LXXX.

TĀRĪKH-I IRĀDAT KHĀN.

This is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrukh Siyar's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott. It first appeared in a separate volume, and was subsequently incorporated in the second volume of his "History of the Deccan," of which the first portion was translated from Firishta.

We are told in the Ma-āsiru-l umarā that the author, Mīr Mubāraku-llah Irādat Khān Wāza, was the son of Is'hāk Khān, son of 'Azīm Khān. Both his grandfather and father were noblemen of high rank. The former was Mīr-bakhshī to the Emperor Jahāngīr, and the latter held various offices of importance under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. He died soon after his appointment to the government of Oudh. His title was also Irādat Khān. One of his sons (our author) had his title conferred on him, and in the thirty-third year of Aurangzeb was appointed Faujdār of Jagna, and at other periods of Aurangābād and Mándū. In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh he was governor of the Doāb, and the intimate friend of Mu'azzam Khān wazir. He died in the time of Farrukh Siyar. His abilities as a poet were great, and he left a volume of poems behind him. ¹

¹ This is taken from the Preface to Scott's translation.

[The author opens his work with a statement of his removal from the command of the fort of Imtiyāz-garh (Adoni), and of his subsequent appointment to the government of Ahsanābād (Kulbarga), and afterwards to the kila’dāri and faujdāri of Mándū. He left the latter place to follow the fortunes of Prince Bedār Bakht as detailed in the following pages.
In his Preface the author says, "During the short period of my age, which has this day arrived at the sixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy Hijra (1714 A.D.), such vicissitudes in worldly affairs, the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men and the rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by history to have occurred in such number or succession for a thousand years.

"As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and what to others even information of must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight; and as I was a sharer as well as spectator of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

"My intention, however, not being to compile a history of kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation."

The author's account of his work is fair and accurate. The book is written in a plain straightforward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative. Irádat Kháán was a good soldier, and was much trusted; and not without reason, for he evidently was clear-sighted, prompt, and energetic, and he possessed great common sense and unusual veracity. In his account of the battle between Jahándár Sháh and Farrukh Siyar he observes, "Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then, can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground
of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurangzeb a long account of one of his battles. The Emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described."

The following Extracts are taken from Scott's translation, with only a slight change here and there of the wording. The original work is divided into many short chapters, but Scott did not maintain the divisions in his translation. At the end will be found two letters written by Aurangzeb. They were translated by Scott, and added as notes to his translation. It is not said from whence they were obtained, but they are very characteristic, and, no doubt, authentic.]

EXTRACTS.

My attachment and regard to His Majesty (Aurangzeb) were so great, that observing his life drawing to a close, I did not wish to quit the presence. * * On the evening before my departure, the Emperor, opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, "Separation now takes place between us, and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive then whatever, wittingly or unwittingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words I forgive! three times with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly or otherwise thou mayest have done against me." Upon hearing these expressions, sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last, after His Majesty had repeatedly pressed me, I made a shift to pronounce the words I forgive! three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and, after blessing me, ordered me to retire. * *

The Prince Bedär Bakht, being appointed to the government
of Málwá, I paid my respects to him at Ujjain. In a short time such a friendship grew up between us, that a greater between a prince and subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me: he would not eat of anything but he sent me part of it: he did nothing of importance without asking my advice, and considered my opinion as religiously decisive. In short, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but on this account I became envied by all his dependents. * *

\textit{A'zam Sháh.}

A'zam Sháh, being informed of the (death of Aurangzeb) by his agents and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the 3rd of Zí-l hijja at the camp at Ahmadnagar. * * Many of the chief Imperial servants, as * * had a real attachment to him. Some neither loved nor hated him, and a few, though they disliked, yet from inability to oppose prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mughal chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance—Fíroz Jang, his son Chín Kalích Khán, and Muhammad Amín Khán.

On the 10th Zí-l hijja, 1118, A'zam Sháh ascended the throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. * * While he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to him, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire; but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, through his own conduct. He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Sháh ʻAlam, relinquishing to him such a vast empire as Hindústán without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime. At the same time he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedir Bakht, whose favour with the late Emperor had displeased him.
He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly that they were not fit for his service.

A'zam Sháh proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Ágra by regular stages, taking the route by the ghát of Túmrí. The route of Túmrí was hilly, full of woods, and for many long spaces void of water; so that during two days' march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals perished through want of water.

Bedárá Bakht had the greatest and most sincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him. In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Gujarát without delay, at the head of only 3000 horse, his own dependents, and carried with him about thirty lacs of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch twenty lacs in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a kror of rupees from the bankers and renters. On the eve of his march he despatched a letter to me, and several others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers who had orders to search all messengers and inspect letters. At length, on the 1st Muharram, the Prince's letters were brought to me all at once, and immediately after I departed from Mándú. The Prince was moving into Ujjain when he perceived me at a distance, and said to his attendants, "Is not that Irádat Kháñ that I see?" He stopped his train, and opening wide his arms he cried, "Come, come, my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been strained even to dimness."

Bedárá Bakht did not enter the city and palaces of Ujjain, but pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a kos distant. Here he was attended by 'Abdu-llah Kháñ, the Súbadár of Málwá, and continued one month and twenty days expecting the arrival of his father, when that rash prince wrote him the following farmán: "Why have you not hastened on, nor sunk the
boats in the Satlej, to prevent the approach of the enemy? Though he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect."

Bedár Bakht, agreeably to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the presence by Zú-l fikár Khán, Rám Singh Háda Zamíndár of Kota, and Dalpat Bunabela, also by Amánu-llah Khán, who were sent by A'zam Shah as much to watch the Prince's motions as to assist him. Mirzá Rája Jai Singh, Khán'-álam, a Dakhin chief, with his brother Munawwar Khán, and other officers, also joined from the presence with about 6000 horse.

