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general of the Imperial forces, left that lord in the government of Agra, and followed Aurungzêbe. The latter prince having arrived at Muttra, -received intelligence, that Dara had taken the rout of Lahore. He stopt, and waited for the arrival of his brother; who joined him the next day. The latter had, on his march, been convinced by his friends, that his brother had designs on his life; and self-preservation, as well as ambition, rendered it necessary for him to prevent the falling blow.

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The day after Morâd's arrival at the camp near Muttra, he invited his brother to an entertainment. Aurungzêbe, who never had suspected the open temper of Morâd, accepted of the invitation. When the brothers sat at dinner, Nazir Shabâs, high-steward of the household, who was in the secret, entered suddenly, and whispered in Morâd's ear, that now was the time to make a rent in a magnificent dress. Aurungzêbe, whose eye could trace the thoughts in the features of the face, was alarmed at this mysterious whispering, as well as at the affected gaiety of his brother. He remained silent; and Morâd dispatched Shabâs, with only desiring him to wait the signal. Aurungzêbe was now convinced that there was a design against his life. He complained suddenly of a violent pain in his bowels; and, rising under a pretence of retiring, joined his guards, and returned to his own quarter of the camp.

Miscarries.

Morâd ascribed his brother's departure to his illness; and entertained no idea that he had the least suspicion of his own intentions. In three days he recovered of the pretended pain in his bowels. He received his brother's congratulations with every mark of esteem and affection; and the day after, he sent him an invitation to come to his tent, to see some beautiful women, whom he had collected for his amusement. Their performances

Morâd deceived.



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performances in fingering, in dancing, and in playing upon various instruments of music, were, he said, beyond any thing ever seen in Hindostan. He enlarged upon their grace, their beauty, the elegant symmetry of their limbs. The mind of Morâd, who was naturally a great lover of pleasure, was inflamed at the description; and, contrary to the advice of all his friends, he went to his brother's quarter. On the arrival of the emperor, as Aurungzêbe affected to call his brother, he was received by the young ladies in an inner tent. They were handsome beyond description, and the voluptuous prince was struck with a pleasing astonishment at their charms.

and seized

An elegant entertainment was in the mean time served up to the sound of vocal and instrumental music. Morâd was elevated, and called for wine of Shirâz. The ladies sat round him in a circle, and Aurungzêbe, throwing off his usual austerity, began to partake of the wine. Morâd in a short time became intoxicated, and his brother, instead of wine, imposed upon him bumpers of arrack. He at length fell asleep on a sofa, in the arms of one of the ladies. Aurungzêbe had, in the mean time, given orders to some of his officers, to entertain the lords who attended Morâd in the same voluptuous manner. Even his body-guard were intoxicated with wine; so that the unfortunate prince was left without defence.

by Aurung-
zêbe.

Aurungzêbe gave orders to Ziffer Jung and three other lords, to enter the tent and to bind his brother. The lady retired upon their coming; and they advanced to the sofa on which he lay. His sword and dagger had been already removed by the care of Aurungzêbe; and they began softly to bind his hands. Morâd started up at this operation; and began to deal around his blows. The lords were terrified, and the prince began to call aloud
for



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for his sword. Aurungzébe, who stood at the door of the tent, thrust his head from behind the curtain, and said, with a menacing voice, "He has no choice but death or submission; dispatch him if he resists." Morád, hearing the voice of his brother, began to upbraid him; and submitted to his fate. Nazir Shabas, his principal friend and adviser, was at the same instant seized. He had been sitting under a canopy before the paymaster-general's tent; and at a signal given, the ropes of the four poles were at once cut; and before he could extricate himself, he was bound. The other lords who were attached to the prince, being surrounded with armed men, were brought before Aurungzébe, to whom they swore allegiance. A murmur ran through the camp; but it was an ineffectual sound: and the army, as if but half awakened from a dream, fell fast asleep again.

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The night was not far advanced when Morád was seized and bound. Before day-light appeared, he and his favourite were mounted on an elephant, in a covered amari or castle, and sent off under an escort to Agra. Fearing that some attempts might be made to rescue them, Aurungzébe ordered three other elephants to be sent off before them, attended by guards to elude pursuers. The precaution was unnecessary. Mankind forsook Morád with his fortune. In action, in the manly exercises of the field, he had many admirers; but the accomplishments of his mind acquired him but few friends; and even those whom he favoured with his generosity, were disgusted at his haughtiness. He fell by attempting to be artful. Had he followed, in his designs against his brother, the natural bias of his own intrepid mind, he could not have failed; but he met that crafty prince in his own province of deceit, and he was foiled. This remarkable transaction happened in the camp near Muttra, on the sixth of July 1658.

Sent prisoner
to Agra.



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Aurangzêbe
advances to
Delhi.

Though Shaifta, who was left in the government of Agra, was sufficiently attached to the cause of Aurungzêbe, that cautious prince left his son Mahommed in that capital, to watch any unforeseen events that might arise. To the joint care of Mahommed and Shaifta the unfortunate Morâd was committed; and his brother having no fears remaining in that quarter, moved his camp from Muttra, and arrived at Delhi on the twenty-sixth of July. Though he had not assumed the Imperial titles, he created Omrahs in that city, the first of whom was Ziffer Jung, whom he dignified with the name of Chan Jehân. Under that lord he detached a division of his army against Dara. That prince, upon the news of the approach of Ziffer, decamped from Sirhind, and took the rout of Lahore. In his march he laid under military execution all the Rajas and governors of districts who refused to join. He raised considerable sums in his way; and having crossed the Suttuluz, ordered all the boats on that river to be destroyed.

Dara flies
to Lahore.

Dara having advanced beyond the river Bea, took possession of Lahore. Giving his army time to breathe in that city, he employed himself in levying troops, and in collecting the Imperial revenue. Daôod, the general of his forces, remained in the meantime at the village of Tilbundi, with half the army, to guard the passage of the river Bea. Aurungzêbe, upon advice of the dispositions of Dara, reinforced the army of Ziffer with five thousand horse, under the conduct of Chillulla. The war with Dara, from being protracted, became serious. The minds of the people were divided, as long as two princes continued in the field. Aurungzêbe, with his caution, was rapid in his designs. He knew how to use as well as how to gain a victory. His suspicious temper saw peril rising from delay; and therefore, notwithstanding the solstitial rains were at their height, and the country deluged



lugged with water, he prepared to move toward Lahore with all his forces.

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Apprehending that his not assuming the name of emperor, would be considered by mankind as a tacit acknowledgment of the injustice of his proceedings, he resolved to exalt the Imperial umbrella over his head. His affected self-denial upon former occasions, stood at present in the way of his designs. He was ashamed to take upon himself an honour which, from motives of religion, he had pretended before to reject. His most intimate friends knew, however, the secret thoughts of his mind. They insinuated to the nobles, that Aurungzêbe, from declining so long to ascend the throne, seemed to have still an intention of retiring from the world, that, in his zeal for religion, he might be induced to leave his friends to the resentment of his enemies; that therefore it was the business of all to force upon him, in a manner, a power necessary to their own safety. They waited upon him in a body. He seemed disappointed, and even offended at their proposal. At length he suffered himself to be persuaded. "You are," said he, "resolved to sacrifice my love of retirement to your own ease. But be it so; God will, perhaps, give me that tranquillity upon the throne, which I hoped to find in a cell; and if less of my time shall be employed in prayer, more of it will be spent in good actions. I should only have an inclination for virtuous deeds in my retreat; but, as emperor of the Moguls, I shall have the power of doing them. These motives, and not the vain pomp of greatness, induce me to assume the empire."

Aurungzêbe
mounts the
throne,

On the second of August, in an assembly of the nobility, he ^{at Delhi.} mounted the throne, in the garden of Azabâd near Delhi. No pompous ceremonies were used upon the occasion; for he af-



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fect to despise magnificence. His finances, at the same time, were low; and he prudently considered that money, in the present situation of affairs, would be better bestowed upon an army, than on the idle pageantry of state. He assumed upon his accession to the throne, the pompous title of ALLUM-GIRE, OR THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD; being then near the close of the fortieth year of his age.

Reflections

The means taken by Aurungzêbe to obtain the empire, were scarce more justifiable, than those by which he secured to himself the undisturbed possession of the throne. Religion, the convenient cloke of knavery in all countries, was the chief engine of his ambition; and, in that respect, he relied on the credulity of mankind, to a degree of unpardonable imprudence. His self-denial and moderate professions agreed so little with his actions, that it is even astonishing, how any person of common reflection could have been for a moment deceived. But the vulgar give implicit faith to sanctity in its most questionable form; and Morâd, by whose popularity and valour his brother overthrew the hopes of Dara, suspected not a duplicity to which his own soul was a stranger. To deceive that prince, was to secure the empire. Bearing more the appearance of an hermit himself, than that of a competitor for the throne, the army looked up to Morâd; who being addicted beyond measure to pleasure, gave up the influence as well as the labour of business to his brother. Aurungzêbe, to support his ambitious views, was obliged to have recourse to arts which stamp his character with meanness, whilst they prove the abilities of his mind.

on the conduct

Morâd, with many commendable qualities, was also distinguished by disgusting weaknesses. Instead of that haughty pride which recommends itself in its very absurdities, he was puffed up with



with unmanly vanity. A stranger to his own merit in those things in which he excelled in the opinion of the world, he arrogated to himself praise in provinces for which nature had altogether rendered him unfit. With an open and generous disposition, he wished to be thought artful and severe; and blind to his abilities in the field, he endeavoured to carry the palm in the cabinet. To mention to him the designs of his brother, was a satire upon his penetration; to suggest to him caution, was, in his eyes, an accusation of his courage. He looked not around him into the conduct of others; and he abhorred every enquiry into his own. Under the shadow of this careless and arrogant vanity in Morâd, his brother fabricated at leisure his own designs. But his excessive eagerness to heighten the deceit, was the means of its being discovered. Morâd himself saw through the veil of flattery which he had laid over his ambitious views; but the vanity, which at first induced him to give faith to Aurungzêbe, made him afterwards despise his insincerity. He fell at last a victim to his own arrogant folly.

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Aurungzêbe, however, owed not altogether his success either ^{and rise} to his own hypocrisy, or to the weakness of his brother. Naturally averse to pomp and magnificence, he affected all his life that humble deportment which brings the prince near to the people. Without being virtuous from principle, he was an enemy to vice from constitution; and he never did an act of injustice, till he aspired to the throne. In his private character, he was an example of decency to others; an affectionate parent, a sincere friend, a just master. Destitute of that elegance of person, and that winning behaviour which had rendered his brothers the idols of the people wherever they moved, he endeavoured to acquire a degree of popularity by the austerity of his manners. Like the rest of the family of Timur, he was bred up with very free notions]



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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tions upon the subject of religion; but various circumstances induced him afterwards to assume the appearance of a rigid devotee. His brothers, by encouraging men of all religions, had offended the followers of Mahommed. The posterity of those Moguls, who under Baber conquered India, and soldiers of fortune from Tartary and Persia, occupied the greatest number of the places of profit and trust in the empire. These could not see, without envy, men of different persuasions from themselves, admitted into the confidence of princes who still professed the Mahomedan faith. Though silent at court, they murmured in secret; and lamented the declining state of a religion, under the auspices of which they had extended their government over India. Aurungzêbe, by his rigid adherence to the tenets inculcated in the Coran, gained the esteem of all those, who, if the expression may be used, were the chains which kept together the nations of Hindostan under the house of Timur. But the influence which Aurungzêbe derived from his devotion did not, for many years, suggest an ambition to aspire to the empire. He only hoped, that under the cloke of sanctity, he might pass in safety his life under any of his brothers, whom Fortune might place on the throne.

of Aurung-
zêbe.

