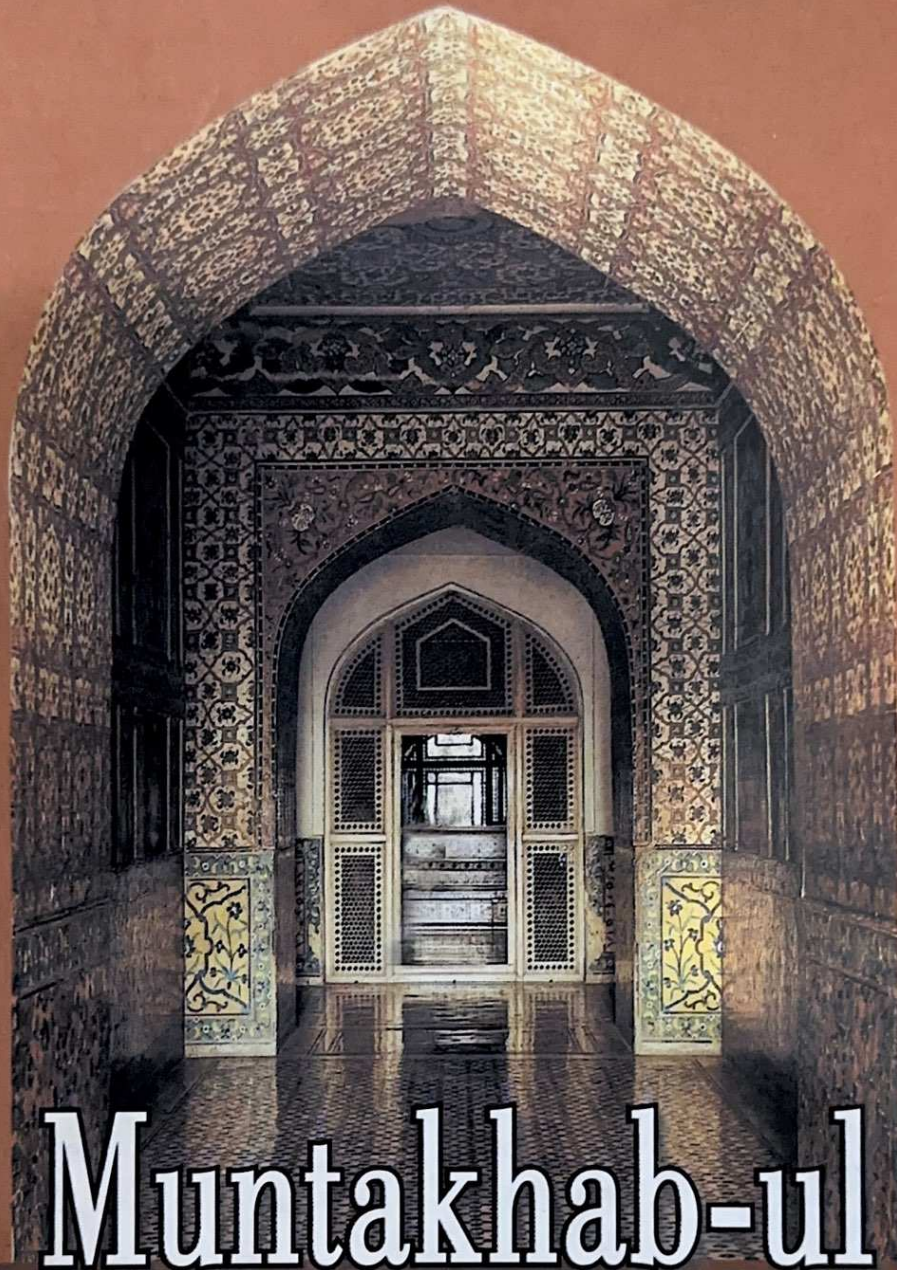


Muhammad Hashim, Khafi Khan



Muntakhab-ul Lubab



Translated and edited by

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persons, *Firingis* and *raiya*ts perished in the course of the siege. Fourteen hundred *Firingis*, and a number of persons who had been made Christians by force, were taken prisoners. Nearly ten thousand persons, innocent *raiya*ts and captives of those people, were set free. More than a thousand Musulmans of the Imperial army fell in the course of the siege.

***Reign of Abul Muzaffar Muhiu-d Din Muhammad
Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Padshah-i Ghazi.
Eleventh in Descent from Amir Timur.***

Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 2.] The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty year's reign of this illustrious monarch is like trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher; the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative. But for all this, the writer of these pages has resolved that to the best of his ability, and with the most active exertion, after the most exhaustive inquiry and complete investigation, he will narrate some events capable of narration which he has heard from the tongues of men advanced in years, which he has fully verified by inquiries from men in office and from the writers of official despatches, and by the evidence of his own eyes during this period of time. Like plagiarists of no ability, he commits one fact out of a hundred to his crude relation, and offers his petition to his intelligent critics and well informed readers, that if, from his feeble grasp of the thread of narrative, any discrepancies should appear between the earlier and later portions of his work, or if any trifling variations from other histories should appear, they will hold him excused, because in trustworthy books even discrepancies are found arising from varying versions (at the same occurrence).

Birth of Aurangzeb.

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

Illness of Shah Jahan.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 4.] On the 7th Zil hijja, 1067 A.H. (Sept. 8, 1657 A.D.), (the Emperor Shah Jahan, called after his death) *Firdaus makani*, was attacked with illness, which turned out to be strangury. This produced much derangement in the government of the country, and in the peace of the people. Dara Shukoh looked upon himself as heir to the throne, and even in the time of his father's health he had held the reins of government. But he had fallen into ill repute through having imbibed the heretical tenets of the *Sufis*. He had declared infidelity (*kufir*) and Islam to be twin brothers, and had written treatises on this subject; he had also associated himself with *Brahmans* and *Gosains*. Seizing the opportunity (of his father's illness), he took the direction of State affairs into his own hands, and having exacted from the ministers their pledges not to publish what passed in council, he closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadabad, and the Dakhin against messengers and travellers. But when the intelligence of his officious meddling had spread abroad through the provinces by the *dak-chauki* (post), a strong adverse feeling was shown by the *amirs*, *zamindars*, and *rai-yats*, and also by the unruly spirits who sought for a field of action. Turbulent men from every corner and quarter, and men eager for a fray, in every province and country, raised their heads

¹ The "Daud" of Thornton, "one hundred miles W. of Ujjain, and seventy-seven N.E. of Baroda."

