

## A PAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY IN 1707-1720.

FROM AN APPARENTLY UNIQUE ARABIC MANUSCRIPT IN THE  
JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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### *Foreword.*

THE harrowing spectacle presented by the events which took place in India in 1707-1720 A.D. has probably no parallel in the history of mankind. The decadence of an Empire is generally marked by a state of anarchy among the subject races, and of profound divisions among the different members of the reigning dynasties. Such has been the case of the Empires of Greeks and Romans, in Europe, and of Sāsānians, Byzantines, Arabs, and Mongols, in Asia. In 1707 all India, save the Deccan, had been conquered by the Mogul Aurangzīb, who more than upheld the tradition sanctioned by the famous Tīmūrian Akbar, some hundred years earlier. After his death, however, brother began to slay or blind his brother, and uncle his nephews or cousins, and *vice versâ*, with a degree of persistent cruelty sometimes unknown even in the dark annals of the history of the Eastern Empires. It is with the succession of these tragic happenings that the following pages will deal.

A more or less complete summary of this momentous phase of the evolution of India may be found in the works of Irādat Khān Wāza, of Danishmand, the anonymous *Tārīkhi Bahādur Shāhi*, the *Ibrat Nāmah* of Muḥammad Kāsim, the *Tazkira i Chaghatai* of Muḥammad Hādi, the *Tārīkh i Chaghatai* of Muḥammad Shafī, the *Tārīkh i Hindi* of Rustam 'Ali, the *Jauhari Samsām* of Šādiki, Brigg's *Siyar al-Muta'khhirīn*, the *Khulāṣat at-Tawārīkh*, and especially in the *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Khāfi

Khān, translated by J. Dowson in the seventh volume of the "History of India as told by its own Historians," pp. 207-533, which in many respects is the best of all.

The author of the following pages : Muḥammad Mu'min b-Muḥammad Ḳāsim *al-Jazā'iri* as-Shīrāzi deserves equal, if not more, credence than that given to the majority of the above authors, Khāfi Khān included. To our knowledge nothing precise is known about him apart from the scattered biographical notes that can be gleaned in his work entitled *Khizānat al-Khayāl* or "Treasury of Fancy" preserved in Arab MS. 398 of the John Rylands Library.

Although Jazā'iri by origin (fol. 2<sup>a</sup>), the author was born in Shīrāz (*ibid.*), and travelled extensively in his native country (ff. 56<sup>a</sup> and 58<sup>b</sup>) and in the Ḥijāz (fol. 69<sup>a</sup>). He went to India towards the middle of the reign of Aurangzīb, who appointed him a tutor to the most promising of his grandchildren : Jahāndār Mu'izz ad-Dīn, son of Ḳutb ad-Dīn Bahādur Shah. After the death of Aurangzīb, Bahādur Shah bestowed upon him the *manṣab* of a "hazāri". At the death of Bahādur Shah who had reigned five years, his pupil Jahāndār Shah succeeded to the throne, and the author received a *manṣab* of three "hazāris" and two hundred horsemen. He stayed altogether twenty-two years with Bahādur Shah (fol. 177<sup>a</sup>). After the murder of his pupil and protector by Farrukh Siyar, the author was dispossessed of all his fortune, and his house looked, as he puts it, more empty than the palm of his hand (fol. 192<sup>b</sup>). He could not have been alive long after 1720 A.D.

The MS. (which so far as we are aware is unique) is written by at least four different contemporary hands, both in Naskhi and in Ta'liq. On the title-page is a *wakf* of the book, apparently in the handwriting of the author, to his children and his brothers, and after them to their descendants, dated 17 Ṣafar 1131/1718 ; its Naskhi script is different from that of any other hand found in the MS., and appears to point to a man somewhat weakened by age.

The book seems also to have been written under its author's supervision, from a rough draft made by himself, which had lost some leaves. On the margin of the last page (fol. 373<sup>a</sup>) there is the following inscription : " The book has been read before its author and corrected by him . . . at the beginning of Rabi' i in the year 1133/1720 ". Further, on the margins of many other pages the expression "the

reading has reached here ” occurs very frequently, and doubtless refers to the above statement.

