property of merchants and others which was in the convoy. If they agreed to pay, they passed safe; if not, they were plundered, the men were made prisoners, and were not released until a ransom was paid for each.

Husain 'Alí sent his bakhshí, Zú-l fikár Beg, with three or four thousand horse and five or six thousand musketeers, to chastise this chief. After Zú-l fikár Beg had passed through the pass between Aurangábád and Khándesh, he learnt that Khandú, with eight or nine thousand horse, was near the confines of Baglána and Gálna, seventy kos from Aurangábád. He was anxious to attack him, but Khandú made an ignominious flight, and led Zú-l fikár Beg towards thorny and difficult jungles. For all the scouts reported that there was no good opportunity of engaging the enemy, Zú-l fikár Beg, proud of his own courage, and seconded by the advice of some ignorant men of Bárha, paid no heed to their reports, but attacked Khandú. At the first attack many of the enemy were killed; but Khandú, according to Dakhání practice, took to flight, drawing after him in pursuit four or five hundred well-mounted horse. Having thus dispersed the army of the Bárhas, he suddenly faced round, and falling upon Zú-l fikár Beg with a large force, he closed the way by which support could be rendered to the scattered horse, and attacked so fiercely that the army of Islám was in hard straits. Zú-l fikár Beg and a number of his brave followers were killed. Of the rest of the army, those who wished to save their lives threw themselves from their horses, laid down their arms, and were taken prisoners alive. Those who resisted were all put to the sword. It is commonly said that not one bullock, camel or horse belonging to that army was saved.

Amtrú-l umárá Husain 'Alí sent Rája Muhakkim Singh, his diwán, with a suitable force, to punish Khandú. He also directed his own brother Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, Súbadár of Burhánpúr, to support the Rája. Saifu-d dín had gone out of Burhánpúr towards Sultánpúr and Nandurbár for settling the country. These two famous chiefs pursued Khandú, in
the hope of retaliating upon him, or of removing his posts so that they might no longer trouble the country and people of Khándesh. But they accomplished nothing. Khandú bided his time, and went to Itája Sálhú, who was in a secure fortress. His garrisons, which were posted in various places, held their ground. Whenever the army of Amiru-l umárá approached, their force fled, and as soon as it had departed, they returned and re-occupied their positions. Muhakkim Singh succeeded in engaging some other Mahratta forces which were plundering in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar, and drove them under the walls of the fort of Sattára. They were, however, unable to exact revenge from Khandú for the death of Zú-l fikár Beg, and the destruction of his army.

The fact of the disagreement between the Emperor and the Saiyids was well known from the farmáns and orders which had been sent secretly to Rája Sálhú, the diváns and the chief zamindárs of Karnátik, desiring them not to obey Husain 'Alí Khán. They had accordingly showed resistance, and no settlement of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád had been effected.

Eighth Year of the Reign, 1130 A.H. (1718 A.D.).

The Mahrattas.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 781.] The Emperor Aurangzeb having resolved upon the reduction of the fortresses of the Dakhin, spent long time and great treasure in the work. He took the forts of Sattára, Parnála, Rájgarh, and others, thirty or forty in number, all fortresses of strength and repute, and deprived the Mahrattas of house and home. The chiefs of this race of robbers, knowing that the Imperial territory was now vacant, and the Emperor far away, showed greater boldness than in former years. With large armies they invaded the súbas of the Dakhin, and Ahmadábád, and Málwá, for the purpose of collecting the chaúth, and they plundered and ravaged wherever they went. To cities and large towns they sent messengers and letters,
demanding payment of the chaugh from the governor or zamindár. Or the mukkaddams and zamindárs of the towns and villages hastened out to meet the Mahratta army, undertaking to pay the chaugh, and begged for protection. Taking back with them a messenger (harkára) and a horseman, to protect the village and the cultivation, instead of showing their total rent to be one or two thousand (rupees), they made it out to be four or five hundred. But whatever sum was settled, they promised payment, and gave sureties, called ol in the language of India. They thus saved themselves from violence and plunder.

When the faujdárs or zamindárs of a place refused to pay the chaugh, and made no propositions, the Mahrattas attacked the place and thoroughly ravaged it. If, after investing a place for some days, they found themselves unable to take it, they moved away. In this way the towns of Nandurbár, Sultánpúr, Jámúd, and many other well-known towns of Burhánpúr, Birár, and other súbas of the Dakhin, were invested by twenty-eight thousand horsemen for two or three weeks, who were finally beaten off.

The Mahrattas treated caravans just in the same way, and many were plundered. The commanders of their bands did their best to settle the amount of chaugh to be paid, and were not willing to pillage. Their men, on the contrary, strove to prevent any arrangement of the chaugh, so that they might be free to plunder. For, if an agreement was arrived at, and the chaugh was settled without plundering, it belonged to the chiefs, and the men got nothing. But, if it came to plundering, each man kept what he could lay hands upon, and the chiefs did not gain so much.

Towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, Ráni Tárá Bái, widow of Rám Rája, kept up a state of warfare with the Emperor for ten or twelve years after her husband's death. She then offered to make peace upon condition of receiving a grant of the sar-deshmukhi of the six súbas of the Dakhin, at the rate of nine per cent. For the honour of Islám, and for other reasons, Aurangzeb rejected this proposal.
In the reign of Bahádúr Sháh the vakils of Rája Sáhú and the Ráni made proposals, and obtained a grant of the sar-deshmukhi, upon certain conditions, which have been stated in the history of that reign. But differences arose between the Ráni and Rája Sáhú, so that Bahádúr Sháh's intentions were never carried out. Neither did the arrangement as to the sar-deshmukhi take effect. In the time of Dáúd Khán, while he was acting as deputy of Zúl-l fíkár Khán, a treaty and friendly agreement was made between him and the enemy, in which it was stipulated that the jagirs of the princes and Dáúd Khán should not be molested; but that as regarded the remaining tenures of the great nobles, Dáúd Khán's deputy, Hiráman, should arrange for the payment of the chauth. Caravans were not to be molested. So they simmered together like milk and sugar, and matters went on without hitch or evasion.

The government of Nizám-u-l Mulk, as we have recorded, began in peace, and ended with war, which lasted for one year and five months, and inflicted chastisement upon the enemy. Two or three years of Husain 'Alí Khán's government passed in quarrels with the Emperor, so that, although he raised a large army, he could not show the vigour that was necessary, nor effect such a settlement as he himself desired and the character of the Saiyids of Bárha required. In the year 1130 A.H., acting upon the advice of Anwar Khán, one of the shaikh-zúdas of Burhánpúr, who were patronized by the Saiyids, and upon the counsel of other trusted nobles, he availed himself of the services of a Brahman named Sankarájí. This man had been one of the principal servants of Sivájí and Sambhlájí, and in their confidence. After the conquest of Jinjí, he entered the Imperial service, and acted as vakil of those Mahratta chiefs who had submitted and of some who had not. He was not wanting in the intelligence which is helped by fortune.

Through Bálájí Bishwanáth and Jamnájí, brahmans, and most intelligent generals of Rája Sáhú, a proposal of peace was

1 The text says "with," but the context seems clear.
made on these terms. There was to be paid to the officers of Rája Sáhú a fourth part of what the amís, krois, and shikkdárs collected as land revenue, and as sámír from the government lands and from the jágírdárs. It was also settled that, in addition to the fourth share which they were to get from the receipts of the jágírdárs, they were to receive from the raiyats ten per cent. as sar-deshmukhi. Altogether they were to receive thirty-five per cent. upon the total collections, (and also) upon the obneabs called faújdári, shikkdári, ziyáfát, and other charges, as shown in the gross account of the collections. According to this account, they were to receive nearly half the total revenue recorded in the Government rent-roll, and (the collections) were thus shared by the domineering collectors of Rája Sáhú. This arrangement, by which they were to collect all taxes, fell very hard upon the raiyats, and the government officers and jágírdárs; for in every district there were two collectors—one called the kamáishdár, the other the gumáshta of the sar-deshmukhi. On the roll of the collections the signature of the sarrishtdár of the sar-deshmukhi was first placed, and what was required by the rules on that account was to be taken separately.\(^1\) The position and life of the officers of Government and of the jágírdárs became (irksome).

Besides these, there were two separate collectors of the ráhddári (road duties) in each district. In consequence of the negligence of the faújdárs and the dominance of the enemy, these had for some time taken their positions in different places, and exacted half a rupee, or one rupee, for each bullock and cart, from merchants, and whatever they pleased from other persons. They exacted twice or three times more than (the most) tyrannical faujdárs. Now also, since the days of the peace, the former grievance remained, but it was aggravated by more taking part in it. In the present state of things there were in each district three regular collectors of Rája Sáhú, with parties of horsemen and footmen stationed at the office, the guard-house where the land-revenue the sámír and the tolls were collected.

\(^1\) The meaning is here obscure.
Besides this there were in many places villages which had been laid waste by the Mahrattas, and which had been again brought into cultivation under special agreements, such as the districts about Nandurbár, in Khándesh, in Birár, and in other places. They paid no heed to the special contracts made by Husain 'Alí Khán; but, conceding the third share belonging to the jágírdár, they made the following arrangement. They recognized three shares; one was for the jágírdár, one they took themselves, and the third they left to the raiyats. In revenue and civil matters the orders and the action of the enemy prevailed over the authority of the faujdárs and jágírdárs. At the time of the peace Husain 'Alí Khán determined, and issued strict injunctions that the ráhádári should not be exacted, as in the days before the peace, from merchants and travellers at the rate of three (rupees) or four upon each bullock and cart, as if faujdárs and harsh officials were acting. But it was no good. In several districts there was no longer any plundering of villages and caravans; but, as in former days, travellers and wanderers paid the ráhádári, and went on in peace without interruption. Villages which had been ravaged by plunderers, or made completely desolate by the tyranny of rapacious managers, were now restored to cultivation.

Husain 'Alí delivered a sanad containing the conditions of peace, under his seal, to the vakils of Rája Sáhú, and made no delay in writing for a royal farman confirmatory of this document. He introduced the agents of Rája Sáhú everywhere, and he settled that Bálájí Bishwanáth and Jamnájí, two of the highest officers of Rája Sáhú, should stay with a suitable escort in Aurangábád as deputy and vakil of the Rája, so that all civil and revenue matters might be settled through them.

Transactions at Court.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 790.] Husain 'Alí Khán’s letter communicating the terms of the peace, and asking for a confirmatory
farmán, reached the Emperor. Several well-wishers of the State urged that it was not well to admit the vile enemy to be overbearing partners in matters of revenue and government. So Farrukh Siyar rejected the treaty. [The Emperor makes several appointments to the Dakhin which Husain 'Ali does not carry into effect.] The news from the Dakhin increased the annoyance of the Emperor.

In these evil days there was at Court a Kashmiri of low origin, named Muhammad Murád, an idle babbler of disreputable character, who was the common talk of everybody, high and low. In the reign of Bahádur Sháh he had obtained, through the interest of Jahándár Sháh, a mansab of 1000 and the title of Wakáfát Khán. * * He was introduced to Farrukh Siyar, and, availing himself of the opportunity, * * he obtained such an ascendancy over him that in a short time he received the title of Ruknu-d daula I'tikád Khán Farrukh Sháhí, and an increase of his jágir from 1000 to 7000 and 10,000 horse. He became the Emperor's confidential adviser, and joined in recommending the overthrow of the rule of the Saiyids of Bárha. Not a day passed without his receiving jewels of great value, ornamented weapons, dresses, or some great gift.

It was now resolved that Sarbuland Khán should be recalled from Patna, and Nizám-u-l Mulk Fath Jang Bahádúr from Murádábád, where he had chastised the rebels, and restored the district to peace and security. Rája Ajít Singh was also sent for from Ahmadábád. Hopes of high promotion and royal favour were held out to them, and they all conspired together for the overthrow of the Bárha Saiyids. The strangest part of the matter was that when Nizám-u-l Mulk was recalled from Murádábád, he received no other appointment; but the jágir which he there held was taken from him, the name of Murádábád was changed to Ruknábád, it was erected into a distinct súbu, and the súbadári and the jágir were granted as an állumghá to Ruknu-d daula I'tikád Khán. When these nobles assembled, Rája Ajít Singh received the title of Muhárája and other
honours, but he became the ally and companion of Saiyid ’Abdu-llah Khán.

Nizámú-l Mulk and Sarbuland Khán were at first led to expect the appointments of wazír and mîr-bakhshí. The Emperor spoke to them both about removing the obnoxious minister Saiyid ’Abdu-llah Khán from office, and they replied, “Your Majesty can give the portfolio of wazír to whichever of us you deem most capable; and if Saiyid ’Abdu-llah shows any resistance after his removal, he shall be brought to punishment.” The Emperor replied, “I know of no person more fit for the post of wazír than I’tikád Khán.” Every exalted noble of Írán and of Túrán, when he heard that it was the Emperor’s design to bestow the important office of wazír, with every sign of partiality, upon such a prating, base-born, infamous person, felt the greatest disgust. They were heart-broken, but they were not disposed to obey and submit to I’tikád Khán.

In the midst of this uneasy feeling the ‘I’d-i fitr occurred, and nearly seventy thousand horse and foot went in the royal procession to the ‘I’d-gáh. There was great apprehension among all classes, in expectation that Saiyid ’Abdu-llah Khán was about to be made prisoner. On that day Saiyid ’Abdu-llah had not with him more than four or five thousand horse. ** After this Saiyid ’Abdu-llah began to enlist soldiers. In former days he entertained few except Saiyids of Bárha, because he had full reliance on their courage and devotion; but he now gave orders for the enlistment of twenty thousand men of all tribes.

When this disturbing intelligence reached Amiru-l umará Husain ’Alí in the Dukhin, his apprehensions were aroused, and he resolved to proceed to Court. But before doing so he resolved upon another plan, and ** wrote to Court for information. Afterwards he received intelligence that peace had been made between the Emperor and Saiyid ’Abdu-llah; that Rája Ajít Singh, who had been called to Court, had received the hereditary title of Mahárája and other royal favours, through the help and countenance of Saiyid ’Abdu-llah; that, although
his daughter was affianced to the Emperor, he was in close accord and intimacy with the Saiyid, and that a strict and lasting agreement of amity had been made between them.

At the end of the month of Shawwāl the Emperor, in accord with I’tikād Khān, Khān-durrān, and other well-disposed nobles, went to the house of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid ‘Abdu-llah, to pay him a visit. They then made friends together, swore to an absence of animosity, and mutually made excuses for past behaviour, and for the ill-feelings that had been entertained. The Emperor then returned. Ikhlās Khān, an old and devoted friend of the two brothers, was sent to the Dakhin, to give a feeling of assurance to Amīru-l umārā.

Ninth¹ Year of the Reign, 1131 a.h. (1719 a.d.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 749.] The opinions and resolutions of the Emperor never remained steady to one course. Now he was resolved upon peace and amity, and now upon the degradation recommended by evil counsellors. * * Saiyid ‘Abdu-llah Khān had engaged nearly twenty thousand men, and day by day the dissension and rupture between him and the Emperor grew wider. * * Letters arrived from Husain ‘Ali, representing his wish to come to Court, and complaining that the climate of the Dakhin did not agree with him. * * On the other hand, letters reached him from his brother urging him to come quickly to Court. So, on the 15th Shawwal, in the seventh (sic) year of the reign, he sent forward his brother, Saifu-d din ‘Alī Khān, with four or five thousand horse, as an advanced force, to Burhānpūr, with directions to collect the materials of war and artillery.

Amīru-l umārā Husain ‘Āli received many letters in succession from his brother, Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid ‘Abdu-llah.

