his post on 18th August 1700, and Baharji Panhré, whom we find in Mughal service as early as June 1694, and who was sometimes thanadar of Kashigaon. Baharji's brother Tukoji was promoted to be a commander of 1500 in July 1694 [Akh.]

Another Maratha chief in Mughal pay was Satvāji Dāflé, who had a more chequered career. This family* were the zamindars of Athni (west of Bijapur city) and barons under the Adil Shahi kings. On the fall of that monarchy they took service with the Mughal conqueror.

Satvā's son, Bāji Chāvan Dāflé, gave up his life most heroically in leading the storming party at the siege of Satara (13th April 1700).† But Satvā himself had deserted the Mughals before 1695 and continued to raid the imperial territory for many years after [M.A. 406 and Akh.] Towards the end of 1699 he offered his submission, but on his way to the Mughal camp he was captured by Rajaram's men and taken to Satara [Akh. 15 Nov., 1699.] He continued his hostile activities for two years more, and came over to the Emperor as late as 30th August 1701, when he was presented to Aurangzib with his wrists bound together with a handkerchief like a captive. Imperial dignity having been thus satisfied, he was immediately released, created a 5-hazari, and given the jagir of Jath in reward of his late son's gallantry. In November he was employed to win the other Maratha sardars over to the imperial side. [Akh. 1 Nov. 1701.] Aurangzib always distrusted Satvāji Dāflé as being in secret concert with the enemy; but he was too important a chief to be dismissed, and is very frequently...

* Now represented by the Chief of Jath, one of the sardars of the Bombay Presidency. Another seat of the Dafles is Daspur, in the Bijapur district. Aurangzib's qaul-namah, sent through Lutfullah Khan, forgiving Nagoji Mane's past offences and rewarding him for having stopped the flight of Santa, is given in Sanads and Letters, p. 86, with the incorrect date 1699.

† Described in chapter 54, § 4.
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mentioned in the Court bulletins. Satvā died at Islampuri in July 1706. [M.A. 516.]

Amrit Rao Nimbalkar* at first sought and obtained service under the Mughals,—probably after the fall of Shambhuji. But in 1693 he deserted to the national side and served under Santā for some time [Akī. 23 and 24 Oct., 21 Nov. 1693.] A news-letter of 24 Sep. 1695 speaks of his leaving Santā and coming over to the Mughals. But he was soon afterwards back to Rajaram at Jinji, as we learn that he fell near Kanchi in May 1696 in the vanguard of Dhanā Jādav’s army in a battle with Santā. [J.S.]

Achalji, called in the Persian histories a khesht (son-in-law) of Shivaji, joined Aurangzib in Feb. 1686 and was created a 5-hazari. We find him still in service in March 1694. [M.A. 271; Akī. 13 March 1694.] Madhaji Narayan, who is described as the son of Shivaji’s uncle, came over to the Mughal side with his son and nephews in Nov. 1694, and received his first appointment as a 2-hazari on 6th Jan. 1695. We find him as the Mughal thanadar of Budh-Panchgaon in 1704.†

A very late accession to the Mughal banners was Raibhān, a son of Vyankoji the Rajah of Tanjore, and therefore a nephew of Shivaji. He was induced by a 6-hazari mansab to join the Emperor’s side (19 June 1703), and was at first employed as negotiator for making a peace with the Maratha generals by releasing Shāhu. Though the attempt failed, Raibhān continued to serve the Emperor for the rest of his reign, and in 1706 tried again, under

* Hanumant Nimbalkar was one of the most persistent and active raiders of Mughal territory, and second only to Santa and Dhana in this respect. He died about March 1705. [Dī. ii. 152a.]

† M. A. 480; Akī. 24 June, 11 Nov. (interviews) 1694, 6 Jan., 8 June, 1695. On 2 Nov. 1701 the Emperor received at Court as new adherents the sons of a “Mahāji, brother-in-law of Santa” (namely, Bajaji and Maloji) and the sons of Mādhuji (viz., Jagdev, Kuldev and Firanguji.) Here Santa may also be read as Shambha. [Akī.]
Nasrat Jang’s orders, to make terms with the Maratha national leaders, using Shāhu as the pawn in the Mughal hands. [Dīl. 145b, 154b; Akh.]

Among the other adherents of the Mughals were Kānhoji (son of that Khāndoji Khopdē who had been beheaded by Shivaji in 1659) and whose paternal estate of Utroli had been seized by that king. Rao Jagdev (or Jagdalé of Masurthana, Akh. 11 May 1695),—Mānāji (son of Nāro Rāghav, Akh. Dec. 1694),—and Subhānji, the ex-commandant of Satara and his son (1700). The Marathi bakhar of Chitnis speaks of the family of Pisāl being on the Mughal side, and one branch of it turning Muslim, but they evidently occupied a low rank, as the Persian records do not mention their names.†

Several thousands of Māvlés, or Maratha hill infantry, served under Aurangzib, having at their head a chaudhuri or dārogha to control them. But on the whole the presence of hired Maratha auxiliaries on the Mughal side had merely the effect of keeping them out of mischief, and did not add much to the strength of the imperial army. For one thing, their equipment and armament were far inferior to those of the regular Mughal troops, [Dīl. ii. 146b, quoted in Ch. L. § 4] Then, they fought half-heartedly for their pay-master, and not in a true spirit of devotion. Thirdly, these Deccani captains were so often flitting in and out of the Emperor’s service that no operation could be planned or carried out in reliance on them.

† J. S. Akh. 5 Jan. 1701. Much minute information on the old Maratha families can be found in Rajwade, vols. xv and following and in Kāṣṭhyats, Yadis &c. (in Marathi.)
§ 1. The Berad people and their country.

The country extending east of Bijapur city, and enclosed by the Bhimā and the Krishnā rivers, is the home of the Berads, a race of aboriginal Kanarese, also called Dheds, and regarded as one of the lowest in the scale of Hindu castes. They are a virile and hardy people, not much advanced from savagery, but at the same time not toned down like the over-refined upper castes of Hindu society. They eat mutton, beef, pork, domestic fowls, etc. and drink to excess. Dark, muscular, and of middle height, with round faces, flat cheeks, thin lips and lank or frizzled hair, the Berads can bear fatigue and hardship, but have no taste for settled industry or peaceful arts. Their race name in Kanarese means “hunter”, and while devoted to field sports of all kinds, they are also adepts in lawless pursuits, and often engage in organized crimes, such as dacoity and cattle-lifting, etc., in which they take pride. Their religion still consists of primitive superstitions and spirit-worship, though outwardly most of them profess to be Lingāyat and some Vaishnav Hindus. Their tribal organization under the heads of families and the judicial authority of their hereditary headmen ensured discipline and solidarity among them, and they supplied the most steady and accurate musketeers of South India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Tipu Sultan’s famous infantry was mostly composed of these people. According to their own story, the founder of their tribe pleased the god Shiva by his devotion and gained from him the two blessings that his descendants would be sure shots and their lands would grow corn without much labour or water. Hence, the
Berads have been good marksmen and they grow only spring crops which require little water or care.

Their gallantry in war and contempt for wounds and death were as conspicuous as their skill in making night-attacks and surprises,—which we might naturally expect from such expert cattle-stealers. Indeed, their repeated victories over the regular troops of the Mughal empire in Aurangzib's reign led contemporary Persian historians to call them Be-dar (fearless) by a play on their name. [K. K. ii. 524; Dil. ii. 150b.]*

§2. The Nāyak family of Shorāpur.

The cradle-land of the Berads was Mysore, from which they advanced into the Rāichur doab and then further north into the country beyond the Krishnā and even the Bhimā. We are here concerned only with the Berad Nāyaks or chieftains of Shorāpur, lying in the fork between these two rivers. Their earliest capital was Sāgar, some 72 miles east of Bijapur city. When this was lost to the Mughals (1687), the Nāyak built a new capital at Wāgingerā, twelve miles south-west of Sāgar. At the close of Aurangzib's reign even this fort was taken from him, and the Nāyak removed his seat to Shorāpur, on the eastern face of the same hill-mass as Wāgingerā and four miles from it. Here the last of their princes, though brought up by Colonel Meadows Taylor with fatherly care, joined the Sepoy Mutiny, and when captured and sentenced to confinement shot himself dead (1858). With him the line ended.

The Berad principality is now included in the Nizam's territory, but in the seventeenth century it was a vassal State of the kings of Bijapur. Pām Nāyak, its ruler, had loyally helped his sovereign Adil Shah during Aurangzib's siege of Bijapur and six years earlier had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughal general Dilir Khan. But in

November 1687 he had been attacked by an imperial army under Khānázād Khan and forced to give up his kingdom and fort of Sagar and visit Aurangzib’s Court at Bijapur, where he died in a few days.*

The position of the Berad country, midway between Bijapur and Golkondă, and the martial but predatory character of its people made it very necessary for Aurangzib to keep it under his control. Bijapur is only 72 miles west, the rich and holy city of Kulbargā is 50 miles to the north, and the important strategic post of Malkhed (the gate to the Haidarabad kingdom) is some 45 miles north-east of Sāgar. The whole of the country bounded by these three towns, and even Bidar (60 miles north-east of Kulbargā) and Rāichur (in the south, across the Krishnā), lay within easy range of the raids of these unsubdued savages. Having lost their dominion at the surrender of 1687, their chiefs had now no resource left to them except to rebel, build new strongholds among the hills, and rob the Mughal territory around in imitation of the Marathas and afterwards in concert with them. The examples of the profitable defiance of the imperial power set by Dhana Jādav and Santā Ghorparé were not lost upon the Berad leaders. The Kulbargā district was kept in constant disturbance and the roads were closed to caravans by persistent but elusive bands of Berad horsemen for many years after the fall of Sāgar. [Akhbarat.]

§ 3. Pidiā Nāyak’s career after 1687.

Pidiā Nāyak, the nephew and adopted heir of Pām Nāyak, had succeeded to the headship of his clan after the Mughal conquest of Sāgar and the death of his uncle (on 1 Jan. 1688.) He rendered useful service at Ruhullah Khan’s siege of Rāichur (1689). On the fall of that fort,

* For the history of this ruling family, see Appendix B, at the end of this chapter.
he went to his home on a week’s leave to replenish his equipment and quota of troops, but busied himself in fortifying Wāgingerā and raising an army. After the loss of Sāgar, the families of the Berad Nāyak and his nobles had taken refuge in the village of Wāgingerā, twelve miles west of it. Their houses stood on a hill which Pidiā now enclosed with fortifications and to which he added a walled village on a lower level. He collected twelve thousand excellent musketeers of his tribesmen and steadily increased his artillery and munitions of war. “While outwardly conducting himself as a loyal subject and paying revenue to the Emperor, he gradually collected money and men. By strengthening the defences of the town (Wāgingerā) and increasing cultivation in its neighbourhood, he acquired power and authority, became the chief ally of the Marathas in robbery and rebellion, and dispossessed Pām Nāyak’s own son Chokapā. The latter appealed to the Emperor for his patrimony,” and took from him a sanad of succession, but could not get possession of the zamindari. [M.A. 491-2, K. K. ii. 525-26.]

§ 4. Early Mughal campaigns against Pidiā.

Pidiā’s robberies in the Kulbargā district became too serious to be neglected any longer. At last, on 27th May 1691 the Emperor sent his son Kām Bakhsh from Bijapur, in charge of Bahramand Khan, to attack Wāgingerā. Three weeks later, another high commander Hamīd-ud-din Khan, was deputed to the Sāgar district, evidently to keep in check the roving field armies of the Berads. Kām Bakhsh spent only two months before Wāgingerā, during which he dug trenches, mounted guns, and fought almost daily conflicts with the enemy. On 20th July he was sent off to the Madras Karnātak, and the operations against the Berads were entrusted to Ruhullah Khan. [M.A. 339-40, 344, 354-55; Dil. ii. 102b]. The latter “could not achieve the task; the Berads twice fell on his entrenchment and destroyed
it; many on the Mughal side were slain, including the celebrated Ranmast Khan.* So Ruhullah Khan opened negotiations with the enemy." This was exactly what Pidiā was seeking. It was not in his interest to carry the contest to an extreme. He bribed Ruhullah and lulled him into inactivity. [Dil. ii. 103a; M.A. 491.]

After five months Ruhullah was recalled and Azam sent to relieve him (18th December 1691). This prince stayed there for a year, ravaging the country and checking Berad activities. Pidiā then submitted, appealed to the prince's mercy, presented him with two lakhs of rupees and made peace with the Emperor by paying an indemnity of seven lakhs and promising to remain as an obedient subject and pay the revenue regularly. But in December 1692 the critical situation at Jinji compelled the Emperor to remove Azam from Sāgar to Kadāpā in order to support the Karnatak expedition, and Pidiā soon afterwards resumed his old brigandage and usurpation of land. When Firuz Jang was sent against him (April 1696),† he "played the same jackal's trick on him" and escaped destruction by promising a tribute of nine lakhs. [M.A. 345, 492; K. K. ii. 526.]

§ 5. Aurangzib marches against Pidiā Nāyak.

Thereafter for nine years the Emperor was too deeply entangled with the Marathas to attend to the Berads, and Pidiā resumed his raids and extension of territory without fear or hindrance.

At last, towards the close of the year 1704, after the great Maratha forts of Satara and Parli, Panhālā and

* Brother of Khizr Khan Pani of Bijapur. He had been created Bahadur Khan in 1683 (M. A. 235). Had defeated Shivaji in 1679.
† J. S. Also Akhbarat, year 40, under 6th and 10th May 1696. He captures a garhi named Samal or Chamal from these highway robbers.
Vishālgarh, Kondānā and Tornā had all been captured, the Emperor turned to Wāgingerā, as Pidiā was now menacing the city of Bijapur itself. [Dil. ii. 149b.] Arriving before the fort on 8th February 1705, he laid siege to it. Chin Qalich Khan, the subahdar of Bijapur, in whose jagir the Berad country lay, took up his position half-a-mile from the fort with Muhammad Amin Khan, Tarbiyat Khan (Mir Atish), and the officers of the imperial artillery. Aurangzib's tents were pitched two miles from the walls.

§ 6. Fort and environs of Wāgingerā described

Wāgingerā† stands on the western crest of the same short range on the eastern extremity of which Shorāpur was built in later times. The hill here is about 250 feet high above the plain, and the fort is an irregular pentagon with seven bastions along its length. The fortifications are neither striking nor elaborate. In certain places the natural granite rock rising abruptly from the ground forms the only defence, but on the lower sides of the hill boulders have been utilized by connecting them with a wall 4½ feet thick and composed of large irregular stones cemented together. The denuded tops present the spectacle of strange tors and huge piles of rocks. The old gate, named after Rām, faces the south-east and is eleven feet by nine. But after Aurangzib's conquest of the place another gate of nearly the same size was built in the western wall by his order, and an inscription records its completion by Hafiz Masaud on 1st Rajab 1117 A. H. (8th October 1705).

On the plain in the south, facing the fort gate, there is a village called Talwārgcrā, enclosed by a mud wall and containing the market for the supply of the garrison. Close to it was Dhedpura, a hamlet of grass huts, where the

† Description based on Dil. ii. 153a; M. A. 499; Meadows Taylor, 123; Framroz Jang's Shorapur. A smaller fort was built on a neighbouring hill 5,000 feet apart, at a later date, by Nishti Irana, but it is now totally in ruins.
families of the common Berads lived and from which they tilled the surrounding lands. These three were the only inhabited places there; but close to the fort in the east and north were a number of hillocks which would be of great service to besiegers. One of these, called Lāl Tikri from its red soil, slightly commanded a portion of Wāgingerā itself and had a very important bearing on the defence of that fort. The Berads had not thought of protecting any of these outlying eminences by redoubt or outpost.

The strength of Wāgingerā lay not so much in its natural position or artificial defences, as in the courage and number of its garrison, the deadly accuracy of their musketry fire, and its ample supply of guns, rockets and artillery munitions. In addition to the famous Kālā-piādās or Berad foot-musketeers, Pidiā had engaged some thousand active cavalry, both Hindu and Muhammadan, including many Sayyids of the Deccan (to the intense abhorrence of the pious Musliām Aurangzib).