Jazā'iri's work deals with moral and ethical subjects, and is illustrated by stories and pious utterances from all periods. It is written in rhymed prose, and has no divisions of any kind apart from some strange headings mostly in red on the margins or in the body of the text. The only historical section that it contains is that found on leaves 177-198 headed “*Makāmah Sultāniyah*”. As the author's style is very florid and characterised by a remarkable prolixity, we have restricted our translation to historical details, and even of these we only give an abridged version. We have, however, been careful not to omit any detail which may throw light on the point at issue.

From the foregoing remarks it is evident that the author was in the privileged position of being able to know thoroughly what he was writing about, especially what concerns his royal pupil Jahāndār Shah. We have, therefore, every reason to believe him and accept as accurate the dates that he gives, unless from other sources corroborated by the general course of events, we are forced to discount the trend of his narration. We will give one instance in which the author differs in his chronology from some other historians mentioned above :

It is generally believed that Jahāndār Shah was murdered on the 16th Muḥarram 1124 A.H. (Khāfi Khān, *ibid.*, vii., 445, etc.). This year is accepted by almost all the modern historians (cf. S. Lane-Poole's *The Moghul Emperors of Hindustan*, p. xxxv., and his *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 328, etc.). Our author, however, affirms (fol. 186<sup>b</sup>) that his pupil was murdered on the 16th Muḥarram 1125 A.H. 1124 A.H. begins on the 9th of February, 1712 A.D., and 1125 on the 28th of January, 1713. The date is in the MS. written in letters and not in figures, and I believe it is more correct than that given by Khāfi. The inexactitude might have arisen from the following considerations :

Khāfi (*ibid.*, vii., 428) gives Bahādur Shah a reign of four years and two months and assigns his death to 8 Rabī' i, 1123 A.H., or 15 April, 1711 A.D., and on p. 446 (*ibid.*) he states that Farrukh Siyar ordered that the reign of Jahāndār Shah should be considered as an adverse possession, and that his own reign should date from 1 Rabī' i, 1123 A.H., or April 8, 1711 A.D. So far the historian is

consistent in his dates. His difficulty will begin when he will have to harmonise the above statement with the events of the reign of Farrukh Siyar. On p. 471 (*ibid.*) Dowson is obliged to add a corrective note to Khāfi's statement in connection with the "ninth" year of the Emperor and adds "A ninth year is manifestly wrong, and inconsistent with Khāfi Khān's own statement that the length of the reign was six years and four months". Adding the eleven months of the reign of Jahāndār, which he tells us were officially reckoned as part of the reign, the "eighth" year would be reached. Dowson, however, fails to realise that the error of Khāfi arises from the fact that he makes Jahāndār die a year earlier.

That the year fixed by our author for the death of Jahāndār is the only right one is borne out by the fact that the *Tazkira i Chaghatai* (p. 428) states that Bahādur Shah died in the spring of 1124 A.H., a date corroborated also by the *Siyar ul Muta'akhkhirin* (edit. Briggs, p. 29). The year, therefore, 1124 A.H. assigned by modern historians to Jahāndār Shah's death is wrong, and should be, as our author states 1125 A.H. The year 1124 is that of Bahādur Shah's death.

We give below a few more examples of current statements that have to be modified in the light of the present document :

Khāfi Khān (vii., 392) says that Jahāndār Shah was in Thatta, at the death of Aurangzib ; our author (fol. 179<sup>a</sup>) asserts that he was in Multān. Khāfi Khān (vii., 400) pretends that A'zam Shah was killed by an arrow that hit him on the forehead ; our author (fol. 180<sup>a</sup>) affirms that he was killed by a cannon-ball that hit him on the eye-brow. Khāfi Khān (vii., 428) writes that Bahādur Shah reigned four years and two months ; our author (fol. 180<sup>b</sup>) more correctly suggests five years (perhaps, however, not complete). Khāfi Khān (vii., 434) contends that Jahāndār Shah dispatched Ḥasan Khān, the son of his foster-brother, to fight Farrukh Siyar ; our author (fol. 182<sup>b</sup>) states that it was Murād Khān, the foster-brother himself, that was dispatched. There are also many other differences between the two writers in the matter of the strength of the armies engaged in battles, and of the different incidents that preceded or followed them, which can easily be noticed by any one who cares to compare the two accounts.