¹ The Tazkira-i Chapkātāi reckons it as the eighth year. A “ninth year” is manifestly wrong, and inconsistent with Khāf Khān’s own statement, that the length of the reign was “six years and four months.” Adding the eleven months of the reign of Jahāndār, which he tells us were officially reckoned as part of the reign, the “eighth year” would be reached. See pp. 446 and 478,
At the end of Zīl hijja, he left Aurangábád, and, after halting a week for making necessary arrangements, at the beginning of Muharram, 1131 Hijra, having put his artillery in order, and done his best to secure the good-will of the amírs and the Mahrattas, he with * * * commenced his march upon Dehlí. * * He placed the fort of Malhír, * * the fort of Sálír, and two or three other forts, in charge of men of his own. * * Nearly sixteen thousand Mahrattas marched with him under the command of Khandú Dapháriya, who was one of the best generals of Rája Sáhú, and was his Sábadár of Khándesh. Santá, and several other Mahratta chiefs, went with him. * * On the 22nd Muharram he marched from Bhránpur, and went on until he crossed the Nerbadda at Akbarpur, where he met Ikhláś Khán, who had been sent from Court to re-assure him, and prevent his march. * * They had an interview near the fort of Mándú, * * and Husain 'Alí became more eager than before to reach the capital. * * On the 14th Safar he reached Ujjain. Here he heard, from the Faujdar of Gwálior, [of the pacification and oaths of amity between the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-illah]. Then, in open darbár, he said, “If the Emperor no longer retains any animosity and rancour against us, and will deal with us kindly and without malice, we have no other desire but to prove our obedience and loyalty. After paying my homage, and re-assuring myself about sundry matters, I will quickly return to the Dakhin.” * * But on the second or third day after, Husain 'Alí Khán heard from trustworthy and confidential correspondents how the private talk was that the Emperor’s proceedings were merely devices and snares that he was weaving to catch fools.

Other letters also informed Saiyid Husain 'Alí that Sarbuland Khán, in consequence of the resumption of his jágír, and the transfer of his prosperous lands to Mír Jumla, and through want

1 Scott agrees with this date, but the Siyara-i Muta-akhhírin makes it 1132; see Briggs, p. 164.
of money, inability to pay his soldiers, and pressing demands, had retired from service, resigned his mansab, and had given up his elephants, horses, and household effects to his creditors, with the intention of becoming a religious mendicant. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, having heard of this, went to him and endeavoured to console him. He furnished him with money, elephants, and horses, and appointed him Súbadár of Kábul, thus binding him to him by the obligations of kindness. Nizámú-l Mulk also, through the hard usage of times favourable only to the base, was called from Murádábád, with the expectation of being made vazír, but his office and his jágír were given to I’tikád Khan. He was disgusted and burnt with rage against the worthless (favourite). Saiyid 'Abdu-llah did his best to console him, and promised him the súbadári of Málwá. I’timádu-d daula, who had come to Court without leave or order, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his mansab. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah consoled him also. He likewise won over fortune-seekers by rendering them assistance, and inquiring about their affairs. Khán-daurán, who from the beginning had been reckoned as an associate of Mir Jumla, and one of the Emperor’s friends, was also brought over to the side of the minister.

It was now announced that the Emperor was going out hunting on a certain day, and that as he returned he would pay a visit to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Maharája Ajít Singh, although he was father-in-law to the Emperor, had become a firm ally of the minister. His house was situated in the road leading to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah’s, and the Emperor had determined that, when his escort reached the Maharája’s house, he would make him prisoner, although he might come out to offer his nazar and pay his respects. But although this resolve was confined to the Emperor’s own heart, Ajít Singh was alarmed and suspicious, for “traitors are fearful,” and before the Emperor returned he took refuge in the house of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

The Emperor was returning in a boat, and was about to proceed to the house of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, as he had determined.
But he learned of Ajit Singh's having sought protection in the house of that noble, which greatly annoyed him; and when he came near the house, he changed his intention, and ordered the boat to be rowed quickly onwards. His suite and equipage went to the house, and the wazir went forth as far as the bank of the river to meet him, but he repaired to his palace in the fort.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 804.] [March of Husain 'Ali Khán.] At the end of the month Rabi’u-l awwal, at the beginning of the eighth year of the reign, Husain 'Ali Khán approached Dehli and encamped near the lát of Fíroz Sháh, two or three kos from the city. There he showed his rebellious designs by ordering his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance; for it is contrary to all rule for (a subject's) drums to be beaten near the residence of the Emperor. Complaining of the Emperor, he entered his tents, and repeatedly said that he no longer reckoned himself among the servants of the monarch. "I will maintain the honour of my race, and care neither for loss of my mansab, nor for royal censure."

But the strangest thing was that the heedless Emperor—although he heard the sounds of the hostile drums and trumpets, which rose so boldly and publicly—and although at the sound of the drum other drums in every street and market beat to arms—even then he did not come to his senses. All resolution and prudence was cast aside. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action), threatening vengeance against the two brothers; now taking a conciliatory turn, he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation, and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity.

Rájádhiráj (Jai Singh), who raised his voice in favour of unanimous action and the punishment of the rebels, met with no success. The devoted nobles, of the stocks of 'Arab and of 'Ajám,1 felt that they had no power of themselves to beat the

1 The author, and other writers of his time, are fond of referring to the lands to which many of the nobles owed their origin, "Irán o Túrān," "'Arab o 'Ajám."
drums of war and bloodshed, and this was particularly the case with the Mughals, who knew all about the matter. No one had the force to speak a friendly word to him whose head was muffled. At the sight of this change of fortune, of the progress of the rebellion of the two ministers, and of the supineness and want of perception in the Emperor, men lost all heart, and many, taking their cue from him, went to wait upon Saiyid Husain 'Alí.

Four or five days after the arrival of Husain 'Alí, his brother Saiyid 'Abdu-llah made a statement of his brother’s grievances, and said that if Rája Jai Singh, the disturbing spirit, were sent home to his country, and if the nominations to the artillery, and to the office of President of the Privy Council, and the appointments of the Emperor’s personal attendants, were made in favour of Husain 'Alí’s adherents, and if the fortress were placed under his control, then he would come without any apprehension to pay his homage, and all might be settled to the satisfaction of the two brothers. The poor dull-witted Emperor, unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, granted the demands of the Saiyids. He consented to give over the entire control of the appointments to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, the other Saiyids of Bárha, and their supporters; I’tikád Khán and other of his favourites were to be dismissed.

On the 3rd Rabí‘u-l ákhír, Rájádhiráj, under an order which did not allow of a day’s delay, left Dehlí for Amber, his home. * * On the 5th, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and Mahárája Ajít Singh, with their followers, entered the citadel, and, removing the Emperor’s men from the gates, they made their own dispositions, and placed their own men in charge. Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him or near the gates of the fortress, except I’tikád Khán, Imtiyáz Khán, registrar (mushrif) of the Privy Council, whose absence or presence made no difference, Zafar Khán, who, for his complaisance and time-serving, was called, “the pea in every soup,” and some helpless attendants and eunuchs.
Amiru-l umarâ Husain 'Alî, with regal pomp and display, mounted his horse, and entered the fort, around which his army, and that of the Mahrattas, had taken post. He paid his homage. After that, a few sad and admonitory words were exchanged. The Amir received the usual presents of robes, etc., with an unwilling heart, and, showing scant ceremony, returned to his abode. On the 8th day of the month the Saiyids for the second time took measures to secure the fort. Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and the Mahârája, with their trusted followers and a select force, entered the fortress, and, as before, they removed the royal servants, placed the charge of the gates under their own trusty men, and demanded the keys of the dīvān-i khâss, the sleeping apartment and the hall of justice. * *

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khân went to the distracted Emperor Farrukh Siyar, along with Ajít Singh, and poured forth his grievances. He said,1 "In return for all our services to you and your ancestors, we have received nothing from you, ungrateful King, but evil thoughts and suspicions and treacherous designs. We have, as proofs of our words, the farmâns which you sent to the irreligious Dáuíd Khân Afghán, and other miscreants in the Dakhin, directing them to oppose and slay your faithful servant (Husain 'Alî Khân). * * Our fears and suspicions will not be removed until the control over all the great offices shall be placed in our hands." The bewildered Emperor made some excuses and promises; but the talk went on to a great length, and many bitter and offensive things were said. The Emperor got angry and was unable to restrain himself further. He first said a few words condemning I'tikâd Khân, who was in fact the prime cause of the mischief, and then he censured Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. I'tikâd Khân made some foolish statements, excusing himself; but both he and the Emperor had lost all control over themselves. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah then interfered, and, abusing I'tikâd Khân, he allowed him no retort, but

1 Abridged translation.
ordered him to be turned out of the fortress. * * All round and about the fortress the cries of strife arose, and the Emperor, feeling his reverse of fortune, went into the female apartments. * *

That night all the city was full of dread and helplessness. The soldiers of the two brothers were posted fully armed in all the streets and markets, and no one knew what was passing in the fort, or what would happen. Saiyid 'Abdu-l-lah, Rája Ajít Singh, and their chief supporters, held counsel together, not knowing what the morn would bring forth; but they took such precautions everywhere as seemed necessary. The Mahratta chiefs, Khandú Dapháriya, Bálájí Bishwanáth, Santá, and others, with their ten or eleven thousand men, passed the night under arms, not knowing what would happen, but ready for disturbance and plunder. * *

Reports of all kinds, false and true, spread abroad. One was that Saiyid 'Abdu-l-lah had been killed. Other alarming rumours flew about. I'tikád Khán and some other nobles, reckless as to the consequences, were about to take horse and proceed to oppose Amíru-l umará, when the news came of the approach of his cavalcade, and of the banners of I’timádu-d-daula Muhammad Amín Khán and Chín Kalích Khán being in sight; for the latter, in his crafty politic way, had left his house to join Amíru-l umará. There was no conflict or struggle with the Mahrattas; for, before things had come to that pass, fourteen or fifteen horsemen, in the service of Khán-daurán, who were called "Blanket-wearers," shot a few arrows against the Mahrattas, when the whole of their force was seized with panic and took to flight. * * The idlers and vagabonds of the bázár and the unemployed Mughals, hearing of this flight, drew their swords and fell to killing and plundering. * * A thousand to fifteen hundred Mahrattas, horse and foot, were killed, including Santá, a chief of note, and two or three other leaders. * * I’tikád Khán, with some of his companions, went into the chauk of Sa’du-l-lah near his own house,
made some attacks, and threw up barricades. But his movement was ill-timed, and, being alarmed at what he had done, he went and surrendered himself prisoner.

The tumult was still high when the drums proclaimed the accession of Abú-l Barakát Raff’u-d Daraját, and a declaration of amnesty was also published. * * The people were desirous to get a message sent in by artifice to Farrukh Siyar, and to bring him out of the palace, but they were unsuccessful. The women, the Abyssinians and the Turks, all prepared to fight. At length some Afgáns and attendants (chelas), backed up by Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán, younger brother of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and * * some other traitors, entered the palace. After much search, Farrukh Siyar was found hidden in a corner of the roof, to which they got a hint from some of the women. They dragged him out with great indignity. His mother, wife, sister, and other ladies who were near the unfortunate monarch, cried and wailed, and threw themselves at the feet of the Afgáns and chelas, beseeching and entreatling them. * * At length the conspirators dragged him away from the women, and, having blinded him, they placed him in confinement in a room at the top of the tirpauliya in the fort.1 This was a small and narrow room like a grave, which had been used for keeping prisoners destined for the torture. In this corner of sorrow and grief they left him, with nothing but a ewer, a vessel for the necessities of nature, and a glass to drink out of.

The troubulous reign of the late Farrukh Siyar the Shahid (martyr) lasted for six years and four mouths, without counting the eleven months of the reign of Jahándár, which were reckoned as part of his reign, and so entered in the royal records.8

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1 The Ṭazkira-i Chaghhatúl is in general accord with this. It adds that the room was the same as that in which Jahándár Sháh was murdered.
2 A note in the printed text says that eight MSS. agree in this.—See post, p. 481.
THE SHORT REIGN OF A FEW DAYS OF ABÚ-L BARAKÁT RAFÍ’U-D DARAJÁT, FOURTEENTH IN DESCENT FROM AMÍR TIMÚR.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 816.] After the poor injured Emperor had been set aside, the same confusion and trouble prevailed, both inside and outside the palace. On the 9th Rabí’u-l ákhír, 1131¹ A.H., (18th Feb., 1719) Shamsu-d din Abú-l Barakát Rafí’u-d Daraját, younger son of Rafí’u-sh Shán, and grandson of Bahá-dur Sháh, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, was made Emperor. He was twenty years of age when he was brought out of confinement, and the noise and confusion was so great and general, that there was not even time to send him to the bath, or change his clothes. In the same garments he was wearing, with only a pearl necklace thrown upon his neck for ornament, he was placed upon the throne. His accession and a general amnesty were proclaimed to stay the tumult. Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid ’Abdu-llah, after offering his congratulations, placed his partisans and faithful servants inside the fortress. Over the doors of the public and private council chambers, and in every place, he stationed men of his own party. The eunuchs, the personal attendants, and all the servants of any importance, were men of his own.

In the council of the first day, in accordance with the desire of Rája Ajit Singh, and of the bigoted Rája Ratan Chand, an order was passed for the abolition of the jizya, and assurances of security and protection were circulated all over the country. I’tikád Khán was sent to prison with every mark of ignominy; his jágir was taken away, and his house was seized. Notwithstanding it had been disturbed, it was found to be full of jewels, cash, gold, objects of art, and vessels of silver; and an investi-

¹ The Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin makes the date 1132, and is generally a year in advance.—Briggs, p. 182.
gation was ordered for the discovery and recovery of the jewels and pearls he had received as presents. * * I'timádu-d daula Amín Khán was confirmed as Bakhshí. The súbadárí of Patna was given to Nizámu-l Mulk Bahádur Fath Jang. * *

Two months had passed since the late Emperor had been placed in confinement. In that room he had endured all kinds of tortures, and passed his days in the deepest trouble. It is reported that the blinding operation had not entirely destroyed his sight, and in his stupidity and love of power, which destroys the lives and integrity of so many thousands, he sent messages to the rulers of the State, excusing himself for the actions of past days, and spoke of again sitting upon the throne and of directing the affairs of State with the two brothers. An Afghán, named ’Abdu-llah Khán, had been placed as a guard over him in his living tomb. He ingratiated himself with this Afghán, promised him a mansab of 7000, and consulted with him as to the way of escaping to Mahárájádhiráj Jai Singh, which he looked upon as the only means of safety. The Afghán having discovered the captive’s intentions, made them known to the ministers, and the Saiyids, urged on by their friends, determined to take away his life. Poison was twice administered without effect. On the second or third occasion, when it affected him, and for all the cruelty death did not come quickly, he thought upon the harshness of the two brothers, and how they had acted in defiance of the solemn oaths they had given to him. Unable to control himself, he used bitter words against them, and asked how it was that no punishment had fallen upon these two faithless oath-breakers. Words were uttered which ought not to have been spoken. The two brothers were told of this, and they ordered that he should be got rid of quickly by strangling. When the thong was thrown upon his neck, he seized it with both his hands, and struggled violently with hands and feet; but the executioners beat his hands with sticks, and made him leave go his hold. There is a common report that daggers and knives were used in
that desperate struggle, but from what the author has heard no such weapons were used.\footnote{1}

The coffin was borne to the tomb of Humáyún, and was accompanied by two or three thousand men and women, chiefly the vagabonds and mendicants of the city who had partaken of his bounty. They cried and groaned, tore their clothes, threw dust upon their heads, and scattered their abuse. The bakhshis of Husain 'Alí Khán and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán were ordered to attend the funeral, and did so with several principal men of the city. Stones were cast at them. No one would take the bread or copper coins which were offered in charity. On the third day some vagabonds and beggars met, cooked food, and distributed it among the poor, and remained assembled all night.\footnote{2}

Report says that the two brothers took possession of, and selected for themselves, whatever they pleased of the royal treasure, jewels, works of art, elephants and horses. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán was very fond of women, and the common talk was that two or three of the late King's beauties pleased him, and he took them to himself, although, for the gratification of his lust and desires, he had seventy or eighty beautiful women.

