abu-l Hasan learnt that armies had been sent against him under the command of Khan Jahan and Prince Muhammad Muazzam. He then sent Ibrahim Khan, otherwise called Husain who had received the title of Khalilu-llah Khan, and was Commander-in-chief, and one of the chief nobles of Haidarabad with , and a force of thirty or forty thousand horse, to oppose the armies sent against him.

When the two armies approached each other, between the territories of Bijapur and Haidarabad, Prince Muhammad Muazzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to Khalilu-llah Khan, offering peace, on the following terms. Abu-l Hasan must express regret for his offences, and ask forgiveness. He must remove Madana and Akana from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. The parganas of Siram, Ramgir, etc, which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay. The foolish amirs of the Dakhn in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.

The limits of this brief history will not admit of a detailed account of all the actions fought by Khan Jahan

Bahadur Kokaltash, but a short account of one engagement is given. In this action Khan Jahan had not more than ten or eleven thousand horse, and Khalilu-llah Khan had more than thirty thousand. Khan Jahan's army was so outnumbered and overpowered that all chance of escape seemed difficult, and the enemy's forces came on every moment with greater strength. One of the enemy's chiefs pressed forward, with a loud cry, to the elephant of Khan Jahan, with the intention of hurling a javelin at him. Khan Jahan encountered him shouting out, "I am a nobleman," and, allowing him no time to throw his javelin, Khan Jahan drew his bow to his ear, and pierced his assailant with an arrow, so that he fell headlong from his horse. The royal army was still very hard pressed, intelligence constantly came in from the front and rear that the enemy were in overwhelming force, and the only course left for the army of Khan Jahan was to retreat. At this juncture the driver of an elephant belonging to Raja Ram Singh placed a heavy chain in its mouth and made it charge upon the enemy's advanced force. Wherever the elephant charged, the noise of the chain and the blows of his trunk struck terror into the enemy. The horses of two or three officers took fright, and threw their riders. Thus the army of the enemy was put to flight, and Khan Jahan celebrated his victory, and pitched his camp on the field of battle. Many horses, elephants and guns fell into his hands. He then sent an officer who wrested the fort of Siram from the hands of the enemy, and placed a garrison therein.

The enemy advanced also against Prince Mu'azzam, and for some days kept up a deceptive correspondence. Fighting began and went on for three days, with great loss to both sides. On the fourth day the action was continued with increased violence, and the enemy were at length compelled to retreat. The Prince, Khan Jahan, and the other Imperial officers did not deem it expedient to pursue them. They determined to remain where they were, and sent a despatch of the victory to Aurangzeb. The Emperor had for some time felt a little dissatisfied with the Prince, and

he was displeased with Khan Jahan for the licence and debauchery which prevailed in his camp, and which he had repeatedly censured without effect. He was also annoyed with him for not having pursued and secured Prince Akbar when that Prince was near his territory. Whenever he wrote to him, he got a *suave* answer. For these and other reasons Aurangzeb was quite offended with Khan Jahan.

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1095 A H
(A D 1681)

The War with Kutbu-l Mulk of Haidarabad

(Text, vol II, p 300) The despatch of victory and the intelligence of the retreat of the enemy reached Aurangzeb, but his satisfaction was turned into displeasure when he learnt that the enemy had not been pursued. He wrote an angry letter to the Prince Shah 'Alam' and to Khan Jahan, and was much dissatisfied. The generals of Abu-l Hasan did not after this dare to venture upon an engagement, but from time to time roving parties of them annoyed the Imperial forces at night with rockets. They sometimes showed themselves in reconnaissances by day, and fell back upon their camp. The Prince and Khan Jahan were offended and made no attack upon them, and remained for four or five months inactive without moving. This aggrieved Aurangzeb still more, and he wrote a strong letter of censure with his own hand to the Prince and Khan Jahan. This letter greatly incensed the Prince.

The morning after the receipt of the letter, he held a council of war with Khan Jahan, and the other nobles. Khan Jahan was opposed to fighting, and some amirs agreed with him. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan and two or three rajas advised active operations. Nothing was decided that day, and next day Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan in private (*urged*

¹ Prince Mu'azzam had received this title by which he is hereafter called

an attack upon the enemy) Prince Shah 'Alam wrote to Muhammad Ibrahim, the commander of the enemy's army, offering terms of peace on condition of the parganas of Siram, Kir (or Khir), etc, being restored to the Imperial officers

Muhammad Ibrahim consulted with his officers as to the answer to be given, and the answer given was that they had taken the parganas at the point of the sword and spear, and were ready to fight for them

(*Fighting recommenced*) and the enemy were at length defeated and put to flight The Prince pursued them into their camp, and great consternation fell upon them

One of the enemy's generals then sent two officers to the royal army to represent that the combatants on both sides were Musulmans, and therefore the honour and safety of the women should be regarded They asked for a truce of three or four hours to remove the women to a place of safety, and after that they would be ready to fight again So the fighting and plundering was stayed The enemy sent their women to a fort which was near, and at the end of three *pahars* the fighting recommenced on every side The enemy kept up the fight till evening but then they retreated

The Prince sent a message to the enemy, to the effect that in battles numbers of Musulmans on both sides are killed, it would therefore be better if two or three chiefs from both sides should meet and fight it out This would be a real trial of strength, skill and courage and it would be seen which side had the favour of God Next day messengers brought the news that the enemy's horse had fled towards Haidarabad The Prince marched in pursuit, and came near to Haidarabad

Madana Pant and his friends had raised suspicions in the mind of Abu-l Hasan, that Muhammad Ibrahim had been the means of bringing the Prince thither Abu-l Hasan was very angry, and was intent upon seizing Ibrahim, and putting him to death Muhammad Ibrahim got intelligence of this, and went to offer his services to the Prince, who received him with great favour When intelligence of this desertion became known

in Haidarabad Abu-l Hasan was greatly alarmed and without consulting with any of his nobles or even caring anything for his property or the honour of his own women and family or of others he fled with a few servants by night with boxes full of such valuables as he could carry to the fort of Golkonda. When this fact became public, the stores of Abu-l Hasan were plundered as also was the property of the merchants worth four or five krons of rupees. The women of the soldiers and of the inhabitants of the city were subjected to dishonour and great disorder and destruction prevailed. Many thousand gentlemen being unable to take horse, and carry off their property, in the greatest distress took the hands of their children and wives many of whom could not even seize a veil or sheet to cover them and fled to the fortress.

Before Prince Shah 'Alam got intelligence of what was passing the ruffians and plunderers of the city began their work of pillage and devastation. Nobles, merchants and poorer men vied with each other as to who, by strength of arm and by expenditure of money, should get their families and property into the fortress. Before break of day the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed for in every part and road and market there were haes upon haes of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants belonging to Abu-l Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmans and Hindus were made prisoners, or how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured. Carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shah 'Alam appointed officers (*sazawal*) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The kotwal of the army received orders to go with the Imperial diwan, with an escort of four or five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abu-l Hasan.

Some persons now came from Abu-l Hasan to the Prince, most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed. The Prince

thereon strictly enjoined his officers to repress the plundering, and to punish those who were setting places on fire. The disorder was in some measure diminished, but the plunderers were not really stopped in their work. After a good deal of negotiation the Prince took pity upon Abu-l Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals upon certain conditions. A tribute of one kror and twenty lacs of rupees was to be paid, in addition to the usual annual tribute. Madana and Akana, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Siram and the pargana of Khir, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abu-l Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb.

While the negotiations were pending some women of great influence in the harem, without the knowledge of Abu-l Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Madana and Akana. Whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the darbar to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them. Rustam Ras also, who had reached the house, was killed. Many Brahmans lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shah 'Alam by the hands of a discreet person.

When the Prince's despatch reached Aurangzeb, he in public approved of the terms of peace, and sent an officer to receive the tribute. Privately, however, he censured the Prince and Khan Jahan, and summoned the latter to his presence.

War with Bijapur

(Text, vol 11, p 316) Aurangzeb determined that he would march in person to effect the conquest of Bijapur, and he started with that intention on the 4th Sha'ban. Prince A'zam, with some experienced nobles and a suitable force, was sent to reduce Bijapur. On approaching the place, he found that the forces of the Dakhin, under the command of

'Abdur Ruf and Sharza Khan, hovered round him in all directions. In that year calamity had fallen on the crops and grain was very dear. The Dakhni forces occupied the country all around, and prevented all supplies of corn from reaching Bijapur, so that grain became very scarce and dear in the (Imperial) army, and it was difficult to get a loaf. At length, after many severe actions the forces of the enemy were driven back, and convoys of provisions were brought safely into the camp of Prince Muhammad A'zam, and he was relieved from the difficulties which had beset him. Great favours and honours were bestowed on Ghaziu-d din Khan for the service he had rendered in bringing in the convoy.

The protracted duration of the siege of Bijapur, and the information he had received of the disaffection of the allies who accompanied Prince Muhammad A'zam, made Aurangzeb determine to proceed thither in person. At the beginning of Sha'ban in the twenty-eighth year of the reign, he set out from Sholapur, and on the 21st of the month he arrived before the fortress, to the great dismay of the besieged. He appointed several of his best officers to assist the Prince in carrying on the siege, and addressed to them some soul-stirring words. They set heartily to work constructing lines of approach, driving mines and filling up the ditch.

Some mischief-making people reported to Aurangzeb that on a day when an attack was made Shah Kuli was inside the fortress along with Sikandar, also that a person named Saiyid 'Alam used to come out of the city by night, and have interviews in secret with the Prince. This was confirmed by the report of Ruhu-llah Khan kotwal. Orders were accordingly given for the arrest of Saiyid 'Alam when he came out to see Prince Shah 'Alam, and also for the apprehension of Shah Kuli. Shah Kuli was at length seized and brought before Aurangzeb, who examined him and endeavoured to extract from him the truth about his visits to the city. Nothing but denial was obtained from the prisoner, so the order was given for binding him and submitting him to the torture. After receiving a few blows, his

sprit gave way, he divulged the whole secret, and named several others who had been concerned with him. Aurangzeb sent for Prince Shah 'Alam, and in a private interview reproached him with these secret negotiations. The Prince denied them and said that Shah Kuli was no servant of his. Orders were given for the confinement of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, and for the expulsion of several other persons from the army. Aurangzeb's feelings had been estranged from Prince Shah 'Alam since the transactions at Haidarabad, and he was now still more offended with him. He made no outward change in the Prince's rank and allowances, or in the honours due to him as heir apparent, but his estrangement daily increased.

TWENTY-NINTH AND THIRTIETH YEARS OF THE REIGN, 1096
AND 1097 A H (A D 1685-86)

Conquest of Bijapur and Haidarabad

(Text, vol II, p 322) By the exertions of Ghaziu-d din Khan Firoz Jang, and other renowned warriors, and through want of supplies, the garrison of Bijapur was in great distress, and many men and horses had perished. Sharza Khan and other nobles asked for terms on behalf of Sikandar, and at the beginning of the thirtieth year of the reign in Zi-l ka'da, 1097 (October 1686), the keys of the fortress were surrendered to Aurangzeb. The conquest was celebrated with great display, and Sikandar was placed in confinement in the fort of Daulatabad, a suitable provision being made for his support.

At the end of Muharram, Aurangzeb notified his intention of going to pay a visit to the tomb of Hazrat Bandanawaz Saiyid Muhammad Gisu, and marched towards Kulbarga. He sent a kind *farman* to Abu-l Hasan, and another to Sa'adat Khan, his own hajib at Haidarabad, asking for payment of the tribute. He also wrote privately to Sa'adat Khan, to the effect that it was his intention shortly to march against Haidarabad and conquer it, but Sa'adat Khan was meanwhile to do his utmost to obtain money from Abu-l Hasan. Sa'adat Khan flattered Abu-l

Hasan with hopes of favours from Aurangzeb, and exerted himself to obtain payment of the tribute. Abu-l Hasan, in the hope of finding safety, told Sa'adat Khan that he was unable to find the money but he offered instead the jewels and valuables belonging to his wives and others. He therefore asked him to send his young eunuch to select and take away the jewels and other things. Sa'adat Khan refused to send the eunuch, and negotiations went on for some days until the intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb was at Kulbarga.

