



A. D. 1651.
Hig. 1061.

Morâd removed from the Decan.

The prince Morâd, as before related, had been sent, under the tuition of his father-in-law, into the Decan. Proud, haughty, and full of fire, he could not bear, with patience, the controul of that lord. He possessed abilities, and he knew it; and he considered it as an insupportable hardship to have the name, without the power of government. He, upon many occasions, neglected the counsel given him by Shaw Nawâz; but at last he added insult to contempt. "Know you not," said he one day to his father-in-law, "that even you, who attempt to command me, are, by the Imperial commission, subject to my government. Behave yourself, therefore, as the humble adviser, not as the proud dictator of my measures." Shaw Nawâz was enraged at this disrespect; and he wrote letters of complaint to the emperor, who, without further examination, removed his son from the government of the Decan. He, however, conferred upon him that of Cabul, and removed Ali Murdan to the government of Cashmire.

Aurungzêbe besieges

Morâd, impatient in every station, did not long keep the government of Cabul. Aurungzêbe, by the command of the emperor, made preparations for re-commencing the siege of Candahâr. Morâd, instead of assisting him with the troops stationed in his own province, threw every obstacle in his way; and pretended that the necessary service required all the troops under his command. To Aurungzêbe's commission for taking his choice of all the troops in the northern provinces, his brother opposed his own commission for the absolute command of the forces in Cabul. Aurungzêbe wrote to the emperor; and Morâd was ordered into the province of Malava. Upon his removal, his brother collected an army. The vizier joined him with fifty thousand horse from the south, escorting five hundred camels loaded with treasure to pay the army, five hundred with arms, and two thousand



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thousand with other warlike stores. The retaking of Candahâr engrossed so much of the emperor's attention, that he himself made a progress to Cabul to support the besiegers. Channa-Zâd, the son of Asiph Jâh, was upon this occasion raised to the office of paymaster-general of the forces. Prince Suja came from his government of Bengal to pay his respects to his father, soon after his arrival at Cabul.

A. D. 1652.
Hig. 1062.

The preparations for the siege of Candahâr took up a considerable time. Aurungzêbe did not appear before it, till the month of January 1652. He invested the place on all sides, and began to make his approaches in form. But his gunners were bad, and his engineers, if possible, worse. The siege continued two months and eight days, without any impression being made on the city. All the warlike stores were at length exhausted; the army was discouraged, from seeing no end to their toil. The prince was ashamed; and the positive orders of his father recalled him to Cabul. Shaw Jehân, after all his expence and idle parade, returned, without having effected any thing material, to Agra. In that city his first business was to promote his children and nobles to honours and governments. Solimân, the son of Dara, was raised to the dignity of eight thousand horse, and sent to the government of Cabul. Aurungzêbe was ordered back to the Decan. Dara, who held Guzerât by deputy, was removed to Moulân: Suja returned to Bengal; and Shaista Chan, one of the sons of the late vicer, was promoted to the government of Guzerât, in the room of Dara.

Candahâr in
vain.

S H A W



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

S H A W J E H A N.

C H A P. V.

Dara's jealousy of Aurungzébe—His bad success before Candahâr—Raised to a part of the Imperial power—Rebellion of the Rana—Rise and character of Jumla—Death of the vizier—War in Golconda—Exploits of Mahommed the son of Aurungzébe—War and reduction of Bijapour—Sickness of the emperor—Too great violence of Dara—Emperor removes to Agra—Recovers—Dara in high favour—Carries all before him at court.

A. D. 1652.
Hig. 1062.

Dara's jealousy of Aurungzébe.

THOUGH Shaw Jehân, by his great attention upon every occasion to Dara, had convinced his subjects of his design to appoint him his successor in the throne, that prince was jealous of the growing reputation of Aurungzébe. The latter, in his frequent expeditions at the head of armies, found various opportunities of gaining friends, by the places of honour and profit which he had, by his commission, to bestow; and he was not of a disposition to relinquish by negligence, the influence which he had acquired by favours. Cool, subtle, and self-denied, he covered his actions with such an appearance of honest sincerity, that men imputed his attention to their own merit, and not to his designs. The penetrating eye of his father had pierced the veil which he had thrown over his ambition; but the implicit obedience which Aurungzébe paid to all his commands flattered him into a kind of oblivion of his former observations on the duplicity of his character. Dara had carried his jealousy of Aurungzébe into a kind of aversion to his person. He envied him when suc-



cessful; and he triumphed over his misfortunes: but his exultation was as secret as his hatred, as both proceeded from fear, a passion which his soul disdained to own.

A. D. 1652.
Hig. 1062.

Aurangzêbe having twice miscarried in his attempts on Candahâr, Dara wished to gather laurels where his rival had failed. He applied to his father for an army: insinuating, that the bad success which attended his brother, proceeded from his want of knowledge and conduct. A very large sum was issued from the Imperial treasury; and the army and artillery in the provinces beyond the Indus were submitted to the command of Dara. That prince invested Candahâr. The siege continued five months, without any impression being made. The stores were at last exhausted, the troops were dispirited, and Dara found himself under the necessity of retreating with loss of reputation. Shaw Jehân was silent upon the occasion; and even Aurangzêbe, who triumphed in secret over Dara's disappointment, attributed, in his conversation, this fresh miscarriage to the strength of the place, more than to his brother's want of abilities in war.

His unsuccessful expedition against Candahâr.

The unsuccessful expedition to Candahâr did not shake the emperor's design in favour of Dara. He foresaw the tumult and disorder which were likely to arise from the ambition of his younger sons after his death; and he resolved to habituate them, in his lifetime, to the authority of their elder brother. Having ordered all the nobles to attend the presence; he descended from his throne, took Dara by the hand, and placed him under the Imperial canopy; commanding the lord of the requests to read aloud an edict, changing the name of Dara into that of Shaw Belind Akbal, or THE EMPEROR OF EXALTED FORTUNE. "Behold," said Shaw Jehân, "your future prince! Upon him

He is solemnly appointed successor to the emperor.



A. D. 1652.
Hig. 1062.

we leave the support of the reputation and honour of the family of Timur." Nor was this merely a ceremony. He devolved on Dara a part of the Imperial power; and made an allowance of more than two millions a-year, for the expences of his household.

A Turkish
embassy.

Soon after this solemn appointment of Dara to the succession, Shaw Jehân made a progress of pleasure to the city of Ajmere. During his residence in that place, Zulfikar Aga, the Turkish ambassador, arrived from Buffora at Surat. He was received with the usual honours, and escorted by a party of the Imperial cavalry to court. The presents which he brought to the emperor were rather curious and rare, than valuable. He was treated with the highest distinction; a table was kept for him at the public expence; and he was gratified with a considerable present in money for his own private use. He remained for some months in Hindostan; and Caim Beg, an Omrah of distinction, returned with him to Constantinople, on the part of the emperor.

Marâja re-
bels, and is
reduced.

The Marâja, who owed his throne to an Imperial decision against his elder brother, the unfortunate Amar Singh, forgot, about this time, the gratitude which he owed to Shaw Jehân. He stopt the payment of the stipulated tribute, and began to fortify the strong city of Chitôr. The emperor detached thirty thousand horse, under Sadulla the visier, to chastise him for his insolence, and to demolish the works. The Hindoo prince hung out the flag of defiance, and the visier invested Chitôr. Parties were at the same time, detached on all sides to lay waste the open country. The refractory prince had not the spirit necessary to support his rebellion. He sent, on the eleventh day, to Sadulla a most submissive overture of peace. The minister referred him to the emperor, who still remained at Ajmere; but that monarch would

not



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not receive the letters. Orders were sent to prosecute the siege with vigour; and to give no terms. The Maraja, in this extremity, found means to convey a present to Dara. That prince softened his father's resentment; and the Maraja, upon paying the expence of the war, was reinstated in his hereditary dominions.

A. D. 1656.
Hig 1065.

The most memorable transaction of the year was the promotion of Mahommed Jumla, to the rank of five thousand horse. He was recommended to the emperor by the prince Aurungzêbe; and as he is to make a great figure in the sequel of the history, there is a propriety in premising something concerning his origin and gradual rise. Jumla was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor: he, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent journies to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his master's service, traded on his own account, and acquired a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Tellingana. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of his prince, who raised him to a considerable rank in the army. His military promotion opened a field for the abilities of Jumla. He yielded to few in conduct; in courage to none. He rose by his merit to the head of the forces of Tellingana. He led the army into the Carnatic; and, in a war which continued six years, reduced that country to subjection. But when he conquered for his sovereign, he acquired wealth for himself. Cuttub wishing to share with his general in the spoil, disoblged him; and he attached himself to the fortunes of Aurungzêbe, who then commanded for his father in the conquered provinces of the Decan. The prince, who was an excellent judge of character, saw something extraordinary in Jumla.

Rise and
character of
Jumla.



A. D. 1656.
Hig. 1666.

He found him, upon trial, a fit instrument for his ambition; and he exerted all his influence at court in his favour.

Promotions.

Soon after the promotion of Jumla, the eldest son of the prince Suja was sent by his father from Bengal to pay his respects to the emperor. Shaw Jehân, naturally fond of his posterity, was struck with the accomplishments of his grandson; and raised him to the rank of seven thousand horse. To avoid giving umbrage to Dara, always jealous of distinctions bestowed on his brothers, Cipper Shekô, the second son of that prince, was promoted to the same rank of nobility. A magnificent festival was given on the occasion; at which the dependants of the two dignified princes assisted. Though jealousy prevailed in private between the posterity of Shaw Jehân, in public there was nothing but harmony and affection: Dara who, with the state of an emperor, possessed also a part of the power, treated the son of Suja with distinction and respect. His fears of the ambition of Aurungzêbe absorbed all his suspicions concerning the designs of his other brothers. Suja, who was a man of pleasure, was not so formidable as the hypocritical austerity of Aurungzêbe; and the open valour of Morâd, without the necessary balance of prudence, was not an object of serious terror.

Death and
character of
the visier.

On the twentieth of February 1656, the visier died, after a short illness. He was forty-seven years of age at the time of his decease. His assiduity and ability in business recommended him, in an uncommon degree, to the emperor's affections; and the bier of the minister was bathed with the tears of his prince. His parts were rather solid than shining: industry and indefatigable perseverance made up for the defects of his genius. Experience rendered him master of the detail of finance; and he was by habit conversant in the inferior intrigues, which are the



springs of actions of moment. His mind was too much circumscribed in its powers, to comprehend, at one view, the great line of public affairs; but he could execute with precision what he could not plan with judgment. He was fond of military fame, but he was unsuccessful in the field; though neither deficient in conduct nor destitute of courage. Superstition, which was none of the follies of the age, was the greatest defect in his character; and his sanctity was said to be frequently a cloke for dishonourable deeds.