*The New Document.*

(Fol. 177<sup>b</sup>.) Jahāndār Shah was the best king that the dynasty of Tīmur produced. His father had taken great care of his education, loved him tenderly, and appointed him his successor. (Fol. 178<sup>a</sup>.) During the reign of his grandfather he was given the governorship of Thulthān, an office after which his brothers had sought in vain. After a successful administration he was also given the direction of the affairs of Multān, Sind, Bakkar, and Thattah. (Fol. 178<sup>b</sup>.) God gave him at this time beautiful and intelligent children, and made him possessor of considerable wealth and of a great many damsels, one of whom, La'ī, was of an exquisite beauty and charm.

(Fol. 179<sup>a</sup>.) He was in Multān when the news of his grandfather's death reached him, with the intelligence of the succession to the throne of his uncle A'zam Shah, and of the latter's gifts to wazīrs and amīrs and his departure with his children and grandchildren to Akbarābād.<sup>1</sup> This news caused him much trouble and anxiety, and he began active military preparations. His father who was then at Kābul marched towards Lahore.

Sultan Mu'azzam,<sup>2</sup> after lavishing gifts on his troops (fol. 179<sup>b</sup>), left Lahore for Dihli,<sup>3</sup> and thence proceeded to Akbarābād. He had then with him his four sons : Jahāndār Shah, 'Azīm as-Shān, Rafī' as-Shān, and Jahān Shah. His army numbered more than 100,000 men, horse and foot ; but God only knew the number of his *rajjālahs*.

The two armies were separated by two *marḥalahs* only, when A'zam Shah said : " I could defeat the army of my opponent in one twinkling of the eye were it not for that ram, Mu'izz ud-Dīn,<sup>4</sup> who will delay my victory for two hours ". After a fierce encounter with artillery, arrows, spears and swords, the cavalry of both sides dismounted and fought with daggers. The battle lasted all the day, and about seventy amīrs were slain from both sides. The number of the wounded God only knows, but the killed numbered 12,000, while the number of animals destroyed : elephants, horses, camels, and cattle, was not below that of the killed men. Most of the latter

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Agrah.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāndār's father.

<sup>3</sup> The author constantly calls Dihli *dār al-Khilāf* " the house of discord " in contrast to *dār al-Khilāfa* " the house of caliphate ".

<sup>4</sup> Jahāndār.

were from the side of A'zam Shah, who also lost his two eldest sons : Bidār Bakht, and Wālājāh. His soldiers took to flight, but out of natural shame he remained on his elephant (fol. 180<sup>a</sup>) with his youngest son, till a cannon-ball killed the driver. After the extraordinary bravery that he displayed, he was killed by a large cannon-ball that hit him on the eye-brow, in the afternoon ; and he died at sunset. A wicked amīr went to the litter of the elephant and cut off his head which he brought to the Sultan, who wept bitterly over it.

After having thus ended the fight with his brother younger than himself, the Sultan bestowed honours on the heir-apparent, Muḥammad Mu'izz ud-Dīn, and called him Jahāndār Shah, while he also called Muḥammad 'Azīm : 'Azīm as-Shān, and Rafī' al-Ḳadr : Rafī' as-Shān, and Khuḡastah Akhtar : Jahān Shāh. He, further, rewarded each one of them with a *manṣab* of thirty " hazāris " and 30,000 horsemen.

(Fol. 180<sup>b</sup>.) Then he left Akbarābād with all his troops, his children and grandchildren, to go to Ḥaidarābād, in order to fight his youngest brother, Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh. After a delay of a whole year he reached this last city, and when at a distance of two parasangs from it he ordered Rafī' as-Shān and Jahān Shah to go forth and fight him with some soldiers. They worsted him and brought him wounded to the Sultan, and he expired in his presence. The Sultan returned then to Akbarābād, and thence to Lahore, before which he pitched his tents with his family and his soldiers ; but after some months he passed away. The duration of his caliphate was five years, while his age was between 70 and 80.

After his death an unfortunate and bitter disunion sprang up among his four sons. 'Azīm as-Shān, however, commanded twice as many amīrs, nobles and soldiers, as all the others combined, and he also possessed considerable wealth ; but between him and the amīr of amīrs, Dhu l-Fiḡār, son of the wazīr Asad Khān, there was great enmity. The amīr, " not for his love for 'Ali but for his hatred for Mu'āwiah " incited his brothers to fight him jointly (fol. 181<sup>a</sup>), and devised for them the plan of killing 'Azīm and his amīrs, and of dividing the Empire among themselves. They listened to him, appointed him their umpire, and decided to do his bidding and to divide the Empire among themselves in equal shares.