That specious appearance, which the actions of a man of religion must wear in the eyes of the world, facilitated his schemes. In his long march from the Decan, his troops observed a most exact discipline. No ravages were committed; no injustice done. When he sat down with his army in a field of corn, he either paid the estimated value to the owners, or gave a receipt for it as a part of the revenue due to the crown. "Though I am forced," said he, "into a war by the machinations of Dara, I cannot consider myself as in an enemy's country." When the people came to decide their differences before him, he remanded them



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them to the officers of the empire. "Fortune," he was heard to say, "may change the prince, but the fundamental laws of the state must not be changed. Should I fail in my present enterprise," continued he to the petitioners, "my judgment would not avail you, nay, it would do you harm with the conquerors. But if I shall succeed in my undertakings, I promise to acquiesce in the determinations of the Imperial judges." These moderate sentiments contributed to reconcile the minds of the people to his government; and even induced them to ascribe the most wicked of his actions to necessity.

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When the news of his having mounted the throne arrived at Agra, the governor filled every corner of the city with public demonstrations of joy. The people were rather struck with surprise, than moved with gladness. They, however, observed that cautious silence which suits the subjects of despotism. The noise of the artillery on the walls of the citadel, saluted the old emperor's ears, and roused him from the melancholy into which he had been plunged by his misfortunes. "Go, Jehanâra," he said, for his daughter was the only person near him; "go, and learn the cause of this sudden mark of joy! But why should we enquire? The gladness of those who surround us, must add to our grief. Some new misfortune must have fallen on Dara; look not abroad, lest the first object to strike your eyes, should be the head of a brother whom you tenderly loved." Jehanâra, bursting into tears, arose; and, in the passage which led to the haram, was met by the chief eunuch, who was hastening to the emperor with the news.

Intelligence

The eyes of Shaw Jehân flashed with rage. He rose—he walked to and fro through the apartment, but he uttered not one word. His daughter sat at a distance in tears; he raised his eyes,

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his accession.



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eyes, and looked stedfastly for some time on the figure of a crown which hung suspended from the ceiling over his head. He called at length the chief eunuch ; " Take," said he, " that bauble away ; it mocks me with the memory of my former condition." The tear stood in his eye : " Yet stay thy hand," resumed the emperor ; " this would be owning the right of Aurungzêbe." He beckoned to the eunuch to retire : he stood involved in thought. " The new emperor, Jehanâra," said Shaw Jehân, " has prematurely mounted his throne. He should have added the murder of a father to the other crimes which have raised him so high. But this perhaps is also art ; he wants to deprive me, by misrepresentation, of what remains of my fame, before he deprives me of life."

How received
by Shaw
Jehân.

Whilst Shaw Jehân was making these melancholy reflections on his own lost condition, a message was brought to him from Mahommed, the eldest son of Aurungzêbe, who had remained at Agra. He begged leave to have permission to wait upon his grandfather. The emperor, starting from his reverie at the name of Mahommed, replied to the messenger, " If he comes as an enemy, I have no power to prevent him ; if as a friend, I have now no crown to bestow ;" alluding to his offer to Mahommed, when that prince seized the citadel. The messenger told him, That Mahommed wished only to be admitted to communicate to the emperor the reasons which induced his father to mount the throne. Fathers," replied Shaw Jehân, " have been dethroned by their sons ; but to insult the misfortunes of a parent, was left for Aurungzêbe. What reason but his ambition has the rebel for assuming the empire ? To listen to his excuses, would be to acknowledge the justice of his conduct, by shewing, by my weakness, that I could no longer wield the scepter which he has struck from my hand."——Mahommed retired.

Though



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 Reflections

Though the power of Shaw Jehân had, in a great measure, terminated with the sickness which roused his sons to arms, his reign may be said to have continued till Aurungzêbe mounted the throne near Delhi. He held the scepter of India thirty solar years, five months and two days; and when he was dethroned, he had arrived at the sixty-seventh year of his age. The means by which Shaw Jehân obtained the empire of the Moguls, were not more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aurungzêbe. He rebelled against his father, and he permitted his relations to be sacrificed to his fears. When he had secured to himself the undisturbed possession of the empire, he became an excellent and a humane, as well as an able prince. During his long reign, we hear of no private assassinations, no public executions, no arbitrary injustice, no oppression. Rebellion, which generally rises from tyranny, was unknown; universal peace was established on the undeviating justice and clemency of the emperor. His government was vigorous without severity, impartial, dignified, and sudden in its determinations. He received complaints with well-weighed caution; and never passed judgment till both parties were heard. His pervading eye travelled to the most distant corners of his empire. He traced oppression to its most secret retreats; and, though a lover of money, no sum could protect offenders from his justice. Theft and robbery were, by his prudent regulations, eradicated from his extensive empire. The governors of the provinces were directed by an edict, to pay out of their private fortunes, the losses of the subject in that way; which were ascertained upon oath in a court of justice. The sentence of the judge was a warrant for the money upon the Subas, which they were forced immediately to pay; otherwise they were, upon complaint to the emperor, turned out of their governments, and severely fined.



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on the reign

Shaw Jehân was handsome in his person, active in all the manly exercises, affable and agreeable in his conversation. He did not, like his father, descend too much from the dignity of a prince, nor involve himself in an obscure distance and reserve. Warm in his constitution, he loved the company of women; though the charms of the daughter of Afiph, the mother of almost all his children, kept possession of his affections during her life. His learning was such as was common among the princes of the house of Timur; a thorough knowledge of the Arabian and Persian languages, the arts of writing and speaking with elegance and propriety, the study of history, of the Coran, of the laws and canons of his predecessors, of the art of government, financiering, and of the ancient usages of the empire. Though eclipsed by the extraordinary abilities of Mohâbet in war, he was a good general, and an excellent soldier. His reputation was so high in that respect, that he not only kept his own dominions in peace at home, but even made extensive conquests abroad. Rapid in all his measures, he crushed rebellion before it deserved the name; for to suspect it in any man, was with him to be prepared. A lover of pleasure, without being its slave, he never neglected business for sensuality; and industry, wealth and commerce flourished under the certain protection and vigilance of his government. Had he not fallen in some measure from the state of reason and sensibility, by the rage of that cruel disorder which he inherited from his father, he might have descended from the throne to his grave, and have crowned his latter days with that lustre which had covered his reign. But his mind was weakened by disease, and his age was devoted to melancholy and misery.

and character
of Shaw
Jehân.

Shaw Jehân was, upon the whole, a great, and if we draw a veil over his accession to the throne, a good prince. But we must



must ascribe his cruelty in a great measure to necessity, and the manners of his country. Ambition, among the princes of the East, is joined with the stronger passion of fear. Self-preservation drives them on to desperate measures; submission will not avail, and they must owe their lives to their valour. The throne itself is no security to the reigning prince, in a country where the succession is not fixed by acknowledged and established rules. Revolution and change present themselves to his imagination; till assassination steps in, and effectually relieves him from his terrors. Shaw Jehân was not naturally cruel; but he loved his own life better than the lives of his relations. To murder, or to be murdered, was the alternative offered to him by fortune. A throne or a grave terminated his prospects on either side; and when we confess ourselves shocked at his inhumanity, we lose half our rage in the necessity which imposed upon him the measure. He made some amends for his crimes, in the strict justice and clemency of his government; and Hindostan was flourishing and happy, till his own policy was revived by his sons.

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...in his own
...kind of right to command mankind.

A U R U N G Z E B E.

C H A P. I.

*Reflections—Misfortunes of Solimán Shekó—His flight to Serinagúr—
Distress, irresolution, and flight of Dara—He quits the Suttuluz—
the Bea—and Lahore—Aurungzébe returns—Preparations and
march of Suja—Approach of Aurungzébe—The battle of Kidg-
wá—Defeat and flight of Suja—Unaccountable conduct of the
Marája—His flight—Aurungzébe arrives at Agra—Writes to his
father.*

THE confinement of the emperor, and the seizure of the per-
son of Morád, opened a fair field for the ambition of Au-
rungzébe. To disguise longer his serious designs on the empire,
would, from the improbability of the thing, be imprudent. He
however covered his love of power with professions of necessity;
and still lamented the occasion which had burdened his head with
a crown. This specious conduct, though too obvious in its de-
sign to deceive, derived an advantage from its modest appear-
ance; and men forgot his deviations from virtue, in the opinion
that he was ashamed of his crimes. Having subdued the passion
of vanity before he gave the rein to ambition, he appeared insen-
sible of his own exaltation. His humility seemed to encrease up-
on the throne to such a degree, that even those who could not ap-
prove of his measures, were at a loss to what they ought to ascribe
his conduct. Averse to pleasure, and contemning pomp and magni-
ficence, the obvious inducements to the seizing of the scepter were

wanting

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Reflections,



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wanting to Aurungzêbe; but his active mind found, in its own vigour, a kind of right to command mankind.

Solimân

The new emperor had scarce mounted the throne near Delhi, when he was alarmed with intelligence of the march of Solimân, by the skirts of the northern mountains, to join his father Dara at Lahore. We lost sight of that prince in the midst of his mutinous army, near Allahabâd. The principal nobles who had attended him in his successful expedition against Suja, deserted his standard at the first news of his father's defeat. The confinement of Shaw Jehân deprived him of more of his followers; but a number, sufficient to deserve the name of an army, still remained in his camp. Though bold and unconcerned in action, Solimân was subject to political fears. The news of repeated misfortunes came daily from every quarter. He became perplexed and undecisive: various expedients presented themselves to his view, but he could fix on none. His first resolution was to return to Bengal; but, dubious of success against Suja with a reduced and dispirited army, he dropt that design, and gave himself up again to wavering schemes. He had none to advise him; and his own mind afforded no resource in distress. When intelligence of the march of the confederate princes from Agra arrived in his camp, he thought of surprising the capital, and, by releasing his grandfather, to add the weight of that monarch's name to his declining cause. He decamped, but his evil stars prevailed. He changed his course, and directed his march to Lahore.

deserted

The undecisive measures of Solimân were known to his troops. They began to despise the authority of one who could not persevere in any plan. All discipline became relaxed. The independence of the foldier rose with his contempt of his general. Regularity was lost in licentiousness; confusion, rapine and insolence prevailed;



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prevailed; and the whole army, instead of obeying the prince, placed a merit in their not deserting his cause. That intrepidity and firmness which was necessary to the occasion, no longer remained in Solimân. His standard had been left by those whom he thought his best friends, and a melancholy distrust prevailed in his mind. To correct the licence of the soldiery, was to lose their support. He permitted them, with a vain hope of conciliating their affections, to ravage the country at large. But, when they had loaded themselves with spoil, they deserted in whole squadrons, to secure their wealth at home, and to avoid the doubtful chance of war.