A. D. 1656.
Hig. 1066.

The influence of Jumla with Aurungzêbe, was the source of a new war in the Decan, though another cause was assigned, to reconcile the emperor to the measure. Cuttub Shaw, sovereign of Tellingana and of a great part of Golconda, had, upon the desertion of Jumla, imprisoned the son of that lord, and seized upon his wealth. Aurungzêbe complained, in repeated letters, of Cuttub to his father; alleging, that he was dilatory in the payment of his annual tribute to the empire. He therefore applied for leave to bring the refractory prince to reason by force. The emperor, jealous of his authority, gave permission for the march of an army into the dominions of Cuttub. Mahommed, the eldest son of Aurungzêbe, commanded in this expedition; a brave, an obstinate, and a haughty prince, not to be swayed from his purpose either by argument or fear.

War in Gol-
conda.

Mahommed, at the head of twenty thousand horse, entered suddenly the dominions of Cuttub; and that prince, expecting nothing less than hostilities, was totally unprepared for war. He sent messengers to the camp of the Imperialists; and paid down the arrears of the tribute. He, at the same time, released Amîn, the son of Jumla; and endeavoured to sooth Mahommed with rich presents. This, however, was not the sole object of the expedi-

Mahommed
the son of
Aurungzêbe



A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1666.

tion of the Imperialists. The fortune of Jumla was still in the hands of Cuttub. A just restitution was demanded; and the latter in vain objected, that the accounts between him and Jumla were not settled; and, therefore, that till they were adjusted, he could form no judgment of the sum which ought to be paid. Mahommed continued obstinate, and advanced to the gates of Hydrabad. When things appeared ready to come to extremities, a few chests of money and some caskets of jewels were delivered by Cuttub, as the whole wealth of Jumla. Amîn made greater claims in the name of his father; and the prince, offended at the prevarications of Cuttub, ordered him to come out of the city to do him homage, as the grandson of his emperor and lord.

takes Hydrabad,

The pride of Cuttub was still greater than his avarice. His mind revolted against the very idea of homage; and his rage overcame his prudence. Mahommed entered Hydrabad. Death and confusion filled every street, and the city was submitted to the ravages of fire and sword. The spoils was great, but the destruction was immense. The avarice of the Imperialists was defeated by their fury. The flames moved quicker than depredation; so that except silver, gold, and jewels, which neither the rage of men nor of fire could destroy, nothing of value remained to the conquerors.

and defeats
the king of
Golconda.

Cuttub, from this scene of slaughter, tumult, and ruin, fled to the old city of Golconda, which stood about six miles from Hydrabad. A number of his troops and many of the citizens followed their sovereign. Mahommed immediately invested Golconda. Cuttub, in his distress, resolved to try the fortune of the field. He accordingly marched out with six thousand horse, twelve thousand foot, and a great rabble of half-armed men, to
give



give battle to the Imperialists. The affair was soon decided. Cuttub was defeated; and the enemy entered the city at his heels. The horrors of war were renewed in every form. Mahommed waded through blood; Cuttub threw himself at his feet, but he was not to be appeased by submission. The unfortunate prince at length produced his beautiful daughter, Rizia, to the victor, and he sheathed his sword. He married her in form, and a magnificent festival was held to celebrate the nuptials. Mirth was mixed with sorrow; and pageants of joy with the solemn funerals of the dead.

A. D. 1656.
Hig. 1066.

Mahommed, after finishing with more good fortune than reputation the war with Cuttub, returned to his father, who resided at Brampour. Aurungzêbe wrote a pompous account of the success of his son to the emperor; and that monarch raised him to the rank of eleven thousand horse. Shaista, the son of the late visier Asiph, was second in command in the expedition against Hydrabâd; and he, as a reward for his services, was dignified with the honours of six thousand horse. Jumla, who had hitherto remained with Aurungzêbe at Brampour, charged himself with the letters of that prince to his father. His son Amîn attended him to court; and both were received with distinguished marks of kindness and esteem. His knowledge and abilities recommended Jumla, in a high degree. The place of visier was vacant by the death of Sadulla, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Dara, who was averse to Jumla on account of his attachment to Aurungzêbe, that lord was invested with the highest office in the empire. The avarice of the emperor joined issue, in this promotion, with the merit of Jumla. When he received the seals, the presents which he made amounted to more than sixty thousand pounds of our money.

Returns to
Brampour.

The



A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1067.

War with
Adil Shaw.

The emperor, soon after the promotion of Jumla, took a tour of pleasure toward the north. Having hunted for some time in the forests on the banks of the Ganges, he returned to Agra; and, upon his arrival, received intelligence of the death of Adil, king of Bijapour. The principal officers at the court of Adil, without asking permission of the emperor, raised the son of the deceased to the throne. This conduct was highly resented by Shaw Jehân, who considered the dominions of Bijapour as an appendage of the empire. The expedient upon which he fell, was, in some measure, the source of his misfortunes. The new viceroy was ordered with twenty thousand horse into Bijapour, to depose the son of Adil, till he should make his submissions in the Imperial presence. Amîn, who was his father's deputy in his high office, remained at court to carry on the business of that department.

Death and
character of
Ali Murdan.

In the month of November of the year 1656, died Ali Murdan, the nominal captain-general of the Imperial forces, on his return from Agra to his province of Cashmire. His defection from his sovereign, the emperor of Persia, and his delivering up the important fortrefs of Candahâr, had highly recommended him to Shaw Jehân; and he had abilities to keep the favour which he had once acquired. The designs of Shaw Sefi against his life, were a sufficient apology for his revolt from that prince; and the fidelity with which he served his benefactor, is a proof that necessity was the sole cause of his treachery. He was rather a dignified than a great character; more fit for the fatigues of the field than for the intrigues of the closet. He was a faithful servant to his prince, a constant and unshaken friend, an active and a gallant officer. A love of money, which did not amount to absolute avarice, was the greatest defect of his mind; but, were we to judge from the number of his dependants, he was possessed of a generous disposition. Being always absent from court in
the



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the government of various provinces, he had no opportunity for expending his vast income; and he therefore amassed great wealth. The emperor became the heir of his fortune, which, in money and jewels, amounted to one million eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.

A. D. 1657.
Fig. 1067.

Intelligence of the march of Jumla flew before him to the kingdom of Bijapour. Ali, the visier of the deceased Adil, who had raised the son of that prince to the throne, had foreseen the storm which was now gathering over his head. He levied forces; he fortified his dismantled castles and towns. Jumla, in the mean time, advanced to Brampour. Aurungzêbe joined him with his forces; and, with his usual affected humility, pretended to submit himself to the command of his father's visier. That minister, however, was too much attached to the interests of the prince to avail himself of his modesty; and though Jumla bore the name of commander in chief, the orders of Aurungzêbe were only issued and obeyed. The greatest harmony subsisted between them; for they reckoned this present expedition as a fortunate prelude to their future designs.

Expedition
into Bijapour.

The rapid march of the Imperialists disconcerted the measures of Ali. He had collected an army, but it was too small and the troops too raw to risque the fortune of the field. He threw a numerous garrison into Bider, which is one of the strongest places in Hindostan. With a body of cavalry he himself harassed the enemy, leaving the command at Bider to Jân Jiffi; who had been thirty years governor of that important fortrefs. Aurungzêbe arriving before Bider, reconnoitred it with great attention and care. He foresaw the difficulty which would attend a siege; and he endeavoured, by bribes and large promises, to corrupt the fidelity of Jiffi. That old officer rejected his propofals with indignation

Siege of
Bider.



A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1067.

nation and disdain; and the prince, despairing of success by intrigue, prepared to ensure it by force: he accordingly made his approaches to Bider.

That city
taken.

On the twenty-seventh day of the siege, a mine being sprung, a practicable breach was made in the first wall. Aurungzêbe, wishing to make a lodgment within the wall, ordered an assault. It happened that one of the principal magazines of the place was under a great bastion in the second wall, opposite to the breach. The besieged having expended all their granadoes and ammunition in repelling the attack, this magazine was thrown open, that they might supply themselves with more. A rocket by accident fell near the door of the magazine, upon some powder that had been scattered there in the confusion. It took fire, and communicating with the magazine, blew up the bastion, which was covered with people, and destroyed the greatest part of the garrison, who had been drawn together into that place to oppose the enemy. The governor and his three sons were numbered among the dead. The assailants, in the mean time, suffered considerably from the explosion. The whole place was exposed. The Imperialists took advantage of the consternation of the surviving part of the enemy. A thick darkness, occasioned by the smoke and dust, covered Bider: Aurungzêbe rushed over the ruins; and when light began to appear, he found himself in the midst of the citadel. Though there was no resistance, death ravaged all around him; for even his authority could not appease, for some time, the rage of the troops.

Adil Shaw
defeated,

Ali, who had looked on Bider as impregnable, had deposited in that city the greatest part of his young sovereign's wealth; and Aurungzêbe acquired an immense treasure as well as an unexpected reputation, from the capture of the place. The minister, though



though struck with the loss of his strongest fortress, did not give all his hopes away. He collected a numerous army of Abyssinian mercenaries under the walls of Kilburga; and placed the prince at their head. Aurungzêbe despised the enemy too much to march against him in person. He detached twenty thousand horse, under the command of Mohâbet, toward Kilburga; whilst he himself sat down before Kallian, which, after a siege of a few weeks, fell into his hands. Mohâbet, in the mean time, came to battle with Ali, and defeated his mercenary army with great slaughter. Aurungzêbe himself arrived in the camp soon after the battle, and invested Kilburga, where the fugitives had taken refuge.

A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1067.

Kilburga was large and well fortified. The garrison was numerous, and made frequent sallies. They at length issued forth with their whole force, came to battle, and were driven back into the city with great slaughter. These repeated efforts weakened those within; but one of the generals of young Adil, who commanded a body of horse, was very active in harassing from without, the Imperial army. He cut off their convoys; and a scarcity prevailed in their camp. Aurungzêbe, however, was not to be driven from his designs. He carried on the siege with unabating diligence; and, having made a practicable breach in the walls, he took Kilburga by assault on the eleventh of June 1657. Adil, led by his minister Ali, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror. The tribute of Bijapour was fixed at one million eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds; and a great sum toward defraying the expence of the war, was paid down by Adil. He, at the same time, was obliged to give up his strongest forts, and to settle estates upon some of the adherents of Aurungzêbe. That prince having changed the name of the city of Bider to that

and submits.



A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1067.

of Zifferabad, or the City of Victory, returned in triumph to Brampour, the seat of his government.

Plans concerted between the visier and Aurungzêbe.

Jumla, the visier of the empire, remained in the army during the war against Bijapour. After the taking of Bider, the name of Aurungzêbe appeared first in the commission for commanding the army. The attachment and gratitude of Jumla to that prince, induced him to request the emperor to confer upon him the honour as well as the power in the expedition. The measure besides was favourable to their concerted plans of ambition. Shaw Jehân was now become aged; and his excesses in venery had weakened his constitution. The scene of ambition was not distant; and Aurungzêbe, who had opened his whole soul to Jumla, had concerted all his future measures with that lord. Orders, in the mean time, arrived, for the visier to return to court. Having sworn fidelity and secrecy to one another, the prince and the minister parted at the gates of Brampour.

Emperor falls sick.