in expectation of strife.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Muhammad Shuja in Bengal, and Muhammad Murad Bakhsh in Ahmadabad, each of them, envying with the other, had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name. Shuja, with a large force, marched against Bihar and Patna, and the news of his movements was carried to the capital. Shah Jahan had from the very first shown great partiality and affection for Dara Shukoh, and generally, in all matters, had done his best to gratify his son. Now that he was ill, and no longer master of himself, he was more than ever inclined to gratify Dara and yield to his wishes. Dara Shukoh looked with an eye of apprehension upon the talents of Prince Aurangzeb, and was made uneasy by the vigour and wisdom which he displayed. So, by various arguments, he induced his father to recall to Court the nobles and generals who were engaged with Aurangzeb in the siege of Bijapur. When this evil news became known, the prosecution and completion of the siege of Bijapur was prevented. Aurangzeb made an arrangement with Sikandar Adil Shah of Bijapur, and accepted from him a promise to pay a tribute of a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods as the price of peace. He then raised the siege of Bijapur, and proceeded to Khujista-bunyad (Aurangabad). After this he learned that Dara Shukoh, with the intention of getting possession of the treasure of Shah Jahan, had left Dehli, and had gone to Agra.

Defeat of Muhammad Shuja.

On the 4th Rabi-u-l awwal, 1068 A.H. (1st December, 1657), Dara Shukoh sent Raja Jai Singh, and several other *amirs*, with an army under the command (of his son) Sulaiman Shukoh against Muhammad Shuja. When the Raja with the vanguard arrived near

Benares,¹ Muhammad Shuja prepared his forces for battle, and having got possession of several boats, he advanced to give battle to the Raja, and halted a *kos* and a half from him. Next day the Raja moved from his ground early in the morning before sunrise, and while Muhammad Shuja was yet asleep under the influence of wine, the Raja attacked him. Roused from his slumber, the incautious and careless Prince found that all was lost. He made a hurried flight with some of his servants and companions to a boat, and made his escape. All his camp and treasure, artillery, and *matériel*, was plundered, and fell into the hands of the Raja. After this defeat, Muhammad Shuja did not return to Bengal, and that country fell into the possession of the officers of Dara Shukoh. A number of his servants and companions were taken prisoners, and were carried off by the Raja to Agra. Dara Shukoh had them paraded round the city; afterwards he put some of them to death, and of many others he had a hand amputated.

March against Murad Bakhsh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 6.]² On the same day that Sulaiman Shukoh and Raja Jai Singh were sent against Muhammad Shuja, Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Kasim Khan, with the royal artillery and with several thousand horse and some guns of their own, and attended by several *amirs* of repute, were ordered to march to Ahmadabad and the Dakhin. Their instructions were that they were to ascertain the true state of affairs, and if Muhammad Murad Bakhsh should move from Ahmadabad, Kasim Khan³ was to advance with

¹ "At the village of Bahadurpur, on the side of the Ganges"—*Alamgir-nama*.

² This statement begins with the words, "The news arrived," showing that the author writes from the side of Aurangzeb. This, or a phrase of like meaning, is often used.

³ "Kasim Khan's special duty was to act against Murad Bakhsh, and remove him from Gujrat, and to support Jaswant Singh."—*Alamgir-nama*, p. 33

several *amirs* and some guns to meet and receive him. After receiving intelligence of Prince (Murad Bakhsh's) departure from the Dakhin, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was to act according to circumstances. If Prince Aurangzeb should begin to move from the Dakhin, the Maharaja and Kasim Khan were to lead all the royal forces across his line of march, and give him battle when opportunity offered. Dara Shukoh made the province of Malwa his own *ikta*, and devoted the whole of the revenues to the payment of his officers, so that, their hopes being excited by the riches of that country, they might heartily support each other, and strengthen the army in prosecuting the war.

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

Proceedings of Murad Bakhsh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 7.] It was learned from the news-letters (*akhbar*) of Ahmadabad that Prince Muhammad Murad Bakhsh had struck coin and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. He had also sent Khwaja Shahbaz, a eunuch, with an army and necessary siege train for the reduction of the fort of Surat, and the occupation of the port. Khwaja Shahbaz, on reaching Surat, invested the place, and after driving mines and blowing up bastions and forts, he reduced the fortress. Then he called together the merchants of the place, and demanded from them a contribution of fifteen *lacs* of rupees. After much parley, the chiefs of the merchants agreed to pay six *lacs* of rupees on behalf of their body, and took a bond for the money under the seal of Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, and the bail of Khwaja Shahbaz.

Movements of Aurangzeb.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 9.] About this time Mir Jumla arrived, who had been sent by Shah Jahan before his illness to support Aurangzeb, and he acted as a trusted friend and faithful counsellor. But Aurangzeb deemed it expedient, in order to avoid reproach, to leave Mir Jumla as a prisoner at Daulatabad, while he himself marched against his enemies. As a matter of prudence and expediency, Aurangzeb wrote repeatedly and in the most affectionate terms to Muhammand Murad Bakhsh, and offered him his congratulations. In his letters he said, "I have not the slightest liking for or wish to take any part in the government of this deceitful and unstable world, my only desire is that I may make the pilgrimage to the temple of God. But whatever course you have resolved upon in opposition to the good for nothing and unjust conduct of our disgraceful brother (*biradar-i be-shukoh*), you may consider me your sincere friend and ally. Our revered father is still alive, and I think that we two brothers should devote ourselves to his service, and to the punishment of the wilfulness of that haughty one and the presumption and conceit of that apostate. If it be possible, and we are permitted to see our father again, after exerting ourselves to put down that strife and insurrection, we will entreat the King to forgive the faults of our brother, who has involuntarily been impelled to such a course of action. After setting the government in order, and punishing the enemies of the State, our brother must be reclaimed, and he must go to pay a visit to the holy temple. It is important that you should allow of no delay in your movements, but should march at once to chastise that presumptuous infidel Jaswant Singh. You must consider me as having arrived on your side of the Nerbadda, and must look upon my numerous army and powerful artillery as the means of securing your victory. You must know that I make the Word of

God my bail for this treaty and compact, and you must by all means banish suspicion from your mind,"

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

Raja Jaswant Singh, with Kasim Khan, on the approach of Prince Aurangzeb, advanced a march to meet him, and pitched his camp at the distance of one *kos* and a half. Aurangzeb then sent a Brahman called Kab, who had a great reputation as a Hindi poet and master of language, to the Raja with this message: "My desire is to visit my father.¹ I have no desire for war. It is therefore desirable that you should either accompany me, or keep away from my route, so that no conflict may arise, or blood be shed." The Raja did not acquiesce in this proposition, and sent an impertinent answer. Next day both sides prepared for battle. * * * On the 22nd Rajab, 1068 A.H, (20th April, 1658 A.D.), the battle was joined.² * * * Every minute the dark ranks of the infidel Rajputs

¹ These few words represent the meaning of a great many.

