Permission being given, Mujáhid Khán took all the money and valuables he could carry, and joined his brother. The two brothers then went together to the Emperor.

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

Khwája Makárim, a confidential adherent of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, led an advanced force towards the army of Prince Muhammad Akbar. A skirmish took place. The Khwája was wounded, and so were two or three men on the other side; but he ascertained that Tahawwur Khán had advanced from the Prince's army with a small escort, intending to desert the Prince and join Aurangzeb. On this being reported to the Emperor, he ordered that Tahawwur Khán should take off his arms before being admitted to the presence. The Khán demurred to putting off his arms, so Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam made a sign to kill the unhappy man. It was now stated to the Emperor that Tahawwur Khán had come, under the orders of Prince Muhammad Akbar, to make known his pretensions and demands. On hearing this, Aurangzeb's anger blazed forth, and he placed his hand upon his sword, and ordered that the Khán should be allowed to enter with his arms. But one of the attendants, in an insulting way, placed his hand upon the Khán's breast to stop him. The Khán struck him a blow on the face and retreated, but his foot caught in a rope, and he fell down. Cries of "Strike! slay!" arose on all sides. Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off. After he was dead, it was found that he had armour under his
clothes, but there were various opinions as to what his real intentions were.

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

It was commonly reported that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rájpúts. In it he praised the Prince for having won over the Rájpúts as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies. This letter was the cause of great divisions among them. Such is the story I have heard, but not from any trustworthy person. For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was soon informed that the Rájpúts had abandoned him. There remained with him only Durgá Dás, two or three confidential officers of the Ráná, and a small force of two or three thousand horse. Of all his old servants and men, these alone remained. He lost all courage, self-reliance, and hope, and being utterly cast down, he took to flight. * * Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was ordered to pursue him.


Affairs of the Dakkin. Death of Sivaji.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 270.] Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh, after arriving at the Khujista-bunydd Aurangábád, according to
order, laid siege to the fort of Sálír. Many Rájputs were killed, and many Musulmáns also fell. He pressed the siege for four or five months, but making no impression, he withdrew to Aurangábád.

The hell-dog Sivaji went forth with an army on a plundering expedition, and while Khán-Zamán, the Sábadár, was at Búrhánpúr, he entered Khandesh, and plundered the town of Dharan-gáñw,¹ one of the most flourishing places in that country. * * * Afterwards he ravaged and burnt Chopra and other pargunas. He then marched against Jálna, a rich mercantile place in the Bálághát.² * * In the course of the same year he was attacked with illness and died.³ The date of his death is found in the words, “Káfír bu-jahannam raft,” “The infidel went to hell,” which was discovered by the writer of these pages. Sivaji left two sons, Sambhá and Rám Rája. The former succeeded him. He made Kabkalas,⁴ the Bráhman who brought him from Allahábád, his minister.

Sivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them received punishment. But the son, unlike his father, obtained an evil name by collecting round him women of all tribes, and by assailing the honour of the women of the places in which he dwelt. His father never showed any backwardness in attacking and plundering prosperous places, but he never made any attack upon Aurangábád and Búrhánpúr, the provincial capitals of the

¹ These places lie about 70 miles west of Búrhánpúr. Chopra is the most northerly. See supra, p. 16.
² See supra, p. 17.
³ "On the 24th Rábí’u-l ‘ákhir, Siva returned from riding; he was overcome by the heat, vomited blood, and expired."—Ma-usiru-l’Alamgiri.
⁴ Both the MSS. used agree with the printed text in this spelling of the name (see supra, p. 236); but Grant Duff, who refers to our author, writes the name "Kulooshah," and is followed by Elphinstone with "Calusha."

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Imperial dynasty. If any of his counsellors advised an attack upon these places, he very wisely and prudently forbade it; "for," said he, "if we attack these places, the honour of Aurangzeb will be wounded, and he will march hither himself, and then, God knows how the strife will end!"

When Sivaji was dead, his wretched son Sambhá desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th Muharram, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A.H. (15th February, 1680), he attacked Kákar Khán Afghán, who acted as collector of the jizya, under Khán-Zamán, the Súbadár of the Dakhin. Sambhá was returning with nearly twenty thousand men from a plundering expedition in Birár. He made a forced march of three or four kos, as was the practice in those days, and early in the morning made his attack, while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahádur-púr, one kos and a half from Burhánpúr. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it. Jewels, money, and goods from all parts of the world were found there in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, and also another town called Hasda-púra, which was outside of the fortifications, and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, especially upon Bahádur-pur, that no one was able to save a dáám or a diram of his property, or a single one of his wives and children.

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

Intelligence of this raid upon the neighbourhood of Burhānpūr was carried by runners to Aurangābād, to Khān-Jahān Bahādur Kolkáltāsh. He immediately took horse, and accomplished three or four days' march in one day and night, and reached the pass of Fardāpūr, thirty-two kos distant. There it became necessary to wait three or four watches to rest the animals, and to provide means for crossing the river. According to the current reports of some men who took a worldly view of things, and had a bad opinion of Khān-Jahān, some emissaries of Sāmbhājī came to him with an immense sum of money, and prevailed upon him to halt there for four or five watches. One thing is certain. After the enemy were repulsed from Burhānpūr, the burden of their plunder, and the knowledge of Khān-Jahān's pursuit, prevented them from reaching their renowned but distant fortresses. They were obliged to go to the fort of Sālīr, in Baglāna, which was the nearest of their strongholds. They went by way of Mustafa-ābād or Chopra. Under these circumstances the proper course for Khān-Jahān was to leave Fardāpūr without delay, and, bearing towards his left hand, to pass through Dharaṇ-gānw and Chopra, to intercept the marauders. But, through the representations of Sāmbhājī's emissaries, he went towards his right hand, contrary to what was desirable, and proceeded to 'Īdal-ābād. When the enemy heard this, he made the most of his opportu-
nity, and carried off all the plunder he could transport, and all his prisoners, by a rapid march, through Chopra, to the fort of Sálír, which he reached in four or five days. The principal inhabitants of Burhánpúr wrote a statement to Aurangzeb, describing the success of the enemy, the loss inflicted on the property and honour of Muhammadans, and the discontinuance of the public prayers on Fridays. Aurangzeb then wrote a letter strongly censuring Khán-Jahán, and announcing his own intention of proceeding to the Dakhin. In his anger he took away from Khán-Jahán all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year. Considering the disorders in the Dakhin, and the flight of Prince Muhammad Akbar, he gave orders for his travelling equipage to move towards Burhánpúr.

Twenty-fourth Year of the Reign, 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.).

Prince Akbar.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 275.] When Prince Muhammad Akbar took to flight, not more than three or four hundred men remained with him. Some of them were his own old followers, and others were Rájpúts. * * All his property and treasure and guns fell into the hands of the royal army, as well as one son, a boy of tender years, named Nekú Siyar, and two daughters. One son, who had arrived at years of discretion, remained with the Rájpúts. The Prince himself was distracted, and knew not whither to go. At one time he thought of going to Dehlí and Láhore by way of Ajmir. Then he proposed to go to Persia. Whichever way he turned, the faujdárs and samíndárs, under orders from the Emperor, blocked his way. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam received orders to pursue him; but the common report is that he only made a feint of doing so, and marched leisurely.

Akbar proceeded by way of Láhore and Multán, and under the guidance of the samíndárs he then passed by difficult roads through the hills towards the Dakhin. * * Orders had been
repeatedly sent to Khán-Jahán Bahádúr, Súbadár of the Dakhin, and to all the faujdárs, directing them to stop him wherever he might come, to take him prisoner alive if possible, if not, to kill him. Under these orders Khán-Jahán pursued the Prince with the intention of making him prisoner. He came within fourteen or fifteen kos of him, but on approaching nearer he made only a feint of arresting him. The fact was reported to the Emperor by Mír Núru-llah, who was very uncivil in these matters. A strong letter of censure was written upon the matter, and strict directions were sent to all the news-writers.

Prince Akbar then proceeded to Baglána, to the territory of Rája Debi Singh, the commandant and faujdár of Malír. Rája Debi sent out a force to take him prisoner; but when the force followed, the Prince escaped from Baglána. A few of his Rájpúts remained behind, and these were taken to the Rája. Whilst the Rája was making inquiries of these men, another party of his horsemen overtook one of the Prince’s followers, who had upon his back a blood-stained jacket belonging to the Prince, but which he had thrown off in consequence of the heat. They attacked and wounded this man, and carried him off to the Rája, under the impression that he was the Prince. The Rája did not believe it, and abused his men for their stupidity. Prince Akbar, after passing through the territories of the Firíngíis, found unquiet refuge for a while in the hills of Baglána. By means of a bribe of money, he induced the hill-men to guide him to Ráhírí, belonging to Sambhá. This chieftain came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three kos from the fort of Ráhírí, and fixed an allowance for his support.

Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign, 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 278.] After the Id-i fitr, Aurangzeb started for the Dakhin, to punish the infidels, and to pursue Prince
Muhammad Akbar. On the 14th Zí-l ka'da he reached Burhánpúr, the Dáru-s súrûr (abode of joy). Khán-Jahán Bahádur, the Súbadár, and Amín Khán, the Diván of the four súbas of the Dakhin, with the faujdárs and the officials and nobles there, waited upon him. Many great men of Bijnúpúr, of the Kutb-Sháhí dynasty, and of the Mahrattas, also came to pay their respects.

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

A fire broke out in a house near the citadel and the chauk. There were several sacks of powder in the house, the roof was blown off, and many men were burnt. It came to Aurangzeb's knowledge that there were thirty sacks of gunpowder in a cellar under his sleeping apartment. An investigation was made, and it appeared that at the very commencement of the reign, when Aurangzeb left Burhánpúr to proceed to Dehli, the gunners left this powder there, and during all that time it had never been taken out. The Emperor severely censured the officials who were answerable for this neglect, and degraded some of them. He told them that if this had happened in the reign of Jahángír, that King would have blown them all up with the powder. Aurangzeb's humanity and kindness was such that the severest punishment was reduction of dignity, and this even was soon restored through the intercession and kind offices of men high in office.

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

After Aurangzeb reached Aurangábád, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was sent to take the forts and punish the infidels of Rám-darra in the Kokan; and Prince Muhammad A'zam was directed to reduce the fort of Sálír, near the fort of Malír in Baglána, which had been held for some time by the Mahrattas. Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam penetrated into the Kokan, and passing through its inmost recesses, passes and thick woods, he laid the country waste in all directions, and put many infidels to the sword. Khwája Abú-l Makárim, afterwards Ján-nisár Khán, and others, greatly distinguished themselves in this campaign; but the grain and millet and vetches of that country were injurious to strangers, and the climate was very ungenial to camels and horses. Men in great numbers and quadrupeds beyond compute perished. Horses were so scarce that there was not one left in the stable of the Prince which was fit to carry him. Most men were obliged to walk, and no provisions arrived, for the enemy closed the roads on every side. Life became insupportable, and it was impossible for the Prince to remain there. On the facts being reported to the Emperor, he gave orders for the recall of the army.