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Destitute of all authority, the prince moved along, sullen and silent, at the head of an army converted into a mob of banditti. He issued out no orders, under a certainty of their not being obeyed; and he even looked with indifference on the gradual decline in the number of his followers. Every morning presented to his eyes at a distance, whole squadrons that had quitted his camp in the night. There only remained at last four thousand miserable wretches, who had suffered themselves to be robbed of their booty. Fear, and not attachment, kept these round the standard of Solimân. Their rapine had converted the whole country into an enemy, and there was no longer any safety in desertion. They, however, marked their march with ruin, and covered their rear with the smoke of villages, which they had plundered and set on fire.

by his army;

Aurungzêbe received certain intelligence of the destructive rout of Solimân through the countries of Shinwâra and Muchlis-pour. He detached Fidai Chan with a considerable force to interrupt his march. Shaista, who had been left in the government of Agra, was ordered with troops, by a different rout, to prevent the escape of the prince by the road through which he had come. He was in no condition to cope with either of those lords. He turned his

takes

march



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march to the north, and entered the almost impervious country of Serenagûr, where the Ganges issues from the mountains into the plains of India. Pirti Singh, the Raja, received the unfortunate fugitive with kindness and respect. He sent his own troops to guard the passes, and permitted the forces of Solimân to encamp in his valleys, to recover from the fatigues of a tedious march. Aurungzêbe, upon receiving advices of the escape of the prince, recalled Eidai to the Imperial camp, and ordered Shaisa to his government of Agra.

refuge

Safe in the hospitality of the prince of Serenagûr, Solimân remained shut up in a secluded country. The mountains, which protected him from the enemy, prevented him from hearing of the fate of his friends. He became anxious and thoughtful, and discovered neither pleasure nor amusement in the rural sports pursued by others through the romantic vallies which formed the dominions of the Raja. He loved to walk alone; to dive into the thickest woods; to mix his complaints with the murmur of torrents, which, falling from a thousand rocks, filled the whole country with an agreeable noise. One day, as the prince wandered from his party, he entered a narrow valley formed by one of the streams which fall headlong from the impassable mountains that environ Serenagûr. In the center of the valley there stood a mound almost covered with trees; through the branches of which appeared undistinctly what seemed an Indian pagod. The stream, divided into two, surrounded the mound, and appeared to have worn away the foundations of the rock, on which the building stood; which circumstance rendered it inaccessible on every side. Solimân, pleased with this romantic scene, rode forward, and found that what he had mistaken for a temple, was a house of pleasure belonging to the Raja. Thither that prince often retired, with a few attendants, to enjoy the company of some Cashmirian women of exquisite beauty. Some of these were walking on the terrace when



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when Solimân approached. He was struck with their persons; but he instantly retired.

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When he returned to the residence of the Raja, he mentioned his adventure to that prince. His countenance was suddenly overcast, and he remained for some time silent. He at length said, "All my dominions have I given up to Solimân, yet he has intruded upon one little valley which I reserved for myself." Solimân excused his conduct by his ignorance; but though the Raja pretended to be satisfied, there appeared from that day forward a manifest change in his behaviour. He became cold and distant; and he was discontented and agitated when the fugitive prince came before him. Jealousy, however, was not the cause of this alteration. Aurungzêbe had applied to him through his emissaries; and the honour of that prince contended with his avarice. Solimân became uneasy at the doubtful gloom which hung on his countenance. He encamped, with his few followers, at some distance from the Raja's residence; and he began to watch narrowly the conduct of a prince, whom he still called his protector and friend.

in Serinagûr.

When Solimân entered the mountains of Serinagûr, he dispatched a messenger with the news of his misfortunes to his father Dara. That prince was encamped, with a considerable army, on the banks of the Suttuluz. When he received the letters of his son, he shut himself up in his tent, and gave way to melancholy reflections on his own misfortunes. The imprisonment of his father was an event, which, as it was expected, did not surprize him; but the desertion of the victorious army under his son, was a severe stroke to his declining fortunes. He even had conceived hopes from the presence of Solimân, whose activity and fame in war might revive the drooping spirits of his party. But he was

Irresolution



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shut up within impervious mountains; and the enemy had occupied all the passes. Dara was left to his own resources, and they failed, in the distressed situation of his mind. He reflected on the past with regret; he looked forward to the future with fear. Agitated by various passions, he could fix upon no determined expedient to extricate himself from misfortune; and a panic began to seize his troops from the irresolute undecisiveness of his conduct.

of Dara.

Aurangzêbe, who had his spies in the camp of Dara, was no stranger to the situation of his mind. To add to his panic, he marched from Karnal on the fifteenth of August, and directed his course toward Lahore. Dara, who had remained irresolute on the banks of the Suttuluz, decamped, upon the news of the enemy's approach, with precipitation. The advanced guard of Aurungzêbe passed the river without opposition; and Dara sat down with his army behind the Bea, on the road to Lahore, to which city he himself soon after retired, leaving the troops under the conduct of Daood Chan, an able and experienced officer. Dara had great resources in the provinces behind Lahore. The governors had still remained faithful to the old emperor; the revenues of the preceding year had not been paid; and the prince found a considerable sum in the Imperial treasury at Lahore. He soon raised twenty thousand horse, and his activity had begun to change the aspect of his affairs. But he had hitherto been unsuccessful: and he judged of the future by the past. He was disturbed by the news of the approach of a part of the army of Aurungzêbe, who, having constructed a bridge on the Suttuluz, were on full march to the Bea.

He retreats
from the Bea.

Daood, whom Dara had left at the head of the troops on the Bea, had lined the banks with artillery, and thrown up entrenchments



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ments and redoubts, with a firm assurance of stopping the progress of the enemy. The rainy season was now come on, and he was under no apprehensions of not being able to keep the enemy for five months at bay. The northern provinces might, in the mean time, furnish Dara with an army of hardy soldiers. Mohâbet, who commanded in Cabul, was in his interest; and he rivalled his predecessor of the same name in his abilities in war. But the evil genius of Dara prevailed. He sent orders to Daood to quit his post. That officer was astonished: he sent a remonstrance against the measure to the prince, and the jealous mind of Dara suspected his fidelity. Positive orders were sent: Daood reluctantly obeyed. The prince, finding himself wrong in his suspicions, repented of his conduct. He flew into a violent passion against the accusers of Daood, and he ordered that officer back to his post. It was now too late. The advanced guard of the enemy had crossed the Bea; and Aurungzêbe, with the main body, arrived on the Suttuluz on the twenty-fifth of August.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

Dara, reflecting on the folly of his past conduct, and the pressure of the present time, was thrown into the utmost consternation. Chan Jehân, who commanded the enemy, had been reinforced by a body of troops and a train of artillery from the main body. Daood advised the prince to give battle, to confirm the courage of his troops by the defeat of a force so much inferior in point of numbers. The prince was obstinate. He alleged, that though his army was more numerous than the enemy, they were not equal to them in discipline; that, suddenly gathered together, they had not been habituated to danger; and that to engage the rebels, for so he affected to call the abettors of Aurungzêbe, would be to hasten the completion of their wishes, by giving them an easy victory. "But, Daood!" continued he, "I am not only unfortunate, but weak. Had I followed your advice, and kept possession of the

Hesitates about giving battle,



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Suttuluz and Bea, I might have at least suspended, for some months, the fate of the empire. But I, who have been so often deceived by my brothers, am become distrustful of my friends."

and flies from
Lahore.

Daood endeavoured to comfort the prince, by observing, that though the reputation of keeping a victorious enemy at bay during the rainy season, might contribute to change the face of affairs, yet still there were hopes. That to remain at Lahore without obtaining a victory, would be as improper as it appeared impossible; that still they had rivers which might be defended against the whole force of Aurungzêbe; and that if the prince should be pleased to blot all unworthy suspicions from his mind, he himself would undertake to give him sufficient time to collect a force in the provinces beyond the Indus. Dara embraced him with tears, and began to retreat. The army, discouraged at the apparent irresolution of their commander, began to fear for themselves. Having lost all confidence in the abilities of the prince, they saw nothing before them but distress to him, and ruin to themselves. They deserted in whole squadrons; and the unfortunate Dara saw his numbers hourly diminishing as he advanced toward Moulân. The van of the enemy under Chan Jehân hung close on the heels of the fugitive, and his friends throughout the empire gave all their hopes to the wind.

Several nobles submit

Aurungzêbe arriving on the Suttuluz, was informed of the flight of Dara. His apprehensions from that quarter vanished, and he encamped for ten days on the banks of the river to refresh his army. The Maraja, who had given the first battle to Aurungzêbe near the city of Ugein, thinking the affairs of Dara desperate, came to the camp with a tender of his allegiance. A number of the nobility, who had hitherto remained firm to the old emperor, hastened to the court of the new, and prostrated themselves



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felves at the foot of the throne. Aurungzêbe received them with unconcern, and told them that the season of forgiveness was past. "When Fortune," said he, "hung doubtful over my arms, you either abetted my enemies, or waited in security for the decision of Fate concerning the empire. These," pointing to his nobles, "served me in my distress. I reward them with my confidence; but I grant you, in pardoning your lives, a greater favour than those I conferred on them. Necessity gives me your obedience: let your generosity convince me that you are sincere. My enemies have dissipated the treasures of the empire, and I, who hope long to manage its affairs, will not impoverish it by heavy exactions. Your wealth is great. Justice, which in affairs of state follows fortune, gives me a right to the whole; but my moderation only claims a part." They paid large sums to the treasury, and a general indemnity passed, under the seals of the empire.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

The haughty spirit of the Maraja revolted at the indignity of a cold reception. He however had gone too far to recede. Naturally averse to the subtle character of Aurungzêbe, he had actually performed the promise which he had made to his high-spirited wife after his defeat. He collected an army, and was about to pursue Aurungzêbe, when the misfortunes of Dara began. The loss of the battle near Agra staggered his allegiance; he became more irresolute after the imprisonment of Shaw Jehân; and the flight of Dara to Lahore, threw him at the feet of the new emperor. He told Aurungzêbe, That being of a religion which inculcated the belief of a Providence as superintending over human affairs, he was now under no doubts concerning the side on which the gods had declared themselves. It were therefore, continued he, a kind of impiety to oppose him whom Heaven has placed on the throne. Aurungzêbe pleasantly replied, "I am glad to owe to the religion what I hoped not from the love of Jeffwint Singh."

to Aurung-
zêbe.

The



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Jumla arrives
at court.

The visier Meer Jumla, who at the beginning of the rebellion had submitted to a political imprisonment in the Decan, seeing the affairs of Aurungzêbe in too good a condition to demand a continuance of his double conduct, broke his fictitious chains, and presented himself at court. The new emperor received him with every mark of honour and affection. He presented him with elephants, horses, riches, dresses, and arms; but of his whole fortune, which, to keep up appearances, had been confiscated, he only returned about fifty thousand roupees. "In serving the state," said Aurungzêbe, "I have expended your fortune; but you, in serving it again, may acquire another." Jumla made no reply, but seemed satisfied with his escape from the critical situation in which he had been plunged by the civil war. A field soon presented itself to his abilities; and his fortune was amply restored by the unabating favour of his sovereign.