² "Near Dharmatpur."-*Alamgir-nama*.

were dispersed by the prowess of the followers of Islam. Dismay and great fear fell upon the heart of Jaswant, their leader, and he, far from acting like one of the renowned class of rajas, turned his back upon the battle, and was content to bring upon himself everlasting infamy. * * Kasim Khan also, with other Imperial officers and the forces of Dara Shukoh, took to flight. Shouts of victory arose from the men of Aurangzeb, and all the artillery, elephants, treasure, camels, baggage, animals, and equipments of the enemy, after being rifled and plundered, came into the possession of Aurangzeb. * * On the 27th Rajab the Prince marched from the borders of Ujjain, and on the 28th pitched his camp in the territories of Gwalior, * * and on the 1st of Ramazan crossed the Chambal.

Condition of the Emperor Shah Jahan.

[Text vol. ii. p. 20.] The hot climate of Agra did not agree with the Emperor, and as he had only slightly improved in health, he set off for Dehli. Dara Shukoh from the first disapproved of this removal, and spoke against it. Now when he had heard of the defeat of Raja Jaswant Singh, he was bewildered, and so worried his father with complaints and importunities, that he prevailed upon him to return. With the greatest urgency he made preparations for the coming conflict, and began his march with all the great nobles of his father's suite, with the old and newly raised followers of his own amounting to about 60,000 men, and with a strong train of artillery. It is said that the Emperor repeatedly forbade the march of Dara Shukoh, and said that nothing would come of it but further strife and contention between the brothers. He conceived the idea of setting out himself to expostulate with the two brothers, and bring about a peace, and gave orders that preparations should be made for his journey. But Dara Shukoh

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

Defeat of Dara Shukoh by Aurangzeb.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dara next made an attack upon Prince Murad Bakhsh, and led a force like the waves of the sea against that lion of the field of battle. The conflict was raging when Khalilullah Khan, the leader of the enemy's vanguard, led three or four thousand Uzbek archers against the elephant of Murad Bakhsh. The arrows rained down from both sides, and confusion arose in the ranks of Murad Bakhsh, so that many were overpowered with fear and fell back. The elephant of Murad Bakhsh was about to turn away covered with wounds from arrows, spears, and battle-axes, but his brave rider ordered a chain to be cast round his legs. At this moment Raja Ram Singh, a man highly renowned among the Rajputs for his bravery, wound a string of costly pearls round his head, and

with his men clothed in yellow, as bent upon some desperate action, charged upon the elephant of Murad Bakhsh, and crying out defiantly, "What, do you contest the throne with Dara Shukoh?" hurled his javelin against Murad Bakhsh. Then he cried out fiercely to the elephant-driver, "Make the elephant kneel down!" Murad Bakhsh having warded off his assault, shot him in the forehead with an arrow and killed him. The Rajputs who followed that daring fellow mostly fell dead around the feet of the Prince's elephant, and made the ground as yellow as a field of saffron.

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

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

While this was going on, Rustam Khan again advanced against his brave opponents, and the fight grew hotter. Rustam, who was the mainstay of Dara's army, Raja Sattar Sal, and * * were killed in this conflict. Dara, seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed and wounded, was much affected. He became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do. Just at this time a rocket struck the *howda* of his elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haste from his elephant, without even waiting to put on his slippers, and he then without arms mounted a horse. The sight of this ill-timed alarm, and of the empty *howda*, after he had changed his elephant for a horse, disheartened the soldiers. The men lost heart in sympathy with their leader, and began to think of flight. Just at this time, as one of his attendants was girding him with a quiver, a cannon-ball carried off the man's right hand and he fell dead. The sight of this struck terror into the hearts of those around him; some of them dispersed, and others fled from the fatal field. Dara, beholding the dispersion of his followers, and the repulse of his army, prizing life more than the hope of a crown, turned away and fled. Sipihr Shukoh also, at this time, joined his father with some of his followers,¹ and they all fled in despair towards Agra. A great victory was thus gained. Shouts of exultation followed, and the young princes offered their congratulations.

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

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

his devoted nobles, delighting them with his commendation and eulogy.

Prince Murad Bakhsh had received many arrow wounds in his face and body. Aurangzeb first applied to them the salve of praise and compliment, and then had them dressed by skilful surgeons. To the internal wounds of that weak-minded¹ Prince he applied the balm of thousands of praises and congratulations upon (his approaching) sovereignty. Then he wiped away the tears and blood from his brother's cheek with the sleeve of condolence. It is said that the *howda* in which Murad Bakhsh rode was stuck as thick with arrows as a porcupine with quills, so that the ground of it was not visible. This *howda* was kept in the store-house in the fort of the capital as a curiosity, and as a memorial of the bravery of that descendant of the house of Timur, and there it remained till the time of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar. * *

Dara Shukoh, with two thousand horse, many of whom were wounded, and without baggage, arrived at Agra in the evening without torches. He proceeded to his own house, and shame and remorse for his ruined fortune would not allow him to visit his father. The Emperor sent for him, professing a desire to talk and take counsel with him, but he excused himself. In the same night, after the third watch, he went out of the city towards Dehli, intending to proceed to Lahore. He took with him Sipihr Shukoh, his wife and daughter and several attendants. He also carried off on elephants, camels and mules, his jewels, gold, silver, necessaries, and whatsoever he could. In the third day's march he was joined by nearly 5000 horse, and some nobles and equipments, which were sent after him by his father.

After resting a while from his victory, Aurangzeb addressed a letter to the Emperor [*recounting what had passed*], and

¹ *Sadah-lauh*, "tabula rasa."

excusing himself by referring all to the will of God. Soon afterwards, Muhammad Amin Khan, and Khan Jahan, son of Asaf Khan, with many other nobles, who were the props of the State, came and proffered their services to Aurangzeb, and he honoured them with gifts of robes and jewels, horses and elephants. On the 10th Ramazan Aurangzeb marched from Samugarh for Agra, and encamped outside the city. There he received from his father a consolatory letter written in his own hand. Next day Kudsia Padshah Begam, by command of her father, came out to her brother, and spake to him some words of kindness and reproach by way of advice and as a proof of affection. The answer she received was contrary to what she had wished, and she returned. The Emperor then wrote another admonitory letter, and with a sword which bore upon it the auspicious name "Alamgir" (world-conqueror), he sent it with kind messages by one of his personal attendants to Aurangzeb. The word "Alamgir" immediately attracted notice. It was deemed a good omen, and called forth congratulations. Aurangzeb then sent Prince Muhammad Sultan to restore order in the city, to rescue it from the violence and oppression of the army and the mob, and to give peace to the people. To Khan Jahan, son of Asif Khan, he gave the title of *Amiru-l umara*, * * and many of the other nobles who had come to wait upon him were rewarded with increase of rank and presents of money and jewels. * *