Twentysixth Year of the Reign, 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 281.] The fort of Sálír, against which Prince Muhammad A'zam had been sent, is not one capable of investment. It is near the sea, and there are so many ravines
near, that hundreds of thousands of horsemen could not invest that lofty fortress. * * Neknám Khán was commandant of Malír and _sanjádár_ of Baglána. When the Prince was ordered to conquer it, Neknám opened negotiations with the commandant of Sálír, and by promises and presents, * * induced him to surrender the fortress.

[Three officers in succession, Shahábu-d din, Khán-Jahán, and Kásim Khán, fail to take the fortress of Rám Siý.]

Prince Akbar.

[vol. ii. p. 284.] When Prince Akbar went to Ráhirí, and became the guest of the accursed Sambhá, he was at first treated very kindly and respectfully, and provision was made for the necessary expenses of his followers. One day a _kázi_ in the presence of Muhammad Akbar, in a stupid flattering way, said to Sambhá, "May all the Maharájá's enemies be trodden under foot." The Prince heard this, and being angry, reprimanded the _kázi_ for his folly. He also told Sambhá that such vain words ought not to be spoken in his (the Prince's) presence, and that it was also unbecoming in Sambhá to listen to them. The report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Títikád Khán to effect the conquest of Ráhirí. Prince Muhammad Akbar therefore thought it advisable to make his way as best he could to Persia. He bought two small ships, furnished them with provisions for forty days, and was about to start. Sídí Yákút Khán Habshi, who scoured the seas in those parts, was at first desirous of stopping the progress of the Prince, but he at last connived at it. The Prince, with Zíáu-d din Muhammad Shujá'í and forty or fifty persons, put his trust in God and embarked on his voyage. His ships were separated and endured great distress, the account of which would be too long for admission here.

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

Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imám. So the people at Surat sent Hájí Fázil, an old sailor in the royal service, to take Prince Akbar in charge. When intelligence of Prince Akbar's arrival in Maskat, and the evil designs of the Imám, became known to the King of Persia, he issued peremptory commands to the Imám, directing him to send the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imám. So preforce the Imám delivered up the Prince to the Sháh's officers.

* * When the Prince approached Isfahán, Sháh Sulaimán went forth to meet him. * * On the death of Sháh Sulaimán, his successor showed the Prince even greater hospitality and attention, so that the Prince asked for an army and money to assist him in Hindústán. Sháh Husain excused himself. * * and the Prince then asked permission to go to Garmsír in Khurásán. * * This was granted, and provision was made for his maintenance. * * He retired thither, and died there towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb.

Twenty-seventh Year of the Reign, 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.).

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

Siege of Rám-darra.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 290.] In the beginning of the twenty-seventh year Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam marched from Ahmadnagar to lay siege to the forts of Rám-darra, belonging to Sambhá, which were in a part of the country never before penetrated by an Imperial army. * * * The roll of his army numbered 20,000 horse. * * * On the march through the narrow passes, there were many sharp fights with the enemy, in which numbers of the royal soldiers fell; but the enemy were put to flight. On reaching the village of Sámpgánw, the fort of that place was invested. The besiegers showed great bravery, and took the fort in two days. They then entered the country of Rám-darra. It was in a very strong position, and the air of the place did not suit the invaders. The enemy swarmed around on every side, and cut off the supplies. On one side was the sea, and on two other sides were mountains full of poisonous trees and serpents. The enemy cut down the grass, which was a cause of great distress to man and beast, and they had no food but cocoa-nuts, and the grain called kúdún, which acted like poison upon them. Great numbers of men and horses died. Grain was so scarce and dear that wheat flour sometimes could not be obtained for less than three or four rupees. Those men who escaped death dragged on a half existence, and with crying and groaning felt as if every breath they drew was their last. There was not a noble who had a horse in his stable fit for use. When the wretched state of the royal army became
known to Aurangzeb, he sent an order to the officers of the port of Surat, directing them to put as much grain as possible on board of ships, and send it to the Prince's succour by sea. The enemy got intelligence of this, and as the ships had to pass by their newly-erected fortresses, they stopped them on their way, and took most of them. A few ships escaped the enemy, and reached their destination; but no amir got more than two or three palas of corn. The order at length came for the retreat of the army, and it fell back fighting all the way to Ahmadnagar, where Aurangzeb then was.

Kutbu-l Mulk.

[vol. ii. p. 292.] It now became known to the Emperor that Abú-l Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, Sovereign of Haidarábád, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Mádānuá and Ákanú, two infidels, who were bitter enemies to the Musulmáns, and brought great and increased troubles upon them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery. * * Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarábád, and the subjugation of Abú-l Hasan, he first sent Khán-Jahán Kokaltásh with his sons and * * with a detachment against certain adherents of Abú-l Hasan, who had taken possession of some districts dependent upon Zafar-nagar, on the pretence that they had formerly formed part of the country of Telingána. Their instructions were to chastise these men, and to recover the districts. After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with * * were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingána.

Aurangzeb now sent Mirzá Muhammad, the superintendent of his ghusi-kháná, to Abú-l Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, with a message to this effect: "It has come to our hearing that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 surkhs in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the
two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him. ** Upon the arrival of Mirzá Muhammad, he demanded the diamonds, according to his instructions. Abú-l Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them. ** Such stones as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor. **

Mirzá Muhammad returned, and Abú-l Hasan learnt that armies had been sent against him under the command of Khán-Jahán and Prince Muhammad Mu’azzam. He then sent Ibráhím Khán, otherwise called Husainí, who had received the title of Khalílu-llah Khán, and was commander-in-chief, and one of the chief nobles of Haidarábád, with **, and a force of thirty or forty thousand horse, to oppose the armies sent against him.

When the two armies approached each other, between the territories of Bijápúr and Haidarábád, Prince Muhammad Mu’azzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to Khalílu-llah Khán, offering peace, on the following terms. Abú-l Hasan must express regret for his offences, and ask forgiveness. He must remove Mádaná and Akaná from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. The parganas of Síram, Rámgír, etc., which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay. The foolish amirs of the Dakhin, in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.

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

The enemy advanced also against Prince Mu’azzam, and for some days kept up a deceptive correspondence. Fighting began and went on for three days, with great loss to both sides. On the fourth day the action was continued with increased violence, and the enemy were at length compelled to retreat. The Prince, Khán-Jahán, and the other Imperial officers, did not deem it expedient to pursue them. They determined to remain where they were, and sent a despatch of the victory to Aurangzeb. The Emperor had for some time felt a little dissatisfied with the Prince, and he was displeased with Khán-Jahán for the licence and debauchery which prevailed in his camp, and which he had repeatedly censured without effect. He was also annoyed
with him for not having pursued and secured Prince Akbar when that Prince was near his territory. * * Whenever he wrote to him, he got a saucy answer. For these and other reasons Aurangzeb was quite offended with Khán-Jahán.


The War with Kutbu-l Mulk of Haidarábád.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 300.] The despatch of victory and the intelligence of the retreat of the enemy reached Aurangzeb; but his satisfaction was turned into displeasure when he learnt that the enemy had not been pursued. He wrote an angry letter to the Prince Sháh 'Alam,¹ and to Khán-Jahán, and was much dissatisfied. The generals of Abú-l Hasan did not after this dare to venture upon an engagement, but from time to time roving parties of them annoyed the Imperial forces at night with rockets. They sometimes showed themselves in reconnoisances by day, and fell back upon their camp. The Prince and Khán-Jahán were offended, and made no attack upon them, and remained for four or five months inactive without moving. This aggrieved Aurangzeb still more, and he wrote a strong letter of censure with his own hand to the Prince and Khán-Jahán. This letter greatly incensed the Prince.

The morning after the receipt of the letter, he held a council of war with Khán-Jahán, and the other nobles. * * Khán-Jahán was opposed to fighting, and some amirs agreed with him. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán and two or three rájas advised active operations. Nothing was decided that day, and next day Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán in private [urged an attack upon the enemy]. Prince Sháh 'Alam wrote to Muhammad Ibráhím, the commander of the enemy's army, offering terms of peace on condition of the parganas of Síram, Kír (or Khír), etc., being restored to the Imperial officers. * * Muhammad Ibráhím con-

¹ Prince Mu'azzam had received this title, by which he is hereafter called.
sulted with his officers as to the answer to be given, * * * and the answer given was that they had taken the parganas at the point of the sword and spear, and were ready to fight for them. * * [Fighting recommenced,] and the enemy were at length defeated and put to flight. The Prince pursued them into their camp, and great consternation fell upon them.

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

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

Mádaná Pant and his friends had raised suspicions in the mind of Abú-l Hasan, that Muhammad Ibráhím had been the means of bringing the Prince thither. Abú-l Hasan was very angry, and was intent upon seizing Ibráhím, and putting him to death. Muhammad Ibráhím got intelligence of this, and went to offer his services to the Prince, who received him with great favour. When intelligence of this desertion became known in Haidarábád, Abú-l Hasan was greatly alarmed, and without consulting with any of his nobles, or even caring anything for his property or the honour of his own women and family, or of others, he fled with a few servants by night, with boxes full of such valuables as he
could carry, to the fort of Golkonda. When this fact became public, the stores of Abú-l Hasan were plundered, as also was the property of the merchants, worth four or five kors of rupees. The women of the soldiers, and of the inhabitants of the city, were subjected to dishonour, and great disorder and destruction prevailed. Many thousand gentlemen being unable to take horse, and carry off their property, in the greatest distress took the hands of their children and wives, many of whom could not even seize a veil or sheet to cover them, and fled to the fortress.

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

Some persons now came from Abú-l Hasan to the Prince, most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed. The Prince thereon strictly enjoined his officers to repress the plundering, and to punish those who were setting places on fire. The disorder was in some measure diminished; but the plunderers were not really
stopped in their work. After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abú-l Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions. A tribute of one krór and twenty lacs of rupees was to be paid, in addition to the usual annual tribute. Mádaná and Akaná, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Síram and the pargana of Khír, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abú-l Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb.