On the seventeenth of September 1657, Shaw Jehân was suddenly seized, in the city of Delhi, with a paralytic disorder, accompanied with a violent strangury. He remained in a state of insensibility for several days, and all hopes of his recovery vanished. But by the copious bleeding prescribed by his physicians, he was at length relieved. His disorder, however, returned, though not with the same violence; and, on the occasion, the customary edict for the remission of the taxes due for the year, when the life of the emperor is in danger, was issued, with the usual formalities. Large sums were, at the same time, given to the poor, and to Fakiers of reputed sanctity, for their prayers to Heaven for the recovery of Shaw Jehân. The mosques were filled with the devout; and the people in general expressed unfeigned



feigned grief at the danger of a monarch, under whose auspicious reign they had enjoyed protection and happiness. All business was suspended in Delhi. Silence prevailed over the whole place; except when that silence was broken by anxious enquiries concerning the emperor's health. Shaw Jehân was a stranger to the interest which he possessed in the hearts of his subjects, till he fell into a disease which was thought mortal by all.

A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1067.

The emperor being by his disorder rendered incapable of giving any attention to business, the management of public affairs fell into the hands of Dara. His father had prepared for an accident which might occasion a suspension of government. An edict had some time before been issued, bearing that the signet of Dara should be considered as equally valid with that of the emperor, through all the dominions of the house of Timûr. The prince, however, till Shaw Jehân fell ill, made no use of this extraordinary power. When his father became insensible, Dara mounted the throne. Warm, vehement, and precipitate, he acted the sovereign with too much violence. He issued out a public order, that no person whatever should presume, under pain of death, to hold any correspondence with his brothers, upon the present posture of affairs. The agents of Aurungzêbe and Morâd at court, were seized, with their papers, and imprisoned. The money in their hands, on account of the princes, was locked up; and, in short, the whole conduct of Dara betrayed the most violent suspicions of the designs of his brothers.

Dara assumes
the govern-
ment.

The suspension of the visier was among Dara's first acts of power. He suspected his fidelity, as being raised to his office by the influence of Aurungzêbe. An Indian prince, by the title of Rai Raiân, was made temporary visier; for the commissions given by Dara were limited expressly to the time of the emper-

His violence.



A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1067.

ror's illness. The prince, in the mean time, ordered all the nobles into the hall of presence. He explained to them, with unfeigned tears, the hopeless condition of the emperor. He hinted the ambition of his brothers; and the dangers which would arise to the empire from a civil war. "The emperor," said he, "more from an idea of justice, than from any superior affection to me, has appointed me his successor in the throne; and I find, in my own mind, no inclination to relinquish what Heaven and my father have thrown into my hands. Those, therefore, who will show the earliest zeal in my support, shall command my gratitude. Be explicit and open, as I always am; and resolve to continue faithful. Such of you as owe favours to my brothers, will not serve me with zeal. Let them, therefore, in their prudence, retire to their houses. I want not their pretended support; and I will not bear with their intrigues in favour of others." The wishes of the prince were commands. The lords, who had estates in Bengal, in Guzerat, and in the Decan, the governments of Suja, Morâd, and Aurungzêbe, to avoid suspicion, confined themselves at home.

Emperor
carried to
Agra.

On the eighteenth of October, the emperor being much recovered of his disorder, was placed by his son in a barge, which was ordered gradually to fall down the Jumna to Agra. The army and court moved along the banks of the river, with slow marches, under the command of Dara; who, though he passed the most of his time with his father, spent the night always ashore. Several arrangements were made in the greater offices, during this progress. Chilulla was sent back to the government of Delhi; and Danismund was turned out of his office of paymaster-general of the Imperial forces. Amîn, the son of Jumla, had found means to recommend himself to Dara; and, notwithstanding that prince's aversion to his father, the son was raised to the vacant office of Danismund.



The tour from Delhi was recommended to the emperor, for the re-establishment of his health; and he gradually recovered on the way. On the 16th of November 1657, he arrived at a palace in the country near Agra, and he continued daily to mend, till the 7th of February 1658, on which day he entered Agra in perfect health. The populace, who had exhibited their affection in silent sorrow during his illness, crowded round him with tumultuous joy. His heart was opened at the shouts of his people; and he ordered considerable sums to be distributed among the poorer sort. The first thing he did after his arrival in the Imperial palace, was to enquire for Jumla, the late vizier. He was, however, told that, during his illness, that lord had applied to him for leave to proceed to the Decan, and that the leave had been granted. He sent for Dara. The prince appeared before him; and was severely reprimanded, for dismissing so able a man from an office which demanded abilities. "But Jumla," said he, "must be disgraced, since you will have it so. Dara is to be my successor in the throne; and the authority of the heir of the empire must not be diminished, by the restoration of men whom he has dismissed in his displeasure."

A. D. 1657.
Hig. 1068.
Recovers.

Dara had bestowed great attention and care on his father during his illness. He sat often, for whole nights, by his side; and watched the very motion of his eye, to supply him in all his wants. When the emperor was at the point of death, the prince dropt unfeigned tears; and he could not suppress his joy when the first dawn of his father's recovery appeared. But if Dara's filial piety was great, the emperor's gratitude was not less. He exhibited to his son unbounded testimonies of his affection and regard. He raised him to the honours of sixty thousand horse; and, in one day, gave him jewels to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, twelve hundred thousand in specie, and an order upon cer-

Favour for
Dara,

tain.



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tain revenues to the amount of three millions more. Three hundred Arabian horses, with rich furnitures, and a number of elephants were, at the same time, bestowed on the prince by the lavish hand of his father. "He who prefers the life of an aged parent," said Shaw Jehân, "to the throne of India, can never be sufficiently paid for his filial piety."

who carries
all before
him at court.

Though Dara laid down the name of authority at the recovery of his father, his influence was equal to actual power. Solimân Shekô, his eldest son, was appointed to the command of ten thousand horse, to suppress some disturbances in the province of Allahabâd; his second son, Cipper Shekô, was raised to the government of Behâr; and Bahadur was sent as the deputy of the prince, to manage the affairs of the province. The Rana, Jeffwint Singh, who adhered to the interest of Dara, was raised to a higher degree of nobility. All means were used to attach the affections of the grandees to the heir-apparent. Jaffier Chan, known long for his abilities, was placed in the high office of visier; Mohâbet was sent to the government of Cabul, on account of his hatred to Aurungzêbe; and the Rana, who had been saved from destruction at the intercession of Dara, was gratified with the rich and extensive province of Malava.



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C H A P. VI.

Cause of the civil war—Character of the Emperor's sons—Dara—Suja—Aurungzêbe—Morâd—Suja takes the field—Defeated by Solimân the son of Dara—Morâd rebels in Guzerat—Aurungzêbe in the Decan—Marches to Brampour—Battle of the Nirbidda—Preparations and obstinacy of Dara—Opposes Aurungzêbe—Totally defeated near Agra—Reflections.

SHAW Jehân, after a reign of thirty years of prosperity, found himself suddenly involved in trouble and misfortune. The storm had been long gathering: it was foreseen, but nothing could prevent it from falling. The emperor, with abilities for business, was addicted to pleasure; and, though he was decisive in the present moment, he was improvident of the future. His affection for his sons was the source of the calamities which shook his empire. Pleased with their promising parts when young, he furnished them with opportunities for exerting their talents in the cabinet, as well as in the field; and when they became, by their own merit, objects of public attention, it was dangerous, if not impracticable, to reduce them into private stations. The unsettled system of succession to the crown, had roused their ambition, and awakened their fears. They were to each other objects of terror, as well as of envy. They all looked forward with anxiety to the death of their father; and each saw in that

gloomy

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civil wars.



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emperor's
sons.

gloomy point, either a throne or a grave. Their hopes and fears increased with their growing age. They had provided themselves against the important event of his demise; and when he was seized with what was deemed a mortal disease, they broke forth at once from that silent respect, which their reverence for the person and authority of a parent had hitherto imposed on their minds.

The means of ambition, which their respective ranks in the empire had placed in the hands of each of the sons of Shaw Jehân, were great; but their boldness to carry their schemes into execution was greater still. High-spirited and intrepid, they wished for no object which their natural courage durst not attempt to obtain: they were born for enterprize, and though beyond measure ambitious, they loved danger more than power. Each was possessed of armies and of treasures: and, being rivals in fame as well as in influence, they lost all affection for one another, in the more violent passions of the mind. Dara, vested with his claim of primogeniture, as well as with his father's declaration in favour of his succession, construed the ambition of his brothers into rebellion. Suja, in possession of Bengal, was carried by his pride to the resolution of seizing the whole empire: Aurungzêbe covered his ambition with motives of religion; and the vehement Morâd arrogated all to himself by his courage. The figure which the brothers are to make in the succeeding scenes, seems to demand a delineation of their respective characters.

Character of
Dara.

Dara, the eldest son of Shaw Jehân, was polite in his conversation, affable, open and free. He was easy of access, acute in observation, learned, witty and graceful in all his actions. He pryed not into the secrets of others; and he had no secret himself,

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self, but what he disdained to hide. He came fairly upon mankind; he concealed nothing from them, and he expected that faith which he freely gave. Active, lively, and full of fire, he was personally brave; and he forgot misfortune in the vehemence of his mind; which, neglecting past evils, looked forward to future good. Though elevated with success, he never was dejected by bad fortune; and though no believer in a particular providence, he met with all the incidents of life as if they had been immoveably determined by Fate. In his public character, he was sometimes morose, frequently haughty, always obstinate, and full of pride. Self-sufficient in his opinions, he scarce could hear advice with patience; and all he required of his friends was implicit obedience to his commands. But, with this appearance of ill-nature, he was in his disposition humane and kind; for though he was often passionate, his rage was not destructive; and it passed suddenly away without leaving a trace of malice behind. In his private character Dara was, in every respect, unexceptionable. He was an indulgent parent, a faithful husband, a dutiful son. When he returned at night to his family, the darkness which had covered his brow, throughout the day, was dispelled; his countenance was lightened up with joy, and his whole conversation displayed a peculiar serenity and benevolence of disposition. Though no enemy, from principle, to pleasure, he was naturally virtuous; and he filled up his leisure time with study, instead of those enervating indulgences, which render the princes of the East effeminate.

Suja was humane in his disposition, averse to cruelty, an enemy Of Suja.
to oppression. In the execution of justice, he had no respect of persons but when the natural tenderness of his disposition gave his mind a bias toward the unfortunate. Though honest, like his brother Dara, he was not so open and free. He never told a



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falsehood; but he did not always tell the whole of the truth. He was more tranquil, more close and reserved than Dara; and he was more fitted for the intrigues of party, and that management which is necessary to direct the various passions of men to one point. He was generous to his friends; he did not disdain to hear their advice, though he for the most part followed his own judgment of things. He was fond of pomp and magnificence; and much addicted to the pleasures of the haram. Graceful and active in his own person, he loved in women that complete symmetry of limbs which rendered himself the favourite of the sex; and he spared no expence in filling his seraglio with ladies remarkable for their beauty and accomplishments. In their society he spent too much of his time; but the warmth of his constitution did not make him neglect the necessary affairs of life. During his long government of Bengal, he won the affections of the people by the softness of his manners, and his exact and rigorous execution of justice; and the country flourished in commerce and agriculture, under the protection which he invariably gave to industry. In battle he was brave; nor was he destitute of the talents necessary for a general; and we much attribute his misfortunes in the field to the effeminacy of his troops, more than to his own want of conduct.