Dhu l-Fiḡār pitched his tent in the camp of Jahāndār Shah, but

he used also to repair frequently to Rafī' as-Shān and Jahān Shah, and brought them from the fortress of Lahore weapons and money by means of which they were able to muster a goodly number of soldiers. Eventually each brother went with his troops and camped near the soldiers of 'Azīm in a sheltered place not far from the walls and the ramparts of the city. Under the cover of this place the soldiers began military operations with artillery and arrows. A fierce battle ensued, that lasted seven nights and eight days. The soil was reddened with blood, which covered also the Sūḵ al-Ḥammām.<sup>1</sup> A large cannon-ball hit 'Azīm and killed him, and he was brought on the litter of an elephant to Jahāndār Shah. The latter took also 'Azīm's eldest son, Muḥammad Karīm, as prisoner, and on the advice of Dhu l-Fiḵār, he ordered him to be slain. The Amīr of Amīrs took then possession of all the treasures of 'Azīm in order to divide them among the remaining brothers together with the division of the kingdom.

(Fol. 181<sup>b</sup>.) In dividing the kingdom and the spoils among themselves the brothers exchanged bitter words with one another ; thereupon the youngest brother wished to imprison the wazīr (Dhu l-Fiḵār), and the second brother accused him of treachery. This caused the wazīr to discontinue his friendly dealings with them, and when they called him to divide the spoils, he answered that the division of the kingdom should have precedence of that of the spoils ; and after some harsh words they spoke to him, he quoted to them the Arabic saying : " There is no bickering between me and Kais ; between us there is only piercing of hearts and slashing off of heads ". This led to quarrel and war with artillery, arrows, and spears till the evening.

Jahāndār Shah pitched his tent at a mile's distance from that of the wazīr, but was not quite ready yet to give battle. Jahān Shah was well aware of this, and gave orders to advance. Jahāndār Shah, hearing of this, left quickly his tent and mounted his elephant. Jahān Shah's troops dashed at him, but he managed to escape. He was further pursued by the troops of Rafī' as-Shān, who had been informed in time of his escape. Jahāndār Shah, however, managed to reach safely the tent of the wazīr, who had all the time been anxious as to the Sultan's safety.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Bath Street.

The two together decided on some plans, and when they heard that the cavalry and infantry of Jahān Shah were busy plundering (fol. 182<sup>a</sup>) the treasures of 'Azīm while there was only a handful of soldiers left to guard him, they dispatched against him an amīr with a large escort, who surrounded him and rushed at him all of a sudden. They worsted him, and slew his beautiful eldest son, Farkhanda Akhtar. As to himself they brought him in a dying condition on an elephant to the Sultan and the wazīr, who ordered that his jugular vein should be cut off with a knife. This was not the first bone broken in Islam !

In the evening Jahāndār Shah went into his tent, and was surrounded by thousands of soldiers. He informed Rafi' as-Shān of the death of 'Azīm, and in the early morning he mounted his elephant and ordered his numerous army to march to the attack of Rafi' whose *morale* was much weakened by the previous events, and whose army was much inferior in number. Seeing that all was lost and that he would be overwhelmed, the latter dismounted from his elephant and charged the enemy on foot with his unsheathed sword. He was slain, however, and his body brought to Jahāndār Shah, who by his last opponent's death felt that he had no more competitors to fear. He showed, then, great generosity to his followers, and promoted 'Ali Murād Khān,<sup>1</sup> a foster-brother, who had been his wazīr, to the office of the commander-in-chief of the army. On this account enmity sprang up between him and the old wazīr (Dhu l-Fiḡar), who bided his time and looked for an opportunity to avenge himself.

'Azīm as-Shān had another son younger than the one who had been killed, called Farrukh Siyar, governor of a country near Bengal and residing in the city of 'Azīmābād.<sup>2</sup> The Sultan desired to kill him, and for this purpose he appointed his son A'azz ad-Dīn Shah governor of that province, under the command and direction of his commander-in-chief, Murād Khān, his foster brother, with orders to the wazīr to take from the fortress of Akbarābād 400,000 dīnars with which to muster an army for the onslaught on 'Azīmābād.

