

# **Landesbibliothek Oldenburg**

## **Digitalisierung von Drucken**

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

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

**Dow, Alexander**

**London, 1772**

Shaw Jehan.

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

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

## C H A P. I.

*Reflections—Accession of Shaw Jehân—Promotions—The emperor's children—State of the empire with regard to foreign powers—Incurſion of the Uſbecs—War in Bundelcund—Diſgrace—Tragical ſtory—and flight of Chan Jehân Lodi—Death and character of Shaw Abas of Perſia—Emperor's march to the Decan—War in Golconda and Tellingana—Irruption of the Afgans—The viſier Aſiph takes the field.*

THE ideas upon government which the Tartars of the northern Aſia carried into their conqueſts in Hindoſtan, were often fatal to the poſterity of Timur. Monarchy deſcends through the channel of primogeniture; but deſpotiſm muſt never fall into the hands of a minor. The prince is the center of union between all the members of the ſtate; and, when he happens to be a child, the ties which bind the allegiance of the ſubject are diſſolved. Habituated to battle, and inured to depredation, the Tartars always adopted for their leader, that perſon of the family of their princes who was moſt proper for their own mode of life; and loſt ſight of hereditary ſucceſſion in the convenience of the nation. When they ſettled in better regions than their native country, they did not lay aſide a cuſtom ſuited only to incurſion and war. The ſucceſſion to the throne was never determined by eſta bliſhed rules; and a door was opened to intrigue, to murder, and to civil war. Every prince, as if in an enemy's country, mounted the throne through conqueſt; and the

VOL. III.

Q

ſafety

A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.  
Reflections.



A. D. 1628.  
 Hig. 1637.

safety of the state, as well as his own, forced him, in a manner, to become an assassin, and to stain the day of his accession with the blood of his relations. When therefore the Despot died, ambition was not the only source of broils among his sons. They contended for life as well as for the throne; under a certainty that the first must be lost, without a possession of the second. Self-preservation, that first principle of the human mind, converted frequently the humane prince into a cruel tyrant, and thus necessity prompted men to actions, which their souls perhaps abhorred.

Accession of  
 Shaw Jehân.

Shaw Jehân had this apology for the murder of his relations; and the manners of the people were so much adapted to an idea of necessity in such a case, that they acquiesced without murmuring under his government. He mounted the throne of the Moguls in Agra, on the first of February of the year 1628 of the Christian *Æra*; and, according to the pompous manner of eastern princes, assumed the titles of THE TRUE STAR OF THE FAITH, THE SECOND LORD OF THE HAPPY CONJUNCTIONS, MAHOMMED, THE KING OF THE WORLD. He was born at Lahore on the fifth of January 1592, and, on the day of his accession, he was thirty-six solar years and twenty-eight days old. To drive away the memory of the late assassinations from the minds of the people, and to gratify the nobles, who had crowded from every quarter to Agra, he ushered in his reign with a festival, which exceeded every thing of the kind known in that age, in magnificence and expence. The pompous shews of the favourite Sultana, in the late reign, vanished in the superior grandeur of those exhibited by Shaw Jehân.

Promotions.

In the midst of festivity and joy, Shaw Jehân did neither forget the state nor the gratitude which he owed to his friends. Asiph Jâh, though not yet arrived from Lahore, was confirmed in the office of visier. His appointments to support the dignity of



of his station, and as a reward for the part he acted, in securing the possession of the throne to the emperor, amounted to near a million sterling. Mohâbet who, in Shaw Jehân's progress from the Decan to Agra, had been presented with the government of Ajmere, was raised to the high office of captain-general of all the forces, and to the title and dignity of Chan Chanan, or first of the nobles. His son Chanazâd, who had been raised to the title of Chan Zimân, was placed in the government of Malava. Behâr was conferred on Chan Alum, Bengal on Casim, Allahabâd on Janfapar Chan. The emperor, in bestowing the province of Cabul on Liscâr, exhibited an instance of justice. He had, during his rebellion, taken eight lacks of roupees by force from that Omrah, and when he appointed him to Cabul, he at the same time gave him a draught on the treasury for the money; signifying to Liscâr, "That necessity being removed, there was no excuse for the continuance of injustice." Fifty Mahommedan nobles, together with many Indian Rajas, were raised to honours, and gratified with presents.

A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.

During these transactions at Agra, Asiph pursued his journey in very slow marches from Lahore. His sister, the favourite of the late emperor, being ruined in all her schemes of ambition, was left, in a kind of confinement at Lahore, in the Imperial palace. The four sons of the reigning emperor, Dara, Suja, Aurungzêbe, and Morâd, had been sent as hostages for their father's good behaviour to Jehangire. They were in the Imperial camp when that monarch expired; and Asiph treated them with kindness and respect. He arrived at Agra on the twenty-second of March, and presented his sons to the emperor, when he was celebrating the festival of the Norose, which is kept by the followers of Mahommed at the vernal equinox in every year. The emperor was so much rejoiced at the sight of his children, who had been all

Asiph arrives  
at Agra.



A. D. 1628.

Hig. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

eds. 1637.

born to him by his favourite wife the daughter of Afiph, that he conferred upon their grandfather, the pompous title of THE FATHER OF PRINCES, THE STRENGTH OF THE REALM, AND PROTECTOR OF THE EMPIRE.

Children of the emperor.

The Imperial prince Dara Shêko was thirteen years old at the accession of his father to the throne; Suja was in the twelfth, Aurungzêbe in the tenth, and Morâd in the fourth lunar year of his age. The eldest of the emperor's children, by the favourite Sultana, the daughter of Afiph, was the princess Jehânara, which name signifies THE ORNAMENT OF THE WORLD. She was fourteen years of age when Shaw Jehân mounted the throne. Sensible, lively and generous, elegant in her person, and accomplished in her mind, she obtained an absolute empire over her father. A similarity of disposition with the open and sincere Dara, attached her to the interest of that prince; and he owed, in a great measure, the favour of his father to her influence. Roshenrai Begum, or THE PRINCESS OF THE ENLIGHTENED MIND, was the second daughter of Shaw Jehân, and his fourth child by the favourite Sultana. Her wit was sharp and penetrating, her judgment sound, her manner engaging like her person; she was full of address, and calculated for stratagem and intrigue. She resembled the pervading genius of Aurungzêbe, and she favoured his designs. The emperor's third daughter was Suria Bânu, or THE SPLENDID PRINCESS; a name suited to her exquisite beauty. She was easy and gentle in her temper, soft and pleasing in her address, humane, benevolent and silent; averse to duplicity and art, full of dignity and honourable pride. She took no part in the intrigues which disturbed the repose of the state, devoting her time to the accomplishments of her sex, and a few innocent amusements.

Shaw



Shaw Jehân found himself in the peaceable possession of the extensive empire of his father, and he had abilities to govern it with dignity, justice and precision. Tranquillity was established at home; and there were no enemies to disturb him from abroad. Shaw Abas soon after died in Persia; and the scepter fell into the weak and inactive hands of his grandson Sefi; a prince, incapable of either governing his subjects with dignity, or of giving any disturbance to his neighbours. The spirit of the Uzbeks had declined; and they were exhausted by disputed successions and civil wars. The Indian nations, beyond the pale of the empire, were peaceable and unwarlike: incapable of committing injuries, and too distant from the seat of government to receive them. The Portuguese, though the most powerful European nation in India, were not formidable to the empire, though hated by the prince. Shaw Jehân, when in arms against his father, had solicited their assistance. They had not only refused him their aid, but, in a manly manner, reproached him for having demanded it against his parent and sovereign. He was sensible of the justice of the reproof, and therefore could not forgive it. The Sultana was their enemy. She had accompanied her husband to one of their settlements; and she was enraged beyond measure against them for the worship they paid to images.

A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.  
State of the  
empire.

The disrespect shewn by Lodi who commanded in the Decan, to Nishar Chan the emperor's messenger, produced a superceding commission to the latter against the former. Nishar produced the Imperial mandate: but Lodi would not obey. Mohâbet was ordered with a force against the refractory general; and Nishar, on account of his not having acted with a proper spirit, was recalled. Chan Zimân, from his government of Malava, marched with all his forces to the aid of his father Mohâ-

Lodi submits.

bet.



A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.

bet. Lodi was soon reduced to extremities. He sent messengers to Mohâbet, with a request of his mediation with the emperor, explaining away his conduct, by the difficulty of deciding in favour of the reigning emperor against the will of Jehangire. "But now," continues he, "that Shaw Jehân remains alone of the posterity of Timur, Lodi cannot hesitate to obey his commands." These letters were received by Mohâbet before things came to open hostility. He transmitted them to Agra, and Lodi was restored, in appearance, to favour.

#### Invasion

The confusions occasioned by the disputed succession, after the death of Jehangire, roused the ambition of Shaw Kuli, prince of the Usbec Tartars. He looked upon a civil war as a certain event in India; and he resolved to seize on the opportunity presented by Fortune. He ordered ten thousand of his best horse under Nidder Mahommed, accompanied with a good train of artillery, to penetrate into the province of Cabul. That general entered the Imperial dominions, and laid siege to the fortress of Zohâc. But the place was so strong, and so well defended by Zingis, who commanded the garrison, that Mahommed, after suffering a considerable loss, raised the siege. The Usbecs, however, did not retreat to their own country. Mahommed, after being repulsed at Zohâc, attempted to surprize Cabul, and, having failed in the enterprize, he sat down before that city.

#### of the Usbecs.

Having summoned the garrison of Cabul to no purpose, the Usbecs began to make their approaches. They soon advanced their batteries to the counterscarp of the ditch, and, by a constant fire, made several breaches in the wall. Ziffer, the late Suba, had left the place; and Lifcâr, the new governor, was not yet arrived. The command of the garrison was in Jacob Chan; who defended himself so well, that the enemy was beat back with great loss in

2

a general



a general assault. Mahommed, though repulsed, was not discouraged. He raised, with great labour, mounds to command the walls; and drove the besieged from the rampart. The breach, however, had been repaired, and the Ufbecs durst not attempt to scale the walls.

A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.

The news of the invasion had, in the mean time, arrived at the court of Agra; and the emperor, finding that Mohâbet had settled the affairs of the Decan, ordered that general to the relief of Cabul. Having left his son in his command in the south, Mohâbet hastened with all expedition to the north. Twelve thousand horse attended him; and he was to take up the forces of Punjâb on his way. The siege had now continued three months; the Ufbecs had again made a practicable breach, and the ditch was almost filled, when the news of the march of Mohâbet arrived in the camp of Mahommed. He redoubled his diligence; and the garrison, who knew nothing of succour, began to despair. When, therefore, the Ufbecs began to prepare for a second general assault, the besieged sallied out with all their forces. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but Mahommed was at length obliged to give way; and the garrison hung on his heels beyond the frontiers of the province. Mohâbet, upon the news of this defeat, returned to Agra; and civil contests took up the attention of the Ufbecs at home.

Repulsed.

The invasion of the Ufbecs was succeeded by an insurrection in the small province of Bundelcund. The Indian prince of that country, whose name was Hidjâr Singh, having come to pay his respects at the court of Agra, found that an addition was made, in the books of the Imperial treasury, to the tribute which he and his ancestors had formerly paid to the house of Timur. Instead of petitioning for an abatement of the impost, he fled with-

War with the

out.



A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.

out taking leave of the emperor. When he arrived in his dominions, he armed his dependants to the number of fifteen thousand men. He garrisoned his fortresses, and occupied the passes which led to his country. The emperor was enraged at the presumption of this petty chieftain. He ordered Mohâbet to enter his country with twelve thousand horse and three thousand foot, by the way of Gualiâr. Lodi, lately received into favour, with twelve thousand more, was commanded to invade Bundelcund from the south; and Abdalla, with seven thousand horse, from the east, by the way of Allahabâd. These three armies, under three experienced and able officers, were more than necessary for the service; but the emperor was desirous to shew an instance of vigour at the commencement of his reign, to raise the terror of his displeasure, and to establish tranquillity and good order by the means of fear.

Raja of Bundelcund.

The emperor himself marched from Agra on the twentieth of December, on a tour of pleasure to the forest of Niderbari, where he hunted tigers for six days, and then took the route of Gualiâr, that he might be near the seat of war. He opened the gates of that fortress to all state prisoners, some of whom had remained in confinement during the whole of the former reign. This clemency procured him popularity, and took away part of the odium which his bloody policy had already fixed on his character. The refractory Raja was, in the mean time, pressed hard on every side. He resisted with spirit; but he was driven from post to post. He, as the last resort, shut himself up in his fort of Erige. Abdalla sat down before it; and having made a practicable breach, stormed the place, and put the garrison, consisting of three thousand men, to the sword. The Raja made his escape. He was ruined, but his spirit was not broken. With the remaining part of his army he fell into the rout of Mohâbet; and,



and his forces being cut off, he himself came into the hands of the captain-general.

A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1038.

Mohâbet carried his prisoner to the emperor, who had returned to Agra. Shaw Jehân was rigid to an extreme; and his humanity gave always place to policy. He ordered the unfortunate prince into confinement, intimating that a warrant should soon be issued for his execution. Mohâbet, who admired the intrepid constancy of the Raja, shewed an inclination to intercede for his life; but the stern looks of the emperor imposed silence upon him. He, however, the next day carried his prisoner into the presence: the rigid darkness of Shaw Jehân's countenance continued; and the captain-general stood at a distance, in close conversation with the Raja. The emperor saw them; but he was silent. The prince, and even Mohâbet, despaired of success. They came the third day into the presence, and stood, as usual, at a distance. The Raja was in fetters, and Mohâbet chained his own hand to that of the prisoner. "Approach, Mohâbet," said Shaw Jehân. "The captain-general will have it so; and I pardon Hidjâr Singh. But life without dignity is no present from the emperor of the Moguls, to a fallen prince; I, therefore, to his government restore Hidjâr Singh, upon paying sixteen lacks of rousees, and furnishing the Imperial army with forty elephants of war."

He is taken  
prisoner.

Notwithstanding the deference which was shewn to Mohâbet for his great abilities, the emperor was jealous of his influence and popularity. He therefore requested of him to resign the command of the army on the frontiers of the unconquered provinces of the Decan, together with the government of Candeish; both which offices the captain-general discharged, by Chan Zemân his son. Eradit, the receiver-general of the Imperial revenues,

Mohâbet re-  
moved from  
the head of  
the army.



A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1038.

was appointed to that important station. He set out from court, and Chan Zemân, having resigned the army and government to him, returned to Agra. This change in the government of the frontier provinces was productive of disturbances. The Nizam of Golconda, who had been kept quiet by the reputation of Mohâbet and his son, invaded, upon the departure of the latter, the Imperial province of Candeish. Diria, who, in subordination to the new Suba, commanded the army, attacked the Nizam in a disadvantageous situation, and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions, with the loss of a great part of his army.

Irruption of  
the Usbees.

The unsuccessful attempts of the Usbees upon Cabul, in the beginning of the preceding year, together with domestic distractions consequent upon their disgrace, had hitherto secured the peace of the northern frontier of the empire. They were, however, anxious to recover their lost reputation. An army of volunteers were collected, and the command vested in Zingis. That officer suddenly entered the Imperial dominions; and sat down before the fort of Bamia, in the mountains of Cabul. The place was feebly garrisoned, and the Usbees pressed the siege with vigour. It fell into their hands; and Zingis having demolished the walls, returned, with the plunder of the open country, to the dominions of the Usbees. This irruption could be scarce called a war; as the sudden retreat of the enemy restored the public tranquillity.

Story of  
Chan Jehân  
Lodi.

The most remarkable event of the second year of Shaw Jehân is the flight of Chan Jehân Lodi from Agra. This nobleman, at the death of Jehangire, commanded, as already mentioned, the Imperial army stationed in the Decan. The favourite Sultana had found means, by letters, to gain over Lodi to the interest of the prince Shariâr, whom she had resolved to place on the



throne of India. Shaw Jehân, in his march to Agra, applied to him for a passage through his government, which he absolutely refused. He added contempt to his refusal; by sending a thousand rousees, a horse, and a dress to the prince, as to a person of inferior dignity to himself. The messenger of Lodi, however, had not the courage to deliver the humiliating present. He gave the rousees, the dress, and the horse to a shepherd, when he got beyond the walls of Brampour, where Lodi resided. He, at the same time, desired the shepherd to return the whole to Lodi; and to tell him, That if the presents were not unworthy of him to give, they were too insignificant for his servant to carry to a great prince. Having given these directions to the shepherd, the messenger proceeded to Shaw Jehân. The prince approved of his behaviour, thanked him for having such a regard for his honour; and after he was settled on the throne, raised the messenger, as a reward for his services, to the rank of a noble.

A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1038.

Shaw Jehân, being in no condition to force his way through the government of Lodi, took a long circuit round the hills, through wild and unfrequented paths. Lodi became soon sensible of his error. The defeat and death of Shariâr, the imprisonment of the Sultana, the murder of Dawir Buxsh, and the accession of Shaw Jehân to the throne, came successively to his ears. He thought of submission; but an army was on its march to reduce him to obedience. Zimân, the son of Mohâbet, was at the head of this force; but Lodi being in possession of an army, and an extensive and rich province, the emperor gave to his general a commission to treat with that refractory Lord. He soon closed with the terms. He was appointed to the government of Malava, upon his resigning the Imperial division of the Decan. The emperor, however, was not sincere in the pardon which

Cause of the  
emperor's re-  
sentment



A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1038.

he promised. His pride revolted at the indignities offered him by Lodi; and, at a proper occasion, he resolved to punish him.

against that  
Omrah.

Lodi was not long in possession of the government of Malava, when he received orders to repair to court. As his resignation of the command of the army might be construed into obedience, rather than attributed to fear, he was under no apprehensions in making his appearance in the presence. An edict of indemnity had been promulgated to all the Omrahs who had opposed the accession of Shaw Jehân to the throne; and Lodi thought that there was no probability of his being excluded from the indulgence granted to others. He was, however, convinced of his error, on the first day of his appearance at court. The usher, Perist, obliged him to exhibit some ceremonies of obedience, inconsistent with the rank which he held among the nobility. He was somewhat refractory, but he thought it prudent to submit. His son, Azmut Chan, was introduced after his father. The youth was then but sixteen years of age. He thought that the usher kept him too long prostrate upon the ground; and he started up before the signal for rising was given. The usher, in a rage, struck Azmut over the head with his rod, and insisted upon his throwing himself again on the ground. Azmut, full of fire and valour, drew his sword. He aimed a blow at the usher's head; but one of the mace-bearers warded it off, and saved his life.

He is disgraced in the  
presence.

A sudden murmur spread around. All fell into confusion; and many placed their hands on their swords. Lodi, considering the blow given to his son, as the signal of death, drew his dagger to defend himself. Hussein, his other son, followed his father's example. The tumult increased, and the emperor leapt from his throne. Lodi and his sons rushed out of the presence. Their



Their house was contiguous to the palace; and they shut themselves up, with three hundred dependants. The house being inclosed with a strong wall, no impression could be made upon it without artillery; and as a siege so near the gates of the palace would derogate from the majesty of the emperor, Shaw Jehân endeavoured to entice Lodi to a surrender, by a promise of pardon. His friends at court, however, acquainted him, that that there was a resolution formed against his life; and he resolved to make his escape, or to die in the attempt.

A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1038.

Night, in the mean time, came on; and he was tormented with various passions. His women were all around him. To leave them to dishonour was intolerable, to remain was death, to remove them by violence, cruelty. He was afflicted beyond measure; and he burst into tears. His wives saw his grief, and they retired. They consulted together in an inner apartment. Their resolution was noble, but desperate; they raised their hands against their own lives. The groans reached the ears of Lodi. He rushed in; but there was only one taper burning, which, in his haste, he overturned and extinguished. He spoke, but none answered. He searched around, but he plunged his hand in blood. He stood in silence a while; and one of his sons having brought a light, discovered to his eyes a scene of inexpressible horror. He said not a word; but the wildness of his eyes was expressive of the tempest which rolled in his mind. He made a signal to his two sons, and they buried the unfortunate women in the garden. He hung for some time in silence over their common grave. Then starting at once from a profound reverie, he issued forth in a state of horror and despair. He ordered his drums to be beaten, his trumpets to be sounded. His people gathered around him. They mounted their horses in the court-yard, and he himself at once threw open the gate. He issued out with his two

His distress,

sons;



A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1938.

fons ; and his followers fell in order into his path. The Imperial troops were astonished, and made little resistance. He was heard to exclaim, "I will awaken the tyrant with the sound of my departure, but he shall tremble at my return." He rushed through the city like a whirlwind, and took the rout of Malava.

and flight.

The emperor, disturbed by the sudden noise, started from his bed. He enquired into the cause; and ordered Abul Hussein, with nine other nobles, to pursue the fugitive. They collected their troops; and left the city by the dawn of day. Lodi, without halting, rode forward near forty miles. He was stopt by the river Chunbil, which was so high, so rough and rapid, on account of the rains, that he could not swim across it, and all the boats had been carried down by the stream. This was an unexpected and terrible check; but as the weather was now fair, he hoped that the torrent would soon fall; and in that expectation, he and his followers stood on the bank. In the midst of his anxiety, the Imperial troops appeared. He called his people together, and told them, he was resolved to die in arms. There was a pass behind him, which opened between two hills into a narrow plain. He took immediate possession of the pass; the river, which had cut off all hopes of flight, served to cover his rear.

His gallant  
behaviour,

The Imperialists, trusting to their numbers, advanced with confidence; but they were so warmly received, that they drew back, with manifest signs of fear. Shame forced them to renew the charge. A select body pressed forward into the pass. The shock was violent; and the slaughter, on both sides, was as great and expeditious, as the small place in which they engaged would permit. Hussein had a resource in numbers; Lodi had nothing in which he could confide but his valour. Scarce one hundred of his men now remained unhurt; he himself was wounded



wounded in the right arm, and the enemy were preparing a third time to advance. His affairs were desperate. His two sons, Azmut and Hussain, conjured him to attempt the river, and that they would secure his retreat. "The danger is equal," replied Lodi, "but it is more honourable to die in the field." They insisted upon his retreating, as his wound had rendered him unfit for action. "But can I leave you both," said Lodi, "when I have most need of my sons? One must attend me in my misfortune, which is perhaps a greater evil than death itself." A dispute immediately arose between the brothers, each contending for the honour of covering their father's retreat. At that instant, the Usher Perist, who had struck Azmut in the presence, appeared in the front of the Imperialists. "Hussain, the thing is determined;" said Azmut, "dost thou behold that villain, and bid me fly?" He spurred onward his horse: his father and brother plunged into the river.

A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1038.

Perist was a Calmuc Tartar, of great strength of body and intrepidity of mind. He saw Azmut advancing, and he started from the ranks, and rode forward to meet him half-way. Azmut had his bow ready bent in his hand: he aimed an arrow at Perist, and laid him dead at the feet of his horse. But the valiant youth did not long survive his enemy. He was cut to pieces by the Imperialists; and the few faithful friends who had remained by his side, were either slain on the spot, or driven into the river and drowned. The conquerors had no reason to boast of their victory; four hundred men, and three officers of high rank were slain in the action, six nobles and a great number of inferior chiefs were wounded. The latter action was so short, that it was over before Lodi and Hussain had extricated themselves from the stream. When they ascended the opposite bank of the river, they looked back with anxiety for Azmut; but Azmut was no more to be seen:

even



A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1038.

His distress  
and bravery.

even his followers were, by that time, slain; and the victors, with shouts of triumph, possessed the further shore.

Lodi had no time to deliberate, none to indulge his grief for Azmut. The enemy had already plunged into the stream; and he made the best of his way from the bank. He entered his own province of Malava, but the Imperialists were close at his heels. Before he could collect his friends, he was overpowered by numbers, and defeated in several actions. He was at length driven beyond the boundaries of Malava. He continued his flight to Bundela, with a few adherents who had joined him; and he maintained, with great bravery, every pass against the troops that pursued him in his retreat. The Imperialists, however, being at length harassed by long marches, bad roads, and continual skirmishing, gave over the pursuit. Lodi remained a few days at Bundela, then he traversed the provinces of Berâr and Odipour, in his rout to Golconda, and presented himself before the Nizâm at Dowlatabad. That prince received the unfortunate fugitive with open arms, a warm friendship having, for some years, subsisted between them.

Uneasiness of  
the emperor.

The emperor expressed great uneasiness at the escape of Lodi. He knew his abilities, he was acquainted with his undeviating perseverance. High-spirited and active, Lodi loved danger, as furnishing an opportunity for an exertion of his great talents; and he was always discontented and uneasy at that tranquillity for which mankind in general offer up their prayers to Heaven. The more noble and generous passions of his mind were now up in arms. His pride had been roused by the indignities thrown upon him, and he ascribed the death of his wives and of his gallant son to the perfidy of Shaw Jehân. His haughty temper revolted against submission, and his prudence forbade him to listen



any more to pardons that were not sincere. The emperor knew the man with whom he had to contend; and he was alarmed at the news of his arrival in the Decan. He foresaw a storm in that quarter, should time be given to Lodi to reconcile the jarring interests of princes, who were the avowed enemies of the house of Timur. Shaw Jehân was naturally provident. He judged of futurity by the past; and he was rapid in decision. He thought the object not unworthy of his presence, on the southern frontier of his empire; and he ordered his army to be drawn together, that he might command them in the expected war in person.

A. D. 1629.  
Hig. 1038.

During these transactions, an ambassador arrived from Shaw Abas of Persia, to felicitate Shaw Jehân on his accession to the throne. He had scarce made his public entrance, when the news of his master's death arrived. Abas died in the month of January of the year 1629, after a reign of fifty years over Chorassan, and more than forty-two as sovereign of all Persia. He was a prince of a warlike disposition, a good statesman, a deep politician, a great conqueror. But he was cruel and prodigal of blood. He never forgave an enemy; nor thought he ever sufficiently rewarded a friend. Severe in his justice beyond example, he rendered what is in itself a public good, a real evil. He knew no degrees in crimes: death, which is among mankind the greatest punishment, was the least inflicted by Abas. Though given to oppression himself, he permitted none in others. He was the monarch, and he would be the only tyrant. He delighted in curbing the haughtiness of the nobility: he took pride in relieving the poor. All his subjects had access to his person. He heard their complaints, and his decisions were immediate and terrible. His people, therefore, became just through fear; and he owed a reign of half a century to the terrors with which

Death and  
character of  
Shaw Abas.



A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1040.

he surrounded his throne. He was passionate and violent to a degree that sometimes perverted his judgment; and he who boasted of holding the scales of just dealing between mankind, broke often forth into outrageous acts of injustice. During his life, he was respected by all; but his death was lamented by none.

Preparations  
for war.

The great preparations made by Shaw Jehân for an expedition into the Decan, detained him at Agra till the fourth of February of the 1631 of the Christian Era. He placed himself at the head of one hundred thousand horse; which, together with infantry, artillery and attendants, increased the number of the army to three hundred thousand men. He advanced toward the Decan; and the governors of the provinces through which he passed, fell in with their forces into his line of march. On the borders of Chandeish, he was met by Eradit Chan, the Suba of the province, who conducted him to his own residence, the city of Brampour. The emperor encamped his army in the environs of Brampour; and dispatched messengers to the tributary princes of the Decan. The principal of these were, Adil sovereign of Bejapour, Kuttub, who styled himself king of Hydrabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam prince of Golconda. He threatened them with utter destruction should they not come personally to make their submission, after having disbanded the armies which they had raised to support the rebellion of Lodi. He also recommended to them, either to deliver up or expel the man who had, by encouraging their schemes, projected their ruin. They sent evasive answers to these demands; and continued their preparations for war.

Emperor arrives in the  
Decan.

The sudden arrival of the emperor with such a great force, was, however, premature for the affairs of Lodi. He had not yet



yet been able to unite the armies of his allies, nor to raise a sufficient force of his own. The terror of the Imperial army had made each prince unwilling to quit his own dominions, lest they should become the theatre of invasion and war. They saw the storm gathering, but they knew not where it was to fall: and when they were afraid of all quarters, they took no effectual means for the defence of any. They were besides divided in their councils. Ancient jealousies and recent injuries were remembered, when the good of the whole was forgot. Distrust prevailed, indecision and terror followed; and the unfortunate Lodi, in spite of his activity, his zeal and abilities, found but small ground on which he could rest his hopes.

A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1040.

The emperor, in the mean time, was piqued at the inattention which princes, whom he considered as tributaries, had shewn to his embassy. He resolved upon revenge. The Nizam, as being the first who had received Lodi under his protection, was the first object of his resentment. He raised Eradit, the governor of Chandeish, to the title of Azim Chan, and submitted an army of twenty-five thousand men to his command. The force was not judged sufficient for the reduction of the Nizam; but the emperor would not trust Eradit with the absolute command of a more numerous army. He fell upon the expedient of detaching two other armies, consisting each of fourteen thousand horse, under the separate commands of Raja Gop Singh and Shaiista Chan. These two generals were to act in conjunction with Eradit, but they were not absolutely under his orders. The three armies began their march from the capital of Chandeish, about the vernal equinox of the 1631 of the Christian Æra, and took the rout of Dowlatabâd.

He detaches

S 2

The



A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1040.  
armies from  
the Imperial  
camp.

The emperor, in the mean time, remained at Brampour. Forces from various quarters crowded daily into his camp. He detached seven thousand horse, under Raw Ruton, toward Tellingana; and as many more, under the conduct of Abul Hussein, into the principality of Nasic, in the mountains of Ballagat. The Raja of Nasic had insulted Shaw Jehân in his exile and misfortunes; nor did he ever forget an injury which affected his pride. The Hindoo prince suffered for his insolence; his country being, without mercy, subjected to fire and sword. The emperor told Hussein at parting: "The Raja of Nasic listened not to me in my distress; and you must teach him how dangerous it is to insult a man, that may one day be sovereign of the world." The expression alluded to his own name; but a jest was unfit for the tragedy which was acted in the desolated country of Nasic.

Success in  
Golconda,

The first account of the success of Shaw Jehân's arms arrived at Brampour, from Bakîr the governor of Orissa. That province lying contiguous to Golconda, Bakîr had received orders to make a diversion on that side. He accordingly had marched with a considerable force; and found the side of the country nearest to Orissa uncovered with troops. He laid siege to Shudda, Shikerist, Chizduar and Berimal, places of great strength in Golconda; and they fell successively into his hands. The news of this success pleased the more the less it was expected. In the splendour of the other expeditions, that under Bakîr was forgotten; and the emperor scarce remembered that he had given orders to the Suba to invade the enemy, when he heard that he had penetrated into the heart of their country. Honours were heaped upon him; and his messengers were loaded with presents.

Lodi commands the  
confederates.

Though Lodi had failed in bringing the united force of the confederates into the field, he led the councils of the courts



courts of Goleonda and Bijapour. By representing to them, that when they fought one by one all should be overcome, they submitted their armies to his command. He advanced immediately toward the Imperialists, and threw himself into the passes of the mountains before Eradit, who made many vain efforts to penetrate into Golconda. A reinforcement of nine thousand men were detached to him from the Imperial camp. Nothing would do. His situation and abilities enabled Lodi to counteract all his motions; and he either remained inactive, or lost numbers in fruitless attempts. An army, which penetrated from Guzerat into the countries on the coast of Malabar, was not so unsuccessful. The strong fortress of Chandwar fell into their hands; and they spread their devastations far and wide.

Shaw Jehân was not in the mean time idle at Brampour. Though he directed all the motions of the armies, he was not forgetful of the civil government of his vast empire. With a justice which bordered on severity, he quashed all petty disturbances through his dominions. He inquired minutely into every department. He heard all complaints against his own officers; and when the people were aggrieved, he removed them from their employments. Nor was he, in the midst of public business, negligent of that grandeur and magnificence which, by raising awe in his subjects, gave weight to his commands. He selected a hundred out of the sons of the nobility, who were of the most distinguished merit, and created them Omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they were, by their institution, always to attend the presence. They were all uniformly dressed in embroidered cloaths, with golden helmets, swords inlaid, and shields studded with gold. When the emperor rode abroad, these attended him, with drawn sabres, all mounted on fine Arabian horses. Out of these he chose his officers; and when he sent any

A. D. 1661.  
Hig. 1640.

Affairs at  
court.



A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1040.

of them on service, his place was immediately supplied from another corps who, though not dignified with titles, were equipped in the same manner, only that their ornaments were of silver. They also attended the emperor on horseback, when he rode abroad.

An action.

Eradit, having despaired of being able to force the passes of the mountains where Lodi was posted with the army of the confederates, directed his march another way. He was close pursued by Lodi with twelve thousand horse. That general, finding a proper opportunity, attacked the Imperialists with great vigour, threw them into confusion, and went near routing the whole army. Six Omrahs of rank fell on the Imperial side; but Eradit having formed his army in order of battle, Lodi thought proper to give way, and to shelter himself in the hills. Eradit took advantage of his retreat, and hung close upon his heels:—but Lodi had the address not to offer battle, excepting upon unequal terms on the side of the enemy. He in the mean time harassed the Imperial army with flying squadrons; cutting off their convoys, defeating their foraging parties, and laying waste the country in their rear. Nor was the expedition under Raw Ruton into Tellingana attended with more success than that under Eradit. The general was inactive, and the army weak. Raw Ruton was recalled, and disgraced for his inactivity; and Nazir Chan took the command of the Imperial troops in Tellingana.

Afgans repulsed.

The active spirit of Lodi was not confined to the operations of the field. No stranger to the superior power of the emperor, he armed against him, by his emissaries, the Afgans of the north. They issued from their hills to make a diversion on that side. They were led by Kemnal, the chief of the Rohilla tribe; and they entered Punjâb, with a numerous but irregular army. The project



project failed. The emperor despised too much the depredatory incursion of naked barbarians, to be frightened by them from his main object. He contented himself with sending orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to repel the invaders. The Afgans accordingly were opposed, defeated, and driven with little loss on the side of the empire, to shelter themselves in their native hills. The project of Lodi, though well planned, fell short of the intended effect.

The slow progress made by Eradit, against the conduct and abilities of Lodi, induced the emperor to think of superseding him in his command. He had promised to himself success, from the great superiority of his army in point of numbers, and the disappointment fell heavy on his ambition and pride. To place himself at the head of the expedition, was beneath his dignity; and his presence was otherwise necessary at Brampour, as the place most central for conveying his orders to the different armies in the field. Besides, the civil business of the state, the solid regulation of which he had much at heart, required his attention and application. He therefore resolved to send his visier Afiph into the field. His name was great in the empire; and his abilities in war were, at least, equal to his talent for managing the affairs of peace.

A. D. 1631.  
fig. 1040.

Eradit superseded in the command of the army.

SHAWJEHAN. The emperor, who was at Brampour, received the news of the defeat of Lodi with great satisfaction. He immediately ordered the visier Afiph to be sent into the field, and to take the command of the army. The visier, who was a man of great abilities and courage, accepted of the command with great pleasure. He immediately set out with his army, and marched towards the place where Lodi had been defeated. The emperor, who was very anxious to see the progress of the expedition, sent several nobles to observe the movements of the army. The nobles, who were of great rank and influence, returned to the emperor with a full account of the progress of the expedition. They reported that the army was in good order, and that the visier was conducting it with great skill and courage. The emperor, who was very pleased with the report, ordered the nobles to be rewarded for their services. The expedition continued to progress, and the visier was at length successful in driving the invaders from their native hills. The emperor, who was very pleased with the success of the expedition, ordered the visier to be promoted to the rank of a prince, and to be given the title of a noble. The visier, who was very grateful for the emperor's favour, continued to serve him with great fidelity and courage.

SHAW



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

## C H A P. II.

*The Vifier commands the army—Defeat of the confederates—Flight, misfortunes, and death of Lodi—Progress of the war in the Decan—Death of the favourite Sultana—A famine—Peace in the Decan—Emperor returns to Agra—Persecution of Idolaters—War with the Portugueze—Their factory taken—Raja of Bundela reduced and slain—Marriages of the princes Dara and Suja—War in the Decan—Golconda reduced—Death of Mohâbet—Affairs at court.*

A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1040.

Vifier takes  
the command  
of the army.

THE vifier, in obedience to the emperor's orders, set out from Brampour on the nineteenth of November, with a splendid retinue, together with a reinforcement of ten thousand horse. He took the command of the army upon his arrival in the mountains, and Eradit remained as his lieutenant; the emperor distrusting more the abilities than the courage and fidelity of that Omrah. The name of Asiph, at the head of the army, struck the confederates with a panic. They were no strangers to his fame; and they began to be conquered in their own minds. They resolved to retreat from their advantageous post. Lodi remonstrated in vain. They had taken their resolution, and would not hear him. His haughty spirit was disgusted at their cowardice. Several nobles, formerly his friends, had joined him in his misfortunes, with their retinues. They adhered to his opinion, and resolved to stand by his side. They took possession of advantageous ground; and they engaged the vifier with great resolution and conduct. The battle was long equal: numbers at last prevailed. Lodi and his brave friend Diria Chan covered

covered the retreat of their party, whilst they themselves slowly retired. The field of action and the passes of the mountains remained to the visier, who immediately detached a great part of the army under his lieutenant Eradit to Dowlatabâd.

A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1040.

The Nizam, being advanced in years, was unfit for the fatigues of the field. He had remained in his capital; but as soon as he heard of the approach of Eradit, he evacuated the city, and shut himself up in the citadel, which was thought impregnable. Lodi, after his defeat, made the best of his way to Dowlatabâd, with an intention of throwing himself into that capital, to defend it to the last extremity. He was too late by some hours: Eradit was in the city. He fled, and took possession of a pass near Dowlatabâd, where he defended himself till night, against the whole force of the Imperialists. He escaped in the dark, and wandered over Golconda. The army of the Nizam had, by this time, thrown themselves into the fortresses, and the open country was over-run by the enemy. To complete the misfortunes of that prince, his nobles daily deserted him, with their adherents, and joined Shaw Jehân. He began seriously to think of peace, and dispatched ambassadors both to the emperor and to the visier.

The Nizam  
proposes  
terms.

The emperor had given instructions to Asiph to listen to no terms, without a preliminary article, that Lodi should be delivered into his hands. The affairs of the Nizam were desperate; and Lodi was afraid that necessity would get the better of friendship. He now considered his allies as his greatest enemies, and he resolved to fly from Golconda. The emperor had foreseen what was to happen, and he placed strong detachments in all the passes of the mountains. Notwithstanding this precaution, in spite of the general orders for seizing him dispersed over the country, Lodi forced his way, with four hundred men, into

Flight,



A. D. 1631.

H. 3. 100.

Malava, and arrived at the city of Ugein. Shaw Jehân was no sooner apprised of his escape, than he sent Abdalla in pursuit of him with ten thousand horse. Abdalla came up with the fugitive at Ugein, but he escaped to Debalpour; and being also driven from that place, he surpris'd Sirong, where he seized several Imperial elephants; and with these he took the route of Bundela.

misfortunes,

Misfortune pursued Lodi wherever he went. The Raja's son, to gain the emperor's favour, fell upon him. In the action he lost many of his best friends. Deria was the first who fell; and the unfortunate Lodi gave up his soul to grief. He fled; but it was to accumulated misery. He fell in, the very next day, with the army of Abdalla: there scarce was time for flight. His eldest son, Mahommed Azîz, stopt, with a few friends, in a narrow part of the road; and devoting their lives for the safety of Lodi, were cut off to a man. He waited half the night on a neighbouring hill, with a vain expectation of the return of his gallant son. All was silent; and the unhappy father was dissolved in tears. The noise of arms approached at last; but it was the enemy, recent from the slaughter of his son and his friends. He fled toward Callenger; but Seid Amud, the governor of that place, marched out against him. A skirmish ensued: Lodi was defeated; Hussein, the only son left to him, was slain, and his adherents were now reduced to thirty horsemen. He was pursued with such vehemence, that he had not even time for despair.

and death of  
Lodi;

Abdalla, hearing of the low ebb of Lodi's fortune, divided his army into small parties, to scour the country. A detachment under Muziffer Chan fell in with the unfortunate fugitive. When he saw the enemy at a small distance, he called together his thirty followers. "Misfortune," said he, "has devoted me to ruin: it is in vain to struggle longer against the stream. I have lost my sons;

but



"but your attachment, in the last extreme, tells me I have not  
 "lost all my friends. I only remain of my family, but let me  
 "not involve you in the destruction which overwhelms me with-  
 "out resource. Your adherence is a proof that I have conferred  
 "favours upon you: permit me to ask one favour in my turn. It  
 "is—that you leave me—and save yourselves by flight." They  
 burst all into tears, and told him, that was the only command  
 from him which they could not obey. He was silent, and gave  
 the signal with his sword to advance. Muziffer was astonished  
 when he saw thirty men marching up against his numerous de-  
 tachment. He imagined they were coming to surrender them-  
 selves. But when they had come near his line, they put their  
 horses on a gallop, and Muziffer ordered his men to fire. A ball  
 pierced Lodi through the left breast; he fell dead at the feet of  
 his horse, and his thirty faithful companions were cut off to a man.

Such was the end of Chan Jehân Lodi, after a series of uncommon  
 misfortunes. He was descended of the Imperial family of Lodi,  
 who held the sceptre of India before the Moguls. His mind was  
 as high as his descent: his courage was equal to his ambition. He  
 was full of honour, and generous in the extreme. His pride pre-  
 vented him from ever gaining an enemy, and he never lost a  
 friend. The attachment of his followers to his person, is the best  
 eulogy on the benevolence of his mind; and the fears of the em-  
 peror are irrefragable proofs of his abilities. Those misfortunes,  
 therefore, which might have excited pity had they fallen upon  
 others, drew admiration only on Lodi. We feel compassion for  
 the weak; great men are a match for adversity: the contest is  
 equal, and we yield to no emotion but surprize.

When the news of the death of Lodi arrived in the Imperial  
 camp, Shaw Jehân betrayed every symptom of joy. The head of

A. D. 1631.  
 H. 1641.

His charac-  
 ter.

Negotiation  
 broke off.



A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1041.

Death and  
character of  
the Sultan.

the unfortunate rebel was placed above one of the gates of the city of Brampour. Abdalla was carested for his services. Valuable presents were given him, and he was dignified with the splendid title of, THE SUN OF OMRAHS, AND THE VICTORIOUS IN WAR. Muziffer, whose fortune it was to kill Lodi, was raised to the dignity of the deceased, being afterwards distinguished by the name of Chan Jehân. The negotiations for the re-establishment of peace between the emperor and the confederate princes of the Decan, was, in the mean time, broke off by the too great demands on the part of Shaw Jehân. Hostilities were accordingly recommenced, and Eradit was left in the command of the army; the public business demanding the presence of the visier at court. The confederates had, as has been already observed, retired from the field into their strong holds. The war was converted into a succession of sieges. The fortresses were strong, the garrisons determined, and the Imperialists unskilful; but the emperor was obstinate, and would not abate from his first demands. The consequence was, that Shaw Jehân, after a war of two years, in which he lost multitudes of men by famine, disease, and the sword; and after having expended prodigious treasures, found himself possessed of a few forts, his army tired out with ineffectual hostilities, and the enemy distressed, but not vanquished.

Progress of  
the Imperial  
arms.

A minute detail of unimportant campaigns would be tedious and dry. Uninteresting particulars and events scarce stamp a sufficient value on time, to merit the pen of the historian. In the summer of 1631, Damawir, the strongest fort in Golconda was taken. In the beginning of the year 1632, Candumâr in Tellingana, which was deemed impregnable, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Little treasure was found in either. The Patan princes never had a disposition for hoarding up wealth. A fierce, warlike, and independent race of men, they valued the hard-tempered steel of



of their swords more than gold and silver, which the rest of mankind so much prize.

A. D. 1631.  
Hig. 1642.

On the eighteenth day of July 1631, died in child-bed, about two hours after the birth of a princess, the favourite Sultana, Arjemund Banu, the daughter of Asiph Jah. She had been twenty years married to Shaw Jehân, and bore him a child almost every year. Four sons and four daughters survived her. When her husband ascended the throne, he dignified her with the title of Mumtâza Zemâni, or, THE MOST EXALTED OF THE AGE. Though she seldom interfered in public affairs, Shaw Jehân owed the empire to her influence with her father. Nor was he ungrateful: he loved her living, and lamented her when dead. Calm, engaging, and mild in her disposition, she engrossed his whole affection: and though he maintained a number of women for state, they were only the slaves of her pleasure. She was such an enthusiast in Deism, that she scarce could forbear persecuting the Portuguese for their supposed idolatry; and it was only on what concerned that nation, she suffered her temper, which was naturally placid, to be ruffled. To express his respect for her memory, the emperor raised at Agra, a tomb to her name, which cost in building the amazing sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Death and  
character of  
the Sultana.

The death of the Sultana was followed by public calamities of various kinds. The war in the Decan produced nothing but the desolation of that country. An extraordinary drought, which burnt up all vegetables, dried up the rivers, and rent the very ground, occasioned a dreadful famine. The Imperial camp could not be supplied with provisions: distress prevailed over the whole face of the empire. Shaw Jehân remitted the taxes in many of the provinces, to the amount of three millions sterling; he even opened

Public calamities.



A.D. 1631.  
Hig. 1042.

opened the treasury for the relief of the poor; but money could not purchase bread: a prodigious mortality ensued; disease followed close on the heels of famine, and death ravaged every corner of India. The scarcity of provisions prevailed in Persia: the famine raged with still greater violence in the Western Tartary. No rain had fallen for seven years in that country. Populous and flourishing provinces were converted into solitudes and deserts; and a few, who escaped the general calamity, wandered through depopulated cities alone.

The confederates sue for peace.

But as if famine and disease were not sufficient to destroy mankind, Asiph Jâh, who had resumed the command of the army, assisted them with the sword. He trod down the scanty harvest in the Decan; and ravaged with fire and sword the kingdom of Bijapour. Adil Shaw, the sovereign of the country, came into terms when nothing was left worthy of defence. He promised to pay an annual tribute to the house of Timur, and to own himself a dependent on the empire. Money was extorted from the Nizam, and from Kuttub, prince of Tellingana. The conditions were, That the emperor should remove his army; but that he should retain, by way of security for their future behaviour, the strong-holds which had fallen into his hands. Such was the end of a war, begun from motives of conquest, and continued through pride. The emperor, after squandering a great treasure, and losing a multitude of men, sat down without extending his limits, without acquiring reputation. His great superiority in point of strength, when compared to the small force of the confederates, prevented battles which might yield him renown. He wasted his strength on sieges, and had to contend with greater evils than the swords of the enemy. He, however, humbled the Patan power in India, which, during the distractions



occasioned by his own rebellion in the preceding reign, had become formidable to the family of Timur.

A. D. 1633.  
Hig. 1043.

The emperor returned not to Agra, from the unprofitable war in the Decan, till the seventh of March of the year 1633. Eradit was left in the city of Brampour, in his former office of governor of Chandeish. He, however, did not long continue to execute the duties of a commission which was the greatest the emperor could bestow. The command of the army, stationed on the frontiers of the Decan, had been annexed to the subaship of the province; and though Shaw Jehân was in no great terror of Eradit's abilities, he, at that time, placed no trust in his fidelity. The command and the province were offered to the visier; who was alarmed lest it might be a pretence of removing him from the presence. He covered his dislike to the measure with an act of generosity. He recommended Mohâbet to the office destined for himself; and the emperor, though, from a jealousy of that lord's reputation, he had kept him during the war in the command of the army near Brampour, consented to grant his request. He, however, insinuated to Mohâbet, that he could not spare him from his councils; and, therefore, recommended to him to appoint his son Chan Zimân his deputy, in the province of Chandeish.

Return of the  
emperor to  
Agra.

The emperor had observed, that during the distress occasioned by the late famine, the superstitious Hindoos, instead of cultivating their lands, flew to the shrines of their gods. Though neither an enthusiast, nor even attached to any system of religion, he was enraged at their neglect of the means of subsistence, for the uncertain relief to be obtained by prayer. "They have a thousand gods," said he, "yet the thousand have not been able to guard them from famine. This army of divinities," continued he, "instead of being beneficial to their votaries, distract their  
attention.

Persecution  
of the Hin-  
doos.



A. D. 1633.  
Hig. 1044.

attention by their own numbers; and I am therefore determined to expel them from my empire." These were the words of Shaw Jehân, when he signed an edict for breaking down the idols, and for demolishing the temples of the Hindoos. The measure was impolitic, and, in the event, cruel. The zealous followers of the Brahmin religion rose in defence of their gods, and many enthusiasts were massacred in their presence. Shaw Jehân saw the impropriety of the persecution; he recalled the edict, and was heard to say, "That a prince who wishes to have subjects, must take them with all the trumpery and bawbles of their religion."

Suba of Bengal complains of the Portuguese.

Soon after this insult on the superstition of Brahma, letters were received at court from Casim Chan, governor of Bengal. Casim complained to the emperor, that he was very much disturbed in the duties of his office by a parcel of European idolaters, for so he called the Portuguese, who had been permitted to establish themselves at Hugley, for the purposes of trade; that, instead of confining their attention to the business of merchants, they had fortified themselves in that place, and were become so insolent, that they committed many acts of violence upon the subjects of the empire, and presumed to exact duties from all the boats and vessels which passed by their fort. The emperor wrote him in the following laconic manner: "Expel these idolaters from my dominions." The severity of this order proceeded from another cause.

Their insolence to Shaw Jehân.

When Shaw Jehân, after the battle at the Nirbidda, found himself obliged to take refuge in the eastern provinces, he passed through Orixâ into Bengal. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Dacca, Michael Rodriguez, who commanded the Portuguese forces at Hugley, paid him a visit of ceremony. Shaw Jehân, after the first compliments were over, requested the assistance



ance of Rodriguez, with his soldiers and artillery; making large promises of favour and emolument, should he himself ever come to the possession of the throne of Hindostan. The governor saw the desperate condition of the prince's affairs, and would not grant his request. He had the imprudence to add insult to his refusal, by insinuating, that he would be ashamed of serving under a rebel, who had wantonly taken up arms against his father and sovereign. Shaw Jehân was silent; but he laid up the sarcasm in his mind. He, therefore, listened with ardour to the representations of Casim; and ordered him to invest Hugley.

A. D. 1653.  
Hig. 1044.

Casim, in consequence of the Imperial orders, appeared with an army before the Portuguese factory. Their force was not sufficient to face him in the field; and he immediately made his approaches in form. A breach was made, and the ditch filled up in a few days; and the Imperialists carried the place by assault. The Portuguese, however, behaved with bravery. They continued to fight from their houses. Many were killed, and the living proposed terms. They offered half their effects to Casim; they promised to pay an annual tribute of four lacks, upon condition that they should be permitted to remain in the country, in their former privileges of trade. The victor would listen to no terms until they laid down their arms. Three thousand souls fell into his hands. Their lives were spared; but the images, which had given so much offence to the favourite Sultana, were broken down and destroyed. These were the first hostilities against Europeans recorded in the histories of the East.

Hugley taken  
by assault, 1653.  
Hig. 1044.

The petty war with the Portuguese, was succeeded by the second revolt of the Raja of Bundela. The terms imposed upon him at the reduction of his country by Mohâbet, were too severe; and he only had remained quiet to prepare for

Revolt of the  
Raja of Bun-  
dela.



A. D. 1633.  
Hig. 1044.

another effort against the Imperial power. Aurungzêbe, the third son of the emperor, was sent against him, under the tuition of Nuferit, the Suba of Malava. This was the first opportunity given to that young lion of rioting in blood. The Raja, though much inferior in force, was obstinate and brave. Possessed of many strong holds, he resolved to stand upon the defensive, against an enemy whom he could not, with any assurance of victory, face in the field. The war was protracted for two years. Judger Singh maintained every post to the last; and he yielded in one place, only to retire with accumulated fortitude to another. Aurungzêbe, though but thirteen years of age, displayed that martial intrepidity which distinguished the rest of his life. He could not, by the influence of Nuferit, be restrained in the camp: he was present in every danger, and shewed an elevation of mind in the time of action, which proved that he was born for tumult and war.

His misfor-  
tunes, bra-  
very,

The last place which remained to the Raja was his capital city; and in this he was closely besieged. He was hemmed in on every side by the Imperial army; and the circle grew narrower every day. Resolution was at last converted into despair. His bravest soldiers were cut off: his friends had gradually fallen. The helpless part of his family, his women and children, remained. He proposed terms; but his fortunes were too low to obtain them. To leave them to the enemy, would be dishonourable; to remain himself, certain death to him, but no relief to them. He set fire to the town; and he escaped through the flames, which overwhelmed his family. A few horsemen were the companions of his flight; and Nuferit followed close on their heels for two hundred miles. The Raja at last crossed the Nirbidda, and penetrated into the country of Canduana.

The



The unfortunate prince was, at length, overcome with fatigue. He came into a forest, and finding a pleasant plain in the middle, he resolved to halt; dreaming of no danger in the center of an impervious wood. Both he and his followers alighted, and tying their horses to trees, betook themselves to rest. A barbarous race of men possessed the country round. They had not seen the Raja's troop, but the neighing of his horses led some of them to the spot. Looking from the thicket into the narrow plain where the fugitives lay, they perceived, to their astonishment, a number of men richly dressed, sleeping on the ground; and fine horses standing near, with furniture of silver and gold. The temptation was too great to be withstood by men who had never seen so much wealth before. They rushed upon the strangers; and stabbed them in their sleep. While they were yet dividing the spoil, Nuferit came. The robbers were slain; and the head of the Raja was brought back to the army, which Nuferit had left under the command of Aurungzébe. In the vaults of the Raja's palace were found to the value of three millions in silver coin, in gold, and in jewels, which Aurungzébe laid at the feet of his father, as the first fruit of his victories. He was received with uncommon demonstrations of joy; and Nuferit, for his services, was raised to a higher rank of nobility.

A. D. 1653.  
Fig. 134.  
and death.

During these transactions, all remained quiet at court. The emperor applied to public business; nor was he forgetful of pleasure. Though, during the life of the Sultana, his affections were confined to her alone, he became dissolute after her decease. The vast number of women whom he kept for state in his haram, had among them many enchanting beauties. He wandered from one charming object to another, without fixing his mind on any; and enjoyed their conversation, without being the dupe of their art. The daughter of his brother Purvez was now grown into mar-

Marriages of  
the princes  
Dara and  
Suja.



A. D. 1633.  
Hig. 1044.

riageable years; and he gave her to wife to his eldest son Dara, whom he destined for the throne. Suja, his second son, was at the same time married to the daughter of Rustum Suffavi, of the royal line of Persia. The ceremonies of these two marriages were attended with uncommon pomp and festivity: eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds were expended out of the public treasury alone; and the nobles contended with one another in expensive entertainments and shews.

Mohâbet in-  
vades Gol-  
conda.

Though the jealousy of the emperor prevented Mohâbet for some time from taking upon himself the Subaship of Chandeish, and command of the army on the frontiers, that lord was at last permitted to retire to his government. His active genius could not remain idle long. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his predecessor Eradit, who had carried on the late unsuccessful war in the Decan, he found means of renewing hostilities with the Nizâm. He led accordingly the Imperial army into the kingdom of Golconda. The Nizâm was no match for that able general in the field, and he shut himself up in the citadel of Dowlatabâd. Mohâbet sat down before it; but for the space of six months he could make little impression upon it, from its uncommon strength and situation.

Takes Dow-  
latabâd.

The citadel of Dowlatabâd is built on a solid rock, almost perpendicular on every side, which rises one hundred and forty yards above the plain. The circumference of the outermost wall is five thousand yards; the thickness, at the foundation, five; the height fifteen. The space within is divided into nine fortifications, separated by strong walls, rising gradually above one another toward the center, by which means each commands that which is next to it beneath. The entrance is by a subterraneous passage cut from the level of the plain, which rises into the center of the inner fort,



fort, by a winding stair-case. On the outside, the entrance is secured with iron gates; the top of the stair-case is covered with a massy grate, on which a large fire is always kept during a siege. But the strength of Dowlatabâd was not proof against treachery. Fatté, the son of Maleck Amber, who was the governor, sold it to Mohâbet for a sum of money, and an annual pension of twenty-five thousand pounds, secured on the Imperial treasury.

A. D. 1633.  
Hig. 1044.

The old Nizâm was dead before the treachery of Fatté had delivered up the impregnable fortrefs of Dowlatabâd to Mohâbet. An infant succeeded him; and Fatté chose to make terms for himself, under the uncertainty of the young prince's fortunes. The delivery of the Nizâm into the hands of the Imperial general, was one of the conditions imposed on Fatté for the bribe which he received. The prince was carried to Agra. He was treated with apparent respect and kindness by the emperor; but it was dangerous to permit him to remain at large. He was ordered into confinement in the castle of Gualiâr; with an attendance of women and servants to alleviate his captivity. His dominions, in the mean time, were annexed to the empire; and Mohâbet, with his wonted abilities, established the form of government, by which the new province was to be, for the future, regulated.

The Nizâm  
confined.

The animosity and jealousy which broke out afterwards among the princes, the four sons of Shaw Jehân, made their first appearance at this time. Aurungzêbe, who shewed a courage and understanding beyond his years, was in great favour with the emperor. He delighted to encourage him in the martial exercises, which the prince ardently loved; and though he did not abate in his regard for his other sons, they repined at the preference given to Aurungzêbe. A feat which that prince performed on his birth-day, when he entered his fifteenth year, strengthened his interest

Suja sent to  
the Decan.



A. D. 1633.  
Hig. 1044.

interest in his father's affections. He fought on horseback against an elephant, in the presence of the emperor and the whole court; and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. The whole empire rung with his praise; and the action was celebrated in verse by Saib Selim, the best poet of the age. The prince Suja, naturally high-spirited and jealous, shewed violent signs of discontent at the preference given to Aurungzêbe. He began to look upon his younger brother as designed for the throne; and his haughty mind could not endure the thought. He wished to be absent from a scene which gave him uneasiness; and he prevailed on Mohâbet to write to the emperor, requesting that he should be sent to him to the Decan. Shaw Jehân consented. Suja was created an Omrah of five thousand horse; and, having received sixty thousand pounds for his expences from the treasury, he took leave of his father.

Jealousy of  
Dara.

Dara, the Imperial prince, highly resented the honours conferred on Suja. He himself had hitherto remained at court, without either office or establishment. He complained to his father with great vehemence; and the latter endeavoured to sooth his son, by insinuating, that from his great affection for him, he could not permit him to take the field; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. Dara would not be satisfied with these reasons; and the emperor, to make him easy, gave him the command of six thousand horse. The prince, however, could not forget the prior honours of Suja. He was told that Mohâbet designed that prince for the throne; and there were some grounds for suspicion on that head. Had Shaw Jehân had a serious design of favouring Suja, he could not have fallen upon more effectual means of serving him, than by placing him under the tuition of so able an officer as Mohâbet. But he had no intention of that kind. He had fixed on Dara as his successor; though there



there was little policy in his placing Suja in the channel of acquiring the favour of the army, a knowledge of the world, and a superior skill in war. It was upon these grounds, that Dara justly complained; and the sequel will shew, that he judged better than his father of the consequences.

A. D. 1634.  
Hig. 1044.

On the fifth of April 1634, the emperor marched from Agra toward Lahore. He moved slowly, taking the diversion of hunting in all the forests on the way. He himself was an excellent sportsman; and the writer of his life relates, that he shot forty deer with his own hand, before he reached Delhi. In that city he remained a few days; and then proceeded to Lahore, where he arrived after a journey of more than a month. The governors of the northern provinces met the emperor near the city; and, with these and his own retinue, Shaw Jehân went with great pomp to visit the tomb of his father. He distinguished, by peculiar attention and acts of favour, Mirza Bakir and Sheikh Beloli, two learned men, who resided at Lahore; and, having made a considerable present to the Fakiers, who kept up the perpetual lamp in his father's tomb, he set out for the kingdom of Cashmire, on the limits of which he arrived on the thirteenth of June. Pleasure was his only business to Cashmire. He relaxed his mind from public affairs for some days, and amused himself with viewing the curious springs, the cascades, the hanging woods, and the lakes, which diversify the delightful and romantic face of that beautiful country. His progress was celebrated in verse by Mahommed Jân: but his care for the state soon brought him back to Lahore.

Emperor's  
progress to  
Cashmire.

The Prince Suja arrived in the Imperial army in the Decan, while Mohâbet was yet settling the affairs of the conquered dominions of the Nizâm. The general received him with all the distinction

Suja recalled.



A. D. 1634.  
Hig. 1044.

distinction due to his birth, and soon after put his troops in motion toward Tellingana. The enemy forsook the field, and betook themselves to their strong holds. Mohâbet sat down before Bizida; but the garrison defended the place with such obstinacy, that the Imperialists made little progress. The warm valour of Suja could not brook delay. He attributed to the inactivity of Mohâbet, what proceeded from the bravery of the enemy, and the strength of the place. He raised by his murmuring a dissension between the officers of the army. Mohâbet remonstrated against the behaviour of Suja; and gave him to understand, that he himself, and not the prince, commanded the troops. Suja was obstinate. Mohâbet sent expresses to court, and the prince was recalled. He was enraged beyond measure at this indignity; but it was prudent to obey. He left the camp; and Mohâbet, falling sick, was obliged to raise the siege. He returned to Brampour; and his disorder having increased in the march, put a period to his life in a very advanced age.

Death and  
character of  
Mohâbet.

Mohâbet was one of the most extraordinary characters that ever figured in India. Severe in disposition, haughty in command, rigid in the execution of his orders, he was feared and respected, but never beloved by an indolent and effeminate race of men. In conduct he was unrivalled, in courage he had few equals, and none in success. In the field he was active, daring and intrepid, always in perfect possession of his own mind. His abilities seemed to rise with the occasion; and Fortune could present nothing in battle which his prudence had not foreseen. In his political character, he was bold in his resolves, active and determined in execution. As his own soul was above fear, he was an enemy to cruelty; and he was so honest himself, that he seldom suspected others. His demeanor was lofty and reserved; his manner full of dignity and grace: he was gene-



rous and always sincere. He attempted high and arduous things, rather from a love of danger than from ambition; and when he had attained the summit of greatness, and might have rested there, he descended the precipice, because it was full of peril. Jehangire owed twice to him his throne; once to his valour, and once to his moderation; and his name gave the empire to Shaw Jehân, more than the friendship of Asiph Jâh.

A. D. 1635.  
Hig. 1044.

Notwithstanding the great abilities of Mohâbet, he seemed to be sensible of his own merit, and conscious of his importance in the state. He was punctilious about rank; and would upon no occasion give place to the visier; who would not relinquish the precedence which he derived from his high office. The dispute was carried so high between these two great men in the beginning of the reign of Shaw Jehân, that it was agreed they should not come to court on the same day. The emperor did not chuse to interfere in the contest: they were both his benefactors, both were powerful in the state; and it would not be prudent to disoblige one, by giving preference to the claims of the other. He, however, was at last prevailed upon to decide in favour of Asiph: And he made his excuse to Mohâbet, by saying, "That in all civilized governments the sword should yield to the pen." Mohâbet submitted; but he avoided ever after, as much as possible, the ceremony of appearing publicly in the presence of the emperor.

Anecdotes

These disputes, though they did not break out into an open rupture between the visier and Mohâbet, were the source of a coldness between them. Shaw Jehân was at no pains to reconcile them. He was unwilling to throw the influence of both into one channel; and by alternately favouring each, he kept alive their jealousy. Mohâbet had a numerous party at court; and they had once almost ruined the power of Asiph by recommend-

concerning  
him.



A. D. 1635.  
Hig. 1044.

ing him to the emperor, as the only fit man for settling the affairs of the Decan. His commission was ordered without his knowledge; but he fell upon means of turning the artillery of the enemy upon themselves. He persuaded the emperor that Mohâbet only was fit to conduct the war; at the same time that he made a merit with that general, of transferring to him a government the most lucrative and important in the empire.

Embassy to  
the Usbecs.

The emperor, upon the death of Mohâbet, separated the command of the army from the government of the Decan. Islam Chan became general of the forces, with the title of paymaster-general; and the Subaship was conferred on Chan Zimân, the son of Mohâbet. In the beginning of January 1635, Tirbiet Chan returned from his embassy to Mahommed, prince of Balick. That lord had been sent to Mahommed to demand redress for the incursions of his subjects into the northern provinces. Mahommed excused the insult, in submissive letters, accompanied with presents; the most valuable of which, to a prince of Shaw Jehân's amorous disposition, was the young and beautiful Malika Shadè, the daughter of Mahommed Sultân, lineally descended from Timur. The emperor received this northern beauty with excess of joy; and soon forgot the invasions of the Usbecs in her charms.

Emperor re-  
turns to  
Agra.

Shaw Jehân, after his return from Cashmire, continued for some time at Lahore. He left that city on the 27th of January, and arrived at Agra on the 23d of March 1635. Nadira, the daughter of Purvez, and wife of the Imperial prince Dara, was brought to bed, on the way, of a son; who received the name of Solimân Sheko from his grandfather. Great rejoicings were made upon the birth of the prince; and the emperor, upon the occasion, mounted a new throne formed of solid gold, embossed with various



various figures, and studded with precious stones. The throne had been seven years in finishing, and the expence of the jewels only amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money. It was afterwards distinguished by the name of Tuckt Taôus, or the Peacock Throne, from having the figures of two peacocks standing behind it with their tails spread, which were studded with jewels of various colours to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald. The finest jewel in the throne was a ruby, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398. Jehangire, with peculiar barbarity, diminished the beauty and lustre of the stone, by engraving upon it his own name and titles; and when he was reproved for this piece of vanity by the favourite Sultana, he replied, "This stone will perhaps carry my name down further through time, than the empire of the house of Timur."

A. D. 1635.

Hig. 1044.

The festival on account of the birth of Solimân, was succeeded by various promotions at court. Aurungzêbe was created an Omrah of five thousand horse; and the visier was raised to the high dignity of captain-general of the Imperial forces. Shaw Jehân was not altogether disinterested in conferring this honour on Asiph. He paid him a visit in his own house upon his appointment, and received a present of five lacks of roupees; which he immediately added to the sum of one million and an half sterling, which he laid out in the course of the year on public buildings, and on canals for bringing water to Agra.

Promotions.



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

## C H A P. III.

*Emperor's expedition to the Decan—Reduction of that country—Death of Chan Zimân—An insurrection in Behâr—Quelled—Candabâr restored to the empire—Invasion from Affâm—Reduction of Tibet—Oppressive governors punished—Prince Suja narrowly escapes from the flames of Rajamâhil—An embassy to Constantinople—Calamities in the northern provinces—Death and character of Asiph Jâh—Tirbiet punished for oppression—An invasion threatened from Persia—Interrupted by the death of Shaw Sefi.*

A. D. 1636.  
Hig. 1046.

The emperor  
resolves to in-  
vade the De-  
can.

SHAW JEHAN, whether most prompted by avarice or by ambition is uncertain, formed a resolution to reduce the Mahomedan sovereignties of the Decan into provinces of the Mogul empire. The conquests made by his generals were partial. They had laid waste, but had not subdued the country; and when most successful, they imposed contributions rather than a tribute on the enemy. Even the great abilities of Mohâbet were not attended with a success equal to the sanguine hopes of the emperor; and all his prospects of conquest vanished at the death of that able general. Shaw Jehân, though addicted to the enervating pleasures of the haram, was roused by his ambition to mark his reign with some splendid conquest; "For it is not enough," he said, "for a great prince to send only to his posterity the dominions which he has received from his fathers." The thought was more



magnificent than wife. To improve the conquests of his fathers with true policy, would be more useful to his posterity, and more glorious to himself, than to exhaust his strength in violent efforts to extend the limits of his empire. He however had determined on the measure; and the advice of his most prudent Omrahs and counsellors was despised.

A. D. 1636.  
Hig. 1046.

On the first of October 1636, he set out from Agra with his usual pomp and magnificence. Dowlatabâd was the point to which he directed his march; but his progress was politically slow. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces as he advanced; and the distance of many of them from the intended scene of action, required time to bring them to the field. The prince Aurungzêbe attended his father on this expedition, and was highly in favour. He proposed, with a youthful ardor which pleased the emperor, to take a circuit with the Imperial camp, through the province of Bundela, to view the strong holds which he himself, under the tuition of Nuferit, had some time before taken from the unfortunate Judger Singh. The emperor had not as yet collected a force sufficient to ensure success to his arms; and to gain time, he listened to the request of his son. The whole of the year was passed in premeditated delays, and in excursions of hunting; so that the emperor did not arrive in the Decan till the latter end of the rainy season of the 1637 of the Christian æra.

He sets out  
from Agra.

The Subas of the different provinces had, with their troops, joined the emperor on his march. His force was prodigious when he entered the borders of the enemy. On his arrival at Dowlatabâd, he was able to form twelve different armies, which, under twelve leaders, he sent into the kingdoms of Bijapour and Tellin-gana. The princes of the country had collected their forces, but

He lays waste  
the enemy's  
country,

they



A. D. 1638.  
 Hig. 1048.

they knew not to which quarter they should direct their march. The Imperialists formed a circle round them, and war was at once in all parts of their dominions. The orders of the emperor were barbarous and cruel. He submitted the open country to fire; and garrisons that resisted were put to the sword. "War is an evil," he said; "and compassion contributes only to render that evil permanent." The eastern writers describe the miseries of the Decan in the peculiar hyperboles of their diction. "Towns and cities," say they, "were seen in flames on every side; the hills were shaken with the continual roar of artillery, and tigers and the wild beasts of the desert fled from the rage of men." One hundred and fifteen towns and castles were taken and destroyed in the course of the year. The emperor sat, in the mean time, aloft in the citadel of Dowlatabâd, and looked down, with horrid joy, on the tempest which he himself had raised around.

which sub-  
mits,

The devastations committed by the express orders of the emperor, had at last the intended effect on the sovereigns of Tellingana and Bijapour. Shut up in their strongest forts, they could not assist their subjects, who were either ruined or massacred without mercy around them. They proposed peace in the most humble and supplicating terms. Shaw Jehân took advantage of their necessities, and imposed severe conditions. They were established, by commission from the emperor, as hereditary governors of their own dominions, upon agreeing to give a large annual tribute, the first payment of which was to be made at the signing of the treaty. The princes besides were to acknowledge the emperor and his successors lords paramount of the Decan in all their public deeds, and to design themselves, The humble subjects of the empire of the Moguls.

Emperor re-  
turns to Aj-  
mere.

The treaty being signed and ratified, the emperor left his son Aurungzêbe under the tuition of Chan Zimân, the son of Mohâbet,  
 at



at the head of a considerable force, to awe his new subjects. In the strong holds which had fallen into his hands during the war, he placed garrisons; and, having left the Decan, took the route of Ajmere. On the eighth of December 1638, he arrived in that city, and visited the shrine of Moin ul Dien, more from a desire to please the superstitious among his courtiers, than from his own devotion. He had not remained long at Ajmere when the prince Aurungzêbe arrived, to celebrate his nuptials with the daughter of Shaw Nawâz, the son of Afiph Jâh. The visier, who had remained during the war at Agra, to manage the civil affairs of the empire, came to join the court at Ajmere, accompanied by Morâd, the emperor's youngest son, and was present at the splendid festival held in honour of the marriage of his grandson with his granddaughter.

A. D. 1638.  
Hig. 1048.

Soon after the departure of Aurungzêbe from the army in the Decan, Chan Zimân, fell sick and died. His death was much regretted by the whole empire. Calm, manly and generous, he was esteemed, respected, and beloved. He was possessed of all the polite accomplishments of the gentleman: he was a brave general, a good statesman, an excellent scholar, and a poet. Under his original name of Mirza Amani, he published a collection of his poems, which are still in high repute for their energy and elegance over all the East. The emperor was so sensible of the high merit of Chan Zimân, that he sincerely lamented his death, and spoke much in his praise in the hall of the presence, before the whole nobility. "We did not miss," said he, "the abilities of Mohâbet, till we lost his son." Aurungzêbe received immediate orders to repair to the Decan, and to take upon himself the sole command of the Imperial army, stationed in the conquered provinces.

Death of  
Chan Zimân.

During



A. D. 1638.  
 Hig. 1048.  
 Infurrection  
 in Behâr.

During these transactions in Ajmere, the revolt of the Raja of Budgepour happened in the province of Behâr. The emperor detached a part of the army under Abdalla to suppress the infurrection. Abdalla at the same time received a commission to govern Behâr in quality of Suba. He attacked and defeated the Raja on his first arrival; and that unfortunate prince, whose love of independence had made him overlook his own want of power, was reduced to the last extremity. He shut himself up in a fortress which was invested on all sides. When a breach was made in the walls, and the orders for the assault were issued, the Raja came out of his castle, leading his children in his hand. He might have been pardoned; but his wife appearing behind him, sealed his doom. She was extremely handsome, and Abdalla, though old himself, wished to grace his haram with a beautiful widow. The unfortunate Raja, therefore, was put to death on the spot as a rebel.

Candahâr de-  
 livered up to  
 the empire.

The news of the defeat and death of the Raja of Budgepour had scarce arrived at court, when Shaw Jehân received an agreeable piece of intelligence from the northern frontier of the empire. The feeble administration of Sefi, who succeeded Shaw Abas in the throne of Persia, had thrown the affairs of that kingdom into confusion. Ali Murdan commanded in the fortress of Candahâr. His fidelity was suspected; and, besides, he saw no end of the troubles which distracted his country. He resolved to save himself from the malice of his enemies, by delivering the city to the emperor of Hindostan, from whose hands it had been wrested by Shaw Abas. A negotiation was therefore set on foot by Ali Murdan with Seid Chan, the governor of Cabul. His terms were only for himself. Seid closed with him in the name of his sovereign. He sent his son in haste with a force to Candahâr, which

was



was delivered by Ali Murdan, who set out immediately to pay his respects to his new sovereign.

A. D. 1638.  
Hig. 1048.

Sei no sooner heard of the treachery of Ali Murdan, than he issued orders for a force to march from Chorassan to retake Candahâr. This expedition was under the conduct of Seâhôn. That officer appeared before the city with seven thousand horse; but Sei, who commanded in the place, sallied out with an inferior force, and totally defeated the Persians, for which signal service he was raised, by the name of Ziffer Jung, to the dignity of six thousand horse. Gulzâr, the governor of Moul-tan, was removed to Candahâr; and as a general war with Persia was apprehended, the prince Suja was dispatched with a great army to the province of Cabul. Before Gulzâr arrived at his new government, Sei following his victory over the Persians, penetrated into Seistân. Bust, Zemindâwir, and other places fell into his hands; and all the district which had formerly been annexed to the government of Candahâr, was reduced to subjection by his arms.

Persians de-  
feated.

The emperor was so overjoyed at the recovery of Candahâr, that he received Ali Murdan with every mark of esteem and gratitude. He was raised to the rank of six thousand horse, with the title of captain-general of the Imperial forces, and invest-ed with the government of Cashmire. The service he had done was great, but the reward of treachery was extravagant. Ali, however, seemed to possess abilities equal to any rank. Bold, pro-vident and ambitious, he grasped at power; and when he had ob-tained it, he kept it during his life by management and intrigue. His generosity rendered him popular; and before his death he is said to have numbered sixteen thousand families of Afgans, Usbecs, and Moguls among his clients and dependants.

Ali Murdan  
rewarded.



A. D. 1638.  
 Hig. 1048.  
 Invasion from  
 Affām.

The most remarkable transaction of the year 1638, next to the recovery of Candahâr, was an invasion of the province of Bengal by the Tartars of Affām. They rushed down the river Birramputa in armed boats, to where it falls into the Ganges, below Dacca. They plundered some of the northern districts, and made themselves masters of several small forts. Islam, governor of Bengal, hearing of the invasion, marched against the enemy with all the Imperial troops stationed in the province. They had the folly to come to action with the Suba, and he gave them a signal defeat. Four thousand were killed on the spot, and five hundred armed vessels fell into the hands of the conqueror. The remaining part of the invaders fled; and the governor pursued them into their own country. Fifteen forts, with the king of Affām's son-in-law, fell into his hands. The whole province of Cochâgi was reduced; and he invaded that of Buldive. The latter was very obstinately defended. Few passes led into it, being environed with mountains. The Suba at last forced the passes, and the enemy fled to the hills.

Reduction of  
 Affām.

The sovereign of Buldive did not long survive the reduction of his country. Worn out with fatigue, harassed with grief, and tormented with vexation, he was seized with a contagious distemper, which infected his family, and carried him and them off in a few days. His people, however, would not quit their hills. The enemy spread devastation over the plain below; and the unfortunate Affāmites beheld from the woods, the smoke of their burning towns. But the unbounded ravages of Islam occasioned his retreat. The grain was inadvertently destroyed in the fire which consumed the towns of Buldive, and a scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the Imperial camp. Islam marched back with the spoils of Affām; but he suffered incredible hardships from the badness of the roads, the torrents which fell from the hills, and a distemper, which the rainy season, now come on, had raised in the army.



army. The kingdom of Tibet was, at the same time, reduced by Ziffer. The news of this double conquest came at the same instant to the emperor. He was greatly pleased with the success of his arms, as none of the Mahomedan princes, who had reigned before him in India, ever penetrated into those countries.

A. D. 1638.  
Hig. 1048.

The eleventh year of the reign of Shaw Jehân commenced with the death of the Mah-Raja, prince of the Rajaputs. He was succeeded in the throne by his second son Hufinet Singh; it being the established custom of the branch of the Rajaputs called Mahrattors, to leave the sceptre to the disposal of the sovereigns by their latter will. The Rajaputs, properly so called, did not acquiesce in the right of Hufinet. He had an elder brother, and they adhered to him. The flames of a civil war were kindled; but the emperor interfered; and, after having examined the claims of both the princes, he confirmed the Raja's will in favour of Hufinet, whom he raised to the rank of four thousand horse. His elder brother, who was deprived of all hopes of the throne by the decision of the emperor, was also created an Omrah of three thousand.

Death of the  
Mah-Raja.

The insult which Persia received through the invasion of its territories by the Mogul governor of Candahâr, did not raise any spirit of revenge in the court of Ispahan. The debility in the councils of Sefi brought on a peace between the empires. Shaw Jehân had dispatched Sifder Chan his ambassador to the court of Persia. That lord returned this year from Serifa, where Sefi resided, with a present of five hundred horses, some curious animals, and various manufactures of Persia, to the value of five lacks of rousees. Sifder executed his commission so much to his master's satisfaction, that he was raised to the dignity of five thousand horse. The chief condition of the treaty of peace between Persia and

Peace with  
Persia.



A. D. 1638.  
Hig. 1048.

Death of Afzil, the emperor's preceptor.

Dara and Suja promoted.

Hindostan was, an entire cession of Candahâr by the former in favour of the latter.

The winter of the year 1637 had been remarkable for a great fall of snow in the northern provinces of India. It extended as far as Lahore; and in the mountains of Cabul and Cashmire, many villages, with all their inhabitants, were overwhelmed and destroyed. The emperor, in the mean time, kept his court at Lahore. Peace being established on every side, he applied himself to the management of the civil government of the empire. He issued many salutary edicts for the security of property, the improvement of the country, and the encouragement of commerce. In the midst of his cares for the good of the state, he was afflicted with the death of Afzil Chan, a man of great literary talents, who had been his preceptor. The young princes were also educated under his care, and they mourned him as a father. He had been raised to the first honours of the empire. He obtained the rank of seven thousand, and the management of the civil affairs of the empire were in a great measure in his hands. The emperor, to show his great veneration for his abilities, allowed him an annual revenue of three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.

Soon after the death of Afzil, the princes Dara and Suja were raised to higher ranks of nobility. Dara was dignified with the title of an Omrah of ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot; and Suja with the rank of seven thousand horse and as many of foot. The emperor having frequently declared his intentions of leaving the throne to Dara, gave him always the first place in dignities and power. He shewed an inclination of habituating his other sons to a submission to Dara; and whatever marks of superior affection he might bestow on his younger sons in private, in public he directed his principal attention to the eldest. Aurung-  
zêbe



zêbe was not at court when his brothers were promoted. Averse to idleness in his command of the army in the Decan, he made an incursion, under pretence of injuries, into the country of Baglana. The forts fell into his hands, and the chiefs submitted to a tribute; but the sterility and poverty of those regions did neither answer the expence of the war, nor that of keeping the possession of the conquered country. He therefore evacuated the places which he had taken, and depended for the tribute on the future fears of the enemy. Having brought back the army within the limits of the empire, Aurungzêbe, who was jealous of the influence of Dara with the emperor, requested leave of absence, and came to Lahore, where his father at the time resided.

A. D. 1638.  
Hig. 1048.

The prince Suja, who had been sent with an army to Cabul, when a war with Persia was apprehended, had for some time remained in that city. His wife dying, he returned on the twenty-third of June 1638 to Lahore, where he was married with great pomp and solemnity to the daughter of Azim. Complaints having been sent to court against Islam, governor of Bengal, he was removed from his office; and Suja was ordered to proceed, with a commission, into that kingdom, to restore the civil regulations which had been ruined by the rapacity of Islam. Abdalla, governor of Behâr, had also fallen under the emperor's displeasure for some oppressions which he had exercised in the execution of justice. Shaw Jehân, who was a severe justiciary, would not even have his representatives in the provinces suspected of partiality in the distribution of the laws. He heard the complaints of the poorest subjects, from the most distant corners of the empire, and the influence of the first men in the state was not sufficient to protect the delinquents from his resentment. He was, therefore, beloved by the people, and revered and feared by the great. An Imperial order was issued to Abdalla to appear in

Suja made  
governor of  
Bengal.



A. D. 1638.  
Hig. 1048.

the presence, to give a public account of his administration; and Shaiista, the son of the visier, was raised to the government of Behâr. Abdalla had the good fortune to clear himself of the aspersions thrown on his character by his enemies; and he was sent, with a considerable force, against insurgents in the province of Bundela, and some Rajas, who, from their hills, made depredatory incursions into Behâr.

Excellent  
government  
of the em-  
peror.

Abdalla no sooner arrived in the place of his destination than peace was restored. The banditti who infested the country, fled precipitately to their mountains, and dispersed themselves to their several homes. Some examples of justice upon those who fell into the hands of the Imperialists, confirmed the tranquillity which now was general over all the empire. The attention of the emperor to the improvement of his dominions, his impartial execution of justice, his exact but not oppressive mode of collecting the revenues, rendered his people happy and his empire flourishing. A lover of pleasure himself, though not fond of parade and shew, his haram was a considerable market for the finest manufactures; and the ample provision made for his sons and nobles, rendered his capital a cluster of princely courts, where magnificence and elegant luxury prevailed in the extreme. He divided his time between the hall of audience and the haram. He heard complaints with patience; he decided with precision and equity; and when his mind was fatigued with business, he dived into the elegant and secret apartments of his women; who, being the natives of different countries, presented to his eyes a variety of charms.

The capital  
of Bengal  
destroyed by  
fire.

Suja, to whom a son was born soon after his arrival in Bengal, narrowly escaped with his life, from a fire which broke out in the capital of the province. Many of his servants, and some of



of his women were destroyed in the flames; and the whole city was burnt down to the ground. Rajamâhil never recovered from this disaster. The waters of the Ganges joined issue with the flames in its destruction. The ground on which it stood was carried away by the river; and nothing now remains of its former magnificence, except some wells, which, as the earth in which they were sunk has been carried away by the stream, appear like spires in the channel of the river, when its waters are low.

A. D. 1639.  
Hig. 1049.

Ali Murdan, who, for the delivery of Candahâr to the emperor, had been gratified with the government of Cashmire, returned to court at Lahore on the eighteenth of October. No complaints against his administration having been preferred in the hall of audience, he was received with distinction and favour. To reward him for the equity and justice of his government, he was raised to the government of Punjâb; with a power of holding Cashmire by deputy. Ali Murdan took immediate possession of his new office; and the emperor signified to his son Aurungzêbe, that his presence in the Decan was necessary, to superintend the affairs of his government, which, in the hands of deputies, might fall into confusion, from the distance of the conquered provinces from the seat of empire.

Ali Murdan  
promoted.

When Aurungzêbe set out for the Decan, the emperor, resolving upon a tour to Cashmire, moved the Imperial camp northward from Lahore. Whilst he amused himself in that beautiful country, Mahommed Zerif, whom he had some time before sent ambassador to Constantinople, returned to court. Morâd, who at that time held the Ottoman scepter, had received Zerif with every mark of respect and esteem. The empires having no political business to settle, the embassy was chiefly an affair of compliment; with a request to permit Zeriff to purchase some fine horses

Return of the  
ambassador  
to the Otto-  
man empe-  
ror.

in



A. D. 1640.  
Hig. 1049.

in Arabia. Morâd not only granted the required favour, but even gave to the ambassador several horses of the highest blood, with furniture of solid gold, studded with precious stones, as a present to Shaw Jehân. The emperor was highly pleased with the reception given to his ambassador; and he was charmed with the beauty of the horses. On the seventeenth of February 1640, he set out for Lahore, the business of the empire requiring his presence nearer its center.

Calamitous  
floods.

When he was upon the road, a prodigious fall of rain laid the whole country under water. No dry spot was left for pitching the Imperial tent; and he was obliged to sleep for several nights in a boat. His army were in the mean time in the utmost distress. Their horses without provender; and they themselves destitute of provisions. Four thousand families were swept away and drowned by the river Bêhat. On the banks of the Choshal the destruction was greater still. Seven hundred villages were carried away, with their inhabitants; and every day brought fresh accounts of disasters from other parts of the country, through which the branches of the Indus flow. When the waters began to subside, the emperor hastened his march. The scene which presented itself to his eyes as he advanced, was full of horror. Boats were seen sticking in the tops of trees; the fish were gasping on dry land, the bodies of men and animals were mixed with the wreck of villages, and mud and sand covered the whole face of the country. He was so much affected with the misery of his subjects, that he issued an edict for the remission of the taxes for a year, to the countries which had suffered by that dreadful calamity. He also made donations from the public treasury to many of the farmers, to enable them to maintain their families; and, continuing his journey, arrived on the first of April at Lahore.

During



During these disasters on the banks of the Indus, Buft was surprised by the Persian governor of the province of Seiftân. Gulzâr, who commanded for the empire in Candahâr, detached a part of the garrison under his lieutenant Leitif Chan, to retake the place. He summoned Buft upon his arrival, but the Persians refused to surrender. He began his approaches; and, after a smart siege, in which his vigilance, activity, and courage did him great honour, he took Buft. The garrison were made prisoners; and Leitif, pursuing the advantage which he had obtained, made incursions into Seiftân, and carried off great booty, with which he returned to Candahâr. The debility of the councils of Persia suffered this affront to pass without revenge.

A. D. 1640.  
Hig. 1050.

Buft surprised  
and retaken.

In the summer of the year 1640, Arselan Aga, who had accompanied Zerif from Constantinople, as ambassador from Morâd, had his audience of leave of the emperor. He was presented with twelve thousand pounds for the expences of his journey home; and he was charged with magnificent presents for his master. News at the same time arrived at court, that the oppressions committed by Azim, governor of Guzerat, had occasioned an insurrection; at the head of which, the two chiefs, Jami and Bahara, appeared. Azim, possessed of an immense revenue, soon raised a force, which, in the end, reduced the insurgents; but all the money, which ought to have been remitted to the treasury, was expended in the war. The emperor was enraged at his conduct. He deprived him of his government; and ordered him to repair to court, to give an account of his administration. His friends interceded in his behalf. The emperor was inflexible; till a fair cousin of Azim, who was retained in the Imperial haram, threw herself at his feet, and not only obtained the pardon of the governor, but even his reinstatement in his former office. After he had

An ambassa:  
dor from  
Constanti-  
nople.



A. D. 1641.  
Hig. 1031.

The prince  
Morâd dis-  
tinguishes  
himself.

passed his word in favour of Azim to this weeping beauty, he commanded her never more to appear in his presence: "For," said he, "I will not have my justice perverted by my weakness."

Morâd, the fourth son of the emperor, was now in the seventeenth year of his age. Like his brothers he was high-spirited and a lover of war. An opportunity offered which suited his disposition. Jagenât Singh, a prince on the confines of Marwâr, who was a subject of the empire, revolted, and issuing from his native mountains, spread devastation through the neighbouring plains. The active spirit of Morâd flew before him. He outstripped the news of his coming by his expedition; surprised, defeated, and pursued the prince to his fort of Tara Cudda, in which, after a smart siege, he was taken; but pardoned, upon conditions. The emperor was pleased with the vigour which he discovered in the soul of Morâd; and he received him upon his return with great distinction and affection.

Death of the  
visier.

The death of the visier Asiph Jâh, in the seventy-second year of his age, was the most remarkable event of the succeeding year. His daughter Moina Bânû, the sister of the favourite Sultana, and wife of Seif Chan, the high-steward of the household, died a short time before her father: and his grief for her, as he was worn-out with business, infirmities, and age, seems to have hastened his death, which happened on the twentieth of November. He was born in Tartary, many years before his father Aiâs quitted that country to push his fortune in Hindostan; and he did not leave the place of his nativity, till the affairs of his father assumed a very favourable aspect in the court of the emperor Akbâr. The merit of Aiâs raised himself to the first offices of the state; and his son was not of a disposition to relinquish the advantages which his family had gained. Habituated to business  
under

under his father, he succeeded him in the office of visier, and managed the affairs of the empire with great address during the remaining part of the reign of Jehangire. The active part which he took to secure the empire for Shaw Jehân, met with every return of gratitude from that prince; who, soon after his accession, raised him to an office superior in dignity to that of visier, called Vakiel Mutuluck, or absolute minister of the empire. The emperor, who had the sincerest affection for his daughter, the mother of so many princes and princesses, distinguished Asiph in his conversation with the title of Father. He dignified that minister at the same time with many pompous titles. In public deeds he was styled, The Strength of the Realm, the Protector of the Empire, the Powerful Prince, the Lord of Lords, the revered Father of Wisdom, the Leader of Armies, in rank great as ASIPH, and a Lion in War.

Though three sons and five daughters survived the visier, he adopted his grandson Dara, the Imperial prince, and constituted him heir to all his fortune. He excused himself to his sons, by saying, that he had already raised them to high ranks and employments in the state; and that, if they conducted themselves with prudence and wisdom, the favour of the emperor would be to them an ample fortune. "But, should Folly be the ruler of your conduct," continued Asiph, "you do not deserve to possess the wealth which I have acquired by my services." There was prudence in the conduct of Asiph upon this occasion. The emperor loved money; and he might have availed himself of the law, which constitutes the prince the heir of all his officers; and a dispute of that kind might prove fatal to the influence and interest of the family of the visier. He, however, divided, before his death, three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds among his children and servants. Dara, in terms of his will, took possession

A. D. 1614.  
Aug. 25.

The prince  
Mordak  
was  
killed

He leaves his  
fortune to  
prince Dara.



A. D. 1641.  
Hig. 1051.

of the bulk of his fortune, which in coin, in jewels, in plate, elephants and horses, amounted to near four millions sterling, exclusive of his estates in land, which, according to the tenures in India, reverted to the crown.

His character.

Though the abilities of Asiph Jâh were little known under the wife and able administration of his father, they broke forth with lustre when he himself came into the first office in the state. He was a great orator, a fine writer, an able politician. In his private character, he was mild, affable, humane, generous; in his public, severe, reserved, inflexible, exact. He never excused negligence; he punished disobedience. His orders, therefore, were no sooner issued than they were executed; his very nod was respected, understood, and obeyed. He was possessed of political as well as personal courage; as little afraid of the unjust reproaches of his friends, as he was of the weapons of his enemies; and he was often heard to say, "That he who fears death is unworthy of life." He was uniform in his conduct, impartial and dignified in his actions, consistent with himself. He courted not popularity by his measures: justice, propriety, and the ultimate good of the state, and not the applause of the vulgar, were his objects in all his decisions. He was fit for the field, as well as adapted for the cabinet; and had he not gained renown with the pen, he would have commanded it with the sword. In his youth, he was addicted to poetry. He wrote upon heroic subjects; and the fire of his genius was such, that the very sound of his verse animates the soul to war. The glory and happiness of India during his long administration were great; and when war raged on the frontiers, the interior provinces enjoyed uninterrupted peace. The field in which he moved was extensive, but his eye comprehended the whole. An eastern writer continues the metaphor, and says, "That he rendered that field flourishing and fruitful. He passed through.



through it with reputation and lustre, and when he sunk into the grave, a cloud of sorrow obscured the face of the empire." A. D. 1641.  
Hig. 1051.

The original name of the eldest son of Afiph was Mirza Morâd. His sons. He was dignified afterwards with the title of Shaisa Chan; and he was governor of Behâr at the death of his father. He possessed not the abilities of his family; being of an infirm and sickly constitution, with a delicate, rather than a vigorous and active mind. Mirza Misti, the second son of Afiph, was a youth of great hopes; vigorous, active, and full of fire. He lost his life in a drunken frolic; for being one day at the river Behât in Cashmire, when it foamed over its banks, he spurred his horse into the stream, by way of bravado, and, for his temerity, was drowned. Mirza Hufflein, the third son of the visier, was a man of moderate abilities; and his fourth son, who had been dignified with the title of Shaw Nawâz, was a nobleman of great reputation and high distinction in the empire.

The emperor, jealous of the influence which the governors of the provinces might acquire by a long continuance in their offices, made a practice of removing them every third year. When the news of any oppression committed by them arrived at court, they were instantly superseded; and, upon examination, if found guilty, divested of all their honours, and confined. The punishment of death seemed to have been laid aside from the commencement of this reign. Tirbiet Chan was, this year, ordered back from the government of Cabul, for his severity in exacting the revenue from the poor. The emperor himself had been a witness of the miserable condition to which the people of that province were reduced, by the floods in the rivers Choshal and Behât; and they had not yet recovered from that grievous calamity. They were unable to pay their rents; and Tirbiet submitted them.

Justice of the emperor.



A. D. 1642.  
Hig. 1052.

to the rigours of military execution. He was divested of his honours as well as of his government; and the emperor issued money from the treasury to relieve thirty thousand of the inhabitants, whom the exactions of Tirbiet had reduced to want: "Remember," said the emperor to his nobles, "that when you are too severe on my people, you only injure me; for it is but just I should pay for losses occasioned by my wrong choice of officers, to govern the provinces of my empire." Ali Murdan was appointed to the government of Cabul, in the room of Tirbiet. He was succeeded in that of Cashmire, by Ziffer. Complaints had been received against the prince Aurungzêbe from the Decan. His father ordered him to the presence, to answer to the charge; which he did to satisfaction, and was forthwith reinstated in his government.

Persian invasion threatened.

The cruelty of Shaw Sefi of Persia had crowded hitherto his reign with tumult and misfortune. The empire suffered in its consequence with foreign powers, during years which Sefi distinguished only with the blood of his subjects. His intentions against Ali Murdan lost him the strong fortress of Candahâr, and he took no measures to revenge the insults which he received on his frontiers, after that place had fallen into the hands of the Moguls. The tumults of the Persians were at length quelled in their blood; and Sefi, having destroyed his domestic enemies, turned his attention to his foreign foes. Having collected a great army, he took the field, and moved toward Candahâr with a professed design to retake that city.

Prevented by the death of Shaw Sefi.

The news of the motions of the Persian was brought by express to the court of Agra. The emperor was alarmed. He gave a commission to the Imperial prince Dara, to command an army of fifty thousand men. The troops were soon ready, and



the prince took the route of Cabul. Thirty thousand men, stationed on the frontiers, flocked also to the standard of Dara, upon his arrival at Cabul. Morâd, the emperor's fourth son, was posted with twenty thousand men behind the Nilâb, with orders to reinforce, in case of a requisition for that purpose, the army of Dara. But these formidable preparations were, in the event, unnecessary. Sefi, to the great joy of his subjects, fell sick and died. The war, which was begun by him, was dropt, with his other measures, by his successor. The Persians retreated; and Dara and Morâd returned to their father, who still kept his court at Lahore. Morâd, soon after his return to the presence, married a daughter of Shaw Nawâz, the son of the late visier Afiph.

A. D. 1642.  
Hig. 1052.

The emperor, who took pleasure in managing in person the affairs of his empire, created no visier upon the death of Afiph. That lord's deputy in office, without any rank or title, managed the business of the department, and by a special commission, countersigned all public edicts. Aliverdi, governor of Punjab, who resided at Lahore, which had formerly been the capital of his government, had the imprudence to speak contemptuously of this mode of transacting the public business. He said, That the emperor, from extreme avarice, endeavouring to save to himself the usual appointments bestowed on visiers, had thrown disgrace upon his own administration. He made no secret of his sarcasms; and they were carried to Shaw Jêhân. He sent for Aliverdi, and said to that lord: "You do not like, I am told, my mode of governing my subjects; and therefore Aliverdi shall not assist in an administration which he does not love." He was immediately divested of his government and honours, and dismissed with ignominy from the presence. The prince Morâd was raised to the vacant government; and, having received magnificent presents from the emperor, set out for Moulân. The emperor, in the mean time,

Affairs at  
court.



A. D. 1642.  
Hig. 1052.

time, assisted at a grand festival, which he gave to his court upon opening the new gardens of Shalimâr, which had been begun in the fourth year of his reign. The gardens were laid out with admirable taste ; and the money expended upon them amounted to the enormous sum of one million sterling.

SHAW



## SHAW JEHAN.

## CHAP. IV.

*Reflections—Emperor arrives at Agra—Incidents at court—Incur-  
sions of the Usbecs—Aurungzébe removed from the Decan—Sa-  
dulla Chan made vicer—Buduchshân invaded by the Moguls—  
Death and character of Noor Jehân—Balick reduced—Prince  
Morâd disgraced—Aurungzébe defeats the Usbecs—Who submit  
to the empire—Emperor jealous of his sons—Arrival at Delhi—  
Persians take Candabâr—Aurungzébe besieges it in vain—Defeats  
the Persians—Usbecs of Balick claim the Emperor's aid—Canda-  
bâr again besieged to no purpose—Emperor returns to Agra—  
Promotions.*

IN absolute governments, the Despot is every thing, and the  
people nothing. He is the only object of attention; and  
when he sits in the midst of tranquillity, the page of the historian  
languishes in the detail of unimportant events. His hall of  
audience is a court of summary justice. His decisions are rapid;  
and they are generally impartial, as his situation has placed him  
beyond the limits of fear and of favour. But there is a sameness  
which never pleases, in the transactions of a government whose  
operations run through one unchangeable channel; and it is for  
this reason only, we pass lightly over the more peaceable years  
of the reign of Shaw Jehân. In these he acted in the character  
of a judge, a mere determinator, if the word may be used, of

A. D. 1642.

Hig. 1052.

Reflections.

VOL. III.

A a

differences



A. D. 1642.  
 Hig. 1052.

differences between individuals; and it must be confessed, that he had abilities to see, and integrity to do what was right.

Emperor  
 arrives at  
 Agra.