Of Aurung-
zêbe.

The character of Aurungzêbe differed in every respect from those of his elder brothers. Destitute of that graceful appearance of person which rendered them popular as soon as seen, he acquired by address that influence over mankind, which nature had on them bestowed. In disposition serious and melancholy, he established an opinion of the solidity of his understanding, even among those who had no opportunity of being acquainted with his great talents. Pliant and accommodating in his manner, he gained mankind by flattering their pride; and he wrapt
up



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up his behaviour in such plausibility, that they attributed his attention to their own merit, more than to his designs. His common conversation turned always on trifles. In affairs of moment he was reserved, crafty, and full of dissimulation. Religion, the great engine of political impostors, he professed in all its severity. With it he deceived the weak, and awed into a kind of reverence for his person, the greatest enemies of his power. Though not remarkable for humanity, he did not naturally delight in blood; but ambition was his darling passion, and before it vanished all the softer feelings of the soul. Fear, which renders other tyrants cruel, had no place in his breast; but that provident caution, which wishes to shut up every access to danger, made him careless about the lives of his rivals. He had a particular talent for kindling dissensions among those who opposed his designs; and his art and cunning were more destructive to his enemies than his sword.

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Morâd, the youngest son of Shaw Jehân, was by constitution lively and full of fire. With too much levity for business, he gave up his time to mirth, action and amusement. He delighted in the chase; he was more fond of battle than of war. In riding, in bending the bow, in throwing the lance, he met with few that could equal him in the armies which he commanded; and he was more desirous of carrying the palm in the manly exercises of the field, than in the intrigues of the cabinet. He despised all cabals: he gloried in keeping nothing secret. He thought it beneath his dignity to command mankind by art; and he openly professed, that he disdained to owe distinction to any thing but the sword. "To possess a throne by the will of a parent, to owe it to birth," said Morâd, "is unworthy of a great prince; and had not my brother supported his pretensions to the crown by arms, I would disdain to wear it." In battle his soul

Of Morâd.



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was a stranger to fear; he was even an enthusiast in his love of danger, and slaughter was his favourite pastime. In peace he was mild, though proud, liberal, affable and humane. But his very virtues were weakness; and his fate furnishes a melancholy proof, that an open generosity of spirit is never a match for hypocrisy and deceit. His splendid qualities, however, rendered him popular in the army; and Aurungzêbe, notwithstanding his superiority of parts, owed, at last, his success over Morâd, as much, at least, to accident as to his known talents. Such were the illustrious competitors for the throne of their father.

Suja takes
the field.

Suja, who had possessed the government of Bengal for many years, was the first who appeared in the field, upon receiving intelligence of the dangerous illness of Shaw Jehân. He excused his measures by the violence of Dara. He was informed, that he had nothing to expect from his brother should he possess the throne, but imprisonment, or even death; and he affirmed, that necessity had rendered rebellion lawful. The resources which Suja possessed, promised success to his enterprise. He had accumulated treasure, and levied an army; and, though his agent at court transmitted to him accounts of his father's recovery, he affected not to credit the intelligence. When he pitched his tent in the field, he issued out a manifesto, which bore that Shaw Jehân was dead; and that there were violent suspicions of Dara's being accessory to his death. Though he received letters from the hands of his father, announcing his recovery, he alledged that they were a forgery by Dara to amuse him, and to divert him from his intentions of revenging the death of the emperor on the parricide. The enemies of Dara contributed by their letters to make Suja persist in his resolution.

Dara



Dara had the earliest intelligence of the designs of his brother ; and he made the necessary preparations against him. His son Solimân, had marched with ten thousand horse, to quell some disturbances in the province of Allahabâd. Dara ordered a reinforcement to fall down the Jumna, and to join Solimân. Raja Joy Singh and Debere Chan commanded the detachment, and they had positive instructions, after joining the prince, to stop the progress of Suja to the capital with the sword. The emperor, however, repented of orders procured from him by the violence of Dara. He was averse to a civil war ; and he sent secret directions to Joy Singh to endeavour to induce Suja to return to his government of Bengal. These directions were scarce dispatched to the Raja, when advices arrived at court that the prince Morâd, who commanded in the kingdom of Guzerat, was proclaimed emperor by the army ; that the receiver-general of the Imperial revenues, in opposing the usurpation, had been slain in battle ; and that Morâd, having negotiated a considerable loan with the bankers of Ahmedabâd, had coined money in his own name.

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Opposed by
Solimân
Shekô.

The intelligence of this second rebellion hastened Suja in his measures. He wished to be the first of the competitors who should arrive at the capital ; and he therefore moved his camp to Benâris. When he was busy in constructing a bridge of boats for crossing the Ganges, Solimân appeared in sight on the opposite shore with his army. A negotiation was set on foot with Suja by Joy Singh ; and it was at last agreed, that the prince should return to his government, and disband his army. The active spirit of Solimân did not relish this precarious pacification. Joy Singh, without his participation, had settled the terms with Suja ; and he did not think himself bound by a truce, in which he had no hand. He changed his ground, and moved a

Suja surpris-
ed in his
camp,

few



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few miles up the Ganges. The river by an extraordinary drought was remarkably low. Solimân, to the astonishment of every body, discovered a ford by which the cavalry could pass. The circumstance was too favourable to the inclinations of the prince, not to be turned to immediate advantage. In the night he forded the river; and, when day-light appeared, fell suddenly on Suja's camp.

and defeated.

Suja, who considered the Ganges as an insuperable barrier, permitted himself to be completely surprized. The shouts of the army, the clashing of swords first roused him from sleep. He started from his bed, seized his arms, rushed forth, and mounted his horse. When he looked round him, he beheld nothing but confusion and terror, and slaughter and flight. His voice was not heard in the tumult; and if heard, it was not obeyed. The crowd around him was great; but his army was too much agitated by fear to be reduced to any form. As no man could trust to another, each endeavoured to provide for his own safety by flight. The slaughter of those who stood, retarded the enemy in their pursuit of the fugitives. Suja, with some of his officers, fought with courage; but they were driven into the river; and the prince with great difficulty made his escape in a canoe, and fell down the stream without stopping, till he reached Mongeer. Solimân, after his victory, marched into Bengal, and besieged Suja in the fort of Mongeer. But we must turn our attention to another quarter of the empire.

Aurangzêbe
hears of his

Aurangzêbe, as has been already related, returned to Brampour after having finished the war in Tellingana. He did not continue long in that city. He took up his residence in a town in the neighbourhood of Dowlatabâd, which he had rebuilt, and called after his own name Aurungabad. In this place
he



he received the first news of his father's illness; but three months elapsed before he heard any further intelligence from court. Dara, who was resolved to establish himself firmly on the throne in case of the demise of his father, had placed guards on all the ferries and highways; at the same time issuing orders to all the officers of the customs, and the commanders of districts, to stop all letters and travellers. These circumstances induced Aurungzêbe to believe that his father was dead; and he began to levy forces for his own security. In the midst of his preparations, letters were received from Morâd, who commanded in Guzerat. That prince informed Aurungzêbe that Dara had usurped the throne, and was taking measures for cutting off his brothers. He therefore proposed that they should join in their own defence. Aurungzêbe embraced Morâd's proposal with joy. He knew his own superior abilities, which were more than a match for the open valour of Morâd; and he hoped, that if by his assistance he could defeat Dara, his own way to the throne would be paved. A negotiation with Morâd was opened, and the preparations for war continued.

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father's
illness.

Jumla, who had been dismissed from the office of visier by Dara, arrived in the mean time from Agra in the Decan. Shaw Jehân having disapproved of that lord's being turned out of his department, endeavoured to gratify him in some other way; and had, for that purpose, given him the command of a considerable body of troops, to reduce some places which still held out in the lately conquered provinces. Dara, who was jealous of Jumla's known attachment to Aurungzêbe, kept his family in the capital as the hostages of his faith. Jumla, pitching his camp in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, was informed of Aurungzêbe's preparations for war. He sent him a message, informing him that the emperor was recovered, and had resumed the reins of go-

Gains over

vernment.



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vernment. The prince, astonished at the coldness of Jumla, sent to demand a conference: but that lord, fearing the spies of Dara who were dispersed over the camp, refused to wait upon a man, who was arming against his sovereign.

Jumla

Aurungzêbe penetrated into the cause of this cautious conduct. He knew that he was attached to his interest; and that it was only the fear of Dara's resentment against his family, prevented him from joining with alacrity in his own views. He therefore had recourse to art. Mahommed Mauzim, the second son of Aurungzêbe, was a great favourite with Jumla. That prince was sent to visit him with proper instructions from his father. Mauzim, who was then about seventeen years of age, possessed a part of Aurungzêbe's address. He waited upon Jumla in his tent, without any previous notice, and was received with great kindness and distinction. When night was coming on, Jumla put the prince in mind of the time; and Mauzim told him, that having waited upon him without either the permission or knowledge of his father, he was afraid of returning without the customary honour of being attended by the person to whom he had paid the visit. Jumla, who was ashamed of being defective in point of politeness, agreed to accompany Mauzim home. When they came to the prince's apartment, Jumla signified his intention of returning; he was, however, persuaded to enter. Mauzim retired, and his father appeared. He earnestly insisted, that Jumla with the army under his command, should join in his designs upon the throne. That lord excused himself, on account of his family, who were in the hands of Dara. It was at length agreed, that the person of Jumla should be seized; and an order issued for confiscating all his effects. This expedient secured him the resentment of both parties; and a door of reconciliation was left open, whichever

side



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side should prevail. The troops, soon after the imprisonment of their general, joined the standard of Aurungzêbe.

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On the sixteenth of February 1658, Aurungzêbe marched from Aurungabad with twelve thousand horse; leaving his second son Mauzim with a sufficient force for the protection of the Decan, from whence he intended to derive his supplies for the war. Nijabut Chan, descended in a direct line from Timur, commanded his vanguard, and took the rout of Brampour. He himself followed with the main body, and arrived on the first of March at that place. He remained at Brampour near a month, for an answer to the dispatches which he had sent to Guzerat to his brother. His proposals to that prince were so obviously hypocritical, that only the open spirit of Morâd, who, being full of honesty himself, suspected no guile in others, could be for a moment deceived. He professed in his letters, that he had always been his affectionate friend; that Dara, from his natural weakness, was incapable of holding the reins of government, besides that he was from principle indifferent about all religion; that Suja, with abilities little superior to Dara, was a heretic, and by consequence unworthy of the crown. "As for me," continues Aurungzêbe, "I have long since dedicated myself to the service of God. I desire only for that safety and tranquillity, which suits the fervency of my devotion. But I will with my poor abilities assist Morâd to take possession of a scepter, which the united wishes of the people of Hindostan have already placed in his hand. Morâd may then think of his faithful Aurungzêbe, and assign him a quiet retreat, for passing the remainder of his life in the austerities of religion."

Marches
from Au-
rungabad.

Morâd, who, with his splendid qualities, was self-conceited and vain, ascribed Aurungzêbe's moderation to his own superior

His manage-
ment of
Morâd.



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merit. He wrote back to his brother, that he was ready to join him with all his forces; and, for that purpose, was preparing to march from Ahmedabâd. On the twenty-second of March, Aurungzêbe having received the dispatches of Morâd, left the city of Brampour, and took the rout of Ugein, where the brothers had preconcerted to join their forces. Arriving on the banks of the Nirbidda, he was informed that the Maraja, Jeffwint Singh, had, on the part of Dara, taken possession of Ugein, with seventy thousand horse. He was beyond measure astonished, that the enemy had not sent a part of his army to guard the passage of the river, which might have stopt his progress. He, however, with his small force durst not cross it; and he encamped on the opposite banks in anxious expectation of the arrival of Morâd.

Opposed at
the Nirbidda.

The Maraja, instead of attacking Aurungzêbe with a force that promised a certain victory, when he had advanced within ten miles of the rebels, took possession of a woody hill, on the top of which there was an extensive plain. In this place he intrenched his army; and contented himself with detaching flying squadrons to awe the enemy from crossing the river. The conduct of the Maraja, who was personally brave, proceeded in a great measure from his pride and arrogance. He was heard to say, That he waited for the junction of the brothers, that he might in one day triumph over two Imperial princes. Aurungzêbe owed his safety to this unaccountable folly. His small army, when he arrived on the banks of the Nirbidda, was so much fatigued with the march, and spent with the excessive heat of the weather, that he might be routed by an inconsiderable force.

Joined by
Morâd.

A few days after Aurungzêbe's arrival at the Nirbidda, the van of Morâd's army entered his camp. When they were first seen,

on



on a rising ground near the army of Aurungzêbe, the enemy struck his tents, and advanced toward the banks of the river. Aurungzêbe dispatched a messenger to hasten Morâd, who was still about fifteen miles distant. He himself, in the mean time, resolved to take the present opportunity to pass the river, which by the late extreme drought had become fordable. He placed, therefore, his artillery, which was worked by some Frenchmen in his service, on a rising ground, and entered the river in columns, under his own fire. The Maraja, trusting to the height of the banks and his advanced-guard, who were already engaged with the enemy, contented himself with drawing up his army in order of battle at a distance. Aurungzêbe, having forced the passage of the river, encamped on its bank; and the next day he was joined by Morâd, who had left his army on their march. The brothers, after a long conference, resolved to attack the enemy by the dawn of the morning; whilst orders were sent to the forces of Morâd, who were not yet arrived, to hold themselves in readiness for action.

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The Maraja, by his scouts, being apprised of the motions of the rebels, was ready to receive them. He drew up, before day-light, his army in order of battle, to be ready to accommodate his dispositions afterwards to the appearance of the enemy's line. He accordingly began the action with the Mogul cavalry, but these were soon repulsed by the veteran troops of Aurungzêbe. The Maraja, who foresaw the discomfiture of the Moguls, shewed behind them the front of thirty thousand of his native troops the Rajaputs, in whom he chiefly confided. Aurungzêbe, upon seeing this formidable body, drew back from the pursuit, and restored his line. The Maraja advanced with impetuosity, and the prince met him half way. The shock was extremely violent; and the rebels were on the point of giving way, when Morâd, with his troops, just

April 22, defeats the Maraja.



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arrived on the field, attacked the enemy in flank. The victory was snatched from the hands of the Rajaputs: their prince disdained to fly. The wings were broken and ruined; but the center, animated by the presence of their prince, stood its ground. Slaughter and danger increased every moment. Morâd was irresistible on the right flank; and Aurungzêbe, who had been on the point of retreating, advanced again to the charge. The Rajaputs behaved with their usual bravery; but they were surrounded on all sides. The action became mixed and undistinguished. Friends were mistaken for foes, and foes for friends. Uncertainty would have suspended the sword, but fear made it fall every where. About the setting of the sun, the field, covered with ten thousand dead bodies on the side of the enemy, was left to Aurungzêbe and Morâd. The Maraja, after the battle was over, drove his chariot, by way of bravado, quite round the army of the victors; and when it was proposed to Aurungzêbe that a party should be detached in pursuit of that prince, "No," he replied, "let the wounded boar have time to fly."

Masculine
behaviour of
the Maraja's
wife.

The bad success of the Maraja proceeded not more from his own folly, than from the address of Aurungzêbe. That prince had his emissaries in the Imperial camp, who insinuated to the rigid Mahomedans, that should the Maraja prevail, their religion would be at an end in India. The Moguls accordingly made but a faint resistance; and the whole weight of the action fell upon the Rajaputs. The Maraja, after his defeat, was ashamed to appear at court. He retreated to his own country; but his wife, a woman of a masculine spirit, disdained to receive a husband not covered with victory. She shut the gates of her castle against him. He in vain remonstrated, that, though unsuccessful, he had fought with the bravery of his ancestors, as appeared from the number of the slain. "The slain," said she, "have left Jesswant without an

excuse.



excuse. To be defeated is no new thing among the Marajas, but to survive a defeat is new. Descended from their blood, adopted by marriage into their house, they left their glory in the hands of Jeffwint, and he has tarnished it with flight. To be the messenger of the ruin of his armies, to show the world that he fears death more than disgrace, is now become the employment of my husband. But I have no husband. It is an impostor that knocks at our gates. Jeffwint is no more. The blood of kings could not survive his loss of fame. Prepare the funeral pile! I will join in death my departed lord." To such a pitch of enthusiasm had this woman carried her ideas of valour. She herself was the daughter of the late Rana, and Jeffwint was of the same family. He, however, prevailed upon her to open the gate of the castle, by promising that he would levy a new army, and recover from Aurungzêbe the glory which he had lost to that prince.

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The princes, after their victory over the Maraja, entered Ugein in triumph. Morâd, who loved battle as a pastime, was unwilling to stop in that city; but Aurungzêbe convinced him that it was necessary to refresh the troops for a few days, after the fatigues of a long march, and the toils of an obstinate action. He at the same time informed him, that time should be given to their victory to work upon the fears of the enemy. "Besides," said Aurungzêbe, "there are thirty thousand men in the army of Dara, whom I intend to gain over to my interest before we shall again engage." The true cause of this delay was a want of information of the real state of the court of Agra. If Dara was the sovereign, Aurungzêbe had no doubt of carrying all before him, on account of the unpopularity of that prince among the nobility; but if the reins of government had reverted into the hands of Shaw Jehân, who was, in a manner, adored both by the army and the

Aurungzêbe
remains at
Ugein.



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the people, he was sure that even his own troops would desert him in a day of battle. He had sent privately expresses to his friends at Agra, and he waited for their return.

Perplexity of
the emperor.

The news of the battle near the Nirbidda arrived, in the mean time, at court. Dara was enraged at the Moguls, from whose cowardice or perfidy the rebels derived their success. The emperor himself was perplexed beyond measure. He was sensible of the determined resolution of his rebel sons: he dreaded the violence of Dara. He saw nothing but misfortune before him, and some dreadful calamity hanging over himself and his family. The eager preparations of Dara for another battle, alarmed him as much as the approach of the rebels. A victory would make Dara master of the empire: a defeat would throw himself into the hands of those whom he opposed. His mind flew from one resolution to another, and he could fix on none. The prospect was gloomy before him; and seeing no point on which he could rest his hopes, he left all to chance.

Preparations
of Dara,

Dara, with the natural activity and vehemence of his temper, prepared, with redoubled vigour, for the field. He passed like a flame through the capital, and kindled thousands into an eagerness equal to his own. When the first news of the defeat of the Maraja came to court, Dara sent an express to his son Solimân, who besieged Suja in Mongeer. He desired him to make the best terms which the urgency of the times would admit with Suja, and to return to Agra by forced marches. A negotiation was opened accordingly with the besieged prince. His necessities made him listen, with eagerness, to a treaty. Solimân, in the name of the emperor, reinstated him in the government of Bengal, after having exacted from him a solemn promise of taking no farther part in the war. He himself marched, night and day, to reinforce his

father;



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father; and had he arrived in time, Aurungzêbe might have given his hopes to the wind. Solimân was then in the twenty-sixth year of his age; graceful in his person, and vigorous in his mind. Nature seemed to have formed him for war. He was brave in action, sedate, and possessing himself in the greatest dangers. He was generous in his disposition, liberal in his sentiments, pleasing to his friends, humane to his enemies. He possessed the fire and warmth of Dara without his weaknesses; the prudence of Aurungzêbe without his meannesses and deceit.

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The Imperial army, in the mean time, marched out of Agra under the conduct of Dara. The emperor became more and more perplexed, as matters approached to a decision. He knew that the nobles loved not Dara: he knew that the best troops were absent with Solimân. One expedient only remained, and that, if followed, would have insured success. He ordered the Imperial tent to be pitched without the walls; declaring, that he would take the field in person against the rebels. His friends saw an end to his troubles in this resolution. His own army to a man would die in defence of his power; and even the troops of Aurungzêbe and Morâd had openly declared, that they would not draw their swords against Shaw Jehân. The infatuation of Dara prevented his father's designs. He had recourse to intreaty, and when that failed, to commands. The emperor, whose intellects had been in some measure impaired by his illness, was, at first, shocked at the obstinacy of Dara. That prince, whose filial piety was even greater than his ambition, waited upon his father. He threw himself at his feet, and earnestly requested that he would not endanger his health by taking the field; as, upon his life, the prosperity of the empire depended, in days of so much trouble.

who marches
against Au-
rungzêbe and
Morâd.

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Charge given
him by his
father.

The emperor, having yielded to the intreaties of Dara, conjured him, though bent on war, to avoid coming to action till the arrival of his son. The malignity of his fate prevailed also over this advice. He said not a word to his father; but his countenance expressed chagrin and discontent. "Then go, my son," said Shaw Jehân, "but return not without victory to me. Misfortune seems to darken the latter days of your father; add not to his grief by presenting yourself before him in your distress, lest he may be induced to say, That prudence, as well as fortune, were wanting to Dara." The prince had scarce parted with his father, when news arrived of the march of the rebels from the city of Ugein. Dara placed himself immediately at the head of the army, which consisted of one hundred thousand horse, with a thousand pieces of cannon. He advanced hastily to the banks of the river Chunbul, which is twenty miles from Agra. A ridge of mountains, which extend themselves to Guzerat, advance into the plain country, along the Chunbul, to within twenty-five miles of the river Jumna; and this pass Dara occupied with strong lines, strengthened by redoubts, which were mounted with artillery.

Aurungzêbe
turns the rear
of the Imperial
army,
June 1.

Dara had not long remained behind his lines, when the princes, on the first of June, appeared on the opposite bank of the Chunbul, and pitched their camp within sight of the Imperial army. Aurungzêbe reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, but he was not to be forced. His army consisted not of forty thousand men; and they were fatigued with the heat of the weather and the length of their march. But there was no time to be lost. Solimân, covered with laurels, was approaching fast with the flower of the Imperial army, to support his father's cause. No hopes presented themselves to Aurungzêbe; and he became, of a sudden, sullen, melancholy, and perplexed. To retreat was ruin: to advance destruction. He was lost in suspense. Morâd, with his usual love
of



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of arduous undertakings, was for forcing the lines; but a letter from Shaifta, the son of Afiph Jâh, and who was third in command in the Imperial army, broke off that measure, by presenting a better to the brothers. This treacherous lord informed Aurungzêbe, that to attempt the lines would be folly, and that the only means left him was to leave his camp standing to amuse Dara, and to march through the hills by a bye-road, which two chiefs, who were directed to attend him in the evening, would point out. The princes closed with the proposal. The guides joined them in the evening, and they decamped with the greatest silence, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery under a strong guard, who were to amuse the enemy. The army moved about thirty miles that night; and the next day they were discovered by the scouts of Dara, in full march toward Agra.

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Dara decamped from his lines with precipitation, leaving the greater part of his cannon behind him. By a forced march he pushed between the enemy and the capital; and on the fourth of June he presented himself before the rebels. On the morning of the fifth, the prince ordered the army to be formed in order of battle. Rustum Chan, an experienced general from Tartary, marshalled the field. The artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery stood a number of camels, mounted with small swivels, which the riders of each camel, without lighting, could charge and discharge with ease. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines; and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows together with sabres. One third of the cavalry formed the reserve behind the lines. Dara placed himself in the center, mounted on a lofty elephant, from which he could command a view of the field. The treacherous Shaifta took the command of the right wing; and that of the

Dara's order
of battle,
June 5.



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left was destined by Dara for Rustum. That officer, who was acknowledged the most experienced commander in Hindostan, was actually at the head of the army. He bore the commission of captain-general, and all orders were issued by him. He represented to Dara, before the action commenced, that he intended to place himself at the head of the reserve in the rear, where he might direct the movements of the field, and issue out his orders as the circumstances of affairs might require. "My post," said Dara, "is in the front of battle; and I expect that all my friends shall partake of my danger, if they wish to share the glory which I hope to obtain." The generous and intrepid spirit of Rustum was offended at this reflection. He answered with a stern countenance and a determined tone of voice, "The front of battle has been always my post, though I never contended for an empire; and if I wished to change it to-day, it was from an anxiety for the fortune of Dara." The prince was struck with the impropriety of his own conduct. He endeavoured to persuade Rustum to remain at the head of the reserve; but he went beyond hearing, and placed himself in the front of the left wing.

That of Aurangzêbe.

Aurangzêbe, on the other hand, having marshalled his army into order of battle, requested of Morâd to take the command of the center. He committed the left wing to his son Mahommed, and he placed himself on the right. Morâd was astonished, and pleased at the ease with which Aurungzêbe assigned to him the post of honour. But the crafty prince had two reasons for his conduct. Morâd was haughty, he had assumed the Imperial titles, and though, out of a pretended complaisance to his father, he had laid them down, he looked forward with undeviating ardour to the throne. It was not the business of Aurungzêbe to offend him at this critical juncture. But his other reason was equally prudent. Rustum commanded the left wing of the enemy; and he was the most



most renowned general of the times. He had passed many years in the service of the Tartars and Persians, being bred up to the field from his youth, in which he had always eminently distinguished himself. He had been present in one hundred general actions; he was habituated to danger, and perfect master of his own mind in the most desperate situations. Aurungzêbe therefore could not trust the experience of Rustum, against the conduct of any but his own.

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Both lines began now to move from wing to wing; and the artillery opened on both sides. Rustum advanced, on the left, with a hasty pace, directing the march of his troops by the motion of his sword. Aurungzêbe ordered a part of his artillery to point toward Rustum; and that general received a cannon-ball in his breast, when he had advanced within five yards of the enemy. The whole wing stopt at the fall of Rustum: but Sittersal, one of the chiefs of the Rajaputs, at the head of five thousand horse, fell in, sword in hand, with Aurungzêbe. Shaw Mahommed, who commanded under the prince, opposed the Rajaputs with great bravery. A sharp conflict ensued; and the Rajaputs began to file off, when their leader engaged personally with Shaw Mahommed. The Rajaputs strove to cover their chief, but in vain; he was cut down by the sabre of Mahommed. The whole wing fell into disorder, but did not fly; and a promiscuous slaughter covered the field with dead.

The battle
begins.

Dara, mounted on his elephant, in the mean time advanced with the center. He was observed by his army to look over all the line, and they gathered courage from his intrepid demeanor. A part of the enemy's artillery was opposed to the very point where Dara advanced. A heavy fire was kept up, and his squadron fell into a kind of disorder; but when he waved his hand for them to ad-

Dara's bravery.



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vance, they resumed their ranks, and followed him with ardour. Before he could come to blows with the enemy, a second volley occasioned a second disorder. He however stood up on his elephant, and, without any change in his countenance, called out with a loud voice to advance with speed. He himself, in the mean time, fell in with the first line of Morâd. He rushed through with his elephant, and opened a way for his horse, who, pressing into the heart of the enemy, commenced a great slaughter.

Morâd's
bravery.

The whole center under Morâd was broken, and the prince himself was covered with wounds. He endeavoured to lead his troops again to the charge; but they were deaf to his commands. He ordered his elephant to be driven among the thickest of the enemy; being determined to fall with his fortune, or, by a brave example, to re-animate his flying troops with hopes of recovering the day. His boldness was attended with success. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror, and poured around him. Arib Dafs, an Indian chief, thrice strove to reach Morâd with his sword; but he did not succeed, on account of the height of the elephant. He, however, cut the pillars which supported the roof of the Amari or castle, which falling upon the prince, incumbered him in such a manner, that he could not defend himself. He however disengaged himself, and dealt death with his arrows on every side. In the mean time Mahomed, the son of Aurungzêbe, was sent by his father's orders from the left to the assistance of Morâd. He came up when the prince was in the greatest danger. Fresh spirit was given to the troops of Morâd, and Dara received a check.

Dara, by an
accident

The battle now raged with redoubled fury. The elephant of Morâd, rendered outrageous by wounds, rushed forward through the columns of the enemy. Mahomed, ashamed of being left behind,



behind, followed him with great ardour. Dara did not retreat. He gave his orders with apparent composure. But a cannon-ball having taken off the head of his foster-brother, who sat with him on the elephant, he was almost blinded with the blood. A rocket, at the same time, passing by his ear, singed his turban; a second followed, and having stuck in the front of the Amari, burst, and broke it all to pieces. His colour was seen then to change. The lord who drove the elephant observed an alteration in the prince; and, whether through personal fear, or for the safety of his master, is uncertain, retreated a few paces. Dara reprimanded him with severity; but the mischief was already done. His squadrons saw the retreat of the prince; and their spirit flagged. He however ordered the driver to turn his elephant toward the enemy, but that lord represented to him, that now, being marked out by the rebels, it were better for him to mount his horse, and pursue the fugitives, for that now very few remained on the field. He alighted; but there was no horse to be found. He fought for some time on foot. At length he mounted a horse whose rider had been killed.

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Almost the whole of both armies had now left the field. Not a thousand men remained with Dara, and scarce one hundred horse with Aurungzêbe and Morâd. The latter however fought with increasing ardour. His young son, of about eight years of age, sat with him upon the elephant. Him he covered with his shield, and dealt his arrows around on the enemy. Aurungzêbe, having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying squadrons, advanced with fifty horsemen to the assistance of Morâd, hoping more for an honourable death than for a victory. It was at the very instant that he came to blows with the Imperialists, that the unfortunate Dara dismounted from his elephant. The squadrons who had still adhered to that prince, seeing the elephant retreating with the Imperial standard,

is defeated.

ard,



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ard, thought that Dara had been killed. The cause for which they fought, in their opinion, no longer existed. They betook themselves to flight; and when Dara had mounted his horse, he found the field bare of all his troops. He fled with precipitation, and the rebel princes found themselves at the head of only two hundred horsemen, in possession of an unexpected victory.

Reflections.

This battle, in which many thousands were slain on both sides, was lost to Dara by an accident; though that prince was guilty of previous follies, which made men forbode no good to his arms. Had he sat on his elephant a few minutes longer, the princes his brothers would have been involved in those irretrievable misfortunes which now surrounded him. But his evil stars prevailed. He who never received counsel before, was ruined by hearkening to advice; and Aurungzébe, who had placed his hopes on art and intrigue, owed, at last, his success to his valour. Dara, like a desperate gambler, threw all upon throw; and when Fortune favoured him in that, he turned the dye for his foes. Had he permitted Shaw Jchân to have taken the field, his brothers would scarce have dared to negotiate for their lives; had he waited for his gallant son, it would not have been a contest but a flight. But ambition had dazzled the eyes of Dara, and he could not see things in their proper light. Had the emperor appeared at the head of his forces, his power would be at an end. Had Solimân arrived fresh from the conquest of Suja, the glory of victory would have rested upon that prince. Dara, unfortunately for himself, was, from his love of power, afraid of his father; and, from the desire of fame, envious of the renown of his son.

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C H A P. VI.

Reflections—Dara appears before his father—His flight to Delhi—The army deserts Solimán Shekô—Shaiṣṭa Chan condemned to death—Rescued—The confederate princes appear before Agra—Aurungzêbe writes to his father—Conference between him and the princess Jehanâra—His artful conduct—By a stratagem seizes the citadel and the emperor—Deceives Morád—Marches with him in pursuit of Dara—Seizes and imprisons Morád—Pursues Dara—Mounts the throne at Delhi—Reflections on his conduct—The news of his accession brought to Shaw Jehân—Character of that prince.

THE decisive battle, which quashed for ever the hopes of Dara, and gave the crown of Hindostan to Aurungzêbe, was fought within sixteen miles of Agra. The victor, astonished at a piece of good fortune which he did not expect, pursued not his enemies beyond the field. The fugitives on both sides had rallied, in the rear of the small parties who continued the action, and presented a shew of firmness, without any inclination of renewing the combat. To an unconcerned spectator it would have been difficult to determine which party had prevailed. The flight on each side was equal; and the field was left, by both armies, to the dead. But Dara was conquered in his own mind; he passed suddenly through the half-formed lines of his rallied army, and men, who wanted but an excuse for flight, relinquished their ground with precipitation. Aurungzêbe was first convinced

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Reflections.]



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of his victory by its consequences; but whether from policy or fear is uncertain, he forbore to advance towards Agra. He gave time to his troops to recover from their terror; as well as room to his enemies to increase their panic: besides, the affairs of his rival were not desperate. Should the emperor take the field in person, the rebel princes, notwithstanding the advantages which they had obtained, would have vanished from his presence. But his distemper had not left Shaw Jehân, and he was incumbered with the indolence of age.

Dara appears
before his
father.

The emperor had sat all day, in anxious expectation, in the tower over that gate of the citadel which looked toward the field of battle. Parties of fugitives had often alarmed his fears; but the expresses from Dara, during the time of action, had as often restored his hopes. The prince at length came to the foot of the wall, with marks of his own defeat. To mention the result of the battle was superfluous; his appearance betrayed misfortune. "The rebels, I perceive, have prevailed," said Shaw Jehân with a sigh; "but Dara Shekô must have had some other cause than fear for his flight."—"Yes," replied the prince, "there is a cause. The traitor Shaista Chan! I have lost the empire, but let him not escape unpunished." The emperor bent his eyes to the ground, and for some time uttered not one word; at length suddenly starting up, he said, "What means Dara to do?"—"To defend these walls," replied the prince. "You deceive yourself," said Shaw Jehân; "walls are no defence to those who have failed in the field." Having expressed himself in these words, he ordered the bystanders to remove. He then advised Dara to set out immediately for Delhi. He told him, That the governor of that city should have orders to supply him with all the public money in his possession; and that an express should be immediately dispatched to his son Solimân, to march along the northern



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northern banks of the Ganges, and to join him in the province of
 Dehli, which lies between that river and the Jumna.

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Dara, approving of this advice, retired to his own palace, and
 made preparations for his immediate flight. He loaded all his
 elephants and chariots with his women and slaves; and for want
 of beasts of burden, he imprudently left his treasure behind.
 About midnight, the unfortunate prince issued out of Agra,
 mounted on horseback, accompanied by a few menial servants.
 One of the pikemen who attended him, had the insolence to ride
 close by his side, and to murmur in his ears concerning the loss
 which he himself sustained by such an abrupt departure. Dara
 was enraged at this sudden mark of his own fallen condition.
 "Slave!" said he, "murmur not at your fate. Behold me, who
 but yesterday commanded armies, reduced thus low, and forget
 your own trivial misfortunes. Behold me, who am called great
 as Darius," alluding to his own name, "obliged to fly by
 night, and be silent concerning your fate." The pikeman was
 struck by the reproof. He shrunk back, and the other servants
 wept. One of them was so much enraged that he prepared to
 chastise the slave; but Dara interposing said, "Forbear! the
 friends of the unfortunate have a right to complain in their pre-
 fence."

Flies

to Delhi.

Dara proceeded through night, and deceived his misfortunes
 by repeating some of the elegies of Hafiz, a famous poet of Shi-
 raz. When he had rode two miles from Agra, he heard the noise
 of horsemen approaching from behind. He stood and drew his
 sword; but they were two private soldiers, who, having perceived
 the prince passing through the gate of the city, took a resolution
 to join him. They told their business; and Dara was prevented
 from thanking them by his tears. He had not advanced many
 miles,



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miles, when an officer, with forty troopers joined him; and by the dawn of the morning, several men of distinction came up with him, with three hundred horse. With this retinue he continued his rout to Delhi; and arrived in that city on the third day after his departure from Agra.

Raises forces.

The emperor, anxious about Dara, sent to his palace soon after his departure. He understood that, in the confusion, he had neglected to carry along with him his treasure. He immediately ordered fifty-seven mules to be loaded with gold coin, and to be sent to his son under the protection of a detachment of the guards. But a tribe of Hindoos, who have since made a figure under the name of Jates, having intelligence of this treasure, defeated the party, and seized the money. This was a dreadful blow to Dara. Thirty lacks of the public money were only found in the possession of the governor of Delhi; and the merchants and bankers would subscribe to no loan, in the present untoward posture of the prince's affairs. The threats of military execution at last enabled him to raise considerable sums, for which he gave orders on the Imperial treasury. Soldiers flocked round his standard; and he had, in a few days, the appearance of an army.

Aurangzêbe
corrupts

Aurangzêbe, who still remained encamped near the field of battle, was informed of every transaction in Agra by his spies. The greatest lords, who looked upon him as the heir if not the actual possessor of the empire, endeavoured to gain his favour by giving him intelligence. He found that all the hopes of Dara depended upon the army under the command of his son; and he resolved to gain it over to his own views. He sent letters to the Raja Joy Singh, he wrote to Debere Chan, who were next in command to Solimân Shekô. He exaggerated, if possible, the

hopeless



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hopeless condition of Dara; he informed them, that the army of that prince had joined his standard, that he himself had fled unattended to Delhi, that he could not escape, as orders had been distributed through all the provinces to seize him, as a public enemy. "Shaw Jehân," continued Aurungzêbe, "is rendered unfit for government by age and infirmities. Your hopes, and even your safety must depend upon me; and as you value both, seize Solimân, and send him to my camp."

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Joy Singh, who received the first letters from Aurungzêbe, was perplexed. His fears stood against his adherence to Solimân; his honour rendered him averse to side with Aurungzêbe. He went to the tent of Debere; and that lord placed the letters which he also had received, in his hands. To seize the prince was a measure of peril, from his known valour; to attempt to seduce the army, whilst he remained at its head, dangerous. They followed the middle course as the safest. When the news of the defeat of Dara arrived at the camp, about a day's march beyond Allahabâd, the prince called a council of war. He proposed to march straight to Delhi; they dissented, and plainly told him, that they would not stir from the camp till more certain advices arrived. The prince, anxious to join his father, was distressed beyond measure. He endeavoured to persuade them; but their measures had been taken. He applied to the army; they too were traitors, and disobeyed. Instead of being able to assist Dara, he became afraid of his own safety. He resolved to leave a camp where he had no authority. He, however, altered his opinion, and remained; but the principal officers, with their retinues, left the camp.

the army of
prince Soli-
mân.

Shaista Chan, who had commanded the right wing of Dara's army in the late battle, betrayed his trust, and retreated without

Shaista Chan
condemned
to death.



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coming to blows with the rebels. He returned to Agra; and a message was sent him by the emperor, commanding him to appear in the presence. His friends advised him not to obey; but his confidence was equal to his want of faith. He trusted in his own power; he was encouraged by the vicinity of the victorious princes. He went, and stood undaunted in the presence. The emperor, offended before at his treachery, was enraged at his impudence. "You villain," said he, "you son of a villain, how could you presume to betray my son and me?" Shaiста took fire at the reproach. "The name," he replied, "I confess, is not unsuitable to Afîph Jâh; he invested Shaw Jehân with power, by delivering the heir of the crown into his hands." The emperor started from his throne, and drew his sword. He looked furiously around on the nobles, and cried, "Will none of you seize the traitor?" All were silent; the emperor repeated the same words. Fowlâd Chan stepped forth, threw Shaiста to the ground, and binding his hands behind him, asked the further-pleasure of Shaw Jehân. "Throw him headlong," said he, "from the Imperial bastion." When they were dragging him to execution, Shaiста cried out to the emperor, "Shall you, who are the vicegerent of God, break his laws, by shedding blood on the seventh day of the holy month of Ramzân?" Shaw Jehân hung down his head for a moment; and then ordered him to be kept bound till the next day.

Refused.

The friends of Shaiста were, in the mean time, apprised of his danger. They gathered from all quarters, and collected near ten thousand men, who came to the gate of the citadel, and peremptorily demanded him from the emperor. Shaw Jehân continued obstinate during the night. In the morning, the force of the rebels had increased; and he perceived that they were resolved to come to extremities. He sent for the prisoner; and obliged him



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to write an order for them to disperse. They saw through this piece of policy. They refused to obey the commands of a man subject to another's power. Scaling ladders were actually applied to the walls; and the emperor was obliged to comply with the demands of the insurgents, and to restore Shaista to his freedom.

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On the ninth of June, the confederate princes appeared with their army before the capital. The city was in no condition to sustain a siege; and the gates were left open. Aurungzêbe, declining to enter Agra, pitched his tent in a garden without the walls. His schemes were not yet ripe for execution; and he assumed an appearance of moderation. Morâd lay ill of his wounds; and, being unable to attend to business, a fair field was left for his brother. The emperor, when the van of the rebels appeared in sight, ordered the gates of the citadel, which was a place of great strength, to be shut. This resolution alarmed Aurungzêbe. To attack his father would be a measure of great imprudence. His health being re-established, his subjects still looked up to him as their only lawful sovereign. Aurungzêbe, therefore, resolved to substitute art in the place of force.

The princes
appear before
Agra.

When he arrived at the gate of the city he sent a trusty messenger to his father. He ordered him to touch the ground in his name, before the emperor; and to signify to him, that Aurungzêbe still retained for him the affection of a son, and the loyalty of a subject; that his grief for what had happened was exceedingly great; that he lamented the ambition and evil designs of Dara, who had forced him to extremities; that he rejoiced extremely at the emperor's recovery from his indisposition; and that he himself remained without the city, in humble expectation of his commands. Shaw Jehân being no stranger to the dark, crafty, and intriguing disposition of Aurungzêbe, received his messenger with affected

Aurungzêbe
sends to his
father.



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affected joy. He had long discovered his passion for reigning ; and he resolved to meet deceit with duplicity. He, however, was not a match in art for his son ; and by endeavouring to intrap Aurungzêbe, he himself fell at last into the snare.

The conference

Shaw Jehân, to expiscate the real designs of his rebellious sons, sent his eldest daughter Jehanâra to visit them, upon their arrival at the gates of Agra. Aurungzêbe having owned the superiority of Morâd, the princess went first to his tent. Morâd was of a disposition that could neither conceal his hatred nor his love. He knew that Jehanâra was inviolably attached to the interests of his elder brother ; and being at the same time fretful through the pain of his wounds, he treated her with disrespect, and even used harsh expressions. The haughty spirit of Jehanâra was impatient of insult. She called for her chair in her rage, and told him, that his brutality was equal to his crimes. The behaviour of Morâd to his sister was instantly carried to Aurungzêbe, by his spies. He ran out of his tent, and stooped her chair. "Will my sister," he said, "leave the camp without enquiring concerning my health ? My long absence, Jehanâra, has, I fear, blotted me out of the memory of my relations. Should you not deign yourself to honour me with your presence, it would have been kind to have sent to me one of your meanest slaves, to give me some accounts of my father." Having flattered her pride with such expressions as these, he prevailed upon her to enter his tent, where she was treated with the highest respect and distinction.

of the princess
Jehanâra

To gain the confidence of Jehanâra, he pretended the greatest remorse for his own behaviour. He told her, that his happiness in life depended upon his father's forgiveness of his errors. "But why did I call them errors, Jehanâra ?" said he, "they are crimes ; though I might plead as an excuse, that I was deceived



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ceived by designing men; but my folly in believing them, has thrown discredit on my understanding, in my own eyes." His asseverations were accompanied with tears; and the princess was deceived. "I am no stranger," she replied, "to the sentiments of the emperor, on a subject which has caused so much of his sorrow. He is most offended at Morâd, who has added the name of Sovereign to his other crimes. He considers Aurungzêbe as only misled by misrepresentation; Morâd as an obstinate and determined rebel. Desert him, therefore, and you may not only depend upon forgiveness, but upon all the favour an indulgent parent can bestow on a son whom he loves."

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Aurungzêbe's countenance appeared lightened up with joy, during the time which she employed in speaking. But an affected darkness returned upon his features when she mentioned Morâd. "Dara's party," he then began, "is ruined; and Fortune has added to the friends of Morâd. The first is unpopular, on account of his passionate severity among the nobility; the latter beloved, for the open honesty of his disposition and his unequalled valour. As for me," continued Aurungzêbe, "I am what I seem, a man devoted to the service of God; a character little calculated to gain the favour of men. But should Dara appear to have friends to support my endeavours to regain the esteem of my father, I venture to assure Jehanâra, that I will succeed or perish in the attempt." He spoke these words with such an appearance of emphatic sincerity, that the princess was overjoyed. In the openness of her heart, she informed him of all the resources of her brother Dara; and she mentioned the names of his principal friends. Many who pretended to be in the interest of Aurungzêbe were of the number; though they had yielded for the present to the bias of fortune. Without any personal affection for Dara, they affected his cause from a principle of justice. "I am rejoiced, Jehanâra,"

and Aurung-
zêbe.



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Jehanâra," said Aurungzêbe, "at the discovery you have made. No doubts now remain to perplex my mind. Go to my father, and tell him, that in two days he shall see Aurungzêbe at his feet."

Emperor
writes to
Dara.

Shaw Jehân, upon this occasion, forgot the natural cautiousness of his character. He looked upon his schemes as completed; and thought he saw Aurungzêbe already submitting to his clemency. In the fulness of his heart he sat down and wrote a letter to Dara. He acquainted the prince, that the bad aspect of his fortune began to change. "Aurungzêbe," said he, "is disgusted with the insolence of Morâd. He is to abandon that haughty young man, and to throw himself at my feet. A foolish and inexperienced boy, who owed all his success to the abilities of his brother, must soon fall when deprived of his support. But we are not to depend upon the contrition of Aurungzêbe. When he shall enter the citadel, his person will be seized. Hold yourself, therefore, in readiness to march with all expedition to Agra. Two days more shall carry to you accounts of the full completion of our designs." The emperor placed his letter in the hands of Nahirdil, one of his trusty slaves. He ordered him to set out for Delhi at midnight, with all expedition.

His letter
intercepted.

The impatience of the emperor proved fatal to his schemes. Shaista Chan had his spies in the presence; and one of them informed him, that a letter had been written, and given in charge to Nahirdil. He suspected that it was intended for Dara; and he occupied the road toward Delhi with some faithful friends. Nahirdil had scarce issued out of the gate of the city, when some horsemen surrounded and seized him. He was brought to Shaista, who perused the letter. Elevated with the discovery, he immediately went to the palace of Aurungzêbe; for that prince had



had now taken up his residence in the city. The slave was confined with the greatest secrecy. The prince read the letter without emotion. He had always doubted the emperor's sincerity, when he promised his forgiveness to a son who had ruined his armies in two battles. He, however, prosecuted his plan of deceit with indefatigable perseverance. To besiege his father in the citadel would be an unpopular, if not a dangerous measure. The reverence which the army still had for their aged sovereign, would prevent them from drawing their swords against him. But the citadel must be possessed, and the person of the father must be placed in the hands of his ambitious son; otherwise he may give his hopes to the wind.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

On the fifteenth of June, Aurungzêbe was to have performed his promise of visiting his father in the citadel. The emperor, full of anxiety, looked forward to the appointed hour, in which he saw a period to his misfortunes. A letter from his son was delivered into his hands, when he expected him in person. He told his father, that his crimes were of so deep a dye, that he could not divest himself of fear that the injured emperor would not forgive him. "However much desirous I am of being received into favour, I cannot risque my personal safety in the presence. The guilty are always timid. Permit me, therefore, to receive the most convincing proofs of my sovereign's forgiveness; and let my son, Mahommed, who reveres the person and authority of his grandfather, be admitted into the citadel with a guard for the protection of my person." Shaw Jehân, anxious for the execution of his own project, found, that without consenting to these proposals, it must be entirely frustrated. He therefore returned for answer, that Mahommed, with a certain number of men, might come.

Aurung-
zêbe's
schemes



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1058.
to seize the
emperor.

Mahommed accordingly, having received the proper instructions from his father, entered the citadel, and disposed his party in different places. The emperor, in the mean time, had concealed a body of men in a court adjoining to the haram. The prince roaming about, lighted on these men. He complained to the emperor of an intention against his father's person; he therefore plainly told him, that till these men were removed, he would send a messenger to Aurungzêbe to stop him from coming into the citadel. Shaw Jehân, whether he put some confidence in the promises of his son, or that he thought he could seize him by means of the women and eunuchs of the seraglio, is uncertain; but he removed the soldiers out of the fort, as a proof of his sincerity. It afterwards appeared, that the emperor rested his hopes on a number of robust Tartar women in the haram, whom he had armed with daggers; and who, from the spirit of their country, were fit for an undertaking of boldness.

Shaw Jehân
taken pri-
soner.

Mahommed, contrary to his expectations, found his party superior within the citadel. He, however, concealed his intentions. Every thing was settled; and the emperor and his grandson remained in silent expectation. News was at last brought, that Aurungzêbe had mounted his horse; and that the procession of his retinue was approaching. Shaw Jehân was elevated with hopes; but the crafty prince, as if struck with a fit of devotion, ordered his cavalcade to change their course, and to move toward the tomb of Akbâr, where he intended to offer up his prayers to Heaven. When the emperor was informed of this circumstance, he started up from his throne in great rage. "Mahommed," said he to the prince, "what means Aurungzêbe by this behaviour? Is he more anxious to appease the spirit of his great ancestor for his crimes, than the offended majesty of his own father?" Mahommed calmly replied, "My father had never any intention



intention to visit the emperor." "What then brought Mahommed hither?" retorted Shaw Jehan. "To take charge of the citadel," Mahommed coolly rejoined. The emperor finding himself betrayed and outwitted by his grandson, bore him down with a torrent of opprobrious names. The prince, seeing his passion rising beyond the bounds of reason, retired from the presence with the usual obeisance, and left his rage to subside at leisure.

A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1058.

The emperor, after the heat of his passion was over, began to reflect upon his deplorable condition. He accused his own weakness more than his fortune; and he was ashamed to have fallen into a snare which he himself had laid. Resentment and a desire of immediate revenge prevailed over every other passion of his soul. He sent again for Mahommed. The prince came; and found his grandfather with his hand upon the Coran, and his eyes raised to the Imperial crown, which was suspended over his head. "You see, Mahommed," he said, "these sacred objects, before an unfortunate old man. I am overwhelmed with rage, worn out with age and disease. It is in your power, young man, to make me, for once, happy in my latter days. Release me from prison; and by these," pointing to the crown, and holding the Coran in his hand, "I solemnly swear to make you emperor of the Moguls." The prince was silent; but various passions flew alternately over his features. "And do you hesitate," began Shaw Jehân, "to do an action, which will at once gain you the favour of Heaven and the empire of Hindostan? Are you afraid, that it shall be hereafter related to your dispraise, that you delivered an aged grandfather from prison and disgrace?" The prince hung down his head for a moment; then suddenly starting, rushed out without uttering a word.

He offers the
empire



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1048.
to the son of
Aurangzêbe.

It is difficult to determine what motive induced the prince to decline the offer made to him by Shaw Jehân. He was ambitious; nor was he remarkable for his filial piety. He probably doubted his grandfather's sincerity; or he did not chuse to trust to proposals imposed by necessity. Aurungzêbe, however, escaped from imminent danger through the self-denial of his son. Had the emperor appeared in public at the head of his friends, Aurungzêbe would shrink from before him; and the haughty Morâd would fly. The nobles who adhered to the interest of the brothers, and even the common soldiers had repeatedly declared, that they would not draw their swords against a prince under whose long and auspicious government their country had so much flourished. The first repulse received from Mahommed, did not induce the emperor to relinquish his designs. He sent to him a second time; but he refused to come to his presence. He had still the keys of the citadel in his possession; and neither Aurungzêbe nor his son chose to use force to obtain them from him. Two days passed in this suspense. Shaw Jehân was obstinate; and Mahommed stood on his guard within the walls. The first, however, despaired of gaining over the latter to his purpose; and, in the evening of the second day, he sent him the keys of the fortress, and desired him to acquaint his father, that he might now come, in full security, to see his imprisoned sovereign.

Aurungzêbe
writes to the
emperor.

Aurungzêbe excused himself in a letter. He complained of his father's intentions against him, under the mask of clemency and friendship; that when he pretended to forgive one son, he assisted another son with money, to take away his life in war. "If the emperor complains," said Aurungzêbe, "Dara is only to blame. He owes his misfortunes to the ambition and evil designs of a son unworthy of his favour. As for me," continued the prince, "no injuries can alter my affections. Nature makes me
with



with well to my father ; and Heaven has imposed my regard for him upon me as a duty. But though I love the emperor, I also love my life ; and I am determined not to trust it in the hands of even a father, till the influence of ill-designing persons has departed quite from his mind. Let him, in the mean while, pass his time in that serene tranquillity which is suitable to his years ; and when I shall have disabled Dara from doing further harm to the empire, I myself will come and open the gates of the citadel." This letter was only intended to deceive the people. It was publicly read to the nobles ; and it is even doubtful whether it was sent at all to the emperor.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

When the prince Mahommed took possession of the person of the emperor, with the citadel, his father, as has been already related, was paying his devotions at the shrine of the emperor Akbâr. When intelligence of his son's success was carried to him, he immediately waited upon Morâd in his palace ; and told him all the circumstances of the affair. That prince, who knew that he could have no hopes from his father, was much pleased at hearing of his imprisonment. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, saluted him emperor, and said ; "Morâd had before the name, but he now has the power of a sovereign. My wishes," continued he, "are now completely accomplished. I have contributed to raise a prince, worthy of the throne of our ancestors, and I have but one favour to ask for all the fatigue which I have undergone." "Speak your wishes," said Morâd, "and they shall be instantly granted." "This world," replied Aurungzêbe, "has already overwhelmed me too much with its cares. I long to throw the burden away ; I am tired of the vain bustle and pageantry of life. Will, therefore, the emperor of the Moguls permit me to make a pilgrimage to Mecca ? will he give me some small allowance to enable me to pass my days in ease, and in the exer-

Deceives
Morâd.

cise.



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

cise of prayer and constant devotion?" Morâd, though secretly overjoyed at his resolution, made some flight attempts to dissuade him. Aurungzêbe was determined. His brother yielded to his importunity; and the crafty prince prepared for a journey which he never intended to make.

Prepares to
pursue Dara.

Whilst this farce was acting at Agra, advices arrived that Dara had collected a considerable force at Delhi. Officers of distinction crowded to the prince every day from the distant provinces. Aurungzêbe pretended to be alarmed. He advised his brother to march in person to finish the war. That prince, who was fond of action, prepared for the field; but he wanted money. The old emperor had concealed part of the Imperial treasure; Aurungzêbe had secreted the rest. The army of Morâd had not been paid for two months, and they began to murmur. The prince called together all the bankers of Agra. He offered to mortgage part of the revenue, for an immediate loan; but they refused to give him credit. He was enraged beyond measure, and he prepared to use force; when his brother advised him against an act of injustice, and promised to discharge the arrears due to the army out of his own private fortune. Morâd acceded to the proposal, without observing its fatal tendency. Aurungzêbe, by this expedient, became at once popular in the army and in the city.

Counterplot
of Morâd.

The designs of Aurungzêbe were now too palpable not to be perceived. The friends of Morâd had long seen through his deceit; and the prince himself, though not suspicious, was now convinced that he covered ambition under the mask of sanctity. The preparations for Mecca had been converted into preparations for the field. He told his brother, that he still stood in need of his advice. He marched in front from Agra, with a division of the army; and Morâd, having created his uncle Shaista, captain-

general