The brotherly love which had existed between the two brothers now turned to hatred and to jealousy of each other's power. Although the reins of power in civil matters pertaining to the office of wazir were in the hands of the elder brother, the younger, Amíru'l umará Husain 'Alí, was a brave, experienced, generous and proud man, whose equal it was hard to find. He had drawn to himself, by his kindness and generosity, most of the brave and able nobles, and he was getting into his hands a control over all the government of the country. So it was said that there were contentions between the brothers. * * *

\footnote{1} "He was 38 years of age; and the period of his reign, reckoning from his assumption of royalty at Patna, was seven years one month and nine days; from his victory over Jahándár Sháh it was six years three months and twenty-four days."—

\footnote{2} Tāzkitra-i Chaghatali.

Scott quotes this passage in his History of the Dukkan.
On the 9th Jumáda-1 áakhir, 1131, the soldiers at Ágra brought out of confinement in the fort, and raised to the sovereignty, a person named Nékú Siyar,¹ a son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, and grandson of Aurangzeb. His accession was announced by peals of cannon, and coins of gold and silver were struck in his name.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 829.] The Emperor Rafi’u-d Daraját was suffering from consumption (dikk). The physicians, under the orders of the Saiyids, did all they could to cure him, but without success. This monarch had not the slightest control in matters of government.² * * Sorrow increased his illness, and he became so helpless that the two brothers considered as to which of the imprisoned princes should be named successor. Rafi’u-d Daraját said that if, in his lifetime, the khulba were read, and coins struck in the name of his elder brother, Rafi’u-d Daula, it would be a great kindness, and very acceptable to him. The Saiyids consented. Three days after Rafi’u-d Daula ascended the throne, Rafi’u-d Daraját died. He had reigned six months and ten days.

 Rafi’u-d Daula, entitled Sháh Jahán the Second, Fourteenth in Descent from, and Seventeenth King in Succession to, Amír Timúr.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 831.] On the 20th Rajab, 1131³ A.H. (May 27, 1719 A.D.), Rafi’u-d Daula, who was one year and a half older than his brother Rafi’u-d Daraját, was raised to the

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¹ The text goes on to explain that when Prince Akbar quarrelled with his father Aurangzeb, this young Prince and two of his sisters were detained. The daughters were married to two sons of Bahádur Sháh; but Nékú Siyar was kept in prison forty years. Mahárájádhiráj Jai Singh and Nizámú-l Mulk were said to have favoured this attempt to make Nékú Siyar Emperor; but Kháfi Khán, in contradiction, says that Nizámú-l Mulk strove to hinder it.

² "Rafi’u-d Daraja took no part in State business, the entire authority was in the hands of his cruel wazir and his brother."—Tuskin-i Chaghátái.

³ The Tuskin-i Chaghátái is in accord; the Siyaru-i Muta-akkhhirin makes it a year later.
throne with the title of Sháh Jahán the Second. Matters went
on just as before, for, excepting that the coins were struck and
the khutba read in his name, he had no part in the government
of the country. He was surrounded by creatures of Kutbu-l
Mulk, and, as to going out or staying at home, holding a court,
or choosing his food and raiment, he was under the direction of
Himmat Khán. He was not allowed to go to the mosque on
Friday, or to go hunting, or to talk to any of the amirs, without
the presence of one of the Saiyids or his guardian.

[vol. ii. p. 832.] Amíru-l umárá Husain 'Alí sent Haidar
Kulí Khán with a force in advance against Agra, and on the
7th Sha'bán he himself set out for that city with * * an army
of about 25,000 men. * * Rájádhíráj Jai Singh, with a force of
nine or ten thousand horse, and others whom he had collected,
was waiting one march from Amber for Rája Chhabilá Rám
[to go and join Nékú Siyar]. Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah,
in consequence of the rumours that were afloat, taking the Em-
peror with him, marched, at the end of Sha'bán, with Mahárája
Ajít Singh, and other amirs, and an army of upwards of thirty
thousand horse, from Dehli towards Agra, and against Jai Singh.

At this time Mahárája Ajít Singh took back the Mahárání,
his daughter, who had been married to Farrukh Siyar, with all
her jewels and treasure and valuables, amounting to a kror of
rupees in value. According to report he made her throw off her
Musulmán dress, dismissed her Muhammadan attendants, and
sent her to her native country. * * In the reign of no former
Emperor had any Rája been so presumptuous as to take his
daughter after she had been married to a King and admitted to
the honour of Islám.

The fort of Agra was invested, lines of approach were formed,
and batteries raised. When Husain 'Alí Khán arrived, the
cannonade began, and many houses inside and outside the fort
were destroyed. The siege went on for three months. * *

The rainy season caused Saiyid 'Abdu-llah to delay in his
march against Jai Singh; but he reached Mathurá, within ten
kos of which place Jai Singh was awaiting the arrival of Rája Chhabilá Rám and other allies. When the Rája found that none of his expected supporters arrived, he sent vakils to beg forgiveness for the offence he had committed.

Nekú Siyar had a munshi named Nath Mal. At the invitation of some crafty men among the besiegers, he came out of the fort to conduct them to Nekú Siyar. But these men made him prisoner, and took him to Amíru-l umará. In his portfolio were found several letters addressed by amírs in the besieging army to Nekú Siyar, * * but the Amír thought it desirable to hush this matter up. * * The provisions in the fort were falling short, and the defenders were in despair. A proposal to surrender was accepted, and an assurance of safety to life and honour was given. The keys were given up, Ágra was secured on the 27th Ramazán, and Nekú Siyar and his supporters were made prisoners. Mítr Sen, who had set this revolt on foot, knowing that there was no hope of mercy for him, but that he would be put to death with ignominy, killed himself with a dagger.

After the fall of the fortress, Amíru-l umará Husain 'Alí took possession of the treasure, jewels, and valuables which had accumulated there in the course of three or four hundred years from the days of Sikandar Lodí and Bábar Bádsháh, and were stowed away in the store-rooms. There were the effects of Núr Jahán Begam and Muntáž Mahal, * * amounting in value, according to various reports, to two or three krors of rupees. * * There was in particular the sheet of pearls which Sháh Jahán had caused to be made for the tomb of Muntáž Mahal, which was spread over it upon the anniversary of her marriage, and on Friday nights. There was the ewer of Núr Jahán, and her cushion of woven gold and rich pearls, with a border of valuable garnets and emeralds. The elder brother, 'Abdul-láh Khán, got nothing of all this, till, after four months, twenty-one lacs of rupees were grudgingly surrendered to him.¹

¹ "The quarrel between the two brothers about the treasures of Ágra was settled by the intervention of Ratan Chand bakkil." —Tuskira-i Chaghatai.
Rájádhíráj (Jai Singh) sent his vakils to offer his apologies and make peace. ** It was eventually arranged that the fianjári of Surat, in the súba of Ahmadábád, should be held by Jai Singh, and the súbadáris of Ahmadábád and Ajmír, including Jodpúr, should continue under Rája Ajít Singh. Under this arrangement the two rájas held all the country from thirty kos of Dehlí, where the native land of Jai Singh begins, to the shores of the sea at Surat.

Sháh Jahán the Second died of dysentery and mental disorder, after a reign of three months and some days.

MUHAMMAD SHÁH BÁDSHÁH, FORMERLY CALLED ROSHAN AKHTAR, FOURTEENTH IN DESCENT AND SIXTEENTH¹ IN SUCCESSION TO AMÍR TIMÚR.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 839.] Rafí’u-d Daula had reigned only three months and two days when it became known that his death was near at hand. Saiyid ’Abdu-lláh was in despair, and he sent from Fathpúr to bring Prince Muhammad Roshan Akhtar, son of the late Jahán Sháh, and grandson of Aurangzéb, then only eighteen years of age. ** Since the death of Jahándár Sháh he had lived with his noble mother in the fort of Dehlí. He was a good-looking young man, with many good qualities, and of excellent intelligence. Rafí’u-d Daula had been dead nearly a week before the young Prince arrived; but the fact was kept secret, and the defunct was buried soon after the arrival. On the 11th Zí-l ka’dá, 1131² A.H. (Sept. 1719 A.D.), he reached Fathpúr, and on the 15th of that month he ascended the throne. ** ** Money was struck in the name of Abú-l Muzaffar Násiru-d dín Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh-i Ghází, and his name was read in the khutba as Emperor of Hindústán in the mosques. His mother was well acquainted with State business, and was a woman of much intelligence and tact. **

¹ The reigns of his two predecessors were not counted.
² The Tustíra-i Ohanghatái is in accord; the Siyaru-l Muta-akhhirín is again a year later. See Briggs, p. 196.
It was settled that the beginning of his reign should date from the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, and should be so entered in the Government records. Fifteen thousand rupees a month were allotted to his mother. The názirs and all the officers and servants around the Emperor were, as before, the servants of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded, as with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months, he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 843.] Mír Jumla was appointed to the office of chief judge, and Ratan Chand held firm his position. His authority extended over all civil, revenue, and legal matters, even to the appointment of kázís in the cities and other judicial officers. All the other Government officials were put in the background, and no one would undertake any business but under a document with his seal.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 842.] Chhabilá Rám Nágár, Súbadár of Alláhábád, had given uneasiness by his insubordination, and Husain 'Alí Khán prepared to march against him and bring him to order; but news arrived that he was dead. After Chhabilá's death, his brother's son Giridhar, who was called his swordsman, set about collecting forces and strengthening the fortifications. When this became known, they (the Saiyids) took Muhammad Sháh from Fathpúr to Agra, and, in preparation for the siege of Alláhábád, orders were given for throwing a bridge over the Jumna, and for the march of a force in advance. Giridhar hearing of the preparations for the siege of Alláhabád, sent his vakils to make propositions, which ended in his being promised the súbadári of Oudh, with other favours, and the title of Bahádur. But Giridhar placed no reliance on the words and promises of the Saiyids. So the fortress was invested, and the siege dragged on a long time. At length Husain 'Alí Khán crossed the Jumna [to press the siege].

1 This paragraph is taken a little in advance to avoid a break in the narrative.
The fort of Alláhábád is protected on three sides by the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and Giridhar had worked hard in strengthening the defences, and in collecting provisions and stores of war. The report of his rebellion had caused great excitement in all the exchequer territories and among the great jáyírdárs. Taking these facts into consideration, it was feared that the protraction of the siege might lead to serious derangements in civil and revenue matters, and the condition of the people in all the súbas. The promise of surrendering the fortress had induced Saiyid 'Abdu-llah to return with the Emperor towards Dehlí; * * but when it was known that the promise had not been kept, contrary to all usage, they turned back. * * Giridhar had written repeatedly to say that if Ratan Chand were sent to him, some settlement consistent with safety and honour might be made, so that he might leave the fort. The two brothers decided upon deputing Ratan Chand, and he proceeded thither with a suitable escort at the end of Rabí‘u-l áakhir, in the second year of the reign.

When Ratan Chand and Giridhar met, an arrangement was made and confirmed by an oath upon the water of the Ganges—a very solemn oath among Hindús. It was agreed that Giridhar should receive, in addition to the súbadárt of Oudh and the fawjdári dependent thereon, two or three other important fawjdáris which he desired to possess. At the beginning of Jumáda-l áakhir he withdrew from the fortress, and proceeded towards Oudh. It has been said that “Laughter ends with weeping, and rejoicing with sorrow.” The surrender of Alláhábád was not generally known, * * before Fate brought forth another serious matter.

Decline of the Saiyids and Rise of Nizámú-l Mulk Bahádúr Fíroz Jáng.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 847.] Husain 'Alí Khán deemed himself superior in military and government matters to his brother. In
his judgment it seemed that, as there were sufficient adminis-
trators with him and his brother, and as his adopted son 'Alain
'Alí was acting (as sūbadār) in the Dakhin with a sufficient
army, it would be well to send Nizámu-l Mulk to be Sūbadār
of Málwá, half-way between Dehlí and the Dakhin. * * Nizámu-l Mulk accepted the appointment, and received his robe
and dismissal to his government on the third day after the ac-
cession of Raff'u-d Daraját. He took with him his wives and
children, and there accompanied him more than a thousand com-
panions, mansabdārs and jāgirdārs, who were poor and sick at
heart with the unkindness shown by the Saiyids, and through
pay being in arrear. Nizámu-l Mulk busied himself in collect-
ing soldiers and artillery, which are necessary for governing the
world and keeping it in order. He gave 500 horses with ac-
coutrements and arms to Muhammad Ghiyás Khán for his
Mughal fraternity, and turned them into horsemen. He lent
large sums of money to * * and others, binding them to himself
by the bonds of debt and kindness.

When Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán was marching from the
Dakhin against Farrukh Siyar, on coming to the Nerbadda,
Marhamat Khán, who was in the fort of Shádiábád at Mándú,
made an excuse of illness, and did not go out to meet him. * *
After the death of Farrukh Siyar, the Saiyid appointed Khwája
Kulí Khán to succeed him. * * Marhamat Khán resisted. * * Then Husain 'Alí wrote to Nizámu-l Mulk, desiring him to
turn Marhamat Khán out of the fort. * * After some negotia-
tion, Marhamat Khán came out and joined Nizámu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 850.] After the accession of Muhammad
Sháh, letters were often sent by him and by his mother, Maryam
Makání, through the medium of I'timádu-d daula Muhammad
Amín Khán, to Nizámu-l Mulk, informing him that the con-
straint used by the Saiyids was so strict that he had only
liberty to go to service on the Sabbath, and that he had no
power of giving any orders; that the Saiyids, in their futile
scheming, proposed, after settling the affairs of Nekú Siyar and
Giridhar, to get rid of Nizāmu-l Mulk, and then to do as they pleased; that they (Muhammad Sháh and his mother) had full reliance on Nizāmu-l Mulk, that he would not fail in the loyalty which his ancestors had ever exhibited.

When Nekú Siyar had been taken prisoner, and peace had been made with Giridhar, Husain 'Alí Khán set other springs of disturbance in action. He made a compact with Mahárão Bhím Singh Háda, that after chastising Sálím Singh, Zamindár of Búndí, and settling matters with Nizāmu-l Mulk, he would raise Bhím Singh to the high dignity of Mahárája; so that, after Mahárája Ajít Singh, he would be higher in rank than all other Rájas; and that he should receive a mansab of 7000 and 7000 horse, with the Fish banner. He appointed him, Rája Gaj Singh of Narvar, Diláwar 'Alí Khán, and others, with an army of 15,000 horse, first to punish and expel Sálím Singh of Búndí, and then to direct their attention to Nizāmu-l Mulk, and be ready to act upon the directions they might receive.

Husain 'Alí Khán, throwing aside the veil, wrote to Nizāmu-l Mulk, * * bringing complaints and charges against him. Nizāmu-l Mulk in his honesty wrote clear answers to every charge; but they did not satisfy Husain 'Alí, and he wrote in plain terms to Nizāmu-l Mulk, saying, that for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the Dakhin, he wished to hold the sūba of Malwá himself, and that he would give Nizāmu-l Mulk his choice of the sūbas of Agra, Alláhábád, Multán, or Burhánpúr.