Lahore, during the former reign, had been considered as the capital of the empire, and the most settled residence of the prince. Jehangire, whose lungs were weak, wished to breathe in the free air of the north; and the improvements which he made in the palace and gardens, had rendered Lahore the most convenient and beautiful, if not the most magnificent of the Imperial residences. Shaw Jehân, however, whose attention to the affairs of the empire was always uppermost in his mind, thought Lahore too distant from the southern provinces; which, on account of their wealth, were the most important division of his dominions. He therefore resolved, as there was a prospect of permanent tranquillity on the northern frontier, to remove his court to Agra, where he arrived in the month of November. The cavalcade which attended his progress, was magnificent and numerous beyond description. The armies returned from the north were in his train; and half the citizens of Lahore, who, from his long residence in that place, were become in a manner his domestics, accompanied him on his march. He pitched his tents in the gardens of his favourite wife, Mumtâza Zemâni. The tomb of that princess was now finished at a great expence; and he endowed with lands a monastery of Fakiers, whose business it was to take care of the tomb, and to keep up the perpetual lamps over her shrine.

Applies to  
 the public  
 business.

Nothing material happened during nine months after the emperor's arrival at Agra. The public business, which had been neglected through the alarm of the Persian war, took up a part of his time; and pleasure appropriated to itself the rest. Several beautiful acquisitions had been made in the haram; and the emperor's



emperor's attention to the execution of justice was interrupted by his love for women. A son was in the mean time born to Dara, the Imperial prince. Shaw Jehân, who loved his son, gave a magnificent festival upon the occasion. His posterity began to multiply apace. A son was born to Aurungzêbe, whom he named Mahommed Mauzim; and Morâd had this year a daughter whom he called Zêbe-ul-Niffa, or, The Ornament of Women. The emperor, in the course of the year, made an excursion to Ajmere; and after he returned to Agra, Dara was seized with a violent fever, which endangered his life.

A. D. 1643.  
Hig. 1053.

The emperor's alarm for Dara was scarce subsided, when a dreadful accident happened to his eldest daughter, whom he loved above all his children. Returning one night from visiting her father to her own apartments in the haram, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire; and, as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she was scorched in a terrible manner. She rushed into the haram in flames; and there were no hopes of her life. The emperor was much afflicted. He gave no audience for several days. He distributed alms to the poor; he opened the doors of prisons; and he, for once, became devout, to bribe Heaven for the recovery of his favourite child. He, however, did not in the mean time neglect the common means. Anit-Alla, the most famous physician of the age, was brought express from Lahore; and the Sultana, though by slow degrees, was restored to health.

An accident.

The princess had scarce recovered, when the emperor himself escaped from imminent danger. The brother of the Maraja, whose name was Amar Singh, having rebelled against the deci-

Rashness and  
death of A-  
mar Singh.



A. D. 1643.  
 Hig. 1053.

tion of Shaw Jehân in favour of his father's will, was defeated by a detachment of the Imperial army, and sent prisoner to court. When he was brought into the emperor's presence, he was forced, by the lords in waiting, to make the usual submissions, and the emperor pronounced his pardon from the throne; desiring him at the same time to take his place among the lords, in the rank which had been conferred upon him on a former occasion. He accordingly took his place; but being a young man of a proud and ungovernable spirit, he burnt with rage at the late indignity, as well as at the past injury done him by the emperor, in preferring to him his younger brother. He drew his dagger in secret; and rushed furiously toward the throne. Sillabut Chan, the paymaster-general of the forces, threw himself before Amar, who plunged his dagger in his body, and stretched him dead at his feet. Chilulla, Seid Sallâr, and several other lords drew immediately their swords, and slew the Hindoo prince on the spot. The emperor, who had descended from his throne with his sword in his hand, ordered the body to be dragged out of the hall of audience. A number of his followers, seeing their master dead, fell upon the guards, and fought till they were cut off to a man.

Inursions  
 of the Usbecs.

The Usbecs, who had for a long time remained quiet, made an incursion this year into the territories of the empire. They were led by Kuli the general of Mahommed, king of the Western Usbecs. Ali Murdan, governor of Cabul, marched out and defeated the invaders. He followed his victory, and driving the fugitives beyond the limits of the empire, ravaged their country as far as Balick, and returned with a considerable booty. The news of the victory arrived at Agra, on the day that another son was born to Dara the Imperial prince. The emperor expressed his satisfaction on this double occasion of joy, by restoring Abdalla, his own former friend, to the dignities of which he had



been deprived, on account of his mismanagements in the government of the province of Behâr. Abdalla, however, did not long enjoy the good change in his fortune. He died in the eightieth year of his age, having been sixty years a noble of the empire. At the time of his death, he was possessed of the dignity of six thousand horse. He had passed through all the various vicissitudes of fortune. He was engaged in every war, and was unsuccessful in all; yet he was esteemed an able and active general.

A. D. 1644.  
Hig. 1053.

Dara, by his constant residence with his father, had gained an ascendancy over his mind. The prince was free, generous and manly; pleasing in conversation, affable, polite and mild. The emperor loved him as a friend, as well as a son: he listened to his advice and studied to please him. He represented to his father, that it was dangerous to the repose of the empire to leave so long the management of the Decan in the hands of Aurungzêbe. "I trust," says he, "to my brother's honour; but why should the happiness of the emperor depend upon the honour of any man? Aurungzêbe possesses abilities; and his manner, and perhaps his integrity, has gained him many friends. They, in their ambition, may persuade him to things which, without their advice, he would abhor. The army he commands are, by habit, accustomed to perform his pleasure, and are attached to his person. What if they should prefer the spoils of the empire, to their watchful campaigns on our frontiers? Are the troops, debauched by the loose manners of the capital, fit to cope with men inured to arms? To foresee danger is to no purpose," continued Dara, "unless it is prevented. It is my part to advise my father and sovereign; his to do what he pleases: but to remove Aurungzêbe from the government of the Decan, is to remove temptation from that prince. If he is that devout man he pretends to

Aurungzêbe  
removed  
from the De-  
can.

be,



A. D. 1645.  
Hig. 1055.

Reflections  
of the em-  
peror.

be, he will thank Heaven for being deprived of the means of committing crimes."

The emperor was sensible of the justice of Dara's observations; and he complied with his request. He was naturally fond of his children: he liked their spirit, and loved their aspiring genius. He was, however, too prudent not to foresee the disturbances which were likely to rise from even their good qualities. His affection, when they were young, prevented him from following the policy of other Despots, by shutting up every access of knowledge from their minds: and to keep them at court after they had commanded armies and provinces, would be a perpetual source of animosity between them, and of uneasiness to himself. He was heard often to say; "I have the sons I wish; yet I wish I had no sons." But hitherto he had no just reason to complain: they kept on apparent good terms with one another, and they implicitly obeyed his commands.

Aurangzêbe  
sent into  
Guzerat.

Orders were sent to Aurungzêbe to remove to Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat, where he should find a commission to govern that province. The prince obeyed; and Chan Dowran, who had lately been governor of Cashmire, was advanced to the superintendency of the conquered provinces, and to the command of the troops stationed on the southern frontiers of the empire. Dowran did not live to enjoy his high office, being assassinated by one of his domestics, whom he had punished for some crime. Sixty lacks of roupees, or about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money, were found in coin and jewels in his tent. The emperor was his heir, as he had amassed his fortune in his service. He had been governor of several provinces; and he possessed the rank of seven thousand horse in the empire. When the news of his death came to court, Ilam Chan was appointed his



his successor; and that lord set out for his government, in the month of August of the year 1645.

A. D. 1645.  
Hig. 1055.

The emperor, it has been already observed, did not appoint any successor to Asiph Jâh in the high office of visier. Sadulla, the chief secretary of Asiph, who was acquainted with the business of the empire, transacted the duties of the office without the name. He was a man of abilities. His experience in his department recommended him first to the emperor; and when he came to know him better, he esteemed him for his integrity. He was sent for one day to the presence; and the emperor, without previously acquainting him of his design, delivered to him the seals of the empire; and at the same time presented him with a patent, for the dignity of five thousand horse.

Sadulla made  
visier.

Whilst these things are transacted at court, Ali Murdan, governor of Cabul, continued his incursions into the dominions of the Usbecs. He took the fort of Shermud in Buduchshân, and some other strong towns. When the winter came on, he retreated into his province; and took that opportunity of paying his respects to the emperor, who, upon his return from a tour to Cashmire, had stopt at Lahore. Shaw Jehân approved of his incursions, and recommended to him to continue the war. Ali returned to Cabul, and led his army to the north in the beginning of the spring. He took the direct road to Balick; but the enemy turning his rear, cut off both his supplies and his communication with Hindostan. They, at the same time, laid waste their own country, by carrying off or destroying the grain and cattle. Ali thought it prudent to retreat; but the Usbecs had retaken the forts which had, when he advanced, fallen into his hands. He, a second time laid siege to Shermud; and, having forced it to surrender, he established posts along the skirts of Bu-

Ali Murdan  
invades Bu-  
dushân.

duchshân,



A. D. 1645,  
Hig. 1055.

duchshân, and then returned to Cabul. An ambassador, charged with rich presents, was dispatched this year to the court of Persia, to congratulate Shaw Abas the Second, upon his accession to the throne.

Death and  
character of  
Noor-Jehân.

The emperor had not been returned to Lahore many days, before the famous Noor-Jehân, the favourite Sultana of his father Jehangire, died in her palace in that city. Twenty-five thousand pounds had been annually paid to her out of the treasury; and, as her power ceased with the death of her consort, she was too proud even to speak of public affairs, and she, therefore, gave up her mind to study, retirement, and ease. The extraordinary beauty of her person has been already mentioned; we shall now delineate the features of her mind. Her abilities were uncommon; for she rendered herself absolute, in a government in which women are thought incapable of bearing any part. Their power, it is true, is sometimes exerted in the haram; but, like the virtues of the magnet, it is silent and unperceived. Noor-Jehân stood forth in public; she broke through all restraint and custom, and acquired power by her own address, more than by the weakness of Jehangire. Ambitious, passionate, insinuating, cunning, bold and vindictive, yet her character was not stained with cruelty; and she maintained the reputation of chastity, when no restraint but virtue remained. Her passions were indeed too masculine. When we see her acting the part of a soldier, she excites ridicule more than admiration; and we are apt to forget that delicacy, beyond which her sex ceases to please.

War with the  
Usbecs.

The ineffectual expedition of Ali against the Usbecs, did not induce the emperor to relinquish the war. He set up an antiquated claim, which his ancestors had on Buduchshân, and the



the district of Balich, and moved with a great army toward Cabul, to support his pretensions. When he arrived in that city, he detached fifty thousand horse with a large train of artillery, under the conduct of prince Morâd, to the north. Nidder Mahommed, who had taken Balich and its district by force from the Uzbeks, shut himself up in that city, where he was besieged by Morâd. Mahommed made but a poor defence; for he evacuated the place in a few days. Morâd entered the city in triumph. He protected the inhabitants from being plundered; and detached a party in pursuit of Mahommed. His own army fell, in the mean time, upon Mahommed; and having plundered him of sixty lacks of roupes, separated, and left him alone. The unfortunate prince had no resource but to fly his dominions, which were now over-run by the conquerors. He hoped to engage Persia in his interest, and he hastened to Ispahan. The prince Morâd, in the mean time, took all his towns and castles, at leisure: there was no enemy in the field, and scarce a garrison within the walls. Having left detachments of his army in the conquered countries, he moved toward the frontiers of the empire; and waited there for orders of recal.

A. D. 1646.  
Hig. 1056.

The emperor having fixed his mind upon the complete conquest of Buduchshân and Balich, had no intention of withdrawing his army from these provinces. Morâd became impatient. He wrote letters to his father. He pretended want of health; he said he disliked the country; and he earnestly requested leave to return. Shaw Jehân, knowing the real state of his son's health, was much offended at his request. He commanded him to remain in the north, to settle the country according to the instructions given to him, and not to attempt to enter the dominions of Hindostan without orders. Morâd having a violent inclination

Morâd disgraced.



A. D. 1646.  
Hig. 1056.

to be near the capital, in case of his father's death, and preferring the rich and fertile provinces of the south to the sterile regions of the north, obstinately disobeyed the emperor, left the army, and returned to Cabul. His father repented this undutiful behaviour. He formally divested him of the government of Moul-tân, and of all his dignities, without admitting him into his presence. He at the same issued an edict, which banished Morâd to the mountains of Peshâwir. Sadulla the visier was sent to settle the affairs of the north.

Prince of the  
Uzbeks flies  
to Persia.

The fugitive prince Mahommed having arrived at Ispahan, was treated by Shaw Abas with great friendship and respect. He received at different times four lacks of roupees, for his subsistence. He, however, could obtain no aid. His applications were counter-acted by the ambassador of India; and, besides, the Persian was not fond of war. The bad success of Mahommed soured his temper. He spoke disrespectfully of Shaw Abas and his ministers. His subsistence was withdrawn, and he was reduced to great distress. Sadulla, in the mean time, settled the affairs of Balich. In the year 1646 he was recalled to court; and the emperor returned to Lahore. Morâd, in the mean time, wrote letters of contrition to his father. He owned his error, and expressed his grief. His friends solicited warmly in his favour. He was permitted to come to court; and, by his prudent management, he soon regained the affections of his father, who restored him to his dignities, and to the government of Moul-tân.

Uzbeks in-  
vade Balich.

When the prince of Balich was deserted by his own army, and obliged to take refuge in Persia, his son Abdul Azîz, who commanded a body of troops in another part of the province, threw himself under the protection of the northern Uzbeks. The petty chieftains beyond the Oxus were induced, by promises of advantage



advantage to themselves, to join his small squadron; so that he soon found himself at the head of an army. He however could not cover his intentions of invading the conquered dominions of his father, from the Mogul garrison of Balich; who sent advices of the approaching storm to the emperor. That monarch issued orders to his son Aurungzêbe to leave Guzerât, and to hasten to take the command of the army in the north. The emperor himself marched to Cabul to sustain the operations of his son; whilst Dara commanded another army in the environs of Lahore. Shaw Jehân, upon this occasion, shewed an instance of his generosity. Two of the sons of the prince of Balich, together with some of his wives and daughters, had been taken prisoners in the war. The sons, he raised to the rank of nobles; and the women were treated with the decency and respect due to their quality.

Aurungzêbe, who was fond of action, posted with great expedition to Balich. He took the command of the troops upon his arrival; and he was informed that the enemy were, by that time, advanced to within a few miles of the place. He surveyed the works, and made temporary repairs; then devolving the command of the garrison upon Raja Mado Singh, he marched out against the Usbecs with the troops which had flocked in to his standard from the untenable posts in the province. Bahadur of the Rohilla tribe of Afgans, commanded the vanguard. Ali Murdan was stationed on the right wing, and Ziffer on the left. The prince himself, after having marshalled the field, took his post in the center. The enemy, seeing the good order and firmness of the Moguls, declined, for that day, to come to action. They, however, skirmished with small parties, whilst the main body retreated. Night coming on, Aurungzêbe lay on his arms.

A.D. 1647.  
Hijr. 1037.

Aurungz. he  
sent against  
them.

Clues in  
and Balich.



A. D. 1647.  
Hig. 1037.  
He comes to  
action,

When day-light appeared, the prince formed his line of march, and pursued the Usbees. Several detachments of the enemy hovered round, and insulted him from time to time, whilst others turned his rear, and began to plunder a part of his baggage: the main body, in the mean time, began to form in his front. The prince detached parties from the line, who drove the flying squadrons of the enemy from the field. He then drew up his forces in the same order as on the preceding day; but Ziffer, from exerting himself too much, was seized with a violent fever, and obliged to devolve his command on his son. He scarce had retired, when Abdul Azîz advanced upon the Imperialists with his whole force. Ziffer again mounted his horse, and when he returned to his post, he found his son in close engagement with the Usbees. The enemy advanced with redoubled violence; but Ziffer, who now had resumed the command, stood his ground with great spirit and firmness, till he received nine wounds. He fell, with loss of blood, from his horse, and two of his sons covered him from the Usbees, and carried him between their horses to the rear.

defeats

Abdul Azîz, in the mean time, with ten thousand Tartar horse, fell in, sword in hand, with Ali Murdan on the right. The contest was fierce and bloody. The Tartars, proud of their native valour, despised the opposition of troops whom they deemed inferior to themselves; the Imperialists being chiefly composed of soldiers from the north, and better disciplined than the Tartars to war, stood their ground with great firmness, and checked the confident bravery of the enemy. Ali exhibited all the qualities of an able general, and valiant soldier: he sometimes encouraged his troops by words, but oftener by example; and finding that the enemy charged in a deep column, he contracted and strengthened his line. The Usbees were thrice repulsed; but defeat only rendered them more desperate. In the fourth charge, the



the Imperialists were thrown into confusion; but they were rather borne down than defeated. They were on the point of flying; but Aurungzêbe came in to their aid.

A. D. 1647.  
Hig. 1057.

The prince had been engaged in the center, where the action had not been so hot. Finding how affairs went on the right, he formed into a column, and advanced on full speed on the flank of Abdul Aziz. That chief, however, was ready to receive him. The shock was violent and bloody. A mighty shout arose on either side; and men seemed to forget they were mortal. The Uftec was at the last overpowered, and driven off the field with great slaughter. Aurungzêbe thought himself in possession of a complete victory; but the battle was not yet over. The enemy took a circuit round the right, where Ali was restoring the line of his broken squadrons, and fell upon the rear of the Imperialists. The vanguard had retired thither after the commencement of the action, and formed a line round the artillery which had been little used. Abdul Aziz attacked them with great violence, and drove them from the guns. Bahadur, who commanded the vanguard, rallied them, and sustained the charge till Aurungzêbe came up in full speed from the line. Abdul Aziz was again repulsed with great slaughter, and the remains of the Uftec army quitted the field in disorder.

the Uftees;

The prince, after the action was over, advanced and took possession of the enemy's camp. It was now dark; and such an impression had the valour of the enemy made upon the Imperialists, that even the flight of the vanquished could not convince them of their victory. A panic seized the victors; frequent alarms disturbed the night; and, though fatigued and wearied, they lay sleepless upon their arms. Morning appearing convinced them of their error, and discovered to them how much they had done, by the

and takes  
their camp.



A. D. 1647.  
Hig. 1057.

the number of the slain. Ten thousand lay dead on the field. Many officers of distinction fell on the Imperial side; and Aurungzêbe justly acquired great reputation from the fortunate end of such an obstinate battle.

They are driven from Buduchhân.

The Usbecs, under their gallant leader, being frustrated in their designs on Balich, by the signal victory obtained over them, fell upon the province of Buduchhân. Despairing of conquering that province, they laid it waste, and filled their rout with confusion, desolation, and death. Express upon express was sent to Cabul to the emperor; and he forthwith detached twenty thousand horse, under the prince Morâd, to expel the enemy. The Usbecs, weakened in the late bloody battle with Aurungzêbe, were in no condition to face Morâd. They fled before that prince beyond the limits of the province, and left an undisturbed conquest to the family of Timur.

They submit.

Nidder Mahommed, who left the court of Persia upon advice of the invasion under his son, received on the way the news of the unfortunate battle, in which all his hopes were blasted. To contend longer in arms against Shaw Jehân was impossible: he therefore had recourse to submission and intreaty. He sent a letter to Aurungzêbe: "To the emperor," said he, "I dare not write. But you, descended from the victorious line of sovereigns, who support, with your sword, their title to command the world, may find an opportunity of presenting the request of Mahommed among those of his meanest subjects; and he who confers happiness on mankind, will relent at the misfortunes of an exiled prince. Inform him, that Nidder Mahommed wishes to be numbered among the servants of the King of Kings, and waits melancholy on the skirts of his dominions to receive his answer." Aurungzêbe sent the letter to his father. The emperor, moved by  
prudence



prudence as much as by pity for Mahommed, ordered his son to reinstate that prince in his sovereignty over his former dominions. It was difficult to defend such a distant frontier against the incursions of the Usbeks beyond the Oxus; and he made a merit of his policy, by restoring the provinces of Balich and Buduchshân to Mahommed, upon condition of receiving a small annual tribute. That prince being sick, sent his grandson Chuféro to Aurungzêbe to sign the terms of this pacification.

A. D. 1647.  
Hig. 1057.

The emperor, in the month of April of the year 1647, returned to Lahore; and Aurungzêbe, after the treaty was signed and ratified, joined his father in that city. He was appointed to the government of Moulân, to which province he went, after remaining a very few days at court. The prince Suja was, at the same time, sent to command in the province of Cabul, to watch the motions of the Tartars on the northern frontier. The war with the Usbeks was undertaken through wantonness; and ended, though successful, with loss to the empire. Six millions were expended upon it out of the Imperial treasury, besides estates granted to the nobility to the value of one million more. The emperor had a puff of reputation for this enormous sum.

Emperor re-  
turns to La-  
hore.

Shaw Jehân, who became jealous of the abilities and ambition of his sons, repented sincerely of having raised them to the first offices of the state, and to the government of the richest provinces of the empire. They had hitherto maintained a shew of implicit obedience; but the nation looked up to their power and consequence, and seemed apparently to divide themselves into parties in their favour. To prevent them from taking a stronger hold of the affections of the people, he removed them from one province to another, to prevent an increase in their popularity, and to inure them

Jealous of his  
sons.



A. D. 1648.  
Hig. 1058.

them to obedience. In the midst of this policy, the complying weakness of the father prevailed over the prudence of the monarch. None of his sons liked the northern provinces. They suited not with their pride, and they were not fit for their ambition. They were destitute of treasure to acquire dependants: they abounded not in lucrative employments to gratify friends. Morâd, by an act of disobedience, had quitted the north: Aurungzêbe, by his address, was permitted to leave it; and Suja, by his friends at court, wrought so much upon the emperor, that he was removed from Cabul to the government of Bengal.

Resides at  
Delhi.

The emperor, ever fond of festivals, found an opportunity of exhibiting his generosity and hospitality, upon finishing the repairs of the city of Delhi. Seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been laid out on the Imperial palace; in which the emperor mounted the throne of his ancestors, on the first of April of the year 1648. The nobility paid their compliments with magnificent presents; and their ladies waited with gifts of value, upon the most favoured of the emperor's wives. During nine days, the whole city, as well as the court, were entertained at the public expence. Magnificent dresses were distributed among the great officers; and several new Omrahs, among whom were the two sons of prince Dara, were created. Hamid, one of the disciples of the great Abul Fazil, presented, upon the occasion, to the emperor, a history of the first ten years of his reign, and received a princely present.

Promotions.

The emperor remained at Delhi nine months, and returned to Lahore in the end of December the same year. Soon after his arrival in that latter city, he raised the visier to the rank of seven thousand; and gratified him, at the same time, with the government of Behâr, which he was permitted to hold by deputy.



The abilities of this lord in his high deportment, and, above all, his unintriguing disposition, if the expression may be used, recommended him in the highest degree to his master. He never sought a favour of the emperor; and he conferred none without his permission. His assiduity to please consisted in his undeviating attention to business; and he gained the affections of his prince, by making him believe, that he was the sole spring which moved all the affairs of his own empire. The vanity of Shaw Jehân induced him to wish that every thing were done by himself; and the prudent visier did not, by his obvious interference, deprive him of the reputation which he strove to maintain. On the same day that Sadulla was promoted to the government of Behâr, the prince Morâd was raised to that of the Decan. The emperor, though fond of his son, distrusted his natural impetuosity and fire: he therefore committed the charge of the army on the frontiers to Shaw Nawâz, the father-in-law of Morâd himself. Without the consent of this lord, Morâd was not to attempt any thing of material concern to the empire.

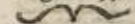
A. D. 1649.  
Hig. 1059.

Though the Imperial ambassador, who had been sent to congratulate Shaw Abâs the Second on his accession to the throne, had been well received at Isfahan, the court of Persia had not relinquished their pretensions to the city of Candahâr. The arrangements necessary to restore the kingdom to order, after the tyranny of Shaw Sefi, had hitherto engaged their attention; and the numerous armies employed by Shaw Jehân on his northern frontiers against the Usbees, rendered it imprudent to break with him, till they were withdrawn. After the pacification with the prince of Balich, the greater part of the Imperial army had been removed to the south, and a fair field was left for the designs of Shaw Abas. That monarch accordingly, in the year 1648, marched with a great force toward Candahâr; but the news

Persians take  
Candahâr.



A. D. 1649.  
Hig. 1059.



of his preparations for the expedition had been previously carried to Lahore. Shaw Jehân, who had arrived in that city toward the close of the year, detached fifty thousand of his troops under the visier to cover Candahâr. The prince Aurungzêbe joined that minister with the forces stationed in his province of Moul-tân; but before they arrived, the city was surrendered to the Persians by capitulation. Shaw Abas left ten thousand musqueteers to garrison the place, and retreated with the rest of his army.

Aurungzêbe  
besieges it in  
vain.

Aurungzêbe and Sadulla invested the place in the March of 1649. The siege continued more than three months before a practicable breach was made; and the Imperialists, in a general assault, were repulsed with great loss. The prince, however, did not raise the siege: he continued his approaches, but he made very little progress toward taking of the place. Winter was now approaching, and the weather began to be already very severe in that high country. There was a great scarcity of forage and provisions; and the warlike stores were exhausted. The emperor, being apprized of the state of his army, ordered the siege to be raised; and Aurungzêbe, without laurels, returned toward Lahore.

Defeats the  
Persians.

Nizier Ali, the Persian governor of Candahâr and Murtizi, who commanded an army of observation on the frontiers of that province, having joined their forces, fell on the rear of the Imperialists in their retreat. Aurungzêbe behaved, upon the occasion, with his usual spirit and conduct. He fell upon the assailants in the flank, with a column of cavalry, which he had filed off from his front, when he first observed the enemy. The Persians were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Though defeated, they were not however intimidated. Being reinforced from Candahâr, they hovered round the Imperial army; and, after a few days, formed their



their line and offered battle. Aurungzêbe did not decline to come to action. The shock was from wing to wing; and the contest was long and bloody. The prince owed the victory which he obtained to the bravery of Rustum, one of his generals, who commanded the reserve, consisting of two thousand horse. Rustum, when the prince was on the point of quitting the field, fell on the enemy sword in hand, and threw them into confusion. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, restored his ranks, and returned to the charge. The Persians fled, and were pursued twenty miles beyond the field; and the prince returned, with unexpected glory, to the emperor, who set out soon after the arrival of his son for Agra.

A. D. 1650.  
Hig. 1060.

The Usbec Tartars beyond the Oxus, taking advantage of the debilitated state of Nidder Mahommed, who had not recovered from the blow given to his power by the conquest of his country by the Imperialists, invaded the dominions of that prince. Mahommed applied, in the character of a vassal, to the emperor, who was so well pleased with this mark of his submission, that he sent him a very considerable sum of money, which was the principal thing wanted. The escort sent with the treasure to Balich, conveyed his women and children to Mahommed; but two of his sons, Chusero and Byram, who had been created nobles of the empire, remained from choice in India. Many marks of the emperor's favour were conferred on the family of Mahommed. An honorary dress was given to each, together with a considerable sum of money. Nor had their education been neglected. Masters had been appointed to teach the young princes; and the daughters were instructed in the suitable accomplishments of their sex.

Usbecs apply  
for aid.



A. D. 1651.

Hig. 1061.

Morâd removed from the Decan.

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

Aurangzêbe besieges

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



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

A. D. 1652.  
Hig. 1062.

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

Candahâr in  
vain.

SHAW



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

## C H A P. V.

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

A. D. 1652.  
Hig. 1062.

Dara's jea-  
lousy of Au-  
rungzêbe.

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



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

A. D. 1652.  
Hig. 1062.

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

His unsuccessful expedition against Candahâr.

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

He is solemnly appointed successor to the emperor.

we



A. D. 1652.  
Hig. 1062.

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

A Turkish  
embassy.

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

Marâja re-  
bels, and is  
reduced,

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



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

A. D. 1656.  
Hig. 1066.

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

Rise and  
character of  
Jumla.



A. D. 1656.  
Hig. 1065.

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

Promotions.

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

Death and  
character of  
the visier.

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



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

A. D. 1686.  
Hig. 1086.

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

War in Gol-  
conda.

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

Mahommed  
the son of  
Aurungzêbe



A. D. 1656.  
Hig. 1666.

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

takes Hydrabad,

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

and defeats  
the king of  
Golconda.

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

give



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

A. D. 1656.  
Hig. 1065.

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

Returns to  
Brampour.

The



A. D. 1657.  
 Hig. 1067.  
 War with  
 Adil Shaw.

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

Death and  
 character of  
 Ali Murdan.

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



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

A. D. 1657.  
Hig. 1667.

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

Expedition  
into Bijapour.

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

Siege of  
Bider.



A. D. 1657.  
Hig. 1667.

That city  
taken.

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

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

Adil Shaw  
defeated,

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



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

A. D. 1657.  
Hig. 1067.

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

and submits.



A. D. 1657.  
Hig. 1067.

Plans con-  
certed be-  
tween the  
visier and  
Aurungzêbe.

of Zifferabad, or the City of Victory, returned in triumph to Bram-  
pour, the seat of his government.

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

Emperor falls  
sick.

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



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

A. D. 1657.  
Hig. 1067.

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

Dara assumes  
the govern-  
ment.

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

His violence.



A. D. 1657.  
Hig. 1067.

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

Emperor  
carried to  
Agra.

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



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

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

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

Favour for  
Dara,

tain



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

who carries  
all before  
him at court.

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

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

S H A W



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

## C H A P. VI.

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

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

A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1068.

Cause of the civil wars.



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Views of the  
emperor's  
sons.

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

Character of  
Dara.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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



A. D. 1658.  
 Hig. 1668.

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

Of Aurung-  
 zêbe.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1668.

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

Of Morád.

F f 2

was



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Suja takes  
the field.

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

Dara



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

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

A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1068.

Opposed by  
Solimân  
Shekô.Suja surpriz-  
ed in his  
camp.

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

and defeated.

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

Aurungzêbe  
hears of his

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



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

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

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



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Jumla

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

side



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1668.

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

Marches  
from Au-  
rungabad.

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

His manage-  
ment of  
Morâd.

VOL. III.

G g

merit.



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Opposed at  
the Nirbidda.

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

Joined by  
Morâd.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1668.

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

April 22, de-  
feats the Ma-  
raja.

G g. 2

arrived



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Masculine  
behaviour of  
the Maraja's  
wife.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Aurungzébe  
remains at  
Ugein.



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Perplexity of  
the emperor.

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

Preparations  
of Dara,

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

father;



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

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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

who marches  
against Au-  
rungzêbe and  
Morâd.

The



A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1658.

Charge given  
him by his  
father.

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

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

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1063.

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

Dara's order  
of battle,  
June 5.



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

That of Aurungzêbe.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

The battle begins.

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

Dara's bravery.

H h 2

vance,



A. D. 1658,  
Hig. 1958.

Morâd's  
bravery.

Dara, by an  
accident

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

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

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

is defeated.

as yet, scarce  
sufficient



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Reflections.

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

S. H. A. W.



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

## C H A P. VI.

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

THE decisive battle, which quashed for ever the hopes of  
Dara, and gave the crown of Hindostan to Aurungzébe,  
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. Aurungzébe 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 Shaiста 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 interpoling said, "Forbear! the friends of the unfortunate have a right to complain in their presence."

Flies

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,

to Delhi.



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.

Aurangzêbe  
corrupts

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



hopeless 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

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 vicerent 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. Aurungzébe, declining to enter Agra, pitched his tent in a garden without the walls. His schemes were not yet ripe for execution; and he assumed an appearance of moderation. Morâd lay ill of his wounds; and, being unable to attend to business, a fair field was left for his brother. The emperor, when the van of the rebels appeared in sight, ordered the gates of the citadel, which was a place of great strength, to be shut. This resolution alarmed Aurungzébe. 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. Aurungzébe, 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 Aurungzébe 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 Aurungzébe, received his messenger with affected

Aurungzébe  
sends to his  
father.



A. D. 1658.  
 Hig 1668.

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

The conference.

Shaw Jehân, to expiscate the real designs of his rebellious sons, sent his eldest daughter Jehanâra to visit them, upon their arrival at the gates of Agra. Aurungzêbe having owned the superiority of Morâd, the princess went first to his tent. Morâd was of a disposition that could neither conceal his hatred nor his love. He knew that Jehanâra was inviolably attached to the interests of his elder brother; and being at the same time fretful through the pain of his wounds, he treated her with disrespect, and even used harsh expressions. The haughty spirit of Jehanâra was impatient of insult. She called for her chair in her rage, and told him, that his brutality was equal to his crimes. The behaviour of Morâd to his sister was instantly carried to Aurungzêbe, by his spies. He ran out of his tent, and 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.

of the princess Jehanâra

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



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

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

and Aurung-  
zêbe.



A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1063.

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

A. D. 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  
 Aurungzêbe.

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

Aurungzêbe  
 writes to the  
 emperor.

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



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

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Deceives  
Morâd.



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.

A. D. 1658.  
Hig. 1068.

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

Miscarries.

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

Morâd deceived,



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 Aurungzêbe.

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 awakened 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.  
Aurangzêbe  
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-

L I 2

fectcd



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

Intelligence

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

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



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.

M m 2

A U R U N G -