Abu-l Hasan, in the extremes of fear and hope, sent for Sa'adat Khan, and delivered into his charge several trays of jewels and valuables, without even settling the value of them. These were sealed up, and it was arranged that Sa'adat Khan should carry them to his house. In the course of the next two or three days Abu-l Hasan would do his best to obtain the tribute money, and would send it to the house of Sa'adat Khan. The value of the jewels was then to be settled, and the whole was to be sent to Aurangzeb, with a letter from Sa'adat Khan commending Abu-l Hasan's willingness and obedience, and praying for merciful consideration. Abu-l Hasan sent some loads of fruit for Aurangzeb, and Sa'adat Khan also sent some baskets with them.

Two or three days later intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb had left Kulbarga and had arrived at Golkonda. Everybody now said that his object was to conquer Golkonda. Abu-l Hasan sent to Sa'adat Khan, saying that he had no longer hope of any consideration from Aurangzeb, and demanded back the jewels which he had placed in his charge. Sa'adat Khan replied that he had sent the jewels to Aurangzeb in the baskets which accompanied Abu-l Hasan's present of fruit. A great scene followed. Abu-l Hasan placed a guard over Sa'adat Khan's house. The latter said that he had only obeyed the orders, and acted in accordance with his wishes in sending the jewels. "For this," said he, "you are now about to kill me. My master has long desired some pretext for destroying you, he cannot have a better one than the murder of

his *hajib* If I am spared, I can do something to obtain forgiveness for you, and I will exert myself to the utmost”

In some matters Sa'adat Khan had befriended Abu-I Hasan against the designs of his own master So Abu-I Hasan, thinking of what might follow, refrained from injuring him, and made him present

When Aurangzeb drew near to Haidarabad, Abu-I Hasan felt that the time of his fall was near, but he sent a letter to Aurangzeb, renewing his protestations of obedience, and reiterating his claims to forgiveness

Aurangzeb wrote a reply, the gist of which was as follows

“The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing, but by mentioning one out of a hundred and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels, oppressing and afflicting the sayyids, shaikhs, and other holy men, openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity, indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day, making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion, waging obstinate war in defence of infidels, want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men No attention had been paid to them, moreover it had lately become known that a lac of pagodas had been sent to the wicked Sambha That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next”

Abu-I Hasan, seeing that there was no longer any hope for him, sent forth his forces, under the command of his best officers, to meet Aurangzeb, urging them to fight valiantly, and to endeavour to make Aurangzeb prisoner

On the 24th Rabi'u-l awwal the royal army took ground at gun-shot distance from Golkonda, and the work of the

siege began Abu'l Hasan had forty or fifty thousand horse outside the walls, with whom the royal army had frequent encounters, and a sharp fire of guns and rockets was kept up from the fortifications. Some distinguished officers of the rōyāl army and many men were lost on both sides. After the arrival of Firoz Jang, the whole management of the siege was placed in his hands.

Prince Shah 'Alam had fallen under the displeasure of his father at the siege of Bijapur, still, at the siege of Golkonda the lines on the right side were under his command. But the days of his fortune and prosperity had been overshadowed by some years of troubles and misconduct. He now secretly received messages and presents from Abu-l Hasan, to secure his services, and the services of his associates, in obtaining forgiveness of past offences. The Prince's objects were that peace and war should be dependent upon his approval as heir apparent, and that as far as possible he should bind Abu-l Hasan to his interests. He never reflected that this course must eventually end in his fall and disgrace. Some meddling mischief-making people got information of what was going on, and informed Aurangzeb. The manager of the Prince's equipages now reported to him that the carriages belonging to his zanana were far away from his tents, and were open to attack from the garrison. He accordingly ordered that they should be brought nearer to his tent.

Some of Prince Muhammad A'zam's companions informed Aurangzeb that Shah 'Alam was about to make his way into the city. On hearing this Aurangzeb was greatly enraged. He called Hayat Khan, and another of Shah 'Alam's confidential servants, to his presence, and questioned them in private as to the Prince's intention. They replied that the Prince's object was to obtain, by his influence, a pardon for Abu-l Hasan, and, failing in that, to do his best for the reduction of the fortress. Of evil intentions he had none. But for all their pleas and protestations they could not remove the suspicions which Aurangzeb had of his son.

Orders were given for a force to be sent to bring the Prince before him. Hayat Khan said there was no necessity

for that If the Emperor sent an officer to call the Prince, he would come at once, for he had no thought but of obedience So on the 18th Rabi' u- s sanı, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign, an officer was sent to the royal presence The Prince obeyed immediately, and waited on his august father The Emperor ordered that all the establishments of the Prince should be seized, and his *mansabs* and jagirs confiscated [*Harsh treatment of Nuru-l Nissa, the Prince's wife, and of her eunuchs*] But here we will refrain from entering upon the unhappy details of the Prince's imprisonment, and his liberation, and will proceed with the account of the conquest of Golkonda

Day by day, and week by week, the approaches were pushed forward under the direction of Ghaziu- d din Firoz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizam, Mustafa Khan Lari, otherwise called 'Abdu- r Razzak, and others The fighting was desperate, and many were killed on both sides After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minhaj, Shaikh Nizam, and others, deserted Abu- l Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable *mansabs* and titles Muhammad Ibrahim, who was the first to quit the way of error, and to enter upon the royal road of rectitude, received a *mansab* of 7,000 and 6,000 horse, with the title of Mahabat Khan He exerted himself above all others in endeavouring to reduce the fortress Shaikh Nizam received a *mansab* of 6,000 and 5,000 horse, with the title of Takarrub Khan Of all the nobles of Abu- l Hasan, the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mustafa Khan Lari or, as he was also called, 'Abdu- r Razzak

The siege was protracted for a long time, and from the immense stores of ammunition in the fortress, an un- intermitting discharge was kept up night and day from the gates, and towers, and walls, of cannon- balls, bullets, rockets and other fiery missiles The smoke arising from the constant firing removed the distinction of day and night,

and no day passed without the besiegers suffering a loss in killed and wounded. The assailants exerted themselves vigorously especially and so in the course of a month and some days the lines were carried up to the very edge of the ditch and orders were issued for filling it up. It is said that Aurangzeb himself, after observing the rite of purification sewed the seams of the first cotton bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. High mounds were raised and heavy guns were placed upon them and pointed against the fortress. Their heavy fire greatly harassed the defenders. The scarcity and dearthness of grain and fodder (within the city) was extreme so that many men of wealth were disheartened who then can describe the position of the poor and needy? Throughout the Dakhin in the early part of this year there was a scarcity of rain when the *jowar* and *bajra* came into ear so they dried up and perished. These productions of the autumn harvest are the main support of the people of the Dakhin. Rice is the principal food of the people of Hindarabad, and the cultivation of this had been stopped by war and by scarcity of rain. The Dakhinis and the forces of the hell-dog Sambha had come to the assistance of Hindarabad and hovering round the Imperial forces they cut off the supplies of grain. Pestilence (*uaba*) broke out, and carried off many men. Thus great numbers of men were lost. Others unable to bear the pangs of hunger and wretchedness went over to Abu-l Hasan and some treacherously rendered aid to the besieged.

When the siege had been carried on for some time Aurangzeb recalled Prince Muhammad 'Azam whom in consequence of the unfaithfulness of Prince Shah 'Alam he had sent to settle the country round Ujjain and Akbarabad and who had got as far as Burhanpur. He also summoned Ruhu-llah Khan, an experienced and highly-trusted nobleman from Bijapur. Soon after the Prince's arrival the dearthness of grain passed all bounds. In the middle of Rajab, when the siege had lasted three months it was resolved to make an attempt to take the place by surprise at night, by means of scaling-ladders and ropes. A few

brave men succeeded in ascending the ramparts, but the barking of a dog gave the alarm, and the defenders rushed to the walls and soon despatched those who had gained the top. They also threw down the ladders, and so made an end of those who were mounting. Others opened fire. When the leaders of the storming party gained the summit of the ramparts, one of Aurangzeb's servants ran off to report their success, without waiting to see the result of the enterprise. Aurangzeb, on receiving his report, ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and ordered out his royal equipage and State dress. Next day spies reported that Abu-l Hasan gave the dog a gold collar, a plated chain, etc., and directed that the dog should be kept chained near to himself.

In the middle of Sha'ban a heavy rain fell for three days, which was the cause of very great distress to the besiegers, and destroyed many of their works. The enemy also took courage, and made a sally in great force, in which they did great damage, and killed many men and took some prisoners. Abu-l Hasan treated his prisoners with hospitality and honour. He took Sarbarah Khan to his granaries and magazines and showed him his stores of corn and heaps of treasure. He then wrote a letter to Aurangzeb, reciting and offering to present a *kror* of rupees, and also to pay a *kror* of rupees for each time that Aurangzeb had besieged the place, so that any further slaughter of Musulmans might be prevented. If his proposals were not accepted, he offered to supply five or six hundred thousand *mans* of gram for the troops. When these proposals were reported to Aurangzeb, he said, "If Abu-l Hasan does not repudiate my authority, he must come to me with clasped hands, or he must be brought bound before me. I will then consider what consideration I can show him." He then issued orders to the officials of Birar for the preparation of 50,000 bags of cotton, and for other materials for carrying on the siege and filling up the moat.

On the 19th Sha'ban it was reported that a triple mine had been driven under the bastions of the fortress, and

charged with gunpowder. Orders were then given that a force should be collected in the lines as if about to make an attack upon the undermined work, so that the enemy might observe this and assemble his men there. The mines were then to be fired. Abdu-r Ra'zid Lari and others of the besieged, having observed these proceedings, commenced countermining. They pushed their work with such skill and activity that they drew the powder and match from one mine and poured water into the other two. The Imperial troops collected for the assault and raised their cries and the gunners watched the ramparts for the proper moment for firing the mine. When the signal was given, one mine exploded but as part of the powder had been extracted and of the remaining part that which lay nearest to the fortress was yet the blowing up of the bastion did more injury to the besiegers than the besieged. The garrison then sallied forth and occupied the trenches, killing all whom they found alive in them. After a severe struggle, in which many men fell on both sides the trenches were recovered. The second mine was exploded and thousands of stones great and small were hurled into the air, but, as in the former case they fell upon the heads of the besiegers, and great number were killed and wounded.

Great wailings and complaints arose from the troops engaged in the siege. The cannonade recommenced on both sides and many more of the besiegers fell. Although Tiroz Ling exerted himself most strenuously, he made no impression upon the place. The long delay kindled the anger of Aurangzeb. He called his chiefs and officers together and placing himself at about a gun-shot distance from the walls, he ordered an assault to be made under his own eyes. Prodiges of valour were exhibited. But a storm of wind and rain arose and obstructed the progress of the assailants, and they were forced to fall back drenched with rain. The garrison again made a sally, took possession of the trenches, spiked the heavy guns, on the mounting of which immense money and labour had been expended, and carried away all that was portable. They pulled out of the moat the logs of wood, and the many

thousands of bags which had been used to fill it up, and used them to repair the breaches made by the mines. It was afterwards determined that the third mine should be sprung in the presence of Aurangzeb. But although fire was applied, nothing resulted. An examination as to the cause was instituted, but nothing was discovered until it was learnt from spies that the enemy had cleared out the powder and cut the match. Firoz Jang had received two arrow wounds. The command of the army was then given to Prince Muhammad A'zam.