Nizāmu-l Mulk had employed the interval of eight or nine months in collecting seven or eight thousand horse and materials of war. He was cautious and watchful, and he had formed the design of conquering the Dakhin, and of setting free that land of treasure and of soldiers. He now received notice from his rākîs that the Saiyids had sent officers to summon him to the presence. But before these he had received letters from the Emperor and from private friends, telling him there was no time to be lost, and that what he had to do he must do quickly.
Nizámú-l Mulk perceived that the brothers had the fixed intention of overthrowing the royal house and removing the Khalífah of the world. Seeing that there were no other means of safety, he consulted with his friends, and setting out from Ujjain, he made three marches towards Agra, and then turned to the Dakhin. On the 1st of Rajab he crossed the Nerbadda, where he was joined by Rustam Beg Khán, Faujdar of Bijaigarh,1 also called Kahargáon. ** On the same day he crossed the Nerbadda an envoy came from 'Usmán Khán, a soldier (hazári) of the fort of Asir, proposing to surrender the fortress, ** and on the 16th Rajab he took possession of this important stronghold. ** He next sent Muhammad Ghiyás Khán to reduce Burhánpúr. ** * Saiyid 'Alám 'Alí Khán (the acting súbadár) sent Muhammad Anwar Khán to defend Burhánpúr; ** but this man was wanting in courage, and gave up in despair. Nizámú-l Mulk entered the town on the 17th.

Just before he got possession of Burhánpúr, the children and dependents of Safú-u dín 'Alí Khán, brother of Husain 'Alí Khán, had come to that place on their way to Dehlí. They were greatly alarmed when Nizámú-l Mulk became master of the city. Some of his friends counselled him to seize upon their valuables, [but he refused] ** and sent an escort to guard them as far as the Nerbadda. He was joined at Burhánpúr by Iwaz Khán, Názim of the súba of Birár, and by troop after troop of adherents, and he remained there for some time to get his artillery in order.

Diláwar 'Alí Khán, after subjugating Búndí, under the direction of Husain 'Alí Khán, as above narrated, marched into Málwá with his army, accompanied by Rája Bhím and Rája Gaj Singh, causing great injury to the country and distress to the inhabitants.

1 Between the Nerbadda and Tápti, about sixty miles north-west of Burhánpúr.
Defeat and Death of Husain Khán Afgán.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 861.] Husain Khán Afgán was one of the proud and bold Afgháns of the sarkár of Kasúr.¹ For some years past he had occupied himself in rebellion and violence. He had taken possession of some prosperous districts about Kasúr and Láhore, and had raised the standard of revolt. He had several times defeated the armies of the súbadárs and the princes; and since the time that 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Díler Jang had been made Súbadár of the Panjáb, he had further overstepped the limits of a subject, had turned the officials of the jágírdárs and súbadárs out, and had seized upon the revenues in a most defiant manner. The author has heard from trustworthy persons that he received letters from the Saiyids at the head of the Government, inciting him to embarrass the súbadár, and encouraging the hope of his obtaining for himself the súbadárt of Láhore. At any rate, he grew bolder. He fought with Kutbu-d-dín, the 'ámil of the súbadár, killed him, and plundered his army and treasure. With eight or nine thousand horse he then set out on a plundering expedition. 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, who had begun to raise an army, marched with seven or eight thousand men to attack him, and the armies approached the village of Jhúní, about thirty kos from Láhore. [Long and hard-contested battle.] An arrow at length struck Husain Khán, inflicting a severe wound. His elephant had no driver, and ran about in all directions—a mark for arrows and bullets from every side. Flames burst forth from the howda, the cause of which could not be discovered; but in that condition Husain Khán fell under the swords of the brave warriors with a large number of Afgháns. ** On the news of the victory reaching Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, much against his will, but to avoid censure, he lauded the services of 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, and gave him the title of Saijfu-d Dawla.

Letters from Burhánpúr reached the Court with details about

¹ South of Láhore.
the fort of Asīr. It appeared that Khusrū, a servant of Nizāmu-l Mulk, had introduced himself to the soldiers of the fortress, and carried on a correspondence about its surrender. * * Nolens volens, the soldiers coerced Tālib Khán, the commandant appointed by the Saiyids, who was in a great state of dismay, and made him surrender the fortress to Nizāmu-l Mulk, and give two years' pay to the soldiers. * * Further letters informed them that Anwar Khán, Sūbadár of Burhānpúr, had joined Nizāmu-l Mulk, and that Rambhá Nimbálkar, a famous Mahratta chief-tain, had also joined him, both bringing their followers. All the officials of Burhānpúr and many of the zamindárs of the neighbourhood had taken the same course. This information greatly disturbed the Saiyids. They wrote pressing letters to Diláwar Khán and Maháráo Bhím Singh, directing them to engage Nizāmu-l Mulk. Every day and every week Saiyid Husain 'Alí brought forward new plans for proceeding to the Dakhin, and he waited anxiously for letters from Diláwar Khán. Ratan Chand, seeing how matters were tending, advised a peace and the surrender of the súbas of the Dakhin to Nizāmu-l Mulk, for he saw that war would end in the Saiyids' death. But Husain 'Alí would not consent to any peace with Nizāmu-l Mulk.

Religious Troubles in Kashmir.

[vol. ii. p. 367.] Mahbúb Khán, otherwise called 'Abdu-n Nabí Kashmirí, had a long-standing enmity against the Hindús in Kashmir. He had gathered round him many restless Muhammadans, with whom he went to the deputy of the sūbadár and to the kázt, and, presenting certain legal opinions, he demanded that the Hindús should be interdicted from riding on horses, from wearing coats (jáma), from putting on turbans and armour (chira o yarāk), from going out for excursions in the fields and gardens, and from bathing on certain days. Upon this matter he was very virulent. The officials, in answer, said

1 "Binálkar" in the Text.
that they would act upon the rules laid down by the Emperor, and by the chief lawyers, in respect of the treatment of *zimmis* (protected unbelievers) throughout the provinces of the Empire. Mahbúb Khán was greatly offended, and, being supported by a party of Musulmáns, he annoyed and insulted Hindús wherever he met them. A Hindú could not pass through any market or street without being subjected to indignity.

One day Majlis Rái, a respected Hindú of Kashmír, went out with a party to ramble in the fields and gardens, and they feasted Brahmans. Mahbúb Khán collected ten or twelve thousand Musulmáns, came upon them unawares, and began to beat, bind and kill them. Majlis Rái escaped, and fled with some others to Ahmad Khán. Mahbúb Khán, with all his followers, went to the house of Majlis Rái and the Hindú quarter, and began to plunder and to fire the houses. The Hindús and Musulmáns who interfered to prevent this were killed and wounded. After that they proceeded to the house of Mír Ahmad Khán, where they set to work beating, throwing stones and bricks, and shooting arrows and bullets. Every man they found they detained and subjected to various indignities. Some they killed, others they wounded and plundered. Mír Ahmad Khán for a day and night was unable to drive them from his house or to stop their violence, but had to employ many artifices to escape from them. Next day he got together a force, and, with Mír Sháhúr Khán Bakhshí and other officials, they took horse and went against Mahbúb Khán. The rioters collected, as on the preceding day, and resisted Ahmad Khán. A party got in his rear and burnt the bridge over which he had crossed. They set fire to both sides of the street through which he had passed, and from in front and from the roofs and walls of the houses they discharged arrows and muskets and cast stones and bricks. Women and children flung filth, dirt, and whatever they could lay hands on. A fierce fight continued, in which *** and several others were killed or wounded. Mír Ahmad Khán was in a great strait, for he could neither retire nor advance; so he
was obliged to ask for mercy, and escaped from his dangerous position amid volleys of gibes and insults.

Mahbúb Khán proceeded to the Hindú quarter, and burnt and gutted the houses which remained. Again he proceeded to the house of Mír Ahmad Khán, and dragged out of it with insult Majlis Ráí and a number of other persons who had taken refuge there. He and his followers cut off their ears and noses, circumcised them, and in some instances cut off the organ of generation. Another day they went tumultuously to the great mosque, degraded Mír Ahmad Khán from his office of deputy of the súbadár, and, having given the prime cause of the disturbance the title of Díndár Khán, they appointed him to act as ruler of the Musulmáns, and to enforce the commands of the law and the decisions of the kázís until a new deputy súbadár should come from the Court. For five months Mír Ahmad Khán was deprived of power, and remained in retirement. Díndár Khán acted as ruler, and, taking his seat in the mosque, discharged the Government business.

Upon intelligence of this outbreak reaching Court, Múmin Khán was sent to act as deputy of 'Ináyatu-llah Khán, the Súbadár. * * At the end of Shawwál he halted three kos from Kashmír. Mahbúb Khán was ashamed of his unrighteous deeds, so he went to Khwája 'Abdu-llah, who was highly respected in Kashmír, and begged him to go out with a number of the principal and most respectable Muhammadans to meet the new deputy, and bring him into the city with honour. * * Khwája 'Abdu-llah advised him in a friendly way to go to Mír Sháhúr Khán Bakhshí, and apologize for what had passed. If he did so, they would go out with him to meet the deputy. In accordance with this advice, Mahbúb Khán went to the house of Sháhúr Khán, and having made a statement to him, rose to depart, alleging he had some necessary business to attend to. The bakhshí, acting on the Khwája's advice, had called a number of the people from the Charbelí and Kahkarán quarters of the city, and concealed them about his house. They watched for Mahbúb
Khán, and fell upon him unawares. First, before his eyes, they ripped up the bellies of his two young boys, who always accompanied him, and they killed him with great cruelty.

Next day the Musulmáns went to the Charbelí quarter, to exact retaliation for blood. This quarter was inhabited by Shi'ás. There they began to beat, to bind, to kill, and to burn the houses. For two days the fight was kept up, but the assailants then prevailed. Two or three thousand people who were in that quarter, including a large number of Mughal travellers, were killed with their wives and families. Property to the value of laces was plundered, and the war raged for two or three days. It is impossible to commit to writing all that I have heard about this outbreak. After this destruction, the rioters went to the houses of the kázi and the bakhshi. Sháhúr Khán concealed himself and the kázi escaped in disguise. They pulled down the kázi's house to the foundations, and carried the bricks of it away in their hands. Múmin Khán, after entering the city, sent Mír Ahmad Khán under an escort to Ymanábád, and then had to take severe measures with the people of Kashmír.

Nizámu-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 873.] Diláwar 'Alí Khán, bakhshi of Husain 'Alí Khán, who had been sent with six or seven thousand horse against the Rája of Búndí, having hastily increased them to twelve or thirteen thousand, crossed the Nerbadda. Various rumours reached Nizámu-l Mulk, and according to one, Diláwar 'Alí Khán had reached Khándiyá. Nizámu-l Mulk prepared to encounter him. The plan of 'Álam 'Alí Khán (the acting súbadár) was to enlist as many Mahrattas as he could, to gather together the great faujdárs, and to march from Aurangábád as soon as he heard of the near approach of Diláwar 'Alí Khán. Nizámu-l Mulk would thus be placed between two armies. * * *

[Text, vol. ii. p. 875.] Nizámu-l Mulk, on receiving intelligence that 'Álam 'Alí Khán had taken the field, marched from Burhánpúr to oppose him. He crossed the Táptí and encamped
towards the east. When he heard of the advance of Diláwar 'Alí Khán, he resolved to meet him first. He sent his family to the fort of Ḃir, and then began his march against the enemy. On arriving within two or three kos of Ratanpúr, and sixteen or seventeen from Búrnápúr, he encamped about two kos distance from his adversary. To avoid shedding the blood of Musulmáns, he sent conciliatory messages to Diláwar 'Alí, deprecating battle, but without effect. On the 16th Sha'bán, 1132 A.H. (11th May 1720), both sides drew out their forces for the struggle. [Dispositions for and progress of the battle.] Diláwar 'Alí Khán, mounted on an elephant, fought resolutely, * * but he was struck by a musket-ball and killed. The army of the Bárhas then turned to flee; but the Rájputás, Rája Bhím, and Rája Gaj Singh disdained to escape, and fought with great valour. They and three or four hundred other Rájputás, many Bárha Saiyid officers and others, altogether four or five thousand men, were killed. The day after the battle, intelligence came that 'Alam 'Alí Khán had arrived at the tank of Hartála, seventeen kos from Búrnápúr. Nizámú-l Mulk sent Mutawasal Khán with a force of three thousand horse to protect the city and the people.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 882.] When the news of the defeat and death of Diláwar 'Alí Khán reached the Saiyid brothers, it greatly disturbed and perplexed them. Every day some new plan was formed. Now it was proposed that both should go to the Dakhin, and take the Emperor with them. Then that Saiyid Husain 'Alí should go to the Dakhin and that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah should proceed to Dehlí with the Emperor. * * Every week and every month the tents of the Emperor and of the two brothers moved in different directions, and their councils were distracted.

Earthquake.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 883.] On the 2nd of Ramazán, 1132 A.H. (27th June, 1720), on Friday, during prayers at the mosques, a
fearful earthquake was felt. A noise under the earth was heard, doors and walls shook and roofs rattled. During the day and night nine shocks were felt. It was reported that parts of the fort and many houses were thrown down, and that great numbers of persons were killed in Sháhjahánábád and old Dehlí. The writer of these leaves went out on horseback to see and ascertain for himself. * * He found houses destroyed here and there, parts of the ramparts thrown down and damaged, two gates of the city injured, the parapets of the Fathpúrí mosque damaged, and ten or twelve persons killed and wounded. It was very wonderful that for a month and two days the shocks continued, and were felt four or five times in the twenty-four hours. Many persons were so alarmed that they would not sleep under a roof. After this time the force of the shocks decreased; but for four or five months the earth and the houses were found to shake occasionally, until the arrival of the blessed feet of His Majesty, when the shocks gradually ceased.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 885.] On the 1st Zi-l ka'da it was determined that His Majesty should go with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán to Dehlí, and that Husain 'Alí Khán should proceed with a number of warlike amirs to the Dakhin. It was now that a quarrel arose between the Saiyids and I'timádu-d daula. This caused a great feeling of alarm for some days, and it was so much talked about that I'timádu-d daula and the braves of Túrán remained under arms night and day.

**Defeat and Death of 'Alam Khán.**

[Text, vol. ii. p. 885.] Intelligence now arrived that 'Alam 'Alí Khán and many of his officers had been killed. The author has not obtained exact information of this matter; but he will relate what he has gathered from different accounts given to him by trustworthy men.

After the death of Diláwar 'Alí Khán two or three thousand
Bárha horse * * were glad to make their escape to 'Alam Khán. This officer, when he heard that Diláwar Khán was approaching, went out of Aurangábád (to join him) with thirty thousand horse. He had reached the pass of Fardápúr, half-way to Burbánápúr, and was engaged in getting his artillery through, when he received the unwelcome news. Several of the Mahratta sardárs and his own associates advised him to return to Aurangábád, or to go to Ahmadnagar, and await the coming of Husain 'Alí Khán. Under the protection of the walls he might enlist men, and carry on the war with discretion, while the Mahrattas might be sent out to ravage and plunder in the vicinity of Nizámu-l Mulk's army, and to carry on that Cossack warfare for which the people of the Dakhin are so famous.