Confinement of Shah Jahan.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 32.] The authors of the three *Alamgir-namas* have each described the seclusion of the Emperor Shah Jahan by the will of Aurangzeb, but Akil Khan Khafi, in his *Wakiat-i Alamgiri* has entered fully and particularly into matters, and has described the investment of the fort (of Agra), the confinement of

Shah Jahan, the closing up of the waters (*band-namudan-i ab*)¹ and the somewhat bitter correspondence which passed. From this it appears that on the 17th Ramazan, 1068 (8th June, 1658), Aurangzeb directed Prince Muhammad Sultan to go into the fort of Agra, and to place some of his trusty followers in charge of the gates. Afterwards he was directed to wait upon his grandfather, to deliver to him some agreeable and disagreeable messages respecting his retirement, and to cut off from him all means of intercourse with the outside. Accordingly Prince Muhammad Sultan went in and acted according to his instructions. He took from the Emperor all power and choice in matters of rule and government, and placed him in seclusion.

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

Flight of Dara Shukoh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 33.] When Dara Shukoh reached the vicinity of Dehli, the close pursuit of Aurangzeb's forces, and the apprehension of being shut up in the city, determined him to remain outside. There he employed himself in gathering money and supplies. Whatever he found in the royal stores, or in the houses of the *amirs*, he laid hands upon. He remained some days awaiting the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh, who, after his defeat of Shuja, was wandering about in Bihar and Patna in a state of perplexity—for the news of the success of Aurangzeb frightened

¹ Probably figurative. Bringing matters to a crisis.

him from going to join his father. Dara, perceiving that if he remained longer he would fall a prisoner into the harsh hands of his brother, marched off towards the Panjab with the new army which had gathered round him, numbering about 10,000 horse. Every day he wrote letters to Sulaiman Shukoh, describing his wretched condition and his approaching arrival at Sirhind and Lahore. He also wrote conciliatory letters to the *faujdar*s and governors of the Punjab, in which he mingled promises and threats. He repeatedly wrote to his father, lamenting his inability to wait upon him, through his adverse fortune and the unhappy dissension between the two brothers and their respective adherents.

Aurangzeb also frequently resolved to go and see his father, to make excuses, and to seek forgiveness of the offences of which he had been guilty, by no choice of his own, but through the divine decrees of fate, and the unseemly conduct of his brother. But he knew that his father's feelings were strongly in favour of Dara Shukoh, and that under the influence of destiny he lost all self-control, so he determined that it was better not to pay the visit. Instead of going himself, he directed Prince Muhammad Azam to go and wait upon the Emperor with many apologies. The Prince accordingly presented 500 *ashrafis* and 4000 rupees; and the Emperor, half in joy, half in anger, took the Prince to his bosom, and shed tears over him as he embraced him.

Aurangzeb next turned his attention to the pursuit of Dara Shukoh. He left Prince Muhammad Sultan with * * to attend upon the Emperor, and he appointed Islam Khan to be the Prince's director (*atalik*). * * On the 22nd Ramazan he started in pursuit of his brother. On his way he learnt that Dara had left Dehli on the 21st Ramazan. and had gone towards Lahore. * * * He sent Khandauran to supersede Saiyid Kasim Barha in command of the

fortress of Allahabad. If the Saiyid gave over the fortress, he was to be treated with courtesy and sent to Aurangzeb; if he refused to yield, Khan-dauran was directed to invest the fortress, and to call for reinforcements if necessary.

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

Imprisonment of Murad Bakhsh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 37.] This simple-minded¹ Prince had some good qualities; but in the honesty of his heart and trustfulness of his disposition, he had never given heed to the saying of the great man (Sa'di) that two kings cannot be contained in one kingdom. He was deluded by flattering promises, and by the presents of money, etc. which had been sent to him, but they were deposits or loans rather than gifts. On the 4th Shawwāl, while they were encamped at Mathura, twenty-five *kos* from Agra, Murad Bakhsh was made prisoner by a clever trick, which was aided by fortune, and into the particulars of which it is needless to enter. Chains were placed upon his feet. That same night four elephants with covered *howdas* were sent off in four different directions, each under two or three *sardars* and an escort. The elephant which was

¹ The *Alamgir-nama* calls him "stupid and ignorant."

sent to the fort of Salimgarh carried the prisoner Murad Bakhsh. This precaution was taken lest the partisans of the Prince should fall upon the *howda* in which he was confined. All the treasure and effects of Murad Bakhsh, not one *dam* or *diram* of which was plundered, was confiscated.

Flight of Dara Shukoh.

Aurangzeb ascends the Throne.

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

Sulaiman Shukoh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 41.] Intelligence now arrived that Sulaiman Shukoh had crossed the Ganges, and intended to proceed by way of Hardwar, to join his father. The *Amiru-l umara* and * were sent off to intercept him by forced marches. On the 7th Zil kada

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

Dara Shukoh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 42.] After leaving Lahore, Dara Shukoh busied himself in raising forces, and in winning the hearts of the dwellers in those parts. He made promises and engagements in writing to the *zamindars* and *faujdar*s, to conciliate them and

¹ "Bahadur Khan."— *Alamgir-nama*.

augment his army. So he collected nearly twenty thousand horsemen. He wrote to his brother Shuja, and made the most solemn promises and oaths, that after bringing the country into subjection they would divide it between them in a brotherly way. These deceitful and treacherous letters deceived Shuja, and although he had received kind and assuring letters and promises from Aurangzeb, the foolish fellow busied himself in collecting forces, and marched from Dacca to the assistance of Dara Shukoh, with a strong army and a large force of artillery. It was Dara Shukoh's desire to celebrate his accession to the throne at Lahore, and to have his name placed upon the coins and repeated in the *khutba*; but the power of the sword of Aurangzeb prevented this. The *zamindars* and *faujders* of name and station, hearing of the decline of the fortunes of Dara and the rise of the fortunes of Aurangzeb, forsook the former.

Raja Jaswant.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 42.] Raja Jaswant, when he fled from the encounter with Aurangzeb, betook himself to his own country. Women, especially Rajput women, have often a higher sense of honour than men; and for this reason will rather bear the torture of fire than suffer disgrace. Raja Jaswant's chief wife was a daughter of Raja Chattar Sal. She strongly condemned her husband's conduct, and refused to sleep with him. In conversation she would express her censure both by words and hints. The Raja was stung to the quick by her reproaches, so he sent a letter by his *vakils* to Aurangzeb, asking forgiveness of his offences. After his apology was accepted, he proceeded to Court, where he was graciously received, presented with many gifts and confirmed in his *mansab*.

Dara Shukoh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 44.] Dara Shukoh's newly-raised army had been greatly reduced by desertion, and he was alarmed at the approach of Aurangzeb; so he fled with three or four thousand horse and a few guns towards Thatta and Multan. He left behind Daud Khan to obstruct as much as possible the passage of the rivers by the army of Aurangzeb, by burning or sinking the boats. After a while the intelligence arrived that Dara Shukoh, after staying at Multan for a short time, had gone off towards Bhakkar, and that his followers were daily decreasing. * * In the beginning of Muharram, 1069 A.H, Aurangzeb (continuing his pursuit of Dara) pitched his camp on the banks of the Ravi near Multan. * *

Prince Shuja.

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

that fortress after its investment surrendered and joined Shuja.

Mir Jumla Mu'azzam Khan.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 44.] Instructions were sent to the Dakhin, directing the release of Mu'azzam Khan, *alias* Mir Jumla, whom Aurangzeb had deemed it desirable to leave in confinement at Daulatabad¹. Mu'azzam Khan now arrived from the Dakhin, his zeal having urged him to make a quick journey. He brought with him his military *matériel*. Aurangzeb received him graciously, and acted under his advice in managing the army. * * He and his son Muhammad Amin Khan, with some other devoted adherents, were appointed to attend. Aurangzeb, who was with the centre of the army.

Defeat of Prince Shuja.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 50.] The armies of Aurangzeb and Shuja² were within half a *kos* of each other, and both sides prepared for battle. * * The guns of Shuja were so placed as to have an advantage over those of his opponents so Mu'azzam Khan, who was a good tactician, removed forty guns during the night to another position. He took no rest, but busied himself in ordering his army and encouraging the men. The Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged in his tent performing his devotions, and praying to God for victory. Suddenly, about the fourth watch, a great tumult arose. Raja Jaswant Singh,³ the treacherous wretch,⁴ who marched with the army, had, through one of his confidants, opened communications with Shuja in the early part of the night,

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

² "At the village of Kora." *Alamgir-nama*. "Shuja's army rested by the tank of Khajwa or Kachhwa."- *Amal-i Salih*.

³ He had been placed with other Rajas in the right wing.

⁴ A very faint expression of the abuse heaped upon him.

undertaking to make a sudden assault upon the army just before daybreak, and to desert, doing as much mischief as he could. "When I do this," said he, "the King (Aurangzeb) will come in pursuit of me; you must then charge sharply upon his forces."

About two hours of the night remained, when Jaswant Singh, in league with other Rajput leaders, set their numerous followers in motion, and began to move off, destroying and plundering as they went, and cutting down all who opposed them. The forces under Prince Muhammad Sultan suffered especially from their attacks. No tent, small or great, escaped their ravages. All his treasure and effects were plundered.* * Then they made towards the royal quarters, ransacking everything, and cut a tent near the royal pavilion remained safe from them. For some time the cause of all this disorder was unknown. All kinds of erroneous surmises were made, and a panic was spreading through the whole army. Many men were so disheartened that they joined the plunderers, thinking that the best way of escaping from the disaster. One party fled to the open country; another approached the enemy's army, and set about ravaging. * * But for all this confusion in the army, nothing shook the resolution of Aurangzeb. It was now reported to him that the traitor had moved off towards his home. Then Aurangzeb descended from his elephant, and took his seat in a litter that all the panic-stricken men who beheld him might see that he was resolute, and had no intention of retreating. He sent orderlies round to the commanders, directing them to forbid all riders of elephants or horses to stir from their places.¹ * * Without exaggeration, half the army had gone away to plunder or escape, and many had joined the enemy. Intelligence was brought of Jaswant Singh having marched away towards Agra.

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

Aurangzeb's devoted servants now gathered round him from far and near. He then again mounted his elephant, and without a cloud upon his brow rode forth to arrange his order of battle. * * Mu'azzam Khan received authority to make such alterations in the disposition of the forces as he deemed necessary. The battle began about the fourth or fifth *ghari* of the day with a cannonade which made the earth to tremble, and filled the hearts of both armies with awe and trembling. * * A cannon-ball from the Emperor's army reached the elephant on which Sultan Zainul abidin¹ was riding, and although it did not strike the Sultan,² it carried off one leg of the elephant-driver, and one leg also of the personal attendant who was seated behind the *howda*. This circumstance greatly discouraged many of Shuja's army. * * Saiyid Alam Barha, with three elephants, made an attack upon the left of the royal army, and the vigour of his assault spread confusion in the ranks of his opponents, and many of them took to flight. The retreat of the left wing made the centre waver, and the Emperor was left with only 2000 horsemen to protect him. Greatly encouraged by the sight, the enemy made a bold and fierce attack upon the centre. The Emperor mounted upon an Elephant, moved about inspiring his men and shooting arrows against his enemies. Murtaza Kuli Khan, of the left wing, with * * several others, made a bold charge upon the enemy, and the Emperor, seeing how matters stood, joined in the charge. * * This gave a severe check to the enemy, who lost many men killed and wounded.

The vigour of the Saiyids of Barha had abated, but their three elephants, each of them dashing about with his trunk a chain of two or three men weight, overthrew and crushed every one who came in their way. One of them at length charged towards the

¹ "Son of Shuja."— *Alamgir-nama*.

² "Or the elephant."—*lb.*

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

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

¹ "Mu'azzam Khan was sent with him."— *Amal-i Salih*.

Flight of Dara Shukoh.

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

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

Surrender of Allahabad.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 61.] On the 1st Jumada-l awwal Aurangzeb proceeded towards Agra, and at the second stage he received a despatch from Prince Muhammad Sultan, reporting a second success over Shuja. Saiyid Kasim, commandant of the fortress of Allahabad, left a deputy in charge of the fortress, and accompanied Shuja to battle. After the defeat, Kasim Khan returned to the fortress, and busied himself in making it secure. When Shuja arrived, he made plausible excuses for not giving up the place. He went out with alacrity to meet the Prince, made promises of

fidelity, and entertained him, after which he was dismissed to his post. When Prince Muhammad Sultan drew near, he wrote to him a repentant letter, professing his obedience, and sending to him the keys of the fortress. On hearing of this, Aurangzeb ordered Khan dauran to be placed in command of Allahabad, and Kasim Khan to be sent courteously to his presence.

Raja Jaswant.

