Chamargunda and Raisin, and Nasiri Khan and some others at Bir and Dharur. These officers stood facing the frontier and barring every path of the enemy's advance, so that the imperial ryots behind them might enjoy peace and safety. The officers were further bidden to make a dash forward across the frontier, whenever they got an opportunity, ravage as much of the enemy's territory in front of them as they could, and then quickly return to the defence of their respective posts. At last in May, 1657, Nasiri Khan, so often rebuked for his slow movements and failure to catch Shivaji up, made a forced march, for once, to the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar and fell upon Shiva, who escaped with heavy loss. Orders were sent to the victor to pursue Shiva into his own territory and wrest all his lands which had been given up to the Mughals by the Bijapur king in the new treaty.* But a campaign among the hills of Maharashtra during the rainy season was impossible, and Poona escaped an invasion. When his liege-lord, the king of Bijapur, made peace, Shivaji found it useless and even ruinous to himself to continue the war with the Mughal empire single-handed. He must try to save his patrimony.

§ 12. Shivaji makes peace with Aurangzeb.

So, he sent an agent, named Raghunath Pant, to Nasiri Khan, with a letter offering submission and promising loyal behaviour in future. To this a conciliatory reply was given. Then Shiva despatched another ambassador, Krishnaji Bhaskar, to Aurangzeb himself, begging forgiveness for his raids and offering to send a contingent of 500 horse to the prince's assistance.† Aurangzeb was then about to leave the Deccan to contest the throne of Delhi. He received Shivaji's submission with outward pleasure; but his mind was not really composed about Maharashtra; he omitted no precaution to maintain peace in that quarter by force, for he felt convinced that the young Maratha chief was a raider whose daring was only equalled by his cunning, and an ambitious

* Adab, 153, 154 (rebuke for slowness), 156a (news of defeat of Shiva, in May, 1657); Kambu, 4b.
† Adab, 156b-157a. Parasnis MS., letter 6 (Aur. to Shiva, 24 Feb. 1658.)
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adventurer who would place self-interest above fidelity to his
plighted word or gratitude for favours received.*

The invasion of Bijapur now ends, and the great War of Mughal
Succession begins.

lest when Nasiri Khan goes away to Hindustan, Shiva, finding the field vacant,
should begin to plunder” (To Multafat Khan. Adab, 149b.) “Don’t leave your
charge at the call of Shah Jahan, lest Shiva should sally out.” (To Nasiri Khan,
Adab, 157b). “At Nasiri Khan’s departure that district has been left vacant;
Attend to it, as the son of a dog is waiting for an opportunity” (To Mir Jumla,
Adab, 92a.) Dilkasha, i. 20 and 21.
Appendix II

Parentage of Ali II

The parentage of Ali Adil Shah II is not altogether free from doubt. The Mughals declared him to be a stranger of unknown origin whom the late Sultan had brought up like a son, pisar-i-khanda. (Warris, 118a, and Adab, 88b). The Bijapur side stated that Ali was born to Muhammad Adil Shah on 27th August, 1638, and that at the fond request of the Queen, Bari Sahiba, the sister of the Golconda king, the baby was handed over to her to be brought up under her eyes in her apartments, known as the Anand Mahal. The boy's birth, initiation into Islam, and commencement of education, were all celebrated with the pomp and ceremony worthy of a prince of the blood, and he publicly rode through the capital in the style of the heir to the throne. His right to ascend the throne was apparently not questioned by the Bijapur nobility and military officers, though they soon afterwards began to quarrel about the division of power and influence. But such internal discords were the usual case at Bijapur and in every other country where the king is weak and his officers strong and selfish. Against Aurangzib's theory that Ali was a lowborn lad smuggled into the harem, stands the fact that at the time of his birth (Aurangt 1638), Muhammad Adil Shah was only 29 years old. Are we to believe that at this early age he and his queen had given up all hope of having any issue, and had contrived the fraud of proclaiming a stranger's child as their son? Some scandalous tale about the private life of Muhammad Adil Shah was told after his death by a Bijapur officer who had deserted to Aurangzib. (Adab 91a), but we do not know of its precise nature. Aurangzib himself utters a pious cry of disbelief in it? Who Ali's mother was is not explicitly stated in the Bijapur history. In the record of an event a few years after his accession, the chief Dowager Queen, Bari Sahiba, is spoken of as his wallida, but the term may mean nothing more than adoptive mother, because in the account of Ali's birth even this lady is never once described as his mother. Possibly he was the son of a slavegirl of the harem. But under Islamic law children of such birth are not debarred from inheritance.

The English merchant Revington, on 10 Dec. 1659, speaks of Ali II as being "known to be the bastard of Md Adil Shah." (Foster, x. 249). Manucci (ii. 300) says that "Sikandar Adil Shah was not of the ancient royal family for his father [Ali II] was no son of the king. [Md. Adil Shah], only a servant of the queen's. When she became a widow, the king having left no sons, she made his servant of hers king."

[The history of Ali Adil Shah II from his birth to his accession is given by Nurullah, (my MS.) 14-57, and in the Basatin-i-salatin, 345-347. Tavernier, i. 183, repeats the prevalent story that Ali was merely an adopted child. Also Bernier, 197.]
Corruption of the Bijapur Wazir by Aurangzib

The Bijapur history Basatin (349-357) asserts that the prime-minister, Khan Muhammad, surnamed Khan-i-khanan, was corrupted by Aurangzib, and gives the following account of his treachery and its punishment:—

"Adil Shah had appointed Khan Muhammad, with a large army to guard the kingdom. He took post on the frontier. Spies brought him that the Delhi army was crossing a pass only two or three day’s march off. Khan Muhammad by a forced march at night barred the road. Famine raged in the Mughal camp, but the troops had no way open for escape. Aurangzib then wrote to the prime-minister: ‘If you let me off now, there will be perpetual friendship between the Bijapuris and us, and so long as you or your descendants hold the wazirship of the country, we shall never covet any of its territory.’ The letter reached Khan Muhammad when he was sitting down with some learned men after his evening prayer, and he remarked, ‘This letter will be the death of me.’ After long reflection, he replied on the back of the epistle, ‘Early next morning, getting your men ready as for a night-attack, make a forced march and escape.’ Aurangzib with his men fell on the Khan’s troops who left a path open for them, and so he escaped. At the news of the night-attack Khan Muhammad’s officers hastened to him, found Aurangzib, already fled, and urged him to chase the Mughals as there was yet time. The Khan replied, ‘We shall thus secure peace. But if we slay Aurangzib an ocean of troubles will surge up and [Mughal] armies will drown the Deccan land. Good, that he has escaped.’ So, he forbade pursuit. Afzal Khan after using hot words left, with his troops, went to Bijapur, and reported the matter to the Sultan,...... who recalled Khan Muhammad and his army to the capital. The Khan, knowing that his death was certain, marched very slowly, with frequent halts. On the day he entered the city, two Mughals, armed with many sharp weapons, stood on the two sides of the Mecca gate. As the Khan’s palki entered, they fell on him and despatched him with blows. The date was the year 1068 A. H. [Z. S. gives 11 November, 1657 A. D.].... It is said that Aurangzib ordered that the annual tribute from Bijapur to the Emperor should not that year be paid to him, but spent in building a tomb for Khan Muhammad.”

Now, this story of Khan Muhammad having caught Aurangzib in a trap in a mountain pass near the frontier, is clearly false. The detailed official history of the Mughals and Aurangzib’s letters show that he only marched from his own frontier to Bidar (a short distance), and then from Bidar to Kaliani, and lastly (28 May) he made a four miles’ advance from Kaliani in order to disperse the enemy assembled in the neighbourhood. There is no formidable mountain-pass in this route, and at every one of these steps Aurangzib had a strong base close behind him, viz, the Mughal fort of Udgir
when he first marched to Bidar, the conquered fort of Bidar when he proceeded to Kaliani, and lastly the part of his army left to invest Kaliani when he advanced four miles from that fort. Furthermore, the road between Bidar and Kaliani had been cleared of the enemy by Mahabat Khan, before Aurangzib traversed it.

Khan Muhammad might possibly have hemmed round some small Mughal detachment escorting provisions, or even Mahabat Khan's division in its march towards Kulbarga, (12 April) but then Aurangzib himself was too far off to write to the Bijapur wazir the letter of temptation described above. I think it most likely that the charge on which he was condemned of treason and murdered was that, having been already corrupted by Aurangzib, he had made a sham fight in the battle of 28th May, when he might have easily annihilated Aurangzib's force.

From the description in the Basatun-i-salatin it appears that Khan Muhammad had an opportunity of crushing Aurangzib during the latter's retreat from Kaliani or Bidar. This theory receives some support from Aqil Khan Razi, who writes (p. 17), "Aurangzib's army was distracted, but he remained firm, without being at all shaken by the departure of such high officers [as Mahabat Khan and Rao Chhatra Sal]. With boldness and prudence he returned, unhurt and without loss, from the place, through that ring of enemies".

In a letter written a few days after 8th October, Secretary Qabil Khan reports a rumour that Afzal Khan with the Bijapur army had crossed the Benathora with a view to invading the mahals on "this side," evidently meaning the newly annexed districts of Bidar and Kaliani (Adab, 197a). We read (Adab, 64b), that the Bijapur territory north of the river had been previously occupied and administered by Aurangzib's officers. Therefore, his return march from Kaliani to Bidar, 4th—9th October, could not have been molested by Khan Muhammad.

Did the Bijapur prime-minister, then get and throw away, with fatal consequences to himself, the chance of capturing the prince, during his retreat from Bidar to the Mughal frontier? The idea is plausible. The Bijapurs were certainly emboldened by the distraction of the Mughals; Aurangzib's army was weakened by the deputation of Mir Jumla and the departure of several other officers for Delhi; and the report of his intended retreat to the Mughal frontier had totally destroyed the imperial prestige in that region; the Bijapurs were openly insulting isolated Mughal detachments and officers. But against this theory must be urged that (1) Bidar was only 28 miles by road from the Mughal frontier (viz., the ferry over the Manjira river); (2) Kaliani and Bidar were both held by Mughal garrisons, which might have assisted Aurangzib by falling on the rear of any Bijapuri army surrounding him; (3) Aurangzib left Bidar on 18th October, and Khan Muhammad was murdered on 11th November, as the news of his death reached Aurangzib at Aurangabad in the middle of the month. (Adab, 92b) There was not sufficient interval.
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between these two events for the return of Afzal Khan to Bijapur, the summoning of Khan Muhammad by Adil Shah, and the minister's slow march from Bidar to Bijapur, as described in the Basatin.

However, from Aurangzaib's letters it is clear that Khan Muhammad was friendly to the Mughals, and advocated a policy of peace with them, while Mulla Ahmad was at that time bitterly hostile to them. During the war Khan Muhammad openly sent an agent to Shah Jahan, evidently to propose terms on behalf of his master. Adab, 125a.) But this need not have meant that Khan Muhammad had been bribed to advocate the peace policy or that he shirked his duty in the field of battle. Before Aurangzaib's invasion Mulla Ahmad himself had visited the Mughal ambassador at Bijapur and professed friendliness, though Aurangzaib distrusted him. Adzb, 91b.

Aurangzaib's own remarks on hearing of Khan Muhammad's murder are given in a letter from Secretary Qabil Khan to Mir Jumla, written in November, 1657. The prince only says that Khan Muhammad fell a victim to the treacherous intrigue of his false friend, Mulla [Ahmad] Navait, and that he almost threw away his life by neglecting to take proper steps to counteract his rival's designs, though repeatedly cautioned by Aurangzaib. Adab, 92b, 204b.) The other references to his death are in Adab, 93b and 179a. The Jedhe Shakavali asserts that his death was contrived by Bari Sahiba.
§ 1. Shah Jahan’s reign: its glories.

In December, 1656, the public health of Delhi became so bad that Shah Jahan with his Court proceeded to the bank of the Ganges at Garh Mukteshwar, a place noted for its game. In less than a month he returned to the capital; but as the epidemic continued, he again left it (February, 1657), and went to Mukhli spur on the Jamuna, nearly a hundred miles north of Delhi. The cool climate of this place, at the foot of the Sirmur hills and yet within easy reach of the capital by boat, had led him to choose it as his summer retreat, and he had adorned it with fine palaces for himself and his eldest son, and given it the glorious name of Faizabad.*

Here a grand Court ceremony was held. He just completed three decades of his reign and began the 31st year on 7th March. In the official annals of the Mughal Emperors written by their command, every period of ten years (called dawwar) was taken together and a volume devoted to it. Three such decades formed an epoch (garn).† which was regarded as a sort of perfect and a auspicious number. Shah Jahan had completed one such epoch and begun another. The occasion was therefore, one of peculiar importance and solemnity.