While the negotiations were pending, * * * some women of great influence in the harem, without the knowledge of Abú-l Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Mádaná and Akaná. * * Whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the darbár to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them. Rustam Rás also, who had reached the house, was killed. Many bráhmans lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Sháh 'Álam by the hands of a discreet person. * *

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

War with Bijápúr.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 316.] Aurangzeb determined that he would march in person to effect the conquest of Bijápúr, and he started with that intention on the 4th Sha'bán. * * Prince A'zam, with some experienced nobles and a suitable force, was sent to reduce Bijápúr. On approaching the place, he found that the forces of the Dakhin, under the command of 'Abdu-r Rúf and Sharza Khán, hovered round him in all directions. In that year calamity had fallen on the crops, and grain was very dear. The Dakhiní
forces occupied the country all around, and prevented all supplies of corn from reaching Bijápur, so that grain became very scarce and dear in the (Imperial) army, and it was difficult to get a loaf. ** At length, after many severe actions, ** the forces of the enemy were driven back, and convoys of provisions were brought safely into the camp of Prince Muhammad A'zam, and he was relieved from the difficulties which had beset him. ** Great favours and honours were bestowed on Gháziú-d dín Khán for the service he had rendered in bringing in the convoy.

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

Some mischief-making people reported to Aurangzeb that on a day when an attack was made Sháh Kulí was inside the fortress along with Sikandar; also that a person named Saiyid ʿAlam used to come out of the city by night, and have interviews in secret with the Prince. This was confirmed by the report of Rúhu-llah Khán kotwál. Orders were accordingly given for the arrest of Saiyid ʿAlam when he came out to see Prince Sháh ʿAlam, and also for the apprehension of Sháh Kulí. Sháh Kulí was at length seized and brought before Aurangzeb, who examined him and endeavoured to extract from him the truth about his visits to the city. Nothing but denial was obtained from the prisoner, so the order was given for binding him and submitting him to the torture. After receiving a few blows, his spirit gave way; he divulged the whole secret, and named several others who had been concerned with him.
Aurangzeb sent for Prince Sháh 'Álam, and in a private interview reproached him with these secret negotiations. The Prince denied them, and said that Sháh Kulí was no servant of his. Orders were given for the confinement of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, and for the expulsion of several other persons from the army. Aurangzeb’s feelings had been estranged from Prince Sháh 'Álam since the transactions at Haidarábád, and he was now still more offended with him. He made no outward change in the Prince’s rank and allowances, or in the honours due to him as heir apparent, but his estrangement daily increased.


Conquest of Bijápúr and Haidarábád.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 322.] By the exertions of Gháziú-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang, and other renowned warriors, and through want of supplies, the garrison of Bijápúr was in great distress, and many men and horses had perished. Sharza Khán and other nobles asked for terms on behalf of Sikandar, and at the beginning of the thirtieth year of the reign, in Zí-l ka’dá, 1097 (October, 1686), the keys of the fortress were surrendered to Aurangzeb. The conquest was celebrated with great display, and Sikandar was placed in confinement in the fort of Daulatabád, a suitable provision being made for his support.

At the end of Muharram Aurangzeb notified his intention of going to pay a visit to the tomb of Hazrat Banda-nawáz Saiyid Muhammad Gísú, and marched towards Kulbarga. He sent a kind farmán to Abú-l Hasan, and another to Sa’ádat Khán, his own hájib at Haidarábád, asking for payment of the tribute. He also wrote privately to Sa’ádat Khán, to the effect that it was his intention shortly to march against Haidarábád and conquer it; but Sa’ádat Khán was meanwhile to do his utmost to obtain money from Abú-l Hasan. Sa’ádat Khán flattered Abú-l
Hasan with hopes of favours from Aurangzeb, and exerted himself to obtain payment of the tribute. Abú-l Hasan, in the hope of finding safety, told Sa’ádat Khán that he was unable to find the money; but he offered instead the jewels and valuables belonging to his wives and others. He therefore asked him to send his young eunuch to select and take away the jewels and other things. Sa’ádat Khán refused to send the eunuch, and negotiations went on for some days, until the intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb was at Kulbarga.

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

Two or three days later intelligence was brought that Aurangzeb had left Kulbarga and had arrived at Golkonda. Everybody now said that his object was to conquer Golkonda. Abú-l Hasan sent to Sa’ádat Khán, saying * * that he had no longer hope of any consideration from Aurangzeb, and demanded back the jewels which he had placed in his charge. Sa’ádat Khán replied that * * he had sent the jewels to Aurangzeb in the baskets which accompanied Abú-l Hasan’s present of fruit. A great scene followed. Abú-l Hasan placed a guard over Sa’ádat Khán’s house. * * The latter said that he had only obeyed the orders, and acted in accordance with his wishes in sending the jewels. “For this,” said he, “you are now about to kill me. My master has long desired some pretext
for destroying you, he cannot have a better one than the murder of his hājīb. If I am spared, I can do something to obtain forgiveness for you, and I will exert myself to the utmost.” * * In some matters Sa’ādat Khán had befriended Abú-l Hasan against the designs of his own master. So Abú-l Hasan, thinking of what might follow, refrained from injuring him, and made him presents. * *

When Aurangzeb drew near to Haidarábád, Abú-l Hasan felt that the time of his fall was near; but he sent a letter to Aurangzeb, renewing his protestations of obedience, and reiterating his claims to forgiveness. * * Aurangzeb wrote a reply, the gist of which was as follows: “The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the saiyids, shaikhs, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islám, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy’s country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover it had lately become known that a lac of pagodus had been sent to the wicked Sambhá. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next.”

Abú-l Hasan, seeing that there was no longer any hope for him, sent forth his forces, under the command of his best officers,
to meet Aurangzeb, urging them to fight valiantly, and to endeavour to make Aurangzeb prisoner. * * * On the 24th Rabí‘u-l awwal the royal army took ground at gun-shot distance from Golkonda, and the work of the siege began. * * * Abú-l Hasan had forty or fifty thousand horse outside the walls, with whom the royal army had frequent encounters, and a sharp fire of guns and rockets was kept up from the fortifications. Some distinguished officers of the royal army and many men were lost on both sides. After the arrival of Fíroz Jang, the whole management of the siege was placed in his hands.

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

Some of Prince Muhammad A’zam’s companions informed Aurangzeb that Sháh ʿAlam was about to make his way into the city. On hearing this, Aurangzeb was greatly enraged. He called Hayát Khán, and another of Sháh ʿAlam’s confidential servants, to his presence, and questioned them in private as to the Prince’s intention. They replied that the Prince’s object was to obtain, by his influence, a pardon for Abú-l Hasan, and, failing in that, to do his best for the reduction of the fortress.
Of evil intentions he had none. But for all their pleas and protestations they could not remove the suspicions which Aurangzeb had of his son. Orders were given for a force to be sent to bring the Prince before him. Hayát Khán said there was no necessity for that. If the Emperor sent an officer to call the Prince, he would come at once, for he had no thought but of obedience. So on the 18th Rabí‘u-s sání, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign, an officer was sent to bring the Prince, with Muhammad ’Azím, his second son, to the royal presence. The Prince obeyed immediately, and waited on his august father. The Emperor ordered that all the establishments of the Prince should be seized, and his mansabs and jágirs confiscated. [Harsh treatment of Núru-l Nissa, the Prince’s wife, and of her eunuchs.] But here we will refrain from entering upon the unhappy details of the Prince’s imprisonment, and his liberation, and will proceed with the account of the conquest of Golkonda.

Day by day, and week by week, the approaches were pushed forward under the direction of Gházíu-d dín Fíroz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizám, Mustafá Khán Lári, otherwise called ’Abdu-r Razzák, and others. The fighting was desperate, and many were killed on both sides. After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minháj, Shaikh Nizám, and others, deserted Abú-l Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable mansabs and titles. Muhammad Ibráhím, who was the first to quit the way of error, and to enter upon the royal road of rectitude, received a mansab of 7000 and 6000 horse, with the title of Mahábat Khán. He exerted himself above all others in endeavouring to reduce the fortress. Shaikh Nizám received a mansab of 6000 and 5000 horse, with the title of Takarrub Khán. Of all the nobles of Abú-l Hasan, the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mustafá Khán Lári, or, as he was also called, ’Abdu-r Razzák.
The siege was protracted for a long time, and from the immense stores of ammunition in the fortress, an unintermitting discharge was kept up night and day from the gates, and towers, and walls, of cannon-balls, bullets, rockets and other fiery missiles. The smoke arising from the constant firing removed the distinction of day and night, and no day passed without the besiegers suffering a loss in killed and wounded. The assailants exerted themselves vigorously, especially ***, and so in the course of a month and some days the lines were carried up to the very edge of the ditch, and orders were issued for filling it up. It is said that Aurangzeb himself, after observing the rite of purification, sewed the seams of the first cotton bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. High mounds were raised, and heavy guns were placed upon them and pointed against the fortress. Their heavy fire greatly harassed the defenders. The scarcity and dearness of grain and fodder (within the city) was extreme, so that many men of wealth were disheartened; who then can describe the position of the poor and needy? Throughout the Dakhin in the early part of this year there was a scarcity of rain when the jowär and bájrá came into ear, so they dried up and perished. These productions of the autumn harvest are the main support of the people of the Dakhin. Rice is the principal food of the people of Haidarábád, and the cultivation of this had been stopped by war and by scarcity of rain. The Dakhinis and the forces of the hell-dog Sambhá had come to the assistance of Haidarábád, and hovering round the Imperial forces, they cut off the supplies of grain. Pestilence (mábá) broke out, and carried off many men. Thus great numbers of men were lost. Others, unable to bear the pangs of hunger and wretchedness, went over to Abú-1 Hasan, and some treacherously rendered aid to the besieged.

When the siege had been carried on for some time, Aurangzeb recalled Prince Muhammad A'zam, whom, in consequence of the unfaithfulness of Prince Sháh 'Alam, he had sent to settle the country round Ujjain and Akbarábád, and who had got as far as
Burhánpúr. He also summoned Rúhu-lláh Khán, an experienced and highly-trusted nobleman, from Bijnápur. Soon after the Prince’s arrival, the dearness of grain passed all bounds. * * In the middle of Rajab, when the siege had lasted three months, * * it was resolved to make an attempt to take the place by surprise at night, by means of scaling-ladders and ropes. * * A few brave men succeeded in ascending the ramparts, * * but the barking of a dog gave the alarm, and the defenders rushed to the walls and soon despatched those who had gained the top. They also threw down the ladders, and so made an end of those who were mounting. Others opened fire. When the leaders of the storming party gained the summit of the ramparts, one of Aurangzeh’s servants ran off to report their success, without waiting to see the result of the enterprise. Aurangzeh, on receiving his report, ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and ordered out his royal equipage and state dress. Next day spies reported that Abú-l Hasan gave the dog a gold collar, a plated chain, etc., and directed that the dog should be kept chained near to himself.

