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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

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Chap. VI. Reflections - Dara appears before his father - His flight to Delhi - The army deserts Soliman Sheko - Shaista Chan condemned to death - Rescued - The confederate princes appear before Agra ...

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S H A W J E H A N.

C H A P. VI.

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

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

A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.
 Reflections.



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1668.

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

Dara appears
before his
father.

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



northern banks of the Ganges, and to join him in the province of Doâb, which lies between that river and the Jumna. A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1668.

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

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



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

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

Raises forces.

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

Aurungzêbe
 corrupts

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

hopeless

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

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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

the army of
prince Soli-
mân.

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

Shaista Chan
condemned
to death.



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

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

Rescued.

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

to



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

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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

The princes
appear before
Agra.

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

Aurungzêbe
sends to his
father.



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

The conference

of the princess Jehanâra

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

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

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



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

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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

and Aurung-
zêbe.



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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

Emperor
writes to
Dara.

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

His letter
intercepted.

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

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

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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

Aurung-
zêbe's
schemes



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1668.
 to seize the
 emperor.

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

Shaw Jehân
 taken pri-
 soner.

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

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

A. D. 1658,
Hig. 1068,

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

He offers the
empire



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1078.
 to the son of
 Aurungz. be.

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

Aurungzêbe
 writes to the
 emperor.

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



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

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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

Deceives
Morâd.

cise



A. D. 1658.
 Hig 1068.

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

Prepares to
 pursue Dara.

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

Counterplot
 of Morâd.

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



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.

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.

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

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

Miscarries.

Morâd deceived,



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

performances in finging, 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

for his sword. Aurungzêbe, 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." Morâd, 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 Aurungzêbe, to whom they swore allegiance. A murmur ran through the camp; but it was an ineffectual sound: and the army, as if but half wakened from a dream, fell fast asleep again.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

The night was not far advanced when Morâd 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, Aurungzêbe ordered three other elephants to be sent off before them, attended by guards to elude pursuers. The precaution was unnecessary. Mankind forsook Morâd 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.



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1063.
 Aurungzêbe
 advances to
 Delhi.

Though Shaista, 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 Shaista 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.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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 mounted the throne, in the garden of Azabâd near Delhi. No pompous ceremonies were used upon the occasion; for he af-

at Delhi.

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A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

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.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1058.

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



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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



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.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

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 surprize, 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,

concerning
his accession.



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1063.

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



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.

A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1068.

Reflections



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.
 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 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.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1058.

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A. D. 1668
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A. D. 1668
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 cession is not fixed by acknowledged and established rules. Revo-
 lution and change present themselves to his imagination; till ac-
 custom has made him insensible to the horror of such a prospect.
 Thus John was not more afraid of a revolt than of a rebellion. He
 was not more desirous to restore the tranquility of his empire, than
 to see it divided. He was not more anxious to secure the throne to
 himself, than to prevent the possibility of its being ever again
 vacant. He was not more concerned for the interest of his subjects,
 than for the security of his own crown. He was not more desirous
 to see his empire flourish, than to see it united. He was not more
 anxious to see his people happy, than to see them all in arms.
 Some amendments for his crimes, in the kind justice and clemency
 which he was so ready to show to others, would have been
 sufficient to have secured him the love and affection of his
 people. To disguise longer his actions, and to pretend
 to be innocent, would have been to betray himself. He
 would have been from the improbability of the thing, be imprudent;
 however covered his love of power with professions of rectitude;
 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 in-
 sensible of his own exaltation. His humility seemed to encrease ap-
 pearance 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 attribute
 his conduct. Averse to pleasure, and contemning pomp and magni-
 ficence, the obvious inducements to the losing of the scepter were
 wanting.