Several of the officers of Abu-l Hasan had come over to the side of Aurangzeb, and had received suitable titles, *mansabs*, and presents. Shaikh Minhaj, having heard of this, was about to desert, but Abu-l Hasan placed him in confinement, and seized his house. Of all his nobles, none remained faithful to Abu-l Hasan but 'Abdu-r Razzak Lari, who had received the title Mustafa Khan, and 'Abdu-llah Khan Panı Afghan. At the end of Sha'ban, the siege had lasted eight months, and Abu-l Hasan's men still worked indefatigably. At length, 'Abdu-llah Khan made secret overtures to Aurangzeb, and agreed to open one of the gates of the city for the admission of his troops.

Aurangzeb frequently communicated with 'Abdu-r Razzak Lari, and promised him a *mansab* of six thousand, with six thousand horse, and other regal favours. But that ungracious faithful fellow, taking no heed of his own interest and life, in the most insolent manner exhibited the Emperor's letter to the men in his bastion, and tore it to pieces in their presence, and he sent a message by the spy who had brought it to say that he would fight to the death like the horsemen who fought with Imam Hossain at Karbala.

The besiegers continued to show great resolution in pushing on the siege. They cast into the ditches thousands of bags filled with dirt and rubbish, and thousands of carcasses of animals and men who had perished during the operations. Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls, but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts, so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained untaken. But

the fortune of 'Alamgir at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place fell into his hands, but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1098 A H (A D 1687)
(Text, vol II, p 361) At the beginning of the month Zi-ka'da, at the commencement of the thirty-first year of the reign, agreeing with 1098 A H (September 1687), by the efforts of Ruhu-llah Khan, a negotiation was concluded, through Ranmast Khan Afghan Pani, with 'Abdu-llah Khan, who was one of the confidential officers of Abu-l Hasan, and had charge of the gate called the *khirkz* (wicket) In the last watch of the night Ruhu-llah Khan and , at a sign from 'Abdu-llah, entered the fortress by means of ladders Prince Muhammad A'zam, mounted on an elephant, had a large force ready to enter by the gate Those who had got in went to the gate, posted their men, opened the gate, and raised the cry of victory

'Abdu-r Razzak Lari heard this, and, springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers he rushed to the open gate, through which the Imperial forces were pouring in Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abu-l Hasan Every step he advanced thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his

seat The horse carried him to a garden called Nagina, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoa-nut tree, where, by the help of the tree, he threw himself off On the morning of the second day a party of men belonging to Husaini Beg passed, and recognising him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him, and carried him upon a bedstead to a house When his own men heard of this, they came and dressed his wounds The remainder of the story of this brave devoted warrior shall be told hereafter

The shouts and cries, and the groans of lamentations, within and without made Abu-l Hasan aware that all was over He went into his harem to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them Then though his heart was sad, he controlled himself and went to his reception room and took his seat upon the masnad, and watched for the coming of his unbidden guests When the time for taking his meal arrived, he ordered the food to be served up As Ruhu-llah Khan and others arrived, he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance

Abu-l Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the amirs, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah, he took off his necklace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way The Prince took it, and placing his hand upon his back, he did what he could to console and encourage him He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatabad, and settled a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment, and other necessaries Officers were appointed to take possession of the effects of Abu-l Hasan and his nobles

'Abdu-r Razzak¹, senseless, but with a spark of life remaining, was carried to the house of Ruhu-llah Khan As soon as the eyes of Saf-Shikan Khan fell upon him, he cried out, "This is that vile Lari! cut off his head and hang it

over the gate ' Ruhu-llah replied that to cut off the head of a dying man without orders, when there was no hope of his surviving was far from being humane. A little bird made the matter known to Aurangzeb who had heard of 'Abdu-r Razzak's daring and courage and loyalty and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindu should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make duly reports of his condition to Aurangzeb.

The Emperor sent for Ruhu-llah Khan and told him that if Abu-l Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like 'Abdu-r Razzak, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted nearly seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son 'Abdu-l Kadir with his other sons that they might receive suitable *mansabs* and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the *mansabs* and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero he grasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service, but should he ever be capable of service he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abu-l Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of King 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb). On hearing these words a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty, but he kindly said "When he is quite well, let me know." Most of 'Abdu-r

¹In a subsequent page the author says that he lived for some time with 'Abdu-r Razzak near Rahim. This accounts for the long notice he has given of that brave soldier.

Razzak's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him

¹ Some time afterwards it was reported that 'Abdu-r Razzak had got quite well, and an order was issued to the subadar to send him to the royal presence 'Abdu-r Razzak tried to excuse himself and expressed a wish to go with his children on the pilgrimage to Mecca, on returning from which blessed journey he would devote himself to prayer for the long life of His Majesty Orders were then given for arresting him and sending him to Court Firoz Jang got information of this, and with great sympathy invited 'Abdu-r Razzak to come and stay with him He kept him for some time with marked kindness, and after the lapse of a year 'Abdu-r Razzak entered the Imperial service with a *mansab* of 4,000 and 3,000 horse

The property of Abu-l Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight *lacs* and fifty-one thousand *huns*, and two *krois* and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six *krois* eighty *lacs* and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles and vessels of gold and silver The total in *dams* was one *arb* fifteen *krois* sixteen *lacs* and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records

The mud fort of Golkonda was built by the ancestors of Raja Deo Rai, and it was acquired by the Bahmani Sultans after a good deal of resistance Upon the fall of the Bahmani dynasty, their territories fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs, but Sultan Muhammad Kuli entitled Kutbu-l Mulk, who had been one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani, brought some of the provinces of the Dakhin under his rule For the old mud fort of Raja Deo Rai, which stood upon the summit of a hill, he substituted one of stone After some descents, the kingdom came to Muhammad Kutbu-l Mulk, for all the descendants bore the name of Kutbu-l Mulk He took great pains in repairing the fort of Golkonda He had a

¹ In the text ten pages intervene before this finish of 'Abdur Razzak's story is brought in It appears in the thirty-second year of the reign

wife named Bhagmati, of whom he was very fond. At her request, he built a city two kos distant from the fortress to which he gave the name of Bhagnagar. Some time after the death of Bhagmati, the name was changed to Haidarabad, but in the vernacular language of the people it is still called Bhagnagar. That woman¹ had established many brothels and drinking shops in that place, and the rulers had always been addicted to pleasure and to all sorts of debauchery. Abu-l Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure. So the city got an evil name for licentiousness. After the conquest by Aurangzeb it was called the hostile county (*daru-l jhad*). [*Surrender of the fort of Sakar between Haidarabad and Bijapur*]

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1099 A H (A D 1688)

[*Surrender of the Fort of Adhom to Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah*]

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1100 A H (A D 1689)

(Text, vol II, p 372) The plague (*ta'un*) and pestilence (*waba*), which had for several years been in the Dakhin*as far as the port of Surat and the city of Ahmadabad, now broke out with violence in Bijapur, and in the royal camp. It was so virulent that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope, and thought only about his nursing and mourning. The black-pated guest-slayer of the sky sought to pick out the seed of the human race from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life in every living being, and to remove every shoot and sign of life from the surface of the world. The visible marks of the plague were swellings as big as a grape or banana under the arms, behind the ears, and in the groin, and a redness was perceptible round the pupils of the eyes, as in fever or pestilence (*waba*). It was the business of heirs to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and friendless persons of no property died in the towns and markets, and very few of

¹The words are explicit

balcon of destiny After bathing, he lingered there, viewing the lofty hills, the arduous roads full of ascents and descents, and the thick woods of thorny trees Unlike his father, he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khan, but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin

Mukarrab Khan started boldly from his base at Kolapur, which was forty-five kos distant from the retreat to which Sambha had resorted He took with him two thousand horse and one thousand foot, selected men The reports brought to him represented that the road was steep and arduous, over high hills, and that thirty or forty men without arms might hold the road against a large army by throwing down stones But that brave leader heeded none of these objections He set out and made a rapid march, and in the most difficult places they came to he himself went first on foot They pressed on, and approached near the place where the doomed one was staying

It is said that Sambha's scouts informed him of the approach of the royal army, or the "Moghul army," as it was called in the language of the Mahrattas But the heedless fellow scouted the idea of any Moghul army penetrating to that place He ordered the tongues of the reporters to be cut out, and did not even take care to have his horses ready or to prepare any earth works

Mukarrab Khan, with his sons and nephews ten or twelve brave personal attendants and two or three hundred horsemen, fell sword in hand upon the heedless Sambha, who too late thought of defending himself Kabkalas, his *wazir*, was well known for his courage and daring He did his best to save him, and, with a party of Mahrattas, advanced to meet the assailants At the commencement of the fight he received an arrow in the right arm, which rendered the limb useless He fell from his horse, exclaiming that he would remain there Sambha, who was about to take flight, sprang from his horse and said that he would

stay with him Four or five Mahrattas were cut down, but all the rest of Sambha's men fled Kabkalas was taken prisoner, Sambha went for refuge into an idol temple, and there hid himself The place was surrounded, and he was discovered Several of his followers, of no importance, were killed, but he and his family, including his son Sahu, a boy of seven or eight years of age, were all made prisoners All his men and women, twenty-six individuals in number, were taken, and also two women belonging to Ram Raja, his younger brother, whom he kept confined in one of his forts The hands of all of them were bound, and they were brought to the feet of the elephant on which Mukarrab Khan was riding Although Sambha, in the brief interval, had shaved off his beard, smeared his face with ashes and changed his clothes, he was discovered by a necklace of pearls under his garments, and by the gold rings upon the legs of his horse Mukarrab Khan made him ride behind him on the same elephant, and the other captives were chained and carried off, some on elephants, some on horses

A despatch was sent to His Majesty, but news of the exploit reached him first through the news-reporters and was a cause of great rejoicing When the intelligence came that Mukarrab Khan was approaching with his prisoners, His Majesty ordered a large party to go out two *kos* from Akluj¹, where he was staying, to give the victors ceremonious reception It is said that during the four or five days when Mukarrab Khan was known to be coming with his prisoners, the rejoicings were so great among all classes, from chaste matrons to miserable men, that they could not sleep at night, and they went out two *kos* to meet the prisoners, and give expression to their satisfaction In every town and village on the road or near it, wherever the news reached, there was great delight, and wherever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing

After their arrival, Aurangzeb held a Darbar, and the prisoners were brought in On seeing them, he descended

¹ On the south of the river Nira about half-way between Bijapur and Puna It is the "Aldus" of Elphinstone's map

from his throne and made two *ruk'ats* as a mark of his gratitude to the Almighty. It is said that Kabkalas observed this. He was well versed in Hindi poetry, and although his head and neck and every limb was firmly secured so that he could use only his eyes and tongue, when he saw Aurangzeb make these signs of devotion, he looked at Sambha, and repeated some Hindi lines to this effect, "O Raja, at the sight of thee King 'Alamgu (Aurangzeb), for all his pomp and dignity cannot keep his seat upon his throne, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour."

After they had been sent to their places of confinement some of the councillors of the State advised that their lives should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses held by the adherents of Sambha. But the doomed wretches knew that, after all, their heads would fall upon the scaffold or that, if by abject submission and baseness, they escaped death, they would be kept in confinement deprived of all the pleasures of life, and every day of life would be a new death. So both Sambha and Kabkalas indulged in abusive language and uttered the most offensive remarks in the hearing of the Emperor's servants. But it was the will of God that the stock of this turbulent family should not be rooted out of the Dakhn, and that King Aurangzeb should spend the rest of his life in the work of repressing them and taking their fortresses. The Emperor was in favour of seizing the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of receiving the keys of the fortresses. He gave orders that the tongues of both should be cut out, so that they might no longer speak disrespectfully. After that, their eyes were to be torn out. Then with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambha and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw and exposed in all the cities and towns.

of the Dakhin, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet Such is the retribution for rebellious, violent, oppressive evil-doers

Sahu, the son of Sambha, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a *mansab* of 700 was granted to him Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambha, were sent to the fortress of Daulatabad

When the author was staying along with 'Abdu-*Razzak* Lari near the fort of Rahni, which Sivaji built, he heard from the people of the neighbourhood that Sivaji, although an infidel and a rebel, was a wise man The country round may be called a specimen of hell, for it is hilly and stony, and in the hot season water is very scarce, which is a great trouble to the inhabitants Sivaji had a well dug near his abode A pavement was laid down round the mouth, and a stone seat was erected Upon this bench Sivaji would take his seat, and when the women of the traders and poor people came to draw water, he would give their children fruit and talk to the women as to his mother and sisters When the raj descended to Sambha, he also used to sit upon this bench, and when the wives and daughters of the raiyats came to draw water, the vile dog would lay one hand upon their pitcher, and another upon their waist, and drag them to the seat There he would handle them roughly and indecently, and detain them for a while The poor woman, unable to help herself, would dash the pitcher from her head, but she could not escape without gross insult At length the raiyats of the country settled by his father abandoned it, and fled to the territory of the Fringis, which was not far off He received the reward of his deeds

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1102 A H (A D 1691)

(Text, vol II, p 391) Aurangzeb was desirous of rewarding Mukarrab Khan for his splendid and unparalleled success

He granted to him an increase of 1,000 horse, gave him the title of Khan-Zaman Fath-Jang, a present of 50,000

rupees, and of a horse, elephant, etc., etc. His son Ikhlas Khan, who held a *mansab* of 4,000 personal and 4,000 horse had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khan-i 'Alam. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour.