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

On the 19th Sha'bán it was reported that a triple mine had been driven under the bastions of the fortress, and charged with gunpowder. Orders were then given that a force should be collected in the lines as if about to make an attack upon the undermined work, so that the enemy might observe this, and assemble his men there. The mines were then to be fired. 'Abdu-r Razzák Lári and others of the besieged, having observed these proceedings, commenced countermining. They pushed their work with such skill and activity, * * that they drew the powder and match from one mine, and poured water into the other two. The Imperial troops collected for the assault, and raised their cries; and the gunners watched the ramparts for the proper moment for firing the mine. When the signal was given, one mine exploded, but as part of the powder had been extracted, and of the remaining part that which lay nearest to the fortress was wet, the blowing up of the bastion did more injury to the besiegers than the besieged. * * The garrison then sallied forth, and occupied the trenches, killing all whom they found alive in them. After a severe struggle, in which many men fell on both sides, the trenches were recovered. The second mine was exploded, and thousands of stones, great and small, were hurled into the air; but, as in the former case, they fell upon the heads of the besiegers, * * and great numbers were killed and wounded. * *

Great wailings and complaints arose from the troops engaged in the siege. * * The cannonade recommenced on both sides, and many more of the besiegers fell. * * Although Fíroz Jang exerted himself most strenuously, he made no impression upon the place. The long delay kindled the anger of Aurangzeb. He called his chiefs and officers together, * * and placing him-
self at about a gun-shot distance from the walls, he ordered an assault to be made under his own eyes. Prodigies of valour were exhibited. But a storm of wind and rain arose, and obstructed the progress of the assailants, and they were forced to fall back drenched with rain. The garrison again made a sally, took possession of the trenches, spiked the heavy guns, on the mounting of which immense money and labour had been expended, and carried away all that was portable. They pulled out of the moat the logs of wood, and the many thousands of bags which had been used to fill it up, and used them to repair the breaches made by the mines. It was afterwards determined that the third mine should be sprung in the presence of Aurangzeb. But although fire was applied, nothing resulted. An examination as to the cause was instituted, but nothing was discovered until it was learnt from spies that the enemy had cleared out the powder and cut the match. Fíroz Jang had received two arrow wounds. The command of the army was then given to Prince Muhammad A’zam.

Several of the officers of Abú-l Hasan had come over to the side of Aurangzeb, and had received suitable titles, mansabs, and presents. Shaikh Minháj, having heard of this, was about to desert, but Abú-l Hasan placed him in confinement, and seized his house. Of all his nobles, none remained faithful to Abú-l Hasan but 'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí, who had received the title Mustafá Khán, and 'Abdu-llah Khán Pání Afgán. At the end of Sha’bán, the siege had lasted eight months, and Abú-l Hasan’s men still worked indefatigably. At length, 'Abdu-llah Khán made secret overtures to Aurangzeb, and agreed to open one of the gates of the city for the admission of his troops.

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

The besiegers continued to show great resolution in pushing on the siege. They cast into the ditches thousands of bags filled with dirt and rubbish, and thousands of carcases of animals and men who had perished during the operations. Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls; but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts; so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained untaken. But the fortune of 'Alamgír at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place fell into his hands; but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.


[Text, vol. ii. p. 361.] At the beginning of the month Zí-l ka'da, at the commencement of the thirty-first year of the reign, agreeing with 1098 A.H. (Sept. 1687), by the efforts of Rúhu-llah Khán, a negociation was concluded, through Ranmast Khán Afghán Pání, with 'Abdu-llah Khán, who was one of the confidential officers of Abú-l Hasan, and had charge of the gate called the khirkí (wicket). In the last watch of the night Rúhu-llah Khán and * *, at a sign from 'Abdu-llah, entered the fortress by means of ladders. Prince Muhammad A'zam, mounted on an elephant, had a large force ready to enter by the gate. Those who had got in went to the gate, posted their men, opened the gate, and raised the cry of victory.

'Abdu-r Razzák Lári heard this, and, springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, he rushed to the open gate, through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an
atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abú-l Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat. The horse carried him to a garden called Nagína, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoa-nut tree, where, by the help of the tree, he threw himself off. On the morning of the second day a party of men belonging to Husainí Beg passed, and recognizing him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him, and carried him upon a bedstead to a house. When his own men heard of this, they came and dressed his wounds. The remainder of the story of this brave devoted warrior shall be told hereafter.

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

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

'Abdu-r Razzák,¹ senseless, but with a spark of life remaining,
was carried to the house of Rúhu-llah Kháń. As soon as the
eyes of Saf-shíkan Kháń fell upon him, he cried out, “This is
that vile Lárí! cut off his head and hang it over the gate.”
Rúhu-llah replied that to cut off the head of a dying man
without orders, when there was no hope of his surviving, was far
from being humane. A little bird made the matter known to
Aurangzeb, who had heard of 'Abdu-r Razzák's daring and
courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two sur-
geons, one a European, the other a Hindú, should be sent to
attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his
condition to Aurangzeb.

The Emperor sent for Rúhu-llah Kháń, and told him that
if Abú-l Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted
like 'Abdu-r Razzák, it would have taken much longer to
subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had
counted nearly seventy wounds, besides the many wounds
upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye
was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of
both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At
the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened

¹ In a subsequent page (390) the author says that he lived for some time with
'Abdu-r Razzák near Ráhírí. This accounts for the long notice he has given of that
brave soldier.
one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son 'Abdu-l Kádir with his other sons, that they might receive suitable mansabs and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the mansabs and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service; but should he ever be capable of service, he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abú-l Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of King 'Alamgír (Aurangzeb). On hearing these words, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty; but he kindly said, "When he is quite well, let me know." Most of 'Abdu-r Razzák's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him.

1 Some time afterwards it was reported that 'Abdu-r Razzák had got quite well, and an order was issued to the Subadár to send him to the royal presence. 'Abdu-r Razzák tried to excuse himself, and expressed a wish to go with his children on the pilgrimage to Mecca, on returning from which blessed journey he would devote himself to prayer for the long life of His Majesty. Orders were then given for arresting him and sending him to Court. Fíroz Jang got information of this, and with great sympathy invited 'Abdu-r Razzák to come and stay with him. He kept him for some time with marked kindness, and after the lapse of a year 'Abdu-r Razzák entered the Imperial service with a mansab of 4000 and 3000 horse.

The property of Abú-l Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight lacs and fifty-one thousand huns, and two krors and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six

1 In the text ten pages intervene before this finish of 'Abdu-r Razzák's story is brought in. It appears in the thirty-second year of the reign.
krors eighty lacs and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles and vessels of gold and silver. The total in dáms was one arb fifteen krors sixteen lacs and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.

The mud fort of Golkonda was built by the ancestors of Rája Deo Ráí, and it was acquired by the Bahmani Sultáns after a good deal of resistance. Upon the fall of the Bahmani dynasty, their territories fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs; but Sultán Muhammad Kulí, entitled Kutbu-l Mulk, who had been one of the nobles of Sultán Muhammad Sháh Bahmani, brought some of the provinces of the Dakhin under his rule. For the old mud fort of Rája Deo Ráí, which stood upon the summit of a hill, he substituted one of stone. After some descents, the kingdom came to Muhammad Kutbu-l Mulk, for all the descendents bore the name of Kutbu-l Mulk. He took great pains in repairing the fort of Golkonda. He had a wife named Bhágmatí, of whom he was very fond. At her request, he built a city two kos distant from the fortress, to which he gave the name of Bhágnagar. Some time after the death of Bhágmatí, the name was changed to Haidarábád; but in the vernacular language of the people it is still called Bhágnagar. That woman¹ had established many brothels and drinking shops in that place, and the rulers had always been addicted to pleasure and to all sorts of debauchery. Abú-l Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure. So the city got an evil name for licentiousness. After the conquest by Aurangzeb, it was called the hostile country (dárn-l jihád).

[Surrender of the fort of Sakar between Haidarábád and Bijaápúr.]

Thirty-second Year of the Reign, 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.).

[Surrender of the fort of Adhoní to Prince Muhammad A’zam Sháh.]

¹ The words are explicit.

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


Operations against the Mahrattas. Capture and Execution of Sambhá.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 383.] Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh was sent with an army and some experienced amírs to punish the infidels about Bahádur-garh and Gulshanábád.¹ Fíroz Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rájgarh. Mukarrab Khan, otherwise called Shaikh Nizám Haidarábádí, was sent against the infidel Sambhá. Each of them endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of the service on which he had been sent. Mukarrab Khán was

¹ In Baglána, near Junír. See post, p. 345.
distinguished above all the nobles of the Dakhin for his military knowledge and enterprise. He laid siege to the fort of Parnála, near Kolápúr, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get information about Sambhá, who in his vile and evil course of life was ten times worse than his father Sivaji. * * *

This ill-bred fellow left his old home at Ráhíra, and went to the fort of Khelna. After satisfying himself of the state of its stores, and the settlement of the country round, under the guidance of adverse fortune, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces, he went to bathe in the waters of the Bán-Ganga, on the borders of the district of Sangamnir,¹ one day’s journey from the sea-shore. The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of difficult passage. Here Kabkalas, the filthy dog, had built a house, embellished with paintings, and surrounded with a garden full of fruit-trees and flowers. Sambhá, with Kabkalas, and his wives, and his son Sáhú, went there, accompanied with a force of two or three thousand horse, entirely unaware of the approach of the falcon of destiny. After bathing, he lingered there, viewing the lofty hills, the arduous roads full of ascents and descents, and the thick woods of thorny trees. Unlike his father, he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure. Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khán; but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin.

Mukarrab Khán started boldly from his base at Kolápúr, which was forty-five kos distant from the retreat to which Sambhá had resorted. He took with him two thousand horse and one thousand foot, selected men. The reports brought to him represented that the road was steep and arduous, over high hills, and that thirty or forty men without arms might hold the road against a large army by throwing down stones. But that brave leader heeded

¹ Sangameshwar, in the Ghats. See Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 369.
none of these objections. * * He set out and made a rapid
march, and in the most difficult places they came to he himself
went first on foot. * * They pressed on, and approached near
the place where the doomed one was staying.