'Alam 'Alí Khán, in his pride, paid no heed to these counsels, but went down with his whole force. After the defeat of Diláwar 'Alí Khán, Nizámu-l Mulk went and encamped at Burbánápúr. When he heard of 'Alam 'Alí Khán's approach, he sent to him the coffins of Diláwar 'Alí Khán and Saiyid Sher Khán; and he wrote a few words of noble advice for 'Alam Khán to send to his two uncles, deprecating any further shedding of the blood of Musulmáns. But this had no effect. Nizámu-l Mulk then marched from Burbánápúr to the river Púrná, sixteen or seventeen kos west of that city. 'Alam 'Alí Khán was encamped near the tank of Hartála, close to the Púrná. Continuous rain, mire and mud, the flood of waters and the want of boats, prevented both armies from crossing the river, and compelled them to wait awhile. Nizámu-l Mulk, to change his ground, escape the mire, and find a ford, made a move of two kos in the direction of Birár, and encamped on the bank of the river, until, through the guidance of the zamíndárs, and the exertions of 'Iwaz Khán, a ford was discovered fourteen or fifteen kos away in the direction of Bálápúr.

In the middle of Ramazán, Nizámu-l Mulk crossed the river with his whole army. This passage was looked upon as a good omen, and inspired his men. 'Alam 'Alí Khán was disturbed
when he heard of the crossing; but he set his forces in motion to meet his adversary. Nizámú-1 Mulk waited a day to allow the rear of his army and his baggage to cross. In some places the water was up to the waist, in others to the breast, but all got over in safety without loss to life or property. Next day he marched to fix upon a position in which to give battle. He encamped at Súgánw, in the súba of Burhánpúr [where his army suffered greatly from heavy rain, want of provisions, and the skirmishing of the Mahrattas]. At length the rain ceased awhile, and he marched to a ruined village three kos from Bálápúr.

The Mahrattas were very daring and troublesome, and 'Iwaz Khán, Muhammad Ghiyás Khán, and Rambhá Nimbálkar were sent to punish them. A fight ensued, in which the Mahrattas were put to flight, and a great spoil of mares, spears, etc., fell into the hands of the victors. Sufficiency of fodder and grain not being procurable, another march was necessary, and they had to bury some heavy guns, which the mud and the weakness of the bullocks prevented them from moving. After remaining three days to rest and recruit near Bálápúr, where sufficient grain was found, on the 5th Shawwál the army marched to the chosen battle-field, two or three kos distant.

Nizámú-1 Mulk made his disposition of his forces. * * * 'Álam Khán also made his arrangements. * * On his side were Santájí Sindhia, Khándújí Dapháriya Senápati, Sankarájí Malhár, Kánújí, and other Mahrattas of repute, on the part of Rája Sáhú, with seventeen or eighteen thousand men, who all called themselves faithful adherents of Husain 'Álí Khán. * * On the 6th Shawwál, 1132 A.H. (1st August, 1720 A.D.), the battle was fought. * * * 'Álam 'Álí Khán received a severe wound, but for all that he kept the field. * * The elephant which carried him, unable to bear any longer the arrows and sword-cuts that he received, turned tail. 'Álam 'Álí Khán, dripping with blood from his wounds, turned his face towards the army of Nizámú-1 Mulk, and cried out that the elephant had turned his back, but he had not. All his own arrows were exhausted, but such of
the enemy's arrows as struck his face, or his body, or his houca, he quickly pulled out and returned. He received so many wounds in succession that he sank under them, and sacrificed his life for his uncles. He was only twenty-two years of age, but he was distinguished by all the determination and bravery of the Bárha Saiyids. Seventeen or eighteen other men of renown, riders upon elephants, fell in the battle, with a large number of inferior men. After the defeat Amin Khán, ** and other men of standing came over and joined Nizámu-l Mulk. Sankarájí, one of Rája Sábú's ministers (madár), was wounded and made prisoner. The elephants and guns fell into the hands of Nizámu-l Mulk, the rest was all plundered. Of the victorious army ** very few were killed or wounded. * * The wives and dependents of Husain 'Alí Khán, who were at Aurangábád, went with their property and belongings into the fort of Aurangábád. * * Mubáríz Khán, Suúbaíír of Haidarábád, and Diláwar Khán, his fast friend, with six or seven thousand horse, joined Nizámu-l Mulk.

Ministerial Arrangements.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 897.] After much deliberation the two Saiyids determined that 'Abdu-llah Khán should proceed to Dehlí and stay there, and that Husain 'Alí Khán, in attendance upon the Emperor, and accompanied by a number of the chief amirs and an army, should go to the Dakhin and take revenge of Nizámu-l Mulk. The Saiyids determined upon raising one hundred thousand men, and they sent money with parwánas and contracts (kam) to summon the muster-masters (jamá'dárs) of the Bárhas and the Afgáns. There was a strong disinclination to entering the service of the two brothers, and the amirs who were to accompany Husain 'Alí Khán had received orders to raise squadrons, so men and horses were very scarce. The jamá'dárs far and near had noticed the declining fortunes of the two Saiyids, and they were unwilling to go to the Dakhin, so the desired army was not raised. But nearly 50,000 horse, old
soldiers and recruits, and Emperor's men, were raised, and they hoped also to assemble the men of Bárha, and the contingents of the rājās and the samindārs of the provinces. With this army, with a powerful train of artillery, and many warlike amirs and gentlemen, Husain 'Ali sent them on the march for the Dakhin at the end of Shawwāl. Having himself marched two kos out of Agra, on the 1st Zī-l ka'da he dismissed Saiyid Khán-Jahán from the command of the artillery, and appointed Haidar Kull Khán in his place.* * Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán proceeded towards Dehli.* *

There was a number of persons, old servants, attendants and officials of the two brothers, especially of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who through them had risen to great honour and prosperity. But the infamous murder of the martyr Emperor (Farrukh Siyar), the sight of the indignities which the Emperor, the representative of the House of Timúr, had to endure, and the fact of the administration being under the direction of a base-born shopkeeper (Ratan Chand), had, under the guidance of the Converter of Hearts, so changed their feelings, that some of them often said, "Although we know that we shall suffer many hardships through the downfall of the Bárhas, still we hope that, through the blindness of its ill-wishers, the House of Timúr may again acquire splendour." Some of the relations and officials of the two brothers often offered up their prayers to God, and said, "The end of the lives of the two brothers, who have no children, is evident; but woe to all Bárha Saiyids, for we know what evil awaits our children through the misdeeds of these two men!"

Death of Amiru-l umarā Husain 'Ali Khán Bárha by the Sword of Retributive Justice.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 901.] When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, on the 7th Zī-l hijja, had reached a stage forty kos from Dehli, a camel express arrived, despatched by Ghairat Khán (sic), with a letter from Ratan Chand, announcing the slaughter of Husain
'Ali Khan, Ghairat Khan, and Núru-llah Khan. The facts of this strange and marvellous matter are these. When the representatives of the House of Timúr lost the control of the State, the great and the small of all classes were disgusted with the arrogance of the two brothers, and by the fact of the general control of civil and revenue affairs being under the direction of Ratan Chand. For excepting men of Bárha and the shop-keeping class, no one found any favour. The nobility of every province carried on their existence in disgrace and distrust. I'timádu-d daula Muhammad Amin Khan Chín Bahádur was convinced that, notwithstanding his covenants and protestations, Husain 'Ali Khan would, whenever it suited his designs, perform his engagements in the same way as he had kept them with the late martyr Emperor, Farrukh Siyar. So I'timádu-d daula was always scheming the overthrow of the Bárhas, but he did not think it prudent to seek assistance of his friends and acquaintances in this dangerous project.

Sa'ádat Khan, otherwise called Mír Muhammad Amin, a Saiyid of Naishapúr, * * a close and trusted friend of I'timádu-d daula, joined heartily in the plot, and so also did the artilleryman Haidar Khan Káshgharí, a Chaghatáí Turk, descended from Mír Haidar, the author of the Tárikh-i Rashidi.¹ He bore the hereditary title of "Sword-bearer." * * * All these three were agreed upon cutting the thread of Husain 'Ali Khan's life, and bound themselves together to effect their purpose, and to keep their design secret to themselves. So strict were they in their secrecy, that neither the Emperor, nor Kamru-d dín Khán, son of I'timádu-d daula, knew anything of it. Excepting the mother of the Emperor, and Sadru-n nisá, a protegé (dast-girjá) of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, no one knew anything of the plot.

On the 6th Zí-l hijja, in the second year of the reign, the royal army was encamped at Tora, thirty-five kos from Fathpúr.

¹ Supra, Vol. V. p. 127.
I’timádu-d daula having accompanied the Emperor to his tent, made a show of being unwell, and retired to the tent of Haidar Kulí Khán. When the Emperor entered his private apartments, Husain ’Alí Khán also retired. As he reached the gate of the royal inclosure, Mír Haidar Khán, who had a speaking acquaintance with him, approached. Washing his hands of life, he placed a written statement in the hands of Husain ’Alí Khán, and complained of I’timádu-d daula while his victim read it. When Mír Haidar found him off his guard, he stabbed Husain ’Alí in the side with a dagger, and this one wound despatched him. Núru-llah Khán, son of Asadu-llah Khán, and nephew of the murdered man, accompanied his pálki on foot. He cut down Mír Haidar Khán with his sword. It is said that Mír Mushrif then came up and finished him. He also killed another Mughal, and was wounded himself, but escaped alive. Mughals assembled from every side, who killed Núru-llah, and having cut off the head of Husain ’Alí, carried it as an offering to the Emperor. The enunuch, Makbúl Khán, názír of the Saiyids, fought strenuously, and so severely wounded two or three of the assailants, that they died a few days afterwards. A water-carrier and a sweeper of Husain ’Alí Khán showed great devotion and courage. Raising loud cries, they fell sword in hand upon the crowd, cut their way through, and got into the oratory, where they fell under many balls and arrows discharged by the Mughals.

Mustafá Khán, bakhshí of Muhkam Singh, had with him a party of his master’s men. When he heard of the affair with Husain ’Alí, without ascertaining the fact, or giving information to Muhkam Singh, he went to the gate of the royal inclosure. The crowd was so great that he could not get in; but in another part he broke into the diwán-i kháss, and entered sword in hand uttering cries. They fought fiercely, but two or three fell severely wounded under the balls and arrows of the Mughals, and the rest made their escape. Some of the artillerymen of Husain ’Alí Khán gathered round the royal tents, and began to fire muskets and ráñchangás. ’Izzat Khán, nephew of Husain
'Alí, had gone to his tent and had loosened his belt to eat bread. When he heard the startling news, he was roused to the highest pitch. Without waiting to collect the scattered soldiers, but displaying all his resolution, he instantly mounted an elephant, and went with four or five hundred horsemen towards the royal quarters.

Haidar Kulí Khán Bahádur, notwithstanding the information given to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, had not been from the first a participator in the conspiracy formed for taking revenge of Husain 'Alí, but he saw that the Emperor had no power in the government of the State, and that everything was directed by Ratan Singh, and other vile infidels. The two Saiyids, the real rulers, thought themselves masters of the pen and masters of the sword in Hindústán, and as opposed to their judgment and the swords of the Bárhas, the Mughals of Irán and of Túrán were as nobodies. They did not remember that these Mughals had come a thousand or two thousand miles from their native countries, and that by their courage and sound judgment the wide realm of Hindústán, with its great kings and famous rájas, had by hard fighting been won for the Emperor Bábar. For two hundred years they had lived in the favour of the House of Timúr, and they now felt the ignominy of seeing their Emperor without any power in his own State. Pride, courage, and honour, continually spurred this lion-hearted noble to make an end of this state of things, and to take revenge. But he waited for the day to come.

Now that it had pleased Heaven to exact vengeance, and to befriended the young inheritor of the throne, he stepped boldly forward, ready to show his loyalty and devotion in vigorous action. When the noise of contention rose high in every quarter, Sa'ádat Khán, under the direction of Haidar Kulí Khán and the orders of I'timádu-d daula, obeyed them and the dictates of his own courage. He went boldly into the inner

1 Lit. "the world became dark in his eyes."
apartment, where the Emperor had retired. He got there just at the time when the partisans of the two brothers were raging with violent designs against His Majesty. The Nawáb Kúdsiya (the Emperor's mother), in her motherly love, forbade the entrance of the brave Sa'ádat Khán. Assuring the inmates against harm from their enemies, he threw a shawl over his face and went boldly in; then with the utmost devotion he took the hand of the Emperor and led him out. I'timádu-d daula mounted him on his own elephant, and sat behind him as his attendant.

On the arrival of the Emperor at the chief gate, the soldiers and guards and the amírs had gone to their own abodes, according to their custom every day. The noise of the struggle had frightened away many men well disposed and ill disposed; the royal elephants and horses and the amírs were dispersed. Muhammad Amín Khán Chín (I'timádu-d daula), Kamru-d dín Khán, forty or fifty Mughals, and some gunners, altogether amounting to a hundred or two hundred men, were all that were present to form the Emperor's retinue. Haidar Kuli Khán sent for the elephants and horses of the royal equipage, and to summon the men of the artillery. With the limited band of devoted men who were round the royal presence, and with the aid of Kamru-d dín Khán and Sa'ádat Khán, he awaited the onslaught of that raging lion of the Bárhas, 'Izzat Khán.

The noise of the strife rose high. On one side the bravest of Bárha rushed boldly into the fray; on the other the valiant men of Yrán and Túrán came from every side eager for the fight. * * * Plunderers began to pillage the bázsárs and stores, and set fire to the tents of Husain 'Alí, but victory inclined to the royal side. Samsámú-d daula Khándaúrán Bahádúr Mansúr-Jang arrived with his followers and joined in the fight. * * * 'Izzat Khán, who had already received two wounds from arrows, was struck by a musket-bullet and killed. The partisans of the Bárhas then fled, and on every side shouts arose proclaiming the victory of Muhammad Sháh. * *
After His Majesty had returned, Haidar Kuli Khán sent for Muhkam Singh, promising him the royal pardon and favour, with a mansab of 6000, ultimately raised to 7000. I'timádu-daula sent several kind messages to Ratan Chand, who, vainly hoping to save his life and honour, descended from his proud elephant and went off much frightened in a pálkí towards the royal quarters. A mob of Mughals, vagabonds of the markets, and idlers, who were as full of fury at his oppressive actions as the seeds of a pomegranate are full of blood, fell upon him, dragged him from the pálkí, beat him with sticks, punched him, kicked him, tore the clothes from his body, and stripped him stark naked. They then carried him to I'timádu-daula, of whom he begged for protection, and that noble gave him some clothes, and ordered him to be put in a collar and in chains. Ráí Siroman Dás, a Káyat by caste, and an old agent of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, made the best use of his opportunity in the strife, shaved off his beard and whiskers, marked his forehead with ashes, and assuming the appearance of a fakir, he left his furniture to be plundered, carried off some money and valuables and hid himself for some days in the tent of his friend, until he managed to escape and join Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. *

The corpses of Hussain 'Alí Khán, 'Izzat Khán, and Núru-llah Khán, were placed in coffins covered with gold brocade, and after the funeral service was read over them they were sent to be buried at Ajmír, near the tomb of 'Abdu-llah Khán. The common report is that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah repeatedly stated in public that no bearers were found to carry the coffins, that the covers of the coffins were stolen, and that the coffins remained lying on the ground, and were not buried. Common report says that they were eventually buried at Ajmír. *

[vol. ii. p. 911.] The mansab of I'timádu-daula was increased to eight thousand and eight thousand do-aspahs. He received a kror and fifty lacs of rupees as inv'ám, and was ap-

1 "Commonly called Mia Khán, the founder of the family."—Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin.
pointed wasṭr, with the addition to his titles of Wasṭru-l mamúlik Zafar-Jang. Samsámú-d daula was made bakhshi, with an increase to 7000 and 7000 horse, and the title of Amīru-l umārā. Kamru-d dín Khán was made second bakhshi and dārogah of the ghulṣ-khána. He was named to other offices, and he received an increase of 1000 with 1000 horse. Haidar Kulí Khán received an increase to 6000 and 6000 horse, do-aspahs and yak-aspahs, and he was entitled Násir Jang. Sa’ādat Khán was advanced to 5000 and 5000 horse, with the title of Sa’ādat Khán Bahádur, and the privilege of kettle-drums. Zafar Khán, and every one of the old adherents and of the new corps of Wálasháhīs, received liberal rewards according to their services and deserts.