About this time it was reported that Rajgah, one of the forts of Sivaji and Sambha, had been taken. Abu-l Khair Khan was appointed its commandant. Before the news of the capture of Sambha reached that neighbourhood the enemy invested the place, and summoned Abu-l Khair to surrender. Although the force under Firoz Jang was near at hand, Abu-l Khair was frightened and was so craven as to surrender on a promise of safety to his life, his family, and his property. He left the place at night with some of his women in *dulis* and the rest on foot and he had with him several baskets and boxes of clothing, money, jewels etc. The Māl rattas had gathered round, waiting for him and although they had promised security to life and property, they stripped him of all he had, and left him in miserable plight. In the middle of the night he reached the army of Firoz Jang, full of complaints and remorse. He was deprived of his *mansab* and jagir and was sent on the pilgrimage.

Turbulence of the Jats

(Text, vol II, p 394) It was now reported from Agra that when Aghar Khan came there under orders from Kabul, a party of Jats attacked the caravan near Agra. They seized the cattle and plundered the carts which were in the rear and carried off some women as prisoners. Aghar Khan pursued them to the neighbourhood of a fort where after a sharp struggle he rescued the women. He then boldly invested the fort, but he was killed by a musket-ball. His son-in-law was also killed. Khan Jahan Kokaltash had formerly failed in executing a commission to restrain the Jats, and for this and some displeasing actions he was recalled, and Prince Bedar Bakht was appointed on the duty.

An order was issued that no Hindu should ride in a *palki* or on an Arab horse without permission.

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1103 A H (A D 1692)

(Text, vol 11, p 397) In the beginning or towards the middle of this year, Aurangzeb moved from Guigaon¹ and Shikarpur to Bidr, and after a while from thence to Gulka, one day's march from Bijapur, where the camp was pitched. The evil days of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam now drew to a close, and it pleased the Emperor to show him kindness.

He directed that the shaving of the head and other rigours of prison discipline should be forbidden, and he held out to the Prince hopes of release.

The Hindi names of many places end with the letter *h*, which there was a tendency to pronounce like *ahf* in such names as Malwah, Bangalah, Baglanah, and Parnalah.

Orders were given that such names should be written with an *ahf*, as Malwa, Bangala, Baglana, etc.

Mukhlis Khan, *darogha* of the artillery, reported that some of the Mahratta-chiefs had taken Ram Raja, brother of the late Sambha, out of confinement, and had raised him to the raj in succession to his father and brother. They had assembled large forces with the vain intention of besieging fortresses. He sent robes and presents to the officers in command of his own forts, and, like his father and brother, he appointed different leaders to plunder the country and to get possession of forts.

The Portuguese ①

(Text, vol 11, p 400) It was mentioned in the history of the reign of Shah Jahan that Christian traders had come to India to the ports on the seashore. The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring ports, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes. They allotted a separate quarter for the Musulmans who dwelt with them, and appointed a *kazi* over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage. But the call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted.

¹The previous march was from Akluj to Gurgaon (Text, p 393)

in their settlements. If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble, but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease. On the sea, they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships, except those ships which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia or Maskat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. But their greatest act of tyranny is this. If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in many places, and the *padris*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulman *Saiyid* or a Hindu *Brahman*. They also make them serve as slaves. In the 'Adil-Shahi Kokan, close to the sea, in the fine and famous fort of Goa, their governor resides, and there is a captain there who exercises full powers on the part of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourishing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from fourteen or fifteen *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Habshis, which is called the Nizam Shahi Kokan. In the rear of the hills of Baglana, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulshanabad, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of these by name Daman and Bası, which they obtained by fraud from Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their possessions measure in length about forty or fifty *kos*, but they are not more than a *kos* or a *kos* and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugarcane, pineapples, and rice, and cocoa-nut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue.

They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *ashnafi*, worth nine *anas*. They also use bits of copper which they call *buzurg*, and four of these *buzurgs* pass for a *fulus*. The orders of the King (of India) are not current there. When the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs in the house and out of it, to their wives. They have only one wife and concubinage is not permitted by their religion.

Ram Raja

(Text, vol 11, p 413) Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor that the forces of Ram Raja had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne. The fort of Parnala was one of the highest and most celebrated of the forts belonging to Bijapur, and had been captured by the royal forces with a good deal of difficulty. It was now taken with little exertion by Ram Raja's officers, and its commandant was wounded and made prisoner. It was also reported that Ram Raja had gone to the assistance of the chiefs of Jinji, and was busy collecting men. This information greatly troubled His Majesty. He was about to send Bahramand Khan to lay siege to Parnala, when intelligence came that Prince Mu'izzu-d din had sat down before it. So he resolved to proceed in person to Bairampuri.

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1104 A H
(A D 1693)

The Mahrattas

(Text, vol 11, p 414) This year Aurangzeb stayed at Bairampuri¹, the name of which was ordered to be changed to Islampur. Forces were sent against the fort of Parnala and other forts in various places. After the execution of Sambha, many of the Mahratta chieftains received instructions from Ram Raja to ravage the country. They hovered round the Imperial armies, and were exceedingly daring.

¹ Elphinstone calls it "Birmapur near Panderpur (Pundharpu) on the Bhima." The Survey Map has "Brumhapoorec," lower down the river than Pundharpur, and south-west of Sholapur.

Among them was Santa Ghorpura and Dahina Jadu, two experienced warriors and leaders of from fifteen to twenty thousand horse. Other Mahratta chiefs submitted to their leadership, and great losses were inflicted on the Imperial forces.

Santa more especially distinguished himself in ravaging the cultivated districts and in attacking the royal leaders. Every one who encountered him was either killed or wounded and made prisoner or if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever the accused dog went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial amir bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made the boldest warriors quake. Ismail Khan was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Dakhn, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khan, otherwise called Sharza Khan, the Rustom of the time and as brave as a lion, was defeated by him in the district of Sattara, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. 'Alı Mardan Khan, otherwise called Husainı Beg Haidarabadı, was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After a detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a ransom of two lacs of rupees.

These evil tidings greatly troubled Aurangzeb. Further, news came that Santa had fought with Jan-nisar Khan and Tahawwur Khan, on the borders of the Karnatik, and had inflicted upon them a severe defeat and the loss of their artillery and baggage. Jan-nisar Khan was wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Tahawwur Khan was also wounded and lay among the dead, but was restored to life. Many other renowned amirs met with similar defeats. Aurangzeb was greatly distressed, but in public he said that the creature could do nothing, for everything was in the hands of God.

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1105 A H
(A D 1694)*Siege of Jinji Arrest of Prince Kam Bakhsh*

(Text, vol II, p 418) Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh with Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khan and Zul-fikar Khan Nusrat Jang, approached Jinji¹, and encamping about a cannon-shot off the fortress, began to prepare for the siege. The fortress of Jinji occupies several adjacent hills, on each of which stands a fort bearing a distinct name. Two of these hills are very high, and the forts were well furnished with artillery, provisions, and all necessary stores. It was impossible to invest all the forts, but the lines were allotted to different commanders, and every exertion was made for digging mines and erecting batteries. The garrison also did their best to put the place in order, and make a stout defence. From time to time they fired a gun or two. The zamindars far and near of the country round and the Mahratta forces surrounded the royal army on all sides, and showed great audacity in cutting off supplies. Sometimes they burst unexpectedly into an entrenchment, doing great damage to the works, and causing great confusion in the besieging force.

The siege had gone on for a long time, and many men fell, but although the enemy's relieving force day by day increased, Zul-fikar Khan Nusrat Jang and the other generals so pressed the siege that it went hard with the garrison. The command of the army and the general management of civil and revenue affairs in that part of the country were in the hands of Jamdatu-l Mulk and Nusrat Jang. This gave great offence to Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh and Jamdatu-l Mulk and Nusrat Jang had to admonish him, and speak to him sharply about some youthful follies. The Prince was greatly offended. The Prince wished that the siege should be carried on in harmony, but the generals acted on their own authority. Day by day the dissensions increased. The besieged were aware

¹ Fifty miles south-west of Madras

of these differences, and contrived to open communications with the Prince, and to fan the flames of his discontent, so that great danger threatened the army.

Intelligence now came of the approach of Santa, and the enemy's forces so closed round the royal army and shut up the roads that for some days there were no communications whatever between the army and His Majesty. Messages still came to the Prince from the garrison, exciting his apprehensions and holding out allurements. He was vexed with Jamdatu-l Mulk's opposition, and no communications arrived from the Emperor, so he was on the point of going over to the enemy. Jamdatu-l Mulk and Nusrat Jang were informed of this, and they surrounded his tents and made the Prince prisoner.

When these troubles and discords were at their height Santa came down upon the royal army with twenty-five thousand horse and reduced it to such straits, that the commanders deemed it expedient to leave their baggage and some of their *matériel* to be plundered by Santa, and to retire into the hills for refuge. Every one was to carry off what he could and the idea was that Santa would stop to plunder what was left, and not follow the retreating force. Accordingly the two generals retired fighting for some kos, till they reached the shelter of the hills, when they beat off Santa. A few days afterwards they renewed the siege, and the garrison was hard pressed. According to report, a sum of money reached the enemy and they evacuated the fortress and retired.

When intelligence of the arrest of Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh reached Aurangzeb, he apparently acquiesced in it as a matter of necessity. The news of the reduction of the fortress came soon afterwards, and he applauded the services performed by the two generals. In reality, he was offended, and summoned the Prince with the two generals to his presence. The Prince was brought up under arrest. After waiting upon Aurangzeb, he addressed a few words of admonition to Jamdatu-l Mulk, but afterwards the marks of his displeasure became more apparent. Orders were given to set the Prince at liberty.

*Capture of a Royal Ship by the English The English at
Bombay*

(Text, vol 11, p 421) The royal ship called the *Ganj-i sawai*, than which there was no larger in the port of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca) It was now bringing back to Surat fifty-two lacs of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mocha and Jedda The captain of this ship was Ibrahim Khan There were eighty guns and four hundred muskets on board, besides other implements of war It had come within eight or nine days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Ganj-i sawai* When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the royal ship By ill luck the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the mainmast, on which the safety of the vessel depends The Englishmen perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponent The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many weapons on board the royal vessel that, if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated But as soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khan ran down into the hold There were some Turki girls whom he had bought in Mocha as concubines for himself He put turbans on their heads and swords into their hands, and incited them to fight These fell into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship They transferred the treasure and many prisoners to their own ship When they had laden their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their settlements, and busied themselves for a week searching for plunder, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young They then left the ship, carrying off the men Several honourable women, when they found an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers

This loss was reported to Aurangzeb, and the news-writers of the port of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay, with a superscription containing the name of their impure King Aurangzeb then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Surat for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to I'timad Khan, superintendent of the port of Surat, and Sidi Yakut Khan, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the threatenings. They knew that Sidi Yakut was offended at some slights he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. I'timad Khan saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. He made no serious preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that one rupee should be lost to the revenue. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial officer, wherever they found one, on sea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. So matters went on for a long time.