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

Mukarrab Khán, with his sons and nephews, ten or twelve brave
personal attendants, and two or three hundred horsemen, fell
sword in hand upon the heedless Sambhá, who too late thought of
defending himself. Kabkalas, his wazir, was well known for his
courage and daring. He did his best to save him, and, with
a party of Mahrattas, advanced to meet the assailants. At the
commencement of the fight he received an arrow in the right
arm, which rendered the limb useless. He fell from his horse,
exclaiming that he would remain there. Sambhá, who was about
to take to flight, sprang from his horse, and said that he would
stay with him. Four or five Mahrattas were cut down, but
all the rest of Sambhá's men fled. Kabkalas was taken pri-
soner; Sambhá went for refuge into an idol temple, and there
hid himself. The place was surrounded, and he was discovered.
Several of his followers, of no importance, were killed; but he
and his family, including his son Sálhú, a boy of seven or eight
years of age, were all made prisoners. All his men and women,
twenty-six individuals in number, were taken, and also two
women belonging to Rám Rája, his younger brother, whom he
kept confined in one of his forts. The hands of all of them were
bound, and they were brought to the feet of the elephant on
which Mukarrab Khán was riding. Although Sambhá, in the
brief interval, had shaved off his beard, smeared his face with
ashes, and changed his clothes, he was discovered by a necklace
of pearls under his garments, and by the gold rings upon the legs of his horse. Mukarrab Khán made him ride behind him on the same elephant, and the other captives were chained and carried off, some on elephants, some on horses.

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

After their arrival, Aurangzeb held a darbár, and the prisoners were brought in. On seeing them, he descended from his throne, and made two ruk'ats as a mark of his gratitude to the Almighty. It is said that Kabkalas observed this. He was well versed in Hindú poetry, and although his head and neck and every limb was firmly secured so that he could use only his eyes and tongue, when he saw Aurangzeb make these signs of devotion, he looked at Samblá, and repeated some Hindú lines to this effect, “O Rájá, at the sight of thee the King 'Alamgír (Aurangzeb), for all his pomp and dignity, cannot keep his seat upon his throne, but has perforce descended from it to do thee honour.”

After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the councillors of the State advised that their lives

† On the south of the river Nírâ, about half way between Bítjápur and Púna. It is the “Aldús” of Elphinstone’s map.
should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses held by the adherents of Sambhá. But the doomed wretches knew that, after all, their heads would fall upon the scaffold, or that, if by abject submission and baseness, they escaped death, they would be kept in confinement deprived of all the pleasures of life, and every day of life would be a new death. So both Sambhá and Kabkalas indulged in abusive language, and uttered the most offensive remarks in the hearing of the Emperor's servants. But it was the will of God that the stock of this turbulent family should not be rooted out of the Dakhin, and that King Aurangzeb should spend the rest of his life in the work of repressing them and taking their fortresses. The Emperor was in favour of seizing the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife, and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of receiving the keys of the fortresses. He gave orders that the tongues of both should be cut out, so that they might no longer speak disrespectfully. After that, their eyes were to be torn out. Then, with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambhá and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dakhin, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet. Such is the retribution for rebellious, violent, oppressive evil-doers.

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

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


[Text, vol. ii. p. 391.] Aurangzeb was desirous of rewarding Mukarrab Khan for his splendid and unparalleled success. * * * He granted to him an increase of 1000 horse, gave him the title of Khan-Zamán Fath-Jang, a present of 50,000 rupees, and of a horse, elephant, etc., etc. His son, Ikhlas Khan, who held a mansab of 4000 personal and 4000 horse, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khan-i 'Alam. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour.

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

**Turbulence of the Játs.**

[Text, vol. ii. p. 394.] It was now reported from Ágra that when Ághar Khán came there under orders from Kábul, a party of Játs attacked the caravan near Ágra. They seized the cattle and plundered the carts which were in the rear, and carried off some women as prisoners. Ághar Khán pursued them to the neighbourhood of a fort, where, after a sharp struggle, he rescued the women. He then boldly invested the fort, but he was killed by a musket-ball. His son-in-law was also killed. Khán-Jahán Kokaltásh had formerly failed in executing a commission to restrain the Játs, and for this and some displeasing actions he was recalled, and Prince Bedár Bakht was appointed on the duty.

An order was issued that no Hindú should ride in a pálkt or on an Arab horse without permission.

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

[Text, vol. ii. p. 397.] In the beginning or towards the middle of this year, Aurangzeb moved from Gúrgáon ¹ and Shikárpúr to Bíd, and after a while from thence to Gulká, one day's march from Bíjápúr, where the camp was pitched. The

¹ The previous march was from Akldj to Gúrgáon (Text, p. 393).
evil days of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam now drew to a close, and it pleased the Emperor to show him kindness. He directed that the shaving of the head and other rigours of prison discipline should be forbidden, and he held out to the Prince hopes of release.

The Hindi names of many places end with the letter ḥ, which there was a tendency to pronounce like alif in such names as Málwah, Bangálah, Baglánah, and Parnálah. Orders were given that such names should be written with an alif, as Málwá, Bangálá, Bagláná, etc.

Mukhlis Khán, dārogha of the artillery, reported that some of the Mahratta chiefs had taken Rám Rája, brother of the late Sambhá, out of confinement, and had raised him to the rāj in succession to his father and brother. They had assembled large forces with the vain intention of besieging fortresses. He sent robes and presents to the officers in command of his own forts, and, like his father and brother, he appointed different leaders to plunder the country, and to get possession of forts.

*The Portuguesc.*

[Text, vol. ii. p. 400.] It was mentioned in the history of the reign of Sháh Jahán that Christian traders had come to India to the ports on the sea-shore. The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring ports, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes. They allotted a separate quarter for the Musulmáns who dwelt with them, and appointed a kázi over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage. But the call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements. If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease. On the sea, they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships, except those ships which have not received their pass
according to rule, or the ships of Arabia or Maskat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. But their greatest act of tyranny is this. If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in many places, and the párís, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musúlmán sayíd or a Hindú bráhman. They also make them serve as slaves. In the 'Adil-Sháhí Kokan, close to the sea, in the fine and famous fort of Goá, their governor resides; and there is a captain there who exercises full powers on the part of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourishing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from fourteen or fifteen kos south of Surá to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Habshis, which is called the Nizám-Sháhí Kokan. In the rear of the hills of Bagláná, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulshanábád, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of these, by name Dáman and Basí, which they obtained by fraud from Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their possessions measure in length about forty or fifty kos; but they are not more than a kos or a kos and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugar-cane, pine-apples, and rice; and cocoa-nut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue. They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called ašhraft, worth nine ándás. They also use bits of copper which they call busurg, and four of these busurses pass for a fulús. The orders of the King (of India) are not current there. When
the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the house and out of it, to their wives. They have only one wife, and concubinage is not permitted by their religion. * * *

Rám Rája.

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

Thirty-seventh Year of the Reign, 1104 A.H. (1693 A.D.).

The Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 414.] This year Aurangzeb stayed at Bairampúri,¹ the name of which was ordered to be changed to Islámpúri. * * Forces were sent against the fort of Parnála and other forts in various places. * * After the execution of Sambhá, many of the Mahratta chieftains received instructions from Rám Rája to ravage the country. They hovered round the Imperial armies, and were exceedingly daring. * * Among them was Santá Ghor-

¹ Elphinstone calls it "Birmapúri near Pandarpúr (Pándharpúr) on the Bhíma." The Survey Map has "Brumhapooree," lower down the river than Pándharpúr, and south-west of Sholápúr.
púra and Dahiná Jádú, two experienced warriors and leaders of from fifteen to twenty thousand horse. Other Mahratta chiefs submitted to their leadership, and great losses were inflicted on the Imperial forces.

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

These evil tidings greatly troubled Aurangzeb. * * Further, news came that Sántá had fought with Ján-nisár Khán and Tahawwur Khán, on the borders of the Karnátik, and had inflicted upon them a severe defeat and the loss of their artillery and baggage. Ján-nisár Khán was wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Tahawwur Khán was also wounded, and lay among the dead, but was restored to life. Many other renowned amirs met with similar defeats. Aurangzeb was greatly distressed, but in public he said that the creature could do nothing, for everything was in the hands of God.
Siege of Jinji. Arrest of Prince Kám Bakhs.

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

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

1 Eighty miles south-west of Madras.
flames of his discontent, so that great danger threatened the army.

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

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

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

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

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

During these troubles I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for 'Abdu-r Razzák Khán at the port of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two lacs of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to 'Abdu-r Razzák, the fazídár of Báhirí. My route was along the sea-shore through the possessions of the Portuguese and English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory,
in consequence of a letter from 'Abdu-r Razzák, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sídi Yákút Khán. 'Abdu-r Razzák had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haidarábád days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy. The Englishman sent out the brother of his dhíwán, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the dhíwán’s brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman’s vakil advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

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

I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation; then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant
and unpleasant, bitter and sweet; but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards 'Abdu-r Razzák. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the sun is when all the world is filled with its rays." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? by what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances, and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sídí Yákút, but to-day the scars have been removed from our hearts.' A person who was with them knew Hindí and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

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

I smiling replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an
exemplatory and sensible answer! But you must recall to mind that the hereditary Kings of Bijápúr and Haidarábád and the good-for-nothing Sambhá have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzéb. Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coining rupees!"

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

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

1 "Rix-dollars."—Shakespeare's Dictionary.
The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khanderi, Kalaba, Kas, and Katora,1 in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the Habshis. Their war-ships cruise about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The sakanaus also, who are sometimes called bawaril, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmadabad, are notorious for their piracies, and they attack from time to time the small ships which come from Bandar 'Abbasi and Maskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The reprobate English act in the same way as the sakanaus.

_Destruction of a Royal Army by the Mahrattas._

[Text, vol. ii. p. 428.] Among the events of this year was the defeat of Kasim Khan and ***, who were sent to Danderi 2 against Santah Ghorpura. *** One day intelligence was brought that Kasim Khan's advanced force had been attacked by a division of the enemy, that all their portable goods had been plundered, and the standing camp set on fire. *** Kasim Khan, on hearing this, endeavoured to push forward to their assistance; but he was surrounded by the enemy, and fighting went on till sunset. *** They had no food for man or animal: The nobles passed the night upon their elephants, and the men with their bridles in their hands. *** At daybreak, the enemy became more daring, and the fighting more severe, for the Mahrattas swarmed on all sides. *** For three days the royal forces, overmatched and surrounded, did their best to repulse the enemy; but Kasim Khan was at length compelled to give ground and to

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

2 The Tuckir-i Chaghatiit calls it "the little fort of Dandheri"; but the Ma-deir-i Alamgiri says "the little fort of Dirandi," and gives "Dudheri" as the place of Himmat Khan's death (post, p. 357). Scott (vol. ii. p. 93) calls it "Dundoores," and Grant Duff (vol. i. p. 388) "Dodairee." There is a fort of Dodairee in the Survey Map, about 25 miles N.E. of Chitaldarg, which is the locality fixed upon by Elphinstone. It is wrongly written "Doderi" in Elphinstone's map. According to the T. Chaghatiit, Himmat Khan was in a place called Biswapatan before he marched to his death.
retire fighting, to the shelter of the fort of Danderi. The chief men got some hay and corn from the fort, but the soldiers got no food. Movement in any direction was scarcely possible. Thus they remained for three or four days under the shelter of the walls of the fort, and of the lines they threw up to protect themselves from the assaults of the enemy. Their camels and cattle fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. While the fighting went on, the gates of the fort were kept closed, and the traders and inhabitants within let down food from the walls and sold it. On the fourth or fifth day the enemy got intelligence that Himmat Khán was coming with a force to the rescue. Santá left half his force to keep Kásim Khán's army invested, and with the other marched against Himmat Khán. On learning that another force belonging to Rám Rája would act against Himmat Khán, he returned to his former position.

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

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

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

Thirty-ninth year of the reign, 1106 a.h. (1694-5 a.d.).

The Royal Princes.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 434.] Prince Muhammad Ā’zam Sháh had gone to Kharpa (Kaddapa), to punish the rebels and to settle affairs. The insalubrity of the climate affected his health, and dropsy supervened. He returned to Court, and experienced physicians were appointed to attend him. * * * His illness became so serious that his couch was placed near the chamber of the Emperor, who showed his paternal solicitude by administering his medicine, by partaking of food with him, and doing everything he could to restore him to health. God at length gave him a perfect cure.

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

While Prince Sháh 'Alam was in confinement, the Emperor had shown great favour to Prince Muhammad Ā’zam Sháh, who considered himself to be the heir apparent. But now that the elder Prince was restored to full liberty, and to a greater share of attention than before, Prince Muhammad Ā’zam was much aggrieved. * * * One day the King took the hand of Prince Sháh 'Alam, and placed him on his right hand. * * * Then he took the hand of Prince Muhammad Ā’zam, and made signs for him to sit down on his left. This greatly annoyed Prince Muhammad Ā’zam, and an open quarrel was imminent. * * * After a time Prince Muhammad Mu’azzam, who had been entitled Sháh 'Alam, was honoured with the title Bahádur Sháh, and
was sent to settle the affairs of 
Agra, and to punish the rebels in that quarter. ** Soon afterwards Prince Muhammad A’zam was ordered with his sons to Kábul, and Prince Mu’izzu-d dín to Multán.

**Death of Santá Ghorpúra.**

[p. 445.] The death of Santá at this time was a great piece of good fortune for Aurangzeb. The exact particulars of his death are not known; but I will relate what I have heard from men of credit who were with the army. Ghaziu-d dín Khán Fíroz Jang, who had been sent to chastise Santá and other robbers, was four or five marches from Bijápúr. ** Intelligence was brought that Santá Ghorpúra, with an army of 25,000 horse, was at a distance of eight or nine kos. ** Fíroz Jang marched towards Bijápúr, and when he was eight or nine kos distant from the city his scouts brought him word that there was a quarrel between Santá and Dahná Jádú, both of whom were senápatis, or generals, ** and they were constantly trying to get the better of each other. Santá was very severe in the punishments he inflicted on his followers. For a trifling offence he would cast a man under the feet of an elephant. Many of the Mahratta chiefs had ill-blood against him, and they had conspired with Dahná Jádú, by letters and by messengers, to get rid of him. Hanumant Rái, a sardár of distinction, at the instigation of Dahná Jádú, made an attack in concert with Jádú’s army upon Santá. Dahná had also won over the great officers who were in company with Santá. They plundered Santá’s baggage, and several of the principal ráucats of his army went over to Hanumant. Many of his men were killed and wounded, and he himself, being deprived of his power, fled to the hills and his own mawals. **

On receipt of orders from Aurangzeb, Fíroz Jang went in pursuit of Santá. Dahná Jádú’s army pursued him on the other side. Santá’s forces were entirely separated from him and
dispersed. Nágójí Mánáí, a Mahratta sardár, had served for some time in the Imperial army, but subsequently joined his own people. This part of the country was his native land. Several years before, Santá had thrown a brother of Nágójí under the feet of an elephant, and this had produced a mortal hatred. Under the guidance of his wife, he led a party in pursuit of Santá. He reached a place where Santá, worn and weary, and without attendants, was bathing in a stream. He approached him suddenly, and killed him unawares. He then cut off his head, and, placing it in a bag, fastened it behind him on his horse, and carried it off to Dáhiná Jándú. On the road the bag fell off, and was picked up by some runners and horsemen belonging to the army of Fíroz Jang, who were in pursuit of Santá. The head was recognized, and was carried to Lutfu-llah Khán, commander of Fíroz Jang’s advanced guard. * * * It was finally sent to Aurangzeb, who gave the bearer of it the title of Khush-khabár Khán. The drums of joy were beaten, and the head was ordered to be exposed with ignominy before the army and in several places of the Dakhín.

'Abdu-r Razzák Lárí.

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

1 The text has Nákóná Miyán, Nakomá Miná, etc. Grant Duff’s version of the name has been adopted.
Fortieth Year of the Reign, 1107 A.H. (1695-6 A.D.).

Rám Rája. Prínce Akbar. Flood.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 450.] Rám Rája, brother of Sambhé, having left the fort of Jáét, in the district of Rájgarh, went to Jinjí and other strong places. He then proceeded to the fort of Sattára, where he remained seven months. When he was informed of the murder of Santá, he sent for Dahirá Jádú, to consult with him about getting together an army, and recommencing the war.

Prince Muhammad Akbar, after the accession of Sultán Husain to the throne of Persia, repeatedly asked for the help of an army to reinstate him in Hindústán. The new Sháh, like his predecessor, excused himself. * * The Prince then complained that the climate of Isfahán did not agree with him, and asked permission to reside for a while in Garmsír. The request was granted, and assignments were made of the revenues of that province for his support. So the Prince proceeded thither, with an appointed escort of 10,000 kazílbáshes.

In the month of Muharram of this year the river Bhanra,¹ near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height, and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The amírs had built many houses there. The waters began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep. * * The floods carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the King, and the princes and the amírs, horses, bullocks and cattle in countless numbers, tents and furniture beyond all count. Numberless houses were destroyed, and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army. * * The King wrote out prayers with his own hand, and ordered them to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside. * *

¹ The Bhíma. The name is written here "Bhanra," but the Index makes it "Bhanbara." In the Básínshrá-níma it was "Bhúnra" (suprá, p. 54).

[Attempt to murder Sidi Yâkút Khán of Jazira.]


The Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 457.] Nibá Sindhiá and other officers of Rám Rája, with an army of eight thousand horse, came to the district of Nandurbár, and attacked and burnt several villages. When he heard that Husain 'Alí Khán was approaching from Thálír,1 he suspended his operations against Nandurbár, and went to meet him. Husain Khán had only seven or eight hundred horse and two or three thousand provincial musketeers and archers; but he went forth to meet the enemy. They encountered each other at two kos from the town of Thálír, and a fierce action ensued. * * The number of Sindhiá’s forces enabled him to surround Husain ‘Alí Khán, about three hundred of whose men were killed. The day went against Husain ‘Alí, and he had received two or three wounds. Dripping with blood, he threw himself from his elephant; but he had no strength left for fighting, so he was surrounded and made prisoner. All his baggage, his men, and elephants were captured.

In addition to the cash and property which they had got by plunder, the enemy fixed two lacs of rupees as the price of the ransom of the prisoners. After much exertion, nearly one lac and 80,000 rupees was raised from the jāgürs, and from the property which had been left in the town of Thálír. To make up the balance, the sarráfs and merchants of Nandurbár were importuned to raise a sum, small or great, by way of loan. But they would not consent. The inhabitants of the town of Nandurbár had not paid the chaughth to the Mahrattas, and being supported by the faujdár, they had closed their gates, which greatly annoyed the enemy (Mahrattas). Husain ‘Alí Khán also was greatly incensed

1 "Táltner," east of Nandurbár.
by their refusal to assist him; so he took counsel with the enemy, and agreed that after a siege of a day or two, and some exhibition of force, he would open the gates to them. He made it a condition that the raiyats should not be plundered, but that the great and wealthy men, the sarrufs, the merchants, and the mukaddams, might be put to the rack and tortured until the balance of the ransom due to the Mahrattas was discharged. The result was that a sum of one lac and forty thousand rupees was paid to the Mahrattas instead of eighty thousand, and that Husain 'Alí Khán himself realized nearly thirty thousand rupees. When (the result of the action) was reported to Aurangzeb, he was very angry, and said that there was no use in fighting when too weak to win.


Campaign against the Mahrattas. Siege of Sattára.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 459.] The daring inroads of the Mahrattas brought Aurangzeb to the resolution of waging a holy war against them, and of reducing the fortresses which were their homes and defences. His camp had now remained at Islámpúrí four years, and fine mansions and houses had been built there, so that a new city had sprung up, and men thought they would never move far away. Orders were given for throwing up earth-works round the place, and the officers and men worked so well that in fifteen or twenty days a defence was raised which might have occupied six or seven months. The Nawáb Kudsíya Zínatu-n Nissa, sister of Prince Muhammad A'zam Sháh, and mother of Muhammad Kám Baklsh, with other ladies of the royal household, were left there under the charge of Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khán. Orders were also given that all umírs and officers should leave their wives and families and property behind. The people belonging to the royal establishments were also to remain. Strict orders were also given that no ahád should take his wife or children with him. Great stress was laid
upon this order, but in the marches and campaigns of Hindústán such orders could not be enforced without resorting to such punishments as the Princes of the House of Timúr held to be inconsistent with their sense of justice. So the order was not obeyed as it ought to have been. On the 5th Jumáda-l-awwal the army marched towards the fort of Basant-garh,\(^1\) and in twenty days it arrived at Murtaza-ábád, or Mirich. There Prince Muhammad A’zam Sháh came, in obedience to summons, from Bír-gánw.

Rám Rája, brother of the deceased Sambhá, had, under the pressure of the royal armies, abandoned his fortresses and fled, taking refuge in the hills and places of difficult access. When he heard of the royal design upon the fortresses, he went off towards Bîrár, ravaging the towns and inhabited places. The Zamindár of Deogarh, in consequence of disturbances in his country, and the superior force of those who disputed the inheritance, had fled to the Court of Aurangzeb, and had received the title of Buland-bakht upon his becoming a Musulmán. Upon hearing of the death of his competitor, he hastened back to Deogarh without leave, and opposed the officers who were appointed to collect the tribute. He now joined Rám Rája in plundering the country. His Majesty ordered that his name should be changed to Nigún-bakht, and that Prince Bedár Bakht should march against him with a suitable force. * * Rúhu-llah Khán Bakhshí, with Hámídu-d dín Khán, were sent to plunder the environs of the forts of Parnála and Sátára. When the royal army came near to Basant-garh, Tarbiyat Khán, the commander of artillery, was ordered to take steps for investing the place and throwing up lines. * * The word was given for an assault, but the besieged were frightened and surrendered. Aurangzeb gave to the place the name Kilíd-i futúh, Key of Victory.

At the end of Jumáda-s sání the royal army arrived opposite Sátára, and the camp was pitched at the distance of a kos and

\(^1\) Between the Kistná and Koeena, about thirty miles south of Sátára.
a half. Prince Muhammad A’zam Sháh encamped on another side, and the amirs and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tarbiyat Khán. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and in carrying on other siege operations. * * On both sides a heavy fire was kept up, * * and the garrison rolled down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The rain obstructed the arrival of corn; the enemy were very daring in attacking the convoys, and the country for twenty kos round the fortress had been burnt, so that grain and hay became very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four yards (dar’a) high was thrown up in face of the hill, and on the Prince’s side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand rupees were paid for the services of the troops and máwalks of that country, who are very efficient in sieges. * * Matters went hard with the garrison, and the chance of firing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power; all they could do was to roll down stones from the walls. * *

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

When Aurangzéb was informed of the disaster, and of the

¹ “Nearly two thousand.”—Ma’adir-i’Alamgiri.
despondency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamity; then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Muhammad A'zam Sháh. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition. Afterwards he addressed his soldiers in encouraging words * * * [and gave fresh orders for the conduct of the siege].

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

Death of Rám Rája.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 468.] The news-writers now reported that Rám Rája, after meeting with some reverses in his raid upon Birár, was returning to the hills of his own territory. On his way he died, leaving three sons of tender years, and two wives.

¹ "Which were constructed entirely of wood."—Ma-asir-i 'Alamgir, p. 419.
Soon afterwards it was announced that the eldest son, a boy of five years of age, had died of small-pox. The chiefs then made Tárá Bái, the chief wife, and mother of one son, regent. She was a clever intelligent woman, and had obtained a reputation during her husband’s lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters. Tárá Bái proceeded to the hills of difficult approach.

On receiving this intelligence, the Emperor ordered the drums of rejoicing to be beaten, ** and the soldiers congratulated each other, ** saying that another prime mover in the strife was removed, ** and that it would not be difficult to overcome two young children and a helpless woman. They thought their enemy weak, contemptible and helpless; but Tárá Bái, as the wife of Rám Rája was called, showed great powers of command and government, and from day to day the war spread and the power of the Mahrattas increased.

Surrender of Sattára and Capture of Parlí.

[Text, p. 470.] At the death of Rám Rája, a chief named Parsa Rám was in the fort of Parlí, acting in that country as *díván* in revenue matters for Rám Rája. On hearing of his decease, without consulting with the commandant of the fort, he came and made his submission to Aurangzeb. The commandant also, being dismayed, sent a proposal of surrender upon terms. At the same time Sobhán, the commander of Sattára, was troubled by the blowing up of the wall on one side of the fortress and the burning of a great number of his men. The death of Rám Rája added to his perplexity. He was at feud with the commandant of fort Parlí, and he sent a message to Aurangzeb, through Prince Muhammad A’zam, offering to capitulate on honourable terms, if the proposal of the commandant of Parlí were rejected. He was willing to give up the keys of Sattára at once, and would undertake to place Parlí in Aurangzeb’s hands

1 Six miles south-west of Sattára.
unconditionally in a short time, without any promise of security. On the 16th Zi-1 ka'da he surrendered the keys, and more than three thousand persons, male and female, came out of the fort upon promise of safety. Great rejoicings followed. Sobhán was brought, bound hand and neck, to the foot of the throne; but orders were given for the forgiveness of his offences, and for loosening his bonds. He was appointed to a mansab of five thousand and two thousand horse, and a horse, an elephant, etc., were presented to him.

After the surrender of Sattára, Aurangzeb marched against Parlí, the commandant of that fort having been diverted by his advisers from his intention of surrendering. Parlí is a more lofty fort than Sattára, and it had been put into a state of preparation. * * On the 10th Zi-1 hijja many men were killed in an attempted assault, but in a short time the garrison was pressed very hard. The besiegers were greatly incommode by the heavy rain; which in this part of the country falls for five months without an hour's interval by night or day, and by lack of supplies, the convoys being cut off by the enemy who swarmed around. * * The garrison showed great daring in coming suddenly down the hill and attacking the besiegers; but the repeated attacks and the daring of Fathu-llah Khán at length prevailed, and a proposition of capitulation was made. At the beginning of Muharram, after a siege of a month and a half, the fortress was taken, and the men of the garrison marched out with their families and their old clothes. * * The name of Sattára was changed to A'zam-tárá, and of Parlí to Nauras-tárá.

Aurangzeb then determined to return, but there was little means of carriage, for the rains and the bad climate * * had affected the animals, so that those that were alive were nothing but skin and bone. Some of the baggage and matériel was carried away, some was left in the forts, and some was burnt. * * On reaching the river Kistná, there was great difficulty in crossing it. * * Some men attempted to swim over, but nine out of ten were drowned, * * and thousands remained behind and died.
In the middle of Safar the army reached an obscure fort, which offered sufficient protection for a few days, and an order was issued for a month’s rest there. The rains, which had continued so far, now ceased, and the men of the army found a little comfort.

Some proceedings of Prince Muhammad A’zam were displeasing to His Majesty, and his division of the army was in a bad state; so that, although he had shown great diligence and enterprise in the reduction of the fort of Parnála and other forts, he was sent, in order to appease the troops, to be Governor of the province of Ujjain. In the same way, several officers of the army were sent to their jügirs at ten or twelve days’ distance, to Bijaipur, and to other places in the vicinity. Prince Bedár Bakht was directed to lay siege to the fort of Parnála, and Zú-l fikár Khán and Tarbiyat Khán received orders to follow him with the artillery.

As many men had been lost in the reduction of the fortresses, strict orders were sent to the Súbadárs of Burhánpúr, Bijaipur, Haidarábád, Ahmadábád, and other provinces far and near, to raise (each) a thousand men, well horsed, to advance them six months’ pay out of the State revenues, and to send them to the royal camp. Aurangzeb, with the intention of giving his men rest, went to Khawáspúr,1 a place well supplied with grass and hay, and fruit-trees and water. At the end of Rabi’u-l awwal the royal camp was pitched at that place, and the abundance of provisions soon restored the spirits of the army.

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

The fort of Parnála had been (formerly) taken by Prince

Muhammad A'zam, and had remained for some time in the royal possession. But in the thirty-fifth year of the reign the enemy regained possession of it. * * On the 10th Shawwál the (royal) army reached Pún-garh, a fort connected with Parnála.

Forty-fourth Year of the Reign, 1111 a.h. (1699-1700 a.d.).

[Siege of Parnála.]

Forty-fifth Year of the Reign, 1112 a.h. (1700-1 a.d.).

Sieges of Forts.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 489.] The siege (of Parnála) had endured for two months, and repeated attempts had been made to carry the place by escalade. * * At length, when the garrison was hard pressed, the commandant surrendered the fort, having secretly received a sum of money from Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh and Tarbiyat Khán, with whom he had been in correspondence. At the end of Zí-l hijja the keys were given up, and both the forts were evacuated.

The army was about to march, when a violent storm came on [and did great damage]. In the beginning of Muharram, 1113, it was determined to march towards Kaháwan, where there was plenty of grass and grain. Fathu-llah Khán was sent with a force to chastise the plundering Mahrattas, and to subdue their forts. * * He killed many of the enemy near the four forts in that neighbourhood, * * and, on hearing of his approach, the enemy abandoned the fort of Páras-garh.1 Bahramand Khán was sent along with Fathu-llah Khán against the fort of Chandan-mandan,2 * * and by the middle of Jumáda-l awwal all the four forts were subdued.

On the 16th Jumáda-l ákhir the royal army moved from Páanch-gánw, to effect the conquest of the fort of Khelna.3 The

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1 Also called Sádik-garh.—Index to the Text.
2 Chandan and Wandan are sister forts a little north of Sattára.
3 See supréd, p. 278.
difficulties of the road were great. * * * Ambá-ghát,¹ at a distance of two days' march, took twelve days to reach. * * * Prince Bedár Bakht was ordered to fall back on Bani Sháh Darak (as Parnála was now called), to punish the enemy, who were closing the roads in that direction, * * * and to prevent any supplies being thrown into Khelna from that quarter. Muḥammad Amín Khán was likewise ordered to the Ambá-ghát, to cut off any supplies intended for the fort, and to succour the convoys of Banjúras bearing grain for the royal army. He showed no lack of zeal in these duties; and was so active in ravaging and burning the inhabited places, in killing and making prisoners the people, and in seizing and carrying off the cattle, that any sign of cultivation, or the name or trace of a Mahratta, was not to be found. * * *

The siege works were pushed on until a mine was carried near to the gate. In the raising of the earthworks,² camel saddles and baskets innumerable were used, full of earth and rubbish and litter, heads of men and feet of quadrupeds; and these were advanced so far that the garrison were intimidated.


[Text, vol. ii. p. 499.] Fathu-illeh Khán Bahádúr showed extraordinary zeal and bravery in pushing forward the siege works (of Khelna), and never rested from his labours. * * * Paras Rám, the commandant of the fort, being much discouraged, held communications with Prince Bedár Bakht as to his personal safety, and the acceptance of his proposals. But his demands were not acceded to. Rúluh-illeh Khán, etc., went several times into the fort to arrange terms, but without result. At length, according to common rumour, the Prince and some of the amirs sent him secretly a sum of money, and a promise of security for himself and family, on condition of his surrendering. So, after

¹ In the Ghátts just below Lat. 17.
² damdama, lit. "batteries."
six months' siege, on the 19th Muharram, 1113 (16 June, 1701), the flags of the Prince and of Rúhu-llah Khán were hoisted over the fortress by Paras Rám, the commandant, himself, who had stipulated that no man of the royal army should go in with the flag. He solicited a night's grace, and through shame he and his family went out during the darkness of the night, with all the property they could carry. A large number of the garrison remained in the fort, but the Emperor in his mercy ordered that no one of them should be molested; so they came out and departed to their native wilds. * * The name of the fort was altered to Sakhkhbara'llah.

