

# **Landesbibliothek Oldenburg**

**Digitalisierung von Drucken**

## **The History Of Hindostan; From The Earliest Account Of Time, To The Death Of Akbar; Translated From The Persian Of Mahummud Casim Ferishta Of Delhi**

Together With A Dissertation Concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the Brahmins ; With An Appendix, Containing the History of the Mogul Empire, from its Decline in the Reign of Mahummud Shaw, to the present Times ; In Two Volumes

**Dow, Alexander**

**London, 1772**

Chap. VI. Cause of the civil war - Character of the emperors sons - Dara - Suja - Aurungzebe - Morad - Suja takes the field - Defeated by Soliman the son of Dara - Morad rebels in Guzcrat - Aurungzebe ...

**urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-2198**

## S H A W J E H A N.

## C H A P. VI.

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

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

A. D. 1658.

Fig. 1068.

Cause of the civil wars.





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Views of the  
emperor's  
sons.

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

Character of  
Dara.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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





A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1068.

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

Of Aurung-  
 zêbe.

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



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

A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1068.

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

Of Morád.





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Suja takes  
the field.

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

Dara





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

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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

Opposed by  
Solimán  
Shekó.

Suja surpriz-  
ed in his  
camp.





A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1068.

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

and defeated.

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

Aurungzêbe  
 hears of his

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



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

A D. 1658.  
Hig. 1063.  
father's  
illness.

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

Gains over





A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1068.

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

Jumla

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

side





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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Marches  
from Au-  
rungabad.

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

His manage-  
ment of  
Morâd.





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Opposed at  
the Nirbidda.

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

Joined by  
Morâd.

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

on





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

A. D. 1658.  
Fig. 1068.

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

April 22, de-  
feats the Ma-  
raja.

G g. 2

arrived





A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1668.

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

Masculine  
 behaviour of  
 the Maraja's  
 wife.

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





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

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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

Aurungzébe  
remains at  
Ugein.





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1663.

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

Perplexity of  
the emperor.

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

Preparations  
of Dara,

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





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

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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

who marches  
against Au-  
rungzêbe and  
Morâd.

The





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1658.

Charge given  
him by his  
father.

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

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

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1663.

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

Dara's order  
of battle,  
June 5.





A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1068.

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

That of Aurungzêbe.

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





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

A. D. 1658.  
Fig. 1068.

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

The battle begins.

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

Dara's bravery.





A. D. 1658,  
Hig. 1658.

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

Morâd's  
bravery.

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

Dara, by an  
accident

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





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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

is defeated.

is defeated.





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Reflections.

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

S. H. A. W.