During these troubles I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for 'Abdu-r Razzak Khan at the port of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two lacs of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to 'Abdu-r Razzak, the *faujdar* of Rahiri. My route was along the seashore through the possessions of the Portuguese and English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from 'Abdu-r Razzak, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sidi Yakut Khan. 'Abdu-r Razzak had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haiderabad

days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy. The Englishman sent out the brother of his *diwan*, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the *diwan's* brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's *vakil* advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent muskets on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, young men with sprouting beards, handsome and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing, with long beards, of similar age, and with the same accoutrements and dress. After that I saw musketeers (*bark-andaz*), young men well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on, I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in brocade, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handsome, and wearing pearls on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly seven thousand musketeers, dressed and accoutred as for a review.

I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation, then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet, but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Abdu-r Razzak. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do

not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the sun is when all the world is filled with its rays." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? by what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sidi Yakut but to-day the scars have been removed from our hearts.' A person who was with them knew Hīndī and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakut Khan, were taken prisoners by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the *Habshi*, and became Musulmans. They staved with Yakut Khan some time and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. Now they have gone and taken part with the *dingmars*, or *sakanas* who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea, and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

I smilingly replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand and, without consideration, such an exculpatory and sensible answer! But you must recall to mind that the hereditary Kings of Bijapur and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Sambha have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzeb. Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge?" I added, "What a

manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coming rupees ! ”

He replied, “ We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the coins of the King of Hindustan are taken at a loss. Besides, the coins of Hindustan are of short weight, and much debased, and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current in our own jurisdiction ” A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him, but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of 'Abdu-r Razzak Khan, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion, but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only *atr* and *pan*, and was glad to escape.

The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, does not reach to two or three lacs of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to report, does not exceed twenty lacs of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year. When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jedda laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them, but when they return bringing gold and silver and *Ibrahimi* and *rial*,¹ their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it.

The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khanderi, Kalaba, Kasa, and Katora,² in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the *Habshis*. Their war-ships cruise about these forts and attack vessels whenever

¹ “ Rix-dollars ”—Shakespeare's Dictionary

² The islands of Khanderi or Kenery, Kolaba and Kansa near Jinjera. Katora has not been identified.

fort, and of the lines they threw up to protect themselves from the assault of the enemy. Their camels and cattle fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. While fighting went on, the gates of the fort were kept closed, and the traders and inhabitants within let down food from the walls and sold it. On the fourth or fifth day the enemy got intelligence that Himmatt Khan was coming with a force to the rescue. Santa left half his force to keep Kasim Khan's army invested, and with the other marched against Himmatt Khan. On learning that another force belonging to Ram Raja would act against Himmatt Khan, he returned to his former position.

Meanwhile matters went ill with the royal forces, and Kasim Khan with a few other officers, resolved upon taking refuge in the fort secretly, without the knowledge of their brethren in arms. Kasim Khan went out at night with the ostensible purpose of making the rounds. Several reasons made it inexpedient to enter the gate, near which so many men and officers were gathered, so he ascended the walls by a rope-ladder. Ruhu-llah Khan, Saf-shikan Khan and a crowd of soldiers in great tumult made their way in by the gate. Muhammad Murad Khan and others hearing of this followed the example. In fine, for a month they were besieged within the four walls, and every day affairs grew worse with them. They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved. For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted. To escape from starvation many men threw themselves from the walls and trusted to the enemy's mercy. People brought fruit and sweetmeats from the enemy's bazar to the foot of the walls and sold them at extravagant prices. Reverses, disease, deficiency of water, and want of grain, reduced the garrison to the verge of death. Kasim Khan, according to report, poisoned himself, or else died from want of the usual potion of opium, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage.

Ruhu-llah Khan and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation. Some officers

went out to settle the terms of the ransom Santa said, "Besides the elephants and horses and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a lac of *huns*, equivalent to three lacs and 50,000 rupees. A Dakhni officer said "What are you thinking of! this is a mere trifle. This is a ransom which I would fix for Ruhu-llah Khan alone." Finally seven lacs of rupees was settled as the ransom the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers. Each one's share was settled and he made an engagement to pay it as ransom and to leave a relation or officer of rank with Santa as bail for payment. Santa's officers sat down at the gate of the fort and allowed each officer to take out his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear in their arms. Everything else money and jewels, horses and elephants, etc., were confiscated by Santa. The government and personal property lost during this war and siege exceeded fifty or sixty lacs of rupees.

Santa was delighted with the terms he had made with the defeated army. Soon afterwards he heard that Himmat Khan was approaching by forced marches to the relief of the besieged army. Santa divided his forces into two divisions, and marched to meet him. At the distance of sixteen *kos* the force under command of Santa fell in with Himmat Khan, and a great battle followed. Himmat Khan fought with great spirit and bravery. Numberless Mahrattas were slain, and many of his own army perished. Santa's forces retreated, and the royal forces were led against the second army. Himmat Khan made arrangements for the pursuit. By orders of Santa many musketeers had taken positions in the thick jungle and among the trees to impede the advance of Himmat Khan. Some of the best marksmen had climbed the trees, and concealed themselves among the thick branches. When Himmat Khan approached, a ball entered his forehead and killed him immediately. All the baggage and elephants and munitions of war belonging to Himmat Khan then fell bodily into the hands of Santa.

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1106 A H
(A D 1694-95)

The Royal Princes

(Text, vol II, p 434) Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah had gone to Kharpa (Kaddapa), to punish the rebels and to settle affairs. The insalubrity of the climate affected his health, and dropsy supervened. He returned to Court, and experienced physicians were appointed to attend him.

His illness became so serious that his couch was placed near the chamber of the Emperor, who showed his paternal solicitude by administering his medicine, by partaking of food with him, and doing everything he could to restore him to health. God at length gave him a perfect cure.

Directions were now given for the release of Prince Shah 'Alam who had been kept under restraint for seven years. His release *with the provision made for him* was very annoying to Prince Muhammad A'zam and his partisans.

While Prince Shah 'Alam was in confinement, the Emperor had shown great favour to Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah, who considered himself to be the heir apparent. But now that the elder Prince was restored to full liberty, and to a greater share of attention than before, Prince Muhammad A'zam was much aggrieved.

One day the King took the hand of Prince Shah 'Alam, and placed him on his right hand.

Then he took the hand of Prince Muhammad A'zam, and made signs for him to sit down on his left. This greatly annoyed Prince Muhammad A'zam, and an open quarrel was imminent.

After a time Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, who had been entitled Shah 'Alam, was honoured with the title Bahadur Shah, and was sent to settle the affairs of Agra, and to punish the rebels in that quarter.

Soon afterwards Prince Muhammad A'zam was ordered with his sons to Kabul, and Prince Mu'izzu-d din to Multan.

Death of Santa Ghorpura

(P 445) The death of Santa at this time was a great piece of good fortune for Aurangzeb. The exact partic-

approached him suddenly, and killed him unawares. He then cut off his head, and, placing it in a bag, fastened it behind him on his horse, and carried it off to Dahina Jadu. On the road the bag fell off, and was picked up by some runners and horsemen belonging to the army of Firoz Jang, who were in pursuit of Santa. The head was recognised, and was carried to Lutfullah Khan, commander of Firoz Jang's advanced guard. It was finally sent to Aurangzeb, who gave the bearer of it the title of Khush-khabar Khan. The drums of joy were beaten, and the head was ordered to be exposed with ignominy before the army and in several places of the Dakhn.

'Abdu-r Razzak Lari

(P 448) 'Abdu-r Razzak Lari, from the day of entering the royal service, had sought for an excuse for going to his native country. He was now deprived of the faujdari of Rahiri, and summoned to Court. He did not go, but wrote desiring to be relieved from his mansab, and to be allowed to go to Mecca. The leave was given, but every means was taken to satisfy him, and to avert him from his design. But he would not consent, so he received written leave to depart with his family and property and with marks of favour. His three sons did not accompany him, but remained at Court.

FORTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1107 A H
(A D 1695-96)

Ram Raja Prince Akbar Flood

(Text, vol 11, p 450) Ram Raja, brother of Sambha, having left the fort of Jat, in the district of Rajgarh, went to Jinji and other strong places. He then proceeded to the fort of Sattara, where he remained seven months. When he was informed of the murder of Santa, he sent for Dahina Jadu, to consult with him about getting together an army and recommencing the war.

Prince Muhammad Akbar, after the accession of Sultan Husain to the throne of Persia, repeatedly asked for the

help of an army to reinstate him in Hindustan. The new Shah like his predecessor excused himself. The Prince then complained that the climate of Isfahan did not agree with him and asked permission to reside for a while in Garmsir. The request was granted, and assignments were made of the revenues of that province for his support. So the Prince proceeded thither with an appointed escort of 10 000 *Lazilbashcs*.

In the month of Muharram of this year the river Bhanra¹ near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The amirs had built many houses there. The waters began to overflow at midnight when all the world was asleep. The floods carried off about ten or twelve thousand men with the establishments of the King and the princes and the amirs horses bullocks and cattle in countless numbers tents and furniture beyond all count. Numberless houses were destroyed and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army. The King wrote out prayers with his own hand and ordered them to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside.

FORTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1108 A H
(A D 1696-97)

[*Attempt to Murder Sidi Yakut Khan of Jazira*]

FORTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1109 A H
(A D 1697-98)

The Mahrattas

(Text, vol II, p 457) Nibā Sindhia and other officers of Ram Raja, with an army of eight thousand horse, came to the district of Nandurbar, and attacked and burnt

¹The Bhima. The name is written here "Bhanra," but the Index makes it "Bhanbara." In the *Badshah-nama* it was "Bhunra."

several villages. When he heard that Husain 'Ali Khan was approaching from Thalir,¹ he suspended his operations against Nandurbar, and went to meet him. Husain Khan had only seven or eight hundred horse and two or three thousand provincial musketeers and archers, but he went forth to meet the enemy. They encountered each other at two *kos* from the town of Thalir, and a fierce action ensued. The number of Sindhia's forces enabled him to surround Husain 'Ali Khan, about three hundred of whose men were killed. The day went against Husain 'Ali, and he had received two or three wounds. Dripping with blood, he threw himself from his elephant, but he had no strength left for fighting, so he was surrounded and made prisoner. All his baggage, his men, and elephants were captured.

In addition to the cash and property which they had got by plunder, the enemy fixed two *lacs* of rupees as the price of the ransom of the prisoners. After much exertion, nearly one *lac* and 80,000 rupees was raised from the jagirs, and from the property which had been left in the town of Thalir. To make up the balance, the *sarrafs* and merchants of Nandurbar were importuned to raise a sum, small or great, by way of loan. But they would not consent. The inhabitants of the town of Nandurbar had not paid the *chauth* to the Mahrattas, and being supported by the *faujdar*, they had closed their gates, which greatly annoyed the enemy (Mahrattas). Husain 'Ali Khan also was greatly incensed by their refusal to assist him, so he took counsel with the enemy, and agreed after a siege of a day or two, and some exhibition of force, he would open the gates to them. He made it a condition that the *rayats* should not be plundered, but that the great and wealthy men, the *sarrafs*, the merchants, and the *mukaddams*, might be put to the rack and tortured until the balance of the ransom due to the Mahrattas was discharged. The result was that a sum of one *lac* and forty thousand rupees was paid to the Mahrattas instead of eighty thousand, and that

¹"Talner," east of Nandurbar

Husain 'Alī Khan himself realised nearly thirty thousand rupees. When (the result of the action) was reported to Aurangzeb, he was very angry and said that there was no use in fighting when too weak to win.

FORTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1110 A H
(A D 1698-99)

Campaign against the Mahrattas Siege of Sattara

(Text, vol 11, p 459) The daring inroads of the Mahrattas brought Aurangzeb to the resolution of waging a holy war against them, and of reducing the fortresses which were their homes and defences. His camp had now remained at Islampuri four years, and fine mansions and houses had been built there, so that a new city had sprung up, and men thought they would never move far away. Orders were given for throwing up earthworks round the place, and the officers and men worked so well that in fifteen or twenty days a defence was raised which might have occupied six or seven months. The Nawab Kudsiya Zinatun-Nissa, sister of Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah, and mother of Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, with other ladies of the royal household, were left there under the charge of Jamdatul-Mulk Asad Khan. Orders were given that all amirs and officers should leave their wives and families and property behind. The people belonging to the royal establishments were also to remain. Strict orders were also given that no *ahadi* should take his wife or children with him. Great stress was laid upon this order, but in the marches and campaigns of Hindustan such orders could not be enforced without resorting to such punishments as the Princes of the house of Timur held to be inconsistent with their sense of justice. So the order was not obeyed as it ought to have been. On the 5th Jumada-l awwal the army marched towards the fort of Basant-garh,¹ and in twenty days it arrived at Murtaza-abad, or Mirich. There Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah came, in obedience to summons, from Birganw.

¹ Between the Kistna and Koeena, about thirty miles south of Sattara

Ram Raja, brother of the deceased Sambha, had, under the pressure of the royal armies, abandoned his fortresses and fled, taking refuge in the hills and places of difficult access. When he heard of the royal design upon the fortresses, he went off towards Birar, ravaging the towns and inhabited places. The zamindar of Deogarh, in consequence of disturbances in his country and the superior force of those who disputed the inheritance, had fled to the Court of Aurangzeb, and had received the title of Buland-bakht upon his becoming a Musulman. Upon hearing of the death of his competitor, he hastened back to Deogarh without leave, and opposed the officers who were appointed to collect the tribute. He now joined Ram Raja in plundering the country. His Majesty ordered that his name should be changed to Nigun-bakht, and that Prince Bedar Bakht should march against him with a suitable force. Ruhullah Khan *Bakhsh*, with Hamidu-din Khan, were sent to plunder the environs of the forts of Parnala and Sattara. When the royal army came near to Basant-garh, Tarbiyat Khan, the commander of artillery, was ordered to take steps for investing the place and throwing up lines. The word was given for an assault, but the besieged were frightened and surrendered. Aurangzeb gave to the place the name *Kilid-i futeh*, Key of Victory.

At the end of Jumada-s sani the royal army arrived opposite Sattara, and the camp was pitched at the distance of a *kos* and a half. Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah encamped on another side, and the amirs and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tarbiyat Khan. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and in carrying on other siege operations.

On both sides a heavy fire was kept up, and the garrison rolled down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The rain obstructed the arrival of corn, the enemy were very daring in attacking the convoys, and the country for twenty *kos* round the fortress had been burnt so that grain and hay became very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four

yards (*dar a*) high was thrown up in face of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand rupees were paid for the services of the troops and *manab*s of that country who are very efficient in sieges. Matters went hard with the garrison, and the chance of firing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power, all they could do was to roll down stones from the walls.

Stone-masons were employed by the besiegers to cut two vaults in the side of the rock four yards long and ten yards broad which were to be used as stations for sentinels. But when they were found not to answer for this purpose, they were filled with powder. On the morning of the 5th Zi-l Kadda, in the fourth month of the siege, one of these was fired. The rock and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt. The besiegers, on beholding this pushed boldly forwards. At that time the second mine was fired. A portion of the rock above was blown up but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came down upon the heads of the besiegers like a mountain of destruction and several thousands¹ were buried under it. The garrison then set about repairing the walls, and they again opened fire and rolled down the life-destroying stones.

When Aurangzeb was informed of the disaster, and of the despondency of his men he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamity, then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Muhammad A'zam Shah. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition. Afterwards he addressed his soldiers in encouraging words [and gave fresh orders for the conduct of the siege]

¹ "Nearly two thousand"—*Ma-asir-i 'Alamgir*.

An extraordinary incident now occurred. A great number of Hindu infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to seek and bring out their bodies. The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Musulman and Hindu, friend and stranger. The flames of animosity burst forth among all the gunners against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defences (*marhala*)¹ which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Musulmans who were alive in the huts were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead.

Death of Ram Raja

(Text, vol II, p 468) The news-writers now reported that Ram Raja, after meeting with some reverses in his raid upon Birar, was returning to the hills of his own territory. On his way he died, leaving three sons of tender years, and two wives. Soon afterwards it was announced that the eldest son, a boy of five years of age, had died of small-pox. The chiefs then made Tara Bai, the chief wife, and mother of one son, regent. She was a clever, intelligent woman, and had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters. Tara Bai proceeded to the hills of difficult approach.

On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor ordered the drums of rejoicing to be beaten, and the soldiers congratulated each other saying that another prime mover in the strife was removed, and that it would not be difficult to overcome two young children and a helpless woman. They thought their enemy weak, con-

¹ "Which were constructed entirely of wood"—*Ma-asir-i Alamgiri*, p 419

temptible and helpless, but Tara Bai, as the wife of Ram Raja was called, showed great powers of command and government, and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Mahrattas increased

Surrender of Sattara and Capture of Parli

(Text, vol II, p 470) At the death of Ram Raja, a chief named Parsa Ram was in the fort of Parli¹ acting in that country as diwan in revenue matters for Ram Raja. On hearing of his decease, without consulting with the commandant of the fort, he came and made his submission to Aurangzeb. The commandant also, being dismayed, sent a proposal of surrender upon terms. At the same time Sobhan, the commander of Sattara, was troubled by blowing up of the wall on one side of the fortress and the burning of a great number of his men. The death of Ram Raja added to his perplexity. He was at feud with the commandant of fort Parli, and he sent a message to Aurangzeb, through Prince Muhammad A'zam, offering to capitulate on honourable terms, if the proposal of the commandant of Parli were rejected. He was willing to give up the keys of Sattara, at once, and would undertake to place Parli in Aurangzeb's hands unconditionally in a short time, without any promise of security. On the 16th Zi-l ka'da he surrendered the keys, and more than three thousand persons, male and female, came out of the fort upon promise of safety. Great rejoicings followed. Sobhan was brought, bound hand and neck, to the foot of the throne, but orders were given for the forgiveness of his offences, and for loosening his bonds. He was appointed to a *mansab* of five thousand and two thousand horse, and a horse, an elephant, etc., were presented to him.

After the surrender of Sattara, Aurangzeb marched against Parli, the commandant of that fort having been diverted by his advisers from his intention of surrendering. Parli is a more lofty fort than Sattara, and it had been put into a state of preparation. On the 10th

¹ Six miles south-west of Sattara

Zi-l hijja many men were killed in an attempted assault, but in a short time the garrison was pressed very hard. The besiegers were greatly incommoded by the heavy rain, which in this part of the country falls for five months without an hour's interval by night or day, and by lack of supplies, the convoys being cut off by the enemy who swarmed around.

The garrison showed great daring in coming suddenly down the hill and attacking the besiegers, but the repeated attacks and the daring of Fathu-llah Khan at length prevailed, and a proposition of capitulation was made. At the beginning of Muharram, after a siege of a month and a half, the fortress was taken, and the men of the garrison marched out with their families and their old clothes. The name of Sattara was changed to A'zamtara, and of Pañli to Nauras-tara.

Aurangzeb then determined to return, but there was little means of carriage, for the rains and the bad climate

had affected the animals, so that those that were alive were nothing but skin and bone. Some of the baggage and *materiel* was carried away, some was left in the forts, and some was burnt.

On reaching the river Kistna, there was great difficulty in crossing it. Some men attempted to swim over, but nine out of ten were drowned and thousands remained behind and died.

In the middle of Safar the army reached an obscure fort, which offered sufficient protection for a few days, and an order was issued for a month's rest there. The rains, which had continued so far, now ceased, and the men of the army found a little comfort.

Some proceedings of Prince Muhammad A'zam were displeasing to His Majesty, and his division of the army was in a bad state, so that although he had shown great diligence and enterprise in the reduction of the fort of Parnala and other forts, he was sent, in order to appease the troops, to be Governor of the province of Ujjain. In the same way, several officers of the army were sent to their jagirs at ten or twelve days' distance, to Bijapur, and to other places in the vicinity. Prince Bedar Bakht was directed to lay siege to the fort of Parnala, and Zu-l fikar

Khan and Tarbiyat Khan received orders to follow him with the artillery

As many men had been lost in the reduction of the fortresses, strict orders were sent to the subadars of Burhanpur, Bijapur, Haidarabad, Ahmadabad, and other provinces far and near, to raise (each) a thousand men, well horsed, to advance them six months' pay out of the state revenues, and to send them to the royal camp Aurangzeb, with the intention of giving his men rest, went to Khawaspur,¹ a place well supplied with grass and hay, and fruit-trees and water. At the end of Rabi'ul awwal the royal camp was pitched at that place and the abundance of provisions soon restored the spirits of the army. But here also the army was to suffer hardship.

The camp was pitched by the side of a *nala* containing only a little water, and, as the rainy season was over, there was no expectation of a heavy fall of rain. But rain which fell out of season in the hills and distant places sent down a flood of water, which inundated the camp, causing confusion and distress which defy description.

The fort of Parnala had been (formerly) taken by Prince Muhammad A'zam, and had remained for some time in the royal possession. But in the thirty-fifth year of the reign the enemy regained possession of it. On the 10th Shawwal the (royal) army reached Pun-garh, a fort connected with Parnala.

FORTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1111 A H
(A D 1699-1700)

[*Siege of Parnala*]

FORTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1112 A H
(A D 1700-1)

Sieges of Forts

(Text, vol 11, p 489) The siege (of Parnala) had endured for two months and repeated attempts had been made to carry the place by escalade. At length, when the

¹ "On the banks of the Man river"—Grant Duff, vol 1, p 395

garrison was hard pressed, the commandant surrendered the fort, having secretly received a sum of money from Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh and Tarbiyat Khan, with whom he had been in correspondence. At the end of Zi-l hijja the keys were given up and both the forts were evacuated.

The army was about to march, when a violent storm came on (*and did great damage*). In the beginning of Muharram, 1113, it was determined to march towards Kahawan, where there was plenty of grass and grain. Fathu-llah Khan was sent with a force to chastise the plundering Mahrattas, and to subdue their forts. He killed many of the enemy near the four forts in that neighbourhood, and, on hearing of his approach, the enemy abandoned the fort of Paras-garh¹. Bahramand Khan was sent along with Fathu-llah Khan against the fort of Chandan-mandan,² and by the middle of Jumada-l awwal all the four forts were subdued.

On the 16th Jumada-l akhri the royal army moved from Panch-ganw, to effect the conquest of the fort of Khelna. The difficulties of the road were great. Amba-ghat,³ at a distance of two days' march, took twelve days to reach. Prince Bedar Bakht was ordered to fall back on Ban Shah Darak (as Parnala was now called) to punish the enemy, who were closing the roads in that direction, and to prevent any supplies being thrown into Khelna from that quarter. Muhammad Amin Khan was likewise ordered to the Amba-ghat to cut off any supplies intended for the fort, and to succour the convoys of *Banjaras* bearing grain for the royal army. He showed no lack of zeal in these duties, and was so active in ravaging and burning the inhabited places, in killing and making prisoners the people, and in seizing and carrying off the cattle, that any sign of cultivation, or the name or trace of a Mahratta, was not to be found.

The siege works were pushed on until a mine was carried near to the gate. In the raising of the earthworks⁴

¹ Also called Sadik-garh—*Index to the Text*

² Chandan and Wandan are sister forts a little north of Sattara

³ In the Ghats just below Lat 17

⁴ *damdama*, lit "batteries"

camel saddles and baskets innumerable were used, full of earth and rubbish and litter, heads of men and feet of quadrupeds, and these were advanced so far that the garrison were intimidated

FORTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1113 A H
(A D 1701-2)

(Text, vol II, p 499) Fathu-llah Khan Bahadur showed extraordinary zeal and bravery in pushing forward the siege works (of Khelna), and never rested from his labours

Paras Ram, the commandant of the fort, being much discouraged, held communications with Prince Bedar Bakht as to his personal safety, and the acceptance of his proposal. But his demands were not acceded to. Ruhu-llah Khan, etc., went several times into the fort to arrange terms, but without result. At length, according to common rumour, the Prince and some of the amirs sent him secretly a sum of money, and a promise of security for himself and family, on condition of his surrendering. So, after six months' siege, on the 19th Muharram, 1113 (16th June, 1701), the flags of the Prince and of Ruhu-llah Khan were hoisted over the fortress by Paras Ram, the commandant, himself, who had stipulated that no man of the royal army should go in with the flag. He solicited a night's grace, and through shame he and his family went out during the darkness of the night, with all the property they could carry. A large number of the garrison remained in the fort, but the Emperor in his mercy ordered that no one of them should be molested, so they came out and departed to their native wilds. The name of the fort was altered to Sakhkharalana.

The clemency and long suffering and care of the Emperor were such that, when he ascertained that several fortresses had been long and vigorously besieged by the forces appointed to the duty, and that the garrisons were in difficulty, he paid sums of money to the commandants

and so got the forts into his possession. It often happened also that he gave the same sum of money, neither more nor less, to the officer conducting the siege. The heavy rains, and the overflow of the rivers and streams, had induced Aurangzeb to defer his march until the end of the rainy season. But he was moved by the irresolution and the advice of some of his amirs, who pined for ease, and complained of the dearness of grain and the insalubrity of the climate, and by the grumbling of the inexperienced and hard-trying soldiers. So at the end of Muharram he marched for Bir-ganw (*Great difficulties, dangers and losses from rains and floods*). In the course of one month and seventeen days the fourteen kos between the forts of Khelna and Parnala were traversed, and on the 12th Rabi-u-l awwal the camp was pitched under the latter (*Further hardships of the march and great difficulty in crossing the Kistna*). Seventeen days were occupied in the transit of the river, but Bahadur-garh was at length reached, and there the army halted for a month. At the end of Rajab though only half a life remained in the bodies of the men, the army marched to effect the conquest of Kandana. On the 16th it reached that fortress (*and the siege was at once begun*).

FORTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1114 A H
(A D 1702-3)

The Mahrattas

(Text, vol II, p 510) After the siege (of Kandana)¹ had gone on for three months and a half, and many men had been killed, and the directors of the siege were in difficulty, the fort² was bought from the commandant for a sum of money. The army then marched and remained for a month at Puna, and the neighbouring villages³. In the middle of Rajab the army marched against Rajgarh, the earliest fortress and retreat of the restless infidels of this

¹ Now Singarh, eight miles south of Puna

² The name Bakhshinda-bakhsh was given to it

³ Prince Muhiu-l Mulk, son of Prince Kam Bakhsh, died here, so the name of Puna was changed to Muhiabad

country At the beginning of Sha'ban the army sat down before the fort The circuit of the fort was so great, twelve kos in measurement, that a complete investment sufficient to prevent the throwing in of supplies was impossible

On the 15th Shawwal the royal flag was planted on the first gate of the fortress, and many of the garrison were slain or put to flight

But Hainaji, the commander, kept up an ineffectual resistance for twelve days longer, when he asked for terms They were conceded on condition that the commander himself should come to the first gate carry the royal flag into the fortress, and evacuate the place on the next day

Next day the garrison marched out with their families, and all the property they could carry The fort received the name of Bani-Shahgarh

When Ram Raja died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Mahrattas over the Dakhn was at an end But Tara Bai, the elder wife made her son of three years old successor to his father and took the reins of government into her own hands She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six *subas* of the Dakhn as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the *suba* of Malwa She won the hearts of her officers and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Mahrattas increased day by day By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shah Jahan, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home, still the daring of the Mahrattas increased and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went In imitation of the Emperor who with his army and enterprising amirs was staying in those distant mountains, the commanders of Tara Bai cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kamaish-dars* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction, with their wives

and children, tents and elephants Their daring went beyond all bounds They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *subadars* (provincial governors), *kamaish-dars* (revenue collectors), and *rahdars* (toll collectors)

Their principal subadar is commander of the army Whenever he hears of a large caravan, he takes six or seven thousand horse and goes to plunder it He appoints *kamaish-dars* everywhere to collect the *chauth*, and whenever, from the resistance of the zamindars and *faujders*, the *kamaish-dar* is unable to levy the *chauth*, he hastens to support him, and besieges and destroys his towns And the *rahdar* of these evil-doers takes from small parties of merchants, who are anxious to obtain security from plunder, a toll upon every cart and bullock, three or four times greater than the amount imposed by the *faujders* of the government This excess he shares with the corrupt jagirdars and *faujders*, and then leaves the road open In every *suba* (province) he builds one or two forts, which makes his strongholds, and ravages the country round The *mukaddams*, or head men of the villages, with the countenance and co-operation of the infidel subadars, have built forts, and with the aid and assistance of the Mahrattas, they make terms with the royal officers as to the payment of their revenues They attack and destroy the country as far as the borders of Ahmadabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dakhin to the environs of Ujjain They fall upon and plunder large caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp, and have even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds, but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of sieges, which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Mahrattas

A force of the enemy, numbering fifteen or sixteen thousand horse, proceeded towards the port of Surat, and,

after ravaging several districts, they went to cross the Nerbadda, which runs between Ahmadabad and Surat. The Imperial officers in charge of Ahmadabad took counsel together, and sent a suitable force against them, under Muhammad Beg Khan, and ten or twelve sardars, with thirteen or fourteen thousand horse, and seven or eight thousand trained *kolis* of that country. They crossed the Nerbadda, and encamped upon its bank. Next morning the Mahratta army approached within seven or eight *kos*. Two or three well-mounted light horsemen appeared on one side, and the Ahmadabad army made ready to receive them. After a conflict, the infidels took flight, and were pursued by the Imperial officers for two or three *kos*, who captured several mares, spears and umbrellas, and returned rejoicing.

The men of the army delighted at having put the enemy to flight, had unguarded themselves and taken the saddles from their horses. Some went to sleep, and some were engaged in cooking or eating, when a picked force of seven or eight thousand of the enemy's horse came suddenly upon them like a flood. These men had been concealed among the trees and rocks near the river, and had sent out their spies to watch for an opportunity. The untried men of Ahmadabad lost their wits, and found no means of saddling their horses or girding on their arms. They had no experienced officers among them, and when the Dakhinis made their attack, a panic fell upon the army. On one side was the river, which the tide from the sea made unfordable, and on the other the advancing tide of the enemy. Many men were killed and wounded, and a great many threw themselves into the water, and were drowned.

The enemy effected a complete overthrow of the Imperial army.

Dahina Jadu, according to the general report of the sardars, was a man of the highest influence. He now proposed terms of peace. His proposal was that conciliatory letters should be addressed to all the principal officers of the Rani, inviting them to wait upon Aurangzeb. When they had arrived in the vicinity of the royal

camp, Raja Sahu (son of Sambhaji) was to be placed in charge of Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, and to be sent some four or five *kos* from the camp, so that the Mahratta sardars might have an interview with him first. With the approval of Raja Sahu, the chiefs were then to pay their respects to Prince Kam Bakhsh, and to return in his custody to the royal camp, where they were to receive the honour of admission into the royal service. Orders were accordingly given for the sending of nearly seventy letters to various Mahratta chiefs. But, after all, the plan did not please Aurangzeb, who prudently felt misgivings as to the craftiness of the Mahrattas and was apprehensive that if they assembled forty or fifty thousand horse near the royal camp, they might by this pretence carry off Raja Sahu and Prince Kam Bakhsh to their hills of difficult access.

Sultan Husain was summoned to Court, but his visit was countermanded, and he was ordered to go and lay siege to the fort of Torna.

FORTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1115 A H
(A D 1703-4)

(Text, vol II, p 521) After the reduction of the fort of Rajgarh, the royal army rested for a few days, and at the end of Shawwal it moved to the fort of Torna, four *kos* distant from Rajgarh. On the 13th Zi-l ka'da this fort was taken by assault, not like the other forts by negotiations with the commandants and promises of material advancement.

Siege of Wakinkera

(P 524) Pem Naik, a zamindar of low origin, belonging to the tribe of *Bedar*, which is the Hindi for "fearless," sprang from the caste of *Dhers*, the most impure caste of the Dakhin. He was noted for his turbulent habits. At the time of the war with Haidarabad, he sent his forces to the aid of Abu-l Hasan, and Padshah Khanzada Khan, son of Ruhullah Khan, was sent to subdue his fort of

Sagar,¹ and to occupy his fastnesses and retreats. He submitted to the royal army, and came to wait on the Emperor, but soon hastened back to his home.

Pem Naik had a nephew named Parya Naik.² In the thirty-second year of the reign, when Ruhu-llah Khan senior was sent to reduce Raichor, and when the royal court was at Ahmadabad, before the Bijapur affair, this Parya Naik, having seen the great power of Aurangzeb, came to his Court, and received a *mansab*. Ruhu-llah thought he might be of service at Raichor, and took him there. There the good-for-nothing knave took part in the fighting, and rendered good service. After the reduction of Raichor,¹ he asked leave to go to Wakinkera,¹ his ancestral abode, promising to levy all his powers there, and to present himself with a proper army wherever he was summoned.

Upon receiving permission, he went to Wakinkera, which is a village on the top of a hill, and one of the dependencies of Sagar. The place is inhabited by many *Barhandazes*, which name signifies "black-faced infantry,"² and these people are famed for their skill in archery and missiles. After Sagar had been taken from the hands of Pem Naik, the worthless Parya Naik, by craft and wiles, made it the abode of his family and children. Having taken up his residence at Wakinkera, he showed no signs of moving, but set about strengthening and adding to the defences, and laying in warlike stores. Favoured by fortune, he in time collected nearly fourteen or fifteen thousand infantry of vigour and audacity. He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time four or five thousand horse, he ravaged flourishing places far and near, and plundered caravans. Whenever an army was

¹ Raichor lies between the Kistna and Tumbhadra. Sagar and Wakinkera are north-west of Raichor between the Kistna and the Bhima, Sagar being fifteen miles north-east of Wakinkera.

² The *Ma-asir-i 'Alamgir* gives as the names Pam Naik and Pidriya Naik.

³ *barqandāz hisyār ke murād az lāli piyādahān siyāh ru bāshand*. All the copies agree in this reading. The *Ma-asir-i 'Alamgir* calls them "*Kalah piyada bandukchi*," and they occur frequently.

sent against him, the strong force which he had collected around him, the strength of his retreat, the influence of money spent in bribery, a practice which he well understood, his knowledge of *darbar* proceedings, and his own audacity, carried him through, and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his statements. In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of zamindars and punctual of revenue-payers. Every month and year he exerted himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his towers and walls, in gathering forces, and acquiring guns, great or small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Wakinkera, and he became a fast ally of the Mahrattas, the disturbers of the Dakhin.

Jagna, son of Pem Naik, who was the heir to his property¹, came to Court, was honoured with a *mansab*, and received a *sanad* for the zamindari as its rightful heir. He went thither with an army, but could not get in, and after some fighting he suffered a defeat. Prince Muhammad A'zam was afterwards sent to punish Parya Naik, and the royal forces ravaged the outskirts of his territory. But he seized his opportunity, and went to wait upon the Prince. He expressed his humility and repentance, and with subtle artifice promised a tribute of seven lacs of rupees to the Emperor, and to make a present of two lacs to the Prince. Besides these, he dispensed gratifications to the officials. By these means he rescued himself from the clutches of the royal anger.

As soon as the Prince had returned to Court, he went on in his old way, and fanned the fires of rebellion more violently than before. Firoz Jang was afterwards sent with a large army to repress him, and pressed him very hard. But he resumed his old artifices, sent deceptive and alluring messages, and by a promise of obedience and nine lacs of rupees as tribute, he saved his life and honour. When the royal army marched against Puna, and lay encamped for seven months and a half near Junir, two or three

¹“Parya Naik expelled Jikya, son of Pem Naik, from the lands he had inherited”—*Ma-asir-i 'Alamgiri*, vol 11, p 492

unimportant forts were taken. Every day fresh news was brought of the insolence and turbulence of Parā Naik, and in consequence Aurangzeb resolved to march in person against Wakinkera.

FORTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1116 A H (A D 1704-5)

Siege of Wakinkera

(Text, vol II, p 527) At the beginning of the forty-ninth year of the reign, Aurangzeb moved with his army towards Wakinkera. At the end of Shawwal he reached the vicinity of the fort. His tent was pitched about a kos from the fort, and his officers were ordered to commence operations. Parā Naik had strengthened his defences and called in his scattered forces. He applied to Tara Bai for assistance, and had collected several thousand horsemen of all classes, especially Musulmans of bad character. The "black-faced infantry" with rage and clamour, and the artillery with a shower of fire, boldly resisted the advance of the Imperial forces. Cannon-balls from large and small guns were accompanied by thousands of blazing rockets, which rained night and day, and allowed not a moment's rest. A fierce struggle was commenced, and large numbers were killed on both sides.

The reduction of the fort was nearly accomplished, and the valour of the brave besiegers was about to reap its reward. The approaching fall of the fort was on every one's tongue, when intelligence came in that a large army of Mahrattas was approaching to succour the place. Next day Dahna Jadu and Hindu Rao, with two or three *sardars*, whose wives and families were in Wakinkera, approached with eight or nine thousand horse and an innumerable force of infantry. Dahna Jadu had been occupied for a short time in ravaging the country and opposing the royal forces. His present object was to get his wives and children and property out of Wakinkera, which he had deemed the safest of all the forts, and at the same time to render assistance to the garrison. On one side his strong force pressed severely on the royal army.

At this juncture when misfortune poured like hail upon the besiegers, one body drew the royal generals into a conflict on one side, while on another two or three thousand horse dashed up to the fort, mounted the women on swift mares, and with the aid of the infantry in the fort they succeeded in carrying them off. Parya Naik sent money and goods, food and drink, to the Mahrattas, and settled allowances to their *sardar*, to induce them to remain and protract the siege. The Mahrattas were quite willing to get money easily, so they remained and harassed the besiegers by daily attack on both sides. Every day their forces increased. Many men of the royal army were killed and a great panic spread amongst them. [*Private negotiations*]

Sum Sankar, brother of Parya Naik, came out of the fort (as a hostage), presented his offering and paid homage. He received the honour of a robe, horse, jewels, and a *mansab*, and then asked humbly forgiveness for his brother and for a truce of a week. Muhtasham Khan then entered the fortress (to take formal possession as *kila'dar*). He was entertained that night, and messages were sent to him assuring him that Parya Naik would see him next day, and then under his protection would proceed to pay homage. When he went into the fort, the drums of the royal army were beaten joyfully. The people in the fort, in order to satisfy the *kila'dar*, busied themselves in sending out their useless goods, their women and the old men whose lives were precarious. The statement was still maintained that Parya Naik intended to visit the *kila'dar*, but towards night the excuse was made that he was ill with fever. On the third it was stated that the fever had increased, and that he was delirious and talking wildly. Next day it was said that he was quite insane, and that he had gone out of the fort, and no one knew whether he had cast himself down from the fort to kill himself or whether he had gone to join the Mahratta army.

The mother of that crafty one artfully made great cries and lamentations, and pretended to be in great distress. She sent a message to Aurangzeb, saying that when she was

a little consoled for the disappearance of her son she would leave the fort, but she hoped that her younger son Sum Sankar, would receive investiture as the new zamindar and that he would be sent into the fort to Muhtasham Khan because he would be sent into the fort able to show the *kila dar* the various places in which the treasure was buried. She would then leave the fort with her remaining property and children. Aurangzeb not suspecting deception, allowed Sum Sankar to go into the fort. Then no one from the royal army was allowed to enter. Muhtasham Khan with some other persons were kept under restraint in the fort, and it became clear to the Emperor and his associates that they had been made the victims of deception but the Emperor was patient and acted cautiously as the circumstances of the case required.

Intelligence was now brought that Zu-l sikar Khan Nusrat Jang and others were approaching with the force under his command and the Emperor issued an order directing him to join as soon as possible. Zu-l sikar Khan seized several wells from which the enemy drew their supplies of water, and the enemy now felt the deprivation which the Imperial forces had suffered. The approaches were pushed forward to the fort, and on the day appointed for the assault, the Emperor mounted his horse to take part therein, and took his position at a cannon-shot distance from the fort. The enemy were overpowered, and some positions were captured. Being greatly dispirited, they placed two or three thousand musketeers to hold one of the gates to the last. They then took their wives and children, their jewels, and whatever they could carry, and after setting fire to their temple and other buildings, they went out at another gate, and by some outlets which had been prepared for such an occasion, they made their way to the Mahratta army in parties. They then fled with the army. The conflagration in the fort and the cessation of the firing made the besiegers aware of their flight. A party of men entered, and found only disabled and wounded persons who were unable to fly. On the 14th Muharram the Imperial forces took possession of the place. The name

Wakinkera was changed to Rahman-bakhsh. The Imperial army then retired to pass the rainy season at Deo-ganw, three or four kos from the Kistna. News arrived that the fort of Bakhshinda-bakhsh or Kandana had been lost through the carelessness of the commander and the strategy of the Mahrattas. On the same day Hamidu-d din Khan was sent to retake it.

Illness of the Emperor

The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension. But he exerted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had fainting fits and lost his senses, so that very alarming rumours spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew better, and occasionally showed himself to the people in the public hall. The army was in an enemy's country, without house or home, and if the sad calamity (of the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of mountains and raging infidels. Under the advice of his physician, he took China root¹. Three or four times a week he took medicine, and every day he distributed charity. After his recovery, he richly rewarded his physician, and returned thanks to God. In the middle of Rajab, he commenced his march for Bahadur-garh, otherwise called Bir-ganw², leaving Kalich Khan behind as subadar. Slowly, and with difficulty, he pursued his march, and reached

¹ *Chob-i Chini*, "Smilax China"

² Bir-ganw and Bahadur-garh have not been found in the maps. A passage (Text, vol II, p 452) states that a woman was carried by a flood "from Bahadur-garh to Islampur (on the Bhuma) in five or six watches," and another passage (p 503) says Bahadur-garh was nine kos from the Kistna, so perhaps the place was on the Man river, although that is more than nine kos from the Kistna. The route of Aurangzeb from Khelna to Bahadur-garh (*Ma-asir*, p 464) was Malkapur Parnala, Bar-ganw (War-ganw), the Kistna, Asad-nagar, Bahadur-garh, so he must have crossed the river near Mirch.

Bir-ganw at the end of Sha'ban, and ordered a halt of forty days for giving rest to the army during the time of the fast

FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1117 A H (A D 1705-6)

Illness of the Emperor

(Text, vol II, p 540) After the conclusion of the fast of Ramazan the Emperor again turned his attention to business. He then proceeded to Ahmadnagar. In the month of Zi-l hijja the intelligence was brought of Zulfikar Khan having reduced the fort of Bakhshunda-bakhsh (Kandana). Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah was in the province of Ahmadabad. When he heard of his father's illness, he wrote for leave to visit his father stating as an excuse that the climate of Ahmadabad was very unfavourable to him. This displeased the Emperor who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Shah Jahan when he was ill and that he was told in answer, that every air (hawa) was suitable to a man except the fumes (hawa) of ambition. But the Prince wrote repeatedly to the same effect, and was then appointed to the suba of Malwa. He did not however go to Ujjain, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The suba of Ahmadabad which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.

When Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together at Ahmadabad, made him aspire to the royal state and treasure. He thought nothing about his elder brother, but considered himself the chief in every way. Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh he looked upon as removed from rivalry by incompetence. But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose feelings were not always in their natural state. His first thought fell upon Prince Muhammad 'Azim¹ who was at 'Azimabad, or Patna, in

¹Or 'Azimu-sh Shan, son of Mu'azzam

Bihar, where he had been some time *Subadan*, and had obtained a repute for amassing treasures. Therefore he wished to remove him by getting him recalled to Court, and by various representations, some false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor that orders were issued for his recall, and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grandfather.

Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Multan, of the death of Prince Muhammad Akbar in Garmsir, the report of which had been current for a year past.

FIFTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1118 A H (A D 1706-7)

Death of the Emperor

(Text, vol II, p 547) Prince A'zam Shah was proud of his own courage, and of his army and soldiers. He had, moreover, won over to his side Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khan and several other *amirs*. He now sought a pretext for a quarrel with Prince Kam Bakhsh. The Emperor slightly improved in health, but although for some days he went into the public hall of audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly stamped upon his face. Prince A'zam's feelings towards Prince Kam Bakhsh, who was a poet and learned man, now displayed themselves in various slights and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Kam Bakhsh was dear to his father, for it often happens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons. So the Emperor appointed a nobleman to act as the *bakhshi* of Kam Bakhsh, and to him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him. This *bakhshi* was Sultan Hasan, otherwise called Mu Malang. He was a courageous and faithful servant, and upon his appointment, the Emperor gave him the title of Hasan Khan. In faithful discharge of his duty, Hasan Khan deemed it necessary to place his ward under the protection of special guards, in addition to his own servants, and these accompanied the Prince armed and accoutred whenever he went to Court. For some days and nights they

watched over the Prince with great vigilance Prince A'zam Shah complained of this to the Emperor, but got no answer He then wrote to Nawab Zinatu-n Nissa Begam, his eldest sister, complaining of the insolence of Hasan Khan, who had exceeded his powers He added that there would be no difficulty in chastising him, but that it had been forbidden by the Emperor This letter was shown to the Emperor, who wrote a letter with his own hand, saying that he had heard of the suspicions and apprehensions shown by Hasan Khan, and would therefore send Kam Bakhsh to some other place Prince A'zam winced under the censure implied in the letter, but he knew that submission was his only resource, and he felt great satisfaction at the removal of his younger brother

The foresight of the Emperor told him that his health was failing and he saw that Prince (A'zam's) pretensions increased daily He knew that if two unchained lions were left together, after his decease there would be divisions in the army, and great disturbances among the people His affection for Kam Bakhsh also worked upon him He sent Kam Bakhsh with all the signs and honours of royalty to Bijapur, and the drums of the royal *naubat-ahana* were ordered to play as he departed The sight of all this made Prince A'zam writhe like a poisonous serpent, but he could not say a word In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Malwa in charge of strict officers

After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much worse, and fever increased But for the next four or five days, notwithstanding the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers In this state of things Hamidu-d din Khan presented a letter containing the advice of astrologers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and of a valuable diamond in charity To that the Emperor wrote in reply that the giving away of an elephant was the practice of the Hindus and of star-worshippers, but he sent four thousand rupees to the chief *kazi*, for him to distribute among the deserving In the same letter he wrote, saying, "Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first (burial) place, and consign him to the earth

without any useless coffin " It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Hamidu-d din Khan

On Friday, the 28th Zi-l ka'da, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A H (Feb 21, A D 1707), after performing morning prayers and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life He was ninety years and some months old, and had reigned fifty years two months and a half He was buried near Daulatabad by the tombs of Shaikh Burhanu-d din and other religious worthies, and of Shah Zari Zar-bakhsh, and some districts of Burhanpur were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb

Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Dehli—no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice In courage, long suffering, and sound judgment, he was unrivalled But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry So every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that to only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity

