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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**

**London, 1772**

Chap. I. Reflections - Missfortunes of Soliman Sheko - His flights Serinagur - Distress, irresolution, and flight of Dara - He quites the Suttuluz - the Bea - and Lahore - Aurungzebe returns - ...

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## A U R U N G Z E B E.

## C H A P. I.

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

**T**HE confinement of the emperor, and the seizure of the person of Morád, opened a fair field for the ambition of Aurungzébe. To disguise longer his serious designs on the empire, would, from the improbability of the thing, be imprudent. He however covered his love of power with professions of necessity; and still lamented the occasion which had burdened his head with a crown. This specious conduct, though too obvious in its design to deceive, derived an advantage from its modest appearance; 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 insensible of his own exaltation. His humility seemed to encrease upon the throne to such a degree, that even those who could not approve of his measures, were at a loss to what they ought to ascribe his conduct. Averse to pleasure, and contemning pomp and magnificence, the obvious inducements to the seizing of the scepter were wanting.

A. D. 1658.

Fig. 1068.

Reflections.



A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1058.

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

Solimân

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

deserted

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1658.

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

by his army;

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

taken



A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1068.

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

refuge

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

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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

in Serinagûr.

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

Irresolution



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1063.

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

of Dara.

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

He retreats  
from the Bea.

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



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

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

N n 2

Suttuluz

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

Hesitates about giving battle,





A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

and flies from  
Lahore.

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

Several no-  
bles submit

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

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

A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1668.

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

to Aurung-  
 zêbe.

The



A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1668.  
 Jumla arrives  
 at court.

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

Aurungzêbe  
 marches to  
 Moulân.

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

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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Cause of his  
return.

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

Preparations



A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1068.

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

of Suja.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Fig. 1069.

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

Preparations  
of Aurung-  
zêbe.

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

Suja on full  
march.



A. D. 1659.  
 Hig. 1069.

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

Fortifies his  
 camp.

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

Aurungzêbe  
 offers battle.

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



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

A. D. 1659.  
Hig. 1069.

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

The battle  
begins.





A. D. 1659.  
Hig. 1669.

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

Treachery of  
the Maraja.

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

Resolution of  
Suja,

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

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

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

A. D. 1659.  
Fig. 1069.

and of Au-  
rungzêbe;



A. D. 1659.  
Hig. 1069.

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

who obtains  
the victory.

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



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

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

Suja pursued  
by Mahom-  
med.

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

Aurung-  
zêbe's speech  
to his nobles.



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

A false report carried to Agra.

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

Aurungzêbe,



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

A. D. 1659.  
Hig. 1069.

Aurungzêbe  
arrives in  
that city.