When they had departed the Sultan bade an amīr (fol. 183<sup>a</sup>) take the coffins of Sultan Mu'azzam and of his children and grandchildren

<sup>1</sup> The *Tārīkh i Irādat Khān* (Elliot and Dowson's "History of India," vii., 558) calls him : Kokaltash Khān.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Patnah.



to Dihli, the house of the Caliphate, or rather the house of disunion and discord, in order to bury them there. Then he himself left Lahore for Dihli along with his, amīrs and troops, and entered the fortress of the city and its golden citadel. He distributed much money and innumerable gifts of jewels and precious stones to his followers, each according to his rank. On the *diwān* days he used to sit on the golden and very famous peacock throne, worth nine thousand times thousand *dinars*, which was set up by his forefather Akbar. A time of tranquillity followed, which the Sultan spent mostly in pleasures in the company of women, particularly his favourite courtesan of whom mention has been made above.

Shortly after the Sultan's spies brought the intelligence that his nephew Farrukh Siyar had raised the banner of revolt in 'Azimābād. (Fol. 183b.) He had gathered round him the *Dihkhan* sayids who had established themselves in twelve villages, styled *Bārha*, which means "the twelve". They were under the command of two brothers: Ḥasan 'Ali Khān, the elder brother, and Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. Farrukh Siyar nominated these two brave, intrepid warriors, the first to the rank of a wazīr, and the second to that of the commander-in-chief of his army; then he left 'Azimābād for Akbarābād.

When all this reached the ears of Jahāndār Shah he was incensed against his wazīr, who, as he now heard, had not delivered any money to his son A'azz ad-Dīn at Akbarābād. He immediately sent strict orders to the governors of Akbarābād to deliver the money to A'azz ad-Dīn; which they did. He then made hurried preparations for the campaign, and left with 30,000 men, horse and foot; and on his side Farrukh Siyar advanced with 50,000. When the two armies drew near each other, they began to fight fiercely all the day. In the night, at the instigation of the Sayids, many men from the camp of A'azz ad-Dīn were won over to the party of Farrukh Siyar, whose wazīr forced the former to flee to Akbarābād, followed by the hostile army and the Sayids.

(Fol. 184a.) When Jahāndār Shah heard of his son's flight, he opened the treasures of the Empire, and spent freely money and jewels with *ratts* and *manns*, until he exhausted everything. He then went out of Dihli with an army of 150,000 horse, and 120,000 infantry, not counting the orderlies of the amīrs. By means of forced

marches he reached quickly Akbarābād where he set his camp near the river, and where he was joined by his son A‘azz ad-Dīn.

In haste he got ready boats and boatmen for the crossing of the river, while the hostile army, about 100,000 strong, was reaching the opposite side ; but having espied a good ford at a distance of seven miles, this army speedily marched in that direction and endeavoured to cross the river there. On the advice of his foster-brother the Sultan wished to attack the enemy while crossing, but the wazīr dissuaded him from this course. When the enemy had crossed the two armies were not distant from each other more than two parasangs. Now most of the soldiers of the Sultan had sent all their belongings inside the city as a preparation for the battle which would be taking place in the morning. On that day, however, a torrential rain fell, which rendered any combat wellnigh impossible ; and upon the strength that there would be no fighting on that day the Sultan’s troops began to pour into the city.

(Fol. 184<sup>b</sup>.) When two-thirds of the day had passed, the clouds suddenly moved away, and the sun shone. On the Sultan’s side, when he himself was in his tent, when the chief amīr was having his rest, when the general of the army was away from his post, when the Sultan’s retinue were absent, when most of his soldiers were in town, and when finally the arms of those present in the camp were laid down, the hostile army advanced to the attack. Taken by surprise the Sultan went out of his tent and mounted his elephant, and at the sound of trumpets and the beating of drums a fierce battle and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The amīr of the amīrs, Dhu l-Fiḳār Khān, was with his men standing near the field of battle, resolving not to unsheathe his sword until after the foster-brother had been killed.