Saiyid ’Abdu-llah Khán was greatly distressed by the grievous news of his brother’s death, and his eyes filled with tears; but he knew that there was no remedy but resignation. Thinking that there was nothing to be gained by delay, he proceeded on his journey to Dehlí. On the arrival of the mournful news, some of his friends advised him to hasten with all speed and heat (against the Emperor), before he was joined by the provincial troops, and before the forces of Husain ’Alí were won over. But Saiyid ’Abdu-llah did not approve of this course. He knew the Emperor was firmly established, while his own army was dispirited, and it was very inexpedient to march against the enemy without toras.¹ He thought it best to proceed to Dehlí, there to assemble soldiers and win the support of the amīrs. So he went on to Dehlí.

As the news (of Husain ’Alí’s death) spread, the Mewāttís and the turbulent zamindārs rose up and gathered round Saiyid ’Abdu-llah on every side. They attacked the baggage and tents in the rear, and plundered whatever they could lay hands on. A

¹ This word here seems to have a more general meaning than that given to it by the dictionaries. See note in Vol. IV. p. 251. Pavet de Courteille, in his Dictionnaire Turk Oriental, says, “Pièces de bois et de fer qu’on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets et derrière lesquelles s’abritent les soldats.”
detachment of the discouraged army was sent against them, but without success. A party of men who were with the Saiyid's tent equipage were killed along with their commanding officers. A convoy that was coming from Dehlí, with property belonging to Husain 'Alí Khán, was attacked at the saráí of Jahána, two or three kos from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's army, and it and the property and the wives of the men all fell into the hands of the marauders.

In the jágirs belonging to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and in those of all the Saiyids, and of the officials and collectors of the two brothers, wherever the news came, the rent-paying raiyats and the turbulent zamindárs seized the opportunity and turned out the collectors of the jágirdárs. Before order was restored in the State, the produce of the kharif harvest had for the most part gone into the hands of the raiyats.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah sent Shujá'at 'Alí Khán and Murtazá Khán to the capital, and he also wrote to Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán, Súbadár of Dehlí, for the purpose of raising soldiers. On the 8th Zí-l hijja the news reached Najmu-d dín. But before the news became public, he first put forth a statement the opposite of the information he had received, and sent a body of men, horse and foot, under the Kotwál, to the house of I'timádu-d daula, and the work of investing it went on for a watch or two of the night. The people in the house, who had received news beforehand, threw up defences and showed themselves resolved to defend it. The news spread and became the common talk in every street and market.

A letter now came from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah forbidding all injury to the family and establishment of I'timádu-d daula, or else the Súbadár thought better of his futile proceeding and recalled his men. On the day of the 'Yd-i kurbán Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán went in tears to the prayers, and when he returned he sent the envoys of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán to the residence of the sons of Jahándár Sháh, to make provision for the government of the State. The young men had the door shut against the envoys
Murtazá Khán and Shujá’atu-llah Khán; but after a good deal of pressing, they admitted them and asked the reason of their coming; and when they were informed of it, they gave a sharp answer, flatly refusing. It is reported that after the envoys returned unsuccessful, they went to Nekú Siyar, and received the same answer. Next they went to Sultán Ibráhím, son of Raff’u-sh Shán, and urged him to accept the proposition, saying that his acceptance would save the lives of the party of the Saiyids. After some conversation he consented.

_Elevation of Sultán Muhammad Ibráhím by way of loan_ (‘āriyat.)

[Text, vol. ii. p. 914.] On the 9th Zí-l hijja, 1132 (1st October, 1720 A.D.), Sultán Muhammad Ibráhím was raised to the throne with the title of Abú-l Fath Zahíru-d dín Muhammád Ibráhím. Two days afterwards Saiyid 'Abdu-l-lah arrived and paid his homage. He received the title of Gházíu-d dín Ghálib Jang, the position of Amíru-l umará with the duties of Mir-bakhshi, and a mansáb of 8000. Najmu-d dín Khán was made second bakhshi, Salábát Khán third bakhshi, and Baim Khán fourth, each one obtaining an advance in rank. A number of courtiers of the time of Raff’u-d Daraját, who were in confinement, or had no mansábs, or despaired of promotion, were sent for and received mansábs and sums of money for their expenses. They were directed to enlist horsemen at the rate of eighty rupees per month for each man, and a sum of thirty or forty thousand rupees was advanced for this purpose. Hamíd Khán Bahádur, uncle of Nizám-u-l Mulk, who was deprived of his jágir when the war with the latter broke out, was restored to it, and received a sum of money. I’tikád Khán and * * other nobles of Farrukh Siyar’s days all received favours, and had expectations held out to them. [*Enlistment of horsemen.*]

[vol. ii. p. 917.] On the 17th Zí-l hijja Saiyid 'Abdu-l-lah came out of Dehlí with Sultán Ibráhím and went to the 'I’d-gáh.

1 For a temporary purpose.
Here he was joined by Ghulám 'Alí Khán from the royal army, by Tahawwur 'Alí Khán from Agra, and by others. * * Intelligence arrived that the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, being freed from all trouble about Husain 'Alí Khán, was marching to the capital by the Rájput road. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah made his second and third march towards the dargáh of Kutbu-d dín; but when he heard of the Emperor's march from Agra, he took the road to Farídábád, where he waited in expectation of Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán and others with their Bárha soldiers. A very extraordinary fact was that, notwithstanding the large outlay of money, the royal domestics and officials in the train of Sultán Ibráhím rode horses with no saddles. At every stage parties of Bárha soldiers, Afgháns with their troops, and zamíndárs on elephants, joined the army of Sultán Ibráhím. Soldiers of Husain 'Alí Khán, who had entered the service of Muhammad Sháh and received a month's pay, deserted when they found an opportunity, and came over every day in parties of three or four hundred to join Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Such was the eagerness to enter the service that one horse (yábu) would receive the dágh (brand) two or three times.

Sultán Ibráhím reached Niyúl, thirty-five kos from Dehlí. Here he was joined by Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, brother of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and others, who had been sent by Husain 'Alí Khán to raise forces in the neighbourhood of Bárha. They brought with them altogether ten or twelve thousand horse, also 150 carts full of Bárha Saiyids, each of whom thought himself equal to twenty well-accoutred horsemen, and had come in the expectation of making himself an amir, an elephant-rider, and a general. Each of these demanded one year's pay, a horse, and a robe. * * On the 10th Muharram, 1133 (1st Nov. 1720 A.D.), as the author has ascertained from the rolls of the Bakhshi, and as he heard from the mouth of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, more than 90,000 horsemen had been entered in the lists. Of these fourteen or fifteen thousand perhaps were recruits, who rode ponies (yábu); some of the old soldiers were dispersed about the vicinity, and
the remainder were present. Afterwards there were the followers of the traitor Chúráman, of Muhkam Singh, and sundry other of the adherents of Husain 'Alí Khán, and the samínárs of the neighbourhood. According to report, the number exceeded 100,000 horse. All around as far as the eye could reach the earth seemed covered with horsemen.

Chúráman Jáṭ arrived with his brother, bringing three elephants and several camels, that he had cut off from the royal army. These were offered as an introduction to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who gave them to that good-for-nothing fellow (Chúráman). One matter of great discouragement to the old followers of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and of favourable influence on the fortunes of the Emperor, was this. Notwithstanding all the lavish distribution of the money, which had been collected by carts full from house to house, and which had been extorted in bribery or with violence by Ratan Chand from the wretched raiyats, and laid up for a time like this, when it would be spent in vain;—notwithstanding all this, the old soldiers wanted two months' pay in advance, that they might free themselves from their liabilities to the bankers, and provide themselves with warm clothing, arms, and harness. They were satisfied with the promise of one month's pay, and at last money for the pay of ten days of Muharram was somehow raised, but they could not get the balance. It was very different in the royal army, where Haidar Kulí Khán Bahádur Násir Jang had won the hearts of the artillerymen by exerting himself to the best of his ability to obtain the settlement of their pay.

On the 19th Muharram the royal army encamped at Shálipúr.

**The army was not half as numerous as that of the enemy, and it waited for the arrival of Saifu-d daula, 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Bahádur Diler Jang, and Rájádhiráj Jai Singh. But although intelligence of their approach was brought, distance and other obstacles delayed their arrival. Muhammad Khán Bangashi came in with two or three thousand horse. 'Azíz Khán Rohilla, Sábit Khán, and Báyazíd Khán Mewáttí joined with their forces, and three or four thousand horse arrived from
Rája Jai Singh. Some zamindárs of the country round also joined. * * Two or three leading men, who deemed it expedient to stay with the royal army, such as Muhkam Singh and other protegéés of the two brothers, kept up a correspondence with Saiyid 'Abdu-lláh, assuring him that they would join him at the proper time. The wretched Chúráman Ját, who belonged to a race of traitors, * * communicated with Saiyid 'Abdu-lláh, who urged him to set fire to the powder magazine, or to make a dash and bring the artillery bullocks over to him. The rascal did his best to accomplish this, but he was foiled by the vigilance of Haidar Kulí Khán.

**Battle between Muhammad Sháh and Saiyid 'Abdu-lláh.**

[Text, vol. ii. p. 921.] [Dispositions made of the officers and forces on both sides.] On the 12th Muharram 'Abdu-lláh Khán's forces encamped at Husainpúr, three kos from the Imperial army, and made arrangements for battle. But there were such contentions among the officers, who were unwilling to serve under the orders of each other, that a proper disposition with right and left wings could not be made. Each chief raised his standard where he chose, and would not consent to obey any other. * * On the 17th of the month, during the night, Muhkam Singh, Khudádád Khán, and Khán Mirzá, with seven or eight hundred horse, deserted the Royal army, and joined that of Saiyid 'Abdu-lláh. * * Muhammad Sháh mounted his elephant to take the field; but as he did so, he ordered that the head of the vile Ratan Chand, who had been the chief cause of the unpopularity of the Saiyids, should be struck from his filthy body, so that the world might be gladdened by being cleansed from his polluting existence. So his head was cut off and thrown as a propitious omen before the feet of the Emperor's elephant. The royal forces were then set in motion. * * The deadly fire of the royal artillery so shook the new recruits in the enemy's army, that some of the pony-riders and some even of the old
soldiers took to flight. * * The Saiyids of Bárha charged many times most heroically, and towards the close of day they nearly won the battle, through a movement made by Najmu-d dín 'Alí Khán Bahádur. He advanced a battery of guns under the cover of some trees on a hill near a village, and made a bold charge with fourteen or fifteen thousand horse upon the royal artillery, when a fierce contest followed. * * At length some of the enemy's guns were taken by the Imperialists, and the Bárhas lost their battery. * * As night came on, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah ordered a small tent to be pitched for him to pass the night in on the field; but he afterwards directed it to be removed. * * When it grew dark, Haidar Kulí Khán pushed forward his guns, and opened so heavy a fire, * * that the enemy fell back, and some went off for refuge to the cities and towns, but most of these were plundered on their way by the zamståds and Mewáttís. * * Out of the 100,000 horsemen of the enemy's army, only seventeen or eighteen thousand held their ground through the terrible cannonade of that night. The chiefs and the old Bárha adherents passed all the night hungry and thirsty on the backs of their elephants and horses, for the water was in the possession of the Játs, who plundered friend and foe alike, and no horsemen or footmen of either side could reach the water. No one slept, and all the chiefs looked with anxiety for the morning. Towards morning a cannon-ball struck the howdâ in which Muhkam Singh was seated, when he jumped upon a horse and fled precipitately. For some time afterwards no one knew whether he was alive or dead. * * When morning came, Muhammad Sháh, who had been sitting on his elephant for eight or nine watches, gave the order to advance. On the other side, Najmu-d dín Khán, with some other brave and devoted Bárha chiefs, boldly came forward. They were met by the valiant and trusty men of the royal army, and a hard fight ensued. [Names of killed and wounded.] Najmu-d dín 'Alí, the leading spirit of the Bárha army, received three or four dangerous wounds, and was struck near the eyes by arrows and blinded. When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah saw the desperate position
of his brother, he brought up a party of the Bárha braves to his rescue. Muhammad Sháh, hearing of the fierce struggle that was going on, wished to join in the fight, and give proofs of the hereditary courage of his race, but his attendants prevented him.

The villain Chúráman Ját had several times attacked the (royal) baggage, and killed several men. He carried off nearly a thousand bullock and baggage camels, which had been collected on a sand-bank by the side of the Jumna, with no suspicion of the rascal's intention. He also plundered some other camels carrying provisions and official papers. Then he had the audacity to move up in support of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and attacked the royal forces. Muhammad Sháh himself shot three or four arrows at him. 'Timádu-d daula and Hádí Kháñ, commander of the royal musketeers, discharged their arrows at the accursed wretch.

When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah charged with his brave companions to the support of the remaining Bárha Saiyids, they recovered their powers, and fought so fiercely that, notwithstanding the exertions of Samsámú-d daula and other brave chiefs, the royal army began to waver. Haidar Kulí Kháñ and * * seeing how matters stood, staked their lives upon the venture, and charged upon the flank of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. The Saiyid, on becoming aware of what was passing, drove his elephant against Haidar Kulí. * * The attack of Haidar Kulí was overwhelming. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had often, at the critical point of a battle, followed the practice of the braves of Hindústán, and had descended from his elephant and fought bravely on foot in the sight of many; but on this fated day, when he fought against the Imperial army, he so lost command of himself that, without showing his prowess, he was flurried, and dismounted from his elephant in the hope that the Bárha braves would dismount from their horses and join him (in a charge). Some two or three thousand horse, under the bakhshi of the army and other commanders, remained firm, more or less near to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah; but the rest of the army, when
they saw what was passing, fled with Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán and * * towards Dehlí, leaving the brave Bárhas and Afgháns with the bakhshí to their fate.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah received a sword-cut on his hand and a flesh wound from an arrow in the forehead, when Haidar Kulí and his companions, sword in hand, charged upon him. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, exclaiming that he was a Saiyid, called for quarter, and Haidar Kulí mercifully made him prisoner. Gházíu-d dín Khán kept up the fight for nearly two qhāris after Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's capture, and then fell back with a portion of the baggage which had escaped the pillage of the Játs and Mughals.

The shouts of victory rose high from the army of Muhammad Sháh, and Haidar Kulí brought his prisoner on an elephant to the presence of Muhammad Sháh, who showed the clemency of the race of Tímúr, spared his life, and placed him under the charge of Haidar Kulí Khán. Saiyid Najmu-d dín, who was so severely wounded that there was no hope of his life; Saiyid 'Alí Khán bakhshí, and some others, were made prisoners. Hámid Khán and some others came over to the royal army in hope of receiving quarter. All the elephants and treasure and matériel which remained from the plunderers was searched for and collected.

The innocent Sultán Muhammad Ibráhím had sought refuge in the jungle, but he was made prisoner, and brought before the Emperor; but as he had had no choice in what he had done, he received the royal pardon.

On Friday, 14th Muharram, intelligence of the fall of the Bárha rule and of the captivity of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah reached Dehlí. His women, of whom he had gathered a large number around him, were in dismay; but a good many of them made the best of the time, and before the arrival of the royal guard, they seized whatever they could, and disguising themselves with old veils and sheets, they took their departure. Some, who were of noble Saiyid birth, threw the sheet of modesty over their heads, and remained in their places.
On the 17th Muharram Muhammad Sháh began his march from the battle-field to Dehlí, before even he rewarded his supporters by augmentations of their manabe or promotions in rank. Ghulám 'Alí Khán had been left in Dehlí with Najábat 'Alí Khán as representative of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Whatever they could get together of ashrafis and jewels, they took with them, and went out of the citadel and fortifications, now that the position was changed. Ghulám 'Alí saw that the times were too dangerous for one man to trouble himself about another; so he saved himself and such property as he was able to carry off. Najábat 'Alí was a youth of thirteen or fourteen; he was the adopted son of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, and brother's son of him and of Ghulám 'Alí. He was made prisoner by some of Muhammad Sháh's men, and conducted to the presence, when he was ordered to be confined with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

On the 19th, Muhammad Sháh reached the outskirts of the city, and halted there two days for arranging sundry affairs of State. He paid a visit to the dargâh of Khwája Kutbu-d dín, and gave a sum of money to the attendants. * * * The chiefs and officers who had shown their gallantry and devotion in the battle now received augmentations, and gifts of robes and elephants and jewels, the detail of which would exceed due limits. Haidar Kúli Khán Bahádur Násir Jang received an addition of a thousand to his six thousand, and was advanced to the title of Mu'izzu-d daula. On the 22nd, Muhammad Sháh entered the capital. * * Saifu-d daula 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Bahádur Diler Jang and Ághar Khán came from Láhore to pay their homage. * * In the month of Safar Rája Jai Singh Dhíráj came from his native land, and Rája Giridhar Bahádur from the súba of Oude, * * and on the representations of these two, the order which had been given for the collection of the jízya from the zimmânis was recalled, on account of the distress which had been suffered from the operations of the armies. and because grain was dear, and the collection was deferred until the recovery of the prosperity of the raiyats, and the settlement of the country.
Rája Ajít Singh, Súbadár of Ahmadábád and Ajmír, had exceeded his authority by prohibiting the slaughter of cows in his jurisdiction; so Sa’ádat Khán, Súbadár of Ágra, was summoned to Court, and sent to punish him; but he begged to be excused. Afterwards Samsámu-d daula, Kamru-d dín Khán Bahádúr, and Haidar Kulí Khán, were ordered to discharge this duty. Each one accepted the duty reposed in him, and even sent on his travelling equipage; but they all retracted, and did not think it advisable to proceed; especially Samsámu-d daula, who was afraid that it would be a tedious undertaking, and that the royal funds would not suffice. It might even cause disturbances in other parts, where men were ill disposed. So not one of these amírs was willing to go. At this time intelligence arrived that Nizámu-l Mulk had given Rája Ajít Singh a sharp warning. So the Rája sent a message professing obedience, announcing his withdrawal from Ahmadábád, and praying for his retention in the súba of Ajmír. * * Haidar Kulí Khán was appointed to succeed him at Ahmadábád.

*Nizámu-l Mulk Minister.*

[Text, vol. ii. p. 939.] In the latter days of Rabí’u-l ákhir, 1133 A.H. (February, 1721 A.D.), Muhammad Amín Khán Chín died, after a four or five days’ illness. I’náyatu-llah Khán was directed to perform the duties of waqír as deputy. Letters had repeatedly been written to Nizámu-l Mulk, calling him to Court; for several affairs of State required settlement and the matter of the office of waqír waited for the counsel of that master of the sword and pen. Nizámu-l Mulk, having settled the affairs of the Afgháns at Bífápúr, returned to Aurangábád, and setting out from thence at the end Zí-l hijja, he reached Dehlí in the latter part of Rabí’u-l ákhir. Envious detractors had cast aspersions upon him; but the Emperor acted as if he had never heard them, and sent Samsámu-d daula in state to meet him. On the 22nd Rabí’u-l ákhir, he entered the city, and paid his
homage to the Emperor. In consequence of the charges brought
against him, to record which would be a perversion of language,
some days were passed in deliberation; but on the 5th Jumáda-l
awwal, 1134 A.H. (8th February, 1722 A.D.), in the fourth
year of the reign, he was appointed wazir, and received the
usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen-case, and a diamond
ring of great value.

Nizámu-l Mulk was anxious to carry out the duties of his
office, to maintain the character of the Emperor, and to accumu-
late funds, without which a sovereign falls into disrepute. But he
was unable to accomplish his wishes through the interference of
adversaries, who maligned him to the Emperor, and obstructed
his authority as wazir. In particular, Koki Pádsháh, a woman
of great charms and intelligence, colluded with Khwája Khid-
matgár Khán, who was said to be one of the Emperor’s close
companions, and, under the show of providing means and raising
funds, they levied large sums under the name of peshkash for
the Emperor and for themselves. This was a great difficulty
in the wazir’s way. Other associates of the Emperor made
ridiculous insinuations against Nizámu-l Mulk, which the weak-
minded Emperor believed. Haidar Kulí Khán, who had firmly
established himself in the command of the artillery, meddled
with plausible talk in revenue and civil affairs. When Nizámu-l
Mulk spoke about it to the Emperor, and he, in a prudent and
gentle way, prohibited Haidar Kulí Khán from pursuing that
course, the Khán was offended, and asked to be sent to his súba.
Leave being granted, he left a deputy at Court, and set off for
Ahmadábád in the middle of Jumáda-l ákhir. On arriving
there, he seized upon the jágirs of several royal servants and
courtiers. When this was complained of repeatedly, an admo-
tory farmán was sent to him, prohibiting the sequestration of
jágirs. But this had no effect. At length his jágirs in the
neighbourhood of Dehlí were seized in compensation for those
he had resumed at Ahmadábád.
Death of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 941.] Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan died on the last day of Zil-hijja in this year (1134 A.H., 30th September, 1722 A.D.). It is said that he was poisoned. If so, it is extraordinary that I should have heard from the mouths of credible men the statement that when Muhammad Shah started on his march against Sultan Ibráhím and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, he vowed to God, that in the event of his gaining the victory and securing his throne, he would not kill or crush the Saiyid, however great his crimes might be. Nizámu-l Mulk also strove to smooth matters for the Saiyid; for whenever in conversation the two brothers were spoken of, he praised the excellent character of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and expressed his belief in the Saiyid's innocence of the death of Farrukh Siyar. He contended against those who condemned the brothers, and he had forbidden men to designate them in writing as Namak ba-harâm and Harâm-namak. God forbid that his counsel should have been given for poison! But God knows!

In the course of this narrative, upon certain points the pen has been used to condemn the two brothers, martyrs of misfortune, and this cannot now be rectified; but in atonement I will now write a few words upon the excellence and beauty of character, the love of justice, and the liberality of both brothers. What has been said about them, and especially about Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, in the matter of the death of Farrukh Siyar, the acceptance of bribes, the hard dealings with farmers (sukhti ijáráh), and other bad courses which became grounds of complaint among the people,—these were all attributable to the evil influence of Ratan Chand, his díwán, who, having been raised to a position above his capacity, laboured hard to annoy the people. He was also troubled by fortune-seekers and needy adventurers, whose desires he was unable to satisfy. Husain 'Alí Khan, before he was appointed to the Dakhin, was exceedingly averse to the exaction of money; but while he was in the
Dakhin Muhkam Singh and other of his officials perverted his nature. But both the brothers were distinguished in their day for their generosity and leniency towards all mankind. The inhabitants of those countries which were innocent of contumacy and selfishness made no complaints of the rule of the Saiyids. In liberality and kindness to learned men and to the needy, and in the protection of men of merit, Husain 'Ali Khán excelled his elder brother, and was the Hátim suited to his day. Numbers owed their comfort to the cooked food and raw grain which he gave away. At the time of the scarcity at Aurangábád, he appropriated a large sum of money and a great quantity of grain to supply the wants of the poor and of widows. The reservoir at Aurangábád was begun by him, and although A'azzu-d daula 'Iwaz Khán enlarged and made higher the buildings and the mosque, still he was the originator of that extensive reservoir, which, in summer when water is scarce, relieves the sufferings of the inhabitants. In their native country of Bárha they built saráís, bridges, and other buildings for the public benefit. Saiyid 'Abdu-lláh was remarkable for his patience, endurance, and wide sympathy.

Mullá 'Abdu-l Gháfúr Bhora, chief of the merchants in the port of Surat, died leaving a kror and several lacs of rupees in cash and effects. Although he left heirs, Haidar Kuli Khán, who was then mutasaddit of the port, in order to show his zeal and his desire to please the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, seized upon all the property, and made a report to Court. Just at this time the change of government occurred which has been related, and 'Abdu-l Hai, one of the sons, went to Court to complain, and he stated the case to the two brothers. He offered to pay fifteen lacs of rupees for the release of the property, besides the sums which he promised Ratan Chand and other of the officials. The port of Surat was under the jurisdiction of Husain 'Ali Khán. One morning, before the rising of the sun, he sent for Diyánat Khán, who had just been appointed diwán of the khálisád, and told him that he had gone through a sharp conflict in the night
with the covetousness which the wealth of 'Abdu-l Ghafūr had excited in his heart, but that he had prevailed over his temptation, and had thrown off all desire for the money. The divān therefore was to send for 'Abdu-l Hai, and to remove all claim to the property, and to present him with a robe and a horse, without his having to spend a dām or a diram, and without having to apply to any other person. [Other anecdotes.]

The Jāts.

[vol. ii. p. 944.] The tribe of Jāts, under the leading of the sons of Chūrāman, who was lately deceased, had strengthened and armed some forts in the neighbourhood of Agra. The turbulence, disaffection and robberies of this vile class of men in the reigns of Aurangzeb and Farrukh Siyar have been related. ¹ Sa'ādat Khān, Subadār of Agra, a man renowned for his bravery and determination, although he did his best and showed great resolution, was unable to inflict any real satisfactory chastisement on them, because of the density of the woods and the inaccessibility of the places to which they retired. In consequence of this, Rāja Jai Singh Dhiraj was ordered on the service, with many warlike amirs of the Mughals of Irān and Turān, and Afghāns of well-known courage. Fourteen or fifteen thousand horse were assembled under him, he had a strong force of artillery and siege materials, and he received a present of two lacs of rupees, a robe and a horse. The Rāja began by clearing away the jungle, and then by fighting vigorously and pushing forward his artillery, he pressed the insurgents hard. The rebels came out of some of the forts, and taking refuge in the jungle, they made sudden attacks upon the royal forces, and large numbers were killed on both sides. In the course of a month and a half, two forts were closely invested; but by good fortune one of the nephews of the rebel—for they had a quarrel among themselves about their country—left him, and joining the rāja, acted as guide. After the two forts were reduced, the rebels abandoned their chief strong-

¹ See supplement to this article, inf:rd pp. 531-3.
hold in the night, having set fire to the houses, blown up the powder magazine, and carried off with them all the money and valuables that were portable. They left their guns and grain, which, with the fort, were taken possession of by the royal forces. There was a strong report of there being treasure in the fort; but although great search was made, and several places were dug up, not a trace of it was found.

**Haidar Kulí Khán.**

[vol. ii. p. 946.] When Haidar Kulí Khán heard of the confiscation of his jāgirs around Dehlí, he represented to His Majesty, through some of the amirs at Court, that although his jāgirs had been seized, he would not fail in his duty and fidelity. As stated above, censures of these proceedings were repeatedly sent to Haidar Kulí Khán without any effect. At last the complaints of the jāgirdārs and the insubordination of Haidar Kulí passed all bounds, so the sūbadāri of Ahmadábád was taken away from him and given to Gházíu-d din Khán Bahádur, eldest son of Nizámu-l Mulk.

After the Ját affair was settled, Nizámu-l Mulk left Court on the 2nd Safar, in the fifth year of the reign, to provide for the government of Ahmadábád, and to coerce Haidar Kulí Khán, if he made any resistance. When he reached Agra, some deceitful plausible letters arrived from Haidar Kulí, making all sorts of excuses. Nizámu-l Mulk continued his march till he reached the confines of Málwá. From letters which he then received from Ahmadábád, it appeared that Haidar Kulí Khán was very ill, and that he had shown some signs of insanity. According to other accounts, it appears that when Haidar Kulí Khán heard of the approach of Nizámu-l Mulk, of his being joined by 'Iwaz Khán and the armies of the Dakhin, and by Báji Ráo, and other Mahrattas of Rája Sáhu, and of the readiness of his associates in Ahmadábád to recognize Nizámu-l Mulk, he, for the purpose of defeating that general, feigned to be sick, and gave out that symptoms of madness had appeared. Haidar Kulí sent his son to the Emperor with a letter, in which he offered his excuses, and
announced his intention of waiting upon His Majesty. Accordingly he set off for Dehlí by way of Ajmir. Nizámu-l Mulk ascertained this fact when he was near the Nerbadda, seven or eight kos from Ahmadábád. He appointed Hámid Khán to act as deputy súbatádár of Ahmadábád, and at the beginning of Jumáda-l ákhír turned back towards the capital.

_Return of Nizámu-l Mulk to the Dakhin for the second time._

[Text, vol. ii. p. 947.] When Nizámu-l Mulk arrived at Court, he was anxious, as a prudent minister, to show his devotion and competency in the service of the Emperor, by settling affairs of State, accumulating funds, and putting down disturbances. But there was the envy and opposition of the courtiers, especially of Koki Pádsháh, who would interfere in ministerial affairs, and by receiving bribes and improper gifts, was bringing the Emperor into bad odour. She was strongly opposed to Nizámu-l Mulk. Lastly there was the indifference of the Emperor himself, who made no resistance to the ill repute he was falling into. For these reasons, it appeared to Nizámu-l Mulk that he could not accomplish what was right by continuing to act as wazír.

Various reasons have been assigned for Nizámu-l Mulk's second departure for the Dakhin; but I will relate the explanation which I have heard from credible sources.

At this time intelligence came to Muhammad Sháh from Persia, of the success of Mahmúd Khán Afghán over Sultán Husain Sháh, the sovereign of Írán. It appeared that the territory from Isfahán to Shíráz had passed into his hands; that the people of Isfahán had suffered great hardships; that Sultán Husain had been made prisoner, and that Prince Tahmásp, with the brothers and sons of Sultán Husain, had left the fortress of Isfahán, with the object of raising forces.

This heading from the Text has been here thrown back one paragraph.
One day Nizámu-l Mulk, with the best intentions, told the Emperor that the system of farming the khálísá lands was very injurious to the country, and ought to be set aside; secondly, that the bribes which were received, under the name of peshkush, were disgraceful to the Emperor and adverse to good policy; thirdly, that the jisya upon infidels ought to be collected as in the days of Aurangzeb; fourthly, he recalled the fact that in the days of the rebellion against the Emperor Humáyún, when the realm of Hindústán passed into the hands of Sher Sháh Afghán, the Sháh of Persia had rendered great help and service, and had shown hospitality to Humáyún, when he went towards Persia. If the Emperor Muhammad Sháh were now to help the ruler of Persia in repelling the domination of the Afgháns, it would be recorded in history as a lasting honour to the House of Timúr. The Emperor said, “Whom have I got to send on such a service?” Nizámu-l Mulk replied, “Any one of your enterprising officers whom you might send on this service would carry out your orders; or if it should please you to name me for the duty, I would strive heart and soul to accomplish it,” and he added some more professions of his loyalty and devotion.