Prince Muhammad A'zimu-sh Shán, who had by Aurangzeb's orders left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had reached the vicinity of Agra when he heard of the Emperor's decease; upon which he marched to secure that city for (his father) Sháh 'Alam. * * When Bedár Bakht approached the banks of the Chambal, and A'zam Shah arrived near Gwálíor, A'zimu-sh Shán detached a considerable body from Agra, under Muhtasham Khán, to guard the fords. Bedár Bakht was fond of enterprise, jealous of his honour, and of high mind, tempered with prudence. A rivalship for glory had always subsisted between him and his father. A'zam Shah, who was of rash courage, never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the whisker-twisting vaunters of Hindústán, if his son made any delay on his march, he would jest and sneer, attributing it to cowardice and dread of the enemy. On this account Bedár Bakht resolved to cross the Chambal immediately, and attack the posts of Muhtasham Khán; but this proceeding was strongly opposed by Zú-l fikár Khán, an experienced general of approved conduct. * * As Zú-l fikár Khán, in the opinion of some, was suspected of treachery, they seized this opportunity to persuade the Prince that he corresponded with Sháh 'Alam, and wished to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his designs of desertion to his cause. * *

The day following, suddenly, before morning prayer, the
march for battle was sounded, and the Prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of battle. I speeded to attend him. He had moved some distance from the tents before I came up. I found him with an angry countenance, uttering contemptuous exclamations and reproachful terms of Zulfiqar Khan as deceiver, traitor, false wretch and the like, to some servile attendants round his elephant. * * *

In the difference between A'zam Sháh and his son Bedár Bakht, justice was on the side of the father; for Bedár Bakht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the service of A'zam Sháh, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son. Being alone with Bedár Bakht one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast said, "If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-defence? Have you a precedent for it?" I replied, "Such a question is unnecessary. The behaviour of your grandfather to his father is sufficient precedent; and sovereigns are forced to expediency which are not justifiable in other men." Conversation of this sort often passed between us; and one evening he asked me how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father. I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus. When he has gained the victory over Sháh 'Alam, you will be the first to congratulate him. The troops will then be separated here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead and wounded; and as the tents will not be ready, your father will only be under a shámiyána (canopy), surrounded by a few kanáts (screens). You will be admitted to audience, attended by such of your followers as may have deserved notice for their gallant conduct in action; and at such a time they will be allowed their arms. It is probable that your father will not have many persons with him between the kanáts. Then is your time." The Prince eagerly exclaimed, "You have spoken well! Dare you at such a time strike the blow?" I replied that though the act was easy, yet
a sacred oath rested on our family never to shed the blood of a prince unless by chance in battle, if engaged in the cause of a rival, when it would be excusable. I then said, “Your other opportunity will be thus. Should the enemy fly, an army will be sent in pursuit, and probably under your command, while your father, setting his mind at ease, will be employed, without suspicion, in pleasure and rejoicing. You may return suddenly upon him, and gain your wishes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldest son and have seen much service, he will certainly appoint you to the government of the Dakhin. You will then have a powerful army at your disposal. As your father’s behaviour is offensive to the people, and many of the courtiers dislike him, they will aid your pretensions. Use open force and try for whom God will decide.”

Bedár Bakht, having crossed the Chambal at an unobserved ford, the troops of 'Azímu-sh Shán, who were stationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery at the various posts and fled to Agra, happy to save their lives. Zú-l fikár, who had advised the Prince to remain on the other side, seeing he had crossed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the success of his march. * * *

Some days after this, A’zam Sháh approaching near, Bedár Bakht moved a kos in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father’s tents, and on the morning of his arrival he went forth two kos from the camp to meet him. A’zam Sháh loved him as a son, though from the attention shown him by Aurangzeb he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him after a long absence, paternal fondness for the instant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely khil’at, etc.

Empire having been decreed to Sháh ‘Álam, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of A’zam Sháh, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of Túr and Sallam, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he
would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak
the truth; as was formerly the case with the Emperor Humáyún
during the rebellion of the Afghán Sher Sháh. Even his chief
officers feared to disclose intelligence; so that he was ignorant of
the successful progress of his rival.

At length Sháh 'Alam, having reached Mattrá, sent by
celebrated darwesh the following message to A'zam Sháh: "By
the divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive
empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and
glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent to
shed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire
between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the choice
in your power." A'zam Sháh, vain-glorious and haughty, replied
that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and
upon this the messenger departed. A'zam Sháh marched the
next morning, and encamped between Jájú and Ágra, on a barren
plain, void of water, so that the army was much distressed.
Intelligence arrived during this day, that Sháh 'Alam was en-
camped seven kos distant, and intended moving on the morrow,
but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned that my design is not to write the
history of kings, but of myself and what I have seen. Accord-
ingly, of the battle between the two brothers, I shall only relate
such circumstances as I was an eye-witness of.

Prince Bedár Bakht, who commanded the advanced corps of
the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march.
* * The main body marched next, in the centre of which rode
A'zam Sháh. * * We had not yet learned the position of the
enemy, or what was the design of Sháh 'Alam. Bedár Bakht
reached a village, near which was a stream of clear water, and
there were some wells also around it. The troops at this time
were much separated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved
as he chose. Seeing which, I represented to the Prince, that the
main body was far behind, that the country in front was destitute
of water for some miles, and the day promised to be distressingly
hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he hasten? I remarked the scattered march of his followers; Zú-l fíkár Khán obliqued so far to the left as scarcely to be visible, and other chiefs were equally distant in every quarter. I observed that if he halted here till some news arrived of the enemy, there was sufficient water to refresh the troops; the artillery would come up; the Emperor would have time to join, and order would be restored in the line; also, that should the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is just. Go and inform my father I shall follow it."

It happened also that Sháh 'Alá'í had no advice of the route of our army, and as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning despatched his main body under Mun'ín Khán, while he, with his sons and personal attendants, hunted along the bank of the river Jumna. His pesh-khána, with the usual escort, under Rustam-dil Khán, was coming on in front of our army, in the same route as our line.

Upon delivery of my message to A'zám Sháh, he replied, "Very well. Go and inform my son I am coming up." I returned to the promised place of halt, but what did I behold? The Prince had marched on, and left the village unguarded. I speeded after him, and upon gaining the line, saw a joyful scene of congratulation on victory. When the Prince saw me, he eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory." I replied, "How comes victory without a battle?" Upon which His Highness, turning to a courier, said, "Tell Irádat Khán what you have seen." The foolish wretch then affirmed that he had seen the elephant of Sháh 'Alá'í without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off to Āgra. The Prince then said our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage. The cause of this imaginary victory was this. The advanced baggage of Sháh 'Alá'í, falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and, the escort being small, was soon taken. The elephant running away belonged to Rustam-dil Khán, who commanded the escort.
The Prince, however, now ordered me to go and inform his father of the victory. **I declined going, and observed I would not carry intelligence so very ridiculous and groundless. Upon which the Prince was angry, and exclaimed, “What do you mean?” I replied, **“Accidents will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boasted victory is no more. Your troops have plundered his advanced tents, but woe to those who have been thus employed! If important work should now offer, they will be useless, confused as they are and encumbered with spoil.” To these remarks the Prince angrily exclaimed, “You are always apprehensive and foreboding ill.” He then ordered Kásim, the dárughá of his diwán, to carry the intelligence of victory to A’zam Sháh.

Scarce half an hour after this had elapsed, when a great dust arose upon our right. Upon beholding this, I said to the Prince, “Behold the consequence of our victory, and the flight of Sháh ‘Alam! Yon cloud precedes at least 50,000 horse.” Just as I concluded, another dust arose, which certified a second body of troops approaching. I desired His Highness to prepare for action, while yet the enemy was at some distance. He then said, “Will you now go and inform my father of the enemy’s approach?” To this I replied, “Though I wish not to quit Your Highness’s person, yet as I am ordered I must obey,” and having said this, I rode off with speed to A’zam Sháh. On my way I beheld strange disorder. Amánu-llah Khán, a reputed good officer, who acted as advanced guard to Prince Wálájáh, I met with only two or three hundred straggling horse. A’zam Sháh was a kos and a half farther in the rear, and his troops were separated into three divisions, so that I could not easily distinguish the royal post, for the train of artillery had been left in the Dakhin. For when the commander applied for orders respecting it to A’zam Sháh, he was much enraged, and passionately exclaimed, “Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle? I will not even draw the sword, but will bruise his head with a staff.”
When A’zam Sháh saw me, he made a signal for me to advance; but such was the crowd I could scarce push through it. At length, having come near to his litter, I alighted from my horse, and said, “The Prince informs Your Majesty of the enemy’s near approach. What shall I say?” A’zam Sháh, starting as if stung by a scorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his custom when angry, pulling up his sleeve, exclaimed, “Comes an enemy to me!” Being vexed at his manner, I replied, “So it appears.” He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner, whirling a crooked staff, stood upright on his throne, and tauntingly said, “Be not alarmed, I am coming to my son.” Hurt at this insult to the spirit of my prince, I said, “His Highness is son to yourself, Asylum of the World, and knoweth not fear. He only represents the enemy’s approach, that Your Majesty may advance with the troops, and take the post usual for the Emperor in the day of battle.” Having said this, I rode off to rejoin Bedár Bakht. * * Just as I reached him, a ball struck the breast of an attendant close to his person. * *

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a rocket’s flight of our line. One of these was headed by the Prince ’Azímu-sh Shán; the other by Mun’im Khán, with whom also were the Princes Mu’izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh and Jahán Sháh. Our line was so pressed upon each flank and in the rear by baggage elephants, cattle, and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops and render them useless. Sháh ’Alam’s artillery played upon us incessantly, and did great execution, and his sons advancing, fired showers of musketry, which fell like hail. * * * At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy’s cannon, prepared to charge. * * I saw Khán ’Alam move towards the enemy with great rapidity. As he advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above 300 stuck by him to the charge. When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant
of 'Azímu-sh Shán, and hurled his spear at the Prince; but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant, when the Prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khán 'Álam, and he died on the instant. * * A body of the enemy, under Báz Khán Afghán, now attacked Zú-l fikár Khán, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded; but by the decrees of Providence, Rán Singh Háda and Dalpat Ráo Bundela, on whose valour and conduct most depended, were killed at the same instant by a cannon-shot, upon which their Rájpúts lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zú-l fikár Khán, however, yet remained firm, with his own followers; but on being charged by the whole of 'Azímu-sh Shán's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Saiyid Muzaffar, and retired to the rear of A'zam Sháh's post, with Hamídu-d din Khán, and having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horseback to Gáválior, where he was received by his father, Asad Khán. His flight determined the rout of our army.

The principal followers and personal attendants of A'zam Sháh now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and his brother, Husain 'Alí Khán, of the illustrious house of Bárha, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Husain 'Alí Khán received several wounds and fell down faint with the loss of blood. * * At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Bedár Bakht, and he sank down dead on his elephant.

A'zam Sháh, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Sháh 'Álam. From this now issued with a select band the Princes 'Azímu-sh Shán, Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, and Jahán
Sháh. A’zam Sháh soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Wálájáh also sank down in the sleep of death. I now made my escape to Ágra, not choosing to go to the enemy’s camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

Rustam-dil Kháán, who commanded the escort of Sháh ‘Álam’s advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to A’zam Sháh, and had continued near his elephant during the battle till his death with great firmness. Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse and hastened to the camp of Sháh ‘Álam. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince’s feet; but the compassionate Sháh ‘Álam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave Rustam-dil nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten. Mun'im Kháán took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their harems with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. • •

**Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh.**

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Sháh ‘Álam, his march from Kábul, and other proceedings to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother A’zam Sháh.

Some time before his death, Aurangzeb had appointed Mun'ım Kháán to be diwan to Sháh 'Álam, who was governor of Kábul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He soon
arranged the Prince’s affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendancy of unworthy favourites. * * A superfluous army was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and being consequently ill-paid, was ever mutinous and discontented. * * He diminished the Prince’s army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness. * * When he heard of Aurangzeb’s illness, in order to prevent cabals in favour of A’zam Sháh, he circulated a report that Sháh ’Alam would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. Sháh ’Alam had himself indeed made this declaration long before, and with such apparent resolution that it was believed and dreaded even by his sons who resided with him. Mun’im Khán related to me afterwards the following anecdote in these words: “When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities had properly impressed Sháh ’Alam’s mind, and that he was convinced I was a prudent, faithful, and secret servant, being alone one day with him conversing on the affairs of the empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him: ‘It is reported that Your Highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence, that even the Princes, your sons, assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.’ He replied, ‘In this rumour there lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement; and should he even now think that I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother Muhammad A’zam Sháh, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security; but, by the Almighty God who gave me life’ (laying his hand on the Kurán by him), ‘and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet A’zam Sháh in single combat, wherever he may be. This secret,
which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it!"

When news of Aurangzeb's death reached Mun'im Khán at Láhore, he wrote immediately by express to Sháh 'Alam, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Láhore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Láhore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies. Sháh 'Alam soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dehlí, and Mun'im Khán entered the city with a select party.

* * Muhammad Yár Khán, the commander of the palace, was so awed with the wazír's gallantry, and the arrival of Sháh 'Alam, that he saw no security for himself but in resigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treasures of Hindústán collected from the days of Akbar. * * * Mun'im Khán then advanced with some chosen troops before the Prince to Agra. * * Báki Khán, an old Imperial servant, and governor of the fortress which he had refused to resign to 'Azímu-sh Shán, being certified that Sháh 'Alam was approaching, did not choose to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Mun'im Khán would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command. Mun'im Khán accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him. * * After refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit 'Azímu-sh Shán, who was encamped at the distance of six kos. * * Without doubt Sháh 'Alam's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister.
The sons of Bahadur Shah.

It is now necessary to say something of the four sons of Shah ' Alam, their dispositions and behaviour, both in public and private. Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about State affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to narrate his reign. 'Azimu-sh Shah, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. Aurangzeb had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons and employing them in public affairs; for as his sons were ambitious of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controlled them by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bakht to A' zam Shah, and 'Azimu-sh Shah to Shah ' Alam. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure and considerable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father and dreaded as a rival; but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity. Rafiu-sh Shah, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music and the pomp of courtly show. He paid no attention to public affairs or even those of his own household. Khujista-akhtar Jahlan Shah had the greatest share of all the Princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne, and afterwards the whole administration of the empire was influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connexion with Mun'im Khán, who, by his interest, was appointed vazir.

Character of Bahadur Shah. His Court.

Shah ' Alam was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict
exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above their merits; so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor. Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion; but it is a fact that the deserving of every profession, and the worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which prior to this the eye of time had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame. His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unable to relate. His valour was such that he had resolved on meeting A'zam Sháh, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat. His four sons, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered to be constantly near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing them forming connexions with the prime nobility; upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aurangzeb. To what I represented he wrote a wise and just reply. He permitted the sons of those princes who had fallen in battle against him to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him to the chase unguarded, and shared in all his diversions.

His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Sháh Jahán. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following: On his right hand Jahándár Sháh, his eldest son, with his three sons; his third son, Ráf’u-sh Shán, with his three sons, and Bedár-dil, son to his nephew, Bedár Bakht. On his left Muhammad
Azímu-sh Shán, with his two sons, and Jahán Sháh with his son. 'Ali Tabbár, the only surviving son of A'zam Sháh, sat on the right hand of 'Azímu-sh Shán; and a little to the right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Muhammad Kám Bakhah. Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Sikandar 'Alí Sháh of Bijápúr, and Kutb Sháh, King of Golkonda; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene?

On the 'ids and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal. When in private he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious devotee, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself in the great tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Kurán, with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious or learned men. He himself related traditions (of the Prophet), in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the Holy Law. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will desist.
Prince Kám Bakhsh.

Kám Bakhsh was a prince of an excellent memory; was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached near to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reproved, degraded or confined; and some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. * * What follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries! * * His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb. However, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments on the ladies of his harem, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw nor ear heard. * *

Gháziud-dín Khán Fíroz Jang.

Gháziud-dín Khán Fíroz Jang, who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Dakhin, and was chief of the Túrání Mughals, kept on foot a great army. He had withdrawn himself from A'zam Sháh, and he was also much in dread of Sháh 'Álam's resentment, because he had advised that Prince's being confined when Aurangzeb was before Golkonda. He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wishes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an Emperor, yet he soon saw the follies of Kám Bakhsh, and declined his cause as
ruinous and lost. •• Mun'im Khán Khán-khánán opened a correspondence with Ghaźiū-d din, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if His Majesty would forget the past and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission and retire from business to a life of devotion. His only son, Chín Kalíkh Khán, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, Hámid Khán, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him and gone over to the presence. The Túrán chiefs of his household also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service. All these events made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister and thankfully accept the súbadári of Ahmadábád in Gujarát.

**Intrigues of the four Princes.**

The four Princes were constantly intriguing against each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occasioned much delay and confusion in business, so that the Khán-khánán thought it happy to steer his vessel safe through four such great seas, and could not act so independently as he wished, being obliged to attend to the capricious interests of others, among which he found it difficult to preserve his own.

Among the remarkable occurrences was the decline of Jahán Sháh's influence with his father, and the rise of that of 'Azímu-sh Shán, of whom till now the Emperor had ever been suspicious. The Prince Jahán Sháh was of haughty and independent spirit, ready to take fire on the smallest neglect. This, with the behaviour of his servants, alarmed and displeased the Khán-khánán, who for his own safety watched an opportunity to destroy the Prince's influence in public affairs: a task of no great difficulty to one well acquainted with the disposition of Sháh ʿAlam, almost equally warm with his son, who had more than once displeased him by his behaviour. The Prince upon
this thought to prove his disinterestedness and independence by
neglecting to frequent the darbár, and engage in business as
usual. 'Azímu-sh Shán, who had reaped experience in office,
and was well versed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving cool-
ness taking place between Jahán Sháh and the Khán-khánán,
paid so much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees
he gained his confidence. This gave still more offence to Jahán
Sháh, who had too much pride to expostulate, but neglected the
minister in return. He soon after fell sick, and his indis-
position continuing a long time, gave 'Azímu-sh Shán ample
opportunities of acquiring influence over Sháh 'Alam. * * *
'Azímu-sh Shán, having thus gained the credit he aimed at with
his father and the minister, employed it in softening the rigour
of government against those who laboured under its displeasure;
thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily
return his favours, by embracing his cause, whenever the death of
his father should give him a claim to the empire.

Death and Character of Khán-khánán.

The Khán-khánán [having invested the fort to which the Sikhs
had retreated], sure of having the Guru in his power, gave orders
for his troops to cease their attack till the morning should enable
him to finish it with success. He had, however, unluckily
neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the
hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was satisfied that
it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted.
* * During the night the Guru changed his dress, and left the
fort undiscovered. The Khán-khánán about dawn renewed the
attack, and gained the place after a short struggle, sword in
hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the Guru dead or alive
to the Emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders
would by this service be changed to approbation; but who can
relate his weight of grief and disappointment on finding that his

1 He had been directed not to assault without orders.
promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace behind him? * * He for an instant lost almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the Emperor’s anger, and not without reason. As he was, agreeably to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph on his way to the royal tents, orders arrived commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents. * * * Sháh 'Alam, regarding his former services, received him again into favour after a few days; but this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain of seeing three of the Princes and the Amíru-l umárá using all their arts to complete his ruin, stuck like a poisoned arrow in his breast. He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.), who never in the uncounted ages of his office seized on a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.

Death of Bahádur Sháh.

Sháh 'Alam Bahádur Sháh died on the 21st Muharram, 1124 A.H. (18th February, 1712 A.D.). * * It happened that one day as Jahándár Sháh and 'Azímu-sh Shán were sitting near his bed, the latter perceiving under a corner of his pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jahándár Sháh, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic. He started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, he rode off.
to his tents with all the speed and hurry possible. This occasioned much alarm in the camp. I met the Prince with his attendants, pushing on his elephant with frantic haste, upon seeing which I endeavoured to pass unobserved; but he knew me, and sent a messenger to call me. As I had previously attached myself to 'Azímu-sh Shán, I did not obey the mandate, but passed on to the Emperor's tents. * * The Amiru-l umará called for me, and desired me to send my grandson 'Ináyatu-llah to 'Azímu-sh Shán, to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and slight as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of a hundred, written in the hand of his confidant as follows: "As the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this Court, and most have already repaired to it, the Amiru-l umará must also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception in the presence." When the Amiru-l umará read this, he shed tears, and said to me, with much emotion, "You see the manners of the Prince and his advisers. Alas! the errors of a favourite unacquainted with government often endanger the very existence of his master." * * After saying this, he collected his followers, and moved his tents and effects to the quarter of Prince Jahándár, where he thought his services most likely to answer his own interest. * * He had formerly been disgusted with 'Azímu-sh Shán, for preferring to himself the Khán-khánán and Mahábat Khán, and he now swore to assist the three brothers in effecting his destruction, and in making an equal division of the empire and treasures among them.

Jahándár Sháh.

When Jahándár Sháh, by the intrigues and support of the Amiru-l umará Zú-l fikár Khán, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire, without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed. He was himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person,
fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindústán an offering to the foolish whims of a courtezan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress usurped absolute authority in the State; and high offices, great titles and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two krostit rupees annually were settled for only the household expenses of the mistress, exclusive of her clothes and jewels.

The Amíru-l umárát Zú-l fíkár Khán, seater, nay even creator of emperors, with such a puppet of humanity in his hands, became absolute and filled with pride. He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put great men to death, or disgrace them that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He established such exactions and abuses as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a hand so sparing that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jágíres to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near and distant, friends and strangers, were turned against him and wished his destruction. Hindús and Musulmáns agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of a hundred years.

Kokáltásh Khán, foster-brother of Jahándár Sháh, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of Khán-Jahán. His wife, daughter, and whole family also possessed great influence with Jahándár, and claimed from him the performance of a promise he had made of the office of wasír. At the same time they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of Zú-l fíkár Khán Amíru-l umárát. With this view all their relations and dependents were raised to a high rank, and
a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zú-l fikár Khán, joined their party. They insinuated to the Emperor that the Amiru-l umarā entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on one of the confined princes more favourable to his will than His Majesty.

The weak Jahándár, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation; but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret. The intrigues of Kokaltásh Khán soon became evident to the whole Court, and only served to stimulate the vigilance of Zú-l fikár Khán, who took measures for his own safety by removing his enemies. Rustam-dil Khán, Mukhlis Khán, and some others were put to death, and a great number of the nobility cast into confinement on various pretences. The family of the late Khán-khánán (Mun‘im Khán) was reduced so low as to want the common necessaries of life. In short, the disposition of the Amiru-l umarā changed altogether from gentleness to the highest pitch of tyranny, so that he now punished with cruelty the persons who had years before, knowingly or otherwise, given him the slightest causes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of the late Bedár Bakht, and frequently warned the late Emperor against his aspiring views, had also been the friend and confidant of his late mortal enemy, the Khán-khánán, and of a different party in the late struggle, had not a hope of escaping from his hands, or those of Jahándár Sháh, who had commanded me to be searched for and put to death.

Thinking it vain to attempt concealment in Láhore, I wrote the following verses: "I am of the family of 'Alí, * * * of the family of which thou art head: look not on me, but upon our mutual ancestors," and sent them to him by my grandson, who
was much in his favour. He invited me to see him, * * * and upon his solemn oath that he meant no injury to me, I went without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed as usual, and treated me in every way with much kindness, more than I had expected; after which he dismissed me with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the Emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but His Majesty observed, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his service. The Amíru-l umárâd, too, made me promise that I would not accept any office in the State otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with this desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants and abusers of power.

In the height of his power and authority, all at once a report was heard that the Prince Farrukh Siyar, son to the martyred 'Azímu-sh Shan, had marched from Bengal towards Bihár, intending to revenge his father's death and seize the throne. * * Great numbers of the Imperial servants wished secretly for the success of this rebellion. Zú-l fikár Khán advised Jahándár not to remain more than a week in Dehlí, but to proceed to Agra, and if necessary to the eastern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impressed fully in the breasts of his subjects while Farrukh Siyar refused to pay allegiance. Jahándár Sháh, on his arrival at Dehlí, fascinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his minister, and chose to remain, indulging himself in low pleasures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kókaltásh Khán and his party persuaded him that the Amíru-l umárâd had excited this rebellion, and had engaged privately with Farrukh Siyar, to whom he would deliver His Majesty a prisoner, should he prevail upon him to march from the capital. These ideas served to increase the fears of the weak Jahándár Sháh. He would often exclaim, "I did not kill 'Azímu-sh Shán; it was the Amíru-l umárâd, who
must now go and answer the claims of his son for satisfaction.” The other plans of an Emperor who was thus overcome by fear may easily be guessed, and need no explanation. The Amiru-l umarā, offended at the distrust of his master, did not attend as he ought to business, but employed his time also in pleasure, and forwarding his own immediate interest.

Saiyid 'Abdu-Ilah Khān Bārha and his brother Husain 'Alī Khān had gained great honour by their behaviour in the service of A'зам Shāh, after whose death they attached themselves to 'Azīmu-sh Shān, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Allāhābād, and the latter with that of the province of Bihār. * * * 'Abdu-Ilah Khān pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours in order to avoid further trouble from the Court, but which he had resolved to serve no longer than he found necessary. When Farrukh Siyar arrived in Bihār, he was immediately joined by Saiyid Husain 'Alī Khān, who was faithfully attached to him as the son of his patron, 'Azīmu-sh Shān.

On the night of the 13th Zī-l ka'da, intelligence was received that the Saiyids had by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gao-ghāt, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all their artillery; also that Farrukh Siyar with his whole army intended to follow next day. * * * A little after mid-day the battle began. * * * Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place. * * * Numbers fled, but the Amiru-l umarā stood firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness; but he was ill supported, though Saiyid Hussain 'Alī Khān fell wounded in the field, and Chhabila Rām was not more successful in his charge on Kokaltāsh Khān. It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful; but just then Saiyid 'Abdu-Ilah Khān charged Jahāndār Shāh, who stood with his troops already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the Amiru-l umarā. They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides. * * * Thus, in the space of a few hours, one government was destroyed and
another became possessed of absolute authority. The robe of empire graced the august person of Farrukh Siyar, who sounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the service of any one, I remained in the field till the Amíru-l wálad had retired, when, thinking it best to provide for my own safety, I entered the city with about a hundred persons who sought my protection. In the morning I wrote to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendship, expressing my desire of leave to visit him, and to be introduced to the new Emperor. He replied to my letter with kindness, and next morning, when Farrukh Siyar entered the city, I was allowed to pay him my respects.

**Letters of Aurangzeb.**

To Sháh A'zam Sháh.

Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which has passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. My son (Kám Bakhsh), though gone towards Bijaípúr, is still near; and thou my son are yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Sháh 'Alam, is far distant; and my grandson ('Azímu-sh Shán), by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindústán. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself, full of alarms, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.
I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel in the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensible incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedár Bakht), whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begam (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell. Farewell. Farewell.

To the Prince Kám Bakhsh.

My son, nearest to my heart! Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the Divine will, you did not attend with the ear of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the power of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and has left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God.
committed to my sons. A'zam Sháh is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or that their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahádur Sháh is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindústán. Hedár Bakht is in Gujarát. Hayátu-n Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begam as without concern. U'dípúr, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dárá Shukoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done unto yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul, but I see that mine is departing.
LXXXI.

TĀRĪKH-I BAHĀDUR SHAHY.

[This is a small anonymous work extending from the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Muhammad Sháh, written, as the author states, forty years after the death of Aurangzeb, and therefore in 1747 A.D. As its title indicates, Bahádur Sháh is its leading subject, and the history of the reign of that monarch takes up about half the volume. It is written in a prolix tedious style. The reign of Bahádur Sháh was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by "Lt. Anderson, 25th Native Infantry," but there is very little in it which has not been told far better elsewhere. A few short Extracts follow. There are two copies of the work among the MSS. One is a small 8vo. of 138 pages of nine lines each.]

EXTRACTS.

When the news of that "unavoidable event," the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb, reached Dehlí, an extraordinary commotion spread through Hindústán, and wonderful events followed. On the third day after it became known in Dehlí, on the 21st Zi-l ka'eda, 1118 of the holy Hijra (18th February, 1707), after sunset and before the cry to evening prayer, such a noise arose on the west as might be taken as a sample of the noise there will be at the day of judgment. If hundreds of thousands of men were to collect together and simultaneously raise the most dreadful shouts, there would be no resemblance to that noise. It exceeds all my powers to describe it. Forty years have passed up to this time, but that strange
noise is still in my ears, and whoever heard it must certainly remember it. The noise lasted for about half an hour, and then subsiding, nothing was heard of it after the lapse of two hours.

On account of the death of Aurangzeb, and in consequence of the confusion in Hindústán, the price of grain in all the provinces renamed unsettled. In some places it was more, in others less. Thus in the first year after the death of His Majesty, in 1119 of the Hijra, the price of grain in Dehli became known to ʿAsafū-d daula, viz. the rate at which it was sold for ready money. Wheat was twenty sīrs per rupee; barley twenty-seven sīrs; gram twenty-five sīrs; suhkdūs rice ten sīrs; dal mung (a kind of vetch) fifteen sīrs; māsh (pulse) eighteen sīrs; moth twenty sīrs; ʿadas eighteen sīrs; ghi two sīrs; pungent oil (raughan-i tukh) seven sīrs; red sugar twelve sīrs.

When Bahádur Sháh arrived at Burhánpur (on his march against Kám Bakhsh), a severe pestilence (wabá) broke out amongst the royal troops. Those attacked suffered from such unnatural heat that they generally died in the course of a week, and those who lived longer than a week, after undergoing great pain and torment, recovered. The army continued its march towards Haidarábád. Twenty rupees was the hire paid to the porters for carrying a sick man for a march of three kos. Pioneers were sent on ahead of the camp to dig graves, and when the army reached its new camping ground, the tents were filled on one side, and graves upon the other.

At the time the army was marching southwards towards Burhánpur, Guru Gobind, one of the grandsons of Nának, had come into these districts to travel, and accompanied the royal camp. He was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics, and all sorts of people. One day an Afghán, who frequently attended these meetings, was sitting listening to him, when certain expressions, unfit for the
ears of the faithful, fell from the tongue of the Guru. The Afghán was enraged, and regardless of the Guru's dignity and importance, he gave him two or three stabs with a knife and killed him.

The son of Jahándár Sháh was Sultán 'Azízu-d din. The sons of 'Azímu-sh Shán were Sultán Farrukh Siyar, Sultán Karím-u-d din, and Sultán Humáyún Bakht. The sons of Khujista Akhhtar Jahán Sháh were Sultán Farkhanda Akhhtar the eldest; the second Roshan Akhhtar, afterwards the Emperor Muhammad Sháh; the third son was Sultán Mubárak Akhhtar, also called Achhi Miyán. The son of Prince Rafí’u-sh Sháu was Rafí’-d Daraja. The son of 'Alí Jáh was 'Alí Tabár. The sons of Bedár Bakht were Bedár Dil, Sa'id Bakht, and Hayátu-llah. The sons of Prince Kám Bakhsh were Sultán Múhiu-s Sunnat, and Yahya-s Sunnat. Of the grandsons of Sháh Jahán and sons of Dárá Shukoh were Dárá Bakhsh, Yazdán Bakhsh, and Sultán Sipíhr Shukoh.
LXXXII.

TĀRĪKH-I SHĀH 'ĀLAM BAHĀDUR SHĀH

OF

DĀNISHMAND KHĀN.

[This is another history of Bahādur Shāh, but it reaches only to the month of Rajab, in the second year of his reign. It is the work of Dānishmand Khān, already noticed in No. LXXVI. (suprà, p. 200). The author is best known by his title Ni'amat Khān, but in the present volume he calls himself Dānishmand Khān, and tells us that he had received the title of Mukarrab Khān in the reign of Aurangzeb. It appears also from this work, that he wrote a book called Bādshāh-nāma,¹ which was presented to the Emperor, and for which he received an augmentation of his mansab. The work is divided into months; and the two years and few months fill 262 leaves of fourteen lines to the page. It is written in an ambitious style, and abounds with quotations from the Arabic and of Persian verse.]

¹ [Probably the same as the Shāh-nāma referred to in No. LXXVI.]
LXXXIII.

'Ibrat-nāma

Of

Muhammad Kāsim.

This work is sometimes called Tārikh-i Bahādur-Shāhī. It is a well-written history, composed by Muhammad Kāsim, who describes himself as a dependent of Amiru-l umarā Saiyid Husain 'Alī Khān. It commences with the death of Aurangzeb, and terminates with the death of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, the author having accomplished his purpose of writing a history of the times of the two great Saiyids of Bārha. One copy I have in small octavo contains 224 pages of eighteen lines to a page. Another imperfect copy of a work of the same name, and by the same author, carries the history down to A.D. 1736. The language also occasionally varies, so that it is probable the latter may be a second edition of the former, especially as it seems to be more elaborately got up, and to be written in a more polished style. There are, however, several works known by this name, and there is a later history bearing this title.

The following is a list of the contents, with the number of pages occupied by each chapter:

Reason of writing the 'Ibrat-nāma, 2 pp.—Cause of the author's becoming an attendant in the Court of Amiru-l umarā Saiyid Husain 'Alī Khān the Martyr, 9 pp.—Account of the Death of Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr, 11 pp.—Happy Accession of Bahādur
Sháh to the Imperial Throne, 11 pp.—March of Muhammad A’zam Sháh with the object of making war against Muhammad Mu’azzam Bahádur Sháh. The armies meet in the field of Haju in the vicinity of Ágra, 5 pp.—Battle between Muhammad A’zam Sháh and Muhammad Mu’azzam Bahádur Sháh and his sons. Victory gained by the latter, 4 pp.—Rejoicings at the victory of Muhammad Mu’azzam Bahádur Sháh. Rewards and gifts granted by him to his old and new servants, attendants and relations, 18 pp.—Departure of Bahádur Sháh towards the Dakhin against Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, 2 pp.—His return into Hindústán after gaining the victory over Kám Bakhsh, his younger brother, 13 pp.—Disturbances caused by the Sikhs in the Panjáb. Ruin of Sirhind. Eulogy of Nának Sháh Fakír, 2 pp.—War of the four Princes close to the garden of Shálimár in Lahore, 42 pp.—The two Princes Jahán Sháh and Rafí’u-Shán. War with Muhammad Mu’izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, 12 pp.—Happy accession of Muhammad Mu’izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh to the Imperial Throne of Dehlí, 11 pp.—Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, hearing the news of the battles of the four Princes at Lahore, prepares to take revenge for his father and brother, 7 pp.—The troops of Sultán ’Azzu-d dín, son of Jahándár Sháh, defeated by the two Saiyids. His flight, 10 pp.—Muhammad Farrukh Siyar’s Accession to the Throne at Ágra, 12 pp.—Iṣa Khán, Zamindár of the Doáb, his family and relations, all killed by Sháhdad Khán, an Afghán of Kasor, 19 pp.—Cause of disturbance in the Government of Farrukh Siyar, 3 pp.—Nawáb Saiyid Husain ’Alí Khán appointed to superintend the affairs of the Rájpúts of Ajmír and of the great amirs, and to bring Rája Ajít Singh’s daughter to Farrukh Siyar, 6 pp.—Farrukh Siyar marries the daughter of Rája Ajít Singh Ráthor on the banks of the Ráví, 7 pp.—The Súbadári of the Dakhin committed to the charge of Husain ’Alí Khán, and that of the Eastern Division to Hamla Bahádur, 6 pp.—Muhammad Rafí’u-d Darajat raised to the throne; death of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, 4 pp.—Tumults and seditions at Ágra. Prince Neku Siyar raised to the throne;
Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán's march to Agra with Rafi’u-d Daula Sháh Jahán the Second. Reduction of the fort of Agra, 14 pp. —Accession of Muhammad Ghází to the throne, by the aid of the Saiyids, at Fathpúr, 19 pp. —Disturbances at Alláhábád by Giridhar Bahádur, brother of Rája Chhabílá; Haidar Kulí Khán sent against him; departure of Rája Ratan Bahádur, 4 pp. —Muhammad Sháh’s departure towards the Dakhin; Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán killed by the treachery of a Mughal, 36 pp. —News of Saiyid Husain Khán being killed received by Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, his elder brother; and his affliction, 23 pp. —War between Muhammad Amín Khán and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán Kutbu-l Mulk; capture of the aforesaid Saiyid, 13 pp.

Size of one copy 9 3/4 inches by 7—108 pages of 12 lines each.

[There are four copies of this work among Sir H. M. Elliot’s MSS.]

EXTRACTS.

[The exaltation of the Saiyids ('Abdu-llah and Husain 'Alí Khán) exceeded all conception, and passed the bounds of description. They became envied by many of the nobles, and their names were upon every tongue. Mír Jumla on his part never lost an opportunity of making malicious insinuations and charges against Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and he especially complained that the Saiyid, in pursuit of his own pleasure, had left all the control of business in the hands of Ratan Chand, who had a maw as insatiable as the nethermost hell for swallowing gold and silver. Against the younger brother Amíru-l umárá Saiyid 'Alí Khán, it was alleged that his bearing was proud and haughty, unbecoming in a subject. By such insinuations the mind of the Emperor was poisoned. Khán-daurán was ostensibly intimate and friendly with the two brothers, but he considered himself one of the most trusted counsellors of the Emperor. He was never absent from Court night or day, and whatever entered his mind, whether exalted or low, pleasant or unpleasant, he imparted to the Emperor. * * It was often proposed that the two brothers
should be seized in the Emperor's private council chamber, and committed to close confinement.]

**Murder of Husain 'Ali Khán.**

[The chief nobles having, according to practice, attended the Emperor to his tents, were returning to their own quarters. Amiru-l umárá Husain 'Ali, unmindful of the designs of his enemies, proceeded to his tents in a pálki, escorted by seven or eight of his attendants. Muhammad Amín Khán, Sa‘ádat Khán, and some other of the conspirators, were with him. Muhammad Amín resorted to artifice, and pretending to be faint, he wished to lie down on the ground. He was brought round by means of rose-water and musk. Thereupon he directed that they should bring to him Haidar Kulí Khán, the commander of the artillery. They ran to fetch that crafty partner in the conspiracy. At this time there were only two or three of the attendants and valiant brothers of the Saiyíd near his pálki. A man named Haidar Beg, from the station of Muhammad Amín, accompanied by several Mughals, came forward complaining of Muhammad Amín, and desiring to present a petition. **The attendants wanted to take the petition from his hands, but he would not allow them. The Amiru-l umárá kindly told them to let the man approach. Haidar Beg advanced to present the petition, and as the Amir took it, the assassin drew a dagger from his waist, and stuck the Amir in the side, so that he rolled out of the pálki, and his blood spurted over the bystanders. He called out, “Will no one come to my aid?” and as he lay with his bowels protruding, he cried, “Bring me a horse, I will ride.” A youth of fourteen years of age, named Saiyíd Mír Khán, son of the Amir’s elder brother Asadu-llah Khán Bahúdúr, was walking near the pálki, and as soon as he saw what was passing, he cried out, “Some rascals are killing the Náwí!.” Then he attacked Haidar Beg fiercely with his short sword, and wounded him in two or three places, stretching him
dead upon the ground beside his victim. The other Mughals attacked the youth, and slew him with many wounds. The murdered Nawab's head was then cut off, and carried to Muhammad Amin Khan, and those who bore it expected great rewards in fulfilment of the promises made to them.]

Death of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[The Mughals at length so worked upon the Emperor by their importunities and artifices, that he consented to the poisoning of the Saiyid.]