(Fol. 185<sup>a</sup>.) ‘Ali Murād Khān, the commander-in-chief of the Sultan’s army, was opposed, on the enemy’s side, by Ḥusain ‘Ali Khān. Murād Khān’s men defeated Ḥusain ‘Ali Khān and inflicted severe wounds on him. The spies gave out that he had expired, and the Sultan who received also this piece of intelligence congratulated his men on their victory. In the meantime Ḥasan ‘Ali, the elder brother, resorted to stratagem, and while the Sultan’s troops were devoting themselves to joy and congratulations, he pounced on them from the rear with an army that he had secretly and quickly mustered.

In the bloody *mêlée* that ensued 'Ali Murād Khān was slain, and a frightful panic seized his army. The soldiers took to flight, company by company, and the Sultan was left to fight in the field of battle alone. Being unable to repair to his wazīr on account of the hostile army that separated them, he took to flight in the nick of time, towards sunset, just before he was being captured and killed. (Fol. 185<sup>b</sup>.) He escaped, and in entering the city he sought refuge in the house of one of his faithful adherents. The next morning he left this house in disguise in company of five men, and after a forced march he reached Dihli in three days. As to the amir of amīrs (Dhu l-Fikār) he remained with his troops in the field of battle till the fourth part of the night had passed; then he sent messengers to the Sultan asking for help. When this was not forthcoming he decamped, and accompanied by some men, he proceeded quickly to Dihli.

When the unfortunate Sultan heard that the amīr of amirs was in Dihli, he repaired to him and solicited his protection. The amīr of amirs wished to give it to him, but his father dissuaded him from this course on the strength of a missive that he had received from Farrukh Siyar, in which the latter had promised on oath that he would inflict no injury on his son, and that he would leave him in the office of the *wizārah*. Father and son, therefore, locked up the Sultan, and delivered him to the men of Farrukh Siyar. In this they covered themselves with shame!

The Sultan was, therefore, captured and brought to the fortress where he was incarcerated in a dark and narrow place, called "Fortress of the Cloud". When Farrukh Siyar heard the news of the Sultan's imprisonment, he left Akbarābād for Dihli, close to which he pitched his tent. He then summoned the amīr of amirs and his father to his presence, and after having embraced them he began to play for a while with their beards; and full of smiles he left them and went away, and commanded his servants to revile and afterwards throttle the amīr of amirs for the murder of his father and brother. This they did, and Farrukh Siyar went and pierced him with a spear, and he was dragged outside with a rope attached to his neck. Then he dispatched some rough men to kill the Sultan, his uncle, in prison, and after much abuse they strangled him and slashed off his head (fol. 186<sup>a</sup>) which they brought back along with his dead body on an elephant.

Early next morning he rose up and proceeded with great pomp to the city, while before him was placed the corpse of his uncle on an elephant, and his severed head hanging on a spear, in order that the people might know the truth of what had taken place. As to the body of the amir of amirs it was hanging naked, and feet upwards, on the tail of another elephant coming immediately after him. When he reached the fortress, he ordered the soldiers to throw down the bodies in a naked state, and to place the head of his martyred uncle on his chest. He entered then the palace and gave himself up to pleasures.

Soon afterwards he imprisoned A'azz ad-Dīn, 'Alī Tabār, and his own brother Hūmayūn Bakht, son of 'Azīm as-Shān, and blinded them with hot iron. Three days later he ordered the body of the Sultan to be buried in the grave of his forefathers, after having been washed, shrouded, and carried on a wooden litter; as to the corpse of the wazīr it was thrown into a pit and interred without further ceremony in the cemetery of the strangers. If such is the end of Sultans and amīrs, what would the sad lot of the common people be! (Fol. 186<sup>b</sup>.) The Sultan was murdered on the 16th Muḥarram, in 1125 A.H., at the age of 45, after a reign of only eleven months.