Aurungzêbe
marches to
Moultân.

Intelligence arriving in the Imperial camp that Dara had taken the rout of Moultân, Aurungzêbe crossed the Suttuluz on the fifth of September. He advanced with rapid marches toward that city, wishing to put an end to the war in the north. Chan Jehân, who commanded the vanguard, arriving in Moultân, the unfortunate prince fled toward Bicker, and the mountains beyond the Indus. In vain had it been remonstrated to him by his followers, that he ought to have taken the rout of Cabul. Mohâbet, who had been always averse to Aurungzêbe, was at the head of a disciplined army in that province. Aids might be drawn from the western Tary; there was even a prospect of Persia's espousing the cause of Dara. Soldiers of fortune, men adapted by their manners and climate for the field, would flock to his standard. But Fortune had forsaken Dara, and she was followed by Prudence. Aurungzêbe, when he first heard of the course of his brother's flight, cried out, in an ecstasy of joy, "That the war was at an end." He detached



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detached eight thousand horse, under the conduct of Meer Baba, after the fugitive, and moved his camp on his return toward Agra.

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Many causes concurred in making Aurungzébe anxious to return to Agra. The force left in that city was small; and Shaista, who commanded there, was no great soldier. The troops, though silent, had not yet reconciled their minds to the force used against the person of Morád; and they were, in some measure, shocked at the emperor's breach of faith to a friend as well as a brother. Shaw Jehân, though closely confined, had his emissaries and friends every where. Whispers concerning the unworthy usage of that great prince were carried round, and heard with attention. Many of the nobles raised by his favour respected him still for what he had been; and the empire, in general, which had flourished under his government, lamented the cloud which had settled on the latter end of a life of renown. The Maraja was still his friend. Proud and haughty beyond measure, he could not forget his defeat by Aurungzébe, and he was chagrined at the cold reception which that prince had lately given to his proffered allegiance. Joy Singh, who had in a manner betrayed Solimân, thought also that he was not well requited for his services. He was still attached to Shaw Jehân, whose open and manly behaviour upon every occasion he compared with advantage to the cold duplicity of his son.

Cause of his
return.

Suja, who first appeared in arms against Dara, saw now a more dangerous enemy in another brother. The loss which he had sustained against Solimân was soon recovered in the rich and populous kingdom of Bengal. He saw a new cloud forming which was to burst upon him, and he prepared himself against the storm. He collected an army with his usual activity, and was on the point of

Preparations



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taking the rout of Agra, to relieve his father from confinement. To deceive Aurungzêbe, he had congratulated that prince on his mounting the throne at Delhi; he owned his title, and only solicited for a continuance of his government over Bengal. The emperor was not to be deceived. He saw the views of mankind in their situation and character, and took professions of friendship from rivals for mere founds. He however had behaved with his usual civility to the messenger of Suja. He pretended to be anxious about knowing the state of his health, and he made a minute inquiry concerning his children and family. "As for a new commission to my brother," said he, "it is at once unnecessary and improper. I myself am but my father's vicegerent in the empire; and I derive my whole power from those infirmities which have rendered THE EMPEROR unfit for the business of the state." This answer, though not satisfactory, amused Suja, and furnished an opportunity for Aurungzêbe to break the power of Dara, and to establish his own authority.

of Suja.

Suja, at length, threw off the mask; from a subject to Aurungzêbe, he became his competitor for the empire. He began his march with a numerous army, accustoming them to the manœuvres of the field as he moved. His brother, who expected the storm, was not surprised at its approach. He remained but four days at Moulân. His son Mahommed was made governor of that province; that of Punjâb was conferred on Chillulla. He outstripped his army in expedition; and on the twenty-fourth of October he entered Lahore. He arrived at Delhi on the twenty-first of November; and notwithstanding the pressure of his affairs in the south, he celebrated his birth-day in that city, having entered the forty-first year of his age. The splendid and numerous appearance of the nobility on that occasion, convinced Aurungzêbe, who always made judicious observations on the behaviour



behaviour of mankind, that he was firmly established on the throne which he had usurped. The nobles most remarkable for their penetration, were the first to pay their respects: they saw the abilities of the reigning prince; they were no strangers to the inferiority of his brothers; and they considered Fortune as only another name for Prudence. Daood, who had adhered hitherto to Dara, forsook that prince when he took, contrary to his advice, the rout of Bicker. He threw himself at the feet of Aurungzêbe; who, knowing his abilities, received him with distinction, and raised him to the rank of six thousand horse.

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Hig. 1069.

During the few days which Aurungzêbe passed at Delhi, he informed himself minutely of the force and resources of Suja. That prince was more formidable than the emperor had imagined. To insure success, he ordered his son Mahommed to join him with the army from Moulân, and he resolved to avail himself of the great parts of Jumla. That lord had been sent, soon after his arrival at court, to settle the affairs of Chanderi and Guzerat, and he was ordered to return with some of the veteran troops stationed on the southern frontiers of the empire. The emperor, in the mean time, having arrived at Agra, reinforced the garrison of that city under Shaista; being apprehensive of an invasion under prince Solimân, from the mountains of Serinagûr. He himself took immediately the field; and moved slowly down the Jumna, in hourly expectations of reinforcements from the north and west.

Preparations
of Aurung-
zêbe.

Suja, in the mean time, with a numerous army, was in full march toward the capital. He arrived at Allahabâd; and having remained a few days in the environs of that place, he renewed his march, and encamped his army, in a strong position, at a place called Kidgwâ, about thirty miles from Allahabâd. Distrustful

Suja on full
march.



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Hig. 1069.

of the discipline of his army, he entrenched himself, and waited for the arrival of Aurungzêbe, whom he wished to engage with an advantage which might supply the inferiority of his troops, in point of courage and hardiness. But Aurungzêbe studiously protracted the time. His march was designedly slow, till he was joined by his son Mahommed with the troops of the north. He then moved forward with great expedition; Mahommed commanding the van, consisting of five thousand chosen horse. Suja was astonished at this sudden vigour in his brother's measures; he began to fortify his camp, and to make dispositions for receiving the enemy with warmth.

Fortifies his
camp.

The prince Mahommed, naturally full of fire, exceeded his orders. He pressed onward with the van, eager for a fight of the enemy; and when he presented himself before Suja, the emperor, with the army and artillery, was forty miles in the rear. He rode along the lines of the enemy, and, with unpardonable rashness, seemed to provoke them to battle. Suja, however, for what cause is uncertain, took no advantage of his temerity. The prince at length encamped his small army; and dispatched a messenger with his observations on the position and strength of the enemy. Aurungzêbe was offended at the rashness of his son. He was, however, gentle in his reproof. "When you shall possess the empire, Mahommed," said he, "you must protect it with more caution. A monarch ought to be a general rather than a partizan; and few forget folly in valour." The haughty spirit of the prince was impatient of rebuke. Active, gallant, and fiery, he despised the slow dictates of Prudence; and would rather owe his fame to his sword, than to political management and address.

Aurungzêbe
offers battle.

The Imperial standard came in sight on the thirteenth of January 1659; and Aurungzêbe encamped his army, leaving an extensive



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extensive plain, very fit for a battle, between him and the lines of Suja. He drew up his army, on the morning of the fifteenth, in two lines, advancing his artillery some paces in the front. About twelve o'clock the cannon began to open on both sides. Suja had placed his artillery on a rising-ground, and his batteries were well served. He scoured the enemy's lines; and Aurungzêbe, who durst not attack the trenches, was obliged to return with some loss to his camp. Suja took no advantage of the retreat of his brother. He retired within his lines, and imprudently neglected to keep possession of the rising-ground on the right, from which his artillery had played with such advantage on the enemy. Meer Jumla, who had arrived a few days before from the Decan, observed the negligence of Suja. He represented the advantage which Fortune had offered to Aurungzêbe; and that prince ordered him to take possession of the hill in the night. Before morning appeared, Jumla threw up a redoubt on the place, and lined it with cannon; which were covered with a strong party of spearmen.

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When day-light appeared, Jumla ordered his battery on the hill to open. The tents of Suja were in the range of the shot; and the prince was obliged immediately to strike them, and to move his quarters to the left. Aurungzêbe, who perceived the commotion in the enemy's camp, on account of the unexpected fire from the battery, thought this a proper opportunity to make a general assault. His army were already formed; and he ordered his elephants to advance with all expedition to tread down the entrenchments. A strong body of cavalry sustained the charge. The defendants, already in confusion, made but a faint resistance. The elephants soon levelled the entrenchment, and the horse poured into the camp. Flight, confusion, and slaughter prevailed. Aurungzêbe, mounted on a lofty ele-

The battle
begins.



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phant, saw the appearance of victory on every side. He pushed forward into the center, to render complete the advantage which he had already obtained. But Fortune took a sudden change; and inevitable ruin seemed to overwhelm him and his affairs.

Treachery of
the Maraja.

The Maraja, Jeffwint Singh, having made his peace with Aurungzêbe, had joined that prince with his native troops. His defeat at Ugein remained still fresh in his mind; and he longed to recover the laurels which he had lost in that unfortunate field. He had received orders to advance with his Rajaputs; and he even made a shew of attacking the enemy. But when he saw the emperor entering their camp, he suddenly turned, and fled with all his forces. The Moguls, however, followed not his example. Aurungzêbe carried forward on his elephant the Imperial standard; and they were ashamed to leave it to the enemy. Jeffwint, disappointed in his aim of drawing his party to flight by his own, fell suddenly on the rear of the line. He seized upon the baggage; and put servants and women to the sword, without either distinction or mercy. The noise of the slaughter behind was carried to the front, which was engaged with Suja in the center of his camp. Some fled to save their wives; and, cowards, wanting only an example, they were followed by thousands. The lines began to thin apace; the attack was sustained with less vigour; and the enemy acquired courage.

Resolution of
Suja,

Aurungzêbe exhibited upon the occasion, that resolute firmness which always rises above misfortune. To fly was certain ruin; to remain, an almost certain death. He sat aloft on his elephant, in full possession of his own mind; and he seemed not to know that any disaster had happened in the rear. The enemy, who had been tumultuously hurrying out of the camp, returned with
vigour



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vigour to the charge, upon the sudden change in the face of affairs. Suja, with an undaunted countenance, led the attack, standing in the castle, upon an enormous elephant. When his eye fell upon his brother, he ordered his driver to direct the furious animal that way. One of the principal officers of Aurungzèbe, who was also mounted on an elephant, perceiving the intention of Suja, rushed in before the prince. He was overthrown in the first shock, but the elephant of Suja suffered so much in the concussion, that the animal stood trembling through every joint; having lost all sense of command, and almost the power of motion. The disappointed prince seemed enraged at his fortune; but the elephant of one of his nobles advanced against that of the emperor; and, in the first shock, the latter animal fell upon his knees; and it was with great difficulty he recovered himself. Aurungzèbe had one foot out of the castle, ready to alight. The crown of India hovered on the resolution of a moment. Meer Jumla was near, on horseback: "Stop," said he, turning sternly to Aurungzèbe; "you descend from the throne." The emperor, who was now composed, seemed to smile at the reproof. Whilst the animals continued to engage, the marksman, who sat behind him, shot the adversary's driver; but the enraged elephant continued, notwithstanding, to fight. Aurungzèbe was now in imminent danger; when he was delivered from destruction by the resolution of his driver. He threw himself dexterously on the neck of the other elephant, and carried him off; whilst his own place was supplied by one of the officers who sat behind the castle. Another elephant, in the mean time, advanced against Aurungzèbe; but he had the good fortune to shoot the driver with his own hand.

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Hig. 1069.

The emperor now found that his own elephant, from the many shocks which he had received, was much weakened and
5 dispirited.

and of Aurungzèbe;



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dispirited. He began to be afraid that he could not even keep the animal in the field. To alight would be equal to flight itself. The elephant began to turn; and Aurungzêbe, whose resolution never failed him in desperate situations, ordered the chains, which are always ready for binding him, to be locked round his feet. The emperor remained immoveable amidst the enemy; a thousand shot were aimed at him, a thousand arrows fell into the castle; but being in complete armour, he remained unhurt. Some of the nobles observing this daring behaviour in their prince, rushed forward to his rescue. They bore all before them in this last effort; and Suja, in the moment of victory, was beginning to give way. His elephant, disabled by the first shock, was not to be moved forward. Aliverdi, one of his friends, came with a horse; and Suja, in an evil hour, descended from his lofty seat. The same conduct had ruined Dara. The elephant returning to the rear, with an empty castle, the army thought that the prince was slain; and they began to fly on every side.

who obtains
the victory.

Aurungzêbe, who owed his victory to his own intrepidity, was in no condition to pursue the enemy. Night was now coming on; and he lay on the field under arms. During the action, the Maraja had defeated the party left to defend the baggage; and loading camels with the booty, sent them off under an escort. He himself still hovered round the rear. The proximity of the Imperial tents to the line, had hitherto protected them from being plundered by the Rajaputs. Night coming on, the Maraja advanced; and, about an hour after it was dark, fell upon the tents of Mahommed, who had remained with his father on the field. A few, who defended the quarter of the prince, were cut off to a man; and the Rajaputs advanced to the Imperial tents, and seized upon every thing valuable within the square; putting every one that opposed them to the sword. The night became a scene of
6
horror,



AURUNG ZEBE.

horror, confusion, and death. Aurungzêbe was not to be moved from the field ; but he detached a part of the army to oppose the Maraja. When day appeared, the troops of Suja were no more to be seen ; and the emperor, now convinced of his victory, turned his arms upon the Maraja. That prince stood his ground. A bloody battle ensued. The Rajaputs retreated ; but they carried their booty away.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1063.

Suja fled with so much precipitation in the night, that he left all his tents, equipage, and artillery, on the field. His army deserted him ; and he even deserted his army. He changed his clothes, he threw off every mark of distinction, and hurried forward to Patna like a private man. He feared no enemy ; but he was afraid of his friends. When Fortune had forsaken him, he hoped not to retain their faith ; for to deliver him to Aurungzêbe would not only procure their safety, but advance their interest. The sun was scarce up, when Aurungzêbe detached ten thousand horse, under his son Mahommed, in pursuit of his brother. The enemy were so much dissipated, that few were slain. The instructions of the prince were to follow Suja. He arrived at Patna, and the unfortunate prince fled to Mongeer ; hoping to derive from walls that safety which he could not command in the field. His courage, however, forsook him not in his distress. He had still resources in his own active mind ; and the whole province of Bengal was devoted to his interest, from the strict justice and mildness of his government.

Suja pursued
by Mahom-
med.

After the flight of the Maraja and the departure of Mahommed, the emperor called together the nobility and principal officers of his army. He had marked, from his elephant, the particular behaviour of each. He punished some for cowardice ; others he promoted for valour. His reproofs were strong and pointed :

Aurung-
zêbe's speech
to his nobles.



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Hig. 1069.

pointed; the praise he bestowed manly and just. He, at the same time, made a long speech from the throne. He assumed no merit to himself, he even gave up that of his army, and attributed his success to Providence. He involved Heaven in his quarrel with his brothers; and made it the partner of his own guilt. This religious oration was received with bursts of applause. Mankind are in all ages and nations superstitious; and the bare profession of sanctity hides the blackest crimes from their eyes. Aurungzêbe, however, did not forget his temporal affairs in his devotion. Anxious for the reduction of Bengal, and for an end of the war with Suja, he detached a large body of horse under Meer Jumla, to reinforce Mahommed, whilst he himself took the rout of the capital.

A false report carried to Agra.

The Maraja, in the mean time, with his booty, advanced to the walls of Agra. News of the defeat of Aurungzêbe had already filled that capital with surprise. The appearance of the Rajaputs confirmed the report. The adherents of the new emperor began to shift for themselves; and grief and joy prevailed, as men were variously affected to this or the other side. Shaista, who commanded in the city, was struck with melancholy and despair. He knew the active part which he himself had taken for Aurungzêbe; and he could expect no favour from the conquerors. He even made attempts against his own life; and seemed indifferent about shutting the gates of the citadel against Jesswint Singh. That prince, though he suffered little in the running fight with Aurungzêbe, was still afraid of the Imperial army, which followed close on his heels. Had he boldly entered the city, taken advantage of the panic of Shaista, and released Shaw Jehân, Aurungzêbe might still be ruined. But the fortune of that prince was still greater than his abilities.

Aurungzêbe,



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Aurungzêbe, apprehensive of some mischief in Agra, hastened his march to that capital. The city was now undeceived with regard to the battle; and the Maraja, who had boasted of the defeat of the emperor, began to fly before him. He directed his course to his own country; and, though incumbered with spoil, outstripped his pursuers in the march. Aurungzêbe entered Agra without any pomp. He did not permit himself to be saluted by the guns of the fort. "It would be improper," said he, "to triumph in the ears of a father, over the defeat of his son." He wrote a letter to Shaw Jehân, enquiring concerning his health; and he excused himself from coming into his presence on account of the hurry of public affairs. He slightly mentioned his victory, by insinuating that Providence, by his hands, had frustrated the designs of the enemies of the house of Timur. His father, who was no stranger to the situation of affairs, would not read the letter. He gave it back to the messenger, and said, "If my son means to insult me, to know it would but add to my misfortunes; if he treats me with affection and respect, why does he permit me to languish within these walls?"

A. D. 169.
Hig. 1669.
Aurungzêbe
arrives in
that city.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A U R U N G Z E B E.

CHAP. II.

Dara's flight to Bicker—He crosses the desert—Gains the governor of Guzerat—Marches toward Agra—Fortifies himself at Ajmere—Deceived—attacked—and totally defeated by Aurungzêbe—His unheard-of misfortunes—Distress in the desert—Arrival at Tarta—Throws himself under the protection of Jihon—Death of the Sultana—Dara betrayed—Carried with ignominy through Delhi—Confined at Chizerabâd—Affassinated—Reflections.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.
Dara flies to
Bicker.

DARA having fled from Moulân, took the rout of Bicker, beyond the Indus. The Imperialists were close at his heels. His army fell off gradually in his flight. His affairs were desperate, and their attachment gave way to personal safety. Four thousand still adhered to their colours, with which number Dara encamped near Bicker, having garrisoned the place, and submitted it to the command of a faithful friend. He had scarce pitched his tents, when the enemy came in fight. Though worn-out with fatigue, he was obliged to fly. He found boats by accident, and crossed the Indus with all his followers. On the opposite shore stood the strong fortrefs of Sicar. Struck with the hard fate of Dara, the governor opened the gates. But it was not the business of the prince to shut himself up within walls; which at best could only protract misfortune. He re-inforced the garrison with a part of his troops; and left some valuable effects under the protection of the governor.



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Disincumbered, he betook himself to the open field, before he had even thought of the quarter to which he should direct his course. He wandered away in a melancholy mood. His faithful adherents, for only those whose attachment to his person overcame their own fears were now in his train, followed silently the path of a master whom they loved. Having marched a few miles, the prince came to the place where the road parted into two; the one leading to Tatta, the other toward the Persian province of Chorassan. Starting from his reverie, he stood for some time irresolute. On the one side there was apparent ruin; on the other, a certainty of personal safety. But glory was blended with disgrace in the first; in the latter there was nothing but obscurity and dishonour. When he weighed these things in his mind, the chariots in which were his women arrived. His perplexity increased. The desert toward Persia was extensive and inhospitable; on the side of India, his own misfortunes must overwhelm his family. He could not decide; and a melancholy silence prevailed around.

A. D. 1659.
Hij. 1069.
Meditates to
retire to
Persia.

The favourite Sultana, seeing the undecisiveness of Dara, at length put an end to his doubts. "Can the first of the race of Timur," she said, "hesitate in this moment of distress? There is danger, but there may be also a throne on one side; but a frightful solitude, and the cold reception given to fugitive princes by strangers, threaten from the other. If Dara cannot decide, I, who am the daughter of Purvêz, will decide for myself. This hand shall prevent me, by death, from dishonour. The descendant of the immortal Timur shall not grace the haram of the race of Sheick Sefi!" The features of the prince were at once lighted up into a kind of mournful joy. He burst into tears; and, without uttering a word, spurred forward his horse toward Tatta. He had not remained many days in that city, when he

but changes
his course to
Tatta.



A. D. 1669.
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received advices that a considerable detachment of the enemy was arrived within a few miles of the place. He evacuated Tatta, crossed the Indus, and fled toward the capital of Guzerat. The enemy laid a bridge of boats over the river; and were preparing to pursue the fugitive, when unexpected orders arrived for them to repair with all expedition to join the Imperial army, in full march against Suja.

Crosses the
defart,

The removal of the Imperial troops procured a happy respite for Dara; but it was but a transient gleam of Fortune, who had resolved to continue her frowns. The road of the prince lay partly through burning sands, destitute of water; partly through abrupt mountains, covered with impervious woods, the haunts of beasts of prey. His people were parched with thirst; his very camels died of fatigue. His unfortunate women were just expiring for want of water, when the prince, who ranged the solitudes far and wide, lighted on a spring. He encamped near it; and having refreshed his attendants, arrived next day on the borders of the territories of the Raja's Jâm and Bahâra, which lay contiguous to each other in his rout. They received him with hospitality; but they declined to embrace his cause. They were the natural enemies of the house of Timur, who had, often from views of conquest, penetrated into their almost inaccessible country. When persuasion failed, Dara endeavoured to work upon the pride of Jâm. He proposed an alliance between his son Sipper Shekô, the constant attendant of his misfortunes, and the daughter of the Raja. The match did not take place. The few Mogul nobles who adhered to him, were so much dissatisfied with the proposal, on account of its inequality, that it was laid aside; and Dara proceeded to Ahmedabâd.



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Shaw Nawâz, whose two daughters were married to Aurungzêbe and Morâd, had been left by the latter in the government of Guzerat, and kept his residence in Ahmedabâd. When Morâd was seized, Aurungzêbe sent a new commission to Shaw Nawâz, which that lord received, and governed his province in the name of the new emperor. He prepared to oppose Dara with all his forces. The match was unequal, and the prince, hemmed in with misfortunes on every side, began to despair. He, however, resolved to carry no longer round the empire a life obnoxious to misery. He advanced with his few attendants; and, as the last resort, wrote a letter to the younger daughter of Shaw Nawâz, who was the wife of Morâd, and had been left with her father when the prince marched toward Agra. He recounted his own misfortunes; and compared them with those of her husband. "The enemy of both is one," said he: "if the memory of the unfortunate Morâd still lives in the breast of his wife, she will persuade her father to favour Dara, who is oppressed by the same untoward fate!"

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.
and arrives
in Guzerat.

The princess, who had mourned incessantly for the misfortunes of her lord, whom she loved to distraction, burst into a flood of tears at the reception of the letter. She grasped at the shadow of hope for her husband's release, which was offered by a prince overwhelmed by his own bad fortune. She threw herself at the feet of her father; her tears suppressed her voice; but she looked up to him with that forcible eloquence of eyes, which it is impossible to resist from beauty in distress. She placed the letter of Dara in his hands. He read it with emotion; and turned away in silence. She followed him on her knees, holding the skirt of his robe. "Is not my daughter," said he, "already sufficiently wretched? Why does she wish to involve her father in the irretrievable misery which has overtaken her lord?"

Gains over
the govern-
or.

But



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

But she will have it so---and prudence must give way to pity." He ordered the gates to be thrown open; and the princess, in an ecstasy of joy, sent accounts of her success to Dara.

Raises an
army.

The prince could scarce believe his own eyes, when he received the letter of the wife of Morâd. A gleam of hope came in upon his misfortunes. He entered Ahmedabâd; and the governor received him with the highest distinction and respect. He gave to the prince about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in money, together with jewels to a great amount, to contribute to raise troops. This new life to the affairs of Dara, rendered him active in his preparations for war. In a few weeks he found himself at the head of a considerable army. He in the mean time received letters from the Maraja, who, with his native troops, was on his march with Aurungzêbe to attack Suja. That prince acquainted him of his design of deserting the new emperor in the action; and we have already seen that he kept his promise. He conjured Dara to hasten his march to support him in his intended defection. The advice was good; but the evil genius of Dara prevailed. He delayed, that he might augment his forces; and lost the golden opportunity of restoring his affairs by an act of boldness and intrepidity. Suja was, in the mean time, defeated; and Aurungzêbe turned his whole force toward the storm which was brewing in the West.

Marches to-
ward Agra.

The defection of the Maraja had spread news of the defeat and death of Aurungzêbe to every corner of the empire. The agreeable intelligence came to Dara. He instantly marched toward Agra, to seize the capital before the arrival of Suja, who was said to have conquered. In three days, the unfortunate prince was undeceived. Letters from different quarters brought him the particulars of the action, and of the complete victory obtained by his



his greatest foe. He was again thrown into perplexity. To proceed with so small a force was imprudent; to retreat, ruinous to his reputation. He had built his last hopes on his army; to retire, was to lose them by desertion. Many Europeans were in his camp. He had gained them by large promises; and they naturally loved that impartiality which he shewed indiscriminately to men of merit of all nations. His artillery was upon the best footing; and he was not destitute of able engineers. His soldiers, for the most part consisting of the troops of the empire stationed on the frontiers, were habituated to action. But they were too few in number; and their leader was destined for misfortune.

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The Maraja, after plundering the Imperial camp, declared his intentions of marching to Guzerat with the spoil. Dara halted to take him up by his way. But the Indian had no serious intentions of assisting effectually any branch of the house of Timur. An enthusiast in his own religion, he considered all Mahomedans as his natural enemies. He abetted none of the princes through choice. He studied to add fuel to the flame which raged between them, and to derive advantage from their dissensions. He hoped to find that freedom and independence in their weakness, which he could never expect from their favour and power. Under the influence of these political principles, he studiously avoided to meet Dara. He took the rout of Marwâr, to lodge his booty in his own dominions in safety. He, however, wrote letters to the prince, to advance to his borders, where he would join him with a recruited army. Dara accordingly marched toward Meirta, at which place he encamped with his forces, in daily expectations of the junction of the Maraja, who was collecting his forces at the capital of his dominions.

Turns toward
the domi-
nions of the
Maraja,

Aurungzebe



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Hig. 1069.

who is gained
over by Au-
rungzêbe,

Aurungzêbe was, in the mean time, alarmed at the great preparations of the Maraja. He saw danger in his defection; and he had recourse to his usual art and address. He wrote to him a letter. He acquainted him, That the opposition given to his fortune at the battle of Ugein, had long since been blotted out of his memory, as it was the result of the Maraja's opinion in favour of Dara; that his submission to his government, while yet his brothers were in the field, was a conduct which entitled him to favour; but that his late desertion in battle, and his subsequent attack upon the Imperial baggage, could not be forgot, though it might be forgiven. "The love of public tranquillity, however," continues Aurungzêbe, "has expelled from my breast every wish of revenge. It is therefore your interest, to withdraw your foot from the circle of Dara's misfortunes. That you should join my standard, I neither expect nor wish. I cannot trust again your faith; and my own force is sufficient to overthrow my enemies. You may therefore look from your own country, an unconcerned spectator of the war; and to reward you for your neutrality, the government of Guzerat shall be added to that of your hereditary dominions."

and defects
Dara.

The letter had the intended effect on the Maraja. He preferred the proffered advantage to the gratitude of Dara, whose fortunes wore such a doubtful aspect. He broke off his correspondence with that prince, at the very time that he was buoyed up with the hopes of the junction of a great army with his own forces. A stranger to the motive of the Hindoo, he sent his son Sipper Shekô to endeavour to prevail upon him to throw off his inactivity. The young prince was received at his capital with distinction and hospitality. He was, however, disappointed in his views. The Maraja would give no satisfactory answer; and the prince returned to his father, who was



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greatly disconcerted by this new misfortune. He, however, resolved to hesitate no longer with his fate. He decamped and marched in a direct line for Agra; and arrived at Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

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In the neighbourhood of Ajmere, the high-road to the capital passes between two steep hills, each of which forms the point of an impassable ridge of mountains, which stretch far into the country on both sides, and separate the kingdom of Guzerat from the rest of Hindostan. Dara halted with his army in this pass. His high opinion of the European mode of war, which he imbibed from the English, French and Portuguese in his service, had rendered that prince fond of entrenchments. He had considered the appearance of security, more than the movements of the human mind: for armies often take entrenchments in no other light than as a proof of the superiority of the enemy. He threw up lines from hill to hill in his front, and strengthened them with artillery. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, marched with an army to stop his progress; and arrived with great expedition in the neighbourhood of Ajmere. When he came in sight of the entrenchments, he ordered his army to encamp; and he himself rode out to reconnoitre the enemy.

Dara fortifies

Nothing could equal his astonishment when he viewed, through a spy-glass, the position of his brother. The strength of the works was inconceivable; instead of a common entrenchment the prince had fortified himself with a strong rampire, defended by bastions, a deep ditch and a double row of palisades, which extended six miles across a valley. Aurungzêbe was perplexed beyond measure. He knew not how to act. An assault was evidently impracticable; to do nothing would derogate from that high opinion which he had already established in the minds of the people. Every day would add to Dara's influence

himself at
Ajmere.



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and party; and mankind, who always side with the unfortunate, would attribute to ability what was the gift of chance. He called a council of the nobles. They differed in their opinions; much time was spent in argument without coming to a decisive measure. They at last agreed upon an expedient. They knew that the spirit of Dara was impatient of insult; and they advised the emperor to draw out his forces, and to offer battle.

Aurungzêbe
offers battle.

In compliance with the advice of his nobles, he formed his line on the 23d of March 1659, and advanced with his artillery within cannon-shot of the camp. Dara continued within his lines; and Aurungzêbe began to fortify himself under the enemy's fire. He continued the work the whole night, and covered his men before day-light appeared, notwithstanding his brother had fallen thrice during that time. The sun was scarce risen, when Debere, and some other nobles, issued out of the camp, and advanced on full speed with five thousand horse near the lines; hoping, by insulting him, to draw Dara from his lines. They paid dear for their temerity. The artillery of the enemy being well served, galled the assailants so much, that they retreated in disorder, and were glad to shelter themselves behind their own lines. Things remained in this doubtful situation for several days. The army of Dara, having the country in their rear open, were in no want of provisions; and were, therefore, under no necessity of retreating; and it was impossible, without a long siege, to overcome their almost impregnable lines.

Mis Stratagem

Fortune, who never forsook Aurungzêbe, relieved his anxiety upon this occasion. A petty Indian prince, who commanded three thousand of his native infantry in the Imperial army, informed himself of a narrow and steep path, by which men, accustomed to climb, might ascend the mountain on the right of Dara's lines. He communicated his information to the emperor, who was overjoyed



joyed at the discovery. He made large promises to the Raja, should he gain, with a party, the summit of the mountain, without alarming the enemy. Should he be so fortunate as to succeed in the attempt, he was ordered to make a signal to the emperor from that side of the mountain which was covered from Dara. When night came on, he marched with his troops. Having encountered many difficulties, he ascended the mountain, and the appointed signal was ready to be shewn by the dawn of day.

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Aurungzêbe never rested his hopes upon the success of a single scheme. He had, during the night, planned the ruin of his brother's affairs, by a more fatal stroke of policy than the stratagem of the Raja. Debere Chan, and the Indian prince, Joy Singh, had, at the beginning of the war, adhered with warmth to the interests of Dara. Under the prince Solimân, they had distinguished themselves in the defeat of Suja, and the reduction of Bengal. Yielding to the pressure of the times, and to the intrigues of Aurungzêbe, they deserted, as has been already related, the colours of Solimân; and ruined all the hopes which the unfortunate Dara derived from the victorious army under his son. To these chiefs the emperor applied with much address. He promised largely; and he mixed threats with his proffered favour. He at length prevailed upon them to write an insidious letter to Dara, to the following purpose:

to deceive

"It is not unknown to the emperor," for with that title they affected to distinguish Dara, "that Debere and Joy Singh once deemed it their greatest glory to be numbered among his servants. With how much fidelity they obeyed his orders, they derive a proof from their actions, under the command of the illustrious prince Solimân Shekô. So much satisfied was Dara with the conduct of his faithful servants, that, in his letters, which were

Dara.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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presented to us by the prince, he attributed the victory over Suja to our conduct and valour. The emperor was partial in our favour; but we presume to hope, we deserved a part of his praise. When the news of the defeat of our prince, and of the imprisonment of the king of kings, came to our ears, we thought ourselves alone amidst the victorious armies of our foes. What could we do? Our loyalty remained, but necessity was near. The times left us no choice, and we were forced to submit. We have ever since been dragged along, the unwilling slaves of Aurungzêbe. But now Fortune has returned to the threshold which leads to the presence of Dara. The accession of his faithful servants to his power, though not necessary to his affairs, will bring them to a more speedy conclusion. When, therefore, daylight shall appear, let the gate of the camp be opened to receive us; that we may have an opportunity of regaining, by our merit, the favour, of which we have been deprived by necessity. As soon as the sun shall arise, we look for admittance into the camp, with all our followers and friends."

Succeeds

This letter was thrown into the lines, by a horseman on full speed. It was immediately carried to the prince; and, with that credulity which is inherent in a sincere mind, he implicitly believed every thing which the letter contained. Shaw Nawâz in vain remonstrated to him, in the strongest terms, that there was danger in confiding in their sincerity. Dara was always averse to advice; and now he was rendered blind by the hopes of gaining such powerful chiefs to his party. He was obstinate; and determined to risque all on the faith of men who had, a few months before, betrayed his son. He gave positive orders, that in the morning, that gate of the camp which looked toward the enemy should be thrown open, to receive the expected fugitives. He, at the same time, issued directions to all the officers, that



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that care should be taken not to fire upon them as they advanced. Shaw Nawâz was highly dissatisfied; Mahommed Sherif, who commanded the forces, was astonished. The orders were peremptory, and they must be obeyed. They, however, resolved to stand upon their guard; and when morning came, they posted themselves, with several squadrons, without the lines; giving orders, at the same time, that all the troops in the camp should stand to their arms.

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Aurungzêbe, who was no stranger to the character of Dara, against foresaw that his stratagem would succeed. He drew up his army before day, behind his own camp; being covered by the tents from the enemy's view. The sun was not yet up, when he ordered Debere to issue forth from his right, and Joy Singh from his left, at the head of their troops, and to advance on full speed toward the camp. These officers accordingly rushed forth; and Aurungzêbe, to carry on the deceit, began to fire with his artillery, but with powder only, on the pretended deserters. Dara, full of expectation, stood on the rampire. When he saw the squadrons advancing, he ordered the gate to be thrown open; but Mahommed Sherif, who, with a chosen body, stood without the lines, being still dubious of the intentions of the fugitives, ordered them to stop, till he should be satisfied of their real designs.

Debere, who first advanced, had no time to deliberate. A par- that prince, ley would discover the whole to his own men; he immediately stood short, and gave the signal of attack, by shooting Sherif, with an arrow, through the heart. That officer fell headlong to the ground; and a dreadful slaughter commenced, hand to hand. Debere, unmatched in that age for strength and personal bravery, hewed on his way to the gate, which Shaw Nawâz was endeavouring to shut. But the thing was now impracticable, from the numbers



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numbers that crowded into the camp. Debere entered, sword in hand; and Shaw Nawâz advanced to oppose him. The match was unequal. Debere, who respected the virtues, the years, the high quality of his adversary, desired him to surrender; and to fear nothing from his son-in-law. "I myself," said Debere, "will intercede for Shaw Nawâz." The pride of the old lord arose. "No!—Debere Chan;—I have hitherto defended my life by my valour; nor shall I purchase a few years of decrepid age at the expence of my former fame." Debere, at the word, ran him through with his spear. With Shaw Nawâz and Sherif, the courage of Dara's army fell. The treacherous Debere was now within the camp, with his squadron, who, fired with the example of their leader, made a prodigious slaughter. Joy Singh followed close on their heels.

who is to-
tally de-
feated.

The emperor, in the mean time, advanced with his whole line; and the party, who had gained the summit of the mountain in the night, shewed themselves above the camp. The hills re-echoed to their shouts; and they began to roll stones and loosened rocks into the valley. These, falling from precipice to precipice, came crashing down on the affrighted army; and they turned their eyes from the swords of their enemies to this new species of danger. An universal panic spread over all. Confusion every where prevailed. Some fought, others fled, many stood in astonishment, without having even the courage to fly. Dara mounted his elephant to be seen by his army; but he himself saw nothing around but terror and death. He rushed forward to meet the enemy; but he was left alone. He called for Sherif; that chief was already cold in his blood: he wished for the presence of Shaw Nawâz, but his dead body presented itself to his eyes. He turned back, and gave his soul to despair. The safety of his women came then across his mind; he hastened with them from the field;



whilst the spoils of his camp kept the enemy from pursuing his flight. Four thousand fell on the side of Dara, in this extraordinary action: Aurungzêbe lost not above two hundred; and in that number, no officer of distinction except Sheich Meer, the captain-general of his forces.

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The grief of Dara for his defeat was great, but it was not equal to his astonishment. The misfortune, though dreadful, was unexpected, and by the sudden ill prevented the fear. It was, however, succeeded by misery, and unequalled distress. The unfortunate prince fled to the capital of Guzerat. But the governor, whom he left in the place, shut the gates against his lord. He sat down in silence, and knew not whither to fly. His friends became his greatest enemies. Two thousand Mahrattors still adhered to the unhappy prince. When they heard of the message of the governor, they despaired of the affairs of Dara, and added their own cruelty to his misfortunes. In a pretence of having large arrears of their pay due to them, they fell upon his baggage, and plundered it in his presence. Some caskets of jewels were saved by his women; for even in that season of licence and disorder, their persons were sacred from barbarity itself. This outrage was committed in the night. When day-light appeared, the robbers, as if ashamed of their conduct, fled with their spoil. A few only of the lowest menial servants remained. Every thing was removed from the field. The miserable tents, which he had collected in his flight, were carried away; and nothing was left but a few old screens of canvass, which covered the Sultana and her female slaves from the public eye. The distress of the prince may be imagined, but cannot be described. He walked about in seeming distraction; and the sad complaints of the women from behind their wretched covering, drew tears from the eyes of the few servants who still adhered to their unhappy lord.

The misfortunes of Dara.

The



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Flies to the
desart.

The pressure of his misfortunes at length awakened Dara from a melancholy reverie, in which he had strayed from the place where his camp had stood. He returned in manifest disorder; and seemed to question every one with his eyes, about the means of moving to some place of safety. A few beasts of burden were collected by his servants; and the robbers, who had deserted and plundered his camp, had left to him the two elephants which he had brought from Ajmere. On these he placed all the effects which had escaped the ravages of the Mahrattors; and a few oxen found in a neighbouring field, dragged slowly away in covered carriages his women. The prince himself, with his son Cipper Shekô, attended them on horseback, with an ill-mounted retinue of two or three hundred servants and faithful adherents. He turned his face to the frightful solitudes in which he had suffered so much before; but the parched desarts, which stretched themselves from Guzerat to the Indus, were less un hospitable to Dara than a brother's hands.

His great

The prince soon arrived in the territories of Raja Jâm, whose hospitality alleviated his distress. He again applied to that chief for his aid, but he was deaf to the request. Dara promised largely, should Fortune again favour his cause; but she had taken her flight to return no more. Jâm was too prudent to throw his own fate into the scale of the prince. He became cold and reserved; and seemed, by his manner, to wish for the departure of his unfortunate guest. He was again forced to encounter the hardships of the desart. The heat of the season had added to the natural sterility of these dreadful solitudes. There was no water to be found; not a blade of grass to be seen. The air seemed, in some measure, on fire. There was nothing to shade the desolate travellers from the scorching sun; excepting when clouds of sand, raised by whirlwinds, covered them with a fatal darkness. The
beasts



beasts of burden died for want of provender; the very camels perished for want of water. The favourite elephant, which had often carried Dara in all his pomp, was now the only useful animal that remained; and even he began to fail. To add to the misfortunes of the prince, the favourite Sultana, the mother of all his children, and whom he tenderly loved, was at the point of death. She had been seized with hysterics from the fright of the battle; and had ever since been subject to violent fits. Death cut off gradually his retinue; at the end of every furlong, he was obliged to pay the last sad offices to some favourite servant or friend.

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When he came within sight of Tatta, the elephant which had carried his family across the desert, worn out with fatigue and thirst, lay down and died. The few that remained of his followers were so languid and spent, that they could not crawl to the neighbouring villages for succour. Dara himself was obliged to execute that necessary service. He came to a hind, who kept oxen in a field. He mentioned his distress and his name; and the clown fled from his presence. He sat down; having no strength to return to his desolate family. Curiosity, however, brought the whole village around; and every eye was full of tears. They brought all their beasts of burden to the place; and the whole country accompanied him, with shouts of joy, to Tatta. He, however, did not rest long in that city. He crossed the Indus, and threw himself under the protection of the petty chiefs of the district of Bicker; and they, touched with compassion, promised to support him with their lives and fortunes.

The active spirit of the emperor was not, in the mean time, idle. So long as Dara lives, he must totter on his throne. He knew the rout which his unfortunate brother had taken; but his troops would not pursue the fugitive through such a perilous way.



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He hoped that the hardships of the desert might prevent him from embruing his hands in blood; but Dara must perish; and Aurungzêbe was resolved to be provided against every event of Fortune. He ordered some troops to march down along the Indus from Moulân; and the news of their approach came a few days after the arrival of Dara. The generous chiefs, who from compassion had resolved to support his cause, being not yet prepared to receive the enemy, advised him to fly into Persia, the frontiers of which were within four days march of the place at which he then resided.

Prepares to
fly to Persia;

He prepared for his flight; but Nadîra Bâna, the favourite Sultana, was dying. Spent with fatigue, overwhelmed with sickness, and worn out with misfortune, she was altogether incapable of the journey; and he could not leave her behind. She knew his situation, and requested earnestly that they should move away. "Death," said she, "will soon relieve the daughter of Purvez from her misfortunes; but let her not add to those of her lord." She could not prevail upon him to march whilst she was in such a situation; and he had, besides, placed great hopes in the friendship of Jihon Chan, a neighbouring chief of great power. Jihon had been twice saved from death by the interest of Dara. Shaw Jehân, who was an enemy to oppression, had ordered him to be, at two different times, prosecuted for murder and treason, before the chief justice of the empire. That judge, upon the clearest proofs, condemned him twice to death; and, at the request of Dara, he was pardoned by the emperor, and restored to his estate which had been confiscated. The prince, therefore, had reason to expect a return of gratitude; but the obligations were too great for the pride of this unprincipled chief, and they pressed upon him like injuries.



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The natural perfidy of Jihon was so notorious, that all his friends, with one voice, remonstrated to Dara against his design of throwing himself on the faith of that chief. The prince, naturally obstinate, was now blinded by his fate. He could not think of leaving his beloved Nadîra in the hour of death; and he resolved to risque all for the melancholy satisfaction of being present when the faithful companion of his distress expired. Some nobles, who had hitherto attended his person, and who had determined to accompany him in his exile to Persia, separated themselves from a prince devoted to ruin. With seventy domestics only, he went to the residence of Jihon; and that chief, apprized of his coming, came out to meet him, and received him with the warmest professions of friendship. He quitted his own palace to accommodate the prince; and nothing was to be seen around but the greatest marks of hospitality and profound respect.

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Hig. 1060.

but throws
himself on
Jihon Chan.

June 21st.

The distemper of the Sultana had increased on the road to the residence of Jihon. She fainted away when she was carried into the apartments assigned for her reception; and the prince sat in tears by her side, during the whole night. In the morning she expired in his arms. "It is only now," said Dara, "I have found that I am alone. I was not bereft of all my friends whilst Nadîra lived. But she has closed her eyes on the misfortunes which are to involve her children and lord; and thus a peculiar happiness has succeeded to accumulated distress." He tore off his magnificent robe, and threw the Imperial turban on the ground: then, clothing himself in a mean habit, he lay down by his departed consort on the bed. In the evening one of his faithful servants joined him with fifty horse. He was overjoyed at his arrival, and, starting up, took him in his arms, and said, "My situation, Gal Mahommed," for that was the officer's name, "is not without resource. Nadîra, having forsaken the devoted Dara, has met

The Sultana
dies.



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with a part of that good fortune which was due to her virtues. You must, with your fifty horse, escort the body to Lahore, to the sepulchre of her great ancestors. Aurungzêbe himself will not refuse a grave to the family of Dara." The body was accordingly embalmed; and, being placed in a magnificent hearse, was escorted to Lahore.

He is betray-
ed by Jihon,

Dara had not remained many days at the residence of Jihon, when intelligence was received, that Chan Jehân, one of the principal generals of his brother, was advancing from Moulân; and that his van was already arrived in the neighbourhood. Dara resolved to make his escape into Persia. He called his servants together, and he took leave of Jihon. When he had proceeded about a mile on his way, he discovered Jihon coming after him, with about a thousand horse, on full speed. He imagined, that Jihon designed to escort him with these troops to Persia. He rode back by way of doing him honour; and, when he was about addressing his thanks to the treacherous chief, he was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. "Villain!" said Dara, "is it for this I twice saved your life from the resentment of my father, when the elephants were standing over you waiting for orders to crush you to death? But Justice will be satisfied, and Heaven has revenged your crimes upon my head." He stooped—and, with a scornful silence, submitted his hands to be bound.

and delivered
up

Jihon heard the prince without making any reply; for what could he say to vindicate his conduct? He ordered the prisoner to be mounted on an elephant, and then he fell upon the baggage, to enrich himself with the spoil of his benefactor. He then hastened toward Chan Jehân; and, during the journey, notwithstanding the natural unfeelingness of his mind, he durst not for once come into the presence of the much injured prince. His fate



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fate being now determined, that anxiety, which had long clouded the countenance of Dara, vanished. His son was carried with him on the same elephant. Having a talent for poetry, he composed many affecting verses on his own misfortunes; with the repetition of which he often drew tears from the eyes of the common soldiers who guarded his person. "My name," said he one day, "imports that I am IN POMP LIKE DARIUS; I am also like that monarch in my fate. The friends whom he trusted, were more fatal than the swords of his enemy." Notwithstanding these casual complaints, he maintained his usual dignity, and there was even something majestic in his grief. It was not the wailings of a woman, but the manly afflictions of a great mind.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

When Chan Jehân, who had been apprized of the imprisonment of Dara, saw that prince advancing, meanly dressed on a sorry elephant, he could not bear the sight; and he hid his tears in his tent. He detached a party from his army to escort him, together with the traitor, to Delhi, where Aurungzêbe at the time kept his court. The emperor, though he rejoiced at the news that his brother had fallen into his hands, was full of perplexity and indecision. He called a council of his nobles; and they differed in their opinions; some, declaring for sending him by another rout to the castle of Gualîâr; some, that he should be carried through the city, to convince mankind that he was fallen for ever. Many advised against a measure that might be full of danger from the humanity of the people; a few argued, that such conduct would degrade the dignity of the family of Timur. Others maintained, to whose opinion the emperor himself seemed to lean, that it was necessary he should pass through the capital, to astonish mankind with the absolute power and invincible fortune of Aurungzêbe.

to the enemy.

The



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

Carried with
ignominy
through Del-
hi.

The unfortunate prince, accordingly, accompanied by his son, entered Delhi on an elephant. This, says a certain writer, was none of the fine elephants of Ceylon and Pegu, which they were wont to ride with golden harness, embroidered covers, and magnificent canopies to defend them from the sun. No. It was an old animal, dirty and lean, with a tattered cover, a pitiful seat, and the castle open on all sides to the winds. The splendid ornaments of his person were now vanished, like his good fortune. A dirty dress of coarse linen scarce covered his body from the weather; and his wretched turban was wrapt round with a scarf made of Cashmere wool. His face, which formerly commanded respect with the manly regularity of its features, was now parched and shrivelled by being long exposed to the heat; and a few straggling locks, which appeared from his turban, presented a grey colour unsuitable to his years. In this wretched situation he entered Delhi; and, when the mob who crowded to the gates knew that it was Dara, they burst into loud complaints, and shed a flood of tears. The streets were rendered almost impassible by the number of the spectators; the shops were full of persons of all ages and degrees. The elephant moved slowly; and the progress he made was marked to those who were distant by the advancing murmur among the people. Nothing was heard around but loud complaints against Fortune, and curses on Aurungzêbe. But none had the boldness to offer to rescue the unfortunate prince, though slightly guarded. They were quite unmanned by their sorrow.

Confined in
a neighbour-
ing village.

After wandering over the features of Dara, the eyes of the people fell on his son. They opposed his innocence, his youth, his graceful person, his hopes and his quality, to the fate which impended over his head; and all were dissolved in grief. The infectious sorrow flew over the whole city: even the poorest people



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people forlook their work, and retired to secret corners to weep. Dara retained his dignity upon this trying occasion. He uttered not one word; but a settled melancholy seemed to dwell on his face. The unfortunate young prince was ready frequently to weep, being softened by the complaints of the people; but his father checked him with a stern look, and he endeavoured to conceal his tears. Dara, having been thus led through the principal streets of Delhi, was conducted to Chizerabâd, a village four miles without the walls. He was locked up, with his son, in a mean apartment, in which he remained for some days in hourly expectation of his death. Here he amused himself with writing instructions for his son Solimân; having concealed an ink standish and some paper in one of the folds of his garment. His anxiety to know the intentions of Aurungzêbe, sometimes broke in upon his melancholy amusements. He appeared through the window to the guards; but they knew nothing of what passed at court. He then enquired concerning an old devotee, who had formerly lived in a cell near the foot of the Imperial garden at Delhi. One of the soldiers knew the old man; and the prince gave a billet to be carried to him, requesting some intelligence. "But even he, perhaps," he said, with a sigh, "may have changed with the current of the times."

The traitor Jihon, in the mean time, made his appearance at court, to claim the reward of his treachery. Aurungzêbe dignified him with a title, and enriched him with presents. Passing through the city of Delhi, he was pointed out to the mob, who, falling upon him near the gate which leads to Lahore, killed seven of his attendants. He himself escaped; but the country people rose upon him every where. They hunted him from place to place; till at length he met with his deserts, and was slain when he had almost reached the boundaries of his own government.

The traitor
Jihon slain
by the
people.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1659.

Disturbances
at Delhi,

hasten the
murder of
Dara.

ment. The zeal of the people, however, proved fatal to Dara. The emperor, hearing of the tumult near the gate of Lahore, ordered the chief magistrate of the city, with his officers, to go to the place, and enquire into the cause of the disturbance. The mob fell upon the judge and his attendants. They fled to the palace, and the whole city was in an uproar.

Aurungzêbe, in dread of a general revolt, called a council of his nobles. He had determined before to send his brother to the fortrefs of Gualiâr; but now he was afraid of a rescue by the way. The minds of the people were strangely agitated. Their imprecations against his cruelty reached him in the midst of his guards; and he began, for the first time, to shew symptoms of political fear. He asked the advice of his lords. The majority seemed to be for sparing the life of Dara; and for sending him, under a strong guard, to the usual prison of the Imperial family. Aurungzêbe, though not satisfied, was about to yield to their opinion; when one Hakîm, a Persian by birth, with a design to gain the favour of the emperor, insisted that Dara should be put to death, as an apostate from the faith of Mahommed. The emperor pretended to be startled, and said, "The thing is determined. I might have forgiven injuries done to myself; but those against religion I cannot forgive." He immediately ordered a warrant to be issued to Nazir and Seif, two fierce Afgan chiefs, which empowered them to take off Dara that very night.

On the eleventh of September, about midnight, the unfortunate prince was alarmed with the noise of arms coming through the passage which led to his apartment. He started up, and knew immediately that his death approached. He scarce had awakened his son, who lay asleep on the carpet at his feet, when the assassins burst open the door. Dara seized a knife, which



which he had concealed to mend the reed with which he wrote. He stood in a corner of the room. The murderers did not immediately attack him. They ordered his son to remove to the adjoining apartment; but he clung round his father's knees. Two of the assassins seized him, to force him away; when Dara, seeing Nazir standing at the door, begged to be indulged a few moments to take leave of his son. He fell upon his neck, and said, "My dear son, this separation is more afflicting than that between soul and body, which I am this moment to suffer. But should HE spare you—live. Heaven may preserve you to revenge my death; for his crimes shall not pass unpunished. I leave you to the protection of God. My son, remember me." A tear half started from his eye; when they were dragging the youth to the adjoining room. He, however, resumed his wonted dignity and courage. "I beg one other favour, Nazir!" he said, "much time has not been lost by the last." He wrote a billet, and desired that it should be delivered to Aurungzêbe. But he took it back, and tore it, saying, "I have not been accustomed to ask favours of my enemies. He that murders the father can have no compassion on the son." He then raised up his eyes in silence; and the assassins seemed to have forgot their office.

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During this time of dreadful suspense, the son, who lay bound in the next room, listened, expecting every moment to hear his father's dying groans. The assassins, in the mean time, urged on by Nazir, seized Dara by the hands and feet, and throwing him on the ground, prepared to strangle him. Deeming this an infamous death, he, with an effort, disincumbered his hand, and stabbed, with his pen-knife, one of the villains to the heart. The others, terrified, fled back; but as he was rising from the floor, they fell upon him with their swords. His son, hearing the noise, though his hands were bound, burst open the door, and

who is assassinated.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

entered, when the murderers were severing his father's head from his body. Nazir had the humanity to push back the youth into the other apartment, till this horrid operation was performed. The head of Dara was carried to Aurungzêbe; and the unfortunate young prince was left, during the remaining part of the night, shut up with his father's body. Next morning he was sent privately under a guard, to the castle of Gualiâr.

Reflections

Thus fell the unhappy Dara Shekô; a prince whose virtues deserved a better fate. But he was born to distress; and his imprudence often assisted the malignity of his fortune. Though destitute of the address which is necessary to gain mankind in general, he was much beloved by his family and domestics; and he was the darling of his father, who was often heard to say, That all his other children were not half so dear to him as Dara. This predilection in his favour was the source of the misfortunes of both. The other princes envied the influence of Dara, and all their differences with, and every disappointment which they experienced from, their father, was laid to the account of their brother, who possessed all his confidence and esteem. Dara was certainly jealous of his brothers, whom he saw invested with too much power in their respective provinces; and his opposing their measures at court was the natural consequence of his fears. This mutual animosity being once kindled, all the princes looked forward to the death of their father with terror. The seeds of civil war were long sown before they appeared; and the illness of the emperor was the signal to begin the charge, from the four corners of his dominions. Dara had the post of advantage; but he was not a match in abilities to Aurungzêbe.

on his death.

Nazir, before day-light appeared, was admitted into the citadel to the emperor. That prince had remained all night in anxious expectation. Many of the nobles had expressed their high dissatisfaction