On the north face of the ridge against which the fort nestled, there are forty steps cut in the rock and leading up to a cave half way up the hill. On the two sides of the entrance, are two couchant leopards, and the cave itself contains a bow-shaped chamber with a domed roof.* Two guard-towers had been built during the Mughal occupation on adjacent projections of the rock to oppose an enemy’s assault by this path, because from the top of the Forty Steps guns could command both the citadel and the city. The fort of Lakah crowned a peak in the middle of the ridge and defended Qandahar on its western flank, where the hill descended to the plain in a steep scarp. It had a gate named Ali Qâbi.† Proceeding along the city wall from the north-eastern corner of the ridge where the wall first leaves the hill, we come in succession to the gates of Baba Wali, Waisqaran, Khwajah Khizir, and Mashuri, till at last the wall strikes the ridge again at the south-western corner of the fort, where stood an earth-work bastion and a redoubt (hissar).‡

The outposts of the province in the direction of Persia were Kushk-i-Nakhud, situated about 40 miles west of Qandahar on the right bank of a tributary of the Helmand which drains the Maiwand valley, the fort of Bist, 50 miles further west on the margin of the Helmand, and Zamin Dawar, north-west of Bist. The Persian frontier station was Girishk, some thirty miles up the Helmand from Bist.**

§ 7. Aurangzib besieges Qandahar.

Aurangzib arrived before Qandahar and began the siege on 16th May, 1649. The Mughals completed their investment by throwing up entrenchments opposite the gates and behind the ridge, and

*Bellew, 232 and 233.
†So far as we can judge from the Persian accounts, Qaitul was the name of the whole ridge. At places it looks as if it were a peak identical with or adjacent to Lakah, but Adab-i-Alamgiri, 12b, distinctly calls the whole ridge the hill of Qaitul.
‡For the gates, Waris, 24b, 28b, 65a; Adab-i-Alamgiri, 12b, 14a.
**Holdich’s Gates of India, 204, Purchas, i. 519-528: Ain-i-Akbari (Jarrett), ii. 393-398.
began to run covered lanes towards the ditch of the fort. A body of scouts watched the ferry at Kushk-i-Nakhud, to get early news of the coming of any relieving force from Persia.

Next day a coup de main was attempted. Rajahs Man Singh of Gwalior and Bhao Singh of the Kangra Hills, led their Rajputs up the Forty Steps and reached the platform on the top, but the Persian musketeers from within the guard-towers plied their matchlocks with deadly effect at pointblank range, and the Rajputs were driven with heavy loss half way down the hill, where they constructed a stockade and held it for some time. [Waris, 28b, 29a.]

Despite a heavy fire from the fort-guns, three covered lanes were carried to the edge of the ditch by 4th July. From one of these a transverse was dug along the bank to the front of the Khwajah Khizir gate. Windows were opened in this and through them earth and tree loppings were flung into the ditch to form a bridge, (2nd August). An underground channel was dug which partly drained the ditch and lowered the water-level by one yard. Another mine was carried under the ditch till it reached the base of the outermost wall. [Waris, 34.]

Hitherto the imperial troops had worked under cover and carried out their tasks. Now they had to come out into the open and storm the fort. This could have been effected only after overpowering the batteries of the defenders or breaching the walls. But Aurangzib's expedition had been planned for throwing reinforcements into the fort and was therefore not at all equipped for the unexpected task of conducting a siege. He had not a single piece of large cannon, while the fort in the hands of the Persians contained many. An assault in the face of superior artillery could have been carried out only by troops of desperate courage and markedly higher skill and discipline, and after a heavy sacrifice of lives. But in this case the superiority lay with the defenders. The Delhi historian frankly admits, "The Persians had grown expert in the capture and defence of forts, by their long wars with the Turks since the days of Shah Abbas. They were masters of fire-arms and artillery. They held such a strong and well-provisioned fort, with big guns and skilful gunners, who in one day fired 25 times on the covered lane
which had arrived halfway across the ditch and destroyed it. Qasim Khan’s mine was also discovered and demolished by the fire from the fort guns......The imperialists had no gun big enough to overthrow the parapet under shelter of which the fort-gunners fired their pieces, not to speak of silencing their fire.” [Waris, 33b, 34b.]

“So the imperialists failed with all their efforts.” The capture of the fort was hopeless, and on 5th September, Aurangzib, obeying the Emperor’s command began his retreat from Qandahar. He had sat down 3 months and 20 days before the fort, but all in vain. The retreat was hastened by the approach of the terrible Afghan winter which Indians cannot bear, and the news that a large Persian force, estimated at 20,000 strong, was coming to relieve Qandahar.

§ 8. Fighting with the Persians.

An imperial force under Qalich Khan had been posted for two months near the fort of Bist with orders to corrupt its Persian garrison, ravage the district of Dawar, and send supplies of grain to Qandahar. But in August reinforcements from Persia began to advance towards Qandahar, and make Qalich Khan’s position untenable. Khanjar Khan whom he had detached with 4,000 Indian troops to cross the Helmand and loot the district of Kuraishi, was defeated by Najaf Quli, the Persian Master of the Horse, and driven back across the river with a loss of 700 slain besides many others who perished in swimming the stream (during the second half of July). Qalich Khan rapidly fell back before the enemy’s superior numbers till he reached Sang Hissar on the Arghandab, some 24 miles south-west of Qandahar. Here strong reinforcements sent by Aurangzib under Rustam Khan Deccani reached him, after driving away a band of Persian cattle-raid ers who had penetrated to within a few miles of the prince’s camp. [Waris, 34b-36a.]

The two generals joined their forces and on 25th August at Shah Mir fought a great battle with the enemy. The Indian army under Rustam Khan stood in battle order on the bank of the Arghandab,
barring the road to Qandahar. The Persians, reported to be 30,000 strong, stretched in a vast line for four miles from the hill of Kushki-i-Nakhud to the river bank. Large reinforcements had reached them that very morning under Murtaza Quli Khan, the Fauji Bashi. The new arrivals, eager to share in the battle, issued from Kushki-i-Nakhud, without stopping to water and refresh their horses. Their general vowed that he would not break his fast before defeating the Indians!

It was an hour past noon when the rival hosts clashed together. The small Indian army was beset in front and the two flanks, and for three hours waged a fierce struggle. At first the vigour of the Persian charges shook and pressed back the Indian right wing, but the troops were picked men and did not lose order; strengthened by the Reserve under Rustam Khan himself, they made a counter-charge and repelled the attack. A dust-storm put an end to the battle. The Persians, on unrefreshed horses, suffered much from the hot wind and retired, leaving the Indians masters of the field. In the hurry of their flight they abandoned some of their artillery, carts, horses, and arms, which the imperialists captured. Next day the victors advanced, but found that the Persians had evacuated Kushki-i-Nakhud at night and could not be caught up even after a pursuit of 20 miles.*

This victory cast a dying gleam on the Mughal arms, and Shah Jahan celebrated it with great pomp and pride: the imperial band played for three days, the Court went into rejoicing, and honours and promotions were bestowed on the generals. But the siege of Qandahar was already hopeless, and ten days after this victory it was abandoned. Aurangzib had lost two to three thousand men and double that number of horses, camels and oxen in the siege, and his army had been severely tried by scarcity of grain and fodder. [K. K. i. 700.] Mihrab Khan, the Persian commandant of Qandahar, died on the day the imperialists began their retreat; but he had held his trust inviolate.

*Waris, 36a-37b. The Persian version is in Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh, 42b and 43a, where it is stated that as the wind was very hot and their horses not yet watered and baited, the Persians retired and found next day that "the Indian troops in awe of the Persians had retreated and joined Aurangzib!"
§ 1. Preparations for the second siege of Qandahar.

The first siege of Qandahar had failed for want of heavy guns and material. The honour of the Mughal arms required the attempt to be repeated. The next three years were spent in preparations on a scale worthy of the grandeur of the task. Big guns were cast, provisions accumulated at convenient depots on the route, thousands of camels assembled for transport, the friendship of Baluch chiefs purchased along the line of communication from Multan, and money and munitions stored at the base at Kabul.

Aurangzib had been appointed to command the expedition. From his Government of Multan he had sent men to explore the routes to Qandahar, and at last selected the Chacha-Chotiali-Pishin line as the shortest. For years his agents had visited the Baluch country and contracted with the tribal chiefs for the supply of provisions to the prince’s army during the march and siege.*

The force sent against Qandahar numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 men, of whom one-fifth were musketeers and artillerymen. The officers formed one-twentieth of the strength. The artillery consisted of eight big cannon, some of which carried 70 lb. shot, twenty of smaller calibre, each carrying 4 or 5 lb. shot, twenty swivels mounted on elephants and a hundred on camels. The transport was entrusted to ten choice elephants from the Emperor’s own stables, besides many others owned by the generals, and three thousand camels. Two kroes of Rupees were set apart for the expenses. The Emperor himself stayed at Kabul with a reserve of 40 to 50 thousand men, to reinforce the besiegers if necessary, and to keep their communication with the north open.†

The main army, led by the prime-minister Sadulla Khan, entered

*Adab-i-Alamgiri, 3a, 4a, 5a, 7a, 10a, 11a, 96b.
†Waris, 60a-61a. He says that about 56,000 troops were sent to Qandahar. Khafi Khan (i. 710) wrongly gives the number as 70,000.
History of Aurangzib

Afghanistan by the Khaibar Pass and reached Qandahar by way of Kabul and Ghazni. Aurangzib with a smaller body, containing many officers and some five thousand solidiers of his own conti-ngent, started from Multan, followed the western route through Chotiali and Pishin, and debouched through the Panjmandrak (=Khojak?) Pass.* The two divisions met near Qandahar on 2nd May, 1652.

§ 2. Dispositions of the besiegers.

On that day the siege was begun. The divisional commanders occupied their appointed places round the fort and set themselves to run trenches and erect batteries. Aurangzib took post on the west of the fort, behind the hill of Lakah; his Chief of Artillery, Qasim Khan, south of the fort, with orders to drain the ditch dry; Sadullah's position was south-east; while in the extreme north-west, facing the Forty Steps, lay Rajah Rajrup with his Kangra hillmen. Four other generals, occupying the intervening spaces completed the investment.†

*For the details of the marches, Waris 64a, and especially Adab-i-Alamgiri, 9a—11b, which gives Auranzib's movements thus:—Left Multan 16th February, but halted long outside it,—crossed the Chenab 20th March (sent his family back to Multan),—reached the Indus by four marches, and crossed it on 26th March—Lakia,—Chacha, 6th April,—Chotiali on 13th April,—Duki on 14th, —Tabaq-sar on 19th,—Pishin (probably on 23rd, because the dates in the above two authorities conflict), —the Panjmandrak Pass on 26th,—reached Qandahar, 2nd May. The whole distance between Multan and Pishin is given as 124 kos.

The route followed by the English travellers Richard Steel and John Crowther in 1615 was,—Multan—the Chenab—Pautali village (20 kos from the river)—the Indus—Lacca (=Lakia),—enters the mountains 12 kos from Lacca,—Chatzea (=Chacha), —Duki—Secotah (= seh kotah, three castles),—crosses a mountain pass,—Coasta—Abdun—Pesina (= Pishin),—cross a high mountain and descends into the plain—Qandahar, 60 kos from Pesinga. (Kerr, ix. 210—212, quoting Purchas.) Pishin is spelt in the Persian MSS. as Fushanj or Qushanj or Qushakh. A map of Biddulph's route in 1879 is given in Shadbolt's Afghan Campaigns, i. and with Temple's article in the Royal Geographical Soc. Journal, 1880, pp. 190-319.

†Waris, 65a., Adab-i-Alamgiri, 12b. The following was the distribution of trenches, going from the west, by the north, to the east and south:—
The work of sapping necessarily took time. Meanwhile attempts were made to capture some of the outlying defences by sudden assault. Mahabat Khan and Rajah Rajrup, in charge of the northern line of attack, dragged two heavy guns to their trenches and bombarded the two towers on the Forty Steps, doing some damage to the works. But the position was impregnable; the assault delivered here by Bhao Singh during the first siege had failed with heavy loss, and his son Rajrup now shrank from the hopeless task. He next proposed to surprise the peak of the ridge, behind the Forty Steps. Rajrup removed his men to a position facing the gate of Ali Qabi on this hill, and entrenched himself. Under him were many foot-musketeers of the Kangra district, expert in hill-climbing. His plan was to send them secretly up the hill after midnight and, when they had surprised the gate and entered the defences, to push supports and storm the hill-top itself. Preparations were made for this object; materials were collected for building a stockade on the hill-side, and the two chiefs of the army were warned to be ready to send help.

The night of Sunday, 20th June, was chosen for the attempt.* Sadullah Khan poured in men from the trenches on the right and left of Rajrup’s and sent 1,000 picked troops of his own division, to form a body of supports at the Rajah’s post. Every one took the positon previously marked out for him by the minister. Early in

Opposite Lakah Fort—Aurangzib, Qalich Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Rajah Pahar Singh Bundela.

Opposite the Ali Qabi Gate—Baqi Khan.

,, the Forty Steps—Rajah Rajrup.

,, the Baba Wali Gate—Mahabat Khan and Rajah Anurudh.

,, the Waisqaran Gate—Najabat Khan.

,, the Khwajah Khizir Gate to the Mashuri Gate—Qasim Khan (Chief of Artillery), Sadullah, and Jai Singh.

,, the Earthwork Bastion—Rustam Khan.

The Adab-i-Alamgiri places Rustam Khan opposite the Mashuri Gate, but his real position was at the south-west corner of the fort. Qasim Khan’s position was also shifted by Sadullah. This explains the slight differences between the two authorities quoted above.

the night the Rajah sent his own retainers up by a track which they had discovered for reaching the top. He himself followed them at some distance and piled up a shelter of stones in the hill-side as his own station. The supports marched towards the Ali Qabi gate, while their leader, Baqi Khan, with 300 men from among Aurangzib's retainers, joined the Rajah. The success of this hazardous enterprise depended on silence and secrecy. But the Mughals bungled. Indian troops are not accustomed to silent work at night especially in a hilly region. The supporting body was too large and too variously composed to be led on smoothly and noiselessly. There was some disagreement between Rajrup and an imperial officer named Muzaffar Husain, and words were exchanged. This created a loud noise. The enemy got the alarm and stood on their defence. A surprise was no longer possible in the face of alert defenders, by men climbing up a narrow hill-track in single file. About three hours before daybreak the moon rose and took away the last chance of Mughal success. Soon afterwards, news came to the Rajah, who had been anxiously waiting so long in his stone shelter on the hill-side, that his troops had found the defenders of the fort on the summit awake at one place and were returning baffled. So he sent his supports back and stayed there for the return of his men. After a while a foolish servant told him that his men had reached the hill-top and entered the fort. The Rajah hastily believed the report, blew his trumpet, and beat his drums. At this signal the returning imperial troops ran back to him. But the truth was soon discovered; the sun rose and presented the straggling assailants on the hill-side as a clear target to the Persian marksmen. Many were slain and wounded on the Mughal side, but the main portion of the loss was undoubtedly borne by the Rajah's men who were nearest the enemy. For this error of judgment Rajrup was censured by his chief and sent back to his old trenches.

Thereafter the only hope of taking Qandahar was by carrying the sap nearer and breaching the walls. In both of these the Mughals failed. Aurangzib's trenches, west of the ridge, arrived within 22½ yards of the wall, and Sadullah's (east of the fort) to a spot 10 yards from the ditch. But here their progress was arrested. "The
trenches could not be carried any nearer in face of the severe fire showered from the fort-walls.” “The work (of sapping) was hard, and many of Sadullah’s men were wounded and slain.... The enemy issued on three sides, and from sunset to dawn fired their muskets incessantly from loop-holes opened in the fort-walls, so as to give no opportunity to Aurangzib’s workmen [to make progress.]”

§ 3. **Bad gunnery of the Indians.**

In fact the Persian artillery was as excellent as the Mughal was inefficient. The Indian gunners were bad marksmen and their fire produced no effect on the fort-walls. Some of Aurangzib’s men were so ignorant that they overcharged two of his big guns with powder, causing them to burst. Five large pieces of cannon now remained, which were insufficient to breach the wall in two places. In fact so notoriously bad were the Indians in handling artillery that the main reliance of their kings was on European gunners, who are praised in contemporary histories as masters of their craft, and were attracted to the imperial service by high pay and large rewards, though they used to desert as soon as they could get a chance. In the third siege, Dara Shukoh took a body of them with him to Qandahar.†

There were other difficulties, too. Within a few weeks of the opening of the siege the work of draining the wet ditch and running mines had to be suspended for lack of materials. Aurangzib now realised that the fort could be taken only by storm. And the Emperor had ordered that no assault was to be delivered without making a breach. [Adab. 17b.]

According to Sadullah’s plan, all the big guns were assembled on the eastern side, opposite the Mashuri gate. Batteries were raised on the right and left of Sadullah’s trenches (17th and 22nd June.) The famous gun *Faith Lashkar* and three other large pieces were mounted here with great labour. Every day ten rounds were fired from each gun, but the damage done to the screens and

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*Waris, 65a and b, Adab-i-Alamgiri, 16a and 15b.
†Waris, 65b, Khafi Khan, i. 713; Lataif-ul-Akhbar, 9a; Storia do Mogor, i. 95, 226, 232, 259.
History of Aurangzib

towers of the fort was always repaired at night, and the Persian artillery was not overpowered. The Mughal artillery was as weak in number as in efficiency. In the meantime Aurangzib set up four stockades in front of his trenches, holding 3,000 men in all,* for making a feint against fort Lakah when Sadullah would breach the wall and deliver an assault on the Mashuri gate.

But the last expectation failed. On 19th June, before Sadullah’s second battery was complete, a large armour-clad force made a sortie from the fort and fell on his trenches. From the top of the fort and the side of the hill a shower of musketry fire was kept up. Though reinforcements drove the enemy out after an hour’s severe fight the Persians succeeded in killing and wounding many of the Mughals. On some other nights, too, sorties were made, some Mughal guns damaged, and many of the besiegers carried off as prisoners. The Persians could not be pursued, as they quickly went back within shelter of the fort-guns. [Adab. 16b; Waris 65b.]

By the end of June it was recognised that the Mughal guns would never breach the wall on that side. So they were removed from the Mashuri gate to the western side. Two of the Surat cannon were sent to strengthen the artillery in Aurangzib’s trenches, and two other big pieces, including Faith Lashkar, to a new battery opposite the Ali Qabi gate, on his left hand. Here, too, the besiegers fared no better; besides, they got no more than a week’s time to use their artillery before orders arrived to abandon the siege.

From the commencement of the leaguer two months had now passed away. An attempt to corrupt Utar, the commandant of the fort, had brought back the taunting reply, “When you have succeeded in weakening the fort or injuring the garrison in any way, it will be time for me to think of deserting to you!” About the middle of June two high Persian officers (including Mir Alam,† their

*Adab-i-Alamgiri, 14a, 15b, 17b, 18a, 15a. From these stockades to the fort-wall there was a fire-swept zone with no shelter except a few boulders, while the soil was too stony to permit sapping. (16a).
†Called in Adab-i-Alamgiri, “Mir Alam, surnamed Mir Kalan Sani, the Bishak Bashi and superintendent of the New Bastion and Earthen Bastion,” and by Waris, “Muhammad Beg, Topichi Bashi.”

88
Chief of Artillery), were blown away by a 70 lb. shot from a Mughal gun. On 26th May, when a magazine was opened for distributing powder to the garrison, the store of sulphur caught fire from the hand of a careless servant who was preparing a pipe of tobacco for the Persian officers present. It soon spread to the powder and there was a terrible explosion. Many houses in the neighbourhood were overthrown, and men and horses wounded by the flying splinters of rock. About 150 sepoys and water-men perished in the fire, and the four officers who had opened the magazine were confined to bed by their burns. *

§ 4. Emperor orders retreat from before Qandahar.

But with all these disasters to the garrison, the imperialists were no nearer success. Shah Jahan had strictly enjoined that there was to be no assault before breaching the wall, and a breach with their few guns and bad gunners was out of the question. Aurangzib therefore wrote to the Emperor on 3rd July, soliciting a distinct order to storm the walls which were still intact. It would have been madness to sanction such an enterprise. Shah Jahan had been already informed by Sadullah Khan that his guns could effect nothing, and that the munitions had run short, and on 1st July he had replied that the siege was to be abandoned. Aurangzib pleaded hard for a short delay; he offered to lead a desperate assault on the walls, for to leave Qandahar untaken after such grand preparations would destroy his reputation for ever. But the news that a retreat had been ordered spread through the camp, the scouts fell back on the army, and the trenches were deserted. When Shah Jahan at last grudgingly consented to continue the siege for another month, it was found impossible to carry out the new order. †

What had hastened the Emperor’s resolve to raise the seige was a raid by a body of ten thousand Uzbek horsemen, who had burst through the western hills into the district south of Ghazni, and

*Waris 65b; Adab-i-Alamgiri, 13b, 14b, 15a.
†Aurangzib’s letters, (repeating at their commencement the contents of Shah Jahan’s letters which are being replied to), are given in Adab-i-Alamgiri, 18a & b, 19a.
threatened the Mughal line of communication between Kabul and Qandahar, (about 26th June). The danger was greatly exagger-
ated by the Court at Kabul, though Aurangzib assured the Em-
peror that from his experience in Balkh he was sure that a few
thousand Mughal troops could expel the raiders. In fact, the Uzbek
fled on hearing of the approach of the imperial army, and were cut
off during their flight by the Afghans with the aid of the officer
in command at Ghazni. The Delhi historian boasts that not a tenth
of the raiders returned to Central Asia alive.* The Mughal army,
however, raised the siege and began its retreat from Qandahar on
9th July. A small party, sent back to India by the Pishin-Chotiali-
Multan road,—which two centuries later Bidveloph’s division
followed at the end of the Second Afghan War,—reported that
the Baluch clans had already risen and rendered the road unsafe.
So Aurangzib withdrew his outposts from Pishin and Duki, and
led the army back to Kabul, joining the Emperor on 7th August.
The Van under Sadullah had arrived eight days earlier.†

§ 5. Bitter correspondence between Shah Jahan and Aurangzib
on the failure.

Bitter was Aurangzib’s humiliation at the ill-success of the expedi-
tion. Shah Jahan wrote to him, “I greatly wonder how you could
not capture the fort in spite of such vast preparations.” Aurangzib
protested that he had done his utmost, but the scantiness of siege
materials and insufficiency of artillery had rendered the attempt
hopeless, as Sadullah Khan himself had testified. But Shah Jahan
angrily rejoined, “I am not going to give up Qandahar. I shall try
every means to recover it.” The prince pleaded hard to be permitted
to stay in Afghanistan or the Panjab and to take part, even as a
subordinate, in the next attempt on Qandahar, in order to retrieve
his character as a general. For this he was willing to forego the
vicereignty of the Deccan which was now offered to him. But Shah
Jahan was inexorable: he ordered Aurangzib to go to the Deccan
at once, and brushed aside the prince’s excuses for his failure with

*Waris, 64b & 66a; Adab-i-Alamgiri, 18b, 19a.
†Adab-i-Alamgiri, 18b; Waris, 66b.
the caustic remark, "If I had believed you to be capable of taking Qandahar, I should not have recalled your army. Every man can perform some work. It is a wise saying that men of experience need no instruction." Aurangzib replied by quoting the proverb, "Whosoever has a particle of sense can know his own good from his harm" and pointing out that he could not have purposely failed in his task, as he knew that it would involve his father's displeasure. [Adab. 19-20.]

§ 6. Causes of the failure at Qandahar.

The Court ascribed the failure to the abandonment of Shah Jahan's plan of operations, which was that Aurangzib should invest the fort with half the force, while Sadullah should advance west with the other half and capture the forts of Bist and Zamin Dawar, when the garrison of Qandahar would see their communication with Persia cut off, lose heart and surrender to the Mughals. But Sadullah Khan opposed such a division of the force and of the scanty supply of provisions and material, and the Emperor himself on being referred to, confirmed the change of plan.*

In truth it is unjust to blame Aurangzib for the failure to take Qandahar. Throughout the siege he was really second in command. The Emperor from Kabul directed every movement through Sadullah Khan. His sanction had to be taken for every important step, such as the removal of guns from one battery to another, the disposition of troops, the date, hour and point of assault. Fast couriers brought his orders from Kabul to Qandahar in four days, and the prince had merely to carry them out. Indeed so thoroughly subordinate was Aurangzib that during the first month of the siege only one despatch from him reached the Emperor, while Sadullah corresponded frequently and the Emperor's letters were often written to the prime minister, to be afterwards shown to the prince. [Adab. 13b, 17a.]

*Waris, 65b; Adah-i-Alamgiri, 12a and b, 20b.

The plan, even if carried out, would have availed little. In the next siege, a detachment from Dara's army did capture Bist and Girishk, but Qandahar held out for five months all the same, and was not taken in the end.
History of Aurangzib

Unjustly held responsible for the defeat, Aurangzib lost the favour and confidence of his father. What added a keener edge to his mortification was that he had given occasion for laughter at his expense to his envious eldest brother and that brother's party at Court. But Dara's crowing did not last long; Aurangzib soon tasted the sweets of revenge. Dara* led a still vaster army and a larger park of artillery against Qandahar and vowed to capture it in a week. His siege dragged on for five months and in the end Qandahar was not taken. The long history of Dara's doings there written by the courtly pen of Rashid Khan (Muhammad Badi)† is remarkable only for the sickening flattery offered by his courtiers and the insane pride displayed by the prince. It unconsciously but most effectively condemns Dara and by contrast places Aurangzib in an honourable light.

These failures left a lasting sting in the mind of Aurangzib. Half a century later, when he was a dying man, he heard that his son Shah Alam, then Governor of Kabul, was enlisting troops evidently to dispute the succession on the Emperor's expected death. Aurangzib tauntingly wrote to him, "I hear that in spite of your lack of money you are engaging highly paid soldiers. Evidently you want to recover Qandahar. God help you!" Herein he recognised that the conquest of Qandahar was an impossible feat. [Ruqaat, 4.]

§ 7. Cost of the three sieges that failed.

The three sieges of Qandahar cost the Indian treasury more than ten kores of Rupees. In addition to this sum, the new fortifications built by the Mughals on taking possession of it from Ali Mardan Khan and the treasure, arms, munitions, and provisions that fell into the hands of the Persians on its capture, must have cost more than a krore.‡ Thus the Indian tax-payer poured into the sands

*Dara sat down before Qandahar from 28th April to 27th September, 1653, with an army of 70,000 men. Two of his heavy guns carried 112 lb. and 96 lb. shot. He was supplied with 30,000 cannon balls, 5,000 maunds of powder, 1,500 maunds of lead, and 14,000 rockets. (Waris, 70a et seq.) Khafi Khan, i. 717-728.

†Lataif-ul-Akhbar.

‡We have the following data for calculating the cost of the Qandahar wars.
of Afghanistan about 12 krores of Rupees, or more than half the gross annual revenue of the entire empire, for absolutely no return.*

The moral loss was even greater than the material. The Emperor of Delhi might dazzle the eyes of foreign ambassadors and travellers by displaying his Peacock Throne and Koh-i-nur, or the superb marble edifices with which he had adorned Agra and Delhi. But henceforth his military prestige was gone throughout the world. The Persian king could rightly boast that the rulers† of Delhi knew how to steal a fort by means of gold, but not how to conquer it by strength of arm. Shah Abbas II had conquered Qandahar in less than two months; but two Mughal princes in three long and costly campaigns could not recover it, though they were opposed by mere generals and not by any member of the royal blood of Persia. Naturally the military fame of Persia rose very high. The Indian troops recognised that in the Persians they had met with more than their match. And throughout the rest of the century the rumour of a projected invasion from Persia used to throw the Court of Delhi into the greatest alarm.‡ For years afterwards the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud on the western frontier of India, and the Emperor Aurangzib and his ministers drew their breath more easily when any warlike Shah of Persia died.

For the second siege 2 krores of Rupees were brought from Delhi and Agra, out of which one kore was spent on the soldiers and officers in one month. (Waris, 61a). The third siege occupied 5 months (against 2 months in the case of the second) and Dara’s army was probably 70,000 as against the 50,000 men who accompanied Aurangzib. Hence the third siege must have cost about seven krores. The presents to Dara on the eve of the expedition amounted to 20 lakhs, and one kore was sent with him (Waris 70a and 71a). When starting for the first siege, the officers were paid a bounty of Rs 100 for each trooper placed in the field, and as the force was 50,000 strong, this alone absorbed 50 lakhs (Waris, 23a). Before the Persians arrived, 5 lakhs had been sent to the fort from Kabul. In 1638, when Qandahar was betrayed to Shah Jahan, 20 lakhs were sent with Shuja to meet the cost of the expedition for driving away the Persians and 5 lakhs more were spent on the fortifications. (Pad. ii. 40, Waris 21a and 26a).

*The revenue of the Mughal empire in 1648 was 22 krores of Rupees. (Pad ii. 710.)
†For his exultation at the capture and retention of Qandahar, see Ruqaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani, 106-120, (his exact words are different).
‡M. A. 56-58; A. N. 974: Anecdotes §§ 50, 51 and 52.

93
§ 1. Aurangzib goes to the Deccan: his journeys and hunt.

On 17th July, 1652, Aurangzib, then returning from Qandahar, was appointed Governor of the Deccan for the second time. Exactly a month afterwards he took leave of the Emperor in Afghanistan and proceeded to his charge. Crossing the Indus at Attock on 9th September, he passed through Delhi and Agra on 17th and 28th November respectively, and reached the Narmada river on 1st January, 1653. As the palace in Burhanpur was not yet ready for his occupation he encamped outside for some days, while the repairs were being completed, and entered this city, the capital of Khandesh, as late as 30th January. Here he wooed and won the graceful singer Hira Bai, surnamed Zainabadi Mahal, and here he lingered for the next nine months in spite of Shah Jahan's repeated orders urging him to go to Aurangabad, the official capital of Mughal Deccan. At last leaving Burhanpur on 28th October, 1653, he entered the fort of Daulatabad on 25th November.*

At Aurangabad he spent the next four years of his life, leaving it only to invade Golkonda and Bijapur, and finally on 5th February, 1658, to contest the throne of Delhi. Here his son Akbar was born (11th September, 1657), and here he buried his wife Dilras Banu (died 8th October, 1657), and his favourite concubine Zainabadi (probably in 1654.)

Of Aurangzib's life during this period we have his own reminiscences, written in old age to his grandson Bidar Bakht: "The village of Sattara† near Aurangabad was my hunting ground. Here on the top of a hill, stood a temple with an image of Khande Rai. By God's grace I demolished it, and forbade the temple dancers (muralis) to ply their shameful profession....During my viceroyalty,

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*Waris, 66a, 67a and b; his journey in south is described in detail in Adab-i-Alamgiri, 21a-24a, 25b, 26a, 27a, 144a and b.

†On the top of a hill, six miles due south of Aurangabad.
while I was living at Daulatabad and Aurangabad,—the latter city having been populated by me after its first foundation (by Malik Ambar) under the name of Khirkī,—I used in my folly to ride about, and make forced marches under the instigations of Satan and of my own passions. I used to go far on horseback to hunt the nilgau and other kinds of game. Other idle deeds did I do. I used to visit the lake of Qatluq in the valley of the watershed, Chamar Tikri and Jitwārā, and to make pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints Burhan-ud-din and Zain-ud-din,* or to climb up the hill fort of Daulatabad and to the caves of Ellora, (which are wondrous examples of the Creator’s art), sometimes with my family, at others alone.” [K. T. 7b.]

Game was very abundant in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. Herds of wild deer grazed four miles from the city, and nilgaus were found in plenty in the direction of Laughgaih and Ambar. Tigers could be shot in the hills which hemmed the valley round. At the lake of Qatluq, near the “valley of the watershed,” six miles from the fort of Daulatabad, countless flocks of heron rested. Aurangzib, and afterwards his sons Muazzam and Azam, delighted to hunt the nilgau and the heron. The nilgaus were shot from a fixed station as they were driven down the narrow valley, and the herons were struck down by trained hawks.†

§ 2. Early examples of his religious bigotry.

It was during his second rule over the Deccan that Aurangzib clearly unfolded not only his administrative skill and energy, but also the limitations of his character which finally blighted his fame and wrecked his empire. We have already seen him boasting how he had destroyed the temple on a hill six miles south of Aurangabad. He is taxed by Shah Jahan with being unfriendly to the Rajputs, and tries to answer the charge by recommending a Rajput captain, Rao Karan, for an administrative post. [Adab. 29a.] Evidently there was no love lost between him and the Rajputs already. People perceive instinctively when they are disliked, and

*At Roza or Khuldabad, on the way to the Ellora hill.
†Dilkasha, i. 12 and 49. Ruqaat, Nos. 12 and 28.
though they may be wrong in guessing the cause, their feeling always indicates correctly the spirit in which they are being treated.

A clear proof of his religious bigotry even in youth is furnished by the following letter which he wrote at this time to the prime-minister Sadullah Khan:

"The Brahman Chhabila Ram, the qanungo of property-tax of the city of Bihar, had uttered improper words with reference to the Prophet. After investigation and verification of the charge by order of the Emperor, Zulfiqar Khan and other officers of the place had beheaded him, as was required by justice. Now, the scholar Mulla Muhan has written to me that the brothers of the accursed unbeliever, out of bigotry, have sought justice at the imperial Court against Shaikh Muhammad Muala, the lord justice, and Shaikh Abdul Mani, the ecclesiastical judge of the province. I, therefore, remind you of this affair, as it is proper for all Muslims to do their utmost to assert the rules of the Prophet's religion, and it is the duty of kings and nobles to protect the scholars of Islam in enforcing the injunctions of the Holy Law. You should exert yourself more than your peers to close the road of the complaint of this wretched tribe [to the Emperor's feet] and to take care of the letters (i.e., explanations) of the guardians of the honour of the Faith." [Adab. 101 a.]

§ 3. City of Aurangabad described.

The city of AURANGABAD* bears the prince's name and commemorates his first viceroyalty. Originally it was a petty hamlet named Khirki. When Malik Ambar revived the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, he transferred the capital to this village, and built a palace for the Sultan known as the Green Bungalow and a mansion for himself close to the Royal Market (Shahganj). To form a large centre of population in a dry soil like this, the first

*This description of early Aurangabad is based on Dilkasha, i. 9, 11, 12; Tavernier, i. 146; Masir-ul-umara, i. 263, ii. 60; Masir-i-Alamgiri, 223. Burgess, in his Cave Temples in the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts (p. 59) says: In 1616 Malik Ambar built at Khirki the Nurkhandra palace and mosque, and his army raised dwellings for themselves around it; ravaged and burnt by Jahangirs army in 1621. Malik Ambar's son Fath Khan named it Fatih Nagar (1628). The black stone mosque built by Ambar is described in Murray's Handbook to India. For a description of the city in 1810, see Seely's Wonders of Elora (2nd ed.), 367-369, 403.
thing needful is water. So he constructed a big tank close to the town and also brought water to his own house by means of a canal from the river near Arsul. The tank was about four miles round and the village grew up on its side. Aurangzib at first resided in the fort of Daulatabad. But it could hold only a small body of men. So he looked round for a good site on the plain for the seat of his government, chose Khirki, built a princely palace there close to the tank, and allotted lands to all his nobles and officers to build their quarters on. Then he removed from the fort to the new city, which got his name and grew rapidly as the capital of Mughal Deccan.

The splendid mausoleum or muqbara of his wife Dilras Banu, surnamed Rabia-ud-daurani, is an imitation of the Taj Mahal. It was built after his accession and was thoroughly repaired by his son M. Azam. It is still the finest architectural ornament of the city, and next to it stands the vast Jama Masjid which was completed by him. Aurangzib's residence, though greatly altered by later occupants, still remains and is pointed out to travellers as the Alamgiri Mahal.

Years afterwards, when he returned to the Deccan in 1682, a wall four miles long was built round the city by his order to protect it from Maratha raids. The work cost three lakhs of Rupees and was completed in four months through the active exertions of Dianat Khan Khafi. The city has undergone much change at the hands of the Nizams whose first capital it was, and of their French officers who lived here with almost regal authority.

We now turn to his public life during these five years.

§ 4. Decay and misery of Mughal Deccan: its causes.

Since Aurangzib had laid down the viceroyalty of the Deccan in May 1644, the Mughal administration there had not prospered. True, the country enjoyed unwonted repose after half a century of war with Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. True, there was no disturbance of public peace by invasion from across the frontier, and no expedition against refractory feudatories. But agriculture had not been promoted, the peasantry had not been cherished, and
new lands had not been brought under tillage. On the contrary, much cultivated soil had lapsed into the jungle, the cultivators had declined in number and resources, and the revenue had fallen off greatly.

This wretched state of things was the natural result of a succession of short viceroyalties and incompetent viceroys.* Khan-i-Dauran who had succeeded Aurangzib, was murdered a year afterwards. The veteran of a hundred battles, he also worked hard at the administration, transacting public business for twelve hours a day and inspecting everything himself. But he was so pitiless in exacting money from the village headmen, so harsh in squeezing the ryots, and so rough and strict to all the people under him, that the news of his death threw them into a transport of joy and was celebrated at Burhanpur as a divine deliverance.

Islam Khan Mashhadi, a very old man unable to ride a horse, next governed the Deccan for two years, and during this short period he estranged the Deccanis by his harsh and strict conduct and enriched himself by selling the Government stores of the forts when prices ruled high and replacing them with fresh purchases made in the season of low prices! He was keen on settling ryots on new lands, but actually effected little during his short term.

Then followed nearly a year (Nov., 1647—July, 1648) of officiating rule by Shah Nawaz Khan. Prince Murad Bakhsh, a dull and indolent youth, not yet twenty-four, was the next viceroy; but he quarrelled with his guardian and de facto Governor, Shah Nawaz Khan, the administration fell into confusion, and at the end of a year the Emperor was forced to make another change of viceroys! Shaista Khan replaced Prince Murad in September 1649, and held charge till he was succeeded by Aurangzib. Thus, in eight years there were six viceroys, if we count the acting tenure of Rajah

*Khan-i-Dauran succeeds Aurangzib on 28 May, 1644, and is murdered, during absence in N. India, on 22 June, 1645. Jai Singh then officiates for him. Islam Khan is appointed 17 July, 1645, dies on 2 November, 1647. Shah Nawaz Khan then officiates. Murad Bakhsh is appointed on 15 July, 1648, and Shaista Khan replaces him on 4 September, 1649 and continues till September, 1652.
Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan, 1653-1658

Jai Singh in 1645.*

The Deccan had long caused a heavy drain on the imperial treasury. The province was large, the country broken, with plenty of jungles, and imperfectly settled and organised, and there were two powerful States across the frontier. Therefore, a very large force had to be stationed there. But as the soil was sterile in comparison with the river-plains of Northern India, and the rainfall precarious and variable, bad harvests and scarcities were too frequent, and the standard revenue was never collected. In spite of an abatement of 12 lakhs of Rupees on their first assessment made by the imperial settlement officers in the hope that the collection in future would be more easy and certain, the land revenue still proved to have been pitched too high. For the four provinces which then constituted Mughal Deccan, it stood at three krores and 62 lakhs of Rupees a year; but the actual collection in 1652 was only one krore, or less than one-third.†

Out of the total territory, land estimated to yield 37½ lakhs a year was assigned as jagir to Aurangzib and his sons, [Adab. 31a.] and the rest to various officers, excluding the portion which was created Crownland (khalsa sharifa) and of which the revenue was collected directly by imperial officers and spent at the discretion of the Emperor without being touched by the local governor. The financial condition of the jagirdars depended on the actual collection of land revenue. Aurangzib and the higher officers also received a part of their salary in cash from the imperial treasury. This was a fixed amount, not liable to variation with the agricultural condition of the year, as was the case with the income drawn from jagirs.

The land revenue actually collected was scanty and variable; and the arrears and remissions from the standard assessment large. Hence, the public income of the Deccan did not balance the expenditure, and the deficit had to be made good by sending money


†Pad, ii. 712; M. U. iii. 497; Adab, 31a.
History of Aurangzib

from the older and richer provinces of the empire to support the administration of the South. This had gone on for years. Once only Khan-i-Dauran had tried to reverse the process. By torturing the collectors and mercilessly stripping the peasants he succeeded in collecting a large sum, which he despatched to the Emperor with the boastful remark, “Other Governors had to get money from Hindustan; I am sending money there!” But the policy of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs soon failed. The desolation of the country and the misery of the peasantry became worse than before, and the bankrupt administration of the South had to be kept going by imperial bounties from Malwa and Gujrat. Shah Jahan was alarmed at this chronic deficit and strongly urged Aurangzib to improve the peasant’s lot, extend the cultivation and relieve the imperial treasury from the annual drain.*

§ 5. Financial difficulties of Aurangzib in the Deccan.

On his arrival in the Deccan, Aurangzib was faced with a serious financial difficulty. The actual yield of the jagirs was only a fraction of their nominal revenue. The Mughal officers posted in the Deccan would have starved if they had to depend solely on their jagirs in that province. Therefore, during his first viceroyalty, both Aurangzib and his chief officers had been given additional fiefs in other and more prosperous parts of the empire, so that they managed to live on the combined income. And now, also, his officers besieged him with clamour, saying that they could not maintain their quotas of soldiers on the poor revenue of their existing jagirs, and demanding that more productive jagirs should be transferred to them, so that they might be sure of getting a fixed portion of their income at least.†

Everywhere Aurangzib found signs of maladministration, the work of his predecessors. The actual collection was sometimes only one-tenth of the normal assessment. Even Baghiana, noted for its fertility, was in no better state than the other districts.

* Adab, 31a; M. U. i. 756, iii. 497; Adab, 20a, 23b, 28a.
† Adab, 31a, 24b, 127b.
“Baglana has not been well administered since Sayyid Abdul Wahhab’s time,” he writes to his father. And again, “the affairs of Painghat (Lowlands) are greatly in disorder;”—“the Deccan is in disorder, as it has not been governed well for the last ten years;”—“the ryots of the Ausa mahal complain of Uzbek Khan’s oppression......and those of the Trimbak pargana about the tyranny of Darvish Beg Qaqshal.”*

The new viceroy found it impossible to make both ends meet. At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary derived by the officers from their jagirs, amounted to Rs. 31,76,000,—out of which the cash allowances of Aurangzib and his sons absorbed Rs. 25,43,000, and the expenses of the artillery department, the cash salary of certain officers, and other necessary disbursements required Rs. 6,30,000. The only means of providing this sum were, first the revenue of the Crown-land which actually yielded Rs. 2,40,000, and secondly the tributes from the rulers of Golkonda and Deogarh, eight lakhs and one lakh respectively. Thus there was an annual deficit of Rs. 20,36,000, which was made good by drawing on the reserve stored in the treasuries of the Deccan, especially in the fort of Daulatabad. This cash balance fell from Rs. 80,60,000 to Rs. 40,50,000, probably in two years. But in such a frontier province it was necessary to keep a large reserve for emergencies. Aurangzib grew alarmed at the rapid decrease of his cash balance and suggested a remedy to the Emperor: he wished to take away from the jagirdars and place under collectors of the Crown as much land as would yield the 20½ lakhs needed to make both ends meet. But where were the dispossessed officers to be provided for? Losing their means of support with the resumption of their jagirs, they would be forced to return to the Emperor’s Court and so decrease the Deccan army by one-third. Such a diminution of armed strength was unsafe with two powerful States, Bijapur and Golkonda, across the frontier. To avoid the evil, Aurangzib proposed that jagirs in part, should be given to him and his higher officers in other provinces, and that the cash portion of his salary might be made a charge

*Adab, 24b, 23b, 24a, 25b, 26b, 30a.
on the flourishing treasuries of Malwa and Surat.*

Aurangzib shared the difficulty of other jagirdars in the Deccan in having to keep up his normal contingent of troops on an income reduced to a fraction of his normal pay. His fiefs in Multan had been fertile and lucrative; those in the Deccan were estimated to yield 17 lakhs less, and were, besides, liable to frequent and large arrears in collection. He rightly protested to his father, “If your Majesty wishes me to be honoured with a great viceroyalty, give me the means worthy of it.” The Emperor ordered him to exchange his own sterile fiefs for more productive ones in the hands of other jagirdars.† Aurangzib took care to leave the estates of his competent officers untouched, but appropriated the fiefs of lazy or minor officers who did not deserve considerate treatment. The revenue department was ordered by Shah Jahan to transfer to him good jagirs yielding Rs. 3,17,500 in the place of desolate unproductive lands with the same nominal rent-roll. But the jagirdars threatened with dispossession tried to influence the Emperor by accusing Aurangzib of picking out for himself the best villages in each mahal and leaving to them scattered possessions. Aurangzib refuted the calumny and asserted that he had taken entire mahals, as, in his opinion, a mahal divided among a number of owners could not be well administered or made to flourish. So, the Emperor at last confirmed the transfer of lands.‡

Aurangzib’s second prayer, that the cash portion of his pay should be sent to him from the province of Malwa and the ports of Surat, was not granted. He was told to select productive mahal in the Deccan either from the Crownland or from the fiefs of the officers. The prince, accordingly, asked for Elichpur and Ankot, his cash allowance being reduced by the amount of the revenue of these two districts. But the Emperor fixed the standard revenue of Elichpur greatly above its real collection, and then Aurangzib

*Adab, 31a. I have given the figures exactly as in my authority; but the items when added together do not come up to the total stated.

†Adab, 19b, 25a, 173a. But when he was Governor of Multan he had complained of his fiefs there being unproductive! (Adab, 172a).

‡Adab, 25a, 29a, 32b, 33a, 36a, 41a, 36b.
Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan, 1653-1658

naturally demanded cash payment as before, instead of taking such a losing jagir. The Emperor was displeased and made caustic remarks about the prince in open Court. In 1654 twenty-five lakhs of Rupees were sent to Aurangzib from the revenue of Malwa, and for the remaining five lakhs he was asked to take away some fiefs from the officers in Nandurbar. But the revenue of that district actually brought in Rs. 92,000, and Aurangzib desired some other jagir to make up the balance.*

The financial wrangle between father and son dragged on for years. Shah Jahan wished to put a stop to the drain of money to the Deccan and here was Aurangzib asking for cash from other provinces in the place of jagirs in the Deccan! The jagirdars whose lands he had appropriated by imperial sanction intrigued at Court and persuaded the Emperor that the prince was realising from these fiefs more than his sanctioned pay, while the ousted officers, with only sterile jagirs left to them, were starving. An incorrect reading of the revenue papers deepended the same conviction in the Emperor’s mind and he angrily wrote to Aurangzib: “It is unworthy of a Musalman and an act of injustice to take for yourself all the productive villages of a pargana and to assign to others only the less productive lands. I order you to take half a lakh worth of less productive land in the Pargana of Asir, and decrease your cash stipend by the same amount, so that your actual income [may be made normal.]” Aurangzib replied in a tone of righteous indignation, “I have never in my life acted unjustly, but always tried to please God and His vicegerent on earth. You have censured me for this lakh of Rupees....I have not myself taken away these lands; but the revenue officers of your Majesty’s Court, by your order before I left for the Deccan, transferred them from Shaista Khan to me at the same [estimated] revenue. I wonder why the revenue officers, especially the wazir who has a retentive memory, did not point this fact out to you....Contrainy to the usual practice, your Majesty has, without making an inquiry or calling for my explanation, and on merely receiving a complaint, passed orders [in this case] and brought the term Musalman into use in con-

*Adab, 27a-29a, 32b, 33a, 37b.
nection with this perishable affair! I am helpless. As they have made you believe that I am getting more than my fixed salary, and you have ordered half a lakh of Rupees to be deducted from my cash stipend,—what need is there of giving me anything in exchange [of the latter]?” [Adab. 41a.]

When appointing him to the Deccan, Shah Jahan had urged Aurangzib to pay special attention to the improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation. Aurangzib had promised to do his best for these objects, and appealed to his exertions in the same direction during his first viceroyalty. He only pleaded for a sufficiently long tenure and the men and money necessary for his purpose. The Emperor, however, soon lost patience. Order after order was sent to the prince to increase the cultivation and population. Aurangzib was hastily censured for his failure as an administrator, as the Emperor imagined it to be, and he was threatened with loss of income in order to make him increase his exertions. But he rightly pleaded that the depopulation and ravage caused by a generation of warfare, followed by ten years of maladministration, could not be undone in two or three years. He had been (he said) silently and steadily promoting his object and had in three years succeeded in doubling the revenue of many mahals.* Very soon his viceroyalty was destined to become memorable for ever in the history of land-settlement in the Deccan.

§ 6. The diwans of the Deccan.

For the purposes of revenue administration, Mughal Deccan had been divided into two portions, each with its own diwan or revenue minister. The Painghat or Lowlands comprised the whole of Khandesh and one-half of Berar, while the other 2½ subahs formed the Balaghat or Highlands. The diwāī of Painghat was Multafat Khan, a strong civil administrator and a man of pleasant manners, charming by his easy sociability all who came in contact with him. But he was after all a mere departmental head, with considerable executive capacity no doubt, but devoid of any genius

*Adab, 20a & b, 26b, 28a, 32a & b, 144a.
Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan, 1653-1658

for administrative reform or innovation.* Glory of the latter kind belonged to his colleague, Murshid Quli Khan, the diwan of Balaghat, and one of the many noble gifts of Persia to India.

§ 7. Murshid Quli Khan: his character and revenue system.

Murshid Quli Khan† was a native of Khurasan who had migrated to India in the train of Ali Mardan Khan, the fugitive Persian Governor of Qandahar. He “combined the valour of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant.” As Paymaster of Aurangzib’s army in Balkh he had displayed ability, and when Aurangzib came to the Deccan again, Murshid Quli accompanied him as diwan of Balaghat. The Emperor highly commended him to the prince as his adviser in revenue matters. The prince, too, valued him as highly, and soon afterwards secured for him the title of Khan or Lord. Three years later Painghat was added to his charge, and he became diwan of the entire Deccan (28th January, 1656). But it was in Balaghat that he began his revenue reforms and first achieved success for his new system.

A century earlier the revenue collection of Northern India had been brought into system by Todar Mal, the diwan of Akbar. But the Deccan had no system at all. Here the marking out of plots, the measurement of land by chain survey, the assessment of revenue at so much per bigha, or the sharing of the actual produce between the State landlord and the cultivator, were unknown. The peasant in the Deccan cultivated as much land as he could with a plough and a pair of oxen, grew whatever crop he liked, and paid to the State a small amount per plough,—the rate of revenue varying in different places and being fixed arbitrarily, without bearing a definite proportion to the actual yield of the

* M. U. iii. 500-503. The diwans of this period were, (1) Dianat Khan, from the 14th to the 21st year of Shah Jahan’s reign, and again from the 22nd to the 27th (M. U. ii. 37), (2) Multafat Khan, diwan of Painghat only from the 25th to the 29th year, (3) Murshid Quli Khan, appointed diwan of Balaghat in 1653 and of Painghat also on 28 Jan., 1656.

† Life of Murshid Quli Khan in M. U. iii. 493-500. Khafi Khan. i. 714, 732-735. Adab, 24b, 27a, 28a, 43a, 99a, 41a, 30b, 47b. Waris, 67b, 101a, 106a.

105
History of Aurangzib

field, because it was not the practice there to inspect fields and estimate the quantity and value of crops.

This utter absence of system and principle in revenue matters laid the peasantry open to the caprice and extortion of the petty collectors. The long wars of Mughal aggression and a succession of rainless years, completed their ruin. The oppressed ryots fled from their homes, the deserted fields lapsed into the jungle; many once flourishing villages became manless wildernesses. Shah Jahan had reduced the revenue of Khandesh to one-half in 1631, but even this amount was never fully realised before Murshid Quli’s time.

The new diwan’s reform consisted in extending Todar Mal’s system to the Deccan. First, he worked hard to gather the scattered ryots together and restore the normal life of the villages by giving them their full population and proper chain of officers. Everywhere wise amins and honest surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings (raqba), and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. Where a village had lost its headman (mugaddam), he took care to appoint a new headman from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer ryots were granted loans (taqawvi) from the public treasury, for the purchase of cattle, seeds and other needful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by instalments. In one year he granted loans of forty to fifty thousand Rupees to the ryots of Khandesh and Berar for making embankments to impound water for irrigating low-lying lands.

To prevent partiality or corruption “this honest and Godfearing diwan often dragged the measuring chain with his own hands” and checked the survey work of his subordinates. By personal inquiry in the fields and villages he won the confidence of the peasantry; he allotted the holdings with care and attention to detail, so that the ryots prospered at the same time that the revenue increased. He had the wisdom to modify his system according to differences of local conditions. Where the peasantry were back-
ward and the population scanty, or where the villages were situated in obscure nooks, he left the old usage of a fixed lump payment per plough undisturbed. In many other places he introduced the system of metayership or sharing of the actual produce. For this there were three rates: (i) Where the crop depended on rainfall, the State took one-half of it. (ii) Where agriculture depended on well-irrigation the share of the State was one-third in the case of grain, and from one-ninth to one-fourth in the case of grape, sugar-cane, anise, plantain, pea-wort, and other special and high-priced crops requiring laborious watering and length of culture. (iii) Where the field was irrigated from canals (pát), the proportion of the revenue to the crop varied, being sometimes higher and sometimes lower than in lands irrigated from wells.

His third method of revenue settlement was the elaborate and complex one of Northern India. The standard or maximum Government share was one-fourth of the total produce, whether grain or pot-herb, fruit or seed. The revenue at the fixed rate of so many Rupees per bigha was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market-price, and actually measuring the sown area. Hence, its name of jarib (survey). Under Murshid Quli this became the prevalent system in the subahs of Mughal Deccan and was known for centuries afterwards as “the dhāra of Murshid Quli Khan.”

His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years. In 1658 the accurate observer Bhimsen Burhanpuri saw not a single piece of waste land near Aurangabad; wheat and pulse sold at 2½ maunds a Rupee, Jawar and bajra at 3½ maunds, molasses at half a maund, and yellow oil (ghee?) at four seers. [Dilkasha, i. 25, 26, 38.]

§ 8. Improvements made in the Deccan administration by Aurangzib.

Immediately on assuming the viceroyalty, Aurangzib sent off his own men to the different subdivisions to take over charge of the localities. He found that the official staff must be greatly increased before the country could be brought under proper control,
History of Aurangzib

and much money must be spent before the administration could be made efficient. And he acted accordingly. First, there was a wholesale redistribution of officers; old and incompetent men were dismissed or removed to minor posts; a number of officers of proved ability were selected by the prince, and to them all situations of trust and importance were given. [Adab, 24-26.] This change of personnel was naturally accompanied by a reshuffling of jagirs. As we have already seen, able officers were left in undisturbed possession of their old jagirs if these were good, or given better ones if they were unproductive. The loss of the change fell only on the undeserving or minor officers.

After thus securing for himself and his leading officers the income necessary for maintaining their contingents, he fought and won for them another battle with the imperial accounts department. In order to reduce expenditure, Shah Jahan ordered that every military officer serving in the Deccan should bring his force to the muster, and the troop horses should be branded, so that commanders who had been keeping less than their proper contingents while drawing full pay, might be asked to refund the sums they had thus taken in excess from the State. Aurangzib pleaded for them by pointing out the real state of affairs in the Deccan: no officer could realise the full amount of his nominal pay from his jagir; many had failed even to take possession of the lands assigned to them; their main support was the cash allowance paid from the treasury. If, therefore, by reason of the shortage in the regulation number of their retainers, a part of their former salaries was debited against them and the amount recovered by deduction from their pay in future, the officers would be worse off than before. The operation of the order would decrease the strength of the army, which was a dangerous contingency in “a province on the frontier of two rich armed rulers.” Shah Jahan had decreased the stipend of armed followers from Rs. 20 per month to Rs. 17 or even Rs. 15. Aurangzib protested against this order, saying that a horseman who got less than Rs. 20 a month could not possibly keep himself in proper fighting trim, especially as, under Murshid Quli Khan’s metayership settlement, rent was now paid in kind and the rent-receivers had to undergo heavy
Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan, 1653-1658

expenditure in watching and storing their share of the grain. The price of horses (he added) had greatly risen in the Deccan, and to make up the full complements of all the officers in the terms of Shah Jahan’s new order would require the entertainment of 9,000 additional mounted retainers by the officers. As the result of Aurangzib’s protest Shah Jahan raised the stipend of each trooper to Rs. 20 a month and the order about muster and branding was apparently dropped.*

Keen on securing military efficiency, Aurangzib first of all assured that financial support without which an army cannot be kept up to the mark. About his own immediate followers he wrote to the Emperor, “Your Majesty well knows that I seldom make useless expenditure. What I get from you, I spend in supporting the army. Now, as my men are paid in cash, my contingent will decrease in the same proportion as my cash allowance is reduced. [ Adab, 33a, 172a. ]

The Deccan being far away from the centre of the empire the officers posted there used to embezzle the public money and to neglect their duty, without fear of inspection and detection. We have seen how one Governor, Islam Khan, used to make money by selling the stores of the forts dear and afterwards buying fresh provisions cheap. Fifty years afterwards the Venetian traveller Manucci noted the utterly decayed and neglected condition of the Mughal forts in these parts. But in 1650 Mir Khalil, a very able and energetic officer, was appointed Inspector-General of Ordnance (darogha-i-topkhanah) for the Deccan, and he soon made a clean sweep of the old abuses. Though a mere inspector, “his achievements surpassed those of provincial viceroys.” He visited every fort, inspected everything, great and small, and supplied every place with the requisite store of food and munitions. Everywhere he found evidence of neglect and corruption. Old and useless men were being borne on the establishment of the artillery and swelling the expenditure, without doing any service at all. Mir Khalil made them undergo examination in musketry. Setting up a target three yards square, he gathered all the artillerymen and gave them the

*Adab, 29b, 35a, 97a.


History of Aurangzib

chance of three shots from their matchlocks at a range of forty paces. Those who could not hit the mark even once were dismissed. Old and disabled soldiers were put on pension in consideration of their past services. Thus in a month and a half this "honest, hardworking, and expert officer" effected a saving of Rs. 50,000 a year, while actually improving the efficiency of the army.* He continued at his post till 18th July, 1653, when he was transferred, on a higher rank and pay, to the responsible post of commandant of Dharur, a fort on the frontier. Aurangzib highly commended his expert knowledge of artillery matters and success as an administrator, saying, "The presence of such an officer in a frontier fort gives me peace of mind." His successor was Hushdar Khan, a capital marksman, who held the Inspectorship of Ordnance for a year only. The next to the office was Shams-ud-din (the son of Mukhtar Khan), appointed in the middle of 1654,—who, too, greatly pleased Aurangzib by his ability and received many favours from the prince.†

§ 9. Causes of Aurangzib's differences with the Emperor.

Aurangzib's second viceroyalty of the Deccan was marked by a series of wrangles with his father, for which, as Aurangzib's version alone is before us, the chief blame seems to fall on Shah Jahan. Either Aurangzib's enemies had got hold of the Emperor's ears, or the latter failed to appreciate the prince's difficulties in the South. But the result was that Aurangzib was misunderstood, suspected, and unjustly reprimanded from the very beginning of his term of office. And the bitterness of feeling thus roused was one of the reasons why the War of Succession was conducted so heartlessly and unscrupulously. So complete was the estrangement that, during this long viceroyalty of more than five years, Aurangzib was not once invited to visit his father in Northern India, and, what is almost incredible, among the presents made to the Emperor on his birthdays and the anniversaries of his coronation none from Aurangzib is mentioned in the official history,

* M. U. i. 166, 786, 787; Waris, 39b, 79b; Storia do Mogor, iii. 485.
† Adab 30b, 27b, 39b; Waris, 87a; M. U. iii. 943-946, 620-623.

110
though the other princes made costly offerings! While Dara's sons were basking in the imperial favour and every year receiving jewels and cash gifts worthy of princes, only once did Aurangzib's sons get anything from their imperial grandfather.

At the very time of his appointment to the Deccan, Aurangzib objected to it as his jagirs there would yield 17 lakhs of Rupees less than the fertile siefs he was holding in Sindh. "What, I wonder, is the reason of this decrease and of my transfer?" he asked. Before he had reached the Deccan, he was taxed by the Emperor with moving too slowly and taking four months in going from Peshawar to his charge, which had been without a ruler for two months. Aurangzib's explanation was the difficulty of the roads and the unpreparedness of his troops, who had just returned from the arduous campaign of Qandahar and had got no time to visit their jagirs and collect money for fitting themselves out for the transfer to the Deccan. Even after reaching Burhanpur Aurangzib had no peace; the Emperor urged him to proceed to Daulatabad, his capital, as soon as possible after the rainy season. The prince excused himself for lingering ten months at Burhanpur, on the grounds of pressure of work and the heavy rains at the end of the monsoons that year. Then again, his proposal to be given more productive jagirs in exchange of the existing ones, was the cause of a prolonged and acrimonious correspondence with the Emperor, as we have seen.

In some cases the viceroy's recommendations for postings and promotions among his subordinates were not accepted by the Emperor, and the prince could only protest his own helplessness in the matter and justify his nominations. In a few instances, such as the Inspectorship of Ordnance, he carried his point after indignantly writing to his father, "I have been a subahdar since the age of 18 years, and I have never recommended a single man who has proved unfit for his post.... The Chief of Artillery should be an expert marksman. I recommended such a person. He has not done any dishonest act. But your Majesty has ordered the post to be given to another."*

*Adab, 27b, 28a, & b, 29a, 129b.
History of Aurangzib

catching, sending mangoes to Court, securing skilled weavers for the imperial cloth factory, the Golkonda tribute, &c., there were differences between father and son.*

Next, Shah Jahan quickly lost patience and complained of Aurangzib’s failure to restore cultivation and prosperity in the Deccan. Aurangzib rightly answered that it was too early to judge him. “I have always tried to extend tillage and increase the number of houses; but as I am not a vain man I have not reported it to you. A country that has been desolated by various calamities cannot be made flourishing in two or three years! How can I, in one season or two, bring back to cultivation a paragana which has been unproductive of revenue for twenty years?” But Shah Jahan was not satisfied. He often made caustic remarks in open Court about Aurangzib’s promise of restoring prosperity to the Deccan and the wretched condition of the province. He even contemplated a change of viceroy as likely to mend matters, and asked Shuja if he would accept the subahdari of the Deccan as Aurangzib could not govern the province well.†

Another cause of friction was the charge of diplomatic relations with Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangzib justly contended that the Mughal envoys at these Courts should take their orders from the viceroy of the Deccan and imperial correspondence with them should pass through his hands, “as a better policy and in order to secure greater obedience to the imperial wishes.” But this power was conceded to him only towards the close of his administration, and even then not fully. [Adab, 24b.]

Later on we find Shah Jahan charging Aurangzib with receiving costly presents from the king of Golkonda without crediting their price against the tribute due. Aurangzib easily showed that these presents were of small value, the precious stones were full of flaws, and they were all a personal gift to himself and his eldest son.‡ By a Nemesis of fate, a generation afterwards Aurangzib, then

*Adab, 177, 24b, 31b, 32a, 193b, 191b.
†Adab, 28a, 32; Faiyaz-ul-qawainin, 354.
‡Adab, 84b, 85a and b, 192b, 107b.
Emperor, suspected his son Muazzam of having formed a secret understanding with the king of Golkonda.

In May 1653 we find Aurangzib replying thus to some charge brought against him in one of the Emperor's letters. "What your Majesty has heard against me is false. I consider such conduct towards others as very improper." The nature of the accusation is not known to us. Was it the affair of Zainabadi, which must have happened at this time? [Adab. 26a.]

Again, the Emperor took him to task for employing all the best weavers at Burhanpur in his private factory and thereby depriving the imperial factory of its labour supply. Aurangzib denied the allegation altogether, but the Emperor ordered all cloth factories at Burhanpur to be closed with the exception of the imperial. This was a public humiliation for the viceroy. [Adab, 98b, 176b.]

At one time Aurangzib was so disgusted with being constantly misunderstood, censured, and hampered by the Emperor, that he refused to take a most necessary step on his own initiative. Murshid Quli Khan had recommended an advance of Rs. 50,000 as loan to the peasants of Khandesh and Berar. Aurangzib simply referred the matter to the Emperor, and when he was told that he ought to have advanced the money from the imperial revenue, he replied with bitterness, "No wonder that I did not take the responsibility of doing it, seeing that I have been taken to task for acts which I never did. In my first viceroyalty I did not wait for previous sanction in such matters. But now I have grown more cautious!" Indeed, in one of his letters to his sister Jahanara he complains that though he had served his father faithfully for twenty years he was favoured with much less power and confidence than his nephew Sulaiman Shukoh. [Adab, 41, 177a.]

Before turning to the two great wars undertaken by Aurangzib during this period we shall describe his minor expeditions.

§ 10. The Gond kingdoms of the Central Provinces: expedition against Deogarh.

In the 16th and 17th centuries much of the modern Central
Provinces owned the sway of aboriginal Gond chiefs and was known in history under the name of Gondwana. The great Gond kingdom of Garh-Mandla had been crippled by a Mughal invasion and sack of the capital in Akbar's reign, and, later, by Bundela encroachments from the north. But about the middle of the 17th century another Gond kingdom, with its capital at Deogarh, rose to greatness, and extended its sway over the districts of Betul, Chindwara and Nagpur, and portions of Seoni, Bhandara and Balaghat. In the southern part of Gondwana stood the town of Chanda, the seat of a third Gond dynasty. A king of Chanda had visited the Court of Delhi in the 16th century, and his family had ever since been loyally attached to the empire, because this was their only protection from their hereditary foe and rival, the Rajah of Deogarh.

For a short time the Deogarh kingdom became so powerful as to overshadow Mandla and Chanda and to take the first place among the Gond States. Its wealth was vast enough to tempt the cupidity of the Mughals. We have seen how in 1637 Khan-i-Dauran invaded this kingdom, stormed the fort of Nagpur, and forced Rajah Kukia to pay a large contribution down and to promise an annual tribute of 1½ lakhs of Rupees. Kesari Singh had succeeded his father Kukia in 1640, after presenting a fee of four lakhs of Rupees to the Emperor. [Ch. 3.] But under him the tribute fell into arrears, and repeated demands for it produced no effect. So, in 1655, Shah Jahan ordered the country to be invaded, especially as the Mughal army in the Deccan had its hands free and the Rajah of Deogarh was said to possess 200 elephants, which would be a rich booty. Aurangzib pointed out that by deputing an officer to Deogarh he had ascertained that the Rajah was really very poor and had only 14 elephants. He therefore, asked for orders whether Deogarh should be annexed or only the tribute realised, and then added ironically, "Send me the man who has told you of the Rajah having got 200 elephants, and he will guide my troops to the place where these elephants are!" This false information, as may be easily imagined, had come from the envious Rajah of Chanda. Shah Jahan ordered Deogarh to be conquered and annexed. Aurangzib
wrote back to say, "It can be easily conquered, but not so easily held or controlled. The annual cost of administration will be very high."

On 12th October, 1655, the expedition started in two divisions, one under Mirza Khan, the Deputy Governor of Berar, by way of Elichpur, and the other under Hadidad Khan, the Deputy Governor of Telingana, by way of Nagpur,—with orders to converge upon Deogarh. Manji, the Rajah of Chanda, co-operated with the invaders. Kesari Singh was crushed between the two walls of foes. He humbly waited on Mirza Khan, and promised to pay up his arrears and to be more punctual in future. Only twenty elephants were found in his possession, and these were taken away. The Rajah accompanied the victorious troops on their return, and paid his respects to Aurangzib on 8th January, 1656. He promised to pay five lakhs in cash and kind in the course of the year, on account of his tribute, present and past, and to cede certain parganas, the revenue of which would be set apart for the payment of the tribute in future. Kesari Singh with a good body of armed retainers accompanied Aurangzib to the siege of Golkonda and rendered good service, praying only for some remission of his piled up arrears of tribute in return.† The later history of Deogarh will be given in Ch. 61.

§ 11. Invasion of the Jawhar State.

The little State of Jawhar stands north of Bombay on a plateau between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. On the north and east it adjoined the Mughal districts of Baglana and Nasik respectively, and on the south it touched Konkan. Except in some places in the south and west, the country is elevated, rocky, and forest-clad. Its safety lay in the great difficulty which an invader found in crossing the Ghats and penetrating into the country from the land side. A line of Rajahs calling themselves Sisodias, founded the State early in the 14th century, and was at this time engaged

*Adab, 42a and b; Waris, 105a.
†Adab, 43a, 45a, 46a, 47a; Waris, 105b.
History of Aurangzib

in a long but successful struggle with the Portuguese power in Northern Konkan. The Rajah named Sripat, paid no tribute nor owned the overlordship of the Emperor. So, at Aurangzib's suggestion Shah Jahan sanctioned a war against him. Rao Karan, the chief of Bikanir, had long served in the Mughal wars of the Deccan. He now promised to conquer Jawhar with his own men, if it were granted to him as a fief on a tribute of Rs. 50,000. The Rajput general started from Aurangabad on 3rd October, 1655, threaded his way through a difficult pass in the Western Ghats and approached the frontier of Jawhar. At this Sripat offered submission (5th January, 1656), and bought safety by paying an indemnity, promising to alienate a certain portion of his territory for the payment of the tribute in future, and sending his son with Rao Karan as hostage. The expedition returned to Aurangzib on 20th January.*

*Imp. Gazetteer, xiv. 87 and 88; Waris, 106a; Adab, 37b, 39b, 47a.

GOLKONDA was a very fertile and carefully irrigated country, with a large and industrious population. The capital, Haidarabad, was at this time the centre of the diamond trade, not of Asia alone but of the whole world. Numbers of foreign traders assembled here and transacted business. The kingdom was famous for several industries. The steel works of Nirmal and Indur (two villages north of the city) supplied the raw materials for the world-famed Damascus blades, and the local outturn of swords, lances and daggers was distributed in large quantities over all parts of India. The skilled cloth weavers of Masulipatam were sought after for the imperial factories of Burhanpur and Delhi, and the chintz woven there had a continental celebrity. The carpet industry of Ellore, conducted entirely by Muhammadans, was famous for centuries. To its smiling cornfields, tanks teeming with fish, and flourishing handicrafts, must be added the diamond and gold mines which made the name of Golkonda known even in far-off Europe. The kingdom also possessed in Masulipatam the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal and the only place on the East Coast whence ships sailed for Pegu, Siam, Bengal, Cochin China, the Manillas, and even Mecca and Madagascar. The forests of the kingdom sheltered large herds of highly prized elephants, which added to the wealth of the king. Tobacco and the palm flourished exceedingly and the excise on tobacco and toddy juice yielded a large revenue.*


Since his return to the Deccan in 1653, Aurangzib had frequent cause to quarrel with the king of Golkonda. The annual tribute of two lakhs of hun was always in arrears, and frequent dunning on

*Description based on Tavernier, i. 150-158, 175, 274: Gribble’s History of the Deccan, i. 269: Imperial Gazetteer, xii. 23. Adab, 55b, 50a, 46b, 37a, 54b.
History of Aurangzib

the part of the Mughal viceroy only met with excuses and petitions for delay. The Emperor asked the Sultan to pay half his tribute in cash and the other half in elephants, of which he had a vast stable. But even this was not done. At last Aurangzib demanded the alienation of a certain part of Golkonda territory, the revenue of which would be collected by imperial officers and set apart for the payment of the tribute.

Next, the exchange value of the hun rose from Rs. 4 in 1636 to Rs. 4½ and finally in 1654 to Rs. 5 each. Qutb Shah had been paying his tribute at the old rate of eight lakhs of Rupees a year. The Mughals now demanded that the difference due to exchange for all the past years should be paid at once. A new burden of 20 lakhs of Rupees was thus thrown on the shoulders of the Sultan who had been tottering under the load of the normal tribute [Adab. 54, 56; Waris, 113a.]

Then he was rebuked for not having taken his overlord's sanction before conquering the Karnatak. But he was told that the offence could be atoned for by paying a large sum as present to the Emperor! When Aurangzib's agent, Muhammad Mumin, was sent ostensibly to protect Sri Ranga, the Rajah of Karnatak, Qutb Shah was warned not to hinder him, with a clear hint that the proposed intervention could be bought off!* Lastly there was the affair of Mir Jumla which precipitated war, and of which detailed account must be given here.

§ 3. The East Karnatak conquered by Bijapur and Golkonda.

The treaties of 1636 had divided the old Ahmadnagar territory between the Emperor of Delhi and the Sultan of Bijapur, made Golkonda a protected tributary State, and clearly marked out the boundary between the empire and the two Deccani monarchies. [Ch. 3. § 3.] Barred in the north by the strong arm of the Mughals, these two States began to give employment to their troops and a free vent to their ambition by engaging in a career of conquest in other directions. Bijapur took possession of the Nizam Shahi Konkan, which had been ceded to it by the treaty with the Emperor,

*Adab, 54b-55b, 44a & b.
and even attacked the Portuguese possessions north of Goa with some success. Golkonda was cut off by foreign territory from the west. But it was in the eastern side of Southern India that both the Sultans found free scope for expansion. The whole of the Karnataka, from the river Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri, was covered with a number of petty Hindu principalities, the jarring fragments of the ruined empire of Vijaynagar. These now rapidly fell a prey to Muslim arms. The Golkonda troops advanced conquering to the Bay of Bengal, and occupied the country from the Chilka lake to the Penner river. Their raiding bands penetrated as far north as Khurda, the seat of the faineant Rajah of Orissa. The Gajapati Rajah of Ganjam had been ousted by the Golkonda Sultan in 1571. Chicacole became the seat of a Qutb Shahi faujdar sometime before 1641, when a handsome mosque was built there by Sher Muhammad Khan, the first faujdar. In 1652 a Rajput officer of Golkonda seized Vizagapatam and extending his conquest formed a petty Rajahship.*

Bijapur advanced conquering southwards and then turned east till it occupied the coast between Jinji and Tanjore. Hemmed in the north and south by the conquest of the two Sultans, as between the two jaws of a monster, lay the kingdom of Chandragiri, the last remnant of the Vijaynagar empire, with its territory contracted to the region from Nellore to Pondicherry on the east and the Mysore frontier on the west. On the death of Rama Rajah, the minister and virtual ruler of Vijaynagar, on the fatal field of Talikota (1565), and the subsequent sack of the capital by the Muslims, his brother had removed the seat of government to Pennukonda (1567). This brother's son transferred the capital to Chandragiri (about 1600). At this time the throne of Chandragiri was occupied by Sri Ranga, who gave the site of Madras city to the English in 1639, and whom the Muhammadan historians style Sri Ranga Rayal, zamindar of Karnataka. There was now a race between the Golkonda and

*Imperial Gazetteer, xii. 23 (Rajmahendri captured, 1572), x. 217 (Chicacole), xii. 145, xxiv. 339. Sewell's Sketch of Dynasties, 48 & 69, (the Palnad country and the country about Karnul and Nellore were seized and Kondavidu secured by bribery in 1580)
History of Aurangzib

Bijapur kings for the absorption of his kingdom; the two jaws began rapidly to close from the north and the south upon the doomed Karnataka. In this work of conquest a most conspicuous part was played by Mir Jumla, the wazir of Golkonda.


Muhammad Said, known to history as Mir Jumla,* was a Sayyid of Ardistan in Persia, and the son of an oil-merchant of Isfahan. Leaving his native country in youth, he like other Shia adventurers, sought his fortune at the Courts of the Deccani Sultans who belonged to his sect, (1630). As a diamond merchant he rose to great wealth by his shrewdness and business capacity. His wonderful talents gained him the favour of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who made him his prime-minister. Mir Jumla’s industry, rapid despatch of business, administrative capacity, military genius and inborn power of leadership ensured his success in all that he undertook. Great alike in civil government and in war, he soon became the virtual ruler of Golkonda: nothing could reach the Sultan save with his approval. Sent by his master to the Karnataka, he soon effected a complete transformation there. Hitherto Kambam (15.34 N. 79.12 E.), on the n.e. side of the Cuddapa district, had been the limit of Golkonda advance in that direction. All the attempts of the Sultans had failed to conquer the uplands of the Karnataka, where the Rajah of Chandragiri held sway. Mir Jumla strengthened himself by securing a number of European gunners and cannon-founders, raised his army to a high state of discipline and efficiency, and soon wrested the Cuddapa district. His crowning feat was the capture of the rock-fortress of Gandikota, hitherto deemed impregnable. Sidhout,† east of Cuddapa, was also conquered, and his captains penetrated as far as Chandragiri and Tirupati in the North Arcot district. By looting the rich old temples of the South and hunting out buried treasure, Mir Jumla

*Tavernier, i. 170, 259, 273, 284-293, 295; Bernier, 16-19; Gribble, i. 269-271; M. U. iii. 530-555 (life of Mir Jumla). Ch. 31 § 20 ante.

†Sidhout is nine miles due east and Gandikota 42 miles n. w. of Cuddapa town. Both are situated on the Penner river.
amassed a vast fortune. The huge Hindu idols of copper were brought away in numbers, to be melted and cast into cannon! By diligently working the diamond mines which he farmed from his sovereign or discovered by his own exertions, he multiplied his wealth, till he came to be known as the richest private man in the South and the owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. On entering Shah Jahan's service he made presents worth 15 lakhs of Rupees to the Emperor, besides what he gave to Aurangzib and his eldest son. By his conquests he raised his jagir in the Karnatak into a kingdom 3000 miles long and 50 miles broad, yielding a revenue of 40 lakhs a year, and possessing several diamond mines. At his own cost and under his absolute command he maintained an army of 5,000 well-mounted and well-equipped cavalry, besides the 4,000 troops of the Golkonda king's service, whose captains he had won over. His foot numbered 20,000 strong. An excellent park of artillery and a large number of trained elephants completed his war equipage. Thus he had made himself fully independent of his master and the virtual king of the Karnatak. In short, it has been well said by one historian that though Mir Jumla's rank was that of a noble, he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince. *

Mir Jumla's growing power and wealth roused the alarm of his master. Envious courtiers were not wanting to whisper to the Sultan of Golkonda that the absent wazir's armed strength was a menace to his own security, and that the servant's wealth overshadowed the grandeur of the master's Court. Qutb Shah, too, naturally wished to have a share of his wazir's gains. In the conquest of the Karnatak the two had acted as partners; Mir Jumla had supplied the brain and leadership, while the Sultan had lent him the necessary men and money and protection of his name, in the first stage at all events. They now quarrelled about the profits. Qutb Shah tried to treat Mir Jumla as a mere servant and to escheat

*At Haidarabad a tank, a garden, and a mansion bear his name. Some distance outside the city a village (petta) was founded and named after him. "He has left many memorials of himself in Telingana where he lived long." (M. U. iii. 555); Waris, 102a, 111a and b, 114a, 118a; Adab, 39a, 116a; Tavernier, i. 170n; Bernier, 17.
History of Aurangzib

to the State what he had acquired in its service. Mir Jumla, on
the other hand, knowing how weak and worthless his master
was, regarded the conquest as entirely his own work and his gains
as the fruits of his own exclusive toil. After having tasted regal
independence in the Karantak he was loth to return to the life of
a courtier. But he could not long disobey the summons of his
master. So, he once went back to Golkonda. The Sultan conspired
with other courtiers to seize and blind him, but Mir Jumla learnt
of the plot before it was matured, and cleverly managed to escape
to the Karnatak, vowing never to visit Golkonda again. The Sultan
kept calling him back with increasing persistence, but it only
served to confirm Mir Jumla’s suspicion. At last the mask was
thrown away, and Qutb Shah openly undertook to crush his
disobedient servant.*

§ 5. Mir Jumla intrigues with Bijapur and Persia.

Mir Jumla now looked around for protection. He offered to enter
the service of the Sultan of Bijapur, and to hold the Karnatak of
him, and as an earnest presented him with some lockets (padak)
richly set with diamonds and gems, which he had extorted from
the Rajah of Chandragiri.† Adil Shah was overjoyed at the prospect
of acquiring such a precious servant, the ablest man in the Deccan
since Malik Ambar’s time. But Bijapur was only one of the many
strings to Mir Jumla’s bow. He was also intriguing with the Shah
of Persia‡ and asking for an asylum with him. What he evidently
wanted to secure was a safe retreat to Persia with all his wealth,
if matters came to the worst and he found the Karnatak no longer
tenable against a combination of his foes. Nearer home he ably
turned enemies into friends. The despoiled Rajah of Chandragiri
was conciliated and assured that he would not be further molested,
if he stood by Mir Jumla. [Adab. 36b, 39a.] Years ago
Bijapur and Golkonda had almost come to blows about the

*Adab, 30a, 36b, 72b; Tavernier, i. 165.
†Adab, 195b & 196a; Waris, 119.
‡Rugaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani, 154-156, gives the reply of the Persian king to
Mir Jumla’s offer to enter his service. Two letters of Mir Jumla to the Persian
premier are given by Abdul Ali Tabrizi. 70a-73a (but earlier than 1654).
partition of the Karnatak. These Muslim conquerors advancing from the north and the south of the province had met near the northern frontier of the South Arcot district and each had wished to push the other back.* But Mir Jumla now made a peaceful settlement: by mutual consent a line drawn east to west some distance north of Jinji became the boundary between Adil Shahi Karnatak and Qutb Shahi Karnatak. In addition to this, Mir Jumla made friends with Ikhlas Khan,† the Abyssinian Governor of Bijapuri Karnatak, who probably wished to imitate his disloyal example and turn his viceroyalty into an independent State. The Golkonda generals and troops posted in the Karnatak were already bound by close ties of self-interest and favours to Mir Jumla’s side. The Sultan had no instrument with which he could punish his refractory servant.

§ 6. Aurangzib’s secret correspondence for winning Mir Jumla over.

Mir Jumla had also begun to coquet with the Mughal power. Indeed, in this case the first solicitation had come from the other side. Aurangzib, secretly nursing his passionate ambition of conquering the rich State of Golkonda, was eager to secure such an able helper and counsellor as the prime-minister of that kingdom. Through the Mughal envoy at Golkonda the prince opened a secret correspondence with Mir Jumla, promising him not only protection for his family and property against his wrathful master, but also boundless favour from the Emperor, if he joined the Mughal service. He also sent an agent, Muhammad Mumin, directly to the prime-minister in the Karnatak. But the prudent wazir dallied with the offer and waited to see what turn his affairs would take. So, he sent a secret petition for appointment under the Emperor, in order to ascertain what terms he might expect from that quarter.‡

These intrigues with three different Courts could not be kept

*Adab, 27b. The race between the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi generals for the Jinji district is described in Guldashta, 5b—7a, (Abdullah to Shah Jahan, 2 letters), and Abdul Ali Tabrizi (Mir Jumla’s letters, 69b).
†Adab, 39a 36b.
‡Adab, 30a, 31b, 34b, 36b, 72b; Waris, 102b; Abdul Ali Tabrizi, 74a.
History of Aurangzib

secret. Qutb Shah, hearing of them, tried to conciliate his too-powerful officer. To his friendly overtures Mir Jumla replied that after two years he would either attend on his master or resign his post and leave India. All this time Aurangzib kept up a busy but secret correspondence with him, and messengers kept running from one to the other. In his excess of eagerness the prince even approached Muhammad Amin, the son of Mir Jumla. But Shah Jahan’s hesitation in replying to the Mir’s petition threw the latter into alarm and doubt about the Emperor’s intentions. At last, yielding to Aurangzib’s importunity, the Emperor offered to Mir Jumla his protection and favour if he came to his Court.* But evidently the terms were very vague, and Mir Jumla was in no haste to accept them. He, however, feigned consent, and begged a year’s respite in which to collect his property from the ports, and keep his promise to Qutb Shah. So, he urged the Mughal Court to keep this agreement secret till then, for if the Deccani Sultans discovered his successful intrigue with the Emperor, they would, he feared, kill him. [Ad. 38.] In fact three kings were now bidding for his services, and he wished to make the most of the circumstance.

Eager as Aurangzib was to secure Mir Jumla, these delays made his heart turn sick, and he discovered Mir Jumla’s duplicity. “I think,” he wrote to the Emperor, “that Mir Jumla does not really wish to enter the imperial service, as he now holds a large kingdom with many fortresses, ports, and strongholds, and has disgusted the Sultan of Bijapur by declining to enter his service. His proposal to take the Emperor’s pay is only a matter of policy. He will not leave that country so long as he can dexterously avert the hostility of the two Sultans.” [Ad. 39a.]

Evidently Aurangzib’s solicitations ceased, or his agent at Golkonda blundered and the secret of Mir Jumla’s understanding with the Emperor leaked out. The two Deccani Sultans, thoroughly angry with the double-dealer, agreed to unite their forces to crush him. It was now Mir Jumla’s turn to be as eager as he had been lukewarm before in joining the Mughals. He wrote to the prince,

*Adab, 34b, 44a, 35, 36a.
"I am Shah Jahan's servant and beg to be saved by him." But Aurangzib now hung back. He waited for the attack on Mir Jumla to be actually delivered before sending him the "strong force to escort him" to the imperial territory which he had promised before. [Ad. 40a, 36b].


Before Qutb Shah could muster either his courage or his forces for the purpose of chastising Mir Jumla, a crisis was precipitated by the conduct of Muhammad Amin, the wazir's son. This young man, haughty and reckless at all times and known as the most audacious of courtiers even when serving a stern master like Aurangzib,* was acting all these years as Mir Jumla's deputy at the Court of Golkonda. His father's wealth and glory turned his head. He gave himself the airs of a prince, spoke slightingly of the Sultan, and treated him with scant courtesy in open Court. Abdullah Qutb Shah bore all this wearily. But at last, one day Muhammad Amin came to Court reeling with drunkenness, fell asleep on the king's own carpet, and soiled it in crop sickness. The long-suffering king could not bear this crowning act of insult. His anger boiled over, and he threw Muhammad Amin and his family into prison and attached their property (21st November 1655).†

This was the opportunity for which Aurangzib had so long been waiting. Here was a plea for invading and annexing Golkonda, whose wealth had excited his keen longing for years past, though he had had to keep that longing in check in fear of Shah Jahan's sense of justice.

The prince immediately reported the incident to the Emperor and solicited an urgent sanction of war. Meantime, on 3rd December, Shah Jahan had despatched a robe of honour and a letter-patent to Mir Jumla, appointing him a Commander of Five Thousand, and his son a Commander of Two Thousand troopers in the Mughal service, together with a letter to Qutb Shah bidding him not to hinder them in coming to the imperial Court, nor to detain

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*M. U., iii. 620; Anecdotes, § 51.
†M. U. iii. 531. Tavernier, i. 166. Adab, 45a.
any part of their property. These letters reached Aurangzib on 18th December, and he at once sent the Emperor's letter on to Golkonda, commanding the king to release the family of Mir Jumla immediately and to send them with all their belongings to the imperial Court in company with the bearer of the letter. If Qutb Shah delayed or disobeyed the order, Aurangzib threatened to send an army under his son against him. In the meantime, anticipating the Emperor's sanction, he mobilised his troops on the Golkonda frontier for a campaign. Hadidad Khan was ordered to hasten his return from Deogarh and to move directly on Qandahar (a fort midway between Aurangabad and Golkonda), while Aurangzib's eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, was sent (26th Dec.) with the van of his father's army to Nander to wait for Hadidad Khan.*

While the storm was thus brewing against him, Qutb Shah seems to have been seized with infatuation. He either ignored or underrated his danger, and his anger was still unallayed. Both Aurangzib's warning of 18th December and Shah Jahan's letter of the third announcing the imperial protection of Mir Jumla and Muhammad Amin, were disregarded by him.

On hearing (24th December) of Muhammad Amin's captivity, Shah Jahan wrote a letter to Qutb Shah to release Mir Jumla's family. He felt sure that his letter alone would effect the purpose. But "in order to gratify Aurangzib," he rather reluctantly sanctioned (29th Dec.) the invasion of Golkonda, in case Muhammad Amin was still detained. Both these letters reached Aurangzib on 7th January, 1656.† He now employed finesse to ruin Golkonda. Without giving Qutb Shah time to receive and follow Shah Jahan's letter of 24th December, which explicitly ordered the release of the captives, he declared that the king's refusal to set them free in spite of the Emperor's letter of 3rd December amounted to that flat disobedience of imperial orders which had been laid down as a necessary condition for the invasion of Golkonda.

*Waris, 102b, 109; Adab, 56f & 57a, 45, 77a.
†Waris, 109b; Adab, 46a.

At once Aurangzib ordered Prince Muhammad Sultan, (who had reached Nander on 7th January), to cross the frontier. The young prince started (10th January) and made a dash on Haidarabad with his cavalry. Aurangzib waited at Daulatabad with the main army for a fortnight because there was some fear of Bijapur coming to the aid of Golkonda in answer to the earnest appeals of Qutb Shah. Indeed, the Bijapur army under Afzal Khan had been massed on the Mughal frontier. But Adil Shah held back in fear; the danger blew over, and so, on 20th January Aurangzib himself started and quickly marched to join his son. Shivaji had caused some disturbance on the Mughal frontier near Junnar. But as yet he could be safely neglected. Moreover, his aim was not so much to cause a diversion in favour of Golkonda as to profit by the absence of the Mughal troops. [Ad. 46, 47a, 49.]

Meantime, after Muhammad Sultan had entered his territory, Abdullah got Shah Jahan’s stern letter of 24th December and at once sent Muhammad Amin with his family and servants to that prince, together with a humble letter of submission to the Emperor. But Aurangzib had so contrived it that his submission should come too late to save him. Muhammad Amin waited on the prince, 24 miles from Haidarabad (probably on 21st Jan.), but the prince refused to stop hostilities and pressed on to the capital on the plea that Abdullah had not yet restored the property of the captives. Qutab Shah’s last hope was gone; the Mughal cavalry had arrived so fast that he had been taken completely by surprise. Confronted with utter ruin, he sent off to the stronghold of Golkonda his children and such valuable property as could be easily removed, and in the night of 22nd January himself fled from Haidarabad to that fort,—leaving the defence of the capital to three officers and some 17,000 soldiers. [Waris, 109a; Ad. 49a, 80b.]

This flight saved his life because Aurangzib’s secret instructions to M. Sultan breathed deadly hostility:

"Qutb-ul-mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his
flight to Golkonda. But before doing so send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, ‘I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But as you have not done so, I have myself come to you.’ Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously and, if you can manage, it lighten his neck of the burden of his head. The best means of achieving this plane are cleverness, and lightness of hand.” [Adab, 187b]

§ 9. Mughals enter Haidarabad City.

On 23rd January the invaders arrived at the Husain Sagar tank, two miles north of Haidarabad. Confusion reigned in the counsels of Golkonda. The king had never before ruled his servants, and now he was more helpless than a child and more unnerved than a woman. His officers acted without concert, having no common leader and no definite plan of action. While one minister waited on M. Sultan with a casket of gems as a peace-offering, others made a demonstration against the Mughal army, but were soon driven back with loss. Next day the young prince entered Haidarabad. A strong party was posted in the city under Muhammad Beg to prevent plunder and violence, to reassure the citizens, and to man the city walls. As the palace and most of the houses were built of wood, strict orders were given to guard watchfully against fire; for, some years before this, the screen of the king’s Hall had been accidentally set ablaze by a candle, and the fire had spread to the roof and thence to the neighbouring houses, and smouldered for fully a month. [Waris, 109b; Adab, 49]

These arrangements were made none too soon. Haidarabad was one of the richest cities of India. Besides being the capital of a flourishing monarchy, it was the centre of the diamond trade of the world and the seat of many fine arts. A vast concourse of nobles, officers, traders, and artisans filled the city and its extensive suburb (named Aurangabad) across the Musa river. From the night of the 22nd to the noon of the 24th, plunder raged in the city unchecked. The king had left behind him all his costly carpets, Chinaware, furniture, &c., besides elephants and horses. Muhammad Sultan inspected the royal property, closed the doors of the palace, and placed a guard over it. The looting of Haidarabad was the talk of all India in that age. As Aurangzib’s equerry, Aqil
Khan Razi, wrote in his history, "Most of the stores and property of Qutb-ul-mulk, such as precious books and other costly things beyond computation, were plundered by Prince M. Sultan...Much of Qutb-ul-mulk's property,—among the rarities of the age,—was confiscated by Aurangzib. But so rich was the king and so vast his wealth that, in spite of these several acts of looting, so much treasure was left behind at Aurangzib's retreat that nobody could suppose that the treasury and palace had been looted." Another historian, Bhimsen, records that the Mughal army gathered much booty in the city, and a vast amount in cash and kind was seized in the king's palace.*

Abdullah Qutb Shah continued to send almost daily envoys to the prince offering submission and costly presents in the hope of making peace. He restored Mir Jumla's property. But the prince could settle nothing in his father's absence. Abdullah had, therefore, no help but to solicit aid from Bijapur and to put Golkonda in a state of defence in the meantime.

§ 10. Aurangzib besieges Golkonda.

Aurangzib arrived on the scene on 6th February with the bulk of his army. With the vigour and promptitude that marked all his actions, he first made a reconnaissance of the fort and its environs, before retiring to his tent to refresh himself after the fatigues of a fortnight's forced march. A large Golkonda force, about 15,000 strong appeared in the plain and fired at the Mughals from a distance. The fort-guns co-operated with them. Evidently the position of the imperial army was made untenable, for Aurangzib had to drive his elephant forward and order a general advance of his troops for repelling the enemy. But the struggle was long and severe, and the losses heavy. The fight raged till evening, when the enemy retired, some going back to the fort, others into the jungle outside it.

Next day the siege† of Golkonda began. The west side was unoccupied, but Mughal officers entrenched on the other three

*Waris, 110a; Adab, 50a; Aqil Khan, 13; Dilkasha, i. 16.
†Siege in Waris, 110a-112b; Adab, 81a; Tavernier, i. 166-169.
History of Aurangzib

sides. A regular siege was impossible, as Aurangzib had made a quick march with light artillery, while the fort had guns of large calibre. Moreover, Shaista Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, and other officers in command of reinforcements had not yet arrived, nor had the big guns ordered from the fort of Ausa.* Aurangzib, therefore contented himself with holding the city and surrounding the fort, to prevent the escape of the king, while he waited for reinforcements and Shah Jahan’s fresh commands. His first expectation of murdering Qutb Shah and capturing his kingdom by a sudden coup had failed, and he had to resort to slower methods for which he was not prepared. The leaguer of Golkonda lasted from 7th February to 30th March, and was conducted very languidly, because, with the materials at his disposal, he could do no injury to such an impregnable fortress. Sometimes the siege-trenches were attacked by sorties of the defenders. Battles took place with the Golkonda troops hovering round, on 11th and 12th February in the environs of the fort, and on 13th March at a place 20 miles from it. The Deccanis, as usual, retired after some exchange of fire, being unable or unwilling to stand the charge of the dreaded Mughal cavalry. Their mode of warfare was Parthian, and their aim to wear out the enemy and cut off his supplies.

These skirmishes were varied by the almost daily arrival of presents and offers of peace from the beleaguered king to the invader’s camp! But Aurangzib steadily refused to make terms. He coveted the whole kingdom and nothing less. The fertility of Golkonda, the world-wide fame of its diamond mines, the wealth of its kings, the skill of its artisans, had roused his keenest greed. Soon after crossing the frontier, even before he had seen “the rich populous and flourishing city of Haidarabad,” he had written to his father, “What shall I write about the beauty of this country—its abundance of water and population, its good air, and its extensive cultivation,—which I saw on the way? At every stage after crossing the frontier I met with many large tanks, springs of sweet water, running streams, inhabited villages with large

*Shaista Khan arrived on 21st Feb., and two big guns from Ausa on 1st March, 1656. (Waris, 111a & b.)
patches of cultivated land attached to them. Not a piece of land without tillage. Such a money-yielding country, unmatched by the imperial dominions, has fallen into this wretch’s hands!” [Ad. 50a. ] And again, “Golkonda is a spacious kingdom, well-cultivated, rich in mines of diamond, crystal, &c.” He plied his father with all sorts of arguments to secure his consent to its annexation: Qutb-ul-mulk was a godless wretch, ungrateful for imperial favours, sunk in vices unworthy of a king, a violator of the purity of his subjects’ homes, an oppressor against whom the people were invoking the Heavens, a heretic who had perverted all his subjects from the pure Sunni faith, and lastly an ally and financial supporter of the king of Persia.* Not to punish such a heretical ruler would be a failure of duty on the part of an orthodox Islamic Emperor! To miss this opportunity of crushing such an enemy would be highly impolitic. “I hope your Majesty will order annexation.” [Adab, 46b, 50b. ]

Aurangzib even begged Shah Jahan not to answer Qutb-ul-mulk’s submissive letter, nor to listen to the intercessions of Dara and others on his behalf——because it would result in a great sacrifice of expected gain! When Mir Jumla’s son would reach the Court, he would tell the Emperor all about the wealth and weakness of the Golkonda king, and suggest the means of squeezing the utmost out of him. In short, as he wrote, the Emperor “should make the most of this splendid opportunity.” [Ad. 46b, 49b. ]


But these grotesquely mixed appeals to orthodoxy and cupidity, humanity and ambition, were wasted on Shah Jahan. The Emperor was loth to ruin a brother king for merely trying to bring his disloyal wazir under discipline. Dara, who had been bribed and implored by the Golkonda envoy at Delhi,—to the intense disgust and anger of Aurangzib,—pleaded hard for Qutb-ul-mulk, and

*We have two letters from the Persian king to Qutab-ul-mulk, of a later date than this year, in Ruqaat-i-Shah Abbas Suni, 19-23 and 89-93, and another in Guldashta.
History of Aurangzib

secured peace for him on the payment of an indemnity. The Emperor’s letter accepting this settlement reached Aurangzib on 24th February.* But meantime his position at Golkonda had greatly improved. The siege had been pressed closer; many Golkonda officers were deserting to the Mughals daily; and Abdullah was begging for permission to send his mother to Aurangzib to ask his pardon, to promise the payment of the arrears of tribute and a large indemnity, and to propose the marriage of his second daughter with Aurangzib’s eldest son. So, Aurangzib suppressed the Emperor’s letter of pardon to Qutb-ul-mulk (dated 8th February), lest it should embolden the latter and make him abate his terms. Shah Jahan, on being informed, approved of this device for extortion!†

After long entreaties and through the mediation of Shaista Khan and Mahammad Sultan, the Queen-Mother of Golkonda was allowed to visit Aurangzib’s tent and personally entreat him to spare her son. Aurangzib agreed to restore his kingdom on the payment of one krore of Rupees‡ as indemnity and arrears of tribute, and the marriage of his daughter with the Mughal prince. But evidently Qutb-ul-mulk objected to the amount as too large, and there was delay in making the final settlement. In this interval no formal truce was concluded, and a shot from the fort-guns killed Mir Asadullah Bukhari, the son of the Paymaster of Aurangzib’s forces. Mir Jumla, whose arrival had been eagerly looked forward to and impatiently hurried by Aurangzib, now reached Haidarabad and waited on the prince on 20th March, a day chosen by the astrologers as lucky for a first visit.**

In the meantime, Abdullah’s agent at the Court of Delhi had bought the intercession of Dara Shukoh and of the Princess

*Adab, 59a, 69b; Waris, 111b.
†Waris, 111b. Aurangzib wrote to Mir Jumla (early in March) “Qutb-ul-mulk is now craving pardon, sending his son-in-law Mir Ahmad to me, and proposing that his mother would wait on me and that his daughter would be married to my son. But I wish to send him to the wilderness of destruction.” Adab, 81a.
‡The amount demanded was 1½ krores (Adab, 138b), but subsequently 25 lakhs were abated.
**Waris, 111b and 112a; Tavernier, i. 167; Adab, 81b.
Imperial Jahanara. [Guldashta.] Through them he unfolded to the Emperor the true story of Aurangzib's manoeuvring,—how Abdullah had been tricked and almost slain by treachery, how he had not been given a fair chance of carrying out the Emperor's orders, how the imperial farmans had been withheld from him, how Shah Jahan's kind intentions towards the suppliant ruler had been thwarted, and how an entirely false version of the whole affair had been given in the despatches of Aurangzib. At this Shah Jahan's righteous indignation boiled over. He wrote a sharp letter of censure to Aurangzib, with orders to raise the siege and quit Golkonda territory at once. To add to the prince's disgrace, the contents of this letter were not kept secret, but became the talk of the whole camp.*


So, on 30th March, in obedience to the Emperor's peremptory orders, Aurangzib raised the siege and withdrew from the environs of Golkonda. Four days afterwards Muhammad Sultan was married by proxy to the Golkonda princess, and on 10th April she was brought away from the fort to her husband's camp. In the presence of Aurangzib's agents Abdullah Qutb Shah swore on the Quran to obey the Emperor in future, and gave them a written undertaking to the same effect under his own hand and seal. On 13th April, Aurangzib sent to Abdullah the Emperor's letter of pardon, dress of honour, and a formal agreement written by Shah Jahan himself and stamped with the impression of his palm dipped in vermilion, promising to protect Qutb Shah. At the entreaty of the Queen-Mother of Golkonda and the ladies of Aurangzib's harem, ten lakhs of Rupees were remitted from the instalment of 25 lakhs of indemnity promised for that year.† Two months later Shah Jahn made a further reduction of 20 lakhs, being the accumulated difference in the exchange-value of two lakhs of hun since 1636. But the king of Golkonda, besides paying the tribute, had to cede the district of Ramgir (modern

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*Adab, 59a, 69b, 85a. Storia, i. 235.
†Adab, 58a, 57b, 69b; Waris, 112.
History of Aurangzib

Manikdrug and Chinoor.)* The Mughal army set out on its retreat on 21st April. Marching due north from Haidarabad to Indur (now the chief town of a district of the same name in the Nizam's Dominions), Aurangzib turned westwards to Qandahar (a fort in the Nander district), and thence reached Aurangabad on 17th May. A detachment of 3,000 was left on the frontier, to pass the rainy season there and enforce the payment of the promised tribute. The officers who had joined the expedition from other provinces now returned to their own posts.†

Mir Jumla had come to Aurangzib's camp at Golkonda on 20th March more as a prince than as a noble. Six thousand cavalry, 15,000 infantry, 150 elephants, and a very good train of artillery accompanied him. The presents he made to Aurangzib and his sons were worth several lakhs. Summoned immediately to the imperial Court, he arrived at Delhi on 7th July and presented the Emperor with articles worth 15 lakhs, including a big diamond weighing 216 ratis. He was at once created a Commander of Six Thousand and appointed prime-minister in the place of Sadullah Khan lately deceased.‡


Aurangzib had returned from the siege of Golkonda with his

*Waris, 113a. Guldashta, 1b-5a. He also gave a written promise making Muhammad Sultan his heir. Aurangzib kept it secret; but Shah Jahan afterwards learnt of it. (Adab, 191b), Tavernier, i. 169. This bond (ahadnamah) is given in Guldashta.

†Waris, 112b & 113a. The route followed by Aurangzib in his retreat was:—21 April, left environs of Golkonda—22 & 23 Apr., halted at Mir Jumla's Pettah—24 Apr., reached Pettah of Qutb-ul-mulk's grandmother (probably Begampett 17° 38 N. 78° 17 E.) and halted 25-27 Apr.,—30 April, reached the village of Indalwai on the imperial frontier (evidently Jadalwai, 15 m. s.s. of July Indur, Indalwai on the imperial frontier (evidently Jadalwai, 15 m. s.e. s. of Indur), where a force of 3,000 troopers was left under Shah Beg,—2 May reached, Indur, 18° 40 N. 78° 10 E.—5 May, reached Qandahar, 17° 55 N. 77° 15 E.—6-8 May, Aurangzib made a digression to Udgir, while the army pursued its course under M. Sultan,—9 May, Aurangzib rejoined the army on the bank of the Dudhna river,—17 May, reached Aurangabad.

‡Waris, 112, 114a, 118a; Adab, 116a.
greed of territory unsated and his heart sore against his father. The expedition renewed his wrangles with the Emperor. An exaggerated account of the looting of Haidarabad had reached Delhi. It was also represented to Shah Jahan, probably by the Golkonda envoy, that Aurangzib and his sons had taken costly presents from Qutb Shah, without mentioning the fact in his despatches or settling their price off from the tribute due. Against this charge Aurangzib indignantly protested that the presents he had received were few and too poor to deserve mention to the Emperor.* Further, he complained that Shah Jahan had not kept his promise as to sharing the Golkonda indemnity with him, so that the viceroy of the Deccan was poorer than before as the result of the war. As a financial speculation, the raid on Haidarabad had proved a failure to Aurangzib. For the last six months his soldiers’ pay had been in arrears and he had besides borrowed large sums to equip his force for the war. “At the outset of this expedition, His Majesty had written to me that out of Qutb-ul-mulk’s indemnity the jewels and elephants should belong to the Government, and the cash to me. . . . But now the entire Golkonda indemnity has been taken by the Emperor and placed in Daulatabad treasury. How can I repay my debt for the war and the arrears of my army, about 20 lakhs of Rupees?”† The presents received from Golkconda had, he said, been exaggerated into “chest-loads of jewels” by malicious reporters at the imperial Court. The elephants offered by Abdullah were unsound and of low price, and the diamonds dark and full of flaws. So Aurangzib had, as he explained, at first refused to accept them, and at last taken them at the entreaty of the Qutb Shahi agent and on the distinct understanding that the imperial tribute should not suffer a deduction to the amount of their price. There was no element of concealment in the transaction; the presents had been received openly and shown to Mir Jumla and other nobles. Aurangzib had even intended that after returning to his head-quarters he would send to the Emperor all the presents received by him,

*Adab, 84b, 85a, 107, 192b.
†Adab, 84b, 190.
History of Aurangzib

with other gems purchased with the indemnity, and more than 100 elephants in one grand collection. But before he could carry out this purpose, which would have necessarily taken time,—nay more, even before his return from Golkonda, the Emperor had ordered him to send all the presents and indemnity of Qutb Shah to Court at once. Such indecent haste implied that he feared lest Aurangzib should retain anything or that any portion of it would disappear! “Why,” the prince asked indignantly, “should I grudge to give up a few jewels to His Majesty, when my life itself is at his service?” In disgust he sent all that he and his son had received to the Emperor with a request either to keep them or return them to Qutb Shah. Aurangzib would have nothing to do with them.*

§ 14. Quarrel with Golkonda about the Karnatak remains open.

Peace had been made with Golkonda, but one subject of discord remained open. Qutb Shah wanted to keep the Karnatak, and with justice: it had been won by his servant and formed part of his kingdom. But Aurangzib objected, saying that it was Mir Jumla’s personal jagir and referred the matter to the Emperor. He coveted that rich and large province, and had secured the cession of Ramgir (between the Painganga and the Godavari) to bring the Mughal province of Telengana closer to the Northern Karnatak, and to secure a route for the passing of his armies from the one to the other without having to traverse a wide area of Golkonda territory. [Ad. 58, 159b.]

Qutb Shah intrigued hard to retain the rich province; his agent at Delhi appealed to Dara; he promised a fresh offering of 15 lakhs as the price of the Karnatak being left to him. But Aurangzib counter-intrigued through Mir Jumla; he appealed to the Emperor’s cupidity by pointing out the immense richness of the Karnatak, its diamond mines, its fertile valleys, its hoards of buried treasure

*Adab, 84b-85b, 192b, Aurangzib’s letters to Shah Jahan stop suddenly during the seige of Golkonda. The last was written shortly after 9th Feb. 1656. In future he corresponds with his father through the wazir. Was this the result of strained feelings? I think this explanation improbable. He, however confesses (in a letter to Mir Jumla, written in July, 1656) that he has plenty of reasons to be mortified and angry. (Adab, 193b).
of old Hindu dynasties. It was, as he wrote, “equal to the kingdom of Golkonda itself in wealth and extent.” Mir Jumla too, spoke from personal knowledge more fully about the vast resources and wealth of the province.* At last he prevailed; the Emperor decided to hold the Karnatak in his own hands as Mir Jumla’s jagir, and Qutb Shah was ordered to recall his officers from that province.† Mughal armies under Shah Beg Khan, Qazi Muhammad Hashim, and Krishna Rao, entered the Karnatak, but the Golkonda officers (especially Abdul Jabbar) were loth to yield the rich prey. They lingered there and threw every difficulty in the path of the Mughals in occupying and settling the country. They even incited Sri Ranga Rayal and other zamindars to recover their lost possessions. During the next two years we frequently read of Aurangzib rebuking Qutb Shah for this disloyalty and double-dealing.‡

Qutb Shah took advantage of the confusion caused by the Bijapur war and Shah Jahan’s illness, to keep hold of some forts and districts of the Karnatak in opposition to the Mir Jumla’s agents. Aurangzib had to threaten him severely, “The Karnatak belongs to Mir Jumla, and is a part of the empire. Banish from your mind all thought of keeping it. You do not listen to me yet!...Why are you trying in vain to keep it? Recall your officers and troops from the province, or...I shall send Mir Jumla with a vast army to chastise you and annex your kingdom.” During the War of Succession Qutb-ul-mulk made further progress and wrested Gandikota and Sidhout from Mir Jumla’s men. It was only after he had firmly seated himself on the throne of Delhi that Aurangzib could enforce the complete surrender of the Karnatak. [Ad. 67a, 89a.]

*Adab, 59a, 61a, 46b, 59a.
†Adab, 59b, 60a, 87a. As Aurangzib wrote with unconscious cynicism to Abdullah, “I had urged you to present all your costly jewels and precious things to the Emperor in order to gain his entire favour. But you did not follow my advice. Mir Jumla on the other hand, on reaching the Court gave him valuable gems and so carried his point. You cannot now recall the lost opportunity!” (Adab, 61a).
‡Adab, 90a, 196a, 61b, 62b, 63b, 69a, 87b, 161a.
§ 15. Old Rajah of the Karnatak seeks Mughals protection.

Sri Ranga Rayal, the last nominal king (really viceroy) of Vijaynagar, saw his dominions slipping out of his grasp as the Bijapuris advanced conquering the Karnatak from the south and the Golkonda generals from the north. He lost Jinji to the former and Chandragiri to the latter, and was practically driven out of both the Arcot districts. As early as 1653 he had sent an agent named Rama Rao to Aurangzib, to seek the imperial protection against the Deccani Sultans. But the viceroy of the Deccan did not interfere, possibly because the Karnatak was too far off, and matters were not yet ripe for putting pressure on Golkonda. In the course of the next two years the Rajah was driven to extremities. In a short time he would be utterly dispossessed of his lands. He sent another confidential agent, a Brahman named Srinivas, to Aurangzib, desperately crying for the protection of his dominions on any terms; he would deliver 2½ krores of Rupees, two hundred elephants, and all his hoarded jewels, to the Emperor, he would promise an annual tribute, he would agree to his kingdom being annexed to the empire and then given back to him as a mere jagir. Nay more, "if Shah Jahan's grace should be reluctant to fall on him on account of his being a misbeliever," the Rajah promised to turn Muslim with all his relatives and dependents! Only he must be saved from the two Deccani Sultans; his territory should no longer be seized by them.*

The action taken on this petition throws a lurid light on the character of Mughal rule in India. Aurangzib proposed to send

*Shah Jahan was a bigot. His early hatred of Christians had been noticed by Sir Thomas Roe (Kerr, ix. 262). After his accession he grew averse to giving high posts to Rajputs. (Adab, 29a). The demolition of Hindu temples and desecration of idols mark his reign only to a less extent than his son's. He refused to release Rajah Indradyumna of Dhamdhera (Malwa) from prison for a ransom of Rs. 50,000, and insisted on his turning Muslim as the price of his liberation, though Aurangzib himself pleaded for the abatement of this last condition lest it should hinder his taking possession of his estate and collecting the promised tribute. (Adab, 99b, 37a; M. U. ii. 265 et seq.). In Kashmir Shah Jahan forcibly suppressed the old custom of marriage between Hindus and Muhammadans. (Pad., I. B. 57; Adab, 33b, 34b.)
an officer of his to the Carnatic to enquire into the Rajah’s capacity to keep his profuse promises. Shah Jahan disallowed the deputation, but ordered Aurangzib, “after frightening the two Sultans of the Deccan, to get from them a good sum” as the price of refusing protection to Sri Ranga. That is, the lion agreed to look on with indifference, if only the two wolves gave him a big slice of their prey. Hearing of these negotiations with the Mughal viceroy, the Bijapuri generals pressed their attack, captured the fort of Vellore, “the best in the Carnatic,” and tried to seize the Rajah’s elephants. The helpless Sri Ranga importuned the Mughals for help before all was over with him. But Aurangzib played with the miserable suppliant as an angler does with a fish. Outwardly he appointed one of his officers, Muhammad Mumin, to go to the Carnatic, but wrote to Shah Jahan, “My real object in doing so is to secure a handsome present from Bijapur at this opportunity.” Both the Deccani Sultans, he exultingly adds, “are alarmed at the appointment of Muhammad Mumin. We shall use this posting as a screw to get out of them what they looted from the Carnatic and kept concealed. Please do not write to the Bijapur king before this business (of exacting a present) is brought to completion.” He had already instructed his envoy at Bijapur to give the Sultan to understand that if he offered a satisfactory present to the Emperor, Muhammad Mumin would be recalled, and imperial help refused to the Rajah of the Carnatic. [A. I. 44, 34b, 54b-55b.]

Sri Ranga Rayal was thus left to his fate. Crushed between Bijapur and Golkonda, he lost his all and clung only to some petty estates which were too poor to tempt Muslim cupidity or too difficult of access to his aggressors. We hear of him again in 1657 and 1658 as trying to recover some of his former lands,* when Aurangzib’s attention was diverted from the Carnatic by the invasion of Bijapur and the War of Succession. Forced to yield Srirangapatam, the last seat of his Government, to the Rajah of Mysore, he took refuge with his vassal the Ikkeri chief of Bednur. His last appearance on the stage of history was about 1661, when

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*Adab, 63a, 90a (not definite).
History of Aurangzib

he lent the prestige of his name to this vassal in a fruitless invasion of Mysore.*

Aurangzib's treatment of the Rajah of the Karnatak and his cynical avowal of his utterly sordid motives throughout the transaction, has a deep political significance. To the historian whose eyes are not dazzled by the Peacock Throne, the Taj Mahal, and other examples of outward glitter, this episode (with many others of the same kind) proves that the Mughal empire was only a thinly veiled system of brigandage. It explains why the Indian princes, no less than the Indian people, so readily accepted England's suzerainty.

*Sewell, 54; Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, ii. 443, 209.
Appendix I

Did Aurangzib capture Haidarabad by treachery?

Aqil Khan Razi (12 & 13) tells the following story of Aurangzib having falsely thrown Qutb-ul-mulk off his guard just before the raid on his capital, "Aurangzib wrote to Qutb-ul-mulk, 'As my son Sultan Muhammad is going to Bengal [to marry Shuja's daughter], he wishes to march there by way of Orissa. I hope you will give him assistance and let him pass through your territory.' That simpleton at once consented, and made preparations for showing hospitality to the prince...When the prince, with military equipment and war material, arrived near Haidarabad the king's eyes were opened, and he fled for refuge to the fort of Golkonda." Bernier (p. 20) and Manucci (Storia, i. 234) but not Tavernier, tell a similar tale. But the authentic records quoted in this chapter disprove the story Qutb-ul-mulk could have been under no misapprehension as to Muhammad Sultan's hostile intentions after receiving Aurangzib's letter of 18th December, (Adab, 57a); and the fact of his releasing Muhammad Amin some days before Sultan reached Haidarabad shows that he knew why the prince was coming.

Aurangzib, as his instructions to his son clearly prove, wished the young prince to murder the Golkonda king during an interview, in the manner described in his letter quoted in this chapter, §8. Therein lay his treachery.
§ 1. Growth of Bijapur kingdom after 1636.

The treaty of 1636 had turned the king of Bijapur into a friendly ally of the Emperor of Delhi, but left his sovereignty unimpaired. He had not become a vassal prince, nor bound himself to pay an annual tribute. On the other hand, he had been formally confirmed in the possession of a large portion of the territory of the extinct royal house of Ahmadnagar, the whole of which the Mughals had once claimed. [Ch. 3, post.] Secure from his mighty neighbour on the north, the Bijapur Sultan began to extend his dominions westwards into Konkan, southwards into Mysore, and eastwards into the Karnatak. The principality of Ikkeri (or Bednur, in the Shimoga district of N. W. Mysore), had been raided in 1635 at the invitation of a local faction, and a heavy fine of 30 lakhs of hun imposed on its Rajah, Virabhadra Nayak. Two years later the invasion was renewed and the Nayak deposed.* Shortly afterwards, a vast Bijapuri army, numbering 40,000 and led by the famous general Randaulah Khan, took Sira, Bangalore, and the country north of the Kaveri (1639), and then, advancing eastwards into the Karnatak, went on capturing forts and cities for many years. In 1647, the entire Bijapur army under Mustafa Khan, the foremost noble of the State, repeated the invasion, but met with stubborn opposition at first. In a great battle fought east of Bangalore,† the impetuous valour of an Abyssinian general, Malik Railhan, saved from destruction the lives of the Bijapur troops and the honour of their king; the famous Hindu general Vailuar was routed and his master's cause ruined.

*Basatin-i-salatin, 302-305. S. K. Aiyangar's Ancient India, 293-294. Sewell, 37, has Bhadrappa. See my Shivaji, Ch. 10 §3.
†In the Persian manuscripts of the Basatin-i-salatin, the place of this encounter is indistinctly written like "Antur, between Bangalore and Masti." There is a Wantur, 15 m. e. and a Maloor, 26 m. east of Bangalore. Ambur is far off, but likely.
Finally starvation opened the impregnable fortress of Jinji to Bijapur arms (17th December 1649), and the whole Southern Karnatak lay open to the Muslims. The prize thus secured was most splendid; besides the vast rich and fertile territory annexed, the treasure captured was valued at four krores of hum. Westwards, a Bijapur force invaded the Portuguese territory of Goa and Salsette (August 1654) with some success.* In short, in the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah (1626—56) the kingdom of Bijapur attained to its highest extent, power, and magnificence. His dominion stretched from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, across the entire Indian Peninsula.

§ 2. Relations between the Delhi and Bijapur Courts.

Ever since 1636, Muhammad Adil Shah had lived at peace with the Emperor of Delhi, and we read of friendly exchanges of presents, between the two Courts.† This Sultan’s good name for piety, love of justice, and care for his subjects,—which was heightened by a certain simplicity of understanding and ignorance of the world,—greatly pleased Shah Jahan. The Emperor recognised the merits of the king and the increased power of the kingdom by addressing him as Shah or king (1648),‡—while the former sovereigns of Delhi, in their pride of suzerainty, had styled the rulers of Bijapur as mere Khans or Lords. Some years afterwards, differences had arisen between the two.** Adil Shah displeased Shah Jahan by departing from the practice of his ancestors inasmuch as he held Court in a lofty palace outside his citadel and witnessed elephant-combats in an open plain beyond the fort instead of within it, and lastly by conferring the title of Khan-i-khanan on his premier noble. These acts were taken to imply


†Pad. Waris, 90a, 98b, 101a, 113b, 117b, (in these passages the word peshkash is used, but evidently in the sense of ‘present’ and not in that of ‘tribute’).

‡Busatin-i-salatin, 324 and 325. Aurangzib refers to the granting of this title in a letter written to Shah Jahan in September 1654 (Adab, 44a.)

**In October 1652, alo, Shah Jahan was angry with the Bijapur king for some reason unknown to us. (Adab, 22a.)
a presumptuous assumption of the prerogatives of the Emperor and rivalry with the Court of Delhi. Shah Jahan wrote* him a letter of rebuke, sharply telling him to return to the ways of his forefathers, or a Delhi army would visit his dominion. The letter was discussed in full Court. The captains of Bijapur rattled their sabres and cried out, “Let them come on! We too are ready and eager for such a day. We shall be glad to measure our swords with the blades of Hindustan.” A haughty reply was delivered to the Delhi envoy.

With the night came a change. A charming story is told,* how the king was amusing himself with his chiefs and favourites on the lofty terraced roof of his palace, under the moonlit sky. Hours rolled on in delight. At midnight, when all other hearts were sunk in pleasure, the pensive king turned his ears to the city of Bijapur and heard only sounds of revelry coming from it on the night wind. “What does the city say, Afzal Khan Ji?” he asked of his favourite general. “It is only singing the praise of your Majesty’s love of justice and care for your subjects and praying for your long life, so that the people may continue to enjoy the same peace, plenty and happiness.” The pleased king asked again, “What will be the result if we encounter the forces of Delhi?” The reply was, “Only lamentation and grief will be heard in the place of these joyous sounds. Whichever side may win, every house will mourn some deaths and the people will know no peace or happiness.” The king brooded over the answer, preferred ease to honour, and next morning took his haughty reply back and sent in its stead a letter of apology and submission to Delhi. This long and prosperous reign of 30 years ended with his death at the age of 47 (on 4th Nov. 1656),† and the danger he had successfully averted fell on his kingdom.

But before we can proceed to the troubled history of his successor, it is necessary to take up the thread of our narrative where we dropped it at the end of the last chapter.

When returning from the Golconda expedition Aurangzib had sent Mir Jumla off to the imperial Court (7th May), to fill the high post of prime-minister. In the meantime he had completely won

*Basatin, 324-326; another quarrel in Adab, 40b.
†The glories of the reign, Basatin, 304-345.
Mir Jumala over to his interests, and the Mir’s arrival at Delhi (7th July, 1656) secured the triumph of Aurangzib’s policy of aggression in the Emperor’s council.* Mir Jumla’s presents, matchless diamonds, rubies and topazes, dazzled the eyes of the Emperor and brought about the downfall of the peace party under Dara Shukoh. The land from which these jewels came was worth annexing!

The late wazir of Golkonda knew all the secrets of the Deccani Courts, the ins and outs of the land, and the exact prices of all the chief officers of Qutb Shah and Adil Shah. [Ad. 49b.] Therefore, as an authority on Deccan questions he was unapproached by any other courtier of Shah Jahan. His expert knowledge was now utilised in intriguing at the Deccani Courts and seducing their officers. With Mir Jumla dominating the Emperor’s counsels, Aurangzib confidently matured the plan of invading Bijapur on the expected death of its reigning king who was lingering on the bed of illness. The Mir, as one fully conversant with the country, was urged by Aurangzib to return to him as quickly as possible, “in order that this opportunity might not slip away.”†

§ 3. Ali Adil Shah II succeeds.

On 4th November, 1656, Muhammad Adil Shah, the seventh of the royal line of Bijapur, died. Through the efforts of his chief minister, Khan Muhammad, and the Queen, Bari Sahiba, a sister of the Golkonda king, the crown was placed on the head of Ali Adil Shah II, a youth of 18 years, and the only son of the late king. The news reached Aurangzib on 10th November, and he immediately wrote to Shah Jahan urging an invasion on the plea that Ali was not really a son of the deceased Sultan, but a boy of obscure parentage whom Muhammad Adil Shah had brought up in the harem.

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*Waris, 113a (Mir Jumla took leave of Aurangzib at Indur on 3 May, and left that place for Delhi four days afterwards), 114a, Adab, 83a, 205b. Storia, i. 239.

†Adab, 88, 91, 191a (Aurangzib thanks Mir Jumla for having supported him against Dara). (Aurangzib planned the invasion of Bijapur even before the death of its king, Adab, 88a). Aqil Khan, 15, and Manucci (i. 239) assert that Mir Jumla induced Shah Jahan to sanction the invasion of Bijapur.
History of Aurangzib

In anticipation of the Emperor’s orders, he massed his troops on the Bijapur frontier, and proposed to go himself to Ahmadnagar to be nearer to the point of attack.*

The death of Muhammad Adil Shah was followed by disorder in the Karnataka he had conquered. The zamindars recovered much of their former lands, and the Bijapuri officers were driven to the shelter of the forts. Shahji Bhonslé disobeyed his new master, and set up for himself. At the capital things were even worse. Bijapuri nobles had never been kept under proper control by their king, and had been wont to regard themselves as their own masters. They now quarrelled with one another and with the prime-minister Khan Muhammad for the division of power. To aggravate the evil, Aurangzib intrigued with them, and succeeded in corrupting most of them. “I am trying my utmost,” he writes to Mir Jumla, “to win the Bijapur army over, for then the chiefs of that country will join us of their own accord.” Randaullah Khan’s son and several other leading men of the Court promised their adhesion and prepared to desert to the Mughal territory with their troops. After they had reached him Aurangzib hoped to seduce the others with the aid of Mir Jumla. So, he sent Rs. 20,000 to Multafat Khan, the governor of Ahmadnagar, the nearest point on the Mughal frontier towards Bijapur, with instructions to distribute it among the deserters; every Bijapuri captain who brought a hundred men to the muster was to get Rs. 2,000 out of the local treasury, (evidently after the above sum had been spent). The governor was ordered to welcome and conciliate every arrival from Bijapur, even when he was not a captain of known position and importance.† An envoy from Shivaji waited on Aurangzib proposing the terms on which the Maratha chieftain was willing to co-operate with the Mughals by making a diversion in the Bijapuri Konkan. He received in reply a letter of vague promises.‡

*Adab, 88b, 60b, 145a, 132b. (Aurangzib writes to Khwajah Abdul Ghaffar that he invaded Bijapur for the good of the people, as the late king had left no heir!) Basatin-i-salatin, 326, 347. Waris 118a. There was even a talk of Shah Jahan going to the Deccan to direct the operations (Adab 89b.)

†Adab, 91a, 145, 146b.

‡Adab, 144b, 146a. Aurangzib’s letter of promises to Shivaji (23 Apr. 1657) is given in Parasnis MS. No. 5.

On 26th November Shah Jahan sanctioned the invasion and gave Aurangzib a free hand to “settle the affair of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.” At the same time orders were sent to Shaiesta Khan, the Governor of Malwa, to hasten to Aurangabad and hold it during Aurangzib’s absence in the war. A force of 20,000 troops partly from the Court and partly from the jagirs, with a large staff of officers, was despatched to reinforce the army of the Deccan. Lastly Mir Jumla himself, with most of the officers and a portion of the troops ordered, was sent (1st December) to join Aurangzib.*

The Emperor’s instructions to his son were, first to march with Mir Jumla to the Bijapur frontier and conquer the whole of the kingdom if possible; otherwise, to annex that portion of the old Ahmadnagar kingdom which had been ceded to Bijapur by the treaty of 1636, and to spare the territory of Bijapur proper on the payment of an indemnity of 1½ krores of Rupees and the recognition of the Emperor’s suzerainty,—viz., the issuing of coins in his name and the public reading of his titles from the pulpit at Bijapur. If the latter alternative was carried out, Aurangzib was to employ the vast army assembled under his banner in the conquest of Golconda. The prince, however, was keen upon conquering Bijapur first; “I want to put off the conquest of Golconda, which can be seized at any time we like.” [Ad. 90a, 196b.]

The war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijapur was not a vassal State, but an independent and equal ally of the Mughal Emperor, and the latter had no lawful right to confirm or question the succession at Bijapur. The true reason of the Mughal interference was the helplessness of its boy-king and the discord among his officers, which presented a fine “opportunity” for annexation, as Aurangzib expressed it.†

*Waris, 118 (list of officers sent to the Deccan) Adab, 90a, 118a (Mir Jumla takes leave of the Emperor on 26th November, but actually starts from Delhi on 1st December).

†Adab, 88a, 91b. Grant Duff, i. 155. The Bijapur historian thus points out the wickedness of the Mughals, “After the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, Aurangzib invaded Bijapur, in violation of the treaty and solemn agreement
History of Aurangzib

Aurangzib impatiently waited for Mir Jumla's coming and pressed him to hasten his movements. "Let not such an opportunity (viz., the revolt and dissenion among the Bijapur officers) slip away. Come quickly, so that we may both start together." It was of no use waiting for the rest of the reinforcements ordered from Northern India. Several officers were slow to leave their jagirs, in spite of strong letters from the Emperor urging them on; and Aurangzib could not expect to get the whole additional force of 20,000 men before 19th February, 1657.*

§ 5. War begun; siege of Bidar.

Mir Jumla arrived at Aurangabad on 18th January, and that very day at the auspicious hour chosen by the astrologers, the prince set out with him to invade Bijapur. As he was encumbered with heavy artillery and siege materials, his movement was very slow; 240 miles were covered in 43 days. On 28th February, he reached the environs of Bidar, and laid siege to the fort on 2nd March.†

A short distance south of the Mughal frontier fort of Udgir and across the Manjira river lies the city of Bidar. It is large and well peopled, and the remains of fine buildings speak of its ancient grandeur. Tradition connects it with the father of Damayanti, the devoted wife of Rajah Nala, who flourished in the mythical age of the Mahabharat. Coming down to historic times, we find that Bidar‡ was captured by Muhammad Tughlaq in the 14th century, and became successively the capital of the Bahmani Sultans and of the short-lived Barid Shahi dynasty, both of whom adorned it with fine palaces, tombs and mosques, as memorials of their greatness. The glory of the city is the magnificent college, built by Mahmud Gawan, the famous minister of the Bahmanis (1478). On the ex-

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*Adab, 90b-92a, 195b.
†Adab, 92a, 109b, 145b, 118a, 196b. Kambu, 2b, (both MSS. wrongly give 14 days instead of one month and 14 days, as the time taken by the march.) Adab, 109b, 146a, 118b.
‡This account of Bidar is based on Kambu, 2b and 3a; Adab, 146a; Dilkasha, i. 14; Burgess's Bidar and Aurangabad Districts, 42-44, and Imp. Gaz. viii. 170.
tinction of the Barid Shahi kings, Bidar passed into the hands of Bijapur.

The city stands on a high plateau, 2330 feet above sea-level. A wall with a dry ditch and glacis surrounds the city itself, and bastions rising at various points of the wall add to its defensive power. The fort or citadel, finished in 1432 and occupying the eastern face of the city, is of immense strength. Its wall is 4500 yards in circuit and 12 yards in height. Three separate ditches each 25 yards wide and 15 yards deep, cut in the solid rock, surround the citadel, which contains many palaces, mosques, Turkish baths, a mint, arsenal, magazine, and other public edifices built of trap but now in ruin. The only entrance is a zigzag passage from the south-west, protected by three gateways. On the bastions stood several guns, one of them being 23 feet long with a 19 inch bore. In the age before modern artillery, Bidar was rightly held to be impregnable to assault.

Aurangzib's opponent at the siege* was Siddi Marjan, an Abyssinian who had held the fort for Bijapur for thirty years, and had collected abundance of materials of defence and a garrison of 1000 horse, and 4000 foot, including musketeers, gunners, and rocket-men. In spite of a fierce fire from the fort walls, the Mughal sappers worked hard in the inspiring presence of their chief, and in two days carried the trenches to the edge of the moat. Then they began to fill up the ditch. Siddi Marjan offered a stout defence: he made several sorties, and falling on the trenches tried to arrest the progress of the siege. But the superior numbers of the Mughals told in the end, and Mir Jumla's fine train of artillery did great damage to the fort walls; two towers were demolished and the battlements of the lower-most wall as well as the outer breast-works were levelled to the ground.

The ditch having been filled up, the assault was delivered on 29th March. Muhammad Murad, at the head of a select party, sallied out of his trenches, rushed to the foot of the tower opposite Mir Jumal's post, and planting ladders scaled the wall. An accident

*For the history of the siege, Kambu, 2b-3a; Dilkasha, i. 15; Adab, 109b-110a, 119b, 122a, 127a, 146a. Basatin, 348 (brief.)
favoured the assailants. Siddi Marjan, with his sons and troops, was standing close to the tower ready to repel the attack. But a spark from a rocket thrown by the Mughals fell into a chamber of gunpowder and grenades behind the tower. There was a terrific explosion. Marjan was mortally wounded with two of his sons and many of his followers. The garrison, appalled by the disaster, carried their dying chief to the citadel, while the exulting Mughals swarmed out of all their trenches and rushed into the city, driving the remnant of the defenders back with fearful slaughter. Behind them came Aurangzib himself, with his banners waving and his drums beating a victorious note, and took possession of the city. The Mughals closely followed the retreating garrison and took possession of the gate of the citadel. But the fall of their leader had taken the heart out of the defenders. In response to the Mughal call to surrender and promise of quarter, Siddi Marjan from his death-bed sent his seven sons to Aurangzib with the keys of the fort.

Thus, the stronghold of Bidar, hitherto reputed impregnable throughout India, fell into the hands of Aurangzib after a siege of 27 days only. Among the spoils of victory were 12 lakhs of Rupees in cash, 8 lakhs worth of powder, shot, grain and other stores, besides 230 pieces of cannon. Well might Aurangzib exult over such a victory. Well might he boast to Shivaji, "The fort of Bidar, which was accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and Karnatak, has been captured by me in one day, both fort and town, which was scarcely to have been expected without one year's fighting."*

On Wednesday, 1st April, Siddi Marjan succumbed to his burns. Aurangzib again visited the city and fort, and had the Emperor's titles publicly read out from the pulpit of the grand mosque built by the Bahmani Sultans two centuries earlier.

§ 6. Mahabat Khan sent to ravage Bijapur territory.

Meanwhile the Bijapuris had made some feeble attempts to re-

*Quoted in Grant Duff, i. 157n. This passage is referred to in a letter of Shivaji to the Mughal officers in 1665 (Khutut-i-Shivaji, 2). There is a similar boast in Aurangzib's letters to Nasiri Khan and Abdul Ghaffar, (Adab, 132b, 130b.)
lieve Bidar. A force under Khan Muhammad, their prime-minister, had been advancing towards it during the siege; but it had evidently retreated without striking a blow. [Ad. 146a.] After the fall of the fort, Aurangzib learnt that a large Bijapur army was being mobilised near Kulbarga. Their light troopers arrived within six miles of the Mughal camp and carried off some of the transport oxen that were grazing there. So, Aurangzib sent a force of 15,000 well mounted and experienced troopers under Mahabat Khan, to punish the assembled enemy and ravage the Bijapur territory up to Kaliani in the west and Kulbarga in the south, "leaving no vestige of cultivation in that tract." In his march southwards from Kaliani, the Mughal general encountered the enemy on 12th April. The Bijapuris, numbering some 20,000, under their famous chiefs Khan Muhammad, Afzal Khan, and the sons of Randaulah and Raihan, began the attack. Mahabat Khan, leaving his baggage and camp behind, advanced with the Van. The fiercest onslaught was delivered on the Mughal Right under Dilir Khan. The Bijapuris kept up a hot fire of rockets and muskets from all sides, but, as was their wont, did not engage at close quarters. A counter-charge on the enemy's Centre produced no lasting effect on the elusive Deccanis. Mahabat Khan like a good general kept his men well in hand, amidst the ring of his enemies and their distracting mode of attack. Finding his right wing hard pressed, he charged the enemy with his own followers; the Bijapuris fled without standing the shock and the Mughal general chased them for four miles; but evidently he found his position insecure, as on the 14th he fell back on Bhalki, without waiting for the reinforcement sent under Najabat Khan. *

*Kambu 3, (for the battle of 12th April).

Adab, 125, (Aurangzib's instructions of 13th April to Mahabat Khan), 120a (Najabat Khan sent on 5th April to reinforce Mahabat). Najabat Khan's force is given as 10,000 on 125a and as 2,000 on 120a; the latter is more likely. Aurangzib's instruction was that the two generals should unite south of Kaliani and advance to attack Chidgupa. But on Mahabat Khan's retreating northwards to Bhalki, he ordered them to meet near fort Nilanga and try to capture it by corrupting the qiladar through his brother Mamaji (or Nanaji) Deshmukh, who had made overtures to the Mughals. The attempt failed. (Adab, 125b, 126b-127a).
History of Aurangzib

Forty miles west of Bidar, on the old road from the holy shrine of Tuljapur to Golkonda, stands the city of Kaliani,* the ancient capital of the Chalukya kings and of the Kanarese country. With the fall of the Kalachuris in the twelfth century, it ceased to be a capital, and afterwards passed into the hands of the Deccani Muslim powers as a mere dependency of Bidar. But the large mounds surrounding the town indicate its greater extent in days of yore.

§ 7. Siege of Kaliani.

Mahabat Khan having cleared the road of hovering bands of the enemy, Aurangzib on 27th April set out with light kit and arrived before Kaliani in a week’s time. The place was immediately invested,† and through Mir Jumla’s exertions and supervision the siege trenches were pushed on to the edge of the ditch by 11th May. Day and night the garrison kept up a ceaseless fire from the walls; they made fierce onslaughts on Mir Jumla’s trenches, but to no purpose. The bands of the enemy roving outside gave greater trouble and retarded the siege. They established themselves four miles from the besiegers’ camp and molested them at night by the discharge of rockets, the favourite fire-arm of the Deccanis and especially of the Marathas. Expert in partisan warfare, they effectually closed the path for the coming of provisions and couriers. The Mughal army could not be fed unless its food supply was sent under strong escort. Once Mahabat Khan himself on escort duty was hemmed round by the enemy at a place 10 miles north-east of Kaliani. The small Mughal detachment of 2,000 was outnumbered as ten to one, but stood its ground heroically. The battle raged long and fiercely. “The field was obscured by the smoke of artillery and muskets, and the dust raised by horses’ hoofs. Fathers could not look after their sons,” as the Mughal annalists writes. The brunt of the battle fell on the Rajputs. The horsemen of Khan Muhammad burst in vain upon the granite wall of Rao Chhatra Sal and his Hada clansmen. Rajah Rai Singh

*Burgess, 23, 37, 38.
†For the isege of Kaliani, Kambu, 3b-5a. Adab (very meager, no detail) 113a, 139a, 149b, 156b.
Sisodia, assaulted by the sons of Bahlol Khan of Bijapur, was wounded and unhorsed in the press of the enemy. Sivaram, the captain of the Maharana’s contingent, was slain with many followers of Rai Singh. Brahmadeo and others, as is the wont of Rajputs in desperate straits, dismounted, drew their swords, and flung themselves in reckless fury on the enemy, vowed to slay and be slain. Just then relief arrived: a charge by Mahabat Khan broke the enemy’s ranks and they fled. Sujan Singh Sisodia and others of his party, though severely wounded, had not quitted the field. Ikhlas Khan, the leader of the Mughal Van, had been wounded during the onset, but in spite of it he had held his ground and even driven back Afzal Khan’s division which was opposed to him. The obstinate struggle raged till an hour after nightfall, when the enemy withdrew, and the hard-pressed Mughals at last got the respite they sorely needed. [Kambu, 4a.]

Aurangzib concentrated his efforts on pressing the siege hard and capturing Kaliani as quickly as he had done Bidar. He, therefore, at first paid no attention to the Bijapuri army assembled only four miles from his camp. This emboldened them to acts of greater audacity. A force of 30,000 enemies posted only an hour’s journey from his camp could no longer be neglected. So, he cunningly announced that his army would proceed to Bhalki in the north-east to bring in provisions; but on 28th May, leaving a screen of tents round the fort, he marched with the main body of his troops upon the enemy’s position.

The sons of Bahlol Khan attacked the Mughal Van under Mir Jumla and Dilir Khan and fought with valour and obstinacy for some time. Dilir Khan received some sword-cuts, but his armour saved him from harm. The battle soon became general. All divisions of the two armies were engaged with their respective opponents. The fight raged for six hours. The Deccanis kept up a running fight, in their customary manner: four times in succession were they broken and as often did they form again and face the advancing Mughals, regardless of their thinned ranks. But at last the repeated charges of the heavily armed northern horsemen prevailed in the close fight; the Mughal army crowded upon the enemy from left and right, and scattered them finally: their
History of Aurangzib

whole army fled in confusion; the imperialists pursued them pell-mell to their camp, slaying and capturing all that they could. Everything found in the Bijapuri camp,— arms, slave-girls, horses, transport-cattle, and all kinds of property,—was plundered; and the tents were burnt down. In the evening Aurangzib returned to his trenches before Kaliani, his brows adorned with victory.*

The siege was pressed with vigour, but the defence by the Abyssinian Dilawwar was equally heroic. The sap had reached the moat on 11th May, and by the 23rd of the month three-fourths of the ditch had been filled up, under the guidance of Mir Jumla, with thorny plants. The garrison, by hurling down lighted gun-powder and burning naphtha and grass, reduced these plants to ashes: the work of bridging the ditch had to be begun anew; the assault was delayed. Stones and earth were now thrown into the ditch, but progress in this task was necessarily slow. During this period of enforced idleness detachments from the besieging army were usefully employed in capturing the forts of Nilanga and Chincholy. [Kambu, 5a.]

Since their defeat in the great battle of 28th May, the Bijapuris had not interfered with the siege for nearly two months. At the end of this interval, having repaired their losses they began to assemble in order to oppose the Mughals. So, on 22nd July, Aurangzib sent a large division under his eldest son and Mir Jumla to break up their forces before they could gain formidable strength. This Mughal corps advanced forty-eight miles, and then, sighting the enemy's camp at a distance, charged and broke their formation, and pursued them for four miles. The victors proceeded, laying the Bijapuri villages waste with fire and sword, and leaving no vestige of habitation or tillage in their path. They reached the capital, where they reverently spared the tomb of Sayyid Gisu Daraz, the most famous saint of Southern India.†

*For the battle of 28th May, Kambu, 4b; Adab, 112a, 147b, 154b. In his letters Aurangzib speaks of the Bijapuris generally as Zangis or Negroes. The context shows that the term is merely used by way of abuse, and does not mean any Negro corps in the service of Bijapur.

†Kambu, 5a. Aqil Khan states that after taking Kaliani, Aurangzib himself besieged Kulbarga (pp. 16, 38). Grant Duff. (i. 157) makes him besiege Bijapur!
At last the end of the siege came in sight; the ditch was filled up with stone and mud, the parapets were demolished by artillery fire, and on 29th July the imperialists scaled a tower on the other side of the moat. But the garrison had built a wall across this tower, and under shelter of it fought the Mughals hard with rockets, bows, and matchlocks. The struggle here was most obstinate. While the Mughals were checked by the unexpected obstacle of the wall and had to demolish it, the Bijapuris flung on their heads lighted bombs, blazing sheets steeped in naphtha, and bundles of burning grass. But regardless of all these, the assailants swarmed into the fort and held this portion of the defences. Two days afterwards, the commandant Dilawwar offered to capitulate on condition of a free passage out for the garrison and their families. Aurangzib readily consented to grant them quarter, as the place sheltered many Muhammadans, especially Sayyids. On 1st August the keys of the fort were delivered to him by Dilawwar, who was given a robe of honour with permission to go to Bijapur. [Kambu, 5a.]

Bidar and Kaliani, the guardian fortresses of Adil Shah’s north-eastern frontier, had fallen, and the way now seemed open for an advance on Bijapur itself. But a cruel disappointment was in store for Aurangzib; his victorious career was to be suddenly checked. The Bijapur agents had intrigued hard at Court; Dara’s jealousy was rising in proportion to the success of his younger brother, and he at last persuaded the Emperor to put an end to the war.*

§ 8. Shah Jahan orders peace with Bijapur; its terms.

Even in the midst of the siege of Kaliani Shah Jahan had repeatedly written to the prince to patch up a peace with Bijapur as soon as possible, because the rainy season was approaching when the Mughal army must retire to cantonments at Bidar, and Shaista

But neither the official history of Kambu nor Aurangzib’s letters support the assertion. Aurangzib did not advance further south than Kaliani and his son, who had penetrated to Kulbarga, did not besiege that fort.

* Adab, 177a (Aurangzib complains of Dara corresponding with Bijapur behind his back, but two years before this time). Aqil Khan, 16. Kambu, 10a (probably two months later). Alamgirnamah, 29, 83.
Khan, who had been guarding Aurangabad during the prince's absence, must return to his own charge of Malwa without further delay. Aurangzib knew that to raise the siege of Kaliani and retire to Bidar, would only embolden the Bijapuris and take away from them their only motive for offering terms of peace.* So, he had sat down before Kaliani a month longer, and brought the siege to a successful issue. Negotiations for peace were now opened. The Bijapur envoy, Ibrahim Bichittar Khan, agreed to pay an indemnity of 1½ kroes of Rupees and to cede not only Bidar and Kaliani, but also the fort of Parenda with its dependent territory, all the forts in the Nizam Shahi Konkan, and the district of Wangi. The king of Bijapur accepted these terms and sent letters to his officers to deliver the forts in question to the Mughals. Shah Jahan ratified the treaty, remitting half a kroe from the indemnity, and sending a gracious letter to Adil Shah. He at the same time ordered Aurangzib to return with his army to Bidar; the officers and men sent to the Deccan from Malwa and Hindustan were recalled to their former posts. Mir Jumla was directed to take possession of the newly ceded forts in the west and then return to the imperial Court.†

Thus Aurangzib received a sharp check in the hour of his triumph. He had gained only the northern fringe of the vast Bijapur kingdom when his father cried halt to him. Small as his acquisitions by the treaty were, he had no power to hold the Bijapur king to his promises. At the imperial order dictating peace, the Mughal officers slackened their efforts and many of them set out for the Court in spite of Aurangzib's entreaty to stay a little longer.‡ The Bijapuris profited by his distraction and weakened power, and delayed fulfilling the terms of a peace that had no armed strength behind it. Their commandants refused to surrender the forts ceded by the treaty.

* Adab, 112b (dated early in July).
† Kambu 5b, (rewards for the capture of Kaliani, and settlement of peace). Adab, 113a 157a. Aurangzib was commanded to return to Bidar (according to Adab, 12b, 198b), or to Aurangabad (Kambu, 5b, unlikely). Nurullah's Tariikh-i-Ali Shah II entirely silent about this war
‡ Adab, 197a. 149b, 157b; Alamgirnamah, 29. Aqil Khan, 16. Kambu, 6a.

To complete the misfortunes of the Mughal cause in the Deccan, Shah Jahan fell ill on 6th September and for one week lay at death’s door. Rumours of his death spread through the empire, and gave rise to confusion and disorder in every province. Aurangzib, harassed by anxiety and distracted by conflicting plans, at last decided to be content with what could be easily secured from Bijapur. On 30th September he sent Mir Jumla towards Parenda to take delivery of it, and on 4th October he himself began his retreat from Kaliani to the imperial dominion.*

§ 10. Shivaji’s early negotiations and raids into Mughal territory.

Only one episode of the war still remains to be recorded. While Aurangzib was busy conquering the north-eastern angle of the Bijapur kingdom, stirring events were occurring in its north-western corner, where the boundary of the Mughal district of Ahmadnagar adjoined Northern Konkan. Here a young and obscure local chief of very small means and no high family influence, was just beginning to peep above the horizon of history and to start on that career of greatness whose nocturnal splendour was destined to dazzle the Indian world and to leave his name a byword for posterity. Shivaji, the son of Shahji Bhonslé, a Maratha captain in Bijapur service, had taken forcible possession of his father’s western jagirs and seized hill-fort after hill-fort in the Ghats from the agents of Bijapur. When the Mughals were about to invade Adil Shah’s territory, he had sent an envoy to Aurangzib’s deputy at Ahmadnagar, offering to co-operate with them if they confirmed him in the possession of the Adil Shahi Konkan. He had received in return vague promises of favour and protection.† Even a less astute man than he must have known that such promises would amount to nothing in practice when the need of the imperialists would be over. So, on the outbreak of the war, he seized his opportunity, and in concert with the Bijapuri officers in the

* Kambu, 6b; Adab, 157a, 169a.
† Aurangzib to Shiva, 23 Apr. 1657 (Parasnis MS.) Adab, 144b (Shiva sends agent, July 1656), 146a (Shiva sends agent, February 1657).
neighbourhood, he raided the Mughal territory from the south-west. One night (in April) he silently scaled the walls of Junnar with rope-ladders, and after slaughtering the defenders carried off 3 lakhs of *hun*, 200 horses, and much costly clothing and jewels.* Bands of Maratha light horsemen spread in all directions, cutting off provision trains and foraging parties, plundering the smaller towns and flourishing villages, rendering the roads unsafe, and carrying devastation and alarm to the very gates of Ahmadnagar, the seat of the Mughal administration in that region. An attack on the town (*petta*) which nestled under shelter of the fort of Ahmadnagar was frustrated by a timely sortie of the garrison. But so great was the alarm it caused that the Mughal Governor made the citizens remove their property to within the fort as a precaution. Two other Marathas, Minaji Bhonslé and Kashi, were notably successful in their raids.

§ 11. Aurangzib orders reprisals against Shivaji, and effectually protects Mughal territory.

Aurangzib learnt of these disturbances and hurried reinforcements up to Ahmadnagar, with strict orders to punish Shiva. He chastised with his pen those officers who were slow in marching to the scene. His letters to his officers breathe fury and revenge: the Mughal captains must beat the raiders back from the imperial dominion and make reprisals by entering Shiva’s land from all sides, “wasting the villages, slaying the people without pity, and plundering them to the extreme”;—Shivaji’s possessions, Poona and Chakna, must be utterly ruined and not the least remissness shown in slaying and enslaving the people;—the village headmen and peasants of the imperial territory who had secretly abetted the enemy, must be slain without compunction.

Aurangzib’s new dispositions for guarding this tract showed excellent combination and judgement. Kartalab Khan was posted near Junnar, Abdul Munim at Garh Namuna, Hushdar Khan at

* Contest with Shiva, Kambu 3b; Adab, 110b—112a (Aurangzib’s letters to Shaista Khan), 147a—149a (to Multafat Khan), 153a 157a (to Nasiri Khan Zedhe Shakavali (2 dates only); Sabhasad Bakhar, 8 (4 lines); Chitnis, i. 39 (2 lines); full details in my Shivaji ch. 3 § 1—4.