*(The author speaks here of his personal sorrow at the murder of the Sultan, his pupil and protector, and reproduces a long elegy that he wrote in his honour. On fol. 191<sup>b</sup> he tells how Farrukh Siyar whom he constantly calls al-Bāghi "the oppressor," imprisoned and massacred all the nobles among the partisans of his uncle, or plundered their possessions. In this last category the author counts himself and says that everything he had was taken from him, and his house looked "more empty than the palm of a hand," but adds that the sting is taken from a calamity that is common to all. He then dilates on the bad administration of "the oppressor" and narrates at some length the wrongs inflicted by him on all classes of the community.)*

(Fol. 193<sup>a</sup>.) Helped by the Sayids Farrukh Siyar began to reign supremely, but his wazīr and his brother who had become amīr of amīrs exceeded all limits in their desire for plunder. (Fol. 193<sup>b</sup>.) On one occasion "the oppressor" made them a grant of three thousand times thousand *dīnars*, but this did not satisfy their unsatiable cupidity, and they intensified their forcible appropriations, and in this iniquitous

way they became possessors of considerable wealth. This, however, incensed "the oppressor" against them (fol. 194<sup>a</sup>), but his endeavours to extort from them their illicitly acquired wealth proved fruitless. They took the reins of the government from him and, to his disgust, he found himself like a puppet in their hands. He sought advice in this matter from his faithful friends, and intimated to them that he intended to resort to violent means; they, however, dissuaded him from this unwise course, and emphasised to him the fact that any man wishing to plunder another stronger than himself runs the risk of being plundered in his turn; and they advised him moderation and patience. Eventually some people intervened in the matter, and formal peace was established between the two parties on condition (fol. 194<sup>b</sup>) that the wazīr should not promote and dismiss people, nor spend and receive money, without the knowledge of the Sultan, and that his brother should leave forthwith Dihli for the Deccan. This was agreed to.

The wazīr's brother left Dihli for the Deccan with great pomp and accompanied by an army, but the Sultan wrote to the *rājās* of the Deccan and to the khāns of its Afghāns exhorting them to wage war on him, and promising them the governorship of the province after his death. This kindled the fire of unrest in the province against him for three years, but he managed somehow to get the upper hand over it.

After the departure of the wazīr's brother, the Sultan never ceased to disparage and traduce the wazīr himself, and to abuse him openly, and at any time the latter came to wait upon him, he used to enter his harem. (Fol. 195<sup>a</sup>.) This exasperated the wazīr, who considered himself free from all previous agreements. Every quarrel starts with harsh words, and every fire begins with a sparkle. The wazīr, therefore, intrigued with officials and others, and massed an army of more than 20,000 horse and 20,000 foot, and wrote to his brother that "the oppressor" had broken his pledges, and bade him come with all speed to Dihli. This news greatly upset the amir, who picked up a young man of doubtful origin as a Pretender, and contended that he was a cousin to the Sultan and more fit than he for the throne. It is good to oppose the worst with the bad!

Then he patched up a truce with the Afghāns and the *rājās*, and making use of the public revenue for the purpose, he even induced some *rājās* to espouse his cause, and left the Deccan with an army of 60,000 horse and foot. When the news of his advance reached the

ears of "the oppressor," he was greatly perturbed, and a friendly *rāj* advised him to leave the fortress and go out of the city. This he stupidly refused to do, and the *rāj* went then to his country.

"The oppressor" devised the plan of summoning the wazir and making all sorts of good promises backed up by oath; he also told him that if that young pretender was delivered to him no harm would befall him. (Fol. 195<sup>b</sup>.) In the meantime the amir had advanced and camped with his army outside the city, and on the second day of his arrival, he proceeded to the fortress with a considerable number of troops. "The oppressor" rose up, welcomed him magnificently, embraced him, bade him sit near him, and lavished kindness on him. Then the amir poured forth his grievances and told the Sultan that "he (the Sultan) had lost his bricks in the Summer," the only time they were of any use; thereupon, the Sultan took off his robe set up with precious jewels and made a present of it to the amir. The latter went out, however, leaving no doubt in "the oppressor's" mind as to his intentions. "The oppressor" spent a frightful night and wished to leave the fortress in the morning under the pretext of going out hunting.

The Wazir was informed of this, and rushed with numerous troops to the fortress. More than 20,000 men, Muslims and infidels, followed him there till the middle of the day and bolted all the doors of escape. In a state of despair "the oppressor" entered his harem, ordered all the inner doors to be locked, and remained there till the morning. (Fol. 196<sup>a</sup>.) Then he wrote a letter to one of his intimate friends beseeching him to save his life. This, however, was too late, for the fortress and the streets of the town were crammed with troops: Sayids, Hindus, and Afghans. The mob began to pelt these with bricks, earth, and stones, and the people harassed them with guns and arrows from every house, and informed of this fact the supporters of "the oppressor". Thousands of these gathered together and attacked with fury the forces of the brother of the wazir, but with no avail, and their frenzied efforts to pierce the ring of troops surrounding the fortress having proved fruitless, they dispersed in disorder.