The siege began early in February 1705. Tarbiyat Khan (Chief of Artillery), Chin Qalich Khan, Hamid-ud-din Khan (a favourite of the Emperor and a very experienced fighter) and other officers began to throw up two high platforms and to run covered approaches from a position facing the gate of the fort. Prince Kām Bakhsh’s contingent co-operated with them. [Dil. ii. 150b.] But, for many weeks the Mughals could do nothing. As the Court historian writes, “Every day the enemy sallied forth and attacked the imperialists. Great fights were fought. The big guns from the top of the hill raised the tumult of slaughter; rockets followed each other with vehement force.” (M.A. 498). This bombardment continued incessantly and made the advance of the Mughal trenches, or even their maintenance within range of the fort guns, impossible.*

* History of the siege in M. A. 498—506; Dil. ii. 153a; K. K. ii. 527—538 (a mere secondary compilation). For the manners and character of the Berad people see Meadows Taylor’s Story of My Life.
§ 7. Lal Tikri taken and lost by Mughals.

One morning while the Mughal generals were out reconnoitring for weak points in the defences, they suddenly charged up Lal Tikri, drove away the Berad musketeers on its top and seized the position. But it was impossible for them to dig themselves in on that rocky height. Moreover, its capture was made on a sudden impulse, without any preconcerted plan for sending up a supporting force, sappers and miners and trenching materials, or the cooperation of the other wings of the army in diverting the enemy from this hill. The Berads immediately sent there large bodies of their infantry, who swarmed up the hillside “numberless like ants and locusts,” and plied their muskets and hurled stones with deadly accuracy on the imperialists crowded helplessly on the top. The Mughals began to fall back by the way they had come, and even reinforcements, tardily sent by Kâm Bakhsh and Asad Khan, failed to restore the battle. The narrow crest and side of Lal Tikri were so much encumbered with dead horses, elephants and men that these fresh troops could not reach the spot; they only added to the crowd and confusion on the hillside. The position had at last to be abandoned after heavy losses.

The Emperor disapproved of the plan of making another attempt on Lal Tikri, and ordered his generals to attack Wâgingerâ from some other side. That day, while Chin Qalich and Muhammed Amin were riding out to select suitable places for trenching, a cannon ball from the fort killed the horses of both, but the riders were unhurt.

The Mughal trenches started from a spot between Lal Tikri and the hillock opposite Talwârgerâ, while an outpost was established under Muhammed Amin Khan between Lal Tikri and these trenches, to guard against enemy attacks from that hill. The hillock facing Talwârgerâ* was occu-

* The hillock occupied “for a time” by Kam Bakhsh’s men is called in M. A. “the conquered hillock,” which Khafi Khan takes to
pied by Kām Bakhsh’s troops and another mound near by was held by Bāqar Khan, both being subjected to daily attacks of the enemy, but checking their advance and thus safeguarding the siege trenches. The Mughals now seemed to be fairly on the road to success.

§ 8. Arrival of Marathas.

But a new enemy now appeared to dash down their hopes and nullify their efforts. On 8th March [acc. to M.A., but 26th acc. to Akh.] a Maratha force of five to six thousand horse under Dhana Jādav and Hindu Rao (brother of Santā Ghorparé) arrived near the fort to support their Berad allies, because the families of many Maratha generals had taken refuge there while Aurangzib had been capturing their own strongholds in Maharashtra. The only force that Aurangzib could spare from the siege-trenches to go out and fight the newcomers numbered 8,181 men. [Akhbarat 27th March.]

The first task of the Marathas was to remove their families safely from this fort, whose fall they believed to be certain, as not even the most powerful forts of Shivaji had been able to withstand Aurangzib’s assault. [M.A. 500.] While the main body of the newcomers kept the imperialists in play by a noisy feint against the siege lines in front of the fort, assisted by a heavy fire from the walls, another body of 2,000 picked troopers brought their women and children out by the back-door of Wāgingerā, mounted them on swift mares, and escaped, their rear being guarded by a body of infantry that sallied out of the fort.

Pidiā had promised the Marathas a daily subsidy of several thousand rupees as long as they would assist in the defence of his capital, but they advised him to make terms mean Lal Tikri. But we know that the Mughals were dislodged from this Lal Tikri the very day they surprised it, and also that it was in Berad possession when Nasrat Jang arrived there later. So, I take it that Talwargera, the hillock opposite the peth, is meant here.
with the Emperor, as resistance to him was vain. The Berad chief, however, continued to subsidise and feed them, and they halted in the neighbourhood, and made frequent attacks on the Mughals. Though no decisive action took place and the Marathas retired from the field every evening, the imperialists suffered much loss and their hearts were shaken.

The Mughal army itself was now thrown into a state of siege. Its activities ceased and it was confined to its own lines. “Though a strong wall had been raised round the imperial camp, the enemy used to make sorties every night and fire rockets and muskets into the camp, thus reducing the men there to extreme distress, so that no one could step outside. Grain and fodder became extremely scarce in the camp. The Emperor censured his generals, but it had no effect. They were distracted on seeing the enemy’s large number and their own dangerous situation.” [Dil. ii. 150b.]


Pidiā, as advised by his Maratha allies and also following his old policy, made proposals of submission to the Emperor. Aurangzib appeared to welcome these negotiations, but his real object was to gain time and call up heavy reinforcements from far and near for a supreme effort.

Abdul Ghani, a glib-tongued lying Kashmiri pedlar, who used to hawk his wares in the camp and secretly in the fort too, one day brought to Hedāyet-kesh (the chief of the imperial Intelligence Department) a letter from Pidiā proposing peace, and told a story of his having gone near the fort wall to say his evening prayer when some Berads had suddenly seized him and taken him inside, where their chieftain had entrusted him with the letter. Aurangzib failed to detect the enemy’s trick and the Kashmiri’s worthless character; he gave a favourable reply to the letter and nominated his son Kām Bakhsh as mediator in the negotia-
tions, so that in the official proclamations and histories the credit for gaining Wâgingerâ might be recorded in that prince’s name. Pidiâ next sent his brother Som Singh to the Mughal camp, offering to give up the fort and asking that the zamindari, the headship of the clan, and a mansab might be granted to his brother. Muhtasham Khan, an officer then living in the camp without employment and a debtor to the Kashmiri was requested by Pidiâ to be sent in to take delivery of Wâgingerâ. He was given a mansab by the Emperor and was admitted into the fort with some men [c. 20 March], while Som Singh stayed in the camp and spread the tale that Pidiâ had turned mad and fled with the Marathas. The Kashmiri next brought a message from the Berad chief’s mother repeating this story and begging that Som Singh might now be allowed to return and undertake the management of his estate, while the fort would be vacated in seven days. The Emperor sent Som Singh back with a mansab, a robe of honour and an elephant for himself and some jewels for his mother. And Abdul Ghani, the great maker of this glorious treaty, was created a commander of 300 horse! “The fire from the trenches ceased, and the generals were recalled from their posts to the Emperor’s camp.” [M.A. 502.]

And then the bubble burst. The whole thing was a fraud. Pidiâ was alive and sane and still within the fort; he refused to surrender it and renewed his attacks. The Emperor almost went mad with rage and shame.

§ 10. Nasrat Jang’s vigorous operations.

Meanwhile he had summoned his ablest generals from all sides,—Nasrat Jang (the captor of Jinji and Raigarh), Dâud Khan Pani (the wild Afghan fighter) and many brave qiladars and faujdars with their choicest troops. Nasrat Jang arrived on 27th March and the others soon afterwards. [Akhbarat.]
The day after his arrival Nasrat Jang rode out in full force to reconnoitre the fort,—Dalpat Rao’s Bundelas forming his Van and Ram Singh Hādā’s clansmen guarding his rear. After viewing the gate of Wāgingerā, he went to the side where two mounds were held by the imperialists, and galloped up to the hillock of Lāl Tikri from which the Mughals had been dislodged in the early days of the siege. The Berads in a large body offered him battle, firing at him from behind the boulders. Nasrat Jang charged them, climbed the hill, and drove out the enemy, who ran into the village of Talwārgerā at its foot, and began to ply their muskets from behind its mud wall. Many Rajputs fell in the attack on Lāl Tikri and outside the village. Rao Dalpat on his elephant came to the Van and, with the blind impetuosity of a true Rajput, wanted to storm the village, though it was walled round and held by such good shots. But Nasrat Jang turned away the hot-headed Bundela to a neighbouring hillock which was still in the enemy’s hands. Here, too, many Rajputs, with only sword and spear, blindly advanced to the very edge of the fort ditch, only to be shot down by the garrison. Fifty Rajputs were slain and more than a hundred wounded in this part of the field; their loss in horses also was very great. “Most of the Rajputs now turned aside to pick up their dead and wounded brethren, and Dalpat was left with a very slender force, but he bravely went to the right wing of the Khan where the fighting was then hottest. The enemy fled from the second mound too and hid in the village of Dhedpurā. On this day twenty-one bullets and one rocket hit Dalpat Rao’s elephant. The historian Bhismsen, sitting behind him on the same elephant, was struck by some musket shots, but his armour saved him. Even the driver of the elephant was wounded, though clad in steel. The banners of Nasrat Jang were pitted with shot-holes like a crocodile’s hide, and two of his elephant drivers were wounded and one killed. Similarly, there were heavy casualties in the centre and
rear of the Mughal general's force.” [Dil. ii. 152a.]* Jamshid Khan of Bijapur was killed by a cannon ball, but Nasrat Jang kept hold of the position he had gained with so much blood near the wall. Hamid-ud-din Khan, Tarbiyat Khan and other officers were pushed up by the Emperor to strengthen the point won here, while Chin Qalich Khan guarded the line of communications from behind some hillocks between Lal Tikri and the Emperor's camp.

Next day Nasrat Jang rode to the back of the fort to select a site for his own trenches. A large enemy force attacked him, but was defeated with heavy loss and driven back to the hill by Dalpat Rao. A few days later the Khan captured some wells situated on the skirt of the hill whence the enemy used to draw their water; he then strengthened the position in front of the gate by entrenching and mounting guns on the two hillocks facing the gate which were now in Mughal hands. Under the protection of palisades and head-covers his men advanced and made a lodgement close to the fort wall. The Berads now offered submission with greater earnestness than before, but Nasrat Jang, without

* The battle is thus described in Akh. “Spies report that the Berads, having issued from the fort, had occupied different points of the [now deserted] outposts of Sultan Husain [Kam Bakhsh's lieutenant], Md. Baqar and others. So, Nasrat Jang, on 31st March, after placing Dalpat in his Van and Ram Singh Hada in his rearguard,....had gone to the top of a hillock and stood there. He had sent word to Chin Qalich Khan to guard his rear, while he was fighting the Berads in the front. Then N. J. advanced quickly and attacked the Berads with arrows and bullets. The enemy in Sultan Husain's trenches were killed. Then N. J. hastened against the Berad forces near the fort, who fled pursued by him to the fort gate. Just then Dhana and Hindu Rao came to the rescue of the Berads, and there was a severe fight at close quarters. About 400 Berads were slain or wounded. The Marathas fled. The Mughals too lost heavily.... Then N. J. came back to his own quarters and sent a message to the Emperor that he would try to force the fort gate the next day.”
heeding their words, delivered an assault on Talwärgerā on 27th April. His own contingent under Daud Khan, Dalpat Rao, and Ram Singh Hāda, with imperial troops under Hamid-ud-din, Tarbiyat and some other generals, formed two parallel columns of attack, while he stood on horseback to support them from behind. The imperialists eagerly charged on foot. The enemy fought while fleeing, but could not stop the onset. The Mughals entered the _peth_ (walled village), slaying all who resisted, and the rest fled. The village was thereafter firmly held in the teeth of a hot fire from the fort above it.

§ 11. _Berads evacuate Wāgingerā._

The Berads now found that further struggle was hopeless. Stationing a body of musketeers to keep firing on the Mughals outside the front gate all the day, Pidiā fled out of the back-door at night, “with the Maratha companions of his day of adversity.”

When night came and the sound of musketry from within died down, some Mughal soldiers entered the fort to find out the true state of things. They saw the place entirely deserted. Then began the wild scene of confusion, rapine and burning which is always witnessed whenever an enemy fort is entered by soldiers and camp followers in the absence of any commanding officer and a strong police guard. The few imperialists who were first within Wāgingerā set fire to the houses.*

The flames were visible for miles around, proclaiming the fall of the enemy’s stronghold. Daud Khan and some other nobles verified the fact of Pidiā’s flight; they did not remain in the fort that night, but went to Nasrat Jang’s tents to congratulate him on the final success of his operations.

* _Dilkashā_ (eye-witness). But _M. A._ says that the _Berad rear-guard_ of musketeers set fire to their houses and property in the evening, before leaving the fort. (Unlikely.)
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It was well that they went outside. For, at the news of the fort being vacated, there was a wild rush of camp followers, common soldiers and all the ruffians of the camp, in the hope of plunder before the Government agents should come and attach the property. The fire from the burning roofs spread to a powder magazine, and there was a terrible explosion. "Many people were blown up into the air, and their corpses could not be found. After two or three days, a second magazine exploded." [Dil. ii. 153a.]

Wagingerā was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors.† Thus, all Aurangzib’s labours for these three months were lost. Nasrat Jang and his lieutenant Dalpat Rao were suspected by the Emperor of collusive help in the flight of Pidiā, and they fell into disgrace, getting rewards quite inadequate for such a glorious feat and being soon afterwards sent away to a distance to punish rebels and guard the road.*

The siege of Wagingerā was the last military undertaking of the great Emperor Aurangzib, with all the resources of

† We may summarise here the further history of the Berads: In 1706 Pidia and Hindu Rao captured Penu-konda and made its Mughal qiladar a prisoner. The Berads seized fort Allur, 28 m. from Kurbarga, but Tarbiyat Kh. recovered it. About April 1706 Pidia was chased by Sarafrāz Kh., evidently in the Berad country, and Chokkāpā (the present chief of Sagar) who had been loyally helping the imperialists was rewarded. [M. A. 513.] In July 1706 the Marathas again threatened Wagingerā, [Ibid., 516] and a force had to be detached to the place under Tarbiyat. In the civil war between Dhana and Hindu Rao (Jan. 1707), Pidia deserted his former ally and joined Dhana in the attack on Sindur. [Dil. 158a.]

* Dil. ii. 153a and b. The official history, however, conceals the fact and represents that the Khan and all his followers were promptly and highly rewarded. [M. A. 505, 506.] But Tarbiyat Khan and the imperial eunuchs even, who, on the showing of this very official history, had done absolutely nothing at the siege, were lavishly rewarded for the fall of Wagingerā, while the real captors got only modest promotions and gifts. Nasrat Jang had acquired a bad name at Jinji for collusion with the enemy.
The Capture of Wagingera, 1705

the empire of Delhi at his command. It supplies the most graphic illustration of the utter decline and weakness of the great State which Akbar had founded and Shah Jahan had carried to the highest pitch of wealth and splendour. For these two reasons its history has been fully narrated here.

APPENDIX B.


The Berad Nāyaks claimed descent from Guha, the hunter friend of Rāma. Gadde Piddi Nayak, who was settled at Karaki-halli or Vāginagiri, being childless, adopted his elder brother Gadde Lingi Nayak’s fourth son Pāmi. The Nāyaks wrested Shorapur from an Adil Shahi qiladār c 1664. Gadde Piddi, after ruling for 3 years at Vāginagiri and 12 years at Shorapur, died in 1678. His successor and adopted son Pāmi Nāyak, adopted his own elder brother’s son Peda Piddi. About 1684 a son named Chokkappa was born to Pāmi. After a visit to Aurangzib’s camp (1688) Pāmi was killed by the foul play of the wife of an old Muslim foe of his, after a reign of ten years. From that time Peda Piddi (popularly called Pid) was held as a hostage in Aurangzib’s camp, till 1695, when the Emperor released him. Chokkappa, who had ruled during the interval of seven years, was deposed and confined, but escaped.

Peda Piddi was besieged in Vāginagiri by Aurangzib, but took to flight when Aurangzib gave Hindu Rao [Ghorparé] a bribe of one lakh of rupees to induce him to betray the Nāyak. Aurangzib then razed the walls of Vāginagiri and the Gopalaswami temple and mutilated the idols. With
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the ruins he built a mosque and slaughtered cows there. (See inscription on the gate. 1116 A. H.)

After the death of Aurangzib Peda Piddi recovered Vāginagiri, demolished the mosque and rebuilt the Gopala-
swamy temple; he himself adopted Śrī Vaishnavism with the name of Pitambara. Died in 1725 as a feudatory of Asaf
Jah I. Nizām-ul-mulk. His son Pāmi Nayak founded the fort of Surapur and made it the capital of the family estate,
named Sāgara-mandal.
§ 1. **Desolation of the country caused by Aurangzib's wars.**

The siege of Wāgingerā was the last campaign of Aurangzib. He was already turned of eighty-seven, and this fort was destined to be the bourne of his lifelong warfare and ambition to extend his empire. After its capture he set out on his return to Delhi, which death was to interrupt at Ahmadnagar less than two years afterwards. This is a point where the historian can most conveniently turn away from Aurangzib's camp and take a general view of the situation all over the country.

Such a survey afforded a most gloomy prospect. At the end of the 17th century the great empire founded by Akbar and raised to world-famed prosperity and splendour by Shah Jahan, was in a state of hopeless decay; administration, culture, economic life, military strength and social organisation,—all seemed to be hastening to utter ruin and dissolution.

The material waste caused to the empire by this quarter century of warfare was frightful. The desolation of the Deccan was complete. As a contemporary European observer notes, "Aurangzib withdrew to Ahmadnagar leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is blank and barren. The country is so entirely desolated and depopulated that neither fire nor light can be found in the course of a three or four days' journey. . . . There have died in his armies over a hundred thousand souls yearly, and of animals, pack-oxen, camels, elephants, &c., over three hundred thousand. . . . In the Deccan provinces from 1702 to 1704 plague [and
famine] prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls.” [Storia do Mogor, iv. 252 and 96.]

§ 2. Maratha raiders dominant throughout the Deccan.

As Aurangzib began his retreat northwards from the environs of Wāgingerā, the exultant Marathas in a vast horde of 50 to 60 thousand men followed his army a few miles in the rear, cutting off grain supplies and stragglers and even threatening to break into his camp. A force sent under Hamid-ud-din Khan to repel them was defeated, many of the Mughals being killed or carried off prisoners and giving their horses up to capture. On another side a second Maratha band looted a part of the baggage of the imperialists; but when they beheld the Emperor’s palki they did not venture near it, “out of respect for him” as Bhimsen imagines. [Dil. ii. 155a.]

The same eye-witness writes, “When the Emperor was involved in the siege of Khelnā, the Marathas became completely dominant over the whole kingdom and closed the roads. By means of robbery they escaped from poverty and gained great wealth. I have heard that every week they gave away sweets and money in charity, praying for the long life of the Emperor who had proved [to them] the Feeder of the Universe! The price of grain grew higher and higher; in the imperial camp in particular vast numbers perished (of hunger), and many kinds of illegal exactions and practices appeared. Ever since His Majesty had come to the throne he had not lived in a city but elected all these wars and hard marching, so that the inmates of his camp, sick of long separation, summoned their families to the camp and lived there. A new generation was thus born [under canvas]; they passed from infancy to youth, from youth to old age, and passing beyond old age girt up their loins for the journey to the world of the angels, and yet never once saw the look of a house, but only knew that
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in this world there is no other shelter than a tent.” [Dil. ii. 141a.]

The difficulties of the imperialists were the opportunity of the Marathas. Bhimsen adds, “As the Marathas are gaining large sums on the road, they have changed its name from shāh-rāh (king’s highway) to shāh-rān (? royal beauty.) When they invade a country they take from every pargana as much money as they desire and make their horses eat the standing crops or tread them underfoot. The imperial army that comes in pursuit can subsist only when the fields are cultivated [anew]. All administration has disappeared. . . . The realm has been desolated, nobody gets justice, they have been utterly ruined. The ryots have given up cultivation; the jagirdars do not get a penny from their seifs. . . . Many mansabdars in the Deccan, starving and impoverished, have gone over to the Marathas.” [Dil. ii. 139b, — 140a. 157b.]

§ 3. Causes of the dissolution of government.

This contemporary observer tries to account for the dissolution of government thus: “When after the death of Shivaji his dominions passed on to Shambhuji, the system of the Maratha Government paying salaries to its officials disappeared. Rajaram, who succeeded Shambhuji, lost his capital (Raigarh) and had to flee to Jinji. So, the Maratha State servants supported themselves by plundering on all sides, and paying a small part of their booty to the king. . . . In despair of getting their monthly salaries regularly, they regarded the plunder of Mughal territory as a gain and a means of maintaining themselves.” [Dil. ii. 140a.]

There was a regular trade in booty by the Maratha raiders. Bhimesn gives one example. “The ruined village of Abhonā* was colonised by a Maratha named Rāgho, who had formerly served under the Mughal faujdar of

* 23 m. n. w. of Chandor and 7 m. w. of Kalvan.
Nāsik, and had afterwards taken to robbery. He used to bring his plunder from the surrounding country and lodge it here, and traders used to buy and sell these articles. As Rāgho was on friendly terms with all men, none hindered him!” [Dil. ii. 145a.]

§ 4. Famine and chronic scarcity of grain.

The effect of the enemy’s robbery and stoppage of rent from the Mughal officers’ jagirs was aggravated by a long-continued famine. ‘Nowhere south of the Narmadā could grain be found cheaper than six seers a Rupee,’—while in certain periods it sold in the imperial camp for two seers or even less. Hence, “the condition of the Mughal army grew worse from the high price of grain and the devastation of jagirs, while the resources of the Marathas increased through robbery. They even attacked walled cities like Haidarabad, Bijapur, Aurangabad, and Burhānpur. When the Emperor was marching from Khed to Wāgingerā (Nov. 1704), the Marathas plundered his baggage near Bahadurgarh and set fire to much that they could not carry off. This year their audacity was even greater than in the past. Out of the capital cities of the eight chief subahs of the empire, population has decreased in the three Deccan towns of Bijapur, Haidarabad and Burhānpur, while the villages round them have been totally ruined. From the Narmadā southwards, throughout the entire Deccan, in every pargana and village, the Marathas have spread like ants and locusts.” [Dil. ii. 146a, 149, 138b.]

The break-down of the administration and of public peace created a vicious circle aggravating the evil, as Bhimsen has clearly pointed out: “The mansabdars, on account of the small forces under them, cannot gain control over the territories granted to them in jagir. The local zamindars growing stronger, have joined the Marathas, levied troops, and stretched the hand of oppression over the realm . . . . As the imperial dominions have been given out in
tankha (fief) to the jagirdars, so too the Marathas have made a distribution of the whole empire among their generals, and thus one kingdom has to maintain two sets of jagirdars! . . . The peasants subjected to this double exaction have collected arms and horses and joined the Marathas.” [Dil. ii. 139a. — 140a.]

Many of the Mughal mansabdars, goaded by poverty, began to plunder the innocent and loyal peasants to support themselves, and some went into shares with the Maratha raiders. Thoughtful people of Northern India serving in the Deccan now became so seriously alarmed about the future that they began to send away their wives and children for safety to their ancestral homes in Hindustan. [Dil. ii. 149b.]

§ 5. Maratha system of spoliation described.

The Marathas had reduced spoliation to a system. “As the Emperor and his troops were engaged in the inaccessible hills far in the south, the Marathas began to show greater audacity and raid the old provinces of the empire. Wherever they arrived they engaged in a regular revenue collection of the place and passed months and years there with wife and children in peace of mind. They divided the parganas among themselves, and in imitation of the imperial Government they appointed their own subahdārs, kamārish-dārs (revenue collectors) and rāhdārs (road-guards). Their subahdar was a leader of troops: whenever he heard of a large caravan coming, he overtook it at the head of [some] seven thousand cavalry and looted it. Everywhere kamārish-dārs were posted for collecting the chaughth. When a kamārish-dār was opposed by a strong zamindar or imperial faujdar and could not levy the blackmail, the Maratha subahdar came to his aid, besieged and desolated the habitations there. The duty of the Maratha rāhdār was this,—when traders wanted to travel unmolested by these people, the rāhdar took a sum of money
from each cart or bullock (three or fourfold the imperial faujdar's transit duty), and left the road open to them. In each subah the Marathas built one or two small forts (garhis), which they made their place of refuge and from which they issued to raid the country around.

"The powerful headmen of certain villages, in concert with the Maratha subahdars, built small forts and refused to pay revenue to the imperial Government, the Maratha troops supporting them. Up to the boundary of Gujrat and Malwa they have raided and reduced the country to dust. They looted caravans within 10 or 12 koses of the imperial army, and have even plundered the grain-market of the Emperor's own camp!" [K.K. ii. 517—518].

§ 6. Changes in Maratha equipment and tactics.

After 1703 the Marathas were masters of the situation all over the Deccan and even in parts of Northern India. The Mughal officers were helpless and reduced to the defensive; they only sought to escape from the enemy by flight or by the payment of blackmail, without venturing to resist them. A change now came over the Maratha tactics with this growth of their power: they were no longer, as in Shivaji's and Shambhuji's times, light forayers who "cut and ran" or merely looted defenceless traders and villages, and dispersed at the first report of the Mughal army's approach,—moving like the wind and keeping themselves in hiding as far as possible. On the contrary, as Manucci noticed in 1704, "These [Maratha] leaders and their troops moved in these days with much confidence, because they cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows, with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. They carry these last to secure some repose from time to time. . . . In short, they are equipped and move about just like the armies of the Mughal . . . . Only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion.
In those days their arms were only lances and long swords two inches wide. Armed thus, they [used to] prowl about on the frontiers, picking up here and there what they could; then they made off to home again. But at the present time they move like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughal troops." [Storia, iii. 505].

In the internal administration the break-down of Aurangzib's Government was equally conspicuous. On account of his absorption in the Deccan wars, the exhaustion of his resources and best men there, and, according to Khāfi Khan, his senile softness in not punishing wrong-doers sternly,—all administration ceased, the officials became incorrigibly corrupt and inefficient, all the forbidden exactions (abwabs) were revived by the local governors in violation of his orders, and even the sergeants sent from the Court to punish the wrongdoers took bribes and let the evils continue. [K.K. ii. 550-551.] As Manucci observed [iv. 100], the Emperor in his old age was disobeyed by his distant officials and the administration lost its efficiency.

§ 7. Auraungzib encamps at Devāpur, 1705.

Immediately after the capture of Wāgingerā (27th April, 1705), the Emperor removed his camp to Devāpur, a quiet green village near the Krishnā, eight miles south of the fort. Here his soldiers and followers gained unwonted comfort and repose. [M.A. 507.] The district, so long ravaged by war, was settled again; lawless oppressors were put down by a strong roving column under Chin Qalich Khan; the peasantry were reassured and induced to return to their homes and engage in tilling again. The walls of Wāgingerā were repaired and strengthened, and a new gate* and mosque added to it by the Emperor's eunuch

* This western gate (8 feet by 11) bears his inscription: "By command of the Emperor...Aurangzib...under the management of...Hafiz Masaud, built on 1st Rajab 1117 A. H. 49th year of the reign"—8 Oct. 1705.
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Khwājah Masaud. The tributes collected from the refractory chiefs of the surrounding country reached the Treasury.

During the rainy season the Marathas recovered Kondānā, thanks to the cowardice and negligence of the Mughal qiladar. Hamid-ud-din Khan was immediately afterwards detached to recover it, but he returned after merely riding round it. So, at the end of January 1706, Nasrat Jang was ordered to capture it. This he succeeded in doing in a month’s time, by cutting off the grain supply of the garrison and forcing them to evacuate the fort with their bare lives. [M.A. 508-’12; Dil. ii. 155b.]

§ 8. Illness of Aurangzib at Devapur.

At Devāpur the soldiers had just recovered a little from their campaigning hardships of the last six years, when the whole camp was thrown into the greatest alarm and distress by the Emperor’s illness. His spare frame had been enabled by regular habits and a sober life to stand incessant work and rigorous marching for well-nigh ninety years marvellously well; but at last it seemed to have been worn out. And if he died, the only bond that held the empire together, the single force that guided and protected the lives of hundreds of millions, would be dissolved, and the North-Indian army, girt round by countless ill-subdued enemies in that far-off southern land of hills and jungles and strange peoples, would perish helplessly. Despair seized all men, from the highest officers to the humblest tent-pitcher, when Aurangzib fell ill and took to his bed.

At first he had courageously struggled with disease, and had through sheer strength of mind continued for some days to transact business as usual and even to peep out of his bed-room window to reassure the public that he was alive. Though he could not hold public Court, "he received petitions from all who had business with him; and wrote answers and orders on them with his own hand with great
firmness.” [M.A. 508.] But the strain of this work only increased his malady, till he was seized with great pain, which at times made him senseless. Then the terror and agitation of the camp reached the extreme, and the wildest rumours spread about his death, wars among his sons, and usurpation of power by his generals ambitious of creating independent principalities for themselves.

The Emperor lay in this state for ten or twelve days, and then he began to rally, but slowly, and still feeling very weak. At this time, one day in extreme agony he muttered these verses of Shaikh Ganja:

"By the time you reach your 80th
or 90th year,
You must have received many a hard blow
from the hand of Time;
And when from that point you reach the
stage of a hundred years,
Death will put on the garb of your life."

Amir Khan, who was in attendance by the sick-bed, tried to console the sufferer, saying “Peace be on your Majesty! Shaikh Ganjā composed those verses merely as introductory to the following couplet:—

Then, it is better for you to be cheerful,
Because, by being cheerful you can remember
God!”

The Emperor had the couplet recited to him again and again and read it written down on a piece of paper, and received from it divinely sent comfort and strength in his troubles.* The next morning he left his bed and visited the Court of Justice. “The people got back their lives.” [M.A. 509-510.]

* The royal physician Haziq Khan, who had effected the cure by means of the China root (Similax China) was weighed against gold.
§ 9. Imperial camp marches to Ahmadnagar. 1706.

On 23rd October, 1705, Aurangzib broke up the encampment at Devāpur and set out northwards in a palki. Traveling slowly by easy stages, in a month and a half he reached Bahadurgarh, on the Bhimā, on 6th December. Here a halt of 40 days was made for passing the month of fasting (6 Dec.—4 Jan.) and the days of religious celebration following it. Then resuming his march on 14th January, 1706, he reached Ahmadnagar, 50 miles northwards, on the 20th, after an interval of 23 years since the time when he had started from it to begin his Deccan conquests.

This place he declared as his "journey's end," [K.K. ii. 541; Ahkam § 56], and here he stayed till death overtook him on 20th February 1707.

At Ahmadnagar Prince Muhammad Azam arrived on 25th March. On hearing of the Emperor's illness at Devāpur last year, he had begged hard to be allowed to come to his side, but Aurangzib had refused permission: he did not wish to suffer the fate of Shah Jahan at the hands of his ambitious and powerful sons in his sickness and old age [K.K. ii. 541.] Furthermore, he wanted to keep poor weak Kām Bakhsh at a safe distance from Azam's unscrupulous ambition. But at last he had yielded to repeated entreaty and allowed Azam to come to him. Bidār Bakht was sent to take charge of the province of Gujrat vacated by his father, pending the arrival of the new sułahdar Ibrāhim Khan from Kashmir (who, however, died on the way). Malwa and Khandesh were placed under Khan-i- Alam and Najābat Khan respectively, while Bijapur continued to be governed by Chin Qalīch Khan. [M.A. 512.]

§ 10. Sorrow and despair of Aurangzib's last years.

The last years of Aurangzib's life were inexpressibly sad. On the political side he found that his lifelong endeavour to govern India justly and strongly had ended in anarchy and disruption throughout the empire. His own
health had broken down, and the Court news-letters every
now and then give us pathetic glimpses of the weak old
Emperor ordering the screen of his bedroom tent to be
drawn aside a little, while officers, horses &c. were passed
in the courtyard below, as if presented to him for inspec-
tion. In this way did he keep up the form of holding public
darbars daily, to which he had been devoted for fifty years.

A sense of unutterable loneliness haunted the heart of
Aurangzib in his old age. One by one all the older nobles
had died out, and the sole personal friend and survivor of
the generation in which his youth had been nurtured that
was now left to Aurangzib was Asad Khan the wazir, and
even he was thirteen years his junior. As the aged monarch
looked round his Court circle he only found on all sides
younger men, timid sycophants, afraid of responsibility,
afraid to tell the truth, and eternally intriguing in a mean
spirit of personal greed and mutual jealousy. His Puritan
austerity had, at all times, chilled the advances of other
men towards him, but its effect was intensified by the
reputation of being a miracle-working saint (Alamgir,
zinda pir) which grew on him with each succeeding year.
Men shrank in almost supernatural dread from one who
was above the joys and sorrows, weakness and pity of
morta's, one who seemed to have hardly any element of
common humanity in him, who lived in the world but did
not seem to be of it. The genial human heart was not touch-
ed in others by Aurangzib, and therefore his own heart's
hunger could not be satisfied. His sole companions, when
free from the ever-engrossing State affairs, were his
daughter Zinat-un-nisā, already an old maid, and his last
wife Udipuri, a low animal type of partner, whose son Kām
Bakhsh broke his imperial father's heart by his freaks of
insane folly and passion.

His domestic life was darkened, as bereavements thick-
ened round his closing eyes. His best-loved daughter-in-law,
Jahānzeb Bānu, died in Gujrat in March 1705. His rebel
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son Akbar had died in exile in a foreign soil in 1704, but the authentic news of it reached him only in 1705. Still earlier, his gifted daughter, the poetess Zeb-un-nisā had ended her days in the prison of Delhi (1702). And now Gauhar-ārā Begam, the sole survivor among his numerous brothers and sisters, died in 1706, and the news of it dragged out of his heart the pathetic cry, which he repeated again and again, "She and I alone were left among Shah Jahan’s children." [M.A. 513.] In May 1706, his daughter Mihr-un-nisā and her husband Izid Bakhsh (Murād’s son) both died together in Delhi, and next month Buland Akhtar, the son of Akbar. Two of his grand-children died shortly before his own death (1707), but his ministers mercifully withheld the news from the sinking man.

§ 11. Imperial dominions harassed by Marathas, 1706-1707.

Aurangzib had left desolation and anarchy behind him when he set out for Ahmadnagar. But his retreat to this city did not bring rest to his army or peace to his empire. In April or May 1706, a vast Maratha army under all their great generals,—Dhana Jādav, Nimā Sindhia, Dādo Malhār, Rambhā Nimbālkar and others,—appeared four miles from the imperial encampment and threatened it. Aurangzib sent Khan-i-Alam and other officers to drive them away, but this force was hopelessly out-numbered and had to be strongly reinforced before it could succeed, after a long and severe contest, in repulsing the Marathas from the neighbourhood. [Dīl. ii. 155b.]

In Gujarat, the interval between Azam’s departure and Bidār Bakht’s arrival was marked by a terrible disaster to the imperialists. Inu Mānd, a former brewer of Khandesh, who had taken to a very profitable course of highway robbery, gathered a band of followers and made a league with the Maratha generals. Inviting Dhana Jādav and his army, he sacked the large and rich trading centre of Barodā
(Mar. 1706). Nazar Ali, the faujdar of the place, was defeated by the Marathas and captured with his men; other imperial officers fled to Broach; and the raiders retired in safety with a vast booty* [Dil. ii. 156a.]

Similarly, the province of Aurangabad was frequently ravaged by the Maratha bands under Dhana Jādav and other leaders. The Emperor ordered Nasrat Jang to punish the enemy. Leaving his baggage in Ahmadnagar (May 1706), he rapidly advanced to Tisgāon (24 m. e.) and thence followed the trail of the ever-shifting Marathas to Bir (65 m. e. of Ahmadnagar). The pursuit was closely kept up. The Marathas fled by way of the Dharampuri ghat, Purley (13 m.n.e. of Ambājogāi), Ausā, Tuljapur and Parenā, and then across the Bhimā to their refuge in the Mahādev hills. Nasrat Jang came back to the imperial camp, but was soon afterwards sent against Dhana, who was now reported as roving near Miraj. The latter retired beyond the Krishnā, and the Khan halted for the rainy season 24 miles from Miraj. In his recent forced marches nearly all of his horses and transport-cattle had perished through scarcity of fodder. Grain and fodder continued to be very scarce in his camp even during this monsoon halt; the soldiers were greatly distressed and the horses lost condition. [Dil. ii. 156b—157a; M.A. 515.]

§ 12. Notable Maratha victories, 1706.

In July Maratha activity near Wāgingerā forced the Emperor to detach Tarbiyat Khan to that region to punish them. [M.A. 516.] Piḍiā Berad, in alliance with Hindu Rao, gained Penu-kondā, “the key of both the Karnātaks,”

* Khāfi Khan (ii. 518) wrongly says that this invasion took place just after the death of Shujaet Kh. (June 1701.) But Mirāt-i-Ahmādi gives the exact date 4th March 1706 (i. 383). A very long account of this series of battles, fought at Ratanpur on the Narmada, is given in Mirāt (i. 379-388), and very briefly in Khāfi Khan (ii. 518-519) and Manucci (iv. 246). Ratanpur is 25 m. east of Broach.
by bribing its Mughal qiladar, who had been starving from his salary being left in arrears.* Flushed with their gain of such a fort, the Marathas turned to Serā, the capital of Bijapuri Karnātak Uplands, the district round which they had plundered before, in June 1704 [Storia, iii. 506]. Daud Khan, the faujdar of Karnātak, afterwards recovered Penu-kondā. [Dil. ii. 157a.] Siādat Khan, an officer of the Court, was wounded in both eyes by musket-shot, captured, and held to ransom by the enemy [Ibid.]. They also recovered Basantgarh from the imperialists about this time. [Ibid. 156b.]

When the rainy season ended (Sep. 1706), Maratha activity was renewed with tenfold intensity. Muhammad Amin Khan was detached against their bands in the Ahmadnagar district and returned after driving them away and taking some spoils. (Nov.) [M.A. 518.] Dhana Jādav now made a dash for the old dominions, Berar and Khandesh; but Nasrat Jang, leaving his camp near Miraj, headed him off into Bijapur and thence beyond the Krishnā. The Berads had seized the fort of Allur (28 m. n. w. of Kulbargā), but Tarbiyat Khan reconquered it. A long train of caravans coming from Aurangabad to the imperial camp was plundered of everything near Chandā, 24 m. from Ahmadnagar. [Dil. ii. 157.]

Chin Qalich Khan, the subahdar of Bijapur, having been summoned to Court (Dec. 1706), Nasrat Jang marched from Miraj and guarded the environs of Bijapur. (Jan.–Feb. 1707.) At this time Tārā Bāi, the Maratha Queen Regent, sent Dhana to arrest Baharji Ghorparē. The latter took refuge in fort Kurkal,† but all his property and

* Storia, iv. 249, 251 (details); Dil. ii. 156b. The qiladar was, however, taken prisoner and held to ransom by the Marathas.
† Dil. places this fort 14 kos from Adoni. There is a Kupgal, 35 m. s.w. of Adoni, and a Kudikul, 75 m. n. (not likely.) N. J. had left his heavy baggage in fort Sindunur, 35 m. n. w. of Adoni, and 12 m. n. of the Tungabhadra, while Baharji’s Sindur is 18 m. s. of that river.
animals were captured by Dhana, who besieged him in a fort. Baharji begged succour from Nasrat Jand, offering to enter the Emperor’s service. The Mughal general advanced across the Bhima river and the Raichur Doab to the bank of the Tungabhadra, to attack Dhana, who fled away to Mysore at the news of it. But Baharji, thus delivered from danger, retired to his home in fort Sindur (18 m. s. of the ruins of Vijaynagar) and evaded coming over to Nasrat Jang. [Dil. ii. 158.]

§ 13. Azam’s plan for murdering Kām Bakhsh.

While dangers were thus thickening round Aurangzib’s forces, the internal troubles of his camp became even more ominous. Muhammad Azam’s inordinate vanity and ambition urged him to secure the succession for himself. Confident of his valour and of the money and men he had gathered when in Gujrat, and eager to increase them by seizing the treasure and troops in the imperial camp at the moment of his father’s death,—he considered himself as senior to his elder brother Muazzam and regarded poor young Kām Bakhsh as “non-existent.” In view of the Emperor’s frequent fits of illness, Azam planned to remove all his rivals from his path. So, he poisoned the ears of the Emperor against Azim-ush-shān, the able third son of Muazzam and had him recalled from the government of Pātnā, where he was rumoured to have amassed a vast treasure. He also drew over to his side the prime minister Asad Khan and some other nobles. Then he looked out for an opportunity to make a sudden attack on Kām Bakhsh and kill him. Every day Azam’s hostile designs against Kām Bakhsh became more evident, and therefore the Emperor appointed the brave and faithful Sultan Husain (Mir Malang) paymaster of Kām Bakhsh’s forces, and charged him with that prince’s defence. Whenever Kām Bakhsh came to his father’s Court, Sultan Husain attended him with a strong body of comrades fully armed, and also stood guard round his tent day and night. Azam complained
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of these acts to the Emperor, but the latter gave no reply, till at last Azam wrote his grievances to his younger sister Zinat-un-nisā, saying, “Though it would not be very hard for me to punish the insolence of this rude fellow, yet respect for His Majesty hinders me from doing it.” The letter was shown to Aurangzib, who wrote across it with his own hand, “The power of Husain is well-known, and yet you are overcome with so much terror and suspicion about him! I shall send away Kām Bakhsh e’sewhere.” The irony of the reply stung Azam to the quick but he had no help except to wait patiently for the end. [K. K. ii. 546-548.]

§ 14. Emperor sends his sons away from him.

That end was not long in coming. Early in February 1707, Aurangzib had one more of the attacks of languor and ill-health which had become rather frequent of late. He recovered for a time and began once more to hold public durbars and do business of the State. But he felt that this time the inevitable could not be far off, and that the peace of his camp and the safety of the vast host assembled there were threatened by Azam’s growing impatience and violent ambition which might break bounds any day. So he appointed Kām Bakhsh subahdar of Bijapur and sent him away with a large force to his charge on 9th February. The leave-taking from this Benjamin of his old age, whom he felt he would never see again, broke the Emperor’s heart; he burst into tears as he gave the prince the parting embrace and sent him away with the band playing from the gate of the imperial tent-enclosure (gulāl-bār.) [Dīl. ii. 158a.]

Four days later, (13th Feb.) Md. Azam was despatched to Malwa as its governor; but the cunning prince, knowing his father’s death to be very near, marched slowly, halting every other day, so that he had passed only 50 miles when he received the news that Aurangzib was no more.
§ 15. *Last illness and death of Aurangzib.*

The event happened only a week after his departure. Four days after sending away the last of his sons from his side the aged and worn-out monarch, now left in utter loneliness, was seized with a severe fever; but for three days he obstinately insisted on coming to the Court-room and saying the five daily prayers in full congregation. In these days he often recited the couplet of foreboding—

"In a twinkle, in a minute, in a breath,
The condition of the world changes."

On Thursday, the 19th, Hamid-ud-din Khan, by the advice of astrologers submitted a petition for giving away an elephant worth Rs. 4,000 in alms (*tasadduq*) for averting evil influences from the Emperor. The dying man sanctioned it, but added across the petition, “The giving away of an elephant in charity is a custom of the Hindus and star-worshippers. Give, instead, Rs. 4,000 to the Chief Qazi for distribution among the poor. Convey quickly to the first station and consign to dust this heap of dust.” [*M. A. 521; K. K. 549 adds, “Do not go to the ornament of a coffin.”*]

During these last days he dictated two pathetic letters to his sons Azam and Kām Bakhsh, entreating them to cultivate brotherly love, peace and moderation, and illustrating the vanity of all earthly things. These are given in the next appendix, as also is a paper, said to have been found under his pillow after his death, in which he proposed a peaceful partition of his empire among his three surviving sons.

In the morning of Friday, 21st February, 1707, Aurangzib came out of his bedroom, went through his morning prayer, and began to count his beads and repeat the Islamic confession of faith in the oneness of the Godhead and the Prophetship of Muhammad. Gradually unconsciousness crept on, his breathing became harder and harder; but such was the mastery of that indomitable spirit over the natural
weakness of the body that his fingers continued to move over his rosary and his lips to gasp out the *Kalimat* (the Muslim *Credo*), till about eight o'clock when all was over. He had ever wished to die on a Friday, and that prayer had been granted by a gracious Deity to one of His truest servants. [M.A. 521, K.K. ii. 549.]

§ 16. *Burial of Aurangzib.*

Muhammad Azam arrived in the camp on the 22nd, and after mourning for his father and consoling his sister Zinat-un-nisā Begam, he took part in carrying the corpse a short distance, and then sent it away to Khuldābād near Daulatābād, for burial in the enclosure hallowed by the earthly remains of the saint Shaikh Zain-ud-din.

A low simple tomb, without any marble platform below or dome over it, but having the trough in its covering slab filled with earth for growing green herbs (in imitation of his sister Jahānārā's tomb outside Delhi),—now covers all that remains of the greatest of the Great Mughals save one.

APPENDIX

*Aurangzib’s last letter to Azam.*

"Peace be on you!

"Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong, strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

"Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope."
“My fever has departed, leaving only the skin and husks behind it. My son Kâm Bakhsh, who has gone to Bijapur, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Dear Shah Alam is farthest of all. Grandson Muhammad Azim has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Hindustan (from Bengal).

“All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who having chosen to leave my Master, and now in a state of trepidation like quicksilver. They think not that we have our Lord Father (ever with us). I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sins. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me? (Verse)

Whatever the wind may be  
I am launching my boat on the water.

“Though the Lord Cherisher will preserve His slaves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my sons to see that God’s creatures and Muslims may not be unjustly slain.

“Convey to my grandson Bahādur (i.e. Bidār Bakht) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him; the desire of meeting remains (unsatisfied). Though the Begam is, as can be seen, afflicted with grief, yet God is the master of hearts. Shortness of sight bears no other fruit than disappointment.

“Farewell! farewell! farewell!”*

Aurangzib’s last letter to Kâm Bakhsh.

“My son, [close to my heart like] my liver! Although, in the days of my power, I gave advice for submission to

* Translated by me from Br. Museum Addl. 26240. The version given in the lithographed edition of the Rugat has been rejected.
the will of God and exerted myself beyond the limits of possibility,—God having willed it otherwise, none listened to me. Now that I am dying, it will do no good. I shall carry away with myself the fruits of all the punishments and sins I have done. What a marvel that I came [into the world] alone and am [now] departing with this [large] caravan. Wherever I cast my eyes, no caravan-leader save God comes into my view. Anxiety about the army and camp-followers has been the cause of [my] depression of mind and fear of final torment. Although God will undertake the protection of His people, yet it is also obligatory on Muslims and my sons. When I was full of strength, I could not at all protect them; and now I am unable to take care of myself! My limbs have ceased to move. The breath that subsides, there is no hope of its return. What else can I do in such a condition than to pray? Your mother Udipuri [Begam] has attended me during my illness; she wishes to accompany me [to the next world]. I consign thee and thy children to God. I am in trepidation. I bid you farewell.

...Worldly men are deceivers (literally, they show wheat as sample but deliver barley); do not do any work in reliance on their fidelity. Work ought to be done by means of hints and signs. Dārā Shukoh made unsound arrangements and hence he failed to reach his point. He increased the salaries of his retainers to more than what they were before, but at the time of need got less and less work out of them. Hence he was unhappy. Set your feet within the limits of your carpet.

"I have told you what I had to say and now I take my leave. See to it that the peasantry and the people...are not unjustly ruined, and that Musalmans may not be slain, lest punishment should descend on me." [India Office MS. 1344, f. 26a]."

* I have not accepted the other version of this letter given in the lithographed bazar edition of Rūqat, No. 73. Udipuri died a natural death at Gwalior in June 1707.
Aurangzib's last will

(From India Office Library MS. 1344, f. 49b.)

Said to have been written with his own hand and left under his pillow on the death-bed.

"I was helpless [in life] and I am departing helpless. Whichever of my sons has the good fortune of gaining the kingship, he should not trouble Kām Bakhsh if the latter is content with the two provinces of Bijapur and Haidara-bad. There is not, nor will there [ever] be any wazir better than Asad Khan. Diānat Khan, the diwan of the Deccan, is better than other imperial servants. With true devotion entreat Muhammad Azam Shah,—if he agrees to the mode of partitioning the empire which was proposed in my lifetime, then there will be no fighting between armies and no slaughter of mankind. Do not dismiss my hereditary servants, nor molest them. The occupant of the throne should have [one of] the two subahs of Agra and Delhi, and whoever agrees to take the former [of these] will get four subahs of the old kingdom—Agra [sic], Malwa, Gujrat, and Ajmir and the chaklas dependent on them,—and four subahs of the Deccan, namely Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad and Bidar and their ports. And whosoever agrees to take the latter [i.e., Delhi] will get the eleven subahs of the old kingdom—Delhi, Punjab, Kabul, Multan, Tatta, Kashmir, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad and Oudh." [Another version is given in Fraser's Nadir Shah, 36-37. See Irvine's Later Mughals, i. 6.]

Another alleged will of Aurangzib is given in the Ahkām-i-Alamgīri ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur (§ 8 of the text and translation published by me.) It runs thus:

"Praise be to God and blessing on those servants of Him who have become sanctified and have given satisfaction to Him.

I have [some instructions to leave as my] last will and testament:—
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First,—On behalf of this sinner sunk in iniquity [i.e., myself] cover [with an offering of cloth] the holy tomb of Hasan (ON HIM BE PEACE!), because those who are drowned in the ocean of sin have no other protection than seeking refuge with that Portal of Mercy and Forgiveness. The means of performing this great auspicious act are with my noble son, Prince Alijah [Azam]; take them.

Second,—Four rupees and two annas, out of the price of the caps sewn by me, are with Aia Beg, the mahaldar. Take the amount and spend it on the shroud of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five rupees, from the wages of copying the Qur'an, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the faqirs on the day of my death. As the money got by copying the Qur'an is regraded with respect by the Shia sect*, do not spend it on my shroud and other necessaries.

Third,—Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince Alijah; as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lies the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful [practices at my funeral]; this helpless person (i.e., Aurangzib) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the survivors.

Fourth,—Bury this wanderer in 'the Valley of Deviation from the Right Path' with his head bare, because every ruined sinner who is conducted bare-headed before the Grand Emperor (i.e., God), is sure to be an object of mercy.

Fifth,—Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with the coarse white cloth called gazi. Avoid the spreading of a canopy and innovations like [processions of] musicians and the celebration of the Prophet's Nativity (maulud).

Sixth,—It is proper for the ruler of the kingdom (i.e., my heir) to treat kindly the helpless servants who in the

* The reading in MS. N. may be taken to mean, "As the money got by copying the Quran is suspected by the Shia sect to be unlawful [kind of wealth]."
train of this shameless creature [Aurangzib] have been roving in the deserts and wilderness [of the Deccan]. Even if any manifest fault is committed by them, give them in return for it gracious forgiveness and benignant overlooking [of the fault].

SEVENTH,—No other nation is better than the Persians for acting as clerks (mutasaddi). And in war, too, from the age of the Emperor Humāyun to the present time, none of this nation has turned his face away from the field, and their firm feet have never been shaken. Moreover, they have not once been guilty of disobedience or treachery to their master. But, as they insist on being treated with great honour it is very difficult to get on together with them. You have anyhow to conciliate them and should employ subterfuges.

EIGHTH,—The Turāni people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night-attacks and arrests. They feel no suspicion, despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat in the very midst of a fight, which means, in other words, 'when the arrow is drawn back';—and they are a hundred stages remote from the crass stupidity of the Hindustanis, who would part with their heads but not leave their positions [in battle]. In every way, you should confer favours on this race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can.

NINTH,—You should treat the Sayyids of Bārha, who are worthy of blessing, according to the Quranic verse, 'GIVE UNTO THE NEAR RELATIONS [OF THE PROPHET] THEIR DUES,' and never grow slack in honouring and favouring them. Inasmuch as, according to the blessed verse, 'I SAY I DO NOT ASK OF YOU ANY RECOMPENSE FOR IT EXCEPT LOVE TO [MY] KINSMEN,' love for this family is THE WAGES OF [MUHAMMAD'S] PROPHETSHIP, you should never be wanting [in respect for them], and it will bear fruit in this world and the next. But you should be extremely cautious
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A dealing with the Sayyids of Bārān, be not unwilling to love of them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon ants to seize the kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little, the result will be your own disgrace.

TENTH,—As far as possible the ruler of a kingdom could not spare himself from moving about; he should avoid staying in one place, which outwardly gives him repose but in effect brings on a thousand calamities and troubles.

ELEVENTH,—Never trust your sons, nor treat them uring your lifetime in an intimate manner, because, if the Emperor Shāh Jahān had not treated Dārā Shukoh in this manner, his affairs would not have come to such a sorry aass. Ever keep in view the saying, 'THE WORD OF A KING S BARREN.'

TWELFTH,—The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the kingdom. Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years. The escape of the wretch Shivā took place through [my] arelessness, and I have to labour hard [against the Maras] to the end of my life, [as the result of it].

TWELVE IS BLESSED [among numbers]. I have concluded with twelve directions. (Verse)

If you learn [the lesson], a kiss on your wisdom,
If you neglect it, then alas! alas!

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§ 1. How Aurangzib began war with the Rathors.

In chapter 36 of volume III I have told the story of how Durgädās Rāthor had rescued Maharajah Jaswant’s heir Ajit Singh from the clutches of Aurangzib at Delhi, taken him to a safe refuge on Mount Abu, and, with the help of other devoted clansmen, had for two years fought against the Mughal occupation of Marwar. Then, as his ally Udaipur grew fainter in its efforts under the new Mahārānā Jai Singh, Durgädās had (December 1680) instigated the Emperor’s son, Muhammad Akbar, to rebel and make an attempt to seize the Mughal crown. When that attempt signally failed (16th January, 1681), Durgädās had most chivalrously escorted the unhappy prince through every danger to the Court of the Maratha king Shambhuji, who alone in India could dare to harbour the Emperor’s enemy (1st June, 1681). As long as Akbar remained in India (up to October 1686), Durgädās stayed with him, promoting his interests, reconciling his occasional differences with the Maratha Government, and acting in all matters as his guardian and chief minister. *

This junction between Shambhuji and the rebellious Akbar alarmed the Emperor, and he made haste to go to the Deccan in person after patching up a peace with the Mahārānā (June 1681). This peace ended the war so far as Mewār was concerned, but not in respect of Mārwār. True, one of the conditions of the treaty was that when Ajit Singh would come of age, the Emperor would recognise him as a vassal rajah and imperial mansabdar, as his

* See vol. iv. ch. 44 and 48.
father and grandfather had been. But Ajit Singh was then an infant of two years only, and his suzerain occupied the kingdom of Marwar for the present. The new Maharana of Udaipur was too weak to insist on Marwar being placed in the hands of a Council of Regency of its native nobles. So, the Emperor’s troops continued to hold the chief towns and strategic points of the State and its legal government was that exercised by the Mughal officers posted there.

For Marwar, therefore, there was no peace, and the Rathor patriots remained in a state of war with the alien rule imposed on their country. They occupied the hills and deserts and every now and then swooped down upon the plains, cutting off convoys and trade caravans, capturing weakly held Mughal outposts, and rendering the cultivation of the fields and traffic on the roads impossible except under the protection of the imperial garrisons. No wonder that famine was constantly present in Jodhpur, and that the Rathor bard records of certain years that “the sword and pestilence united to clear the land.”

A generation of time passed in Marwar in ceaseless conflict, captures and recaptures. But the resources of the empire were far superior to those of a small desert province ravaged by perpetual warfare. The imperialists could draw their supplies from the other parts of India; the Rathors had no friend or supplier outside their own country. Being a clan only, they could not replenish their ranks thinned by the Mughal sword, famine and pestilence, while the Emperor had the manhood of half India to draw upon. The Rathor national opposition, therefore, would have gradually grown weaker and finally died out through attrition, if only the Emperor had not been plunged into a more serious conflict in the Deccan, which drained all his resources. The military situation in Maharashtra reacted on the situation in Jodhpur, and worked for the ultimate success of the Rathor patriots and the restoration of their chieftain to his hereditary throne immediately after Aurangzib’s death.
§ 2. Thirty years of war in Marwar.

The history of these 27 years (1681-1707) in Marwar falls into three well-defined periods. From 1681 to 1687 it was a people's war, because their king was a child and their national leader Durgādās was absent in the Deccan. The Rathor people fought under different captains, group by group, with no central authority and no common plan of action except to attack the Mughals wherever they could. This desultory warfare afforded many examples of Rathor bravery and devotion, but its military effect was nothing more than to keep the Mughal garrisons in constant alarm and to make their occupation of Marwar financially ruinous. The patriots might capture a post, but it would be immediately re-established by a fresh Mughal force, while the thinned Rathor bands had to flee to the hills and starve there. They, however, kept up the struggle, repeating their raids year after year.

It was rather an advantage to the Rathors that at this stage they had no common leader, because a pitched battle of all the forces of the tribe with the better armed and better organised imperialists would have led to their decisive defeat and prevented them from raising their heads for a generation to come, whereas by adopting guerilla tactics they wore out the Mughals and minimised the disadvantage of their own numbers and equipment. The numerous eponymous septs into which the Rathor clan was sub-divided, each supplied a readymade battalion of soldiers, self-contained and organised from birth.

The second stage of the war began in 1687 when Durgādās returned from the Deccan, and Ajit Singh came out of the concealment in which his infancy had been protected and nurtured. The success of the Rathors was at first brilliant. Reinforced by the Hādās of Bundi, they cleared the plains of Marwar and, sweeping onwards beyond the limits of their own country, raided Mālpurā and Pur-Mandal (1687), and even defeated the subahdar of
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Ajmir (1690), and carried their ravages into Mewat and the west of Delhi. But they could not recover their country. The Emperor had, by the year 1687, conquered the last of the independent kingdoms of the Deccan, and two years later slew the Maratha king and took his capital. During 1689, 1690 and 1691 the Marathas could not recover from these blows, and the Emperor had a free hand. Moreover, in the very year 1687 in which Ajit Singh and Durgūdās appeared together at the head of the national forces, an exceptionally able and enterprising officer named Shujāet Khan became governor of Jodhpur on behalf of the Emperor, and held that office for 14 years, during which he succeeded in maintaining the Mughal hold on Marwar though Aurangzib's increasing entanglement in the Deccan made it "impossible for him to send a single soldier to reinforce"* his agent in Jodhpur.

§ 3. Shujāet Khan's government of Marwar, 1687-1701.

Up to the year 1687, the faujdari of Marwar† had been added to the subahdari of Ajmir. But Ajmir was a small province, governed by a third-rate noble with a poor income and small army. Hence, the Ajmir subahdar (Ināyet Khan) had not been able to cope with the Rathors with his normal resources. But now Shujāet Khan, in addition to the faujdari of Marwar, held the subahdari of Gujrat,—one of the three great frontier provinces of the Mughal empire and famous in those days as a recruiting ground of brave soldiers (lashkar-khez). Shujāet Khan's contingent and income were much larger than those of the Ajmir subahdar, and he also knew how to put them to the best use. He always kept his retainers to their full number and was

* Aurangzib's view when appointing Shujāet Khan (Mirat-i-Ahmadi, i. 317.)

† Inayet Khan, who had been appointed faujdar of Jodhpur in March 1681, became in addition subahdar of Ajmir in Dec. 1683. On his death in 1687, Marwar was joined to Gujrat.
prompt and quick in his movements. He used to spend six months (sometimes eight) every year in Marwar and the other six in Gujrat. Thus, he succeeded in checking the Rathors when it came to fighting, while he made an understanding with them, paying them one-fourth of the imperial custom duties on all merchandise if they spared the traders on the roads (1688). This was another form of the *chaouth*, which a few years afterwards many Mughal officers in the Deccan, conscious of their own helplessness and the hopelessness of succour from the Emperor, were glad to pay to the Maratha roving bands as a yearly blackmail.

But from the year 1692 onwards the imperial forces in the Deccan began to feel the increasing pressure of the revived Maratha power under their able regent Rāmchandra and their brilliant generals Dhanaji Jādav and Santāji Ghorparé, and the Emperor began to look out wistfully for some means of ensuring peace in his rear in Rajputana. There was another and a stronger motive working with him: he must recover his grand-daughter who had been left with the Rathors by her father Akbar in his flight soon after her birth. This girl was now thirteen and Aurangzib's family honour required that she should come to his house before attaining the age of marriage, which for a Mughal princess was usually fourteen. He could have made an honourable and lasting peace and turned the Rathors again into devoted allies, by restoring Ajit Singh to all his father's territory and rank. But a strange obsession, or more probably religious bigotry,* made Aurangzib cling blindly to the soil of Jodhpur. He haggled like a Jew and waited for some turn in the die of

* He wanted to dismember Marwar and thus prevent the possible opposition to his anti-Hindu measures which a great independent Hindu State in Northern India might have offered. There was to be no second high-spirited and strong Jaswant Singh to rally round himself and lead to victory the discontented Hindus of the empire.
war which would enable him to keep the bulk of Marwar and especially its capital in his own hands and delude Ajit with a small tract as jagir. Negotiations inspired by such a motive were bound to fail, though a truce was secured to his weary army during the year (1692) through which they were protracted. But this fanatical obstinacy or obsession, born of unlimited power and old age, was relaxed by wiser counsels, and at last in 1696 he agreed to restore a portion of Marwar to Ajit Singh in return for the delivery of Akbar's children.

But on 9 July 1701† Shujāet Khan died, Prince Muhammad Azam succeeded him as governor of Marwar and renewed hostilities with Ajit, and the third stage of the Rajput war of independence began, which after much bloodshed and many reverses on both sides ended in the complete breakdown of the imperial policy of greed and the final recovery of Marwar by its national ruling dynasty (1707). This was the just consequence of Mughal insincerity and unscrupulous opportunism.

§ 4. The struggle during 1681–1686.

When the Emperor marched away from Rajputana to the Deccan (September, 1681), he left his wazir Asad Khan at Ajmir to control the occupation of Marwar. Mughal garrisons were posted in all the important positions (thānas) in the country, such as Sambhar and Didwānā in the north, Mairta in the north-east, Jitāran Sojāt Pāli and Godwār along the eastern side, Jodhpur in the centre, Bālotrā Panchbhadrā and Siwānā in the west, and Jhālor in the south,*—besides many smaller stations.

† On 16 June 1701, according to M. A., p. 441, but Mirat-i-Ahmadi gives 9 July.

* Nagor in the extreme north of the State had long been a Mughal dependency, independent of Marwar, though ruled by a Rathor chieftain.
After the Mughal occupation of their capital and other cities, the Rathors took refuge in the hills and out of the way nooks; but the plains lay exposed to the raids of their roving bands; and encounters frequently took place between them and the army of occupation near one or other of these outposts with varying success. The year 1682 is described as one of perpetual conflict, captures and recaptures of the Mughal thanas.

The Rathor patriots suffered heavy losses in all these battles, even when they were victorious. But while, on the one hand, their ranks were thinned by the Mughal sword, they also received considerable additions to their strength. In 1681, Muhakam Singh of MAirtā, the son of Rajah Kalyān Singh and a hereditary noble under Delhi, threw up the Mughal service and joined the national cause. Late in the same year, most of the Rathor chiefs who had escorted Akbar to Maharashatra returned home. In 1682 the Bhatti tribe of Jesalmir rose against the Mughals and joined the Rahtors.

The success of the Rajput patriots was often chequered by the death of notable leaders, and the annihilation of their invading force in a grand raid into Gujrat, in the hills of Rainpur, in 1682. In fact the situation of the country is best described in the words of the bard Karnani-dān: "An hour before sunset every gate of Maru was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit... The roads were now impassable."

§ 5. Durgādās again in Mārwār, 1687–1696.

We now turn to the history of the second stage of the contest. Durgādās's return from Maharashatra (1687) greatly stimulated Rathor activity, and happily just then they gained a valuable ally. Durjan Sāl Hādā, the leading vassal of Bundi, on being insulted by his chieftain Anurudh Singh (a loyal feudatory and general of Aurangzib) armed his kinsmen and retainers and seized the fort of Bundi by
a sudden attack. * He then came over to Marwar, married a sister of Mukund Singh Champāwat (a Rathor leader) and strengthened the Rathor national army with his thousand horsemen of the Hādā clan.

The united Rathors and Hādās, having slaughtered or driven away most of the Mughul outposts in Marwar, made a daring raid into the imperial dominions in the north. With a vast force of horsemen, Durgādās and Durjan Sāl plundered Muhim, Rohtak, and Rewāri, collecting a rich booty, and even menaced the capital Delhi. But hearing that a force of 4000 regular cavalry had been sent out against them from that city and had arrived within 20 miles of them, they declined an encounter, swerved away towards Sarhind, and finally returned to Marwar. Meantime, Ināyet Khan, the faujdar of Jodhpur, had issued with his own troops to chase them. Durjan Sāl evaded him and marched to Mandal, intending to sack it. “A party of banjāṛās (travelling grain dealers) had dismounted in the vicinity. They attacked him and a battle with bows and muskets began. Just then Dindār Khan, the faujdar of Mandal, and Raghunāth Singh, the agent of Anurudh Hādā, arrived there and joined in the battle. Durjan Sāl was killed by a bullet in the front rank of the fight.” [Ishwardas, 121a, 122b-123a.] Tod, however, adds that the Rathors succeeded in massacring the garrisons of Mālpurā, Pur and Mandal and in imposing a contribution on those parts.

In 1690 Durgādās gained a conspicuous success; he routed and drove back on Ajmir Safī Khan, the new governor of that province, who had taken post on the

* M. A., 226, says that on 21 April 1683 the Emperor learnt that Durjan Singh Hada had taken Bundi by siege, and also that on 18 Aug. he received a depatch from Mughal Khan reporting that he had assaulted Bundi like lightning and after a nine hours’ fight put Durjan to flight, when Anurudh entered the city with the imperialists (235). I have followed Ishwardas (f. 122) , as he was a friend of Durgadas and had actually served in Jodhpur.
Marwar frontier. He kept up plundering and disturbing the parts of Marwar in Mughal occupation and rendered the roads unsafe for travellers. This alarming situation called Shujāet Khan,* the new governor, to the scene. He very tactfully won over many of the Rajput headmen (*thākurs* and *pattāwas*) by granting them *pattas* (written land grants) on the terms enjoyed by their forefathers, while others were recommended for mansab and *jāgīr* on the condition of their serving under his deputy Kāzīm Beg in Marwar. By his friendly policy and polite dealings he turned many of the Rathors into allies and inspired them with ardour for the Emperor’s cause. Kamāl Khan defended Jhālor against the Rathor raiders in the south, Kāzīm Beg with a strong force was detached towards Mairta to suppress Durgādās’s roving bands in that quarter, while Shujāet Khan himself took post at Jodhpur for some time. For the protection of trade, he bound down the carters and hired porters (such as owners of transport camels and ponies) of Mairta in security that in future they would transport goods to Gujarāt through loyal Udaipur and not by way of disturbed Marwar.† (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, i. 325).

Thus the year 1690 ended without any disaster. During the next year the Mughals enjoyed respite as the Rathor national army was diverted to Mewar in order to assist Maharana Jāi Singh in suppressing the rebellion of his heir Amar Singh and all the leading nobles of that State. In 1692, also, there was truce in Marwar, as Safi Khan, the governor of Ajmir, opened negotiations with the Rathors

* Shujāet Khan was primarily subahdar of Gujarāt and, in addition, *faujdar* of Marwar. In the latter country he usually governed by means of a deputy,—Kazim Beg (d. 1693), Firuz Miwati (d. 1699), Shaikh Muhammad Zahid [or Fazil?] (up to 1701), Jafar Quli, Yusuf (1704), Murshid Quli, and Jafar Khan. The fort of Jodhpur was held by another officer, called the *qiladar*. *Mirat*, i. 312.

† It was probably at this time that he promised the Rathors one-fourth of the custom duties on all goods that they spared during passage through Marwar, as Tod tells us.
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for the surrender of Akbar’s daughter, whom they had been nourishing since her father’s flight in 1681. But nothing came of these overtures as the Emperor was not yet prepared to make any real concession to Ajit Singh. So, the war was renewed in 1693. Ajit Singh, guided by Durgādās, took post at Bhilārā† and caused trouble. But Shujāät Khan soon hastened to Marwar, and a concerted movement by the faujdars of Jodhpur, Jhālor and Siwānā forced Ajit Singh to flee back to the hills, after Akho Ballā, who met the Mughal attack, had been defeated. [Mirat, i. 328; Tod.]

§ 6. The restoration of Aurangzib’s grand-daughter by Durgādās, 1696.

But here the Mughal success ended. The situation in the Deccan had now become so serious that the Emperor could not spare any troops for a decisive campaign in Rajputana. Moreover, with the growing youth of his captive grand-daughter, his anxiety to get her back increased. The negotiations for this purpose which had failed in 1692 were renewed in 1694, but this time they were entrusted to the able and wise Shujāät Khan, and though protracted through the Emperor’s niggardliness they bore fruit in 1696.*

Shujāät Khan employed as his intermediary in this affair the historian Ishwardās, a Nāgar Brahman of Patan (now in the Gaikwar's territory), who had been employed as a revenue collector (ṣhīqdar or amin) in Jodhpur and had

† The Persian text reads Ṭhāl ṭā, which I take to be an error for either Bhilara or Bhinmal.

* On 11th June 1696 the Emperor sent a slave named Shah Beg from his Court to Shujaet Khan, to take charge of Akbar’s daughter and bring her away. If this girl was named Safiyat-un-nisā (as Ishwardas says), then she was married to Prince Khujista Akhtar, and died of fever on 1 July 1699 and was buried at Mangalvire (north of Bijapur) in a tomb built for Rs. 420. [Akh.] Negotiations for the princess, Mirat-i-Ahm., i. 332-333.
made many friends among the Rathors. He has left a graphic account of the restoration of the son and daughter of Akbar, which we quote here, as the evidence of the chief actor in the scene.

Akbar's infant son Buland Akhtar and daughter Safiyat-un-nisā had been left in Marwar with his Rathor allies, as the children were too tender to bear the hardships of his flight from the country in 1681. Durgādas placed them in charge of Girdhar Joshi in an obscure place difficult of access. They were brought up with every care not only for their health and morals, but also for her education in the Islamic religion.

After Ishwardās had repeatedly approached Durgādas, the latter, who had wearied of the long and desolating struggle, wished to make terms for his chieftain and himself. "So he sent a letter to the author (Ishwardas) stating that if Shujāet Khan gave him a safe-conduct and spared his home from ravage pending the coming of the Emperor's reply to his petition for forgiveness, he would send Safiyat-un-nisā Begam to the imperial Court. The Emperor at once consented. On the arrival of his reply, the author, under instructions from Shujāet Khan, visited Durgādas, who was living at a place extremely difficult of access, and induced him by wise counsels to agree finally to the restoration of the princess. Then, returning to the Khan, he took proper escort and conveyances with him, and going back to Durgādas brought the princess away with him. As she was well pleased with the author's serviceableness and excellent arrangements during the journey, she asked him to accompany her to the imperial Court. On their arrival there, Aurangzib immediately spoke of appointing a tutress to give his grand-daughter that education in Islamic scriptures which she must have missed so long in that uncivilised and inaccessible Hindu State. But the Begam informed him that Durgādas had been so attentive to her welfare that he had secured for her a Muslim
mistress from Ajmir under whose tuition she had already studied the Qurān and committed it to her memory.

This fact convinced the Emperor of Durgādās's devotion and induced him to forget all his past offences. In exuberance of royal grace he asked her, "Tell me what reward Durgādās wants." The Begam answered that Ishwardās knew it. His Majesty at once ordered the author to be brought before him in his private chamber. Durgādās was granted a mansab and money allowance,* while Ishwardās was created a commander of 200 horse, invested with a robe of honour, and sent back to Marwar to bring Durgādās and Buland Akhtar to the Court.

But in effecting this there was nearly two years' delay, mainly because Durgādās demanded the restoration of Jodhpur to Ajit Singh, while Aurangzib wished to satisfy the heir of Jaswant with a small portion of Marwar only. Durgādās could not be bought even with the highest mansab for himself; he insisted on the whole of the State being released by the Mugal's. He knew what a valuable political pawn he held in his hand in the person of Buland Akhtar, a full-blooded heir to the Mughal throne, whom any powerful rebel might use as a potent instrument by proclaiming him Emperor of Delhi and trying to subvert Aurangzib's throne under his nominal leadership. So, the negotiations dragged on.

§ 7. Surrender of Akbar's son and submission of Durgādās, 1698.

But Ajit Singh's position was now one of distress and despair. He was weary of roving in the wilderness, hunted by Mughal columns and subjected to every hardship. And his recent marriage to the daughter of Gaj Singh, the brother of the Maharana, made him eager for a settled

* Durgadas was granted Mairta (afterwards Dhanduqā) pargana as jagir, but he was posted to Patan as faujdar. Mirat, i. 333, 338, 348.
The War in Rajputana, 1681-1707

home and income. So, in 1698, Durgādās abated his demands. Ajit was pardoned by the Emperor and given a mansab in the imperial army, with the parganas of Jhālor, Sānchoda and Siwānā as his jāgir, of which he was also appointed faujdar.*

Ishwardās thus describes his second embassy:—“After my return from the Emperor’s Court (in 1696), I paid repeated visits to Durgādās, took solemn oaths of fidelity on behalf of Shujāeet Khan, and reassured his mind by my promises. Durgādās, on getting letters-patent (parwanas) conferring jāgirs on himself, and being put in actual possession of the land assigned to him, came with the prince in my company to Ahmadabad and then to Surat. At the latter city many officers deputed by the Emperor met the prince in advance, both to welcome him on the way and also to teach him Court-etuquette. But the prince remained obstinately silent, and the Court doctors failed to remedy this defect.”

Poor Buland Akhtar! We can well sympathise with him in his distress. He had been brought up ever since his birth among the rude Rajput peasantry, without seeing any city or Court, or talking with any cultured person. He did not even know the polished Hindustani language. Aurangzīb was shocked and his Court was amused to find a grandson of the Emperor who could speak only the Rajput patois (Rājasthānī boli). Buland Akhtar felt overcome with shyness like a country youth suddenly brought to a large and polished city. Moreover, he had been taught by his life among the Rathor nationalists to regard Aurangzīb as a sort of demon and the relentless enemy of Akbar and Akbar's family; and now he was being torn away from the

* Mirat, i. 341. Tod adds incorrectly that Ajit was also given Jodhpur. There is no support of the Rajput bard’s assertion that in 1700 Ajit gained possession of the city of Jodhpur, “Prince Azam leading the way.” The latter statement is impossible, as Azam became faujdar of Jodhpur (by deputy) late in 1701.
protectors of his boyhood and the comrades of his youth and delivered over to this very Aurangzib. He thought it the wisest course under the circumstances not to open his lips at all but to pretend dumbness, like the clownish new son-in-law of the Bengali folktale.

[He was, however, gradually educated and polished, and lived to be employed in the Court, close to the Emperor's person, in charge of one of the royal seals].

When, after surrendering Buland Akhtar, Durgādās arrived at the portico of the Audience Hall, in the camp at Islāmpuri on the Bhimā, he was ordered to be ushered in unarmed, like a prisoner. Without a moment's hesitation or protest, he took off his sword. Hearing of it, His Majesty ordered him to enter with his arms on. As he entered the imperial tent, the finance minister Ruhullah Khan advanced to him, tied his wrists together with a handkerchief and conducted him to the Emperor. [This was a theatrical action by which, in Mughal times, the offender had to beg the royal pardon and soothe the royal dignity.] His Majesty now graciously ordered Durgādās's arms to be united, appointed him a commander of 3,000 horse (nominal rank), presented him with a jewel dagger, a gold pendant (padak), and a string of pearls, and advanced him one lakh of Rupees from the imperial treasury. (Ishwardas, 167a—168b, M. A. 395.)

In October 1700 the Emperor received a letter from Ajit offering to come to Court with a contingent of 4,000 horse, and asking for some cash or jagir to maintain his retainers. The Emperor ordered a sum of money to be given to him from the Ajmir treasury and promised him a jagir on his arrival at Court. [Akhbarat, 16 Nov.]

§ 8. Second revolt of Ajit and Durgādās, 1701.
This reconciliation with Durgādās took place in May 1698, but within three years of it there was another rupture. Durgādās had been employed as faujdar of Patan (in
Gujrat) to keep him out of Marwar. But in 1701-2 he was driven into rebellion a second time. In fact both he and Ajit Singh had continued to distrust the Mughal Government and kept themselves at a suspicious distance from the Court. Early in 1701, Ajit Singh, though repeatedly summoned to pay his respects in person to the Emperor, like other high nobles, put off going there under various pretexts. After the death of Shujāet Khan (9 July 1701), a rupture could no longer be averted. The new governor, Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, was haughty and imperious. He was ordered by the Emperor to send Durgādās to the imperial camp if he could, otherwise to kill him there, so that Durgā might no more instigate Ajit Singh and the other Rathors.*

Muhammad Azam summoned Durgādās to wait on him at Ahmadabad, the seat of his government. One of his officers, Safdar Khan Bābi, undertook to arrest or murder Durgādās at the prince's darbār. From his faujdari of Patan Durgādās arrived with his retainers and dismounted near the village of Kārij, on the Sabarmati river, close to Ahmdaadabad.† On the day fixed for his interview, the prince's troops were drawn up in readiness on the pretext of his going out on a hunting excursion. All the mansabdars posted there and Safdar Khan with his sons and retainers, fully armed, attended the darbar. The prince arrived there and issued orders for Durgādās to be brought to him. As the preceding day had been a day of fast (ekādashi) with him, Durgādās wanted to eat his meal before going to the

* Mirat, i. 344, 348; Kalimat-i-T. 149; Inayetullah's Akham 4 b. The concert between the two is thus described in a letter of the Emperor, "The hellish Durga shoots arrows from the same bow as Ajit" [I. O. L. MS. 1344, No. 28]. According to the Rajput bard, Ajit was expelled from Jodhpur by Prince Azam in 1702 (wrong).

† The local tradition is that he halted in the imperial sarai (Kara-ka Sarai), 3 miles north of Ahmedabad, and looted it when retreating. Kari is 25 m. n. w. of Ahmedabad, Unjha is 35 m. further north (and 17 m. e. of Patan). Unauwa is 3½ m. s. w. of Unjha.
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darbār. But the arrival of couriers in succession to hasten his visit excited his suspicion, which passed into alarm when he heard reports about the prince’s troops having been drawn up armed. Therefore, without breaking his fast, Durgādās set fire to his tents and baggage and immediately rode away towards Marwar with all his followers.

A Mughal force gave him chase. The best mounted among them, including Saifdar Khan’s contingent, overtook the fugitives on the road to Patan. Durgādās’s grandson, then in the first bloom of youth, said to him, “It is a shame to leave a battle-field without a wound. Let me bar the enemy’s path, while you escape.” The gallant youth did so and was killed with the Rathor rear-guard in resisting the Mughals, while on the other side Saifdar Khan’s son and Muhammad Ashraf Ghurni (another Gujrati officer) were wounded. Durgādās made use of the respite thus gained, to reach Unjhā-Unauwā, 60 miles off, while the tired pursuers halted. At the end of the night he made another forced march, reached Patán, and taking his family out of that city set off for Therad in Marwar. The imperialists on coming to Patan killed Durgādās’s kotwāl who had stayed behind, and then gave up the pursuit. [Mirat, i. 349.]*


When Durgādās was back again in Marwar as an enemy of the empire, Ajit Singh joined him in open rebellion (1702) and made some attacks on the Mughals. [Mirat, i. 354.] But the two could effect nothing. Owing to incessant war and spoilation, frequent famines and drought,† and many years’ plague in Gujrat and the neighbouring

* A garbled version of this fight is given by Manucci (iv. 243) with the wrong date 1705. His account is absurd and utterly inconsistent with known facts.
† In 1696, “from Patan to Jodhpur no water and not a blade of grass could be seen.” [Mirat i. 335.]
districts of Rajputana, the economic exhaustion of Marwar was complete, and war-weariness seized the Rathor clansmen after a quarter century of continuous guerilla fighting. As the bard Karani-dān writes of the year 1702, “Ajit retired to Jhālor. Some Rathor chiefs took service with the Maharana and some with the Mughals. Muslim oppression reached its climax.”

To aggravate the evil, disagreement now broke out between Ajit and Durgādās,† of which the Emperor was not slow to take advantage. Ajit Singh lacked his father’s ability and power of command. He seems to have been capricious and self-indulgent and incapable of thinking out or following any deeply-laid scheme of concerted action. He was impatient of advice, imperious in temper, and jealous of Durgādās’s well-merited influence in the royal council and popularity among his clansmen. It speaks very ill of the character and intelligence of Ajit that for this supremely devoted and unselfish servant of his house and saviour of his own infancy, he could find no place in his Government but at last drove him out to seek Mughal service or take refuge in Udaipur territory. This internal discord among the Rathor leaders helped Aurangzib’s designs just when all seemed to be going against him, and it enabled him to keep Ajit Singh out of his kingdom and capital for five years more. With Durgādās and Ajit working together, the recovery of Marwar from the Mughals would have been completed in 1702, instead of 1707.

In 1704 Aurangzib, at last admitting his growing helplessness against a sea of enemies, made a sort of peace with Ajit by giving him Maiātā as jagir. As this place was put by Ajit in charge of Khush-hāl Singh, Muhakam Singh (son of Indra Singh of Nāgor), who had fought for Ajit throughout his minority at great sacrifice of his own interests, felt offended at his just claim to the governorship.

† Aurangzib’s letter in Kalimat-i-T. 74 a, 30 a.
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of Mairta being overlooked by Ajit, and he immediately went over to Aurangzib (1705) and attacked his own clansmen! In November 1705, Durgadas,* too, unable to maintain himself in barren independence, made his submission to the Emperor through Prince Azam, and was restored to his old mansab and post in Gujarat. [M. A. 498, Mirat i. 358; Kalimat-i-T. 50b, 104a.]

§ 10. Renewal of struggle and final success of the Rathors.

Next year, the last of Aurangzib’s reign, a Maratha incursion into Gujarat was followed by a crushing disaster† to the Mughal army posted there, which encouraged all the enemies of the empire. Ajit Singh raised his head in rebellion for the third time. Durgadas again fled the Mughal camp and began to act in concert with him, causing risings in Therad and other places. But Prince Bidar Bakht, the gallant son of Azam Shah, was in charge of Gujarat. He sent a force against Durgadas, who now fled to the broken Koli country, south of Surat. [Mirat i. 374.]

Ajit Singh had now been in open rebellion for some time. He fought Muhakam Singh (now on the Emperor’s side again) at Drunerä, and by defeating him gained an increase of prestige and strength. Just after this, on 4th March 1707, the news of Aurangzib’s death at Ahmadnagar arrived, and three days afterwards (when the happy news had been placed beyond doubt), Ajit took horse for Jodhpur, expelled Jafar Quli (the deputy faujdar of the city), and took possession of his father’s capital. As Ajit entered Jodhpur, the Mughals fled, leaving their property behind;

* We read in the Court bulletins that in May 1704 Aurangzib dismissed from his service Khem-Karna the brother and Dev-Karna and Dal-Karna the nephews of Durgadas, evidently to punish that rebel. Orders had been sent to drag Durgadas from Ahmadabad to the imperial Court, but these were cancelled in June 1704.
† Dhana Jadav’s victory at Ratanpur, 15 March 1706. Mirat, i. 359—366.
they were slain or made captive. Many of them fled in the
disguise of Hindus, to escape the merciless retribution of
the Rajputs smarting under 26 years of oppression. Mairtā
was evacuated by Muhakam Singh, who fled wounded to
Nāgor. Sojāt and Pāli were regained. The fort of Jodhpur
was purified with Ganges water and tulsi leaves. Ajit Singh
was crowned Maharajah of Marwar. [Mirat, i. 377; Tod,
ii. ch. 8.]

Durgādās’s life’s task was thus crowned with success.
Marwar was freed from alien rule and placed under her
own kings once more.
§ 1. Early Jat disturbances near Agra.
The endless wars in which Aurangzib became involved in 1679 and which were to continue till his death, began very soon to react on the political condition of Northern India. The Emperor left Delhi in 1679 for Rajputana, and thence proceeded to the Deccan two years later. For the remainder of his reign all his sons and highest generals were assembled there. In unvarying succession Northern India continued to be annually drained of its public money and youthful recruits in order to fill the ever-gaping void caused by the Deccan wars. Reports of occasional disasters to the imperial arms, of Prince Akbar's rebellion, Shambhuji's daring raids and the hopeless entanglement of the Emperor with Bijapur, Golkondâ and the Maratha people, reached the bazaars and hamlets of Northern India with the usual exaggeration. Years passed away, and yet the Emperor did not return to his capital, nor did any of the princes. The rich old provinces of the empire north of the Narmadâ were left in the charge of second-rate nobles with insufficient troops.

At the same time, the long caravans of merchandise, State revenue, army provisions, and the families and property of the nobles, so frequently making their way to the far-off South under slender escort, offered an irresistible temptation to robber tribes. The great royal road, leading from Delhi to Agra and Dholpur and thence through Malwa to the Deccan, passed directly through a country inhabited by a people whose predatory instinct can be kept in check only by the terror of superior force. These are the Jats, a race of hardy peasants whose bodily vigour
and growing numbers had made them spread rapidly from
the north-eastern frontier of Rajputana to the bank of the
Jamnā, filling the present Agra, Mathurā and Aligarh
districts as well as the Bharatpur and Alwar States. North-
wards their settlements dotted south-eastern Panjāb, and
southwards the adjacent parts of Malwa. Whether the Jats
were really descendants of the ancient nomadic Getae is
uncertain, but though they are to-day essentially agriculturists,
their many affinities with the wandering predatory
tribe of Gujars have for many centuries made them,
equally with the latter, the greatest enemies of public peace
and private property. The Jat population in a province
requires strong government and constant vigilance on the
part of the ruler. As the proverb runs, "The Jat, like a
wound, is better when bound."

In the administrative slackness and military weakness
which affected the Mughal Government in consequence of
the Deccan wars, the Agra district was the first to feel the
truth of this proverb. The ill-guarded wealth of the rich
cities and mansions of the metropolitan subah and the
valuable convoys moving along the king's highway, called
forth the cupiditv of the Jats, now that the fear of the
Emperor's return was daily growing more remote. Here was
a surer means of growing rich than by the slow process of
painfully tilling a grudging soil under an uncertain rainfall.
And such a course of rapine involved little risk, as the weak
local troops could not always punish the robbers in the field,
nor follow their quickly fleeing bands to the nooks of their
wide jungly country.

The Tenwā clan of Jats had first entered the Mathurā
and Aligarh districts about 1600 as servants and peasants,
but in the next sixty years they had grown powerful enough
to make themselves masters of the Joar pargana. Their
chief Nandarām had withheld revenue at the end of Shah
Jahan's reign, but had been forced to submit in 1660. Nine
years later the Jat peasantry rose under Goklā, the zamindar
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of Tilpat,* killed Abdun Nabi, the Mughal faujdar of Mathurā, and spread disorder through the Mathurā and Agrā districts. After nearly a year of fighting, the rising was suppressed with terrible bloodshed by Hasan Āli Khan, the Jat stronghold was taken, Goklā was captured and put to death, and their mud-forts were dismantled. [Vol. iii. ch. 26 and 35.]

§ 2. Jat rising under Rajaram, 1685-1688.

Fifteen years now passed in peace. And then the opportunity created by the Emperor's Deccan invasion was seized by two new leaders of the Jats, Rājārām and Rāmchehrā, the petty zamindars of Sinsani and Soghar.† These were the first to challenge the forces of the empire and train their clansmen in group organisation and open warfare. Every Jat peasant was practised in wielding the staff and the sword; they had only to be embodied in regiments, taught to obey their captains, and supplied with

* There is a Tilpat, 14 m. s. of Delhi and 3 m. n. of Faridabad, Joar (Jawan) in the Aligarh district is, however, 28 m. s.e. of it (Ind. At. 49 S. E.)
† Sinsani 16 m. n.w. of Bharatpur, and 8 m. s. of Deeg (Ind. Atlas, 50 N. E.). Soghar (spelt Sogghair in the Fr. MS.) is 4 miles due north of Bharatpur and 14 m. e. of Sinsani, and the home of the Soghoria branch of the Jats.

A French MS. account of the Jats preserved in the India Office, London, (Orme MSS. vol. 216, no. 2, copy in vol. 15, no. 11), and ascribed to Father François Xavier Wendel, is the only source that mentions Ramchehra. Churaman is spoken of by Ishwardas (Futuhat, 135 b) as a son of the brother of Rajaram, but all other authorities known to me are silent about his relationship with the latter. A Persian work used by W. Irvine names Bhajja as the father of Churaman (Later Mughals, i. 322). Life of Churaman (mostly after Aurangzib's death) in M. U. i. 540-548. The fullest history of the Jat wars in Aurangzib's latter years is given by Ishwardas (131b-133a, 134a, 137b, 164b), with some confusion of persons and dates, which I have corrected from the authentic but meagre official history, Masir-i-Alamgiri.
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fire-arms to make them into an army. As bases for their operations, refuges for their chiefs in defeat, and storing places for their booty, they built several small forts (garhi) amidst their almost trackless jungle, and strengthened them with mud walls that could defy artillery.

Then they began to raid the king's highway and carry their depredations to the suburbs of Agra.

The bloody suppression of Goklā Jat had become a faded memory in the course of the next 16 years, and by 1686 a generation of Jat young men had arisen who had not tasted the sword of Hasan Ali Khan.

Rajaram's lawless activities could not be checked by Safi Khan, the governor of Agra. The Jat gangs closed the roads to traffic, and after plundering many villages of the district, Rajaram moved towards Sikandrā, wishing to rob Akbar's tomb there of its costly decorations. The faujdar of the place (Mir Abul Fazl) fought him with very inferior forces, and though he was wounded with most of his followers, he succeeded in turning the rebel back, who marched by way of Shikārpur to Ratanpur, sacking both these places.

Rajaram soon showed even greater audacity. The renowned Turāni warrior Aghar Khan was going from Kābul to the Emperor's camp at Bijapur. Near Dholpur, as his troops were marching carelessly and without order, a large party of Jats suddenly fell on his baggage and carried off some carts, horses and women. The Khan, without making any proper arrangement or concerted plan, impetuously galloped in pursuit of the raiders, at the head of a small force, and overtook them five miles off. Here the Jats turned at bay and killed Aghar Khan and his son-in-law with 80 of their followres.*

As early as May 1686, Aurangzib had recognised the

* Ishwardas, 1646. The Jat loss in this action is given by him as 200. Khafi Khan (ii. 395), however, says that Aghar Khan rescued his women and then assaulted the garhi in which the Jats had taken refuge, but was shot dead,
gravity of the situation by detaching against the Jats a great general, Khān-i-Jahān Kokaltāsh Zafar Jang (M. A. 274). Now the success of Rajaram and the failure of Khan-i-Jahān thoroughly alarmed the Emperor, and in December he ordered his son Azam to go there and command the operations in person. But the prince had only reached Burhānpur, when he was recalled to the Emperor's side by the more pressing need of retrieving Mughal prestige before Golkondā (July, 1687). The prince's eldest son, Bidār Bakht, a gallant lad of 17, was however sent (in December, 1687), to assume the supreme command in the Jat war, while Khān-i-Jahān was to continue as his adviser and chief officer [M. A. 298, 311; K. K. 316, 395.]

But before the prince could arrive, the Jat leader committed more atrocities. Early in 1688, Mir Ibrāhīm of Haidarabad (formerly entitled Mahābat Khan) was marching to his viceroyalty of the Panjab. Near Sikandrā he was encamped on the bank of the Jamunā, when Rajaram attacked him, but was repulsed after a long and stubborn fight with the loss of 400 men, while the Mughals lost 190 in killed and wounded. Rajaram soon returned to the scene, and profiting by the delay in the coming of Shāista Khan, the new sukhādar of Agra, he plundered Akbar's tomb,† taking away its carpets, gold and silver vessels, lamps, &c., and damaging the building. Khan-i-Jahan did nothing to check him.

Bidār Bakht, on his arrival, infused greater vigour into the Mughal operations. At this time an internecine war was ranging between the Shekhāwat and Chauhān clans of Rajputs for lands in the Bagtharīā and some other par-

† Ishwardas, 1326. Manucci (ii. 320) adds: "They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates of gold and silver, and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them."
ganas. The Chauhāns enlisted the support of Rajaram, while the Shekhāwats bought the armed help of the Mughal faujdar of Mewat. A severe battle was fought between them near the village of Bijal. The Rajputs grappled with one another in deadly animosity, and many were slain on both sides. In the thick of the contest Rajaram was shot dead by a Mughal musketeer hiding in a tree (4 July, 1688).*

§ 3. Rajah Bishun Singh suppresses the Jats, 1690:
Bishun Singh Kachhwā, the new Rajah of Amber (Jaipur), was appointed by the Emperor as faujdar of Mathurā with a special charge to root out the Jats and take Sinsani as his own jagir. [Ishwar, 133a; the farman appointing him is preserved in Jaipur, as also is another on the same terms issued to Rām Singh just before his death.] He gave the Emperor a written undertaking to demolish the fort of Sinsani [Ishwar 139a, 135b], as he was

* This is based upon Ishwardas (134b), with date from M. A. 311. The Fr. MS., however, says: “Ramchehra fell into the prince’s hands, and Rajaram, dangerously wounded in the pursuit, ...... died of his wounds shortly afterwards. Ramchehra’s head was cut off at Agra and publicly exposed on the great gate in front of the fort, above the bazar.”

The official historian and Ishwardas alike ignore Ramchehra and say that it was Rajaram whose head was cut off and sent to the Emperor at Bijapur, where it arrived on 5th Sep. 1688. (M. A. 312.)

Bagtharia—There is a Bagthala, 24 m. n. e. of Alwar and 14 m. n. w. of Firuzpur in Gurgaon. (Ind. At. 50 N. W.)

Bijal—There is a village named Bijwar, on the old bed of the Saubi river, 18 m. s. of Rewari and 4 m. s. of the small town of Shahjahanpur (Ind. At. 449 S. W.) Tijara, 20 m. e. of Bijwar.

Ishwardas (137a and b) says that Soghar was taken immediately after Sinsani and that ‘the rebel’ was captured at the former place. This is wrong.

The fullest account of this war against the Jats is given in K.R. Qanungo’s History of the House of Diggi, detailing the work of the Jaipur contingent.
burning to distinguish himself and win a high mansab like his father Rãm Singh and great grandfather Mirzã Rajah Jai Singh. Bidār Bakht laid siege to Sinsani. But the campaign in the jungles of the Jat country severely taxed the invading army. The Mughals before Sinsani had to undergo great hardship from scarcity of provisions and water, as the enemy by frequent attacks cut off their grain-convoy and watering parties. Incessant night-attacks kept the siege-cámp in perpetual alarm. "The men were prostrated by hunger, and the animals perished in large numbers through weakness." But the besiegers held tenaciously on, and in four months carried their trenches to the gate of the fort, mounted guns on raised platforms, and laid mines. The jungle round the fort was cleared. One mine under the gate was fired; but the Jats having previously detected it and blocked its further side with stones, the charge was driven backwards, destroying many of the artillerymen and supervising officers of the Mughal army. A second mine was then laid and carried under the wall in a month's time. It was successfully fired (end of January 1690), the wall was breached, the Jat defenders lining it were blown up, and the Mughals stormed the fort after three hours of stubborn opposition. The Jats disputed every inch of the ground and were dispersed only after losing 1500 of their men. On the imperial side, 200 Mughals fell and 700 Rajputs were slain or wounded. The remnant of the garrison was put to the sword. [Ishwardas 136b-137a; M. A. 334; Hamid-ud-din's Ahkam, §26. Jaipur records.]

Next year (21st May, 1691) Rajah Bishun Singh surprised the other Jat stronghold of Soghar. "The Rajah hastened there with the imperial army. By chance, as the gate of this little fort was kept open at the time for admitting grain, the invaders entered it at the gallop, slaying all who raised their hands and taking 500 of the rebels prisoner." [Ishwar, 137a and b; M. A., 340. Jaipur recrods.]

The result of these operations was that the new Jat leader went into hiding in ‘nooks and corners’ unknown to the imperialists. The tribesmen returned to the peaceful work of cultivation and the district enjoyed repose for some years after. But in 1695, when Prince Shah Alam reached Agra, the Jats were again causing trouble. [M. U. i. 542.] Their next leader was Churāman, the son of Bhajjā, a brother of Rajaram. This Churāman had a genius for organisation and using opportunities, and succeeded in founding a dynasty which still rules over Bharatpur. “He soon built other ... places for retreat and the safe-keeping of booty... Most likely he was aided in this work by the wealth secreted by Rajaram and others of his ancestors. Being more enterprising than those who had preceded him, he not only increased the number of his soldiers, but also strengthened them by the addition of fusiliers (musketeers) and a troop of cavalry, whom he shortly afterwards set on foot... and having robbed many of the ministers of the Court on the road, he attacked the royal wardrobe and the revenue sent from the provinces.” (Wendel MS., 41.) But this full development of Churaman’s power was witnessed after the death of Aurangzib. The wars of succession among that Emperor’s sons and then among Bahadur Shah’s descendants proved to be golden opportunities to the Jat leader.

About 1704 he recovered Sinsani from Mughal possession. It was, however, wrested from the Jats a second time, on 9th October 1705 by Mukhtār Khan, the governor of Agra.*

§ 5. Pahār Singh Gaur disturbs Malwa, 1685.

During the Emperor’s prolonged absence in the Deccan, while the Jats were raiding the great royal road from Delhi

* M. A., 498; Inayetullah’s Ahkam, 7b. Churaman’s history after the death of Aurangzib is given in full in Irvine’s Later Mughals, i. 322-326; ii. 120-124.
History of Aurangzib

to Bijapur at its northern end. another body of rebels disturbed its middle portion, which passed through Malwa. Private feuds very often ended in outbreaks which went beyond their original subjects of dispute and developed into revolts against the imperial Government and public peace.

Pāhar Singh Gaur, a Rajput zamindar of Indrakhi in western Bundelkhand, was serving the Emperor as faujdar of Shahabad Dhamdherā† in Malwa. He was a man of matchless bravery and as chivalrous as he was brave. A zamindar of the neighbourhood named Lāl Singh (of the Khichi Chauhān clan) was driven to despair by the exactions and oppression of his overlord, Anurudh Singh Hādā (the Rajah of Bundi), and bought the alliance of Pahār Singh by offering him the hand of his daughter. Pahār Singh, who ranked low in Rajput society on account of his being a Chamār Gaur,* jumped at the proposal of such an ennobling match, and immediately rode out with his 5000 expert troopers to the villages of Lāl Singh and sent word to Anurudh Singh to spare his vassal. The Hādā Rajah replied scornfully, “You presume to make a display of your force to prevent me from taking my tribute! When an ant puts forth wings, it is a sign of its approaching death.” The Gaur leader, on getting this reply, sent a challenge to Anurudh to prepare for battle, but the latter arrogantly said that such a foe was unworthy of his sword and that a few of his armed vassals would be sufficient to drive him away. But the Hādā vanguard was defeated and driven back on their Rajah’s camp by the heroic charges of Pahār Singh, and the boastful Anurudh fled on horse-

† Indrakhi, 43 m. east of Gwalior. It should not be confounded with Indragarh, which is 35 m. south-west of it and 30 m.n. of Jhansi. Shahabad is 90 m. n. of Sironj and nearly the same distance s. s. w. of Gwalior.

* Beames’s Memoirs on.. Races, i. 150: “They are ashamed of their name, as it presumes a connexion with Chamars.” A Lal Singh Khichi is reported as in rebellion in Itawa, in Akhbarat, 6 Nov. 1695.
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back without having time to tie his turban on his head. Pahār Singh refused to pursue him, replying to his counsellors in these noble words: “It is against the rules of chivalry and heroism to strike a man who has turned his back.” But the Bundi Rajah’s camp and baggage, worth lakhs of Rupees, fell into the victor’s hands, who then returned home (early in 1685).

The Emperor, on hearing of it, ordered the victor to send the booty to him. Pahār Singh refused, and then openly broke with the imperial Government, taking to a life of rebellion and plundering in the villages of Malwa. At this time that province was being administered, in the absence of Prince Muhammad Azam, by Rai Muluk Chand, the assistant (peshdast) to his diwan. He carried out the Emperor’s order to suppress the rebel, and attacked Pahār Singh at the village of Udaipur, some 28 miles south-east of Sironj.

After a severe battle the rebel was slain (Nov. or Dec. 1685.) His head was cut off by the victor and sent to the Emperor, who on viewing it remarked, “A sparrow decked in a handful of feathers has struck down a high flying falcon!” Muluk Chand was, however, rewarded with increase of rank (500) and the title of Rāi-i-rāiān, the highest that a Hindu civilian could then hold.*

§ 6. Rebellion in Malwa by Pahār Singh’s sons.

But the rising continued under Pahār Singh’s son Bhagwant, who collected a large body of fierce peasants and began to plunder the country round Gwalior, entirely closing the roads to traffic. Muluk Chand marched to Gwalior with his troops and was reinforced by some officers detached from the Agra province. Bhagwant Singh, who had gone towards Kālpi, now turned back and halted at the village of Bijurrā (4 miles south-east of Antri). The

* The Emperor’s letter to Azam reporting this victory and describing Muluk Chand’s rewards, in I. O. L. 1344, 15b—Ruqat No. 18.
imperialists marched out of Gwalior to Antri, 12 m. s. of it. A pitched battle was fought on the spacious plain near the village of Chiruli (6 m. s. e. of Antri). Bhagwant, who had been encouraging his men from the rear, while the battle was at its hottest, made a sudden charge at the head of 500 fresh men, and cut his way to the elephant of Muluk Chand. The imperialists broke and fled; their general’s elephant was driven away, though he continued shooting arrows behind him; the Gaur soldiers plundered all the baggage, horses, etc., of the Mughals, and returned to their base to secure the booty. Bhagwant Singh, though victorious, was thus left almost alone in the field. Some of the Mughal officers who were still maintaining their ground, now joined together and charged Bhagwant in a compact body. After a brief but severe contest the defeat was marvellously turned into a victory; the rebel chief was killed; Muluk Chand turned his elephant back to the lately lost field, cut off Bhagwant’s head, and came back to Gwalior (March 1686). But in the very night of his return he died of cholera. [Ishwardas, 94a-97a (full); M. A., 266, 273 (dates only)] His orphan son visited the Emperor and was given a civil post in recognition of his father’s services. (I. O.L., 1344, 20a.)

But the trouble did not end even then. Devi Singh, another son of Pahār Singh, joined Chhatra Sāl Bundelā, and took to plundering the imperial territory and molesting the people in Bundelkhand. [Ishwar, 119b.] In 1690, Gopāl Singh,* the grandson of Pahār Singh, assembled a large army and captured the fort of Indrakhi, belonging to Bakhtawar of the Bhādauriā clan. The dispossessed zamindar appealed for protection to Safdar Khan, the faujdar of Gwalior, who did nothing for him. The Emperor severely reprimanded this officer and compelled him to proceed.

* Gopal Singh Gaur must not be confounded with Gopal Chaudhuri of Sironj, who rebelled on release from captivity (about 1704), [Inayet’s Ahkam, 3b.] nor with Rao Gopal Singh Chandrawat.
against the rebels. Safdar Khan, therefore, rode in force
against a petty fort near the village of Gujwārā† in the
pargana of Palwā, to which he laid siege. On the sixteenth
day, while he was making preparations for delivering an
assault next morning, the rebels made a night-attack on the
siege-camp. The Khan fighting in front of his men, was
killed by a musket-shot in his navel (May 1690). [Ishwar,
135b, 138a; M. A. 335.]

But two years later the Gaur rebels submitted. Gopāl
Singh and five other kinsmen of Pahār Singh waited on
Shāista Khan, the governor of Agra, paid a tribute of
Rs. 85,000 in cash and kind, and were restored to their
mansabs and deputed to serve in Kābul. [Ishwar, 149a.] On 6 Nov., 1693, Kirat Singh, a son of Pahār Singh, brought
250 Gaur recruits to the Emperor and was paid Rs. 25
for each. [Akhbarat, year 36.] In August 1695 we find Devi
Singh serving the Emperor in the Deccan as qiladar of
Machandragarh. [Akhbarat, year 39.]

§ 7. Gangaram’s rising in Bihār.

Further east, in the province of Bihār, the imperial
authority was defied by Gangārām.* This poor Nāgar
Brahman of Gujrat had first secured a small post in the
accounts department at the recommendation of the his-
torian Bhimsen, and afterwards became diwan of Khan-i-
Jahan Bahadur. When the Khan went to the Deccan as
viceroy in 1680, he sent Gangaram to manage his estate
(jagīrs) in Allahabad and Bihār. The sudden rise of this
obscure Hindu excited the jealous hate of the other servants
of the Khan, who had been displaced from his favour; and
they conspired to poison his ears against his absent diwan,
by charging him with peculation. Gangaram, on hearing of

† Goojurra, 15 m. e. of Antri railway station. Palwa, not found.
* Based on Dilkasha, i. 175 and Stewart’s Bengal, sec. vi. M. A.
205 says that his rising was in subah Allahabad, Ishwardas, 119b,
in Kalpi, (both wrong).
it, at once went to his master and by his explanations regained his esteem. But as soon as he was back in his charge, his rivals renewed their tactics and with greater success. The unruly peasantry of Khan-i-Jahan's jagirs in North India did not pay rent except under coercion, and Gangaram had to keep a large army to enforce his revenue collection. This fact was misrepresented by Khan-i-Jahan's courtiers as a proof of Gangaram's design for independence and self-aggrandisement. The Khan's suspicion was deepened, and he summoned the diwan to his presence. Gangaram, disgusted with such a light-minded master and despairing of his life and honour, flew to arms. Collecting some four thousand soldiers he plundered the city of Bihār and advancing laid siege to Patnā. The governor Saif Khan was a coward and miser; he had kept less than his due contingent of troops and allowed the fortifications of the city to fall out of repair. The rebel set up a bogus Prince Akbar and called upon the people to rally round his standard. (March 1681.) But he had neither the skill nor the material necessary for taking a walled city, and turned to the more profitable work of plundering the neighbouring villages, while the governor shut himself up in the fort. At length imperial reinforcements arrived from Deccan and Benares and raised the siege of Patna. Gangaram was wounded, but he turned away from the city and engaged in dispossessing many of the zamindars of that district and seizing their wealth and lands. The Emperor dismissed Saif Khan, 1682. [M. A. 226.]

After some time Gangaram entered Malwa and in concert with Rajput rebels plundered Śironj.* (Oct. 1684). He

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* Orme MSS. 126. Dharamgaon to Surat, 18 Nov. 1684. Here Gangaram is spoken of as a “Rajput belonging to the Rana.” Bhimsen adds that he was then going to the Deccan in order to win a mansab by fighting for the Emperor. Akhbarat, year 40, records on 5 May 1696, “Gangaram Dawa, son of Chand Bundela, reported as looting the zamindari of Urchha.” This was a different man.
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died shortly afterwards at Ujjain. [Dil. i. 176. Details in Hamid-ud-din’s letters.]

§ 8. Gopal Singh Chandrawat.

Rao Gopāl Singh Chandrāwat, the zamidar of Rāmpurā in Malwa, was serving in the Emperor’s army in the Deccan. He had sent his son Ratan Singh home to manage his affairs. This wicked youth made himself master of the zamindari, drove out his father’s agents, and stopped sending the revenue to Gopāl Singh. The Emperor paid no heed to the father’s complaints; Ratan Singh became a convert to Islam, through Mukhtār Khan the governor of Malwa, and thus secured from the Emperor the grant of his ancestral estate, which was newly named Islāmpurā! At the news of it, Gopāl Singh left the Mughal army, returned home, and tried to raise a body of men for recovering Rāmpurā (June 1700). But the Malwa governor’s forces, assisted by Ratan Singh, marched against him, and he had to flee into the territory of Udaipur (Feb. 1701.) [Dil. ii. 130a; Akh.]

But the Maharana could do nothing for him, and at last Gopal Singh in despair made his submission to the Emperor. He was introduced with his wrists tied together like a captive’s but was ordered to be unbound, restored to his mansab, and appointed faujdar of Kaulās (in Haidarabad), although his ancestral estate was not given back to him. [Dil. 145b. and Akh.]

Early in 1706, Gopāl Singh again fell into extreme poverty, on his being deprived of the faujdari of Kaulās. He then joined the Marathas for a living, [Dil. 155a], and accompanied them in the sack of Barodā in the month of March in that year. [Ibid. 156a. See Ch. 61 § 36.]
§ 1. The beginnings of English trade with Bengal.

The English nation established their first trade factory at Surat in 1612 and exchanged goods with Agrā and Delhi by the land route. From Agrā attempts were made in 1620 and 1632 to open up trade at Patnā in Bihār, but the cost of land transport from Surat all the long way across the Indian peninsula to Agrā and thence to Patna was prohi-
bitive, especially for bulky goods like saltpetre, and this project was wisely abandoned.*

In 1633 the English agent at Masulipatam on the Madras coast sent a commercial mission to Orissā. The Mughal subahdār recièved them very kindly at Cuttack and gave them permission to trade in that province without mole-
station or duty (5th May.) The result was that an English factory was opened at Balasore and another at Hariharpur, 25 miles south-east of Cuttack. A little later, in 1640, the building of Fort St. George was begun at Madras, on a piece of land bought from a Hindu Rajah of the Vijaya-
nagar dynasty, and thus “the English established their first independent station in India.” It lay, however, outside the Mughal empire.

But at this time the trade and industry of the Madras coast steadily declined for several years in consequence of famines and wars between local dynasties. In Bengal, on the other hand, there was going on a rapid growth of pros-
perity and production on account of the long peace which Jahangir’s final suppression of the local Afghan chiefs and

* Except when otherwise stated, this chapter § 1—12, is based on C. R. Wilson’s *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. i.
The English Traders in India

rebel zamindars and Shah Jahan's strong and beneficent rule had given to the people. So, in 1651 the English opened their first commercial house in Bengal at Hughli on the Ganges, 24 miles north of Calcutta. Their chief exports were saltpetre (brought down in boats from Singhiā or Lālganj, north of Patna), silk and sugar. Prince Shujā was then governor of Bengal, and an English surgeon named Boughton was high in his favour. This doctor used his influence to secure from the prince a trade license and freedom from official exactions for his countrymen. In 1651 Shuja granted them a nīshān (or prince's order) by which the English were allowed to trade in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all kinds of customs and dues.*

The beginning of the Hughli factory was very unpromising. The English suffered much loss in the first few years chiefly in consequence of the dishonesty and carelessness of their local agent. Balasore, too, languished on account of its being "distant, unhealthy, and dangerous," though it continued for several years as the place for loading and unloading Europe-going ships.

But in 1658 the Home authorities reorganised the English establishments in India. All the Company's factories were to be subordinate to the President and Council of Surat, besides which there were to be chief agencies at Madras and Hughli, with out-agencies at Balasore, Qāsim-bāzār and Patna, under the agent of Hughli.


The trade with Bengal was very prosperous. Raw silk was abundant; the taffetas were various and fine; the salt-petre was cheap and of the best quality; the gold and silver sent from England were eagerly taken up by the Indians. Such was the happy prospect in 1658. But the war of suc-

* Wilson's arguments (i. 28n.) in favour of its date being the 25th year of Shah Jahan's reign are convincing. In Persian MSS the figure 5 is easily misread as 8.
cession which broke out in that very year disturbed the country's peace and unsettled the administration everywhere, and most of all in a frontier province like Bengal. The viceroyalty of Mir Jumla (1659–1663) was entirely occupied by a series of campaigns which left him no time to settle the country and restore the civil government. Local officials began to make illegal exactions from the English traders, fearing no punishment for violating their former master's charter. Then followed the rule of a temporary acting viceroy,* which only increased the disorder and oppression, till Shāista Khan, the permanent subahdār of Bengal, arrived in March 1664.

In 1661 further changes were made in the government of the English factories in India; all the Bengal establishments were made subordinate to the Presidency of Madras, which now became of equal rank with Surat. The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly: in 1668 the Company exported from the province goods worth £34,000, in 1675 the value rose to £85,000, in 1677 to £100,000, and in 1680 to £150,000. Subordinate factories were opened at Dacca in 1668, and at Māldā in 1676. In addition to buying local manufactures, the English sent out European dyers to Bengal to improve the colour of the silk cloth bought locally, and they also inaugurated the Bengal Pilot Service for navigating the Ganges from Hughli to the sea (1668). The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1679.

§ 3. Friction between the English traders and the Mughal officials in Bengal.

In 1681 the Hughli agency was made independent of Madras, and placed under a Governor and Council. William Hedges, the first governor and agent of Bengal, arrived at Hughli on 24th August, 1682. But the Directors changed

* Of the disorders during this interregnum a graphic picture has been drawn by Talish in his Continuation. (Bodleian MS. 589.)