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

Dara Shukoh.

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

On the 18th Jumadal awwal Aurangzeb reached Agra, and on the 23rd he again set out. He now learnt that Dara Shukoh had passed through Kachh to the borders of the province of Ahmadabad. He had collected round him three or four thousand horse. After the troops of Aurangzeb had given up the pursuit of him, he proceeded leisurely, endeavouring to gain over the *fauj-dars* and *zamindars*, and to collect soldiers. By presents of money and jewels he won over the *Zamindar* of Kachh, and affianced his daughter in marriage to Prince Sipihr Shukoh. The *zamindar* sent him on with an escort through his territory towards Ahmadabad. Upon his arriving there, Shah Nawaz Khan, the

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

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

This defection greatly troubled Dara, who opened a

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

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

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

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

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

Prince Shuja.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 75.] Prince Shuja fled before the pursuing force of Prince Muhammad Sultan to Jahangir-nagar (Dacca), and Mu'azzam Khan obtained possession of the fort of Mongir. * * Shortly afterwards the fort of Chunar, which Shuja had got into his power, was given up to Aurangzeb.

Second Year of the Reign (1659 A. D.).

[Text, vol. ii. p. 77.] The second year of the reign commenced on the 4th Ramazan, 1069 A.H. * * The Emperor's name and titles were proclaimed in the pulpit as "Abul Muzaffar Muhiud din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badshahi Ghazi." In former reigns one side of the coins had been adorned with the words of the creed and the names of the first four Khalifa; but as coins pass into many unworthy places, and fall under the feet of infidels, it was ordered that this superscription should be changed [*for certain couplets containing the Emperor's name*].

[Text, vol. ii. p. 79.] Since the reign of the Emperor Akbar the official year of account and the years of the reign had been reckoned from the 1st Farwardi, when the Sun enters Aries, to the end of Isfandiyar, and the year and its months were called Ilahi; but as this resembled the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) new year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers, and men who have studied history, know that the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit

of each season, the *tankwah* of the *jagirs*, and the money of the *mansbdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession

Dara Shukoh.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 80.] The sad circumstances of the remainder of Dara Shukoh's career must now be related. On leaving the mountains of Ajmir, he proceeded with his wife, daughter, some jewels, a little money, and a few domestic servants, towards Ahmadabad. The rest of his treasure, goods, and necessary baggage, with some female servants, borne by twelve elephants and horses, he left behind in charge of servants, some of them old, some new, in the company and under the superintendence of some trusty eunuchs, with orders to follow as quickly as possible. When this party had marched four or five *kos*, all the servants¹ began to plunder the property, and struggling and fighting with each other, every man seized what he could lay hands on. The baggage was taken from the backs of the elephants and placed on camels, and the women were stripped of their jewels and taken off the camels to be mounted on the elephants; then the plunderers, with camels and horses laden with money and articles of great value, made off for the desert. The eunuchs were unable to prevent the proceedings of their escort. In great distress, and in dread of the pursuit of the victorious troops, they were intent upon preserving their own honour and that of their master; so they led off the women on the elephants, and pursuing all night the track of Dara through the desert, after a night and a day they overtook him.

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

That forlorn fugitive, in sore distress, without baggage, and Despoiled by plunderers, wandered on through the desert. In eight days' time he approached Ahmadabad. But the officials of the city proclaimed Aurangzeb, and took measures to prevent Dara from entering. The fugitive perceived that ill-fortune everywhere awaited him. He gave up all hope of getting possession of the city, and went to Kari, two *kos* from Ahmadabad. There he sought assistance from Kanji Koli, one of the most notorious rebels and robbers of that country. Kanji joined him, and conducted him through Gujarat to the confines of Kachh. Here he was joined by Gul Muhammad, whom he had made governor of Surat and Broach, and who brought with him fifty horse and two hundred matchlockmen. The *zamindar* of Kachh, when Dara lately passed through the country, entertained him, treated him with every respect, and affianced a daughter in marriage to his son, all in expectation of future advantage. Dara, in his distress, now looked to him for assistance; but he heeded not, and did not even show the courtesy of a visit. After two days spent in fruitless efforts to soften the *zamindar*; Dara, with tearful eyes and burning heart, resolved to proceed to Bhakkar.

On reaching the frontier of Sind, Firoz Mewati, who had hitherto accompanied the unfortunate Prince, seeing how his evil fate still clung to him, abandoned the ill-starred fugitive, and went off to Dehli. Dara, in a bewildered condition, proceeded towards the country of Jawiyan;¹ but the dwellers in the deserts of that country closed the roads with the intention of making him prisoner. With some fighting and trouble he escaped from these people, and made his way into the country of the Makashis. Mirza

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

Makashi, the chief of the tribe, came forth to meet him, took him home with great kindness, and entertained him. After this he proposed to send him towards Iran, under an escort which was to conduct him to Kandahar, twelve marches distant from where he was, and he strongly advised the adoption of this course. But Dara could not give up his futile hopes of recovering his throne and crown, and resolved to go to Malik Jiwan, *zamindar* of Dhandar,¹ who had long been bound to him by acts of generosity, and sent to assure him of his devotion and fidelity.

When Dara reached the land of this evil *zamindar*, Malik Jiwan came out like the destroying angel to meet him. As a guest-murdering host he conducted Dara home, and exerted himself to entertain him. During the two or three days that Dara remained here, his wife, Nadira Begam, daughter of Parwez, died of dysentery and vexation. Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dara, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium. Without considering the consequences, he sent her corpse to Lahore in charge of Gul Muhammad, to be buried there.² He thus parted from one who had been faithful to him through his darkest troubles. He himself remained, attended only by a few domestic servants and useless eunuchs.

After performing the ceremonies of mourning, Dara determined to set out the next morning under the escort of Malik Jiwan for Iran, by way of Kandahar. Jiwan apparently was ready to accompany him to Iran; but he had inwardly resolved to forward

¹ Elphinstone has mistaken the name of the man for that of his country. He calls him "the chief of Jun on the eastern frontier of Sind." The *Alamgir-nama* calls him "Malik Jiwan Ayyub, an Afghan," and the name of his estate is given as "Dadar" or "Dhadhar". In the *Amal-i Salih* it is "Dhawar." It is probably Dadar in Kachh Gandaya.

² "The deceased had left a will desiring to be buried in Hindustan."- *Alamgir-nama*.

his own interests by trampling under foot all claims of gratitude,¹ and of making the wretched fugitive prisoner. So he formed his plan. He accompanied his guest for some *kos*. Then he represented that it was necessary for him to return, in order to procure some further provisions for the journey, which he would collect, and would overtake Dara after two or three days march. Accordingly he went back, leaving his brother with a party of the ruffians and robbers of the country to attend Dara. This man suddenly fell upon his victim and made him prisoner, without giving him a chance of resistance. Then he carried him back with Sipihr Shukoh and his companions to the perfidious host, and kept him under guard in the place appointed. Malik Jiwan wrote an account of this good service to Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan, who had been sent from Ajmir in pursuit of Dara, and he also wrote to Bakir Khan, governor of Bhakkar. Bakir Khan instantly sent off Malik Jiwan's letter express to Aurangzeb. Upon the arrival of Bakir Khan's despatch, Aurangzeb communicated the fact to his private councillors, but did not make it public until the arrival of a letter from Bahadur Khan confirming the news. At the end of the month of Shawwal it was published by beat of drum. The public voice spoke with condemnation and abhorrence of Malik Jiwan; but a robe and a *mansab* of 1000, with 200 horse, were conferred upon him.

It was now ascertained that Sulaiman Shukoh had sought refuge with the *zamindar* of Srinagar. Raja Rajrup was therefore directed to write to the *zamindar*, and advise him to consult his own interest and bring Sulaiman out of his territory; if not, he must suffer the consequences of the royal anger.²

¹ The *Amal-i Salih* says that "the *zamindar* Jiwan was bound in gratitude to Dara by many kindnesses and favours."

² The *Amal-i Salih* is more explicit, and says that Sulaiman was to be sent to Aurangzeb.

In the middle of Zil hijja, Bahadur Khan brought Dara Shukoh and his son Sipihr Shukoh to the Emperor, who gave orders that both father and son should be carried into the city chained and seated on an elephant, and thus be exposed to the people in the *Chandni chauk* and the *bazar*, after which they were to be carried to Khizrabad in old Dehli, and there confined. Bahadur Khan, after giving up his prisoner, received great rewards and marks of favour.

Two days afterwards Malik Jiwan, who had received the title of Bakhtiyar Khan, entered the city, and was passing through the streets of the *bazar*. The idlers, the partisans of Dara Shukoh, the workmen and people of all sorts, inciting each other, gathered into a mob, and, assailing Jiwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth, and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked down and killed, and many were wounded. Jiwan was protected by shields held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace. They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion. If the *kotwal* had not come forward with his policemen, not one of Malik Jiwan's followers would have escaped with life. Ashes and pots full of urine and ordure were thrown down from the roofs of the houses upon the heads of the Afghans, and many of the bystanders were injured. Next day the *kotwal* made an investigation, and it was ascertained that an *ahadi* (guardsman) named Haibat had taken a leading part in the disturbance. He was condemned by a legal decision, and was executed.

At the end of Zil hijja, 1069¹ (Sept. 1659), the order was given for Dara Shukoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified

¹ "On the 26th day."— *Amal-i Salih*.

religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed on a *howda* and carried round the city.¹ So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humayun. Sipihir Shukoh was ordered to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior.

Remission of Taxes.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 87.] The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two year past, and scarcity of rain in some parts, had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdari* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pandari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid to the government according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs* (of rupees). Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as the *sar-shumari*, *buz-shumari*,² *bar-gadi*,³ the *charai* (grazing tax) of the *Banjāras*, the *tuwaana*,⁴ the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan

¹ The *Alamgir-nama* says nought about the legal opinion, or the exposure of the corpse. It simply states that Aurangzeb gave the order for the execution, and that it was promptly carried out by certain officers, whose names are given.

² A tax on goats. The printed text has "*bar-shumari*," but the MSS. agree in writing *buz*.

³ This does not appear in either two of the MSS. referred to.

⁴ "*Chardi barjara wa tuwa'ana wa hasil i ayyam*," etc. The *tuwana* ought etymologically to mean some voluntary contribution.

saints, and at the *jatras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn,¹ which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers (*ahadi*).

But although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes, and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection, the avaricious propensities of men prevailed, so that, with the exception of the *pandari*, which, being mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities, felt the force of the abolition, the royal prohibition had no effect, and *faujgars* and *jagirdars* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions. Firstly, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of the *jagirdars*, *faujgars*, and *zamindars*. Secondly, because the revenue officers, through inattention, or want of consideration, or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwah* accounts of the *jagirdars*. So the *jagirdars*, under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwah* papers, continued to collect the *rahdari* and many other of the abolished imposts, and even increased them. When reports reached the

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government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace bearers to their districts. The mace bearers forbade the collection of the imposts for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amount. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imposts had no effect.

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

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

[Text, vol. ii. p. 90.] Prince Muhammad Sultan, with Mu'azzam Khan as his adviser and commander-in-chief, pursued

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

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

from Akbar-nagar, to a high ground suitable for a camp in the rains. * *

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

When Aurangzeb received the intelligence of Muhammad Sultan's going over to Shuja, and of Mu'azzam Khan's obstinate fighting, he thought it prudent and necessary to go himself to the seat of war, and on the 5th Rabiul awwal he set out for the East.*
* About the middle of Rabiul sani intelligence arrived that Prince Muhammad Sultan had left Shuja, and had again joined Mu'a-

zzam Khan. The Prince repented of the step he had taken, * * and communicated to one of the commanders in the royal army that he desired to return. * * He escaped with some of his servants and jewels and money on board of four boats, but he was pursued by the boats of Shuja. * * The boats were fired upon, and one was sunk, but the Prince escaped. His return gave great joy to Mu'azzam Khan, who reported the fact to the Emperor, under whose orders he was sent to Court¹ [*and hit associates to prison*].

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

Shah Jahan.

[Text, vol. ii. p. 101.] Many letters passed between the Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, full of complaints and reproaches on one side, and of irritating excuses on the other. There is no advantage to be gained from recording this correspondence, and the copies of the Emperor's letters are not in the author's possession; but two or three² letters which Aurangzeb wrote to his father are here reproduced verbatim, and the contents of Shah Jahan's letters may be inferred from them.

[p. 104.] The third letter is in answer to one written by Shah Jahan to Aurangzeb, pardoning his offences, and sending some jewels and clothes, belonging to Dara Shukoh, which had been left in his palace.

"After discharging the observances of religion, it is represented to your most august presence. The gracious letter which you

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

² Three are given, but the last one only has been translated.

sent in answer to the humble statement of your servant¹ conferred great honour upon him at a most auspicious time. The glad tidings of the pardon of his faults and sins has filled him with joy and gladness. Through the gracious kindness of his fault-forgiving and excuse-accepting father and master, he is filled with hope. Thanks be to God that Your Highness, listening to the suggestions of equity and merit, has preferred mercy to revenge, and has rescued this wicked and disgraced sinner from the abyss of sorrow and misery in both worlds! His firm hope in the mercy of God is that in future no unworthy action will proceed from this humble servant! God, who knows the secrets of the hearts, who, according to the belief of the faithful and the infidel, and according to all religions and faiths, takes note of lies and falsehoods, He knows that this servant is not and has never been acting in opposition to the will and pleasure of his august father, as evil-judging men have supposed, but that he has considered himself the deputy of his father, and continues firm in this important service and duty! But the due ordering of the affairs of the State and of the Faith, and the comfort of the people, are impossible under the rule of one who acts as a deputy. So, unwillingly, for the safety of the State and the good of the people, he is acting, for a few days, in the way which his heart disapproves. God knows how many regrets he has felt in this course of action! Please God, the moment that peace shall dawn upon the country, and the clouds of strife shall be dispelled, all Your Majesty's wishes shall be gratified to your heart's desire! This humble one has devoted the best part of his life entirely to performing good service and rendering satisfaction (to God); how then can he be satisfied that, for the fleeting trifles of the world, the august days of Your

¹ He calls himself *murid*, "disciple"; and his father *murshid*, "spiritual teacher."

Majesty, to whose happiness the life and wealth of your children are devoted, should be passed in discomfort, and that the people of your palace should be separated from you! Shuja, not knowing the value of safety, came to Allahabad with evil intentions, and stirred up strife. Your Majesty's humble servant, though he feels somewhat at ease as regards his elder brother, has not given up all thought of him ; but, placing his trust in God, and hoping for the help of the true giver of victory, he marched against him on the 17th instant. He is hopeful that, under the guidance of God and the help of the Prophet, and the good wishes of his old paternal protector,¹ he will soon be free of this business, and do nothing to hurt the feelings of Your Majesty. It is clear to Your Majesty that God Almighty bestows his trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit for a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism. The Almighty will deliver your humble servant from all feeling of remorse as regards Your Majesty. Your servant, after acknowledging your pardon of his faults and offences, and the present of the jewels of Dara Shukoh, returns his thanks for your kindness and forgiveness."

The author heard from a trustworthy person, who was formerly superintendent of the jewel-house, that Dara Shukoh left jewels and pearls worth 27 *lacs* of rupees, belonging to the inmates of his harem, in the jewel-room inside the palace, with the cognizance of the Emperor. After his defeat he found no opportunity of removing them. Shah Jahan, after much contention, perquisition and demanding, sent them to Aurangzeb, with the letter of forgiveness which *nolens volens* he had written.

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

***Third Year of the Reign, 1070 (A.H., 1660 A.D.)
Disappearance of Prince Shuja.***

[Text, vol. ii. p. 107.] The third year of the reign began on the 24th Ramazan. * * Despatches about this time arrived from Mu'azzam Khan, reporting his successive victories and the flight of Shuja to the country of Rakhang (Arracan), leaving Bengal undefended. It appeared that there had been several actions in which Shuja was invariably defeated, and that after the last, he loaded two boats with his personal effects, vessels of gold and silver, jewels, treasure and other appendages of royalty. * * His son had been in correspondence with the Raja of Rakhang, (Arracan), * * and when Shuja saw that he had no ally or friend anywhere left, and that those whom he had deemed faithful had deserted him, he conceived the idea of occupying one of the fortresses on the frontiers of the Raja of Rakhang, and addressed the Raja on the subject. * * But he was unable to carry his design into execution, and at length, in the greatest wretchedness and distress, he fell into the clutches of the treacherous infidel ruler of that country, and according to common rumour he was killed, so that no one ascertained what became of him.¹

Beginning of the troubles with Sivaji.²

[Text, vol. ii. p. 110.] I now relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin

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

² His name is written سيواي.

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

It is said that one of the ancestors of Sivaji, from whom he received the name of Bhoslah, dwelt in the country of the Rana. He formed a connexion with a woman of inferior caste, and, according to the custom of his tribe, he took the woman to himself without marriage. She bore him a son. Reflecting upon this disgrace to himself and tribe, he kept the child concealed in the hills in that position of life which he had determined for him. There he secretly brought him up. He was very devoted to the woman; so that, although his father and mother wished him to marry a woman of his own tribe, he would not consent. When the cup of his affection ran over, and the fact of this maintenance of his child was the common talk of friends and strangers, he secretly took the boy from the place where he had concealed him, and carried him off along with his mother to the Dakhin. Although he

falsely gave out that his son was by a woman of his own tribe, no Rajput of pure race would allow of any matrimonial connexion with the boy. So he was obliged to marry the lad to a girl of the Mahratta tribe, which also claims to belong to an obscure class of Rajputs. From this good stock, in the seventh or eighth generation, was born Sahu Bhoslah. The origin of the name Bhoslah, according to the commonly-received opinion, is from the Hinduwi word "*ghoslah*," meaning "place,"¹ or a very small and narrow place; and as that man was brought up in such a place, he received the name of Bhoslah. But I have heard a different explanation.

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

Mulla Ahmad, an adherent of the Bijapur dynasty, who was descended from an Arab immigrant, held three *parganas* in this country. * * At this time two *parganas*, named Puna and Supa, became the *jagir* of Sahu Bhoslah. Sivaji became the manager of these two *parganas* on the part of his father, and looked carefully

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

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

after them. He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence; and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode. Like the *zamindars* of the country, he set about erecting forts on the hills, and mud forts, which in the Hinduwi dialect of the Dakhin are called *garhi*.

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

own hands, and threw their wealth and property to the winds. The greed of the officials increased, especially in those days when the authority of the rulers was interrupted, or their attention diverted. In accordance with the wishes of this disturber, the reins of authority over that country fell into his hands, and he at length became the most notorious of all the rebels.

He assembled a large force of Mahratta robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses. The first fort he reduced was that of Chandan.¹ After that he got possession of some other fortresses which were short of supplies, or were in charge of weak and inexperienced commandants. Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikandar Ali Adil Khan the Second, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum tenens* of his father. The operations of Aurangzeb against that country when he was a prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose. Sivaji day by day increased in strength, and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means. He had drawn together a large force, and attacked the Kings of Hind and of Bijapur, and, protected by mountains and jungles full of trees, he ravaged and plundered in all directions far and wide. The inaccessible forts of Rajgarh² and Chakna were his abodes, and he had secured several islands in the sea by means of a fleet which he had formed. He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts, all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.

¹ Also called Chandan-mandan. See Grant Duff (vol. i, p. 130), who says that Torna was the first fort he obtained.

² About twenty miles south-west of Puna.