When the Emperor consulted with other nobles of his Court on this subject, a party of them perverted the good opinion which the Emperor entertained of Nizámu-l Mulk, and set him against his wise and excellent minister. The etiquette of the Court and the discipline of the State had fallen entirely away from the proper dignified standard of royalty, and Nizámu-l Mulk desired that orders should be issued to restore it to a suitable style. This greatly irritated the courtiers—and day by day they made statements about Nizámu-l Mulk which were entirely opposed to his thoughts, and by envious malicious insinuations they poisoned the mind of the Emperor against his devoted servant. They put such injurious designs into the head of the inexperienced Emperor against Nizámu-l Mulk, that for the sake of prudence and to save his honour, he at the end of Rabí’u-l awwal, in the sixth year of the reign, got a few days’ leave of absence in the
name of hunting, and left Dehlí. Upon the excuse of needing change of air, he went thirty or forty kos from the capital to the side of the Ganges. There he hunted and recruited his health.

While he was so engaged, bad news arrived of the disorders caused by the Mahrattas and other insurgents in Ahmadábád and Málwá, the first of these two provinces being held in the name of Nizámu-l Mulk himself, and the other in the name of his son, Gházíu-d dín Khán Bahádur. This became the common talk, and Nizámu-l Mulk having written on the subject to the Emperor, received permission to go and restore order in his two provinces. ** Before he arrived at Újjain, the Mahrattas heard of his approach, and taking warning departed from the river Nerbadda towards the Dakhin. The other insurgents also put a stop to their outrages.

Nizámu-l Mulk followed them to the neighbourhood of Újjain; but when he heard that they had crossed the Nerbadda, he gave up the pursuit and fell back to the pargana of Sahúr, near Sironj, in Málwá, intending to return to Court after he had set in order the affairs of that province. While he was thus occupied, important intelligence came from the Dakhin. Mubáriz Khán, násim of the súba of Haidarábád, two years before, at the close of the war with 'Álam 'Alí Khán, came to Nizámu-l Mulk, and made great professions of zeal and devotion. Nizámu-l Mulk took an interest in him, and obtained for him from the Emperor an addition of 2000 to his former 4000, the title of 'Imádu-l Mulk Mubáriz Khán Bahádur Hizbar Jang, [and other distinctions for himself and his sons]. Mubáriz Khán had served Nizámu-l Mulk faithfully. He now gave out that he had been appointed Súbaḍír of the whole Dakhin, and leaving Haidarábád, he went to take possession of Aurangábád. **

The letters which Nizámu-l Mulk received from Court informed him that his son Gházíu-d dín, whom he had left as his deputy in the office of wazír, had been removed, that I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán had been appointed wazír; and that under the influence of Kokí, bribery had increased.
For these reasons, and for others which cannot be committed to writing, he proceeded from Málwá towards the Dakhin, which country indeed was the conquest of that illustrious general and his ancestors. * * At the end of the month of Ramazán he arrived at Aurangábád. He repeatedly wrote to Mubáriz Khán, but the answers which he received were proud and haughty, and made no profession of giving up his designs. Nizámu-l Mulk was very calm and forgiving. He again sent several admonitory letters, reminding Mubáriz of old obligations, and he waited at Aurangábád for two months to see what time would bring forth. But the destroying angel had lain his hands upon Mubáriz Khán, and led him towards Aurangábád.

Mubáriz Khán was joined by Bahádur Khán, brother of Dáúd Khán Pání, and by others with considerable bodies of men. He had collected large numbers of infantry, and his army was daily increasing. This was a great injury to the country, and encouraged the restless Mahrattas. At the end of Zí-l ka‘da Nizámu-l Mulk marched out of Aurangábád, and encamped by the tank of Jaswant, near the city. He still wrote letters to Mubáriz, to prevent a war, and save the lives of Musulmáns; but his adversary was deluded with the prospect of being Súbadár of the Dakhin, and remonstrances were of no avail. Mubáriz took counsel with his adherents. First he proposed to make a rapid march and fall unawares on Nizámu-l Mulk. Then he proposed to threaten his opponent’s flanks, and by a rapid march in another direction throw himself into Aurangábád, and make himself master of the city. This plan he endeavoured to carry out. * * On the 23rd Muharram a battle was fought near the town of Shakar-Khera, in Birár, about forty kos from Aurangábád. [Long account of the plan and progress of the battle.] Two sons of Mubáriz Khán were killed, and two were wounded and made prisoners. Mubáriz Khán’s elephant-driver received a number of wounds, and fell off the elephant. The Khán himself then wrapped a garment soaked with his own blood around him, and drove the animal himself, until he fell dead under the
many wounds he received. Shouts of victory then rose high from the successful army. ** Nizámu-l Mulk next day provided for the burial of the dead, and took especial care that the wounds of Mubáriz Khán’s two sons should be carefully attended to. ** He afterwards gave them a large amount in goods, jewels, and stuffs, to set them up in life again.

After the victory, Nizámu-l Mulk marched towards Aurangábád. On his way he learnt that Khwája Ahmad Khán, son of Mubáriz Khán, who had been left as deputy in charge of Haidarábád, had gone into the fortress of Muhammad-nagar, near the city, with his property and goods, and that he had set the fort in order. After a short stay at Aurangábád, Nizámu-l Mulk marched to Farkhunda-bunyád Haidarábád, ** and by grant of jágirs and other favours, induced Khwája Ahmad to give up the keys of the fortress.

Nizámu-l Mulk had never moved a hair’s breadth in opposition to the Imperial dynasty; but in all his undertakings had shed a new glory on the House of Timúr. Now there came to him from the Emperor an elephant, jewels, and the title of A’suíf Jáh, with directions to settle the country, repress the turbulent, punish the rebels, and cherish the people. Under his former rule the troubles caused by the Mahrattas and other enemies had been mitigated; but although Mubáriz Khán apparently did not pay the chauth according to the agreement made by the Saiyids, and had shown much activity in punishing the Mahrattas, still their officials, whenever and wherever they found the opportunity, levied the chauth, and whatever else they could get, and many of the roads were closed

[Text, vol. ii, p. 965.] When Nizámu-l Mulk was appointed Súbadár of Ahmadábád, Haidar Kúlí Khán repaired to Court; but he left (as his deputies) in Ahmadábád, Shujá’at Khán and Ibráhím Kúlí Khán, two brothers whom he had brought forward in the world, and he also left the third brother, Rustam ‘Alí Khán, as his deputy at Surat. ** Nizámu-l Mulk appointed his uncle, Hámid Khán, to be deputy governor of Ahmadábád. **
hearing of his approach, Shujá’at 'Alí and Ibráhím Kulí desired to go into the city and oppose his entry, or, according to another account, to obtain promises of safety, and then to submit. There was a continual state of hostility and war between these three brothers and the Mahrattas, and they did not pay the chauth. Safdar Khán Bání had a bitter hatred of Haidar Kulí Khán. With seven or eight thousand horse he joined the enemy and went to meet Hámid Khán, and persuaded him that the three brothers were resolved upon resistance. It happened that Shujá’at Khán, riding on an elephant, met Hámid Khán as he was entering, and he drove his elephant towards that of Hámid Khán. A struggle then began, in which Shujá’at Khán was killed. Ibráhím Kulí Khán hid himself in his house, but he was soon afterwards killed in a party fight. Rustam 'Alí Khán heard at Surat of the death of his brothers, and his fraternal blood boiled to avenge them. He immediately began his preparations for exacting vengeance.

Between Rustam 'Alí Khán and Pílújí, a Mahratta chieftain at the head of ten or eleven thousand men, there had been for a year past a continual state of war, in consequence of a refusal to pay the chauth. There had been repeated conflicts, but no decisive action. Rustam 'Alí, under pressure of events, made friendly overtures to Pílújí, and after a peace was settled he united the Mahratta's forces with his own. Pílújí; on his side, thought that fortune was in his favour, and joined him with his forces. Hámid Khán, hearing of Rustam 'Alí's preparations, prepared his army and artillery, and he was joined by a Mahratta chief named Kantha, with 12,000 horse. On reaching the banks of the Mahó, a great battle was fought, with a heavy loss of killed and wounded on both sides. Hámid Khán was defeated, and his tents and baggage were plundered. He fled from the field to the river-side. Rustam 'Alí, having gained the victory, encamped a kos or two farther on. Hámid Khán won over the crafty Pílújí, and on the next day gave battle again. Rustam 'Alí had lost most of his brave veterans in the fight, but he
prepared to resist. The forces of Pilújí now fell on Rustam 'Ali's baggage, and after some sharp fighting Rustam 'Ali's force was routed, and he himself was killed. The Mahrattas on both sides fell to plundering, and carried off whatever they could from the bázârs and shops of Ahmadábad and the districts round Baroda.

The Emperor Muhammad Sháh, on being informed of these events, sent Sarbuland Khán to be governor of Ahmadábad. Nizámú-l Mulk recalled Hámid Khán. But although Sarbuland Khán had an army of seven or eight thousand horse, most of whom were veterans, and a strong force of artillery, the Mahratta forces so swarmed in the province that he was unable to settle its affairs or to punish the enemy. Their power increased from day to day, and the price of grain rose high. Sarbuland Khán was as it were besieged in the city; all that he could do was to wink at and rail against the Mahrattas, for as they numbered nearly 30,000 horse, he was unable to fight and chastise them. They ravaged the country round Ahmadábad up to its very gates. Many merchants and traders and artisans were so ill-treated and oppressed, that they left their native land, and wandered into foreign parts. The country could not repel the ravagers, and in its desolation it was unable to pay the sum required of it for the support of the soldiers, whose numbers were excessive. The officers with parties of men demanded their pay, and used violence and insolence in extorting it. At length it was arranged that, for the sake of quietness and to stop disturbances, the officers should obtain orders drawn upon bankers and merchants for the pay. With these drafts they went to the bankers, seized them, put them in prison, and tortured them until they got the money. Bir-nagar was a flourishing town full of merchants of the famous Nágar class, who carried on there a trade amounting to lacs of rupees. That district, beyond all the flourishing places of Hindústán, abounded in every sort of wealth, gold, cash, and every production of nature; but it was ransacked by the enemy because the sibulárs were unable to answer the cries of the inhabitants for protection.
When a report of this state of things reached the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, he removed Sarbuland Khán, and appointed Rája Dúngar Singh in his place. On his arriving at Ahmadábád, Sarbuland Khán refused to admit him, and prepared to resist him by force of arms. So he fled, and for some days no trace was found of him. He did not go to Court, and the Emperor was much displeased with him, so he remained for a long time in disgrace.

This rich province, which no other province of Hindústán could equal, was reduced to such a state of wretchedness, that merchants and traders left their native land, abandoned their hereditary dwelling places, and dispersed over distant countries. But thanks to the mercy of God, the cries of the oppressed were heard, and the beneficent shade of Nizámú-l Mulk Bahádúr Fath Jang Asaf Jáh was to fall upon it, and to be the cause of its restoration to prosperity.

Administration of Nizámú-l Mulk.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 972.] In a short time the country was brought under the control of Musulmán authorities—it was secured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former súbadárs the roads had been infested with the ruffianism of highway robbers, and the rapacity of the Mahrattas and rebellious zamindárs, so that traffic and travelling were stopped; but now the highways were safe and secure. The Mahrattas exacted the chauth with all sorts of tyranny from the jágírdárs; and in addition to it, ten per cent. under the name of sar-desh-mukhi was collected from the zamindárs and raiyats. By these means odious kamáish-dárs were removed and changed every week and month; orders beyond all the endurance of the raiyats were issued, and annoyances and insults were heaped upon the collectors of the jágírdárs. Nizámú-l Mulk so arranged that instead of the chauth of the súba of Haidarábád, a sum of money should be paid from his treasury; and that the sar-deshmukhi,
which was levied from the raiyats at the rate of ten per cent., should be abandoned. He thus got rid of the presence of the kamáish-dárs of the chauth, and the gunáštás of the sar-desh-mukhi and the ráhdárti, from which latter impost great annoyance had fallen upon travellers and traders.

Events up to the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of Muhammad Sháh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 973.] When Nizámu-l Mulk was removed from the office of wazír, Kamru-d din Khán Bahádur was appointed his successor, but a gracious farmán was sent to Nizámu-l Mulk, with a robe and other presents, appointing him to the wakálat.¹

After losing two or three children which were born to him in his harem and soon died, a son was born of his wife, the daughter of Farrukh Siyar, who received the name of Ahmad Sháh.

Haidar Kulí Khán Mir-i átash was sleeping with his wife in his khas-khána,² when it caught fire. His wife was burnt to death, and he was so injured before he was rescued, that medical treatment was of no avail, and he died. [Political changes in Persia.]

Conclusion of the Work.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 978.] The history of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh has thus been briefly written up to the beginning of the fourteenth year. If by the mercy of God life and leisure are spared to me, the history shall be continued.

Játs.

[The following are the passages referred to supra, p. 521.]

[vol. ii. p. 316.] Aurangzeb (in the year 1095 A.H., 1684 A.D.) sent Khán-Jahán to punish and put down the Játs, and to

¹ "Wakil-i mutlah, Lieutenant of the Emperor, or Procurator General."—Briggs's Siyaru-l Mutta-akhkhirin, p. 337.
² خانقا A hut made of khas grass for the sake of coolness?
destroy the fort of Sansí, which those infidels had built, under the protection of which fort they every month attacked and plundered several caravans, and ravaged the neighbourhood of Agra.

[vol. ii. p. 394.] It was reported from Agra (in 1102 A.H., 1691 A.D.), that under the royal command Aghar Khán was coming from Kábul to the presence. On approaching Agra, the Játs fell upon his train, and carried off some bullocks and carts, and made prisoners of some women. Aghar Khán, on being informed of this, pursued them and followed them to their fortress. After a display of great resolution, he rescued the women and sent them on their way. He then boldly determined to invest and besiege the fort of the Játs; but he was struck by a musket bullet, and he and his son-in-law were both killed. Khán-Jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh, who had been sent to punish the Játs and reduce their fort, went upon the service confided to him; but although he exerted himself strenuously, he did not succeed in reducing their fort of Sansí, or their other strongholds. His failure and some unseemly acts of his gave offence to the Emperor (Aurangzeb), who recalled him and appointed Prince Bedár Bakhsh to act against the Játs.

[vol. ii. p. 776.] Chúráman the Ját was a notorious freebooter. His father, his grandfather, and his brothers had ravaged the neighbourhood of Agra and Fathpúr since the days of Aurangzeb. Armies had frequently been sent against him under Prince Bedár Bakht, Khán-Jahán, and other amirs, with the object of chastising him, and reducing the fort of Sansí, which the Játs had built. In the days of the struggle between A’zam Sháh and Bahádur Sháh, also when Farrukh Siyar approached Agra, Chúráman was very bold and daring. He plundered the royal train, and carried off much treasure and jewels. Rája Jai Singh was sent against him, and Saiyid Khán Jahán Bahádur, uncle of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid ‘Abdu-llah, was sent after him in command of a separate supporting force. Through sundry obstacles and want of supplies, Saiyid Khán remained inactive.
several months near the city; but Rája Jai Singh marched against the enemy, opened trenches, and invested Chúrámán's fort. The struggle went on for more than a year. There were frequent fights, and many men fell on both sides. When Saiyid Khán arrived, the siege was pressed more vigorously, and the trenches were carried closer to the fort. Chúrámán, being hard pressed, sent his vakil direct to Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, promising to pay tribute, and to wait in person on the Emperor, if his offences were forgiven and a manad granted to him. Rája Jai Singh knew nothing whatever of this; but the Emperor reluctantly agreed to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's proposals. This was done against the Emperor's will, and greatly to the annoyance of Rája Jai Singh. The Rája, greatly vexed, came to Court, and when Chúrámán arrived, he was reluctantly allowed to wait upon the Emperor once; but the latter was so displeased with the peace that had been made, that he would not consent to see him again.