The reign had been as prosperous as it had been long. The ‘wealth of Ind’ under this Great Mughal dazzled the eyes of foreign visitors, and on gala days ambassadors from Bukhara and Persia, Turkey and Arabia, as well as travellers from France and Italy, gazed with wonder at the Peacock Throne and the Kohinur and other jewels which cast a luminous halo round the Emperor’s person. The white marble edifices which he loved to build were as costly as they were chaste in design. The nobles of the empire eclipsed the

* Waris, 118b, 119a, 121, (Mukhlis pur described); 122a (palaces described).
† Inayet Khan’s Shah Jahan-namah (as quoted in Elliot, vii. 74); Waris, 1b; Kambu, 1b.
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kings of other lands in wealth and pomp. Save for two failures of his arms outside the natural frontiers of India, the imperial prestige stood higher than ever before. The bounds of the “protected empire” had been stretched further than in any preceding reign. Within the country itself profound peace reigned. The peasantry were carefully cherished; harsh and exacting governors were in many cases dismissed on the complaint of the people. Wealth and prosperity increased on all hands. As a panegyrist sang:—

“... The people are light of heart as the Emperor bears the heavy burden
( of looking after them );
Disorder has fallen into a deep sleep
through his wakefulness.”*  

A kind and yet wise master, Shah Jahan had gathered round himself a band of very able officers, and made his Court the centre of the wit and wisdom of the land.

But some ominous shadows had already been cast on this bright prospect, and with the passage of time they were deepening. One by one the great ministers and generals who had contributed to the glory of the reign were being removed by the pitiless hand of Death. The three best known officers and dearest personal friends of Shah Jahan died within the last five years: Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang on 4th January, 1652, Sadullah Khan, the Abul Fazl of his age, on 7th April, 1656, and Ali Mardan Khan, the premier peer, on 16th April, 1657.† And, as the giants of old passed away, the Emperor found no worthy successors to them among the new faces and younger men about him. He had already completed 67 lunar years (24 Jan. 1657), and the life of warfare and hardship that he had gone through in his father’s latter years, followed by the long ease of his own tranquil reign, had undermined his body, and he already felt the hand of age. What would happen after him? That was the question now present in all minds. Often and often had he talked with his confidants about the future;‡ and that future was most gloomy.

* India Office Pers. MS. 1344, folio 7b.
† Waris, 57b, 108a; Kambu, 1b; M. U. ii 436.
‡ Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, 48 and 54.
§ 2. Shah Jahan’s sons.

Shah Jahan had four sons. All of them were past youth, and all had gained experience as governors of provinces and commanders of armies. But there was no brotherly love among them, though the three younger princes.—Shuja, Aurangzib and Murad Bakhsh, were usually drawn together by a common jealousy of the eldest, Dara Shukoh, their father’s favourite and intended heir. The ill-feeling between Dara and Aurangzib in particular was so bitter and had continued growing bitterer for so many years past, that it was the talk of the whole empire, and peace had been maintained between them only by keeping Aurangzib far away from the Court and his eldest brother.* Every one foreboded that the succession to Shah Jahan’s throne would be disputed, and that a universal and complicated civil war would deluge all parts of India with blood, as soon as he would close his eyes or even earlier.

§ 3. Dara Shukoh, the heir designate.

Shah Jahan had given clear indications that he wished to leave the crown to Dara. As this prince was the eldest of four brothers by the same mother, the choice was not an act of unjust partiality, but simply followed the law of nature which gives to the eldest born authority and precedence above the younger ones. In order to train him in the administration of the empire and to smooth the transfer of the supreme authority to him, the Emperor had kept Dara by his side for many years past. The viceroyalty of rich and long-settled provinces like Allahabad, the Panjab, and Multan, had been conferred on him, but he was allowed to stay at his father’s Court and govern them by deputies. At the same time the Emperor bestowed on him rank and privileges which raised him to an almost royal position, midway between the Emperor and the other princes. Dara now enjoyed the high title of Shah-i-buland-iqbal, (King of Lofty Fortune), the unprecedented rank of a Commander of Forty Thousand Horse, and an income which many a king might have envied. When he attended Court he was

* Anecdotes of Aurangzib § 2 and 5; Masum, 6b; Kambu, 8b; Adab, 171b. 174b; Aqil Khan. 10.
allowed to sit near the Emperor on a gold chair only a little lower than the throne.† Dara’s sons got military ranks as high as those of the Emperor’s younger sons, and his officers were frequently ennobled by the Emperor.‡ Dependent kings, tributary princes, offenders under the imperial wrath, aspirants to office or title, all bought or begged Dara’s mediation before they could approach the Emperor. Government officials and new recipients of titles, after having had audience of the Emperor were sent by him to pay their respects to the Crown Prince.‡ Much of the administration was latterly conducted at Dara’s direction in the Emperor’s presence, or even by Dara alone with permission to use the Emperor’s name and seal. In short, everything was done to make the public familiar with the idea that he was their future sovereign and to render the transfer of the crown to him on Shah Jahan’s death easy.

§ 4. Dara’s religious views.

Dara was just turned of forty-two years. He had taken after his great-grandfather Akbar. In his thirst for pantheistic philosophy he had studied** the Talmud and the New Testament, the writings

* Waris, 96a, (golden chair and title of Shah given to Dara, 3rd February, 1655), 97a, 120a, (Dara’s pay was 1/2 kores of Rupees, January 1657), 123b, (mansabs of all the princes). Kambu, 6a (Dara promoted to a command of 50,000 horse, 14th September), 7b (Dara promoted to a command of 60,000 horse, with a pay of above 2 krores, 20th December), 8b; Masum, 6b.
† Waris, 96a, 116a.
‡ Waris, 85a, (Ismail Hut presents a remarkable horse to Dara), 91b, 116a (Srinagar Rajah makes Dara his mediator), 87b, 97b (Dara procures pardons).
** My account of Dara’s philosophical studies is based on the extracts from the prefaces of his works given by Rieu in his British Museum Catalogue. Dara wrote in Persian (1) Sirr-ul-asrar, a translation of 50 of the Upanishads, completed on 1 July, 1657. (2) Majmua-ul-Baharain, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. (3) Dialogue with Baba Lal (really recorded by Chandrabhan). (4) Safinat-ul-awliya or lives of Muslim saints, completed 11 Jan., 1640. (5) Sakinat-ul-awliya or the life of Mian Mir, completed 1052 A. H. (6) Risala-i-haq numa, published with an Eng. translation, The Compass of Truth, by S. C. Basu, Allahabad. The 2nd, 3rd and 4th are in the Khuda Bakhsh Library. See also Faiyaz-ul-qawanin 377-388, for Dara’s correspondence with Shaikhs Mulibullah and Dilruba.

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of the Muslim Sufis, and the Hindu Vedanta. The easy government of Allahabad had assisted his natural inclination, and with the help of a band of pandits he had made a Persian version of the Upanishads. The title of Majmua-ul-Baharain ("the Mingling of Two Oceans") which he gave to another of his works, as well as his prefatory remarks,* proves that his aim was to find a meeting point for Hinduism and Islam in those universal truths which form the common basis of all true religions and which fanatics are too apt to ignore in their zeal for the mere externals of faith. Alike from the Hindu yogi Lál-dás and the Muslim faqir Sarmad, he had imbibed his eclectic philosophy, and at the feet of both he had sat as an attentive pupil. But he was no apostate from Islam. He had compiled a biography of Muslim saints, and he had been initiated as a disciple of the Muslim saint Mian Mir, which no kafir could have been.† The saintly Jahanara also speaks of Dara as her spiritual preceptor. The manifesto in which Aurangzib as the champion of Islamic orthodoxy denounces Dara for heresy, ascribes to him no idolatrous practice or denial of Muhammad's prophetic mission, but only the following faults: (i) Consorting with Brahmins, yogis and sannyasis,—considering them as perfect

* He writes that although he had perused the Pentateuch, the Gospels, the Psalms and other sacred books, he had nowhere found the doctrine of Tauhid or Pantheism explicitly taught but in the Vedas, and more especially in the Upanishads, which contain their essence. As Benares, the great seat of Hindu learning, was under his rule, he called together the most learned pandits of that place, and with their assistance wrote himself the translation of the Upanishads. (Rieu, i. 54, quoting preface to Sīr-ul-asrar). Elsewhere he states that he had embraced the doctrine of the Sufis, and having ascertained in his intercourse with Hindu faqirs that their divergence from the former was merely verbal, he had written the Majmua-ul-Baharain with the object of reconciling the two systems. (Rieu. ii. 828, quoting Dara's preface).

† During his stay in Kashmir, 1050 A. H., Dara had become a disciple of the great Sufi, Mulla Shah (who died in 1072). . . . Dara received the initiation into the Qadiri order in 1049 from an eminent master, Muhammad Shah Lisanullah, one of the disciples of Mian Mir. He erected a sumptuous dome over Mian Mir's tomb outside Lahor. Jahanara wrote the Munis-ul-arwah, a life of Shaikh Muin-ud-Din Chishti, into whose order she was initiated as a disciple or murida. (Rieu, i. 54, 358 & 357). Dara used to add to his signature the titles adiri and Hanif, which is not consistent with a profession of heresy.
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spiritual guides and 'knowers of God',—regarding the Veda as a
divine book, and spending his days in translating and studying it.
(ii) Wearing rings and jewels inscribed with the word Prabhu
(‘Lord’) in Hindu letters.*
(iii) Discarding prayers, the fast during the month of Ramzan,
and other canonical ceremonies of Islam, as necessary only in
the case of the spiritually undeveloped,—while he believed himself
to be a man possessed of the perfect knowledge of God.†

Dara’s own words in introducing to the reader his theological
works, clearly prove that he never discarded the essential dogmas
of Islam; he only displayed the eclecticism of the Sufis, a recognised
school of Islamic believers. If he showed contempt for the external
rites of religion, he only shared the standpoint of many noble
thinkers of all churches, such as John Milton. However, his
coquetry with Hindu philosophy made it impossible for him, even
if he had the inclination, to pose as the champion of orthodox and
exclusive Islam, or to summon all Muslims to his banners by
proclaiming a holy war against the people beyond the fold of the
faith. In a letter to Jai Singh written in 1653, Dara says that the
Rajput race were his special favourites and they knew that he
always watched over this interests in all cases arising at the imperial
Court. Thus, inclination and policy alike made Dara’s attitude in
sectarian disputes differ widely from that of Aurangzib.

§ 5. Character of Dara.

Then, again, his father’s excessive love did him a distinct harm.
He was always kept at Court and never, except at the third siege
of Qandahar, sent to conduct campaigns or administer provinces.
Thus he never acquired experience in the arts of war and govern-
ment; he never learnt to judge men by the crucial test of danger

* Prabhu is simply a Sanskrit word meaning “one able to punish and to bless,”
“the supreme lord.” It is not the name of any idol, but an epithet of the Deity
as innocent of any connection with polytheism as the Arabic term Rabb-ul-
alamin (“Lord of the Universe”) applied to God in the Quran.

† Alangirnamah, 34 and 35. Some other charges of heresy, such as the drink-
ing of beer made from sugar, were brought against Dara by Aurangzib, if we
can believe Masum (71a.)
and difficulty; and he lost touch with the active army. Hence he was rendered unfit for that war of succession which among the Mughals served as a practical test for the survival of the fittest. Basking in the sunshine of his father’s favour and flattered by an entire empire, Dara had acquired some vices unworthy of a philosopher and fatal to an aspirant to the throne. Aurangzib in later life spoke of Dara as proud, insolent to the nobles, and ungovernable in temper and speech.* The Jaipur archives prove that this charge of his mortal enemy was not true. We have there a complete series of the letters written by Dara to Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, which illustrate how the prince laid himself out through many years to win the heart of this high grandee by uniform courtesy and personal affection, the giving of presents, anxious inquiry about his health, and even making his little son Sulaiman Shukoh send his salam to jai Singh!

But we shall have to concede at least that his unrivalled wealth and influence were not likely to develop moderation, self-restraint, or foresight in him, while the fulsome flattery which he received from all must have aggravated the natural pride and arrogance of an heir to the throne of Delhi. The detailed account of his siege of Qandahar, written by an admirer, shows him in the odious light of an incompetent braggart, almost insane with conceit, capricious and childish in the management of affairs. His history during the war of succession clearly proves, that, with all the wealth and influence he had enjoyed for years, he could secure very few devoted followers or efficient lieutenants. Evidently he was no judge of character. Men of ability and self-respect must have kept away from such a vain and injudicious master, while the mercenary self-seekers of the army and Court must have recognised that in following him against the astute and experienced Aurangzib they would be only backing the losing side. Dara was a loving husband, a doting father, and a devoted son; but as a ruler of men in

* Ruqyat-i-Alamgiri, Nos. 5, 47, 53. Anecdotes of Aurangzib, § 3 and 4. In the Adab (260b) Aurangzib writes to Shah Jahan that Dara’s only qualifications for winning his father’s favour were ‘flattery, smoothness of tongue, and much laughing, while in carrying out any business entrusted by his father his heart was not in conformity with his tongue.’
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troubled times he must have been a failure. Long continued prosperity had unnerved his character and made him incapable of planning wisely, daring boldly, and achieving strenuously,—or, if need were, of wresting victory from the jaws of defeat by desperate effort or heroic endurance. The darling of the Court was utterly out of his element in the camp. The centre of a circle of flattering nobles and ministers knew not how to make a number of generals obey one masterly will and act in harmony and concert. Military organization and tactical combination were beyond his power. And he had never learnt by practice how to guide the varying tides of a battle with the coolness and judgment of a true general. This novice in the art of war was destined to meet a practised veteran as his rival for the throne.*

However dark the future might look, for the present things were going on well with Shah Jahan. The usual Court festivals were celebrated as they came round. The victory over Bijapur led to the playing of joyous music, and the granting of rewards and titles [Kambu, 5b.] Marriages took place among his grand-children. He held darbars with his usual magnificence, and received or sent off generals and viceroyos, ambassadors and scholars.


From Mukhlpapur Shah Jahan had returned to Delhi at the end of April, 1657. Here, on 6th September, he suddenly fell ill of strangury and constipation.† For one week the royal physicians toiled in vain. The malady went on increasing; his lower limbs swelled, his palate and tongue grew very dry, and at times symptoms of fever appeared. During all this period the patient took no food or nourishment, and the medicines produced no effect on him. His weakness was extreme and his pain intense, though borne with heroic fortitude.

The daily darbar was stopped; the Emperor even ceased to show his face to the public from the balcony as was his wont every morn-

* Kambu, 9a, 10a, 15a; A. N. 99; Aqil 33.
† For the history of the illness Kambu, 6a, 7a; A. N. 27, 80-81; Masum, 29b—30b; Ishwardas, 7b—9a.

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ing; the courtiers were denied access to his sick-bed, which only Dara and a few trusted officers watched. Immediately the wildest rumours spread through the empire: Shah Jahan was dead, and Dara was keeping the fact a secret till he had ensured his own succession!

After a week the doctors at last got control over the malady. Soup of mint and manna did him great good, and he felt some relief. But the needs of empire are imperative. So, on 14th September the patient dragged himself to the window of his bed-room (khwabgah) and showed his face to the anxious public standing outside, to prove that he was still alive! Large sums were given away in charity, prisoners were released, and Dara was covered with rewards and honours for his filial care.

But the improvement in the Emperor's condition had been slight; he had still to be carefully treated and nursed; and his weakness continued. It was more than a month (15th October) before he again appeared at the window in view of the public, though papers were taken to his chamber ostensibly to be read out for his order, and royal letters were still issued in his name and stamped with his seal. The acute stage of the disease had passed away, no doubt. But his death was now regarded as only a question of time. He knew it, and in the presence of the nobles appointed Dara as his successor. Then, with his mind freed from earthly cares, he went to Agra to die there [Kambu, 8b] quietly in sight of the tomb of the wife he had loved so well. A change of air had also been advised by the doctors. On 18th October Shah Jahan left Delhi and moved by easy stages to Agra. Sami Ghat, on the Jamuna, six miles above Agra fort, was reached on 5th November, and here he waited for an auspicious day. The journey had restored him to health and he now discarded drugs as unnecessary. On the 26th, the day chosen by the astrologers, he made a royal progress from Bahadurpur, down the Jamuna, in a State barge, the people thronging both banks for miles and miles to gaze on their beloved and long-lost ruler. Shouts of prayer and blessings for him filled the air. In this way he entered Agra city and put up in Dara's mansion on the river-bank. After nine days he entered his sumptuous palace in the fort and there held a dardar. At Agra he lived for the next five
months. To Agra he returned after a short and futile effort to go back to Delhi (April), and from Agra fort he was destined never again to issue in life.

During Shah Jahan’s illness Dara constantly watched by his bed-side; but he also stopped the visit of others to the sick-chamber. Only three or four officers of the highest trust and the Court physicians had access to the Emperor. “Dara tended and nursed his father beyond the utmost limit of possibility.” But he showed no indecent haste to seize the crown. All urgent orders were issued by him, but in the Emperor’s name. [Kambu, 7b.] He exercised supreme authority and transacted public affairs at his own will, but merely as his father’s agent. The transfer of power to his own hand’s he hoped, would be easy, and he might wait for his father’s death without any harm to the work of the State. He had so long occupied in the public eye the place at the right hand of the Emperor that he naturally expected that his exercise of authority on behalf of his invalid father would be accepted without question.

When Shah Jahan’s illness first took a favourable turn (14th September), he heaped on Dara promotion and rewards worth 2½ lakhs of Rupees, and again on 20th December presented him with one krore of Rupees besides jewellery valued at 34 lakhs, in recognition of his filial piety and tender nursing during the Emperor’s illness. Dara’s rank was raised to that of a Commander of Sixty Thousand Horse, and his eldest two sons were promoted Commanders of 15,000 and 10,000 troopers respectively. [Kambu, 6a, 7b.]

§ 7. Dara is nominated by Shah Jahan as his successor.

After the first week of illness Shah Jahan, as we have already seen, felt some relief, but no hope of recovery. So he piously set himself to prepare for the next world. Calling to his presence some confidential courtiers and the chief officers of the State, he made his last will before them, and ordered them to obey Dara henceforth as their sovereign in everything, at all times, and in every place. To his successor he gave the advice to seek to please God, to treat the public well, and to care for the peasantry and the army. [Kambu, 8b.] Dara now had the supreme power in his hand, though he did not assume the crown but continued to issue orders in his father’s
name. The history of the next eight months is the history of his attempt to strengthen his position,—an attempt often thwarted by the necessity of taking Shah Jahan’s consent in important matters, and also by his own faults of judgment. His policy lacked that strength and singleness of purpose which it might have gained if he had been the absolute master of the realm, or if Shah Jahan in full possession of his physical powers, had dictated every step, himself.

First of all, Mir Jumla, the confidant and partisan of his rival Aurangzib, could no longer be retained as prime-minister of the empire. Towards the end of September he was removed from the wazirship, and his son Muhammad Amin, who had been acting as his vicar at Delhi, was forbidden entrance to the office. Orders were also sent to Mir Jumla, Mahabat Khan, and other imperial officers to return from the Deccan to the Court with the reinforcements that they had led to Aurangzib’s army for the Bijapur war. [Kambu, 6a, 10a; A. N. 29.]

In the case of Mir Jumla the order of recall was not peremptory: he was first of all to secure the surrender of Parenda fort from the Bijapuris. But Mahabat Khan and Rao Chhatra Sal were commanded to come away immediately with the Muhammadan and Rajput troops respectively of the supplementary force; and this they did without waiting to take leave of Aurangzib. They returned to Agra and had audience of the Emperor on 20th December.*

Meantime Dara’s partisans and followers received from the Emperor promotions and high administrative offices, and even the province of Bihar was given to him in addition to the Panjab and Multan. Dara also set about acquiring new friends: Khalilullah Khan was promoted and appointed subahdar of Delhi; Qasim Khan was tempted with the viceroyalty of Gujrat from which it was decided to remove Murad.†

§ 8. Armies sent against Shuja, Murad and Aurangzib.

By the middle of November Shah Jahan was completely recovered,

* Kambu, 5b, 6b, 10b; 8a; Aqil Khan, 16.
† Kambu, 6b, 11a; Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 413, 414.
and important matters which had hitherto been kept from him, could no longer be withheld. Dara, therefore, told him how Shuja had crowned himself and was advancing from Bengal. Shah Jahan consented to an army being sent against him, under the leadership of Rajah Jai Singh. But as only a prince could cope with a prince, Dara’s eldest son Sulaiman Shukoh was joined in the command. This force, 22,000 strong, left Agra on 30th November and encountered Shuja near Benares on 14th February, 1658, as we shall see. Dara’s most trusted friends and best generals were sent to support his son, and thus he greatly weakened himself at Agra.*

Meantime equally alarming news had arrived from Gujrat. There Murad had murdered his diwan Ali Naqi (early in October), looted Surat city (early in November), and finally crowned himself (5th December). At first Dara sent him a letter purporting to proceed from the Emperor, transferring him from Gujrat to Berar. Dara thereby hoped to set one foe against another, as Berar was included in Aurangzib’s viceroyalty. Murad saw through the plan, laughed the order to scorn, and neither moved from Gujrat nor acted against Aurangzib.† As yet Aurangzib had done no overt act of disloyalty or preparation for war. But “Dara feared him most.” He learnt that Aurangzib had allied himself with Murad and Shuja, and at the same time was secretly intriguing with the nobles of the Court and the officers of the army. Strong letters were, therefore, sent out in the Emperor’s name recalling Mir Jumla and the remaining generals from the Deccan (early in December), and on 18th and 26th December two armies were despatched to Malwa, the first to oppose the advance of Aurangzib from the South and the second to march into Gujrat and oust Murad from the province, or, if necessary, to stay in Malwa and co-operate with the first force.‡

The leadership of these two armies had gone begging. Noble after noble had been offered the posts, but had declined, saying that they were ready to fight to the last drop of their blood under the Emperor or Dara in person, but could not of themselves pre-

* Kambu, 9; A. N. 31; K. K. ii. 5; Masum, 32b—40b.
† Kambu, 10, 11a; Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 414, 420.
‡ Kambu, 10a; A. N. 29, 34; Aqil, 20 & 21.
sume to resist to the bitter end a prince of the imperial blood. The rash Rathor chief Jaswant alone had consented to fight Auran-
zib and even promised to bring him back a prisoner.* So, he was sent (18 Dec.) to Ujjain as Governor of Malwa, *vice* Shaista Khan, whose presence so near Aurangzib gave Dara ground for fear. Such a great noble and near kinsman of the Emperor could not be safely left close to the rebel frontier, as his adhesion to the two younger princes would have greatly increased their strength and influence. Shaista Khan had served with Aurangzib in the Gulkonda and Bijapur wars and there was a brisk friendly correspondence between the two. Murad had even planned to dash into Malwa, seize Shaista Khan and force him to join his side! So Shaista Khan was recalled to the capital, where he secretly served Aurangzib’s cause. † Qasim Khan was induced to accept the command of the second army by being created Governor of Gujrat in the place of Murad.

While giving leave to the three armies sent from Agra, Shah Jahan had besought their generals to spare the lives of his younger sons, to try at first to send them back to their provinces by fair words if possible, otherwise by a demonstration of force, and not, except in extreme need, to resort to a deadly battle.‡

§ 9. Aurangzib openly defies the imperial authority.

In January 1658, the news of further developments reached Agra. Aurangzib had arrested Mir Jumla, who was coming to Delhi in obedience to imperial orders, and seized his property, troops, and artillery. The prince, no doubt, wrote a lying letter to the Emperor, saying that he had arrested Mir Jumla for treasonable intrigue with Bijapur and neglect of the imperial business; ** but Dara knew the true reason. Murad had captured Surat fort, and the preparations of the two brothers to advance into Hindustan could not be kept concealed any longer. Aurangzib’s Vanguard began its north-

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* Ishwardas, 18b.
† Kambu, 11a; A. N. 114; Aqil, 21; Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 426. For Aurangzib’s friendly correspondence with Shaista Khan, see Adab, 102a—113a.
‡ Masum, 45b; Aqil, 21; Kambu, 11a.
** A. N. 84; K. K. ii. 9. Adab 95a, 67b; Aqil 19, 20, 22.
ward march from Aurangabad on 25th January. At last all the three younger princes had rebelled; they had dropped the mask, or, in the language of the Persian annalists, "the curtain had been removed from the face of the affair."

At Dara's instigation the Emperor threw into prison Isa Beg, the Court agent of Aurangzib, and attached his property. But after a time he felt ashamed of such persecution, released the innocent man, and let him go to his master, whom he joined at Burhanpur early in March. *

§ 10. Alarm, suspicion and confusion throughout the empire.

Shah Jahan's severe illness and withdrawal from the public gaze had at once created a popular belief that he was dead. Dara guarded the sick-bed day and night; none but one or two ministers in his confidence had access to the Emperor. Even the people of Delhi, therefore, had reason to suspect that Shah Jahan was no more. The rumour spread to the farthest provinces with the proverbial speed of ill news. The evil was aggravated by Dara's injudicious action. To smooth the path of his own accession, he set men to watch the ferries and stop all letters and messengers going to his brothers in Bengal, Gujrat, and the Deccan. He also kept their Court agents under watch lest they should send any report to their masters. †

But this only wrought greater mischief. Ignorance and uncertainty are more dangerous than the knowledge of truth. The princes and people in the distant provinces, with their regular news-letters from the Court suddenly stopped, naturally concluded that the worst had already come to pass. What letters they got indirectly only confirmed the belief. While their official news-writers and Court-agents at the capital were being guarded by Dara, other people of the city contrived to smuggle letters out to the princes, offering their devotion and reporting the gossip of the market-place about the condition of Shah Jahan, which was a compound of truth and falsehood. It was clearly the interest of

* A. N. 35 and 39; Aqil, 18 and 23.
† A. N. 28; Kambu, 8b; Faiyaz 418; Masum, 30.
such men, who from their low position had no access to the inner circle of the Court, to send misrepresentations likely to fan the ambition of the younger princes. Above all, the princess Raushanara intrigued vigorously for Aurangzib from within the harem and guarded his interests as against Dara's [Kambu, 8b; A. N. 368.]

Shah Jahan being given up as dead, all the confusion and disorder of a Mughal succession broke out, and the evil was intensified by the expectation of a four-sided duel between his sons, each with the army and resources of a province at his back. Everywhere lawless men caused tumults, the ryots refused to pay the revenue, the zamindars disobeyed the local governors or tried to rob and conquer their rivals; foreign powers, especially in the north-east, violated the frontiers and made inroads into the imperial territory. Wicked men of every class took advantage of the political trouble to raise their heads, and thereby added to the disorder. The local authorities were paralysed by uncertainty and anxiety about the future, and law and order suddenly disappeared in many places.* Such is the curse of autocracy: when the one central authority, from which all have been accustomed to receive their orders and to which they have even taught themselves to look up for guidance, ceases to exist, all the officers become bewildered and helpless like children.

§ 11. Shuja and Murad crown themselves.

The younger princes in their provinces got ready to contest the throne. Shuja and Murad crowned themselves. Aurangzib played a cool and waiting game, while carefully increasing his resources and army. Even when Shah Jahan began to show his face to the public again, the mischief did not cease. It was openly said all over the empire that Shah Jahan was really dead, and that a slave who bore some resemblance to him, disguised in the imperial

* Alangirinamah, 27 and 28. Kambu, 8b. Masum, 30b. The Rajah of Kuch Bihar raided Northern Bengal and Kamrup, while an Assamese army occupied Kamrup including Gauhati. (Fatiiyya-i-ibriyya, 6 and 7). Adab, 94a. The official history Alangirinamah and Aurangzib's letters to Shah Jahan in the Adab speak of the disorder in the country by "Dara's usurpation."
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robes, personated him on the high palace-balcony, and received the salams of the public standing below. [ Masum, 32 ] Letters in Shah Jahan’s hand and seal were issued to the princes and the nobles, but they did not remove the suspicion. Murad echoed the sentiments of others when he asserted that these letters were really written by Dara, an expert imitator of Shah Jahan’s hand, and that the late Emperor’s seal was necessarily in the possession of his successor.* Even those who did not go so far, thought with Aurangzib that Shah Jahan was either dead or a helpless invalid entirely under Dara’s control, so that he had practically vacated the throne. Some even asserted that Dara had wickedly flung his helpless father into prison and was doing him to death.† The three younger brothers, therefore, very plausibly asserted in their letters to the Emperor that their loving minds had been unsettled by these alarming rumours, and they were marching on Agra to see their father with their own eyes and satisfy themselves as to his real condition. Thereafter (they promised) they would return peacefully to their provinces or loyally do whatever their father would personally command them. Their marching on Agra was no sign of rebellion. Had they not hastened thither from their head-quarters without waiting for permission, when they heard of Jahanara being burnt? And was not Shah Jahan’s present illness a more serious affair and a greater cause of anxiety to them? Thus argued Murad in one of his letters. [ Faiyaz, 425. ]

When the agents of Aurangzib and Murad at the imperial Court wrote to their masters that the Emperor had fully recovered, Murad frankly refused to accept such letters as genuine. For, Dara had previously imprisoned these agents, and their houses were still watched by his men; they could not communicate the truth, but had to write to the dictation of Dara’s secretary. Hence their letters contained only what Dara wished his brothers to believe. Nothing (Murad argued) would disclose the truth except a march

* Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 418, 425, 429. As a matter of fact both Shah Jahan and Dara wrote in the same style of hand, as the signatures of the two in some Persian MSS. of the Khuda Bakhsh Library show.
† Ishwardas, 9a; Adab, 200b.
The illness of Shah Jahan, 1657

on Agra and an interview with the Emperor himself.* Seeing is believing.

Events moved apace. On 20th March, 1658, Aurangzib set out from Burhanpur, crossed the Narmada on 3rd April, joined Murad on the 14th, and attacked the imperial army the next day. The period of intrigue and diplomacy now ends, and the appeal to the arbitrament of the sword begins.

* Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 418; Masum, 44.
13 Murad Bakhsh crowns himself

§ 1. Murad Bakhsh: his character.

Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, the youngest son of Shah Jahan was the black sheep of the imperial family. He had been tried in Balkh, the Deccan, and Gujrat, and he had failed everywhere. A foolish, pleasure-loving and impetuous prince, his character had not improved with age. Though too old now to plead the excuse of youth and inexperience, he had not learnt to apply himself to business or to bridle his passions. Worse still, he had not the gift of choosing capable agents, or even of treating them with the necessary confidence and honour when he happened to get any such men.* Unscrupulous flatterers swayed his counsels, and made his Court no fit place for honest and self-respecting men. But Murad had also the virtues of his defects. Careless of everything else, he was indifferent to money, and his outbursts of violence or sensuality alternated with fits of liberality. Such irregular and indiscriminate gifts from a capricious master could not, however, win lasting devotion or true gratitude. Secondly, he had the reckless valour of a soldier. Place him in the field of combat, let him face the enemy’s array and the former pleasure-seeker would assume an entirely new character; the martial spirit of Timur would fire his blood, he would resistlessly force his way to close grips with the enemy, and, amidst the carnage raging round him, forget every other feeling save the fierce delight of slaughter. Waverers, no doubt, took heart from the example of such a leader, and a charge when pressed home by a prince of the blood often scattered the enemy’s ranks. But his personal valour was a poor compensation for his lack of generalship. The doughty fighter did only the work of a lieutenant, and failed to afford his troops the far-

* He quarrelled with his guardian Shah Nawaz Khan, during his viceroyalty of the Deccan, and was consequently removed from the province. (Waris, 38a; K. K. i. 701).
sighted disposition, cool guidance, and timely support which we expect from the supreme commander.


Knowing the prince’s incapacity, Shah Jahan had tried to remedy the mischief by sending to him Ali Naqi as his revenue minister and chief counsellor. This officer,* conscious of his own ability and honesty, and proud of enjoying the Emperor’s confidence, looked down with scorn on the flatterers and boon companions who formed Murad’s Court. He was strict even to harshness in conducting the government, and his honesty and vigilant care of the public revenue raised against him a host of enemies among those who wished to profit by the prince’s ignorance and extravagance. As the whole administration was under Ali Naqi’s control, he was also envied by the other nobles posted in Gujrat. His draconic punishments left him without a single friend in the province.

And soon his enemies got their chance. The news of Shah Jahan’s severe illness and retirement to impenetrable privacy, as well as of Dara’s virtual usurpation of the imperial authority reached Murad towards the close of September, and he immediately set about raising troops and calling up his officers from the districts to take counsel with them. Among these arrivals was Qutb-uddin Khan Kheshgi, faujdar of Pattan, and the mortal enemy of Ali Naqi. A conspiracy was soon formed between him and Murad’s favourite eunuch against the hated minister. A letter in Ali Naqi’s hand and seal, professing adhesion to the cause of Dara, was forged and given to a courier, who contrived to get himself arrested by Murad’s road patrol, without betraying its real authorship. Murad was revelling in his pleasure-garden when the intercepted letter was brought to him a little before dawn. The prince, who had not slept off his night’s debauch, was in no fit mood to reflect

* My account of Ali Naqi and his murder is based upon Khafi Khan, ii. 7—9, Ishwardas, 10a and b, Kambu, 9a. The date of the murder was most probably some day in the first week of October, as confirmation of the news reached Aurangzib (returning from Bidar) on 29th October, and the first rumours had come some days earlier (Adab, 2016). A. N. 135. Mirat, i. 249 (secondary.)
wisely or to detect a plot of a type most familiar in Muslim history. He burst into wrath and ordered Ali Naqi to be dragged to his presence. The minister was reading the holy book when he got the summons, and hurriedly put on his Court dress as he went. Murad sat on a chair, spear in hand. Bridling his anger for a moment he asked Ali Naqi, "If a man plans treason against his master, what should his punishment be?" "Death," replied Ali Naqi promptly and boldly. Then Murad flung the letter to him as proof of his treason. The minister read it, and, fearless through consciousness of his own innocence and good service, he scoffed at his rivals who had forged such a clumsy instrument, and taxed his master with lack of judgement in not being able to see through the forgery and to know his true friends from his foes.

This was too much for Murad, who had been so long quivering with pent-up wrath. Starting up he ran Ali Naqi through with his spear, shouting, "Wretch! in spite of all my favours you have turned such a traitor!" The eunuchs present fell on the unhappy victim and completed their master’s work.* The reign which began with this tragedy was to end in one equally horrible. For the murder of Ali Naqi, Murad had to atone with his own life-blood, four years later, in a dismal prison, before the pitiless eyes of enemies, without a single friend or sympathiser by his side.

§ 3. Murad sends an army to plunder Surat.

The honest minister having been removed from the path, the reign of lying flatterers and eunuchs began. Murad was enlisting troops in large numbers and needed money badly. So he sent an eunuch named Shahbaz Khan with 6,000 troopers and war material to

* If we can trust Khafi Khan’s gossip, Ali Naqi fell a victim to a faqir’s curse. "Ali Naqi was so strict in administration and chastisement that for a trivial fault he would order the offender’s bile to be squeezed out. One day they brought to him a faqir arrested on suspicion of theft, and the minister, without making any investigation, ordered his bile to be pressed out. The faqir under torture turned his face to the heavens and cried out, ‘You are slaying me unjustly. I pray you too may meet with a similar fate under suspicion.’ But we must remember that a faqir’s garb is the commonest of all disguises in India and the one first adopted by criminals trying to escape the officers of justice.

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levy contribution from the rich port of Surat. The detachment easily occupied the town which had no wall around it at this time, and began to plunder the citizens (early in November).* But the imperial treasury, enriched with the custom duties of the greatest Indian port of the age, was situated within the fort, where the chief merchants had also deposited their wealth for safety. As the sea flanked the fort of Surat on three sides and its walls bristled with guns and swivels at every yard’s interval,† its capture was no easy task.

Shahbaz Khan first tried to corrupt the commandant of the fort, Sayyid Tayyib, through his friend Mirza Kamran, by saying that the astrologers had predicted the throne for Murad, and therefore to resist him was to court one’s own ruin. The honest qiladar held firmly to his duty, and when Shahbaz advanced with his force to attempt an assault, he drove him back by a smart discharge of artillery. So Shahbaz had to encamp at a safe distance and begin the slow and tedious work of connoying. But his guns being light pieces, no harm was done to the fort walls, and the sige‡ dragged on for weeks. Four or five big guns sent from Junagarh were too long in arriving. Success could be secured only by other means. Under the guidance of some Dutch artificers, he ran mines.

*Ishwardas, 10b and 11a. In Adab, 205a, Qabil Khan writes that Aurangzib’s courier returned from Murad and reached his master, north of Bidar, on 23rd Nov. with the news that Murad’s army after capturing the city and district of Surat was engaged in besieging the fort.

† Description of the fort of Surat in Ishwardas, 11a; Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 421. William Finch in 1609 thus describes it, “The castle of Surat is on the south side of the river....well walled, and surrounded by a ditch. The ramparts are provided with many good cannons, some of which are of vast size. In front of the castle is the maidan [or esplanade.]”

‡ For the siege of Surat fort, Ishwardas, 11a and b; Tavernier, i. 328-329; Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 421, 422 (mine fired on 20 Dec.), 423, 459, 461, 462; A.N. 134 (meagre.) In a letter to Shaista Khan, Murad pretends that he had merely sent his men (—six thousand troopers with guns!)—to draw his salary assigned on the Surat treasury as usual, when the qiladar, acting in Dara’s interest, shut the fort gate in their face and opened fire on them; and that at the same time a letter from the qiladar’s son at Court was intercepted reporting the death of Shah Jahan. Murad claims to have acted merely in self-defence. (Faiyaz, 454).
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The garrison tried to discover and destroy them, but without success. One of the mines crossed the wet ditch a yard below its bed, and reached the base of the outer earth-work technically called the Sher Haji. The chamber was filled with 50 maunds of powder and the charge fired (20th December). The explosion was terrible. Forty yards of the wall, with 40 swivel guns, 600 artillerymen and some kinsmen of the giladar, were blown up. Sayyid Tayyib retired to the citadel, but disheartened by his losses and hopeless of being relieved, he surrendered on condition of a free passage to Delhi. The fort with its treasures and guns passed into the hands of Murad, whose exultation at it knew no bounds. Shahbaz Khan assembled the merchants and demanded from them a forced loan of ten lakhs of Rupees. After much haggling the amount was reduced to one-half, and this sum was advanced to Murad’s agents by the two richest merchants of the city, Haji Muhammad Zahid (the headman of the traders) and Virji Borah, on behalf of the entire mercantile community of Surat. A bond for the amount, stamped with Murad’s seal and endorsed by Shahbaz as security for repayment, was delivered to these two.*

The despatches of victory and the keys of the fort were presented to Murad at Ahmadabad on 26th December. But money was a more acceptable present, and he pressed his officers at Surat to send him all that they could, loaded on fast camels;† for, in the meantime he had crowned himself and begun to bestow offices and rewards and to enlist new troops on a scale that soon exhausted his treasury.

§ 4. Murad forms an alliance with Aurangzib against Dara.

When the news of Shah Jahan’s illness was followed by no tidings of his recovery, but letters from Delhi came fitfully and then stopped altogether, Murad’s suspicions deepened into certainty. He con-

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*K. K., ii. 7, 250-251. According to Adab (205a) the contribution imposed was 7 lakhs, of which a part was realised and a bond taken for the remainder. The money was collected from the merchants in the city long before the fall, of the fort.
† Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 461, 465.
cluded that Shah Jahan was already dead, and so got ready to contest the throne. It was necessary to look around for allies, and none was nearer to him than Aurangzib, his immediately elder brother, governing a neighbouring province and united to him by a common hatred of Dara. On 23rd December, 1652, he had met Aurangzib,* then journeying to the Deccan across his province of Malwa, and the two had evidently formed a vague friendly understanding against Dara. But their plans now took definite shape in the shadow of the Emperor's approaching death. Curiously enough, on almost the same date (middle of October) both brothers suddenly remembered that they had not corresponded with each other for a long time past; their brotherly love welled out; and each wrote to the other a letter mentioning in a neutral tone the news of Shah Jahan's illness. But each letter was carried by a confidential messenger who was charged with certain oral communications which it was unsafe to put down on paper. The two letters crossed each other on the way. Murad also wrote (19th October) a letter to Shuja proposing an alliance, and it was sent through Aurangzib's province, who helped the courier to proceed to Bengal and entrusted to his a letter of his own to the same purport.† The correspondence thus began went on briskly. To hasten the carriage of letters, relays of postal runners were established between Gujrat and the Deccan. Murad stationed two men every ten miles all the way from Ahmadabad to the Deccan frontier, (end of November). Aurangzib continued the system eastwards to his own seat of government, and also proposed to Shuja a similar regular and joint service for the prompt conveyance of letters,—his men supplying the relays of runners from Aurangabad to the frontier of Orissa, and Shuja's servants taking charge of it from there to Rajmahal. Each prince also sent confidential agents to the Courts of the other two.‡ Where hearts are set on one purpose, an agreement is soon arrived at. Correspondence with Shuja was slow and interrupted owing to the immense distance and lack of

* Faiyaz, 412; Adob, 23b.
† Adab, 169, 170b; 433-434, 417
‡ Adab, 171a, 205; Faiyaz, 421, 422.
roads, and hence only a general agreement was formed with him. But between Aurangzib and Murad letters passed quickly, and the two soon matured a plan of concerted action. For secrecy of correspondence Aurangzib sent to Murad as early as 23rd October the key to a cypher to be used in future.* From the very beginning Murad places himself helplessly under Aurangzib’s guidance. In letter after letter he asks for his brother’s advice as to his own future steps, and writes, “I am ready to advance. Inform me of your wishes and I shall act accordingly.” Indeed so wholly did Murad enter into Aurangzib’s policy of throwing a religious cloak on their war of personal ambition, that his letters assume a sanctimonious tone calculated to raise a smile in those who knew his private character. Taking the hint from Aurangzib, the gay reveller of Ahmadabad posses as the champion of Islam; he threatens Dara with extirpation as the enemy of the holy faith; he refers to his eldest brother as the Mulhid (Idolator),—the very term adopted by Aurangzib and his Court-historians; and he professes confidence about his future success in “reliance on the strong religion of Muhammad.” In short, he was familiarising himself with the phraseology of one who would soon become a Padishah Ghazi, or “Emperor waging war on infidels.” [Faiyaz, 427, 432.]

§ 5. Murad sits on the throne at Ahmadabad.

While his diplomacy was thus making happy progress and Shahbaz had sent him the first fruits of the loot of Surat city, Murad felt that further delay was a mere waste of opportunity. His action was also hastened by the astrologers who declared with one voice that at 4 hours 24 minutes after the sunrise of 20th November there was such a conjunction of auspicious planets as would not happen again for many years to come. The moment was too precious to be lost. In all hurry and secrecy, at the time indicated Murad mounted a throne in his Hall of Private Audience, with only a few trusted officers as witnesses. Then he appeared at the public darbar and conferred titles, posts, and rewards,—the last being as yet in the form of promises only! The news was imparted

*Adab, 169b; 424.
in absolute confidence to his general Shahbaz in the besiegers’ camp before Surat, with instructions to communicate it to one other high officer only. [Faiyaz, 473.] The public coronation took place on 5th December with as much pomp and rejoicing as the low state of his finances would permit. The new Emperor took the title of Maruwwaj-ud-din; his name was publicly read from the pulpits, he issued coins of his own, and conferred on his officers high-sounding titles like Murshid-parast Khan Faith Jang, Sultan Niaz Khan, and Tahawwur Khan. In the district towns, too, the new Emperor’s titles were proclaimed from the pulpit, and the band played joyous notes. An envoy with gifts was sent to Persia to announce the glorious accession. The zamindars hastened to Court to pay their respects to the newly risen sun.* Murad thenceforth affected the royal style in his letters. On 19th January, 1658, his victorious troops from Surat joined him† at Ahmadabad; he was now quite ready to start for Agra, and waited impatiently for Aurangzib’s signal.

Before Murad could leave his province and embark on the perilous contest for the throne, there was one matter of supreme importance to be settled. Where was he to leave his wives and children in safety? No man could foresee the distant end of the struggle. He might wade through his brothers’ blood to the throne, and then all would be well. Or he might fail; and then would come a day of unspeakable misery for him and his family: the luckless claimant would be done to death in a gloomy prison; his head would be severed by the rude hands of slaves, critically examined by his victorious rival, and finally exposed to the public gaze; his widows would be dragged to the loathsome bed of their husband’s murderer; his young sons would be consigned to dungeon and either drugged with opium into imbecility or strangled to death when they came of age.

Murad, therefore, looked about for some stronghold where his family and those of his chief adherents might reside in safety during his absence and even tide over any temporary reverse to his arms, some refuge to which he himself might gallop for shelter

*Faiyaz, 474-475, 464, 460; A. N. 134.
†Faiyaz-ul-qawanin, 464, 426.
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after the wreck of his army on an adverse field. Junagarh, at first contemplated, was rejected as too far off; Champanir was finally chosen. [Faiyaz, 420, 478.]

§ 6. Aurangzib's cautious policy and Murad's impatient zeal.

From the very outset Murad was for drawing the sword and throwing the scabbard away, while Aurangzib urged on him a cautious and temporising policy. Murad proposed that the brothers should march at once from the South and attack Dara before he had time to consolidate his power and to win over the captains of the imperial army posted far and near. Aurangzib pressed him not to take any compromising step or set up the banner of revolt openly, but to wait, to dissimulate, and to send hollow friendly letters to Dara, till they should know for certain that Shah Jahan was dead. He, therefore, condemned Murad's siege of Surat and public coronation as acts of too precipitate and open a character. But to such remonstrances Murad replied that Shah Jahan was already dead and that Dara's cunning hand had forged their father's style of writing and affixed the imperial seal to the letters issued in Shah Jahan's name. He rightly pointed out that no reliance could be placed on the letters from their agents at the capital reporting the old Emperor's recovery, because the houses of these agents were watched by Dara's men and they were compelled to write to their distant masters false news at the dictation of Mir Salih, the brother of Dara's secretary, Raushan-qalam.* In letter after letter, up to their actual starting for Northern India, we see Murad all fire and haste, while Aurangzib is cold and hesitating. Murad urges passionately but in vain, "To wait for true news from the Court is to lose time and assist our enemy;"— "The sooner you advance from Aurangabad to Burhanpur, the better for our work and truer to our agreement;" —"We are losing time and letting our business suffer, by waiting for certain news of Shah Jahan. Our enemy is growing stronger (in the meantime)";— "Let us start together for Agra. It only remains for you to give the order."†

*Adab, 170, 205a; Faiyaz, 418, 429.
†Faiyaz, 418, 421, 422, 425, 427; Adab, 205a.
§ 7. Intrigue with Persia.

Aurangzib had suggested to Murad that a diversion should be made against Dara by instigating the Persians and Uzbaks, to invade Afghanistan, which was then a province of the Mughal empire. This infamous counsel to bring a foreign enemy in to settle a domestic quarrel, was at first rejected by Murad as unnecessary; “As I know that the Persians, even without any prompting on our part, will make a move to wreak vengeance for the past, it does not seem proper for us to show eagerness and to direct them (to an invasion of India).” A little later Murad changed his mind, and reporting the rumour of the death of Shah Jahan, begged armed aid from the Persian king. The latter replied that he had massed 30,000 men in Qandahar besides another force in Khurasan, in readiness to intervene in India, but in the meantime he was sending a high officer with some presents as envoy to Murad, in order to learn the real state of affairs in Hindustan. After his coronation (December) Murad sent a letter to Shah Abbas II by the hand of Taqarrub Khan, to announce his accession and press for military assistance. The Shah in reply assured Murad of his friendship, and stated that he had already warned the Persian generals and nobles to be in readiness and had ordered provisions to be collected for a four or five years’ campaign in India, and horses to be sent to Farah, Bist, and Qandahar, and would despatch a force of musketeers by sea to Surat to aid Murad, while the rest of the Persian army would march inland through Qandahar to Kabul.* These promises either the Shah did not mean to keep, or they were rendered unnecessary by Aurangzib’s rapid and decisive success.

§ 8. Terms of partnership between Aurangzib and Murad.

From the first Aurangzib had volunteered to help Murad, but

*This account of the negotiations with Persia is based on Faiyaz-ul-qawanin 422, 427, 430, 464, and Ruqaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani, 13-16, 23-28 (to Murad). The Shah also intrigued with the Deccani Sultans and received from Dara a petition for aid and a request to conquer Bhakkar. Ruqaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani, to Adil Shah (16-19, 93-100), to Qutb Shah (19-23, 89-93), to Dara (7-10), to the Governor of Multan (290-294).
on what terms? Evidently the understanding was that after their common enemy had been vanquished, brothers would divide the empire among themselves. Yielding to Murad's request, Aurangzib sent him the following definite and solemn written agreement* just before the march into Northern India:

"Whereas the design of acquiring the throne has now been set on foot, the standards of the Prophet have turned their faces to their goal, and all (my) pious aim is to uproot the bramble of idolatry and infidelity from the realm of Islam and to overwhelm and crush the idolatrous chief with his followers and strongholds, so that the dust of disturbance may be allayed in Hindustan,—and whereas my brother, dear as my own heart, has joined me in this holy enterprise, has confirmed anew with strong (professions of) faith the terms of co-operation (between us previously) built on promises and oaths, and has agreed that after the extirpation of the enemy of Church and State and the settlement of public affairs he will stay firmly in the station of alliance and help, and in this very manner, at all times and places, and in all works, he will be my companion and partner, the friend of my friends, the foe of my foes, and will not ask for any land besides the portion of imperial dominions that will be left to him at his request,—therefore, I write that, so long as this brother does not display any (conduct) opposed to oneness of aim, oneness of heart, and truthfulness, my love and favour to him will daily increase; I shall consider our losses and gains as alike, and at all times and under all conditions I shall help him; I shall favour him even more than now, after my object has been gained and the God-forsaken idolator has been overthrown. I shall keep my promise, and, as previously settled, I shall leave to him the Panjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh (Bhakkar and Tatta),—the whole of that region to the Arabian Sea, and I shall make no objection to it. As soon as the idolator has been rooted out and the bramble of his tumult has been weeded out of the garden of the empire—in which work your help and comradeship is necessary,—I shall without the least delay give you leave to go to this territory. As to the truth of this desire I take God and the Prophet as witnesses!"

*Adab, 78b-79a; Tazkirah-i-salatin-i-Chaghtaia.
Aurangzib’s confidential officer, Aqil Khan Razi, tells us (p. 25) a few details of the terms of the alliance. "Aurangzib, deeming it politic to be united with Murad, sent him a loving letter begging him to come to him, and making this solemn promise and agreement: (1) One-third of the booty would belong to Murad Bakhsh and two-thirds to Aurangzib. (2) After the conquest of the whole empire, the Panjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh would belong to Murad, who would set up the standard of kingship there, issue coins, and proclaim his own name (khutba) as king."


At last Murad’s period of impatient and irksome waiting ended. Early in February, 1658, Aurangzib, then starting from Aurangabad, wrote to him to march out of his province about the time when he himself might be expected to reach the Narmada.* For a long time Murad had been uncertain as to which route the imperial army would take in approaching Gujrat,—whether by way of Ajmir in his north or from Malwa in his east. At the end of January his spies brought him news that Jaswant had arrived near Ujjain with only three or four thousand troopers. So, Murad made light of the enemy and set out from Ahmadabad (25th February) north-eastwards by Modasa, crossed the frontier of his province on 13th March, and reached Mandesor on the 14th, occupying the villages of Malwa on the way.† We next hear of his a good deal southwards at Dohad, on 4th April. In the meanwhile he had learnt that Jaswant’s force was many times stronger than his own, and so he had hurriedly retreated towards his own territory to wait for news of Aurangzib of whom he had not heard anything during the entire month of March. [Faiyaz 445; Kambu, 11a].

Jaswant had issued from Ujjain westwards by the Banswara road, and taken post six miles from Kachraud, to wait for Murad. That prince was then 36 miles away, and on learning of the enemy’s strength and position, he prudently made a detour to avoid

*Alamgirnamah, 43; Faiyaz, 430.
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Kachraud and arrive nearer to Aurangzib's line of advance. In pursuance of this plan Murad marched south-east from Dohad, crossed the pass of Jhabua, and encamped at Mandalpur (probably Barmandal). Here, on 13th April, he received a confidential messenger from Aurangzib and the news of the latter having arrived in the neighbourhood. Then Murad resumed his march, and next day he joined Aurangzib on the way, a few miles north-east of Dipalpur. The armies of the two brothers were now united, because the enemy was at hand and a battle was imminent.

* Ishwardas, 17a. A. N. 56-57. Aqil, 22. Dohad, 22·50 N. 74·20 E. (Sheet 36 S. W.) Kachraud, 23·25 N. 75·21 E. (36 N. E.). 36 miles n. w. of Ujjain. Jhabua, 22·46 N. 74·39 E. (Sheet 36 S. E.). Barmandal, 22·51 N. 75·8 E., stands 29 mile west of Dipalpur and 46 m. south of Kachraud (Sheet 36 S. E.). There is a place named Mundla 7 miles west of Dipalpur. Dipalpur, 22·50 N. 75·36 E. about 24 miles s. s. w. of Ujjain.
§ 1. Aurangzib's anxieties before the war of succession.

From 4th October 1657, when Aurangzib retired from the war with Bijapur, to 25th January 1658, when he began his march towards Hindustan as a claimant to the throne, he passed through a most anxious and critical time. Events which he could not possibly control were moving fast, and he was bound to move also if he was not to perish. And yet the future was so dark and the danger of every possible course of action so great, that a wise decision was extremely difficult to make. His present position was daily growing more untenable, while the future was ominous. But the difficulties, great and complex, which he overcame raise to the highest pitch our admiration for his coolness, sagacity, power of managing men, and diplomatic skill. If it be urged that these do not completely account for his success and that he was also beholden to Fortune, then the impartial historian of the period must admit that Aurangzib had done everything to deserve Fortune's help.

Whichever way Aurangzib turned, he was faced with danger. The exulting Deccanis interpreted his retreat from Bidar as a confession of defeat. The Bijapuris boasted that they had rolled the tide of Mughal invasion back; their armies tried to hem the imperialists round; and their local officers drove out isolated Mughal outposts. Even the Sultan of Golkonda seized the opportunity of the retirement of Mughal troops: he renewed his efforts to retain a hold on the Karnatak and tried to seize some villages near the frontier fort of Udgir.*

Yet Aurangzib could not remain where he was. The news had got out that the Emperor had ordered peace to be made and recalled the additional troops sent to the Deccan. It was impossible

*The Bijapur historian asserts that Aurangzib escaped with his army from the Bijapur territory only by bribing the wazir Khan Muhammad (Basa'in-i-sala'th 349). Adab, 70b, 197a.
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for Aurangzib to punish the Bijapuris by arms, or to overawe them by a display of superior force. He could not even safely stay in their territory. A cruel fate threatened to snatch away form his grasp the fruits of his long and costly war with Bijapur, just when he was about to taste them. True, Adil Shah had agreed by solemn treaty to pay a huge indemnity and to cede the fort of Paranda and a large tract of land. But how could he be held to his promise now? Concessions wrung by force could be maintained by force alone.

Aurangzib, therefore, determined to play a game of boldness in order to realise the terms of the treaty before the Bijapuris could recover from their recent defeats or learn of the full extent of the weakness and distraction of the imperial Government. He at first gave it out that he would stay at Bidar in readiness to punish the Bijapuris if they broke their word. Later on he announced a wish to march in person to Ahmadnagar, and actually sent his army under his son there, in order to overawe the refractory qiladar of Parenda, who was not yielding up his charge. In his letters to Bijapur he frequently invoked his father’s authority in demanding the quick payment of the promised indemnity and threatened war in case of default.

§ 2. Aurangzib is forced to choose between two evils: to lose his chance for the crown; or to lose all the gains of the Bijapur war.

But this policy of facing round to Bijapur and making military demonstrations in the South had its drawbacks too. The affairs of Hindustan had necessarily to be neglected. The longer Aurangzib delayed in maturing his plans for contesting the throne, proclaiming himself a claimant, and marching on Hindustan, the greater was the time that Dara would gain for recalling the chief captains from the Deccan, winning over officers and men far and near, consolidating his own power, and effectually counteracting Aurangzib’s possible designs. Moreover, during this period of suspense all ambitious and selfish men were likely to go over to Dara in the belief that the timid and slow Aurangzib would never make himself Emperor. [Adab, 94a.]

If, on the other hand, Aurangzib concentrated his forces, made a public claim to the throne, marched northwards and openly broke
with the imperial Government by enlisting troops and forcibly detaining with himself the officers ordered back to the Court,—then he would, no doubt, check Dara in time, he would secure the adhesion of ambitious adventurers. But at the same time the helpless condition of Shah Jahan, the civil war among the princes, and the temporary collapse of the imperial authority would become patent to Bijapur, and all hope of getting Parenda or the promised indemnity would be gone. And at the same time his other enemies in the South would raise their heads: Golkonda would recover the reluctantly ceded and eagerly coveted province of Karnatak; Shivaji would raid the Junnar and Ahmadnagar districts. In short, the fruits of the last two years' warfare in the South would be totally lost to him.

The whole history of Aurangzib's changing anxieties and hopes, plans and devices, and the variations of his policy with every fresh development during this eventful period, is clearly and fully unfolded in his numerous confidential letters to Mir Jumla preserved in the Adab-i-Alamgiri.* Briefly put, his first plan was to realise the terms of the Bijapur treaty as quickly as possible and then, secure about the Deccan, to embark on the struggle for the throne. The success of this plan, depended on the Bijapuris promptly fulfilling their promises, before the secret of Shah Jahan's helpless illness leaked out. The letters tell the story of how the hope of a speedy settlement with Bijapur daily grew fainter and fainter, how he tried diverse means to get the promised territory and money, how he conceded to Bijapur one by one the hard terms wrung out of it by the treaty,—till at last, in despair of getting anything from Bijapur, he gave up all thought of the South, and turned his undivided attention and resources to the pursuit of his schemes in Northern India.

§ 3. Mir Jumla sent to get Parenda fort.

Compelled to give up for the present the idea of further conquests from Bijapur, Aurangzib, on 28th September, sent Mir

* Adab, 92a-95a (Aurangzib to Mir Jumla), 197a-206a (Qabil Khan, by order of Aurangzib, to Mir Jumla), 178b (Qabil Khan to Aurangzib).
Jumla towards Parenda to take delivery of the fort-in terms of the treaty. Qazi Nizama, who accompanied the Mir, was soon afterwards deputed to Bijapur to realise the promised indemnity. But before the Mir’s departure, Aurangzib had held long and secret consultations with him and taken his advice on every possible contingency in anticipation. Even after Mir Jumla had gone towards Parenda, Aurangzib wrote to him almost every day, and important oral messages were delivered and consultations held with him by means of confidential officers like Shaikh Mir and Abul Fath, who made repeated trips between the prince and the minister. Not a step was taken without first seeking Mir Jumla’s advice. “I have no friend or confidant but you,” as Aurangzib told him.

§ 4. Aurangzib retreats from Kaliani and Bidar to Aurangabad.

The prince set out on his return from Kaliani on 4th October and reached Bidar in five days. A Mughal garrison under Ali Beg was left to hold Kaliani. At Bidar, according to the Emperor’s last orders, Aurangzib was to halt and keep hold of the conquered territory. But untoward events rendered his stay here useless and even dangerous. High officers like Mahabat Khan and Rao Chhatra Sal had left for Delhi at the imperial summons. Another great general, Nasiri Khan, though entreated by Aurangzib to stay till he was relieved, had abandoned his post at Bir to return to his charge of Raisin in Malwa. The retreat of the army from Kaliani was taken to mean an abandonment of the new conquest. The Bijapuris grew bolder and attacked detached Mughal parties wherever they could find them. Their general Afzal Khan with a large army crossed the Binathora river and advanced to recover the Kaliani and Bidar districts. Worst of all, the Bijapuris intercepted near Naldrug Aurangzib’s despatch to Mir Jumla together with the deciphered copy of a secret letter he had received from his agent at Delhi, and thus they learnt the truth about Shah Jahan’s critical condition and the hostility between Dara and his brothers.*

* Kambu, 6b; Adab, 197a, 203a, 149b, 157b; Aqil Khan, 16. Naldrug, 27 miles n.e. of Sholapur (Ind. At. 57).
Aurangzib himself was growing more and more anxious at having got no fresh letter from Delhi for several days past. Was his father dead? If so, he must make an attempt for the thorne without further loss of time.

So, he provided for the future with his usual foresight and wisdom. Bidar fort was repaired, the ravages of the late siege restored, its artillery properly arranged, and the necessary provisions and munitions stored. A garrison of 5,500 under Mir Jafar was left here. At this time Aurangzib wrote to Murad a letter which merely said, “You have not written to me for a long time past....I shall soon return to Aurangabad. You must have heard the news about the imperial Court.” But his real message, proposing an offensive and defensive allinace between the two brothers against Dara, was orally entrusted to Allah Yar, the confidential messenger who carried the letter to Murad. He also wrote similar letters to Shuja in Bengal. A communication received from Delhi on the 17th, after a long silence, only confirmed his suspicion that Shah Jahan had lost his control and that affairs at Court had taken a new turn. Therefore, he made up his mind, and started from Bidar on 18th October, 1657.*

Immediately there was the greatest rejoicing in the Deccani kingdoms. Here were the Mughals abandoning their late conquests as untenable! In vain did Aurangzib try to put a bold face on the matter; in vain did he write to Qutb Shah: “The retreat of my army was due to a wish to reassure the people of Bijapur who were frightened by its presence and had abandoned the cultivation of their lands, and also because I had got news that my Begam’s illness had increased.” [Adab, 71a.] The plea was too palpably false to be believed. While his vanquished enemies were raising their heads in the South, and a storm was brewing against him in the North, Aurangzib received one of the severest domestic shocks: the day after leaving Bidar† he learnt that his principal wife and the mother of three of his sons had died at Aurangabad on the 8th of the month.

* Adab, 92b, 169, 199a; Kambu, 6b.
†Adab, 198a, asserts that Aurangzib learnt the news on 19th October one march out of Bidar, but 190a states that the news reached Aurangzib’s Court at Bidar in the night preceding the 18th.
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Shah Jahan had ordered Aurangzib to stay at Bidar; but the prince now got a plausible excuse for marching to Aurangabad, viz., to console his children newly bereaved of their mother. For some weeks after leaving Bidar he did not write any letter to the Emperor, nor give any reason for his return to Aurangabad. [Ad. 198.] But he corresponded frequently with Shuja and Murad, especially the latter, who was nearest to him, and thus built up an alliance against Dara. Murad’s first letter, sent with a confidential servant named Muhammad Raza on 19th October, had crossed Aurangzib’s letter to him (written about the 15th). And now, assured of his support, Aurangzib sent him the key to a cypher in which their future correspondence was to be conducted, as “prudence is needful, and writing in the ordinary alphabet is not proper.”*

§ 5. He waits in uncertainty for news of Shah Jahan’s condition.

On leaving Bidar, Aurangzib’s plan at first was to go to Pathri, some 120 miles north, where the road for Burhanpur and Hindustan branches off from that leading to Aurangabad. If he heard of Shah Jahan’s death on the way he would follow the former route and march into Northern India: otherwise he would set his face westwards and return to Aurangabad, the seat of his viceroyalty. But the period of uncertainty was only prolonged; no decisive information came from Delhi, and for weeks after leaving Bidar, Aurangzib passed his time in the greatest anxiety and vacillation. [Ad. 198a]

On 18th October he learnt from a letter of his agent at Delhi that Shah Jahan had become helpless; on the 21st came another letter, saying that the Emperor’s illness was decreasing. A third letter, received on the 22nd, brought news of an opposite tenor: Dara had become supreme at Court and was daily strengthening his position. A secret message from the collector of Agra, evidently professing devotion, reached Aurangzib at this time. It only confirmed his worst suspicions: the very fact of such a letter being

*Aurangzib to Murad (Adab, 169a-170a), to Shuja (Adab, 170a-171a). Murad to Aurangzib (Faiyaz, 413-435).
Aurangzib advances from the Deccan, 1658

written meant that a demise of royalty had taken place or was very imminent; “one of these two alternatives must have happened, —Shah Jahan is either dead or a helpless invalid.” [Ad. 199-200, 169b.]

In view of these facts Aurangzib proposed to send his son Muhammad Sultan with an army to Burhanpur, to close the ferry over the Tapti river, to detain in the Deccan nobles like Nasiri Khan then returning north at the imperial summons, and also to assemble the local landholders in the prince’s service and enlist new troops. But to do so would have been to commit himself openly; it would have been an overt act of rebellion, which he could not have explained away if Shah Jahan recovered. Aurangzib, therefore, hesitated and asked Mir Jumla’s opinion, who condemned the proposal and requested that Muhammad Sultan should be sent towards Parenda instead. [Ad. 200a, 201b.]

§ 6. Mir Jumla returns after failing to get delivery of Parenda fort.

In fact, while days and weeks wore on without the expected event taking place at Delhi, Aurangzib and Mir Jumla were wistfully looking towards Parenda. Every letter of Aurangzib to the Mir contained an urgent order “to settle the affair of Parenda as quickly as possible, in order that the most important business of all may be undertaken before it is too late.” The minister still flattered himself that the fort could be secured by threat or bribe, and both these were employed in turn. But Aurangzib made a more correct estimate of the character of the Bijapuris and their future line of action than Mir Jumla did. He frankly wrote, “No trust in the words of the Bijapuris....They used to lie even in the lifetime of Khan Muhammad (who was in our interest). There is no hope that the affair (of peace) will be accomplished....No good waiting in vain near the fort of Parenda.” [Ad. 200b, 93.]

Mir Jumla, however, persisted in his own view. At his request Aurangzib sent him solemn written promises of high favours addressed to the qiladar of Parenda to induce him to give up the fort. But the attempt failed. Then Mir Jumla tried a show of force. To please him, Aurangzib reluctantly sent Muhammad Sultan with a part of the army from his side at Pathri (4th Nov.) to join the Mir
near Parenda. The young prince was told to place himself under Mir Jumla’s orders, and “to be guided entirely by his judgement.” [Ad. 201b, 203.]

Mir Jumla had hoped that the force accompanying Sultan would be exaggerated by popular report and this would cow down the Bijapuri qiladar. Aurangzib even made a public declaration that he was himself going to Ahmadnagar to coerce the Bijapuris, and ordered the palace there to be got ready for his use.* But all these tricks failed. The news of Shah Jahan’s illness became public. The Bijapuris shrewdly guessed the situation. They knew that Aurangzib, with his depleted force and distraction about the succession, was not prepared to renew the war with them, and so they delayed yielding their forts and paying the promised indemnity. Mir Jumla, still hoping against hope, lingered near Parenda, trusting that his envoy at the Bijapur Court would influence the Sultan and his ministers and secure the peaceful surrender of Parenda. Though every moment was precious for “the most important business of all” and Aurangzib was impatient to get Mir Jumla back at his side to make the necessary preparations for war with Dara, yet he permitted the Mir to continue in that quarter with M. Sultan for weeks longer, if by so doing he expected to get Parenda. About 6th December Sultan was recalled to his father’s side and Prince Muazzam was sent in his place to Mir Jumla’s camp near Bir. [Adab, 93b-94a, 94b.]

But the hope of getting Parenda and the war-indemnity grew fainter and fainter, and, as the complexion of affairs at Delhi grew more and more ominous, Aurangzib relaxed and finally abandoned all his claims on Bijapur and tried to make friends with Adil Shah in a fashion amusing to those who know not the crooked ways of diplomacy. As early as the end of October he had instructed Mir Jumla to terminate the affair of Bijapur by giving up all claims to Parenda and tribute, and remaining content with Adil Shah’s promises and oaths to maintain peace on the withdrawal of the Mughal army. But evidently Mir Jumla still hoped to get the cessions, and so he did not then adopt the policy here recommended. He

*Adab, 71a, 150b.
spent three months in the Bir district, within easy reach of Parenda, in the vain hope of inducing the Bijapurs to keep their promises. At last even he was undeceived; he confessed that there was no good in staying there any longer. His return to Aurangabad was hastened by a peremptory order of recall received from Shah Jahan about 22nd December. Leaving Bir about the 27th of the month, he reached Aurangabad about the first of January 1658. [Adab, 202b, 94b.]

§ 7. Aurangzib’s preparations for the war of succession.

Aurangzib had arrived at Aurangabad on 11th November, 1657, and set himself to the task of preparing the way for his own succession to the throne. He had one eye turned on Mir Jumla at Bir and another on Shah Jahan at Agra. The idea of his marching to Ahmadnagar to overawe the Bijapur officers was definitely abandoned. On 28th October he had taken a very necessary precaution by sending a force under Malik Husain to Handia to seize all the ferries of the Narmada and prevent correspondence between Dara and the Mughal officers in the Deccan. He also wrote friendly letters to the Gond Rajahs of Deogarh and Chanda through whose territories his road to Agra lay. A few men in his camp who had tried to send news to Agra were punished and carefully watched, and a secret courier was expelled. At the same time he urged his friends to collect news: “We should be on the watch to get news from all sides.” His alliance with Murad was made strong and its terms clearly defined. Letters were frequently sent to Shuja, both by way of Agra—which route was unsafe, being in his enemy’s hands,—and also through Orissa. But distance forbade any useful league or concerted action between these two brothers. So, they were content to vow mutual friendship and a common hostility to Dara.*

But what line of action was Aurangzib to adopt now? His followers were looking up to him to declare his policy. A prompt decision was required from him; but a decision at this stage was most difficult to make, and beset with dangers. The news from the imperial Court was conflicting. The first intimation of Shah Jahan’s

*Adab, 93a, 201b, 170b, 203a.
illness was followed by a long silence; from about 8th October to the 18th he received no tidings of his father's condition. Then (on 18th October) he learnt from his agent at Delhi that Shah Jahan had lost all control and that the state of affairs at the capital had taken a new character. Three days afterwards came a letter (written on the 5th) saying that Shah Jahan's illness was decreasing and that he was conducting business without difficulty. The next day brought another letter (dated the 10th) from his agent at Court, which stated that Dara had virtually usurped the government and was doing everything at his own will,—changing officers, taking away jagirs, and collecting men and money, though the orders were issued in Shah Jahan's name. Other communications from Agra only increased his distraction and uncertainty about Shah Jahan's real condition.

§ 8. Aurangzib's distraction.

His followers were equally distracted. As he wrote to Mir Jumla, "The army of this province, after a year's hard campaigning, has lost heart on hearing of the Emperor's illness, and has been unsettled in various ways. They are in greater trouble than can be described. Many (of my) officers want to return to the Emperor." [Ad. 93b.] How harassing Aurangzib's anxieties were and how open to objection every possible line of action before him was, will be seen from the following letter which he wrote to Mir Jumla in cypher:

"The desires of my well-wishers can be realised only when the occurrence of Shah Jahan's death is verified, and the news of it arrives. Otherwise, what probability is there that in the Emperor's lifetime and before the divulgence of the heart's secret desire of my other comrades (allies) such a work will be undertaken, and the project of advancing and crossing the (frontier) river carried out? But I gather from my Court agent's letter that it is impossible for the Emperor to recover from this disease; he has not strength enough left to pull him back to life. Most probably the affair has (already) become past remedy.

If in such circumstances, I delay in equipping my army and publishing my claim (to the throne), in what hope will men consent to keep my company? If the officers here, seeing my negligence and indifference, return to the Court, and Dara becomes aware of my condition, it will be impossible for me to attract other worldlings and seekers of rank. So, I have determined on this:—if we can quickly conclude the affair of Bijapur, it will be good, because then I can reach Burhanpur before the screen is withdrawn, Shaista Khan recalled to Court,"
somebody else appointed in his place (as Governor of Malwa), and Dara wins over the zamindars (of that province) and seizes the forts of Raisin, Mandu, etc. The fort of Raisin, which is under Nasiri Khan, can be got (by us) now without effort, and the army of this province can be led by hope to accompany me, and fresh troops may be carefully enlisted.

But if the Bijapur affair is delayed, and my scattered forces cannot be concentrated, and, in the meantime, the true news (of Shah Jahan’s death) arrives, the time for most of the above works will have already slipped away. That is the reason why I have been hurrying you,” [Ad. 94a.]

When, in the 4th week of December, Mir Jumla received a strict order of recall from Shah Jahan, Aurangzib's depression reached its lowest point. He wrote to his confidant: “Friend, God assist you! What shall I write about my own troubled state or describe how the days pass over me? I have no remedy save patience.” [Ad. 95a.]

Murad, too, was urging him in letter after letter, to be immediately up and doing, and not to give Dara further time to strengthen his own position and cripple his brothers’ power beyond repair. But Aurangzib refused to raise the banner of rebellion before knowing for certain that Shah Jahan was dead. His own army was small, and he was making desperate efforts to collect the sinews of war by securing the payment of at least one portion of the Bijapur indemnity. Possibly also, he waited to let Dara show his hand and divide his strength by attacking one of the brothers first. [Anecdotes § 6; Ad. 205a.]

But the quick march of events forced Aurangzib’s hand. He learnt by 24th November that Dara had decided to send an imperial army against Shuja who was advancing from Bengal. Shah Jahan’s policy (he inferred) was clearly this: ‘So long as a few days of his life remain and out of regard for him no unfilial movement is undertaken from any quarter, he will make such arrangements that after (his death) no injury may be done by any (of the other three princes) to Dara.’ [Ad. 205b.]

Dara’s plan with regard to the South was now fully unfolded. He wanted to weaken each of his two brothers there and set one against the other. For this he made the helpless Shah Jahan transfer Berar from Aurangzib to Murad and remove the latter from the viceroyalty of Gujrat. But Murad had discussed with Aurangzib
and prepared himself beforehand for such a contingency; he refused either to take Berar or to give up Gujrat. [Faiyaz. 413-414.] Dara then sent two imperial armies under Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, the governors-designate of Malwa and Gujrat, to bar the path of Aurangzib and expel Murad from Gujrat. These two forces left Agra on 18th and 26th December. Murad’s jagirs in Malwa were taken away, and Shaista Khan removed from that province as friendly to Aurangzib. In December, Murad crowned himself and took Surat fort by force; and such overt rebellion could not be left unpunished by the imperial Government. Lastly, Mir Jumla received a formal imperial letter of recall which it would have been flat rebellion to disregard. Similar letters reached Aurangzib’s officers. [Ad. 94b, 202b; Kambu 10a.)

§ 9. Aurangzib invites Mir Jumla to his side to help in preparing for war.

The time for action had at last arrived. Further inactivity under these circumstances was impossible if Aurangzib hoped ever to be king or even to live in freedom. His mind was made up. He sent a most flattering letter to Mir Jumla, highly extolling his wisdom, thanking him for his entire devotion to his interests, and placing him above all his other followers:–

"I know you are faithful to your word. Your intention in going to Hindustan was and is no other than to increase my power and grandeur and to make me succeed in my heart’s desire. You have often said within my hearing, ‘I wish for life only that I may see the master of mankind (=Aurangzib) on the throne; and in realising this aim I value not my life or property.’ Now is the time to display your devotion. I do not need others in making the necessary equipment for this business, while you are alive. I care not for those (officers) who have been estranged from me by reason of my partiality to you. Come to me, so that with your advice I may engage in preparations for the work of gaining the crown.”

Mir Jumla returned to Aurangabad about 1st January, 1658, avowing that he was going to Agra to wait on the Emperor. But a plot had been already contrived between him and Aurangzib, and a little play was acted to save the Mir’s family at the capital

*Adab, 205b, (a report of Aurangzib’s words that Qabil Khan wrote to Mir Jumla).
from Dara's vengeance. Mir Jumla feigned fear of Aurangzib's intentions and refused to see him, saying, "As I have been ordered by the Emperor to go to him, I have no choice but to obey." Aurangzib sent him a friendly message through his son Muhammad Sultan, "to drive all suspicion out of his mind" and to persuade him to visit the prince in order to receive an important oral message for the Emperor. As soon as Mir Jumla entered the chamber of Aurangzib, he was arrested at a preconcerted signal,* and all his property and artillery seized by Aurangzib in the name of the State. But the mask had not yet been thrown off, and so Aurangzib gave an ostensible reason for his act; he publicly announced that Mir Jumla was thus punished because he had not sufficiently exerted himself against Bijapur and was in secret collusion with the two Deccani Sultans! But his real motive comes out in the letter which he wrote to the Mir after defeating Dara, when he set him free and said, "You insisted on going back to the Court at an inconvenient time in spite of my urging you to the contrary."† The captive wazir was lodged in the prison-fort of Daulatabad, to be released, restored to his property, and promoted to the highest rank of the nobility with the honoured titles of Premier Peer (Khan-i-khanan) and Faithful Friend (Yar-i-wafadar), as soon as Aurangzib made himself Emperor. [Ad. 96a; A. N. 191, 563.]

Even at this stage Aurangzib was not prepared to break openly with the imperial Court by taking an irrevocable step. He urged Murad to abate his ardour and practise subterfuge. For himself he announced that his loving heart had been distracted by hearing sad rumours about Shah Jahan, and that like a dutiful son he was going to Agra to see his father in his illness, release him from Dara's control, and thereby save the empire from alarm,

*Kambu, 10b; Aqil 20; A. N., 83 and 84.

†Aqil, 20. Adab, 67b, 95a (Aurangzib writes, "That I imprisoned you was not due to any disloyalty on your part. Only you showed remissness in exertion and insisted on going back, &c.") Khafi Khan writes, "Aurangzib imprisoned Mir Jumla at Daulatabad as a stroke of policy to prevent his ill repute." (ii. 9). The official history, Alamgirnamah also admits that Mir Jumla was arrested "for political reasons" (84).
confusion and tumult. As his pious journey to his father was likely to be resited by Dara’s creatures, he was taking his army with himself; but his mission was entirely pacific. So he wrote to Shah Jahan and the new wazir Jafar Khan.*

§ 10. Aurangzib conciliates the king of Golkonda.

In the meantime, from the beginning of January he had been pushing his military preparations most vigorously on. First he wanted to settle the problems of the Deccan and secure the sinews of war. Letters were written to Qutb Shah pressing him to pay up the balance of his indemnity. Since his return from Haidarabad Aurangzib’s tone towards the Golkonda king had been harsh and chiding. He was particularly displeased at Abdullah having intrigued with Dara and poisoned the Emperor’s ears against him. He frequently duns him for the arrears of tribute and the balance of the promised indemnity, urges him to banish from his mind the vain dream of keeping hold of the Karnatak, and warns him to withdraw from that province his officers (especially Abdul Jabbar), who were obstructing Mir Jumla’s agents there. Further the Golkonda king is commanded to restore the relays of postmen established by Mir Jumla from Mughal Deccan to the Karnatak across the Golkonda territory. When Qutb Shah prayed for the remission of a part of his indemnity, Aurangzib tauntingly replied, “What can I do? You had better appeal to Jahanara and Dara, and through their mediation submit a petition to the Emperor.” And again, “You do not not keep your promises but are listening to wicked and ruinous advice. I caannot save you!”†

During the invasion of Bijapur, Qutb Shah is asked to send a contingent of auxiliaries. “You have kept 12,000 horsemen in spite of your (pretended) poverty. Send me 5,000 of them quickly, as you promised. Do not delay in providing the arrears of tribute. Recall your men from Mir Jumla’s estates in the Karnatak.” A harsh and rude officer, Mir Ahmad Said, was sent as Mughal

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†Adab, 59a-63b, 69a-70a (Aurangzib to Qutb Shah).
Aurangzib advances from the Deccan, 1658

envoy to Golkonda to hustle the defaulting king and exact the arrears of tribute. When Aurangzib retreated from Bidar, he thus rebuked Qutb Shah: "I learn that on hearing of the march of the imperial army from Bidar and the circulation of some false rumours (about Shah Jahan’s death) among the vulgar, you have changed your attitude of fidelity, and your silly ministers have given you improper counsels,—so that you are making delay in sending escort and despatching the collected arrears of tribute; you are trusting to a fox-like policy and are passing your time idly under a false hope.... Relying on false news, you have ceased to keep your former promises!" [Ad. 69-71.]

But soon afterwards his own needs forced Aurangzib to assume a gentler tone. First, he instructed Mir Ahmad not to pain the king's mind in realising the tribute due. Later on, the objectionable envoy was recalled and one more acceptable to the king was sent in his place, with instructions to behave gently to him. When his Vanguard was being sent to Burhanpur, Aurangzib urged Qutb Shah thus: "Now is the time for you to show your friendship and exert yourself that nothing unfriendly may be done." A little later, when Aurangzib himself marched northwards to contest the throne, he sent a most conciliatory letter to Qutb Shah, urging him to guard the frontier of Mughal Karnatak from mischievous persons and not to encroach on the imperial territory.*

§ 11. Aurangzib tries to buy the friendship of Adil Shah.

Aurangzib also sent friendly epistles and presents to the Queen Mother of Bijapur, urging her to expedite the payment of the indemnity, and next despatched a secret oral message to her. Just before marching to Burhanpur he wrote again to her: "I hope the Deccani Sultans will remain quiet (during my absence) and you will keep your promise (about sending the indemnity money), so that I may reward you after I have become Emperor." [Ad. 51b-52b.]

We have seen how as early as October Aurangzib had proposed to Mir Jumla a friendly settlement with Bijapur by abandoning

*Adab, 64, 71b, 65, 72a.
all claims to the territory and indemnity promised by that State in the recent treaty. [Ad. 202.] This policy, held in reserve at that time, was now put in practice. Adil Shah was informed by the prince. “At Mir Jumla’s wicked advice I had attacked your kingdom as well as Golkonda. Guard your people well. Let there be peace and happiness. Remain loyal and keep your promises. . . . I agree that (1) the fort of Parenda and its dependent territory, the Konkan, and the mahal of Wangi, which have been annexed to the empire, together with that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted to the late Adil Shah,—should be left to you as before, and (2) out of your promised indemnity of one krore of Rupees, thirty lakhs are remitted.

Protect this country; improve its administration. Expel Shiva who has sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land. If you wish to entertain his services, give him jagirs in the Karnatak, far from the imperial dominions, so that he may not disturb them. Send the reduced indemnity. Be loyal, and you will be amply rewarded.—I am going to Hindustan with my army. Now is the time to show your loyalty and friendliness. The late Adil Shah had promised to send a contingent to me, should an occasion for it arise. Do you send me at least 10,000 cavalry. I shall grant you the territory up to the bank of the Banganga. I promise not to accept the offer of Shahji or of the sons of Bahlol and other officers of yours to enter my service. So long as you remain faithful, no officer of this Court will molest your dominion. Should any one come from Hindustan to invade your country, I shall defend it.” [Adab, 162-163.]

The concessions here made were ample beyond Adil Shah’s fondest dreams, and he knew that they would be withdrawn as soon as Aurangzib’s need was over. Indeed the above offer contained conditions liable to great latitude of interpretation; and afterwards, in his hour of victory over his rivals, Aurangzib seized this loophole to repudiate his promises and to demand more than all that Bijapur had agreed to yield by the treaty of August, 1657. [Ad. 167b.]

But some money realised from the Deccani Sultans now fell into Aurangzib’s hands and helped to equip him for the arduous
struggle for the throne.* Mir Jumla's wealth and excellent park of artillery, served by European gunners, were of inestimable use to Aurangzib, who had attached them early in January. These "supplied the much needed means of Aurangzib's progress towards his object, at this critical time," as the historian Aqil Khan Razi points out.

§ 12. Aurangzib intrigues with the nobles at Court and the generals.

All this time Aurangzib was intriguing actively but in secret with the courtiers at the capital and the high officers in the provinces (especially Malwa). Some anecdotes have come down to us which prove that Aurangzib was regarded by the ministers and even by Shah Jahan himself, as the ablest of the princes. I find it impossible to reject them entirely as prophecies made after the event. Of all the four sons of Shah Jahan he had the best reputation for capacity and experience; the known record of his actual performances was most varied and distinguished. Evidently all self-seeking nobles and officers recognised him as the coming man, and hastened to secure their future by doing him friendly turns or at least by sending him secret assurances of their support. As Dara reported to Shah Jahan, "Aurangzib is winning over the nobles and the pillars of the State. He is doing his work by means of secret epistles."†

The enlisting of new soldiers had been going on apace. A bounty of one month's pay was advanced to all recruits. Muhammad Beg in Khandesh was ordered to select and engage as many

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*The public money in the Deccan just before the invasion of Bijapur was 64 lakhs of Rupees,—viz., Reserves of 20 lakhs at Daulatabad and Asir, and of 30 lakhs in the other public treasuries, Golkonda indemnity of 2 lakhs of hun (=10 lakhs of Rupees) realised by Ahmad Said about Dec. 1656 (Adab, 195b; Waris, 121b), Bijapur present of four lakhs of Rupees in cash and kind brought to Aurangabad by Abul Hasan, in the 3rd quarter of 1656 (Adab, 191a). From this total must be deducted the cost of the war with Bijapur and bribes to Bijapur deserters, against which the 12 lakhs worth of booty taken at Bidar was a partial set off. What wealth, if any, Aurangzib and Muhammad Sultan, secretly took from Qutb Shah we know not; but popular report greatly magnified it.

†Ruqaii-i-Alamgiri, Nos. 54 and 5, India Office Pers. MS. 370, f. 81a; Kambu, 8b, 10a; Aqil, 23.
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Bundela infantry and Buxari artillermen of reputation as he could get. Two officers were sent to bring 2,000 maunds of saltpetre from Balapur and to buy sulphur and arsenic at Surat and convey these materials to Burhanpur for manufacturing gunpowder. Lead for making shot in sufficient quantity was stored at Burhanpur and Handia. A quantity of gunpowder and fuses, evidently taken from the Deccan forts, accompanied the Vanguard led by Muhammad Sultan. A thousand soldiers were enlisted by Sultan Beg in the sarkar of Bijaygarh. Many Maratha chiefs also joined Aurangzib with their contingents. In this way his army was swollen to 30,000 picked troopers, besides Mir Jumla's excellent train of cannon served by English and French gunners.*

§ 13. His band of able officers.

Aurangzib was even stronger in officers than in men and material. During his rule of the Deccan he had gathered round himself a band of very able servants, all attached to him by gratitude and some by personal affection. They did him signal service during the contest for the throne, often giving up their lives in stemming the enemy's onset in the hard fights of the War of Succession. Those who survived naturally rose to the highest officers, and were at once the pillars of his throne and ornaments of his Court during the early years of his reign. Such were Murshid Quli Khan the diwan, Shaikh Mir the warrior and confidential adviser, Aqil Khan Razi the equerry and personal attendant, Qabil Khan the facile and trusty secretary, Khan-i-Zaman the energetic Inspector of Ordnance, Muhammad Tahir, a veteran captain raised to the peerage as Wazir Khan, the faithful envoy Isa Beg (created Mukhlis Khan), the highborn and experienced Shams-ud-din Mukhtar Khan, and above all that jewel of a servant, Mir Jumla, great in war, greater still in counsel. Of the imperial officers who had served in the Deccan, besides Multafat Khan, his able son Hushdar Khan, Najabat Khan, Qazi Nizama and some others, Aurangzib secured the adhesion of Nasiri Khan, recently transferred from the Deccan to Malwa. Lastly, he released from prison

*Adab, 93b, 168b-169a; Ishwardas (16a) and Aqil (25) both estimate Aurangzib's army at 30,000 strong. Also Kambu, 11b; A. N. 42.
and took with himself Rajah Indradyumna of Dhamdhera,* a valiant Rajput of Malwa. Two other of the most devoted Hindu followers of Aurangzib were Rao Karan the Rajah of Bikanir and Subh-Karan the Bundela chieftain of Datia and father of the more renowned general Dalpat Rao.

Before leaving the Deccan he took steps to maintain his hold on the country during his absence. Shah Beg Khan was recalled from the Karnatak with his detachment, and ordered to guard the province. Prince Muazzam was left at Aurangabad with two high officers and a strong force to carry on the government and to prevent the public peace from being broken by Shivaji. Aurangzib did not lose his fear lest that “son of a dog,” as he called the youthful Maratha leader, should seize the opportunity of his absence. His new-born son Muhammad Akbar was left in Fort Daulatabad with his harem, but two other sons, Muhammad Sultan and Muhammad Azam, accompanied him to the war. Some forts were also repaired and a wall of defence built round the suburb of Karan-pura, as the absence of the main army in Northern India might tempt spoilers. The officers were ordered to engage houses at Aurangabad and Burhanpur and leave their families there. Money was given to them in aid of these necessary arrangements.†

§ 14. He openly marches northwards to contest the throne.

On hearing of Murad Bakhsh’s coronation and Mir Jumla’s arrest, Shah Jahan sent letters of reprimand to his two sons, ordering them to return to the path of obedience and duty. But they pretended to see only Dara’s hand in these imperial letters, and insisted on going to the capital to pay their respects to the Emperor in person. At last, his preparations being well advanced Aurangzib considered further delay useless, especially as Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan on reaching Malwa were sure to strengthen Dara’s interest there and organise the local zamindars to bar the road from the South. So, after giving to Murad the impatiently expected

*Adab, 99; M. U. ii. 265.
†Adab 201a, 168b, 92a 123a; A. N. 43-46; Dilkasha, i. 18-21.
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notice to start, he sent his eldest son with the Van towards Burhanpur (25th January, 1658) and himself left Aurangabad with the rest of his army eleven days afterwards (5th Feb.). He now began to exercise royal prerogatives, bestowing titles, posts, and promotions of mansab (rank). Muazzam was created viceroy of the Deccan and Wazir Khan that of Khandesh.*

Burhanpur was reached on 18th February, and here the organisation of the army and the preparations for the march were completed. A month's halt was made in this town. Aurangzib had written a letter to Shah Jahan inquiring about his health and hoping that the Emperor would soon completely recover, look after the administration himself, and put an end to Dara's usurpation of the supreme authority. But day by day only alarming news of the Court reached him. His agent Isa Beg, too, arrived from Agra and fully unfolded the state of affairs there, saying how after his illness Shah Jahan doted on Dara to an extreme and that prince had made himself Emperor in all but the name. Isa Beg was the bearer of secret messages from many nobles, professing devotion to Aurangzib and asking him to push on to the capital, without fearing the largeness of the imperial army, as it was at heart hostile to Dara.

Encouraged by these promises of support and unwilling to let Jaswant Singh have more time to consolidate his power in Malwa or close the northern road effectually, Aurangzib set out from Burhanpur on 20th March. From Mandwa he sent his eldest son back to arrest and imprison Shah Nawaz Khan, who was unwilling to accompany Aurangzib in his open rebellion, and had lingered behind at Burhanpur under false pretexts. This high officer, though he was the father-in-law of Aurangzib and descended from the royal blood of Persia, had to sacrifice liberty to loyalty, (26th March). By Aurangzib's order, he was kept a prisoner in the fort of Burhanpur for seven months.*

*A. N., 42-46; Aqil, 24-26; Kambu, 10b; Masum, 42b-45a.
† A. N. 46-53, 209; Anecdotes, § 6; Kambu, 10b; Aqil, 23-24. Mandwa is a station on the G. I. P. Railway, 19 miles n. n. e. of Burhanpur, (Ind. Atlas Sheet 54).
§ 15. Aurangzeb crosses the Narmada and joins Murad.

At Mandwa there is a parting of the roads to Hindustan. One path running north-eastwards crosses the Narmada at Handia. But Aurangzeb took the other, route, turned to the north-west, and in seven marches reached Akbarpur on the bank of the Narmada, the stream that has divided Southern India from Northern since time immemorial. Here he forded the river without the least opposition (3rd April) and then marched due north towards Ujjain, through the pass overlooked by the hill-fort of Mandu.

On 13th April he reached the environs of Dipalpur and learnt that Murad had arrived some miles west of him. A messenger was sent to invite the younger prince to join him without delay. Next day, both the armies resumed their march, and on the way, near the lake of Dipalpur, the brothers met together; their armies were united: and with redoubled strength and confidence they pushed on towards Ujjain to encounter Jaswant, who was only one day’s march in front. In the evening Aurangzeb encamped at the village of Dharmat, on the western bank of the Gambhira (an affluent of the Chambal), and decided to fight the enemy next day.*

(Here in the original edition the first volume ended.)

*Akbarpur, 22·9 N. 75·32 E. on the Narmada, 13 miles west of Mandleesar (Ind. At. Sh. 37 N. E.) The hill-fort of Mandu is 14 miles north of Akbarpur. Dipalpur, 22·50 N. 75·36 E. (Sh. 36 S. E.) Dharmat, 23 N. 75·43 E. is 12 miles north of Dipalpur, 2 miles s. s. w. of the Fatehabad Railway Station, and 14 miles s. s. w. of Ujjain., (Sh. 36 N. E.) A. N. 53-56; Aqil Khan, 26; Ishwardas, 17.

END OF VOLUME I