Meanwhile, other events were taking place in the fortress. Here the wazir gave orders to force the doors of the harem; "the oppressor's" womenfolk were slapped and some slightly wounded, and

he was dragged from the laps of his mother and his wife and pulled from the hands of his daughter, crying for mercy, in fetters, with bare feet, bare head, torn pockets, and ripped shirt. He was then floored down, blinded with hot iron (fol. 169<sup>b</sup>) and thrown into the room where his uncle had been incarcerated. Everyone reaps what he sows !

In that very day they took from prison his cousin, Rafī' ad-Darajāt, son of Rafī' as-Shān, and they installed him with pomp on the throne. The public treasury was thrown open, and gifts of all kinds were distributed to high and low officials. The wazīr took his abode in a magnificent fruit garden in the fortress, and gave himself up to pleasures and amusements. He found a highly skilled and shrewd procuress in the person of an old woman who did marvels for him.

As to the wretched Farrukh Siyar, he remained two months in gaol suffering acute pains from his wounded body and ulcerated eyes ; he was roughly treated by cruel keepers, who hung him on a pole, head downwards, throttled him, and pierced his heart and his wind-pipe with a dagger. He was then dragged out, exposed to the public eye (fol. 197<sup>a</sup>) and buried in the cemetery of his fathers and forefathers. He thus met with the same fate as that meted out by him to his uncle, his brother, and his cousins. The duration of the reign of Farrukh Siyar was six years.

A month after the murder of Farrukh Siyar, one of his cousins named Nikū Siyar, who was imprisoned in the fortress of Akbarābād, stirred up and helped himself to the throne, and threw open the doors of the treasures to insure his success. Many people responded to his call, and this roused the wazīr and the *Dihkāns* to fight him, but an incident put a momentary stop to their endeavours : Rafī' ad-Darajāt became suddenly ill and died. They then took from prison his brother Rafī' ad-Daulah, son of Rafī' as-Shān, placed him on the throne of the Empire, and went forth to fight. The usurper fortified himself in the citadel, and they besieged him there, won the heart of his men by bribes, and captured him. Rafī' ad-Daulah had in the meantime become ill and died. The wazīr sent then, from Akbarābād to Dihli, his youngest brother with a considerable number of troops who (fol. 197<sup>b</sup>) delivered from prison Muḥammad Shāh, son of Jahān Shāh, and brought him to the wazīr, who installed him on the throne.

Soon after the news filtered through that the amir 'Azīm as-Shān had raised the standard of revolt in the Deccan, and massacred the relatives of the wazīr. The two brothers then agreed on the following plan : that the elder should return to the city of the caliphate with some troops, and that the younger should proceed to the Deccan with the Sultan, the amīrs, and the troops, to wreak vengeance on the usurper.

The general of the army, however, conspired with the leaders of the partisans of the Sultan to kill the brother of the wazīr unawares. This was done, and the Sultan rode accompanied by all the army, horse and foot, and massacred all his relatives, put to flight his troops, plundered his wealth, and cut off his body to pieces. Then the Sultan promoted the general to the high office of the *wizārah*, and distributed money and granted offices to notables, each one according to his rank.

When the wazīr heard of the murder of his brother, he made haste to enter Dihli, distributed his wealth to the troops, took from prison Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Rafī' as-Shān, and installed him on the throne. In twenty days he mustered an army of 80,000, horse and foot, and left Dihli to oppose his enemy. He was, however, defeated after a pitched battle. The army of the *dihkāns* ran away, and both the wazīr and Ibrāhīm Shāh were made prisoners ; and the former was brought to Muḥammad Shāh, in fetters, bare-footed, wounded and bare-headed. The Sultan came then to Dihli, and placed the wazīr in the very room, dark and narrow, in which Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar had been placed, and left him to die a natural death ; but after a while, out of their fear of his machinations, people poisoned and strangled him.

The new wazīr, however, did not enjoy his office long, for he soon died from stomach troubles, and his perfidy against the two brothers and the Sayids brought him but short happiness. Every one is requited according to his deeds !