The clemency and long suffering and care of the Emperor were such that, when he ascertained that several fortresses had been long and vigorously besieged by the forces appointed to the duty, and that the garrisons were in difficulty, he paid sums of money to the commandants, and so got the forts into his possession. It often happened also that he gave the same sum of money, neither more nor less, to the officer conducting the siege. The heavy rains, and the overflow of the rivers and streams, had induced Anurāngzeb to defer his march until the end of the rainy season. But he was moved by the irresolution and the advice of some of his amirs, who pined for ease, and complained of the dearness of grain and the insalubrity of the climate, and by the grumbling of the inexperienced and hard-tried soldiers. So at the end of Muharram he marched for Bir-gánw.¹ [Great difficulties, dangers and losses from rains and floods.] In the course of one month and seventeen days the fourteen kos between the forts of Khelna and Parnála were traversed, and on the 12th Rabí'u-l awwal the camp was pitched under the latter. [Further hardships of the march and great difficulty in crossing the Kistná.] Seventeen days were occupied in the transit of the river, * * * but Bahádur-gárh¹ was at length reached, and there the army halted for a month. * * At the end of Rajab, though only half a life remained in the bodies of the men, the army marched to

¹ See note, post, p. 383.
effect the conquest of Kandána. On the 16th it reached that fortress [and the siege was at once begun].

Forty-seventh Year of the Reign, 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.).

The Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 510.] After the siege (of Kandána¹) had gone on for three months and a half, and many men had been killed, and the directors of the siege were in difficulty, the fort² was bought from the commandant for a sum of money. The army then marched and remained for a month at Púna, and the neighbouring villages.³ * * * In the middle of Rajab the army marched against Rájgarh, the earliest fortress and retreat of the restless infidels of this country. * * At the beginning of Sha'bán the army sat down before the fort. The circuit of the fort was so great, twelve kos in measurement, that a complete investment sufficient to prevent the throwing in of supplies was impossible. * * On the 15th Shawwál the royal flag was planted on the first gate of the fortress, and many of the garrison were slain or put to flight. * * But Haináji, the commander, kept up an ineffectual resistance for twelve days longer, when he asked for terms. They were conceded on condition that the commander himself should come to the first gate, carry the royal flag into the fortress, and evacuate the place on the next day. * * Next day the garrison marched out with their families, and all the property they could carry. * * The fort received the name of Baní-Sháhgarh.

When Rám Rája died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Mahrattas over the Dakhin was at an end. But Tárá Báí, the elder wife, made her son of three years old successor to his father, and took the reins of govern-

¹ Now Síngarh, eight miles south of Púna.
² "The name Bakhshinda-bakhsh was given to it" (see post, p. 382).
³ Prince Muhfu-l Mulk, son of Prince Kám Bakhsh, died here, so the name of Púna was changed to Muhsábád.
ment into her own hands. She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six súbas of the Dakhin as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the súba of Málwá. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Mahrattas increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Sháh Jahán, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Mahrattas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In imitation of the Emperor, who with his army and enterprising amirs was staying in those distant mountains, the commanders of Tárá Báí cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed kamáish-dárs (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction, with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (parganas) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their súbadárs (provincial governors), kamáish-dárs (revenue collectors), and ráhádar (toll-collectors).

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

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

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

Dahiná Jádú, according to the general report of the sardárs, was a man of the highest influence. He now proposed terms of peace. His proposal was that conciliatory letters should be addressed to all the principal officers of the Ráni, inviting them to wait upon Aurangzeb. When they had arrived in the vicinity of the royal camp, Rája Sáhú (son of Sambhájí) was to be placed in charge of Prince Muhammad Kám Bakhsh, and to be sent some four or five kos from the camp, so that the Mahratta sardárs might have an interview with him first. With the approval of Rája Sáhú, the chiefs were then to pay their respects to Prince Kám Bakhsh, and to return in his custody to the royal camp, where they were to receive the honour of admission into the royal service. Orders were accordingly given for the sending nearly seventy letters to various Mahratta chiefs. But, after all, the plan did not please Aurangzeb, who prudently felt misgivings as to the craftiness of the Mahrattas, and was apprehensive that if they assembled forty or fifty thousand horse near the royal camp, they might by this pretence carry off Rája Sáhú and Prince Kám Bakhsh to their hills of difficult access.

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

[Text, vol. ii. p. 521.] After the reduction of the fort of Rájgarh, the royal army rested for a few days, and at the end of Shawwáld it moved to the fort of Torna, four kos distant from Rájgarh. * * On the 13th Zí-l ka’da this fort was taken by assault, not like the other forts by negociations with the commandants and promises of material advancement. * *

Siege of Wákinkera.

[p. 524.] Pem Náik, a zamindár of low origin, belonging to the tribe of Bedar, which is the Hindi for “fearless,” sprang from the caste of Dhers, the most impure caste of the Dakhin. He was noted for his turbulent habits. At the time of the war with Haidarábád, he sent his forces to the aid of Abú-l Hasan, and Pádsháh Khánzáda Khán, son of Rúhu-llah Khán, was sent to subdue his fort of Sagar,¹ and to occupy his fastnesses and retreats. He submitted to the royal army, and came to wait on the Emperor, but soon hastened back to his home.

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

Upon receiving permission, he went to Wákinkera, which is

¹ Ráichór lies between the Kistná and Tumbhadra. Sagar and Wákinkera are north-west of Ráichór between the Kistná and the Bhíma, Sagar being fifteen miles north-east of Wákinkera.

² The Ma‘ávir-i ’Alamgírí gives as the names Pám Náik and Pidiyá Náik.
a village on the top of a hill, and one of the dependencies of Sagar. The place is inhabited by many Barkandázes, which name signifies "black-faced infantry," and these people are famed for their skill in archery and missiles. After Sagar had been taken from the hands of Pem Náik, the worthless Paryá Náik, by craft and wiles, made it the abode of his family and children. Having taken up his residence at Wákin-kera, he showed no signs of moving, but set about strengthening and adding to the defences, and laying in warlike stores. Favoured by fortune, he in time collected nearly fourteen or fifteen thousand infantry of vigour and audacity. He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time four or five thousand horse, he ravaged flourishing places far and near, and plundered caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected around him, the strength of his retreat, the influence of money spent in bribery, a practice which he well understood, his knowledge of darbár proceedings, and his own audacity, carried him through; and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his statements. In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of samindáres and punctual of revenue-payers. Every month and year he exerted himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his towers and walls, in gathering forces, and acquiring guns, great and small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Wákin-kera, and he became a fast ally of the Mahrattas, the disturbers of the Dakhín.

Jagná, son of Pem Náik, who was the heir to his property, came to Court, was honoured with a mansab, and received a sanad for the samindári as its rightful heir. He went thither

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1  All the copies agree in this reading. The Ma-doir-i 'Alamgiri calls them "Kdah psyrda bandúkchu" (p. 379), and they occur frequently.

2 “Paryá Náik expelled Jikiyá, son of Pem Náik, from the lands he had inherited.”

with an army, but could not get in, and after some fighting he suffered a defeat. Prince Muhammad A’zam was afterwards sent to punish Paryá Náík, and the royal forces ravaged the outskirts of his territory. But he seized his opportunity, and went to wait upon the Prince. He expressed his humility and repentance, and with subtle artifice promised a tribute of seven lacs of rupees to the Emperor, and to make a present of two lacs to the Prince. Besides these, he dispensed gratifications to the officials. By these means he rescued himself from the clutches of the royal anger.

As soon as the Prince had returned to Court, he went on in his old way, and fanned the fires of rebellion more violently than before. Fíroz Jang was afterwards sent with a large army to repress him, and pressed him very hard. But he resumed his old artifices, sent deceptive and alluring messages, and by a promise of obedience and nine lacs of rupees as tribute, he saved his life and honour. When the royal army marched against Púna, and lay encamped for seven months and a half near Junír, two or three unimportant forts were taken. Every day fresh news was brought of the insolence and turbulence of Paryá Náík, and in consequence Aurangzeb resolved to march in person against Wákinkera.

Forty-ninth Year of the Reign, 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.)

Siege of Wákinkera.

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

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

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

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

The mother of that crafty one artfully made great cries and lamentations, and pretended to be in great distress. She sent a message to Aurangzeb, saying that when she was a little consoled for the disappearance of her son, she would leave the fort; but she hoped that her younger son, Súm Sankar, would receive investiture as the new *zamindár*, and that he would be sent into the fort to Muhtasham Khán, because he would be able to show the *kila'dár* the various places in which the treasure was buried. She would then leave the fort with her remaining property and children. Aurangzeb, not suspecting deception, allowed Súm Sankar to go into the fort. * * * Then no one from the royal army was allowed to enter. Muhtasham Khán with some other persons were kept under restraint in the fort, and it became clear to the Emperor and his associates that they had been made the victims of deception; but the Emperor was patient, and acted cautiously, as the circumstances of the case required.

Intelligence was now brought that Zú-l fíkár Khán Nusrat Jang and others were approaching with the force under his com-
mand, and the Emperor issued an order directing him to join as soon as possible. * * Zú-I fikár Kháń seized several wells from which the enemy drew their supplies of water; and the enemy now felt the deprivation which the Imperial forces had suffered. * * The approaches were pushed forward to the fort, and on the day appointed for the assault the Emperor mounted his horse to take part therein, * * and took his position at a cannon-shot distance from the fort. * * The enemy were overpowered, and some positions were captured. * * Being greatly dispirited, they placed two or three thousand musketeers to hold one of the gates to the last. They then took their wives and children, their jewels, and whatever they could carry, and after setting fire to their temple and other buildings, they went out at another gate, and by some outlets which had been prepared for such an occasion, they made their way to the Mahratta army in parties. They then fled with the army. The conflagration in the fort and the cessation of the firing made the besiegers aware of their flight. A party of men entered, and found only disabled and wounded persons who were unable to fly. On the 14th Muharram the Imperial forces took possession of the place. * * The name Wákinkera was changed to Rahmán-bakhsh. The Imperial army then retired to pass the rainy season at Deo-gánw, three or four kos from the Kistná. * * News arrived that the fort of Bakhshinda-bakhsh or Kandáná had been lost through the carelessness of the commander and the strategy of the Mahrattas. On the same day Hámidu-d din Kháń was sent to retake it.

Illness of the Emperor.

The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension. But he exerted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had fainting fits and lost his senses, so that very alarming rumours spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew