Aurangzeb announced (very truly, as I saw when the time came) that in the army of Dara there were thirty thousand Moguls ready to come under his standards.

The eunuch Shahbaz, seeing clearly that Aurangzeb was deceiving his master, Murad Bakhsh, and that certainly he would lose his life by such deceits, made up his mind after the victory to commit a terrible act. When Aurangzeb came to see his brother Murad Bakhsh, as he often did, accompanied by his son, Sultan Muhammad, he (Shahbaz) resolved to take his life as he was issuing from the tents. When all three princes were in conversation, the eunuch said meaningly to his prince that, it he gave permission, he would order some 'cloth' to be cut. Murad Bakhsh's star being unpropitious, he replied that it was not necessary. He was aware of the intention of the eunuch; thus, if he said 'Yes,' he knew the man to be quite prepared and resolved to kill the two visitors by violence, and for this purpose he had placed men in hiding beforehand. These were the 'cloth' that the eunuch asked permission to 'cut,' for 'to cut out cloth' has two meanings; ordinarily, it is to cut out cloth for garments. The eunuch acted the simpleton, trying to get assent for carrying out the project, as I have already said, and after the deed meant to disculpate himself. Even should he lose his life, he would die content, having put to death those who meant to kill his master. He clearly perceived that Aurangzeb would never leave his master in life, such not being the custom among the descendants of the Moguls. On hearing the conversation, Aurangzeb knew at once that his life was in danger; in his mind [181] he was disturbed, but externally betrayed no sign, and thenceforth never again went to the tents of Murad Bakhsh, sending his son Sultan Muhammad instead, making the excuse that the heavy work he had to get through allowed him no time to go in person to visit his brother.

Prince Murad Bakhsh was anxious to continue their victories without allowing time to Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh to join his father Dara; and the second day after the battle he wanted to resume the march, without giving the army an interval of rest. He therefore raised they pay of his soldiers, and started again in great pomp on the third day. Aurangzeb neglected no efforts that appeared to him suitable, sending his spies to his friends with letters containing many promises. He desired to know from them the arrangements and conditions at the court, so as to adopt means to carry
out his projects with greater security. The traitors replied unani-
mously that he might advance without the slightest hesitation; and
all of them assured him that other battles would be won with even
greater ease.

Perceiving clearly the boldness and resolution of the two
princes Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh, and recognising finally that
there was now no hope of making them return to their governments,
Shahjahan was so embarrassed that he was at a loss what to decide
upon, and foresaw great misfortunes. He made great efforts to
emerge from this position, but the fates would not permit it to be
otherwise. Finding himself in bodily weakness, and desirous of
pleasing Dara, he transferred [to him] all his powers and dignities,
and ordered everyone to yield him obedience. He wanted to try
if, by this means, he could relieve himself of all the ills from which
he suffered, including the danger in which he stood of being
captured by Aurangzeb and dispossessed of his authority.

Some authors, recording what they have been told, say that
Dara seized his father and divested him of power by force; but
I assert this to be a great untruth, for I know, and have tested,
that Dara was quite submissive. He did nothing without com-
municating it to his father. I might produce several proofs of what
I say; but I will ask the reader to do me the favour of recollecting
what I have said as to the letters written by Muhammad Amin
Khan and Shaistah Khan. On account of these Dara wanted to
have them decapitated, yet they were liberated by the order of
Shahjahan. If Dara had, as others write, taken possession of his
father and of his authority, he would have exercised this absolute
power to order their heads to be cut off, as justice required.

Another case I will bring forward in proof of what I say. A
few days before we took the field against Aurangzeb the police
seized a Genoese youth for having in his possession a bottle of
wine, a thing not prohibited for Europeans. In order to petition
for his release, I went off to the magistrate, who at once placed
me alongside the youth. I made a sign to my servant, who rushed
off to tell my friends, artillerymen in Prince Dara’s service. These
men came in a body [182], all of them armed, and, breaking down
the doors of the prison, liberated us. The soldiers ran from the
police-office, leaving the magistrate by himself in a state of astonish-
ment at what was going on. Being aggrieved as I was, I thereupon
went up to the magistrate and put a pistol to his breast; I did
not slay him, but took compassion upon him on his humbling of himself. This affair was brought before Shahjahan, who complained to Dara of what his artillerymen had done. To satisfy the king, Dara ordered the captain of the artillery to administer a reproof to the Genoese. We all went in a body to the captain to lodge a complaint against the magistrate for the disgrace done to us, the king having accorded us the right to drink wine. Now, if Dara had been as others say, no one would have had the audacity to displease his employes, nor to complain of them to Shahjahan.

On finding the king Shahjahan had delivered himself with all his authority and his army into the hands of Prince Dara, everybody seized their weapons, there was great uproar, each man acting on his own inclination. More than one hundred thousand horsemen assembled and more than twenty thousand infantry. There were one hundred pieces of field artillery, every one of them carrying shot of from eight to twelve pounds; in addition there was a twenty-pounder culverin, and over two hundred European artillerymen. There was no want of subordinates, of shopkeepers who furnish supplies for the sustenance of the whole realm and army, a large number of sarrafos (sarraf) who provide the cash required by the whole army, many majestic and well-armoured elephants, and five hundred camels. On each of the latter was a man seated atop with a swivel-gun, carrying a ball of from three to four ounces, which he loaded and fired without dismounting. There were also five hundred elephants with their howdahs, and in these sat two men with two guns like those upon the camels.

After all these preparation we issued from the city of Agra on the 14th May in one thousand six hundred and fifty-six. 139 When on the march we covered the ground as far as the horizon, making a brave and splendid show. What disconcerted me was that no one would say that Dara was sure of gaining the battle with all this grand array. Furthermore, I remembered the answer given me by Father Buzeo, a man of much wisdom, when I asked him if he entertained any doubt of Dara’s being emperor, seeing that he had under him that great army and so much treasure. The father replied to me, with the great kindness and trust he had ever bestowed on me, that he was much afraid that Dara would never

139. The correct year is 1658; the day of the month is probably correct.
become emperor, pointing out to me that the people of Hindustan were very malicious, that such a race required to be ruled by a more malignant king, and not by a good-nature man like Dara.

The reasons why no one declared that Dara must win in the struggle appear to me to be the following; Because Shahjahan meddled a great deal with the wives of the nobles, who awaited such a good opening as this to take their revenge for the insults they had received, by handing him over to Aurangzeb, his deadly enemy; that if Dara had a failing [183], it was not to conciliate the great nobles and win them over to be his friends. The chief reason of all for his misfortunes was, however, that Sulaiman Shukoh would not listen to the advice of Rajah Jai Singh, but increased his distance from the court, and was thus unable to rejoin at headquarters in time. Thereby the best men that Dara had among his troops were lost to him.

The greater number of the soldiers that Dara had newly enlisted were not very warlike; they were butchers, barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and such-like. It is true that on their horses and with their arms they looked well at a review; but they had no heart and knew nothing of war. If only Sulaiman Shukoh had arrived in time, there would have been no need of men like these, nor of Khalilullah Khan. The wife of the latter had warned Dara to put no reliance on her husband nor trust his soft speeches, for she knew him well, and given the occasion, he would inevitably engineer some treachery. Nor should he rely upon the thirty thousand Mogul troopers in his father’s service.

Shahjahan earnestly desired that Dara should not offer battle until Sulaiman Shukoh had arrived. But Dara’s two brothers and enemies came on with such haste than they left him no chance of delaying. I have been assured that Aurangzeb professed such determination as to say that if Taimur-i-lang and all his descendants came against him, on no account would it be fitting for him to retreat. He was resolved to give battle, putting his faith in the traitors to be found in Dara’s camp.

When placed in the field our army was so well distributed that it looked like a lovely city adorned with beautiful tents, flying innumerable flags of all colours and different shapes, each tent having its own flag and device so that it might be recognised. The prince Dara went to take leave of the king, his father, and of Begam Sahib, his sister, who at that time were living in the fort
of Agrah. On beholding the son and brother so well beloved, they melted into floods of tears. The king began to speak, and thus addressed Dara: 'My loved and cherished son! I have always been well inclined towards you as being my firstborn son and full of good qualities, above all of the quality of obedience, which you have always displayed to me. Your father hoped to see you become king peacefully, but none can fathom the secrets of the Lord Most High. My desire was to leave you in this fortress, and go forth myself against those rebels Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh, unworthy of the name of my sons or of your brothers. I had hoped to chastise the rebels and traitors who take the side of my enemies; but you have had compassion on my years and infirmity, and mean to expose your life for the peace of the kingdom, the freedom and the safety of your father. Not to dishearten you. I consent to your doing as you wish; but entreat you, my beloved son, to avoid a battle until the arrival of Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh your son. You will thus increase your chance of victory. I beg of you to curb your ardour. Being incapable of doing more, I pray that your life may be spared and that you may survive to become emperor of all Hindustan, and [184] that our enemies may be slain. I place you in the hands of God, in whom we trust to give us the victory and make us triumph over rebels and traitors.'

Having bade farewell to his father, Dara soon appeared in the army; but the march could not be undertaken that day. Some of the war materiel was still wanting, nor did the astrologers judge the hour auspicious for a start. On the third day142 this huge army began its march. When Dara was about to mount his magnificent elephant Fatejang (Fath Jang)—that is to say, 'Victor in War'—he said these words: 'Guerrib maf, magrur marg' (Gharib mu'af, maghrur marg)—that is to say, 'To the humble, pardon; to the haughty, death.' The generals then present replied simultaneously, 'Hixa Alla' (Inshallah)—that is to say, 'By the favour of God.'

We began the march in such great order that it seemed as if sea and land were united. Prince Dara amidst his squadron appeared like a crystal tower, resplendent as a sun shining over all the land. Around him rode many squadrons of Rajput cavalry whose armour glittered from afar, and their lance-heads with a

140. Presumably May 17 is meant.
tremulous motion sent forth rays of light. There were other squadrons of cavalry armed with lances, in front of whom went many ferocious elephants clad in shining steel with chains on their trunks, their tusks encrusted with gold and silver, and broad cutlasses affixed thereto by rings. In advance was one with a handsome flag, and the driver, who guided the elephant, was armed with armes blanches (sword and shield).

A marvellous thing was it to behold the march, which moved over the heights and through the vales like the waves of a stormy sea. Thus we held on our way for four days 141 until we reached the bank of the river Chambal, where was a village called Dolpur (Dholpur). Our powerful army took up position on this ground, and entrenched the crossing, placing its pieces of artillery to cover the most exposed points.

We awaited the enemy, who was already near; he appeared afar off after three days. 142 Being fully prepared, and in every way desirous of finding ourselves engaged in battle, we begged for leave to attack the enemy. But Dara, for two reasons, would not consent: the first was that he was waiting for Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh and his force, who could not be very long in coming; even if they were delayed, he was sure that the enemy would never risk a crossing at this place, which was well occupied and fortified. The second reason was the inadvisability of attacking the enemy in a situation full of hollows and rocks, and altogether a dangerous place.

All this time Aurangzeb persisted in his usual stratagems and intrigues. After having encamped his army on the farther side, not far from the river, he called together his generals. He said to them that they must be prepared to deliver battle, and be every one ready with his force of cavalry. In making haste lay their chance of victory, and full of confidence in their courage, he hoped [185] in a brief space to be victorious. They could not postpone the battle, seeing the danger of Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh's arrival.

141 Counting from the 17th, four days brings us to May 21. Dholpur is thirty-seven miles south of Agra, and situated about a mile from the left bank of the Chambal.
142. This would be on May 24.
A report of the above speech reached the army of Dara, and was received with pleasure. Everybody made his preparations with the greatest eagerness, and expected every day that the enemy would come to attack us.

But Aurangzeb's secret plan was to win over Rajan Champat (Champat),\(^{143}\) to whom he sent valuable presents, proposing for him high rewards and making him liberal offers. He asked the raja to allow him to pass through his territories in order to get across the river by another unknown ford, situated twelve leagues from us. These demands were conceded by Rajah Champat, hoping to avenge himself on Shahjahan for the acts I have already told you of (I. 142-144). Gained over by entreaties, and all unwitting of the misfortune that he had to undergo, the raja

143. Here we may compare Manucci with the official narrative in the 'Alamgirnamah,' pp. 79, 85. Dara Shukoh, with his younger son Siphr Shukoh, left Agrah on the 25th Sha'ban (May 28, 1658, new style), having previously, on the 16th Sha'ban (May 19), deputed Khalilullah Khan, Ram Singh, Rathor, and others, to seize the Dholpur ferry, and watch all fords or suspected crossings. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb had arrived at Gwaliyar, and learnt there that the ferry at Dholpur was defendd, while all known crossings had been blocked by the erection of batteries. Inquiries were made from local zamindars, who informed him of a crossing in the Bhadauriyah territory, east of Agrah. some forty miles off, the place being fordable and not guarded. Khan Jahan and other commanders were detached by Aurangzeb. They reached the place on the Chambal the next day (the last of Sha'ban, June 1). Aurangzeb left Gwaliyar the same day (May 31), and in two marches reached the spot, crossing the river on the 1st Ramazan (June 2).

More light is thrown by Bhim Sen, an adherent of the Datiya Rajahs, in his 'Nuska-i-dilkusha,' British Museum, Oriental, 23, fol. 15b, upon the mode in which Aurangzeb got his information. After he had reached the Chambal and encamped opposite to Dholpur, Subhkaran Singh, Bundelah, Rajah of Datiya, produced Champat, Bundelah, 'who all his life had learnt nothing but robbery, and having no abode, wandered like a stray pigeon through every hill and plain. Great promises of reward were made to him; he was tamed by specious devices, and made a Panj Hazari. He reported that Dholpur ferry was strongly defended. But within an easy distance, at a place called Gorakhtah, there was a ford which could be reached in one day.' A night march was ordered, and by noon next day the army was in battle array at Samugarh. Dara was unable to remove his guns from the batteries at the Chambal, while heat and thirst killed many of his men. In the battle Subhkaran was wounded, and Aurangzeb ordered a grove to be planted and a sarac erected on the site of the battle (Fathabad?).
accompanied Aurangzeb. The route was so difficult, the march so impeded by jungle and uneven ground, that Aurangzeb was unable to take with him the whole of his forces. He left his tents standing, and some of his men behind, by way of formality, in order to conceal his design the more effectually. He crossed the river (as I was told) with over eight thousand horsemen, and though they were all much fatigued, he made himself master of the crossing on the 30th of May, 1656 (i.e., 1658).

This day was as full of joy for Aurangzeb as it was full of sadness for Dara. The latter, receiving a report of the carrying out of the above design, fell into a great rage with Champa, who had given his word that in no case would he allow Aurangzeb to cross, and it was for this reason that Dara had not blocked the ford in question. When the news came that Aurangzeb had actually crossed, Dara was desirous of moving personally in pursuit of him.

He was, however, well advised by the general Hebraim Can (Ibrahim Khan), son of Alimerda Can (‘Ali Mardan Khan), to send instead, with the greatest expedition, twelve thousand horsemen to fall suddenly upon Aurangzeb and his soldiers, who were much fatigued, very scattered, and lying about on the river bank. But the traitor Khalilullah Khan, having heard that Dara had decided upon making this attempt, came to him and said that it was inadvisable; it would not add to his credit or reputation. For, of a certainty, the name and fame of any victory would accrue to the commander, and not to his highness. He ought not to listen to the advice of these boys, quite inexperienced in war; and it was a mistake to detach those twelve thousand cavalry from his division, for by so doing the victory which was now a certainty would become doubtful. The following day we marched in pursuit of Aurangzeb, but it was already too late. For during the night, and very early on the following morning, almost the whole remaining army of Aurangzeb came up, and quitting the river, we arrived in an extensive plain.

144. Ibrahim Khan died at the end of Safar or early in Rabi‘I, 1122 H. (circa April 30, 1710), while Governor of Kashmir, aged eighty years. He was the son of ‘Ali Mardan Khan, Amir-ul-Umara, who died at Machhiwarah (Punjab) in 1067 H., 12 Rajab (April 27, 1657, N.S.) (see "Ma‘asir-ul-Umara," i. 295, ii. 795). In 1658 Ibrahim Khan must have been about twenty-six years of age.
It was the 1st of June of one thousand six hundred and fifty-six. We made use with great labour of the water in the ponds in the open fields, and the heat was stifling. Between the two armies there was not more than a league and a half's distance. During the time we were taking up ground for our army the rest of aurangzeb's force contined to join his ranks, but the whole of his artillery and baggage had not arrived. Having detailed information of everything in Aurangzeb's force, and knowing his men were exhausted, Dara wanted to commence [186] the action. But the traitors intervened on astrological grounds by saying that neither the day nor the hour was favourable. He must postpone the battle. He was already sure of the victory, because he had a good army, with valiant and high-spirited soldiers quite sufficiently numerous for the destruction of Aurangzeb, who in comparison with him was an invisible speck on this earth. All this they did solely that Aurangzeb might have time to take rest, to refresh his people, and secure the arrival of his guns.

The traitors had made an agreement with Aurangzeb that when he was ready to give battle he should warn them by three discharges of cannon, and thereupon they would make dispositions for delivering Dara into his hands. Meanwhile Aurangzeb gave proof of how he understood recompensing those who helped him in his unjust undertaking. He caused his friend Champat to be sent for, who waiting not far from his tents, in expectation of the many favours and presents promised to him. When he reached the presence, having no anticipation of what about to happen to him, Aurangzeb instantly caused him to be bound and carried to the route along which he designed to advance next morning to give battle; there he was to be offered up a sacrificial victim, and beheaded. This command was executed.

145. As usual, the date is wrong by two years; it ought to be 1658.
146. From a passage in Part III., 198, it would appear that this Champat's son was Dalpat Rao, Bundelah (died June, 1707, at Jajau). This is wrong: Dalpat's father was Subhkaran (died 1683). The difficulty is explained by the passage already quoted from Bhim Sen. Subhkaran (father of Rao Dalpat) and Champat (father of the more celebrated Chhatarsal), both Bundelahs, were both concerned in the matter, and Manucci confounds them. Neither of them, however, was executed in 1658. Subhkaran died in 1683, and Champat Rae was hunted down and killed in October or November. 1661 ('Alamgirnamah,' p. 630, fourth year of Aurangzeb).
On the 2nd of June (1658) Dara received a letter from his father Shahjahan, directing his retreat to Agra, there to entrench himself until the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh. This could not be done, because if Dara retreated, the enemy would without fail resume his advance with still greater spirit, while our troops would lose all confidence in the valour of their prince and commander. They would imagine if he retired that he had not the courage to attack. The greater part of our army directly they saw such a movement would inevitably transfer themselves to the enemy's side.

So far was Dara from following the advice of his father that he had, on the contrary, made up his mind to deliver battle. In reply to his father, he wrote that he ought to take his ease and keep in good heart. He promised him that within three days he would drag Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh bound into his presence, when he might punish them as he saw fit. The truth is that he (Dara) wished to fight on the 3rd of June, a Saturday. But the traitors, taking advantage of a shower of rain which fell in our camp, said it was not a good time to attack, for already the skies wept over his defeat as soon as they heard he meant to fight. It would be much better to delay until the next day, which was known to be the first day, when God created light—a very suspicious day, on which without any doubt he would be victorious. All this they said, because if Dara had attacked the enemy on that day he would have gained a certain victory. For Aurangzeb had not then his ranks in proper order, nor had the agreed-on signal been given.

The presumption that I discovered in Dara afflicted me, seeing him give credit to the words of traitors. But I consoled myself a good deal, being so young, with the hope of getting some experience of war. On the whole I did not feel [187] satisfied, finding that Dara was not making the exertions required for the good ordering of such a huge army. He had no sufficient experience in matters of war, having been brought up among the dancing-women and buffoons of his father, and gave undue credit to the words of the traitors.

On the 3rd of June,147 at midnight, the enemy fired three pieces of artillery, the signal agreed upon with the traitors, showing

147. For Bernier's account of the Battle of Samugarb (Fathabad), see pp. 49-54 (Constable's edition). He gives no date. The "Alamgir-
them that Aurangzeb had now made his dispositions for giving battle at daybreak. We replied with other three shots. After one hour had elapsed Dara emerged from the camp through the midst of our artillery, for which it was necessary to take down my tent to allow a passage for his exit with the few cavalry in his retinue.

A short time afterwards I mounted my horse and went forth out of curiosity to know what was going on, this being the first battle that I had been able to see. Trusting to my good horse, I went on, and halted on a height adjoining an uninhabited village; thence I saw, though it was still dark, many horsemen leave our army for that of Aurangzeb, and never return.

Almost at daybreak there came forth from the army of Aurangzeb several camels laden with bombs, escorted by some horsemen and many men on foot, who halted in the village and distributed themselves at considerable distances. As the light grew clearer I saw that Aurangzeb was advancing very leisurely with his whole army. It was formed into five divisions of cavalry.

In the first division, placed in the middle, was the strong and valiant Aurangzeb seated on a large elephant, accompanied by fifteen thousand horsemen, well armed with lances, bows and arrows, and matchlocks. At his right hand he had his son Sultan Muhammad, and Mir Baba (Mir Baba), his fosterbrother, to whom on this occasion he gave the title of Badercan (Bahadur Khan), at the head of another fifteen thousand horsemen. The third division, on the right hand of Sultan Muhammad, had also fifteen thousand horse under the command of Nezebetcan (Najbat Khan) and other generals. The fourth division was composed of another fifteen thousand well-armed cavalry, with whom was namah,' p. 94, assigns the battle to the 7th Ramzan (June 8, 1658, N.S.; May 29, O.S.). The date adopted by Elphinstone, p. 522, fourth edition, is the 8th Ramazan.

148. Mir Malik Hussein, son of Abul Mu’alla, Khwafi; he died in 1109 H. (1697-98). The title of Bahadur Khan was given on the march from the Dakhin; he commanded Aurangzeb’s right wing. He was afterwards made Khan Jahan, Bahadur, Kokaltash (see ‘Ma,asir-ul-Umara,’ i. 798, 799).

149. This Najbat Khan was probably the Mi’rza Shuja’ already twice referred to. He survived to the seventh year of Aurangzeb. He was son of the ruler of Badakhshan, and a descendant of Taimur (see ‘Ma,asir-ul-Umara,’ iii. 821).
Prince Murad Bakhsh, seated on a lofty elephant, which rose like a tower in the midst of his squadrons. With him sat his little son. 150

The remainder of Aurangzeb's army consisted of one division of problematical value, made up of low-class men of unwarlike habits, in addition to baggage, carts, camels, and unloaded oxen; these had their place on the left of Murad Bakhsh. Behind followed all the artillery. As this army continued its advance in tranquillity, so I in the same manner retired until I saw that they had arrived close to the deserted village. Then the artillery was ordered to the front, behind them the musketeers, behind them again some camels carrying swivel-guns (trihoen). In their rear was the army, as I have above described. I answer for all this with confidence [188].

I awaited the approach of our army, in order to take my place. But seeing from afar that it did not stir, I went back close to it, where there were several scattered horsemen. There I halted to look at it, and consider our great army and its disposition. I noticed that while I had been away to look at the army of Aurangzeb, Dara had arrayed his forces in the following order: The artillery was all in one row, and each carriage bore two scarlet pennons. This row of guns served as a wall to protect the musketeers behind it, to the number of twenty-five thousand men. These were supported by five hundred camels with swivel-guns (trihoen); to their rear stood the armour-clad elephants, and then the cavalry, twenty-eight thousand horsemen. Last of all was Dara on his magnificent elephant, followed by numerous elephants carrying drums, trumpets, and all manner of music, forming his retinue.

In the division to the right of Dara was Ramsing Rotella (Ram Singh, Rathor) with his fifteen thousand Rajputs, all well-armed men of war. On their right was Khalilullah Khan with thirty thousand Moguls, whose orders were to encounter the miscellaneous division of which I spoke, this being his (Khalilullah Khan's) own pretext. On the left hand of Dara was posted the valorous general Rustomcan Dacanj (Rustam Khan, Dakhini) 151 with fifteen

150. 'His little son.' Other instances of this practice of taking little children into battle could be adduced.

151. Rustam Khan, Dakhini, was by race a Charkas from Northern Persia. He first served the Nizam Shahi kings, and then went over to Shahjahan's side. At Samugarh he was in the right wing commanded
thousand horse in all; at his left Raja Chartersilara (Chhatarsal Rae)\textsuperscript{152} with fifteen thousand horsemen, the greater part of them Rajputs. All this array made a lovely sight, both by the beauty of the arms and by the number of standards and pennons of so many colours.

Be it known to the reader that these two armies were not ordered in the disposition obtaining in Europe. But one division was close to another as the trees of a pinewood, in the order that I have described.

I remained where I was in safety, there being no firing from either side. It was already eight o'clock of the day, when there came an order from our army that all the scattered horsemen must retire, because they wanted to discharge the artillery. Thereupon everyone withdrew into the army, and a poor Mogul cavalier riding behind me, not getting back in time, fell at the first fire of our artillery. Repeated orders poured in to keep up a continuous artillery fire, although the shot did no damage. They fell short of Auranzeb's men, who were at a great distance from us. I was much amazed at their making us work thus for nothing. During the time that we were making this deafening din with our guns, the enemy saluted us with nothing but a few bombs with tails, after the style of rockets.

After the first discharge Auranzeb ordered one of his pieces of artillery to be fired in continuation of the signal to the traitors. After we had fired again several times he let off two pieces together. When we had fired ten [189] times he replied with three pieces at once. This was the desired signal by which he was to let the traitors know that he was prepared to receive an attack where he was, without moving towards Dara. Then, leaving his division, Khalilullah Khan came in search of Dara. On reaching his presence he greeted him as victor, speaking thus: 'May the victory be auspicious to the invincible Dara! Without losing any of his men, solely by use of his artillery, he has destroyed the greater part of the enemy, and little effort remains to gain a complete victory. It is not desirable to continue artillery fire, but we must now advance and lay hold of the enemy.'

by Siphr Shukoh ('Ma,asir-ul-Umara,' ii. 270-276). His death is mentioned by N. M. a little farther on (fol. 191).

152. Chhatarsal, Hada (see 'Ma,asir-ul-Umara,' ii. 260). He, too, was killed.
Orders were given not to discharge the artillery any more, and the well-reputed general, Rustam Khan, was sent for in order to hear what he advised. When the latter heard the views of Khalilullah Khan, he replied that it would be better to await the enemy and leave him to attack us, for he had come a great distance to seek us, and, according to usage, he could not avoid being the attacker. When he came on, we could receive him with the fury and valour befitting the advantage that we had over him.

This advice was most prudent, but the cunning Khalilullah Khan turned it into disparagement of Rustam Khan, saying: 'I am greatly amazed that a captain so famous should tell us at such a juncture to show ourselves such cowards and of so little courage, that after we have almost destroyed the enemy, we should yet be afraid to take the offensive.' Dara, without listening to other arguments, adopted the counsels of Khalilullah Khan, and set his elephant in motion in order to attack the enemy with his heavy divisions. Orders were given to Rustam Khan to return to his division, and give evidence of his well-known valour. The artillery was ordered to be unchained to allow the troops to pass through the line.  

Khalilullah Khan, pleased at having accomplished his purpose of exposing Dara to the risk of death, went with him halfway, and then returned to his own command, the enemy being still at some distance. On this side, when Dara started with his division against the enemy, everything fell into confusion. The barbers, butchers, and the rest, turned right-about face, abandoning the artillerymen and the guns. Many made for the baggage-train to plunder it, which they did, breaking open the chests of gold and silver, and carrying off what they could lay hands on. This resulted in many men being murdered while trying to rob their companions.

Dara pursued his route courageously, making signs with his hands from the top of his elephant that all should hasten to take a part in the victory. To this intent he ordered his drums to beat. I admired Dara's high spirit, and I noticed that the enemy did not stir, contenting himself with a discharge of shells until Dara had come quite close. Then, all of a sudden, the enemy dis-

153. By the rules of Indian fighting, the cannon were bound together by chains (zanjir-bandī) to prevent the enemy's horse from riding between them and slaughtering the gunners.
charged his cannon, musketry, and swivel-pieces, which struck us and frightened numbers of our men, who scattered this way and that. Finding himself in imminent peril, Dara ordered the guns to be dragged forward and the musket-men to advance; the *franquis* [190] (Europeans) were also to join in the movement. But it was no longer time, for all his men were in disarray, and everyone had taken his own road.

In spite of all this he (Dara) did not lose heart, but waving his hands, made signs to continue the advance. Then Rustam Khan and Chhatar Sal Rae, although they had suffered by the first discharge from the enemy, came up and collected as many fresh men as they could. Dara did the same. Then with such vigour, courage, wrath, and violence did he attack his opponents that he broke through the guns and penetrated to their camp, putting to the rout camels, infantry, and everything that was to be found in that direction.

Seeing the boldness of Dara, the enemy then sent as reinforcement a large division led by Secmir (Shekh Mir), teacher of Aurangzeb, and other famous captains. This body made all haste, and at this point arose the hottest of the fighting on both sides. At length, coming to closer quarters, they took to their swords with the greatest vigour. Dara continued to hold his ground, seated on his elephant, shouting and making signs with his hands. He advanced always with the greatest composure, until, unable to bear up against this stout resistance, the enemy was forced to retire.

I saw in this action, as in so many others where I was afterwards present, that the only soldiers who fought were those well to the front. Of those more to the rear, although holding their bared swords in their hands, the Moguls did nothing but shout ‘Boquox, boquox!’ (*Ba-kush! ba-kush!*), and the Indians ‘Mar! mar!’ (*Mar! mar!*)—that is to say, ‘Kill! kill!’ If those in the front advanced, those behind followed the example, and if the former retired the others fled, a custom of Hindustan quite contrary to that of Europe; and if they begin to take to flight, by no method is it possible to stop them.

154. Shekh Mir, a Khwafi, was killed in the Battle of Ajmer on the 29th Jamada II., 1069 H. (March 13, 1659, O.S.) (see Beale, *Oriental Biography,* 371).
Owing to the great disorder of his people, caused by the valour of Dara, Aurangzeb, who was not very far away, ran great risk of being taken. But he disregarded the danger, and ordered a large division of his best cavalry, which was close at hand, to take up the resistance to Dara's advance. He tried to raise the courage of the few soldiers left to him by calling to the principal men, each by his name, saying, 'Mardaney delavaram bahader vaectas' (Mardani, dilawaran-i-bahadur! waqt ast)—that is to say, 'Men of power, valour, and courage! now is the time!' Then, raising his hands to heaven, he exclaimed: 'Hia Coda, hia Coda!' (Ya Khuda! Ya Khuda!)—'O God! O God! In you is my trust! I will sooner die on this spot than give way.' Placing his hands upon his morion, he ordered them to attach iron chains to the feet of his elephant as an attestation of his resolve. He pricked his elephant a little onward to reanimate the leaders who had gathered round him, all pledging him their word that they would yield their lives in his sight, rather than recede one single step [191].

Dara's design was to continue his advance until he had closed with Aurangzeb, and could attack him in person. But owing to the difficulties of the ground, and to the fatigue that overcame him, he made a short halt. This hindered his winning the day: for if he had kept his original rate of progress and maintained the vigour of his onslaught, the victory was his. Aurangzeb could have made no resistance with the small force left round him, for with a few men it was not possible to repel his enemy's victorious fighters, full of bravery and strength.

But Aurangzeb's lucky star worked in his favour, for while Dara was still halted, news came to him that Chhatar Sal Rae had been routed and killed by Najabat Khan's force. Subsequently another still more unhappy report reached him (Dara). Rustam Khan, who fought against Sultan Muhammad and Bahadur Khan, was also dead, and his division in disorder. These leaders were killed by the traitors in their ranks, it being the more easy to kill them that they were riding on high elephants.

Learning that the troops of the two deceased generals were still fighting valorously, he (Dara) turned off to reinforce those divisions, doing his work so effectually that he routed Sultan Muhammad and Najabat Khan, and failed not at all in that which is expected of a valiant general. If that coward traitor Khalilullah Khan had made the slightest effort in support of his Prince
Dara, there can be no doubt that this day would have seen the destruction of the rebels, and have become a consolation to Shahjahan, a glory to Dara, and a day of peace for all Hindustan. For Shah Shuja', although a valiant soldier, had not a large army, nor had he much sense, and it would have been possible to defeat him quickly, of which we will speak hereafter (I. 226).

But it seems as if God meant to punish the sins and lasciviousness of Shahjahan and the overweening pride of Hindustan. For there came once more to Dara a piece of news still more overwhelming—that is, the death of Ram Singh, Rathor. This rajah attacked with such energy the prince Murad Bakhsh that he penetrated the enemy's ranks, and gave them much to do. He dispersed their vanguard, captured their artillery, and coming close up to Murad Bakhsh with his brave Rajputs, stuck his elephant and its howdah full of arrows, and killed the cornac, or man who guides the elephant. Finally they planted three arrows in the face of Murad Baksh. He had as much as he could do to defend his life, to guide his elephant, and look after his restless infant son. The boy was so anxious to see what was going on that his father was forced to cover him with his shield and place one foot over his head.

There was no one else on Aurangzeb's side who fought so well as this prince. Raging at this resistance, and finding it impossible to slay him, Ram Singh, Rathor, and some of his Rajputs dismounted, and, like ravening dogs, leapt [192] on the elephant, hoping to sever the girths by sword-cuts and lance-thrusts, and thus bring Murad Bakhsh to the ground. The latter, seizing the occasion, saw that he could make a good shot, and planted an arrow in the breast of Ram Singh, Rathor, who forthwith fell to the ground. The elephant turned and seized him with its trunk, and, throwing him beneath its feet, finished him off. Thereupon the Rajputs, seeing their beloved captain was dead, increased in rage and fury, and battled more violently than ever.

Already a victor in three encounters, Dara, when he heard this report, hastened with greater courage than ever to the reinforcement of the Rajputs against Murad Bakhsh. He felt certain that if this brother were put to death, he could easily gain his purpose. But his evil fate would not concede to him the effecting of this, however great and glorious he held himself to be. There now came to pass a treason that had never been looked for, such as none had ever seen, none could ever have
imagined. It was the cause of Dara’s total loss and ruin, although this did not appear at the time.

What happened was that the astute traitor Khalilullah Khan, using the pretext of a good chance of seizing Aurangzeb, came to Dara and acclaimed him as victor, and spoke to him thus: ‘I know well that I have been in many battles and campaigns, and beheld the mighty deeds of renowned warriors, yet never have I heard of a prince like your highness, who, appearing for the first time in the battlefield, accomplished such valiant acts. One thing alone remains to display to the world your qualities—that is, the capture of Aurangzeb. I feel compassion for the fatigues your highness has already undergone, but it would be wrong to lose such a good opportunity. Yonder stands Aurangzeb with a scanty following; let us go at once and seize him, as can be done without any difficulty. Let your highness be pleased to descend from your elephant and mount your horse, and ride at the head of your own cavalry and the squadrons committed to my charge. We will go together to the attack. It was for this alone that I saved my division, seeing that up to now there was no necessity for my engaging.’

Poor Dara! without fully considering what he was doing, and what would follow when he was no longer to be seen on his elephant, towards which all turned their gaze; but relying on the soft words of the traitor Khalilullah Khan, by which he allowed himself to be persuaded and deceived, he took the advice, as it appeared to him that what had been said was very true. He alighted from his elephant, and this was as if he had quitted victory; for the soldiers and commanders, who in the midst of the battle kept an eye on Dara, not seeing him on his elephant, assumed that he must be already dead. For this reason they were thrown into great confusion.

I myself was in astonishment and in great dismay, not knowing what to imagine, finding all in confusion and Dara no longer visible on his elephant; meanwhile the whole army was fleeing to the rear, like dark clouds blown by a high wind, seeking safety for their lives in the belief [193] that Aurangzeb, although still at a good distance, was already upon us. Dara, on beholding this great confusion and flight, fell into deep thought and saw now the mistake he had made and the plot laid for him by Khalilullah Khan. He repented him of the fault, but it was too late. Full of wrath and raging, he asked where was the traitor
Khalilullah Khan. Let him be sought for and brought, for he meant to slay him. But the traitor was already far off. His lord having dismounted from his elephant and mounted his horse, he (Khalilullah Khan) rejoined his division, with the object of transferring himself and his soldiers to the side of Aurangzeb. The soldiers who followed him did not exceed five thousand horsemen; the rest of those under his command were soldiers of King Shahjahan. But these latter fell into disorder like the others, finding themselves without a leader to direct them, owing to the treachery that had occurred.

These events of the battle which I have related occupied some three hours. The affair beginning at nine o’clock in the morning, it was near midday the rout took place. A great many men and a still greater number of horses and other animals were killed. The reason of this was that our horses were much out of condition, and not used to the heavy work of a battle; while, on the contrary, Aurangzeb’s horses were not overfed and were used to work. Other causes were the great heat prevailing, the want of water, and the excessive dust. It seemed to me more died in this way than by injury from weapons.

Leaving, then, the flight of Dara and my retirement from the field to be spoken of afterwards, let us tell now how Aurangzeb, seeing that Dara’s army was in flight, took possession of the tents and baggage of that army. Already we have mentioned how Khalilullah Khan deserted to Aurangzeb’s side with his five thousand horsemen. But great was the finesse with which he was received by Aurangzeb, now that he found his victory was assured. When this traitor appeared, Aurangzeb struck up his drums in sign of victory. All the soldiers collected and placed themselves under the orders of Aurangzeb, including Murad Bakhsh and his troops. A few words of congratulation were exchanged between them. Aurangzeb praised the valour of Murad Bakhsh, attributing to him the victory. He then presented to him that traitor Khalilullah Khan, and said he was the king’s most faithful friend. It was as ‘king’ that he addressed Murad Bakhsh whenever he had to speak to him. Khalilullah Khan, he said, was the most loyal subject to be found in his realm; that he could be employed in the most difficult matters; that he knew well the high qualities and generosity of his king, Murad Bakhsh, and the fealty with which he must be served. He added words of praise for both Murad Bakhsh and Khalilullah Khan.
After all this, they set themselves in array and marched for the tents and camp of Dara. Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh advanced tranquilly, and when they were near, they ordered out some horsemen and infantry to reconnoitre the tents and dig up the ground round them to see if there were no powder-mines laid. They feared there might be treachery.

Assured [194] that there was no treachery, they both advanced to the tents of Dara, and, alighting from their elephants, entered. Aurangzeb remarked to Murad Bakhsh that it was the first day of his reign, renewed his congratulations on the victory, and behaved to him as to his sovereign and master. He offered him exaggerated respect in the presence of Khalilullah Khan and others then present. He went through a thousand bows and submissive gestures, just as if he were any insignificant servant. Here once more Murad Bakhsh received the traitor Khalilullah Khan with soft words and many promises. Leaving Murad Bakhsh at Dara's tents, everybody else withdrew.

Most people fathomed the purpose of Aurangzeb. While professing himself adverse to reigning and anxious to follow for ever the observances of a holy mendicant, all he did was out of refined policy, and only to arrive at being emperor. When the opportunity arose, Murad Bakhsh would certainly be destroyed. For this end he worked hard, writing day and night, and sending letters in all directions to every viceroy and governor in the empire. He took counsel with his maternal uncle, Shaistah Khan, a man of great sense, the greatest omarao (umara, noble) that there was in the country. This man was related to the greater number of the nobles, and was the oldest, best known, and best liked of them all. Aurangzeb asked him to write to all his friends in his (Aurangzeb's) favour, and to pursue Dara as persistently as he could. He (Aurangzeb) knew that Shaistah Khan would not fail to aid him, for he hated Shahjahan, and did not love Dara, but acted in every way as Aurangzeb desired.

Among other letters one was written by Aurangzeb to Rajah Jai Singh, also one to Daler Khan; these were the chief commanders under Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh and servants of Shahjahan. They were given to understand that henceforth there was nothing to be looked for in the way of benefits from Dara. He had already lost the battle, the last hope and only chance he had of reigning. The whole army of Dara had submitted to him (Aurangzeb), and was now at his orders; Dara was in solitary
flight, but could never escape. He must fall into his (Aurangzeb's) hands, orders having issued throughout the empire to send him back a captive. They need not refer to Shahjahan, who was already very ill, and there was not the slightest hope of his surviving. They could plainly see, as men of good judgment, what course they had to adopt. If they desired to be well treated and be among his friends, they should listen to his advice and should bind Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh and produce him before him.

On getting this letter, Rajah Jai Singh found himself much embarrassed, and it troubled him greatly to decide what to do in the circumstances. He feared for the lives of Shahjahan and of Dara, and still more he disliked laying hands upon one of royal blood. He dreaded that, sooner or later, there might happen to him some great discomfiture, either from the old king, from Prince Dara, or from Aurangzeb himself. The latter, as I have seen, took the life of everyone who laid hands on one of the blood-royal, as I will tell you farther on. In addition to all this, Rajah Jai Singh well foresaw that Sultan Sulaiman Shukoh had too great courage to allow of his being taken quietly; that he would sooner die defending himself than fall into his enemies' hands.

He (Jai Singh) took counsel with his great [195] friend, Daler Khan, as to what should be done. They resolved that Rajah Jai Singh should go at once to the tents of Sulaiman Shukoh, where he was awaited with great impatience. The prince had already heard the news of the defeat of his father, Dara. At the interview Jai Singh disclosed to him clearly all that was going on, and showed him the letter received from Aurangzeb. He veiled under this letter and the orders of Aurangzeb the revenge he wanted to obtain on Dara for having called him a 'musician.' He (Jai Singh) pointed out the danger Sulaiman Shukoh was in; that there was no remedy; that he could not rely on the larger number of his officers, for nearly all were traitors. He (Jai Singh) gave the advice that, with all expedition, he should flee into the mountains of Srinagar (Srinagar), of which I have spoken earlier (I. 147). This was the best and safest place for him to select, being a very secure refuge. There the rajah would receive him willingly, and thence he could watch the course of events without fear of Aurangzeb.

After this speech, Sulaiman Shukoh saw that he could rely neither on the rajah nor on Daler Khan, the rajah's friend. He
then consulted his general, Dautcan (Da'ud Khan), as to what could be done in this extremity. This man proposed that, on the pretext of bidding them farewell and imparting to them some secret, they should be sent for together. As soon as they arrived in the tent, they should be then and there slain, and their troops taken over. With their united force they might then march resolutely against Aurangzeb, and wreak vengeance on him for what he had done to Sulaiman Shukoh's father, Dara. If this were done, Aurangzeb could not so easily carry out his purpose.

The advice was sagacious, but it was not kept sufficiently secret. The rajah learnt of it through the prince's surgeon, an Armenian by race, called Sikandar Beg, all of which I was told by this very rajah himself (Jai Singh). To carry out the above intent Sulaiman Shukoh, his mind made up and all things ready, ordered the rajah and Daler Khan to be sent for with the accustomed ceremony. But having been warned, they sent him a private and straightforward message that their first answer and the advice then given were enough. It were well that, with all haste, he took the road the rajah had told him of. He must not wait for them, for their coming would be of no use to him.

With this reply Sulaiman Shukoh lost all hope. Fearing they might arrest him, he issued orders to load up the best of what he had. He took the road to the mountains, accompanied by some men who loved him, such as eunuchs, slaves, and a few real soldiers. With them went the Armenian who had betrayed the secret. He stuck to the prince by reason of the great profits he made and in the hope of increasing them. I encountered this fellow at the court two years afterwards, and by him I was told in detail the excessive hardships which the prince endured, as I will acquaint you later (I. 276).

The remainder of the soldiers and officers either took the road to their homes or enlisted under the rajah and Daler Khan. Although these men were such great captains, powerful and well reputed, they committed at this juncture a signal act of baseness—they sent men to fall upon the baggage of the fugitive prince. They robbed him of one elephant loaded [196] with precious stones and one loaded with golden rupees, also of several camels bearing the greater part of the wealth that the poor prince possessed to meet his necessities. This act caused great confusion among and inconvenience to the small body that had adhered to Sulaiman Shukoh. From this moment many abandoned him.
Wherever he passed, on every route, the villagers assassinated or stripped his people. One or two at a time, his followers continued to disappear, and when he reached the hills there remained with him under forty persons besides his family. There the Rajah of Srinagar received him with all possible honour and civility, assuring him of succour to the full extent of his strength, saying that he would be as safe there as if himself ruler of the country.

The miserable and unfortunate Dara, by a hurried flight, reached the gates of the Agrah fortress at nine o'clock at night, and sought some repose. But he did not want to enter, fearing that Aurangezeb might invest it and thus prevent his exit, when he would fall a prisoner and be abandoned by everyone. At the same time he was greatly ashamed at appearing before his father. He remembered that Shahjahan had wished to be present in the battle, but he had withheld consent, whereat he was now exceedingly sorry. So far had he lost his wits that he knew not what he said or did.

He sent this message to Shahjahan, his father, and his well-beloved sister, Begam Sahib: 'What has now happened to me is what you foretold.' He grieved them much, but as they loved him, in place of repining at his evil fate and in spite of all differences, the good old man, his father, sent to him a faithful eunuch called Faim (Fahim), to console him (Dara) and assure him that he still cherished for him, and would for ever cherish, the same love and strong friendship that he had always had for him; he felt deeply the misfortune that had befallen him. But he must not despair. There was still the other great army under Sulaiman Shukoh; with it he could renew the attack on the rebels, and routing them, inflict vengeance on them for their temerity.

At the same time, Shahjahan ordered to be sent to Dara mules laden with gold coin. He suggested his proceeding to the city of Dihli, and taking all the horses and elephants in the royal stables. Orders were sent to the governor of Dihli to open the gates to Dara, and to deliver to him the fortress, with all the treasures and other things within it. He was to be received with the same ceremonial and deference as if it were he (Shahjahan) in propria persona. For the execution of these orders trusty and well-known persons were sent in his suite, carrying letters to the above effect. He was advised to remain in Dihli, and not proceed farther. He (Shahjahan) gave his word of honour that
he would do all he could to seize and chastise Aurangzeb. He would keep him (Dara) informed of everything that happened.

The eunuch delivered this speech, but Dara was to such an extent confused, enfeebled, and cast down, with his thoughts wandering and his mind full of tribulation, that he was unable to utter a word, and lay writhing on the ground. The eunuch tried all he could to console him, on seeing him in this deep affliction, but he could not extract a single sensible word.

His sister, Begam Sahib, sent another faithful eunuch to him with some valuable jewels. She expressed her deep grief, telling him that she was even more discomfited than he [197]; but she had not lost all hope of some day seeing him reign peacefully—that ever would she petition God in her prayers to look favourably on him. After this talk Dara repaired hurriedly to his mansion, and ordered the removal of all the precious stones that could be carried off. At midnight he made a start, taking with him his three wives, his daughter Jani Begom (Jani Begam), his little son Super Xacu (Sipihir Shukoh), and some chosen slave-girls. On his departure for the city of Dihli he was followed by some five hundred soldiers, for the most part slaves of his household. It was a great affliction to see such a down-come.

On arriving at the city of Dihli he sent at once the orders of his father to the governor, requiring him to make over the forces. But the governor, already averted by the letters of Aurangzeb, to whom he was well affected, declined to comply with Shahjahan's orders. Thus the unhappy Dara was forced, after seizing what horses there were in the royal stables, to resume his march and make for Lahor.

Seeing our total defeat, I made in haste for the city of Agrah, where I arrived at ten o'clock at night. The whole city was in an uproar, for a Portuguese called Antonio de Azevedo, who early in the battle had witnessed the plunder of the baggage, rode off at full speed. On arriving at the city of Agrah at two o'clock in the afternoon, his horse fell dead at his door. Thus the news began to spread that Dara had lost the battle, and the confusion was increased by Dara's own arrival. The curiosity of everyone was aroused to know how the defeat had happened, and men asked each passer-by about the safety of his master. This happened to me. An old woman asked me what had become of Khalilullah Khan. Owing to the rage I was in at
his treachery, I replied at once that I was present when he was
bored to pieces. The old woman was very disconsolate, and
hastening her steps, went off to give this news at his house.
Much weeping and lamenting was caused thereby, they supposing
it to be the truth, for I had entered into some details on purpose.

On learning that Dara was resuming his journey and making
for Dihli, I decided that very instant upon rejoining him. But
my steed was so worn out that he could hardly stand, just as
were those of everyone who reached the city that night. I decided
to take a rest for twenty-four hours, and after that to start and
go in search of Dara.

Aurangzeb showed no want of promptitude in carrying out
his disigns. Within twenty-four hours he despatched Bahadur
Khan with several troops of cavalry to occupy the road to and
from Agra on the west. This was to hinder anyone following
Dara. As a result, the first men to take to the road before the
day dawned, among them several Europeans, found free pas-
sage; but the rest, not knowing that Bahadur Khan was already
in position, started on the journey, only to be plundered of all
they carried and sent away with a good beating, coming back to
the city.

Without knowing these facts, at nine o'clock in the morning
I made a start, riding my horse, followed by a loaded camel and
some servants. Issuing from the city, I saw several squadrons
dispersed in the plain. As I imagined these to be our men, I
decided to join them. Then I saw that a body of some five
hundred horsemen with its commander was bearing down upon
me. On its drawing near, the leader advanced from it, attended
by two horsemen. When quite close [198] he asked me lovingly
where I was going. I replied without subterfuge that I was on
my way to find my master, Dara. He took compassion on my
youth and innocence, and said to me that if I followed his advice,
I should return home, for if I proceeded farther I ran great risk
of losing my life. This captain was so generous that, to protect
me, he escorted me safely to my house.

If he had not done this, there can be little doubt I should
have been plundered by others posted on the road, or even by
his own soldiers, who betrayed every desire to plunder me had
he not prevented them. Seeing me into my house unharmed,
he advised me not to leave it again. The government had
already changed hands, and Aurangzeb was victor. For that
time I had escaped, and I looked out for a safer opportunity to start in search of Dara, for whom I had a great affection. If Aurangzeb had not barred the way, all Dara’s people would have gone on to rejoin him. But they could not then do it, as I have told you, for they came in tired out by their flight, and their horses quite exhausted.

I remained in the city of Agra, and observed the way in which Aurangzeb forwarded his designs. For on the eighth of the month of June, one thousand six hundred and fifty-six (correctly, 1658), four days after the battle, Aurangzeb and Murad Baksh arrived at Agra. They posted their army close to a garden called Zafarabad (Ja’farabad or Zafarabad) near the city, at a distance of two miles. Thence Aurangzeb sent his eunuch, called Fahim, an able, astute, and loyal person, to visit his father, carrying a thousand beautiful protestations of love and submission. He professed to be much affected by what had passed, his excuse being that the ambitions and evil thoughts of Dara had forced him into resorting to all these extremities. As for the rest, he was highly elated at the good news of his (Shahjahan’s) better health. He was now at the capital, ready to receive and obey his orders.

The eunuch Fahim made no stint, either of obeisances or of soft and humble speeches. He dwelt on the goodwill and excellent intentions of Aurangzeb. Nor, on the other hand, was Shahjahan wanting in a plentiful display of loving satisfaction. Desirous of keeping on the throne, he resorted to wiles, for he knew the character and hidden malice of Aurangzeb. He never forgot the words said to him by the faqir, that he must not put trust in Aurangzeb, nor in his soft words.

Therefore he devoted himself to searching for a plan to remedy his present evil case. He thought first of coming out and passing through the city, to find out whether his generals meant to succour him. But he saw perfectly that it was already too late: all of them had gone over to Aurangzeb. Even if the city residents were willing to join him, he saw clearly that nothing could be effected through them. If the citizens were like those of Europe, there can be not the least doubt that they could have at that time given Aurangzeb plenty of occupation.

155. The ‘‘Alamgirnamah,’’ page 112, line 3, says the camp was at the garden (bagh) known as Nur Manzil. The site of it is included in the present cantonment.
Finally, Shahjahan came to the determination to play a game of finesse with Aurangzeb, a supreme master in that line. To this end he sent a eunuch called Almes (Almas) with a statement that he knew well enough the evil condition and small capacity of Dara. He was delighted at the arrival of his son Aurangzeb, and out of the special love he bore to him, he had granted him the vast territories of the Dakhin. He had a great longing to converse with him in person, and communicate to him several plans that must be carried out to repress the disorders in the empire [199], and he was awaiting his appearance, having the greatest longing to embrace him.

All this was said to draw Aurangzeb into the fortress; and without a shadow of doubt he meant to murder him if he went there. He had previously made all preparations in secret. There were many strong-limbed Tartara (Tatar), Calmaça (Qalmaq), and Osbeca (Uzbek) women in his guard, all skilled in the use of arms. These would have slain Aurangzeb with their matchlocks, arrows, and swords. But the wily Aurangzeb, the very quintessence of deceit, quite foresaw that he ought not to trust in the words of Shahjahan, and knew thoroughly that Begam Sahib, very fond of Dara, and always present with her father, would never cease exerting herself in every possible way for his (Dara's) cause as against him (Aurangzeb). He had no need of listening to words; what he had to do was to obtain mastery over the realm without delay. Thus he declined to risk himself.

All the same, he never ceased to spread the rumour, one day after another, that he was going to see Shahjahan. When the appointed day arrived, there arose some excuse to put it off to another date. In this way he went on from day to day postponing the date of the visit. Meanwhile, he continued in secret to seduce by soft words the greater nobles at the court. In the end, having everything thoroughly ready in secret, he was in a position to carry out what he had planned. When everybody was looking for the visit to be paid, Aurangzeb ordered his son Sultan Muhammad to assume command in his (Aurangzeb's) name at the office of the cotual (kotwal), who is the chief magistrate ruling over the whole city. Under cover of this movement, he was to rush on and encircle the fortress, and allow no one to enter.

Shahjahan was thrown into dismay at finding himself all of a sudden invested—above all, when he found that Aurangzeb
and all his men were posted opposite the fortress, near the tomb of Taia-mahal (Taj Mahal or Mumtaz Mahal), the wife of Shahjahan, of which place I have already spoken (I. 121). When Aurangzeb had arrived here, Shaistah Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Jumla, with many others then in the city, went forth to receive him. They offered him costly presents, and congratulated him on his great success, all of them in high spirits at seeing what they had so keenly desired. I do not know that among the men of any standing there were more than two not included in the ranks of the traitors. These were Danijbad can (Danishmand Khan), the greatest scholar in the empire, and Mecoromcan (Mukarram Khan), physician of Shahjahan, natives of Persia, who both stopped at home and declared their neutrality.

Poor Shahjahan found himself in the fort with no one except Asstecan (Asad Khan), of whom I will say more presently (I. 201). He came forth from his palace and went the rounds in the fort, and gave orders to equip such fighting men as there were, and get ready his artillery. On noticing that Aurangzeb's men were closing in, he ordered them to be fired on; he had by this time given up all hope of the interview for which he had been waiting. But Aurangzeb paid no heed to these shots, and went on with his advance, taking possession of the whole city. He posted his forces beneath the walls of the fort, under cover of the rows of houses that surrounded it.

Although already caught as in a cage, Shahjahan never desisted from firing his guns and his musketry to hold back the investing force from nearer approach. But no damage was done, the enemy being safely under cover, and without need to return

156. Mullah Shafi'a,i, Yazdi, Danishmand Khan, came to India to practise medicine, and was taken into Shahjahan's service in the twenty-fourth year (circa 1650). In the thirty-first year he had risen to be Mir Bakhshi, with the rank of 3,000 (800 horse). He died on the 1oth Rabili, 1081 H. (July 28, 1670) ('Ma.asir-ul-Umarra, iii. 30). He was Bernier's patron (see 'Travels,' p. 4). For 'Mukarram' (referred to again in Part II, fol. 44), we should probably read 'Taqarrub' Khan (Hakim Da,ud). He was physician to Shahjahan at Agra, and died early in 1073 H., which began on August 15, 1662 ('Ma.asir-ul-Umarra, i. 490). There are also details of Hakim Da,ud's career in Kewal Ram's 'Tazkirat-ul-Umarra,' British Museum Additional MS., 16,703, fol. 25b. It is there said that he resigned his offices in the first year of Aurangzeb: he had come from Iran in the seventeenth year of Shahjahan (circa 1643).
the fire. The guns were loaded and discharged for three days and three nights, making a great noise. At the end of that time the artillerymen, at whose head was the man called Rabin Simitt (\textit{? Reuben Smith}) [200], an Englishman, commenced to escape, descending the walls by ropes. They had been bribed by Aurangzeb, who communicated with them by letting fly an arrow into the fort. The remainder of the garrison, when they saw the departure of the artillerymen, lost heart, and began also to plan the means of flight.

At this time Aurangzeb sent in a petition to Shahjahan, making excuses for the delay there had been in coming to pay his visit. He made use of the pretext that he had been ill, that he was unable to come, and that meanwhile, against his will, his restless soldiers had taken the initiative. Now he begged leave to send his son Sultan Muhammad to visit him, and pay to him his most humble respects. Then, restored to health, as would soon be the case, he would be able to perform this duty in person.

Shahjahan agreed to this proposal, in the hope of still executing his project. To this intent he made ready many lengths of valuable cloth to be presented to Sultan Muhammad, who was to be received with great pomp. He wanted to see if by this method he could draw Aurangzeb. But that Machiavelli was very far from having that sort of feeling. His orders to Sultan Muhammad were, on the contrary, that on reaching the gate of the fort, he should enter promptly, and secure the entrance. Then he should bring in all his men, killing anyone that resisted. These instructions were carried out by his son, without omitting a single point.

Shahjahan was greatly amazed at this treachery, being then in his palace amid his women, over two thousand in number, all resolved to die in defence of their lord. From this cause Aurangzeb did not push matters farther, fearing that there might happen to him some misfortune in carrying to the end his design. He knew the proverb: 'Quem todo quer, todo lo perde' ['He who wants everything loses everything)—or the French: ‘Qui trop embrasse, mal étreint.‘] He sent word to his father that he should take his ease in his harem, that he was no longer in a state to rule, that he should enjoy himself with his ladies and abandon all anxiety. For he (Aurangzeb) took the whole weight of the empire on himself. When Aurangzeb effected this project Shah-
jahan was sixty-one years of age, and had reigned thirty-two years and three months.\textsuperscript{157}

Finding that by this time it was no longer in his power to do anything likely to secure his liberty, Shahjahan invented a plot which, if successful, would have been the overthrow of Aurangzeb. Thus was necessity a subtle counsellor. His device was to send for Sultan Muhammad to his presence, on the pretext that, finding him so able, he intended to make him king. The prince would never fail with such a bait to come to the palace without an hour's delay, and would never neglect this excellent chance of getting the crown from the hands of his grandfather, coupling with it a deed pleasing to God and the whole world by setting free one unjustly oppressed. But Sultan Muhammad, a man of sense, was not carried away by the words of his grandfather. He knew certainly that all his own leaders and the majority of men in the city were well affected to Aurangzeb, his father, since they had invited [201] him to come. If he attempted what his grandfather proposed, he would fall into the same condition as the old man. Thus he declined to listen to or accept the proposal, nor did he set foot within the palace. He sent instead a rough answer that he had no orders from his father either to visit or to listen to him. He had injunctions not to return without bringing the keys of all the gates of the fortress.

Shahjahan did not lose his wits, but replied that his grandson could come freely and in all security into the palace. He longed to embrace him, and into his hands he would deliver the keys, not only of the fortress but of all the empire, making over the crown to him. But Sultan Muhammad persisted in his resolve, and replied that those words were mere vanity; it was no longer the time to talk thus. Let him send the keys, unless he wanted to be reduced to a worse state. Finding him thus resolute, Shahjahan made up his mind to send the keys. For he observed the great activity of Sultan Muhammad and the people under him. They allowed no food-supplies to pass. The people inside

\textsuperscript{157} Shahjahan was born on the 1st Rabi' II., 1000 H. (January 16, 1592, N.S.), and succeeded his father on the 8th Jamada II., 1037 H. (February 14, 1628, N.S.). He was deposed, according to Elphinstone, on the 17th Ramazan, 1068 H. (June 18, 1658, N.S.). Thus, he was sixty-eight and a half lunar, and sixty-six and a half solar, years of age, and had reigned thirty-one years three months nine days (or thirty years four months four days), at the time of his deposition.
suffered hunger and thirst, and little by little they were forced to abandon the post they occupied near the private apartments, which is called the ‘Am chai’ (? ‘Am-Khas), where Shahjahan gave audience.

Finding himself in this plight and without any security for his person, he sent the keys. His determination was that if the enemy advanced farther, he would elect to die by force, with the women, eunuchs, and Asad Khan. The latter declined to leave his king, and kept the door to the harem, just as if he were a humble servitor. This he did out of the great affection and loyalty that he had for Shahjahan.

When he sent the keys, Shahjahan forwarded a message for Aurangzeb that he must come to see him at once: he had business of very great importance to consult him upon. He hoped thus to get him into the harem and assassinate him. But Aurangzeb sagacious, able, and quick-witted, only laughed at such words. He sent instead a trusty eunuch that Shahjahan had given him long before, called Atbarcan (I’tibar Khan). This man now succeeded in shutting up Shahjahan in his harem with Begam Sahib and the rest of the women, removing Roshan-ara Begam, the beloved sister of Aurangzeb, who was despatched with great pomp.

Then I’tibar Khan caused many gates and wickets to be built up, posting here and there harsh women guardians in such a way that Shahjahan could neither speak nor write to any stranger, nor come out from the door of his harem to enjoy a stroll in his garden without the eunuch’s leave. Even here Aurangzeb’s astuteness did not end. As justification for his acts, and to turn away the people from Shahjahan, he prepared a forged letter in his (Shahjahan’s) name. It was addressed to Dara, and advised him not to go very far away from Agra; for already the time was near when he would see his rebellious and inimical brothers slain by the very hands of him whose misfortune it was to be their father, those monsters filled with the basest barbarities. Soon Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh would come to visit him; they would enter alive, but never come out on their own feet. They would be carried out by the hands of others bearing them to burial. Then if he (Dara), his faithful and only son, would come to Agra, he could enjoy and rule over the empire.
This forged letter was brought to Aurangzeb when he was giving audience, and many people were present at court. It was opened [202] by Shaistah Khan. On hearing its contents, Aurangzeb feigned consternation, and his face blanched; he began striking the ground with his feet and beating his pillows with his open hand; he made display of the greatest terror, as at some most displeasing news, and betrayed all the signs of having learnt of some great treachery. He held his head down in thought, and then directed the letter to be read aloud, and after that told them to give it to anyone who wanted to read it for himself. By these actions everybody was greatly terrified. Then, resuming his wiles, Aurangzeb expressed his desire to see his father, and said the letter might be a forgery. Thereupon the great men in attendance urged that his highness should not run any such risk. But he, multiplying his devices, would not be appeased.

He (Aurangzeb) directed the votes of all at court to be taken whether it was advisable or not for him to pay this visit. All with one consent replied that it was undesirable, nor would they ever consent to it. At this answer he pretended to be very hurt and aggrieved, though inwardly rejoicing. He decided to write a note to his father, which he caused to be read out to the whole court before he sealed it. Among other arguments this note stated that he knew of a certainty that, in spite of all the great protestations of esteem made to him, and the displeasure declared against Dara, and all the warm affection said to be retained for him (Aurangzeb), he (Shahjahan) had nevertheless made over to Dara on his leave-taking mule-loads of gold coin, simply to pay a new force to oppose him (Aurangzeb). But, all the same, he (Aurangzeb) would never desist until he had captured Dara, the cause of all these troubles. After this design was achieved, on that very same day, he would undoubtedly visit Shahjahan, and submit to him like an obedient son. Furthermore, he sought him to pardon him, and not to persist in his anger. When he had crushed the power and overcome the ill designs of Dara, he would himself throw open the doors and make him lord and master, as before.

At one time I knew some women left to serve Shahjahan and Begam Sahib, whose business it was to receive and reply to letters and notes arriving from outside. They assured me that such a letter never reached the court of Shahjahan. Aurangzeb
started these stories solely to the end of conciliating the people and excusing his deceptions. He wanted to place the culpability upon Shahjahan and Dara, and to prove that all the tyranny employed against his father was amply justifiable.

At this time there happened a ridiculous occurrence, known to everybody. Begam Sahib's musician, called Dulera, seeing that Shahjahan and Begam Sahib were prisoners, and there was no hope of getting the accustomed presents planned the acquisition of new friends. He went to see several of Murad Bakhsh's commanders, and was well received, for he could sing to perfection. Being in merry mood, the wine began to go round. Dulera, already heated, ran down the wine they gave him. He ordered his servants to fetch some more exquisite wine, such as he always drank.

The officers noticed the grand ways of the musician; and when the wine arrived, they found it was in bottles of gold and enamel, adorned [203] with precious stones, such as the officers themselves did not possess. Dulera exalted himself a good deal in his talk, assuming to be the equal of the officers. Seeing so much impudence and assumption, and also moved by the envy and resentment they felt towards Begam Sahib, they had him bound, and stripping him of his trousers, forced a lighted night-lamp into his anus, leaving it to burn until the musician begged pardon for his transgressions. They sent him off with blows and kicks. This occurrence made him lower the lofty ideas that he had, and retiring to his house he stayed there until his death, and never appeared again.

Finding himself already practically with control over all the nobles at court, and Shahjahan securely lodged in prison, Aurangzeb appointed his maternal uncle, Shaistah Khan, governor of the city of Agra. Taking out of the treasury whatever money he wanted, he and Murad Bakhsh started in pursuit of Dara. The latter was already in Lahor raising a new army, having lost all hope of aid from Sulaiman Shukoh.

On the day that the two armies quitted Agra, which was in the beginning of June, I disguised myself as a holy mendicant and joined their train, meaning to stick to the service of Dara. The eunuch Shahbaz and the more intimate friends of Murad Bakhsh advised him to allow Aurangzeb to go after Dara by himself, while he should conduct an investment of Agra and Dihli with his army, which was already far larger than before.
But, not perceiving the finessing and willingness of Aurangzeb, he relied on the promises and oaths of fidelity which had been made to him upon the Alcorao (the Qur'an). He neglected to listen to these faithful men, and allowed himself to be played with by that fabricator and deceiver.

The two armies took the route for Dihli, the one at a distance from the other of a short mile or so. They marched along the bank of the river Jamnah until they were near to an ancient Hindu town called Matora (Mathura), distant eighteen leagues from Agra, where there is an imposing temple. During the march a great number of Dara's men came in, and several of the defeated officers. These sought service with Murad Bakhsh, and he granted them high pay. Daler Khan also arrived, he who had deserted Sulaiman Shukoh. He visited Aurangzeb, who paid him a thousand civilities, and gave him many presents with an increase of pay. Jai Singh departed for his own territories.

On the way Aurangzeb omitted nothing in pretended deference and consideration for Murad Bakhsh. He sent him several times during the day men with quantities of fruit and choice flowers, repeating that he must prepare himself; for, in a few days' time, he meant to crown him (Murad Bakhsh) king. To this intent he ordered to be made ready a number of new tents, raiment, jewels, caparisoned elephants and horses. He also ostentatiously began to collect food to be cooked in his kitchen, sweetmeats, several kinds of scent, and flowers. Orders were given to all the dancing-women and musicians to prepare and hold themselves in readiness.

I noticed that in Aurangzeb's army there was a great deal of secret confabulation with nods and metaphors (a habit very common in Hindustan), such as 'The tiger big with young will soon bring forth,' or, as others said, 'The sick man can never recover.' Thus the intention of Aurangzeb was sufficiently obvious to his people. But in the army of Murad Bakhsh there was nothing but music, dancing, wine-bibbing, and revelry. Still, many friends of Murad Bakhsh, and above all, the eunuch Shahbaz, pressed on him that Aurangzeb had evil designs; that without a doubt there would be some trickery; they had information from several sources that Aurangzeb was setting some trap for him. But he (Murad Bakhsh), infatuated [204] with the lying words of his brother, and intoxicated with power, paid no heed
to such advice, holding the erroneous opinion that his brother's oaths were sincere, and his soft words the daughters of truth.

Before reaching Mathura, Aurangzeb selected a place called Coliquigat (Koli-ki-ghat). It was spacious, open, and every way suited for such a joyful day as a coronation, both by the loveliness of the country and the charms of the river. The latter seemed by the murmurs of its waters either to rejoice at the good luck Aurangzeb, now almost arrived at the accomplishment of his purpose, or to weep over the disenchantment of Murad Bakhsh. When he was looking forward to being crowned, surrounded by the nobles and generals in his service and subjection, Murad Bakhsh found himself instead in the hands of the soldiers of retributory justice, and was made to pay the penalty of his obstinacy. For he would not listen to his faithful advisers, who said they were certain of Aurangzeb's evil designs.

On the 15th of June, after a halt of four days at the above place, Aurangzeb sent his son Sultan Muhammad and all the great captains to invite Murad Bakhsh to visit his camp, where his desire would be fulfilled, and the pledge given him redeemed by his being crowned as king. The said day was pronounced by the astrologers to be propitious. Then Murad Bakhsh arranged to start, never imagining that a prison awaited him. But the faithful Shahbaz and other officers entreated him to send an excuse for that day, informing Aurangzeb that he had a slight ailment, and that another day must be fixed. In the interval he could make more certain of what Aurangzeb was working for. Several of Aurangzeb's officers continued their visits, and through them he could find out the truth. But he would not listen to them any more, and the advice was thrown away, for Prince

158. Through the kindness of Mr. H. C. Ferard, collector of Mathura, I have obtained a most interesting identification of this place by S. M. Abdul Hadi, the senior Government pleader there. The Koli ghat, or crossing, lies six miles south of Mathura, and a little over a mile from the modern Aurangabad on the Agrah road, where the stables erected by Aurangzeb still exist. The inhabitants say that Aurangabad was the site of the camp, and that the Emperor erected a mosque, and gave the village its present name.

159. Bernier gives no day, but the 'Alamgirnamah,' p. 138, top line, has the 4th Shawwal, 1068 H. (July 5, 1658). The 'Tariikh-i-Muhammad,' year 1071 H., says on hearsay authority that Murad Bakhsh was killed at Gwalior, by Aurangzeb's order, on Wednesday, the 21st Rabi' II., 1071 H. (December 25, 1660). He was thirty-eight.
Murad Bakhsh had no distrust of Aurangzeb. More fixed than ever in his purpose, and relying on the oath of his brother, he mounted his horse, and set out for the tents of Aurangzeb, attended by Shabbaz and other officers.

At a short distance from his tents he was met by an officer, Ibrahim Khan.\(^{160}\) This was the man who advised Dara, after the river passage had been forced, to send off twelve thousand cavalry against Aurangzeb, as I have related (I. 185). After a salutation he approached, and laying hold of the prince’s reins, asked in a low voice, with a perturbed face, where he was going. Murad Bakhsh replied very quietly that he was on his way to declare himself absolute monarch. The officer replied: ‘I rejoice greatly; but what is the necessity for your highness to go to another’s house, when with greater security you can carry it out in your own?’ Saying this, he gently turned Murad Bakhsh’s horse round. But he in a rage resumed his course, and the officer, seeing the deliberate resolve and determination of the prince, said aloud. ‘Your majesty is on your way to prison.’ Hearing this. Shabbaz would not lose this occasion, and drawing up to his master, prayed him for the love of God and the great Muhammad to be pleased to accept the advice of the officer. But Murad Bakhsh laid his hand on his sword, and exclaimed: ‘Asman que si bahader nist (Azn man kase bahadur nist) that is to say, ‘none is braver than I am.’

He went on until he reached the entrance to the tent of Aurangzeb. At this moment the qazi came out, and while making a lowly reverence, whispered: ‘With your feet you have come,’ meaning thereby that when he came out it would be against his will. But he, bewitched by the friendliness of Aurangzeb, did not pause to reflect, but went within. Aurangzeb now multiplied his wiles, and came out to greet him, along with Sec Mir (Shekh Mir)\(^{161}\) and his brother, Amircan (Amir Khan), and other officers, his intimates and devoted followers, handsomely attired, and with beaming faces. Embracing him, he (Aurangzeb) expressed the abundant love he had for him, cajoling him [205] with obsequious bows and many expressions of civility. Leading him to a great and handsome seat, he prayed him to be seated, and drove away

160. Ibrahim Khan, son of ‘Ali Mardan Khan, as the passage on fol. 185 shows.
161. For Shekh Mir, see footnote to I., fol. 241.
the flies by agitating a handkerchief gently before his face, wiping away the sweat and the dust, and treating him throughout as king and lord.

Then there appeared men and women musicians, and during their singing flowers were scattered and rose-water sprinkled everywhere; also many scents and perfumes were employed. Outside the tents different instruments struck up, and within were the dances of the ballet girls. At all this Murad Bakhsh was elated and pleased, as if already in enjoyment of the first-fruit of his glory. Three hours after his arrival, when it may have been two o'clock in the afternoon, they began the feast. Aurangzeb had beforehand ordered his officers to invite those of Murad Bakhsh to their tents, and the whole night was spent in mirth. Word of all this passed through the camp, and Murad Bakhsh's soldiers, seeing that their officers had settled down to a night of festivity, on their side made plans to go out in search of supplies and forage for their horses.

Murad Bakhsh, was left with no one but his eunuch, Shahbaz, who all the time he was dining stood at his back fully armed. Then they began to eat and drink. All Aurangzeb's officers stood serving and pouring out wine for Murad Bakhsh, while Aurangzeb offered him different dishes and acted as his table servant. All this was done with much dissimulation and great efforts to please. The meal lasted for two hours. At the end of it Aurangzeb said to his brother that he must take a rest, while he (Aurangzeb) made ready the throne, and ascertained from the mathematicians (astrologers) the exact moment for taking his seat thereon, when he would come in person to awake him.

The hapless prince retired to another room to take some repose, and found there a beautiful woman, with whom he wanted to toy; but the eunuch, Shahbaz, forbade him, and turned the woman out. Sleep soon fell upon him, for he was heavy with wine, and Shahbaz, seating himself, kneaded his master's feet, and kept an eye fixed on the door. In a short time he saw Aurangzeb come out alone from another door opposite, in white shirt and drawers and a plain cap. With head bent and smiling, he advanced very deliberately, pulling at his beard, just as if he wanted to ask Shahbaz something. When at a little distance from the door, he halted, and raising his head, made a sign with his hand to the eunuch for him to approach, as if he wanted to get
his opinion on some point. Poor Shahbaz hastened to obey, but hardly had he put his head outside the door, when four men seized him by the shoulders and lifted him off his feet, so that he could neither shout nor use his weapons. Then forthwith strangling him, they buried him without a sound.

Oppressed by wine, Murad Bakhsh went on sleeping. But Aurangzeb was wide awake. His brother having been deprived of his faithful eunuch, he felt sure of his plan succeeding. Still, to make assurance doubly sure, he sent for his son, Sultan A'zam, then six or seven years of age, and living in the harem. When the boy appeared, he showed him quietly a lovely ornament, and told him if he would carry off his sleeping uncle's sword without rousing him, he should receive the jewel. This was done so that if Murad Bakhsh should wake, he would see that he who had roused him was an innocent child, and would suspect no evil.

The boy, to gain the reward, went cautiously into his uncle's room and silently drew away the sword from his [206] side, and made it over to his father. Again he showed the boy another jewel, and said he should get it if he went once more and took away the dagger also. Highly delighted, the child went in as he had done before, and carried off the dagger also. Poor Murad Bakhsh was now unarmed, and without a defender. Pleased at finding himself master of the arms, of the army, and of the person of Murad Bakhsh, Aurangzeb drew a deep breath of joy and relief at the finish of his labours, cunning plots, and anxieties.

Then he called in the men hidden for the purpose, and ordered them to bring in the fetters already lying ready for use. Some, on the other hand, want to make out that these fetters were of silver, intended by Aurangzeb to terrify his son Sultan Muhammad if he were disobedient. Six men went into the room where Murad Bakhsh was, and, laying hold of his feet forcibly and disrespectfully, began to place on them the fetters. This was very different from what the eunuch Shahbaz used to do: he used to waken him by gentle pressure on the feet. Turning his body hastily, and not seeing his eunuch, but unknown men with fetters in their hands and angry faces, Murad Bakhsh reached out hastily to the place where his weapons had been. But, finding himself deprived

162. Muhammad A'zam was born on the 12th Sha'ban, 1063 H. (October 17, 1653, N.S.), and therefore his age was four years seven months and twenty-eight days on June 15, 1658.
of all resource, he lost heart, and, becoming aware from that moment of his treacherous betrayal, he allowed his feet to be held, and made no movement while they put on the fetters. Then with bent head he muttered: 'This is the word and oath sworn to me on the Quran.' Some men have asserted to me that, if Aurangzeb had failed in this plan, he had resolved and determined to take his brother's life by violence that very day.

The project had been kept so secret that no one had an idea of what was passing. To mislead everyone still further Augangzeb ordered the instruments to strike up anew, both within and without. The whole army, hearing once more those strains of gladness, supposed that the festivities had been renewed and would last all night, as is commonly the practice in Hindustan. Thus the soldiers took upon themselves to seek such diversions as they pleased, and dispersed in all directions. All this was done by Aurangzeb with the object that, having scattered and sought repose, the soldiers should be prevented from suspecting what he had on hand. He was a little afraid that Murad Bakhsh's soldiers, on hearing of the treachery, might not break out into mutiny. He also, for the same reason, strengthened the guards round his own tent.

When it was six o'clock in the evening, there appeared all of a sudden two elephants with covered howdahs, such as are used for harem women, with an escort of four thousand cavalry armed with sword and lance, under the command of Daler Khan, who had lately joined. There were other four thousand horsemen, armed in the same way, under the command of Bahadur Khan, foster-brother of Aurangzeb. Entering the tent enclosures, one body from the east and the other from the west, Murad Bakhsh was fastened upon the elephant brought in on the east under the orders of Daler Khan. After a brief delay there issued from the enclosure [207] the closed howdahs, one towards Dibbi and the other towards Agrah. Each was escorted by one of the squadrons already alluded to, and they travelled with celerity.

This invention was to leave everyone in doubt, so that they could not decide upon which elephant Murad Bakhsh was mounted, should they intend any outbreak. The whole business was carried out with the greatest secrecy. The hour of night was also chosen, in order that if anyone attempted a rising it could not easily be carried out; the time of feasting was chosen because
Murad Bakhsh's officers were at the tents of others, separated from their soldiers. Therefore, if any officer well affected to Murad Bakhsh should attempt anything in defence of his master, he would be stopped by his (Aurangzeb's) adherents, to whom he had promised many and valuable presents if they allowed no one to issue from their tents.

On the departure of those two elephants from the camp, the soldiers suspected some treachery, and there arose a great confusion, as they knew not what mystery lay hidden under the sending-off of those two elephants escorted by the troops of cavalry. Then there came out several horsemen and some men on foot, shouting loudly: 'Long live King Aurangzeb!' adding that all those in the service of Shahjahan, of Dara, and of Murad Bakhsh who were willing to enlist under King Aurangzeb would obtain double pay. Murad Bakhsh's officers, who were feasting, were disturbed in mind and tried to get away, but Aurangzeb's officers laid hold of their hands and advised them not to expose themselves to any risk, but to accept the pay promised by Aurangzeb. They should not, they told them, go in search of death for a cause already beyond their help, for so had Murad Bakhsh decreed.

The officers and soldiers spent that night in great anxiety, knowing not what course to pursue. By the time morning dawned they accepted the proposals of Aurangzeb. The latter took possession of all the wealth and forces of Murad Bakhsh. All his wives, sons, and daughters, and all his dependents were sent to the fortress of Dihli. The orders given to Daler Khan, who went in charge of Murad Bakhsh, were that, on getting near to Dihli, he should uncover the howdah, and in that condition enter into the city. The prince was to be carried to the stronghold of Selimguer (Selimgarh), built long ago by King Selim Xa (Salim Shah) of the Pathan race. This place is in the middle of the river Jamnah, close to the Royal Fortress newly reconstructed by Shahjahan, and called Xaanabat (Shahjahanabad). You cross to it (Salimgarh) by a great bridge, which stands between the one fortress and the other.

It was very pitiful to see poor Murad Bakhsh make this miserable entry into Dihli visible to all, his face dejected, wearing a blue turban ill put on; behind him an executioner with a naked sword in his hand, ready upon any attempt at rescue to cut off
his head. Daler Khan followed at the rear of Murad Bakhsh upon another elephant, an arrow ready in his bow. Thus, too, rode the troopers of his squadrons, and it seemed as if some criminal were being borne to the scaffold. Thus was this unfortunate prince taken into the fortress aforesaid with great precautions, and it was ordered that poppywater be given him to drink to deprive him of his senses.

At this juncture Aurangzeb disclosed his motive for asserting himself to be and pretending to be a poor mendicant [208]; it was only to secure an easier access to the emperor’s seat, and mislead everyone. For, hardly had Murad Bakhsh fallen into his hands, Dara and Sulaiman Shukoh been defeated, and his father imprisoned, than he proclaimed himself emperor. He conferred many distinctions and gifts on the men of Shahjahan, Dara, Murad Bakhsh, and Sulaiman Shukoh who came over to his side, thereby the more easily to gain their adherence and attach them more strongly to his interests. Thus he became at once master of a great army.

Beholding all this, and hearing that Dara had decided to raise a fresh army in the province of Lahor, I started as a humble mendicant for the city of Dihli. There I remained some fifteen days, awaiting the assembling of more travellers. For the villagers and thieves were plundering on the highways, and created a good deal of tribulation to travellers, robbing and slaying them. They were forced to do their stages with arms ready in their hands, while pursuing their way. Each night we took shelter in the saraes, where we were able to take rest in some security. Every day we halted at noon to feed and rest the animals; and at two in the afternoon we resumed our march, until we reached another sarae somewhere before sunset. Once on this journey we were resting at midday near a town called Panipat, distant from Dihli four days’ journey. When the time came to start again, my cart-man could not be found, and the convoy set out. I knew not what to do, for after a good deal of effort I was unable to get hold of my cart-driver. By this trouble I was much put out, for I found the oxen would not obey me; nor could I travel on foot, for fear of being attacked. The men of the place surrounded me and wanted to rob me, which they did not do, only because I had nothing. I was much perplexed. They advised me to con-
tinue my route, for during the night (as they assumed) someone would be able to kill me [209].

Meanwhile my cart-driver turned up; he came running in great haste from the halting-place. As soon as he got near me I fell upon him in a great rage and gave him a sound beating. I knew not the favour that had been accorded me by Divine Providence, which 'in sui dispositions non falitur,' and even does us the most benefit when it seems the most against us. I started on my road, and the cart-man wanted to hurry, fancying that he could catch up the rest of the party, who were two hours ahead of us, and thereby enter into my good graces again. But I assured him we could never overtake them, anyhow, could not reach the surae. He had better drive on at a moderate pace. Still displeased with the cart-man, I inquired why he had been so heedless, knowing the perils existing on the road. He replied that, overcome by his necessities, he had gone some distance from the town, and then there had come on him heavy sleep, so that he had been unable to wake sooner; this was the cause of his delay.

During this conversation we had entered into a wood, through which we had to pass. When within it, I beheld with terror the greater number of our party heaped together, either decapitated or wounded, and all plundered and ruined; the few who survived were stripped naked. The cart-man, frightened to death at the spectacle, wanted to drive off with his cart across the jungle without attending the dead and wounded lying on the road. I told him to go slowly, that there was nothing to be afraid of, for the danger had passed (although I was a good deal frightened myself). I found one poor creature lying in the middle of the road with a spear thrust through him, who raising his hands to heaven, prayed me to help him. Taking compassion on him, I stretched forth my hand to lift him into my cart, whereupon the driver picked up his bullocks, and did not give me the chance of doing this deed of charity.

We went on our way, and coming forth from the wood, I noticed that the inhabitants of the village where we were to put up appeared before us. Aware of the great mishap that had occurred, when, in spite of all that, they saw a cart appear quietly from such a perilous spot, they were in the greatest amazement, and questioned me as to how I had saved my life. Then I replied that God knew how to deliver poor men from the hands of scoun-
drels. I continued my Journey, always in fear of thieves, until I reached the river called Bear (Biyas or Biah), where I found an officer, Dautcan (Da,ud Khan), who quitting Sulaiman Shukoh, had come to join Dara through jungle and desert by a very difficult route, where he had been in fear of his life. This he did for the love he bore him (Dara). The latter had entrusted him with sufficient artillery, cavalry, and infantry to bar the passage of the river to Aurangzeb.

I presented myself to him (Da,ud Khan), and as he recognised me, he treated me with much honour and granted me a passport for my onward journey. Without such no one could go on to the city of Lahor. There I arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon when Prince Dara was actually seated giving audience. Quitting the cart, I threw my small wallet across my shoulder, and taking in my hands my bow and seven arrows, I entered the palace. When my commander Barcandas Can (Barqandaz Khan) saw me, he advanced to greet me, and after embracing me with great affection, he led me joyfully to the presence [210] of the prince, just as I was. There I performed the usual obeisances, and he (Dara) with exceeding gladness exclaimed in a loud voice: 'Xabas! xabas!' (Shabash! shabash!)—that is to say, 'Bravo! bravo!' His eyes brimming over with tears, he turned to his officers and said in a troubled tone: 'See, you others, the fidelity of this European Farangi lad, who, although neither of my religion nor of my race, nor for long an eater of my salt, having only entered my service when these wars began, came after me with such loyalty through the midst of such dangers; while those maintained by me for so long, and getting immense payments, with base ingratitude and utter disloyalty abandoned me when I had need of them, just as you others have seen.'

After this speech Dara asked if other European Farangis accompanied me. To this I answered that the hardships of the road hindered many from coming, but as they found a chance they would come. Dara ordered a horse to be given to me, which was at once brought. Not liking the look of it, he directed them

163. Da,ud Khan, Qureshi, Shekhdzadhah of Hisar Firuzah, left Dara at Bhakkar, and returned to his home via Jaisulmer. He was afterwards Governor of Patnab (1659-65) on behalf of Aurangzeb. In 1681 H. (1670-71) he was Governor of Allahabad (see 'Ma,asr-ul-Umara,' ii. 30).
to give me another and better one. He increased my pay, making it in place of eighty rupees one hundred and fifty rupees every month. An order issued for a present to me of five hundred rupees with a ‘serpao’ (sarapa). I put up at a house where several of my European friends were staying; they had got away from Agra before it was invested, and with them I dwelt.

Prince Dara wasted no time, but with extreme energy enlisted fresh men to form a good army and resist Aurangzeb, whose acts he knew of. He had already some thirty thousand horsemen of various races, Mongolis (Mughals), Saheides (Sayyids), and Patanis (Pathans). While these preparations were going on there came Raja Sarupsing (Rajah Sarup Singh)\(^{164}\)—that is to say, ‘Beauty of the Lion’—who had been sent for by Dara. He brought four thousand horse and ten thousand infantry. The territory of this rajah adjoins the mountains in the kingdom of Kashmir, and he has an army of fifteen thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand infantry, all of them Rajputs. Dara with great entreaty had begged him to be so good as to do him the favour of coming at this time to join him with all his men. He would never forget it, when the time came to reward and recompense him. To gain him more securely to his side, he (Dara) allowed his wife to send for the rajah to her harem, where with soft words the princess once more begged for his aid and gave him many presents, the chief being a string of [211] pearls of great value that she threw over his neck. She addressed him as her son, and said she looked on him as in the place of her son Sulaiman Shukoh. Then she did a thing never done before in the Mogul’s empire—that is say, she offered him water to drink with which she had washed her breasts, not having milk in them, as a confirmation of her words. He drank with the greatest acceptance and swore he would be ever true, and never fail in the duties of a son. But he needed some money for expenses, so as to enlist all the men he could, in addition to those he had already brought.

Dara believed in him, and at once ordered them to give him a million of rupees (1,000,000=ten lakhs!). He left for his own

\(^{164}\) In Part III. this man is called Rup Singh. The correct name seems to be Rajrup; he was the son of Rajah Jagat Singh, son of Rajah Basu, of Mau and Pathan in the Bari Du såbah (see ‘Ma jasir-ul-Umara,’ ii. 277). Pathan is, I fancy, the same as Pathankot, fourteen miles east of Nurpur, on the road into Kashmir, lat. 32° 18′, long. 75° 42′.
country, promising to return very soon, equipped in every way. When Aurangzeb learnt what the rajah had done, he wrote him a letter, which sufficed to make him disappoint Dara. The latter, being informed that Aurangzeb was marching onwards, wrote letter after letter to Rajrup Singh urging him to come and make no more delay, for the time when his aid was wanted was now drawing near. But he never answered, and remained in his own country with the money he had received, and the poor prince beheld the hopes he had in this man disappear. Aurangzeb was aware that Dara did not want for loyal officers, among them the great Daud Khan being the most faithful of all. Seeking a method for taking this man away from the prince his brother, and attracting him into his own service, he sent messengers to the crossing upon the river, where this officer was posted, to inquire of his intentions. Would he agree to become one of his (Aurangzeb's) officers? But Daud Khan, ever firm, fixed, and faithful to Dara's interests, replied that he had already given as a sacrifice his life and goods for the service of Dara, and he would accept no other's proposals.

This matter gave an opening for Aurangzeb to sharpen his wits, never being at a loss for some trick. In order to throw Daud Khan out of favour with Dara, he caused a forged letter to be written as in the name of Daud Khan, making him say as follows: 'Your majesty may rest assured that at the first opportunity I will do what I promised, and never be false to my word.' Aurangzeb so managed that this letter fell into the hands of Dara. Thereby Dara began to suspect not only Daud Khan, but all his officers, as it appeared they had already [212] fallen under the influence of Aurangzeb. He ceased to treat Daud Khan on the same familiar terms as formerly. Daud Khan felt that the prince entertained some suspicion of him. He therefore, decided to fall on his knees in Dara's presence (as he did); then taking off his sword, he laid it on the ground and said: 'If your majesty has any doubt of my fidelity, order me to go and loyalty offer my life in the defence of your person and family.' On hearing this speech, Dara took compassion on him and began to have an idea that the letter was forged.

But many days had not passed before Aurangzeb wrote another letter to Daud Khan in which he asked why he delayed so long in fulfilling his promise to lay before him in a short time the head of Dara. He could not fathom the reason of such delay.
This letter fell, as was intended by Aurangzeb, into the hands of Dara. The sight of it totally destroyed his confidence in Da'ud Khan. Word was sent to him not to appear again at court; his appointment was taken from him, and everybody fell under suspicion.

Finding himself in this great extremity, and Aurangzeb still continuing his march by forced stages, Dara made up his mind to remove to the kingdom of Kabul, and thence implore succour from the King of Persia. He therefore despatched an envoy to Mahabat Khan, who was governor of the Kabul kingdom, and to the Pathans of the hill-country, requesting them to give him free passage on his way to Persia. But his object was not to pass through, it was to obtain possession of, that kingdom, and thereby increase his strength. Mahabat Khan remembered their former disputes, of which I have spoken (I.155), and sent him the reply that it would be better to choose another road, because no reliance could be placed upon the Pathans in the hills, thus throwing upon others the blame for his own disinclination.

Dara penetrated sufficiently the object of Mahabat Khan, and, adopting a new idea, now gave orders that all the artillery and munitions of war got ready by Shahjahan for taking the fortress of Qandahar should be embarked on boats. To these were added all the treasures that he had carried with him, and at that time present in Lahor. Other appliances for strengthening the fortress of Bacar (Bhakkar) were added. Aware that Aurangzeb was drawing nearer and nearer, and distrusting his officers, having a force insufficient [213] for resistance, Dara sent an order to withdraw the few men and guns posted at the river crossing. He directed his powder-magazine to be blown up, which was speedily done. He then left Lahor in the end of October one thousand six hundred and fifty-six (correctly 1658). He took with him the whole of his family, and at the head of eight thousand horsemen started for the city of Moltan (Multan), which lies on the bank of the river Ravi, the same river as at Lahor. The distance of that city (Multan) from Lahor is ten days' journey.

I made up my mind not to march along with Dara, owing to some business, but to leave on the third day. During the

Second day I passed before the door of the officer second in command of the artillery, a Turk by race, called Rumican (Rumi Khan), who was busy in preparations and the enlistment of men; he had also some field-pieces, which he meant to take with him. As soon as he saw me he called me, and as I got near, ordered me to dismount at once. He asked me where I was off to, and I answered that I was on my way to make preparations to start for the army. He told me to sit down, and said he also was starting that day; he would send to fetch my baggage, and I could go with him. I was suspicious, believing that he distrusted me, and I concluded that it would not suit me to march with him; for then it could be said that he had brought me by force, which would be to my discredit. So I answered him by praying his leave to go to my house to collect some cash and pay my debts, and to put together my things; after that I would come back and join him. But the obstinate Turk would not listen to me nor give me leave, so it came to my deciding absolutely to kill him, if he would not allow me to go. For it was not right for me to be made to march by force. I was in Dara's service, had a good reputation, and wished to rejoin without the slightest delay. Thus I told him plainly that the favours I had received from Dara left me under such obligation that I would sooner lose my life than miss an occasion to prove my gratitude to my king. For Dara I would sacrifice my person; and if he did not believe me, let him send twenty horsemen with me to my house, which was close by [214]. I would then come back with them. Thus I spoke to him, having absolutely the intention of killing him, although I should lose my own life, if he refused. But God was good to me! For the Turk accepted this my ultimatum, and sent with me twenty horsemen with express orders to bring me back to his presence.

I got on my horse highly delighted, and went on faster and faster, paying no heed to their telling me to go slowly. They urged on their horses to overtake me. This irritated me, so I turned in my seat with an angry face, and, laying hold of my sword, so threatened them that they were afraid and drew back. They contented themselves by following me at a distance until I went in with a rush into the house of a friend, leaving the escort at the door. Directly I had got inside, I seized a musket that was standing in a corner, and then went for them, discharging the piece to frighten them. Next, laying hold of my sword, I shouted, 'Strike,
strike!" though without much hope of success. But they, supposing there were a number of us, scattered in all directions.

After the flight of these horsemen, I told my friend to get upon his hours and come along with me. For, when the news should reach that officer, he would send a great many more soldiers and capture us if we stayed. He would not listen, and, leaving him in his house, I mounted on horseback, and went outside the city until night came on. Then I came home peacefully. My poor friend had been carried off against his will, as I had prophesied. Next morning I removed such chattels as I could not carry with me to the house of another friend. When I was about to bind my bundle on my horse's back, meaning to start on my journey to rejoin the army and Prince Dara, there appeared one of the officers set over the kotwal's pioens (policemen), who was very drunk. This man had complete control over that officer of justice (the kotwal). He began to abuse me, and with harsh words ran down Dara's followers. I dissembled and made use of all my patience, which conquers everything, chiefly because I saw there would soon be a change in the government of the city through the departure of Dara.

Rendered still more impertinent by my apparent quietude and patience, the officer went on with his insolence. In time he exhausted my patience, and in a rage I picked up a stone, and, hurling it with the greatest force, hit him in the mouth, cutting his lips and sending two teeth down his throat. He fell to the ground and spoke no more. I resumed the tying on of my bundle, and before I mounted I gave the fellow several kicks, owing to the rage I was in. Taking to my horse, I set out on my way, unaware that the man's servant had gone to tell his [215] men. Having gone only a few paces, I perceived some thirty foot-soldiers, all armed, coming hastily in search of me to take vengeance for the affront done to their officer. I wanted to turn back, simply that I might rid myself of them. Then I reflected that I should only light upon others lying in wait for me. Fixing my turban more firmly, angry and resolute, sword in hand, I spurred my horse, on which I relied a good deal. I flung myself into their midst, and they, seeing my anger and resolve, were not bold enough to attack me, only having enough presence of mind to salute me and leave me a free passage. They followed me afar off, relying upon others who had been sent in my pursuit. To these it happened as to the first lot, and they all followed
me up to my issuing from the city. I then got rid of them— and went on my way.

After three days I arrived in the army of Dara, where I found the officer who had tried to carry me off by force from Lahor. I told him I had come to lay a complaint against him before Dara. He had been the cause of other Europeans not accompanying me, who subsequently had decided to remain where they were owing to the bad way he had treated me. The Turk, on hearing this, embraced me with the greatest submissiveness, and begged me to suppress my grievance for the sake of his good name.

We continued our marches till the early days of November, when we arrived at Multan, an ancient city where in old days, before the Portuguese were masters of the Eastern seas, there came many cafillas (qafilah) of merchandise and spices and drugs of India. With us marched the great Da, ud Khan who, spurred by the loyalty and affection that he had to Dara, would not abandon him, offering through others to serve him faithfully, as he had done for many years. But Dara did not trust him, led astray by the forged letters that Aurangzeb continued to write.

To impose on the people of Multan, Dara made believe that he intended to stop in that city and enlist troops. He began to repair the houses in which [216] formerly Aurangzeb lived when he governed that territory. He ordered them to send for the relations of a false prophet, then deceased, called Coia Bahaudim (Khwajah Baha-ud-din)166—that is to say, ‘Price of the Law’—one greatly venerated by the Mahomedans, who is buried in the middle of the city in a great dome covered with blue tiles, an ancient building. He earnestly entreated them to intercede for him with Muhammad that he might favour him and give him the victory over Aurangzeb. They gave him their word that without fail they would supplicate Muhammad; he might rest assured that his petitions would be considered, being as they were so just. During the following night they would so arrange that they should precede everyone and be the first to receive audience from Muhammad, and thus comply with his highness’s desire.

166. This must be Shekh Baha-ud-din Zakariya, son of Qutb-ud-din, son of Kamal-ud-din, a saint of Multan, born 1170 A.D., died 1266. His son Sadr-ud-din died in 1309 (Beale, ‘Oriental Biography,’ 97).
The following day very early Dara took care to have them called, so as to know the result of their prayers. They appeared, as this sort of knave knows so well how to do, with downcast faces, and told him that all night long they had been in the presence of Muhammad, but were unable to speak to him, because Aurangzeb was in conversation with him. But without fail they would the following night find an opening for his petitions. In order to gratify them, and bind them still more to his interests, Dara made them a present of twenty-five thousand rupees and a covering of costly stuff to be spread on the tomb of the false prophet (i.e., of Baha-ud-din). But on their being sent for again the next morning, they came with the same answer, and it was the same on the third day.

When Dara was informed that Aurangzeb had left Lahor in pursuit, he lost faith in his prophets, and held it best to withdraw from Multan. For this purpose he gave orders that all the boats, five hundred and seven in number, should be made ready for a voyage towards the fortress of Bhakkar. They were loaded with supplies of food requisite for a beleaguered citadel; they also put on board eight cannon carrying shot of from sixty to one hundred and twenty pounds' weight, besides light artillery, ammunition, and the necessary matériel of war. Each boat carried, more or less, a hundred tons of cargo.

While Dara was thus preparing to resume his march, Aurangzeb was coming after him by long marches, moving on day and night without halting at the head of the finest part of his army [217]. These were enough to overcome the small force still attached to Dara. Aurangzeb had left behind the rest of his army with orders to follow. Finding that he was pursued, Dara was compelled to move. He ordered the boats to be started down the river, putting in command of them a valiant eunuch, Coia Vacent (Khwajah Basant)—that is to say, 'Springtime.'167 The prince left by the land route at the head of five thousand horsemen and five thousand infantry. Dara favoured general, Barqandaz Khan, went with him; most of the others deserted.

167. The eunuch Basant is named in the "'Alamgirmah," p. 274. In the rest of his narrative, Manucci styles this man 'Primavera.' According to the 'Ma,asir-i-'Alamgiri,' p. 16, Dara left Bhakkar on the last of Muharram, 1069 H. (October 28, 1658). The pursuers, under Shekh Mir and Safshikan Khan, arrived at Sakkar and Bhakkar respectively on the 5th and 6th Safar (November 2 and 3).
as did those that he had taken on at Multan, carrying off the large sums of pay that he had disbursed to them.

Much to be marvelled at was the obstinate fidelity of Dārūd Khan. Keeping at a little distance from our troops, he continued to follow. He sent a clear message to Dara that he might trust in him; he wanted to accompany him whenever the occasion arose, and with his blood would seal the testimony of his loyalty. The prince should accept his advice, and not believe in the forged letters that had fallen into his hands. But Dara, more and more suspicious, sent word to him that if he were true to him, let him cease to follow him and go his own way. By this time Dārūd Khan saw that it was of no use to try and remain with his well-beloved prince, and sent an answer that he would obey orders on the condition that his dismissal was by writing.

It was not long before Dara made over to him a paper in which it was stated: ‘I, Dara, discharge Dārūd Khan, and command him to withdraw from my army, and accord him liberty to serve whom he pleases.’ What things may not be worked by a falsehood when accepted as true by a prince! Without reflecting on the evil that might accrue to him, the prince persisted in the unjust impression made upon him. Dārūd Khan received this writing at the city of Vehu (or Ochū, perhaps Uchh). Weeping like a child, so that it was pitiful to see him, he exclaimed: ‘It seems to me as if evil fortune dogged the steps of Dara,’ and therewith he departed.

Learning the news, Aurangzeb, when he arrived at the city of Multan, detached a force in pursuit of Dara, with orders to capture him if they could; they were to pursue him wherever he went. Then he sent off an affectionate letter to Dārūd Khan, tempting him with very high pay, an offer which was accepted on condition that he should not be ordered to take up [218] arms against Dara. This Aurangzeb accorded, and treated him with great consideration, and in that reign he held high appointments.

We continued our marches, suffering somewhat from failure of supplies, and several times from want of water. We passed through several rough woods, and arrived opposite the fortress of Bhakkar in the middle of the treacherous river of Sind, thus

168. Dara was at Uchh for three days about the 8th Muharram, 1069 H. (October 4, 1658), and the departure of Dārūd Khan is mentioned (see ‘Alamgirnamah,’ 272, 274).
called after the union at this place, distant one hundred and thirty leagues from Multan city, of seven large rivers, which further on I will tell you about (I. 222). There we found the valiant eunuch, Primavera, occupied in the disembarkation of the big guns and the other munitions for the said fortress. At this time Dara received word that Aurangzeb's troops, commanded by Bahadur Khan, sent in pursuit of us, had already arrived quite near. He saw that he could not resist such a strong force; he therefore ordered with all possible haste two thousand selected men—Pathans, Sayyids, Mughals, Rajputs—twenty-two Europeans of different nationalities, and other servants to occupy the said fortress. The command was given to the eunuch Primavera. The remainder of the army was ordered to cross with the same haste to the other side of the river and seize all the boats to be found there, in order to hinder the enemy's crossing at that point.

When I knew of this order I presented myself before Dara and urgently besought him to take me along with him. With words of exceeding love and tenderness, he replied that he longed to take every one of us with him. But it was of the greatest importance to him to make sure of the said stronghold, and for this reason he left us in it, having such great reliance upon our valour and fidelity. I renewed my application, with protestations and entreaties added to tears, indications of the grief I felt at our separation, asking him to leave all the rest behind, but take me along with him. Dara, with a pleased face, repeated that it was desirable that we should all remain in the fortress, seeing that the place was of the greatest use to him against his enemies, that in it were goods which he held as dear as his own person [219]; and, using other words of much affection, he sent me off.

I was overcome with tears and sighs at this parting; and seeing the downcast state in which I was quitting the presence, he had me called back. He then made me captain of the Europeans, and ordered them to give me five thousand rupees to divide among my men, and doubled my pay. It had been one hundred and fifty, and he made it three hundred rupees. He gave me his word that if God made him king he would create me a noble of his court, and reward my men, in whose loyalty he had much confidence. He added the present of a 'serpao' (sarapa), and directed that I should receive a boat-load of Persian and Kabul wine. He recommended me earnestly to Primavera, the eunuch, and told him to look well after me and my men.
After shedding more tears, I left and went into the fortress with the eunuch, while Dara departed thence, taking all the boats. Hardly had he gone when we heard the drums of the enemy, and the report came in how Aurangzeb had left Multan for the Aghra direction in the greatest haste, in the fear that Sulaiman Shukoh might come down from the mountains of Srinagar.

This alone was not the cause of Aurangzeb's leaving Multan; it was due still more to his having received advices that Prince Shah Shuja' with a great army was marching from Bengal against the city of Agra. So great was the terror of Aurangzeb lest Shah Shuja' might arrive first at Agra city with his army, that he went on in advance of his army two or three leagues, followed by very few men, sometimes quite alone. His object was to make his men follow with greater quickness. He rested beneath some trees, his head supported on his shield, until [220] some men overtook him and formed a retinue. In this way Aurangzeb moved on with extreme haste, and passing by Lahor, he left there as viceroy the traitor Khalilullah Khan, and, without delaying, continued his route to Agra, taking the whole of his army.

Going on one day in advance, with only five horsemen, he was passing through a grove of trees in a wood, when all of a sudden there appeared from the opposite direction Rajah Jai Singh, who had come to seek him through the wilds of the Laquiji Janguel (Lakhi Jungle). With him were three thousand well-armed horsemen, all Rajputs.

Be it known to the reader that, as I have already said, Aurangzeb never lost an opening for getting officials, officers, and soldiers to desert their masters and transfer themselves to him. He acted on this principle with Rajah Jai Singh, managing so that he left Prince Sulaiman Shukoh, as we have related. When it was known that Jai Singh had abandoned the said prince, he wrote him a friendly letter, declaring his anxiety to see him, as he had important business to communicate to him. But he fixed no place for a meeting, and after the evil deed he had been induced to do the rajah came in search Aurangzeb, and met him at the above-named place at a time when he had left his army behind.

169. The Lakhi Jungle was a name for the region south of the Sutlaj, having its eastern limits at Ludhianah and Sunam; to the south of it lay the Bhati desert (see the map in Francklin's 'Shah Aulum,' 1798).
Aurangzeb was much alarmed when he saw the rajah, he himself having only an escort of five horsemen; for he knew the rajah had great affection for King Shahjahan, and was much troubled, as one can imagine, at the danger of losing his life. And, as a fact, the officers round the rajah, when they saw Aurangzeb in this unprotected state, advised him to kill him, or allow them to do so. They said his name would be renowned in the world through the release and liberation of Shahjahan. But the rajah would not listen to such advice, although the occasion was excellent and the accomplishment easy. As it seems to me, he refrained from acting because he was on bad terms with Dara, and while succeeding in doing good to Shahjahan, he could not have helped favouring [221] Dara. But to the latter he wished all possible evil, for the reasons stated by me earlier.

Suppressing all agitation and keeping on his way, Aurangzeb went straight to meet the rajah, and, while still at a distance, signed with his hand that he should approach, calling out, 'Raiagi! Raiagi!' (Rajah Ji! Rajah Ji!)—that is to say, 'Mr. Rajah! Mr. Rajah!' When the rajah was close to him, Aurangzeb spoke to him thus: 'I am waiting with great anxiety to see you, as I have already stated in my letter to you. I have great regard for your person, because I can find no other friend with sense and judgment like you, so full of experience and natural ability, who can help me in the great enterprise which it has pleased God to lay upon me. Already is Dara lost and without an army, and I have sent after the fugitive Bahadur Khan, who cannot fail in a brief space to bring him before me in chains. Thus, helped by your wisdom and prudence, I shall easily be able to complete what God has purposed,'

During this speech Aurangzeb took from his neck a valuable necklace of pearls and placed it in the rajah's hands, and said: 'This is a token of the love and affection I bear you, and of the obligation imposed on me by what you did in quitting Sulaiman Shukoh and coming to find me. I make you governor of Dihli city, and grant you the province of Sambar (Sambhar). Proceed there without delay, for it is of importance to me.' He got rid of the rajah with high delight, because he dreaded that he, out of his love and gratitude to Shahjahan, might play some trick upon him, as he could easily have done, owing to his (Aurangzeb's) small retinue. The prince continued his journey for Agra city with all haste, in order to attack Shah Shuja'. The province
of Shambhar, of which Aurangzeb made a gift to the rajah, brought in to the Crown a million and mote of rupees, the price of the salt that comes out of the lake, which is [222] adjacent to the province of Asmiar (Ajmer).

It is now time to speak of the defeat that befell Dara, but before we talk of that I will give the reader an account of the country, so that afterwards we may the more clearly continue our story. It should be known that close to Bhakkar seven rivers unite—namely, five issuing from the kingdom of Lahor, which have their sources in the mountains of Srinagar and Kashmir, and reach the province of Lahor by five openings. This is why the kingdom of Lahor is called Panjab—that is to say, 'Five Waters.' The names of the rivers are, firstly, Satleg (Sutlaj), on which there is a large town called Lodiana (Ludhianah). From it to the second river, called Biat (Biyas), is a distance of thirty-five leagues, and on this second river is a large town called Gonduval (Govindwal). From the second to the third river it is also thirty-five leagues; this river is called the Ravi, which flows below Lahor. The fourth river, called the Chenau (Chinab), is distant twenty-five leagues from Lahor. This river also has on it a large and fine town called Vizirabad (Wazirabad). From this place it is twenty-eight leagues to the fifth river, called the Biat (Behat), which, too, has its town called Jelem (Jihlam).

These five rivers, which are all navigable by large boats, and the towns named, which serve as harbours, belong to the province of Lahor. The sixth river and the chief one is called Ateke (Atak), or otherwise Indo (Indus), because it separates the lands of India from the lands of the Pathans, from Persia and the province of Kabul. On the western bank of this river Atak is a town named Zafarabad,170 and on the eastern a castle called

170. Zafarabad must be, I think, another name for Atak, although that place is on the east bank of the Indus. There is a castle, Khairagarh, on the opposite (western) bank. Mr. M. L. Dames is inclined to the same opinion. Zafarabad might be Kalabagh, with Mari opposite; but this could never have been a crossing-place for kafilas, like Atak was. There is no evidence that Atak was ever renamed Zafarabad; but there is an obscure, insufficiently identified mint town of that name, which is usually placed at Zafarabad in the Jaunpur district, though I suggested long ago Zafarabad Bidar in the Dakhin. Mr. Dames says the shape of the letters on the coins suggests rather a northern than a Dakhini origin. If Atak was also called Zafarabad, a gap is filled; for
by the same name, where all the caravans halt from Persia, Tartary, Balkh; Samarqand, Bukhara, Cascar (Kashghar), Kabul, and many other kingdoms. Thence come every year one hundred and fifty thousand horses, more or less, besides many camels. Most of these are loaded with various kinds of fruit—melons, pears, apples, pomegranates, quinces, grapes, and other dried fruit; three kinds of raisin, almonds, filberts (avelans), and nuts, [223] and pine-nuts (pinhoens). All these are brought across the river to be sold in Hindustan, from which the Mogul king derives a great revenue.

Across this swift and treacherous river, on the farther side, there are the lofty mountains of the Pathans, thirty leagues off, with a walled city at their foot, named Pexor (Peshawar). People from India who pass the river (Indus) lose the rights and privileges which they imagine they enjoy in their own land. This river is at a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues from the river Biat (Behat), and eight leagues from the seventh, called Nilab, whose waters are blue in colour. Close to the fortress of Bhakkar these seven rivers join to from the wide and famous river Sindi (Sind, or Indus), and thence it flows with great force until it falls into the sea, on the shore of the Sind province, thus called from the river running through it.

After he had sent us away, Dara set out for the port of Sindi by land, ordering all the boats to assemble at that place for his departure. Having reached the vicinity of that port, he used all the boats found there to cross the river to the town of Sindi. When he had got over, he ordered all the boats that could be found to be collected, so that by this means he might hinder the passage of the enemy then in his pursuit. Next he and his army began to march for the city of Tata (Tattah), twelve leagues off, as I related in my journey from Persia. Entering that city, he

Atak, as a mint town, disappears between Akbar's reign (1556-1605) and that of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), while Zafarabad appears in the interval (coins of Shah Jahan, 1627-1658; Aurangzeb, 1658-1707; and Bahadur Shah, 1707-1712).

171. Dara reached Bhakkar on the 25th, and left it again on the last day of Muharram, 1069 H. (October 23 and 28, 1658). At first he set out for Qandahar; then, turning off, he reached Tattah upon the Indus on the 26th Safar (November 23, 1658) ("Alamgirnamah," 273-275, 281).
rested a few days, and enlisted as many more men as he could find, offering very high pay. During the time of his stay in this city, he inquired if there were any Farangi European priest to be found. There happened to be there a barefooted Carmelite monk, Frei Petro de Santa Terza (Teresa) by name, Flemish by race, whom I had met in the city of Isfahan. He was a man of much virtue and learning, well acquainted with the Arabic, Persian, and Indian languages. Hearing about this man, Dara sent for him, and had divers conversations with him on the Gospel and the articles of our faith. After listening to his arguments, he became for a time thoughtful, then, raising his hands to heaven, he said: 'If there is any true faith in the world, I believe it to be that of the Catholics, for many a time I have talked about it to different Roman padres from different countries, and it always came out the same without the slightest difference. This is not so with other religions, such as those of the Hebrews, Hindus, and Mahomedans, in which I have found many variations.'

Turning towards the friar, he said to him: 'Father, I pray Jesus, who is the Messiah, to make me king, and I give you my word, I will issue orders for the erection in Agra city of a temple (church) to Her Majesty (Hazrat) Bibi Mariam'—that is to say, the Holy Lady Mary—'and, furthermore, I will permit the fathers to build churches and preach the Gospel freely throughout my empire.'

After a few days had elapsed Dara resumed his route, followed by some six thousand horsemen, carrying with him sufficient gold and silver and his family. He passed through the country of the Rajah of Cachanagara with great energy on his way to the province of Guzurate (Gujarat). When Aurangzeb was told of this, and found that Dara, leaving the road to Persia,

172. The Carmelite mission at Tattah was founded from Persia in 1613 (see p. 364 of R. P. Berthold Ignace de Sainte Anne's 'Mission de Perse,' Bruxelles, 1885). Müllbauer (347) gives the year as 1615, and the first missionary as Ludovicus Franciscus a Matre Dei. I cannot trace Frei Petro.

173. This must be intended for Kachh (Cutch), plus nagara, 'a town.' According to the 'Alamgirnamah,' p. 283, Dara reached the Chul Desert, or Rann of Cutch, on the 11th Rabiti, 1069 H. (December 6, 1658). He went on to Kachh (ibid, p. 296).
had come into the Gujarat province to raise a new army, he tried to mislead him by the following stratagem:

He sent a letter to his second son Sultan Mu’azzam, nowadays known as Xaalam (Shah ‘Alam), then living at the city of Aurangabad. He ordered him to feign rebellion, enlist new troops, and announce that he meant to protect and deliver his grandfather, Shahjahan. To this intent he should write to Dara, inviting him to rally to his side against Aurangzeb. When Dara should appear, he (Mu’azzam) must make every effort to seize him, dead or alive. But Dara, who after all was not devoid of sense and judgment, being now guided by experience, detected the plots and while of Aurangzeb, and made a joke of the offer [225] from Sultan Mu’azzam.

He (Dara) entered the province of Gujarat, and took possession of the chief city, called Amadabad (Ahmadabad), which had been wrested from its king, Sultan Bahader (Sultan Bahadur), by King Akbar, as I have already stated (1.75). The governor of the city at this time was Xanevaskan (Shah Nawaz Khan),174 father-in-law of Aurangzeb. Without making the least resistance against the small force led by Dara, he handed over the town to his opponent, not from want of courage, but because it was not correct that he, a vassal, while his king was still alive, should oppose a royal prince, heir to the empire.

Shah Nawaz Khan was a descendant of the ancient princes of Maxad (Mashhad) in Persia, and was satisfied with passing his life in feasting and pleasure. He issued from the fortress to meet and receive Dara with all possible honours, promising to serve him faithfully. As I shall recount farther on, he did, as a fact, lose his life for love of Dara in the province of Asmir (Ajmer), although some author175 says he was an enemy of that prince.

While Dara was renewing his strength in the province of Gujarat, the enemy began a most rigorous investment of Bhakkar fort, where we were shut up along with the loyal and valiant

174. Mirza Badi’-uz-zaman, Safawi, entitled Shah Nawaz Khan. His daughter was married to Aurangzeb in the tenth year of Shahjahan (1637-38). He was killed in the Battle of Ajmer on the 29th Jamada II., 1069 H. (March 24, 1659) (‘Ma desar-ul-Umara,’ ii. 670).

175. The allusion is. I suppose, to Bernier (see p. 87 of Constable’s edition).
eunuch Primavera. No one could get out, no one could enter. This fortress is in the middle of the mighty river Sindi (Indus), founded upon the live rock, stones from which could be used as flints for muskets. The fortress was nine hundred and seventy-five paces long and five hundred and fifty-three broad. In the middle was a 'cavalier' (tower) overlooking both banks of the river. On the east was a large town called Xaquer (Sakkar), and on the west another called Rori; at a short distance from the fort towards the north was a little island known as Coia Quitan (Khwaja Khidr), where is a tomb held in great veneration by the Moors (i.e., Mahomedans).

We were very well fortified, provided with plenty of artillery and munitions of war, and had a considerable store of gold and silver, precious stones, and a great deal of baggage. In addition to this, Dara left some ladies who had accompanied him, one wife of Sulaiman Shukoh, and two young sons much cherished by Dara as being his grandsons. His plan was that if he did not succeed in the province of Gujarat and suffered defeat, this fortress of Bhakkar would serve as a base to help him again.

After a few days of investment, the enemy [226] prepared two batteries mounted with large cannon, left behind by Dara in the foundry at Lahor, he not being able to move them owing to the hurry with which we started, and the enemy leaving us no chance of putting them on the boats. With these they did us a good deal of damage. Be it known to the reader that those seven

176. Bhakkar is an island 800 yards long and 300 yards wide, and the fort almost entirely covers it. Sakkar is a town on the west or right bank, and Rori (or Lohari) is on the opposite or left bank. At Rori there are four rocky islands, the largest of which is Bhakkar (Thornton, 'Gazetteer,' 150, 425, 838, 939). Manucci reverses the true positions of Sakkar and Rori. Mr. M. Longworth Dames informs me 'that Burnes, in his "Bokhara," iii. 72, edition 1834, says: "There are several other islets near it, on one of which stands the shrine of Khwaja Khizr, a holy Mahomedan, under a dome which contributes to the beauty of the scene." Khwaja Khizr, or Khwaja Khidr, the ancient river-god of the Indus, now identified with the Mahomedan saint Khidr or Elijah. He plays a great part in local legends, and is represented as an old man with a long beard, clothed in green. He is, in fact, the Indus personified, a sort of Father Tiber. One of my Balochi ballads speaks of the river as the "Khwajah."

177. For the siege of Bhakkar, see Bernier, 93-104. Manucci was, no doubt, one of the Europeans from whom he got his information.
rivers of whose junction I spoke did not touch the sides of the fortress for more than a pistol-shot on the west and two musket-shots on the east, because they flowed between rocks and hills. Thus the enemy gave us trouble enough; nor did we desist from doing our duty with our guns, dismounting his artillery, damaging the towns, and killing a number of men. Several times we made sallies under cover of our artillery, swarming into their trenches, killing and destroying all we found there. Once we captured four field-pieces and a quantity of baggage lying close by them. Thus the traitor Khalilullah Khan, at whose cost the investment was conducted, was forced to send more men against us. Regardless of these reinforcements, the commandant, Primavera, sent off before daybreak some boats with musketeers, who delivered attacks at various points and alarmed the enemy. They went on increasing the investing force until the place was evacuated, as further on I shall relate.

When Aurangzeb received the news that Dara was busy raising a new army in the province of Gujarat, he did not turn aside to attack him. It was more urgent to hinder Shah Shuja from reaching Agra. But he was much concerned on learning that Sulaiman Shukoh, by favour of the Rajah of Srinagar, was making ready to descend from the mountains; and aided by the said Rajah, at the head of a considerable force, hoped to avenge himself for what had happened to his father (Dara) and himself. Aurangzeb, therefore, wrote a letter, giving many promises to the said Rajah, and also caused others to be written by different rajahs, chief among them being Rajah Jai Singh [227], asking the Srinagar rajah to dissemble, and suggesting that by the use of certain arguments he should force the poor prince to remain quiet in those mountains.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb drew nearer to Shah Shuja, who was in strength at a little village called Coiva (Kajwah),178 which is pleasingly situated near a number of palm-trees, as I have more than once seen. He had taken possession of a large artificial lake (tanco) in a great plain, having crossed the river Ganges. The place is one hundred leagues from Agra. Aurangzeb came

178. Kajwah is in the Fathpur district, lat. 26° 3', long. 80° 35' (Thornton, 531). See also Bernier, 75, and Constable's note there and on p. 77. The passage from Tiefenthaler is on p. 167 of the 'Beschreibung von Hindustan,' vol. i.
up, leaving his baggage on the other side of a little stream, and
delivered his attack on Prince Shah Shuja'. The latter was well
entrenched, and had efficient and well-posted artillery, commanded
by Mirzaiany (Mirza Jani), many of the gunners being Euro-
peans. They resisted valorously the fierce attack of Aurangzeb,
and in spite of his superior strength in men he was unable to win
the day; he could not even make the other side quit their ground,
as he had hoped. He was forced to retire several times in d's-
order. He was so much perplexed that he could not hit upon
any course to take, the more so that Shah Shuja' declined to
come out and venture himself in the open; nor would he evacuate
his position. All he attempted was to defend himself. Aurang-
zeb was aware that he could not make any long delay by reason
of the great heat then prevailing,179 and he knew that of a certain-
ty he would be forced to retire and seek shelter in Agra to save
his army from severe hardships. Then Shah Shuja' would
certainly pursue.

Aurangzeb saw his evil case very clearly, and thus was more
urgent than ever, giving Shah Shuja' not a moment's rest. Pro-
pitious Fate decreed that at this time the long-looked-for Mir
Jumlah should arrive from the fortress of Doltabad (Daulatabad),
whereby he greatly served him on this most critical occasion of
which I speak. One day Aurangzeb came forth from his tent
seated in his sedan-chair, and took his way to the battle-field to
renew the attack on Shah-Shuja'. Then came Rajah Jaswant
Singh from his tent and met him, and after the usual obeisances,
came close and took hold of the chair [228] with one hand, and
with a disturbed face walked alongside Aurangzeb for some steps,
making inquiries about the post appointed for him to occupy on
that day.

Aurangzeb, who was delighted to remove the rajah to some
distance, not liking the action he had adopted, and suspecting
him of some treachery, ordered him to take charge of the rear-
guard. Thereupon the rajah mounted his horse and went off
energetically. Aurangzeb remarked: 'Great are the courage
and boldness of this rajah; I like him not.' Then came trust-
worthy reports of how the rajah was colluding with Shah Shuja',
and, having attacked the rear-guard, was plundering the baggage

179. Here Manucci's memory fails him. The fighting was in
January, when the heat is not great (see Elphinstone, 530).
and all the treasure kept there. This report caused great dismay to Aurangzeb, and furthermore he feared that the army, suspecting that letters had passed [between Shah Shuja‘ and Jai Singh], should lose heart and disband. As a fact, many did take to flight, and scattered in all directions. Aurangzeb continued to conceal his opinion, hoping to find out the exact intentions of the raja, and whether he would content himself with the plunder.

Then they came to tell him that the raja had taken to flight towards Agra, carrying with him all the treasure and anything else he could seize. Mir Jumla, who that same day had arrived, counselled Aurangzeb at this juncture to reanimate his men by ordering them to slay and plunder all the Hindus to be found. This was carried out. The slaughter lasted for an hour or more, and it put his men into heart, not a soul having resisted them. Mir Jumla also advised the writing forthwith of a short letter to Alaberdican (Allahwirdi Khan),¹⁸⁰ then the chief adviser of Shah Shuja‘, in which it was written: ‘Allahwirdi Khan!—If this day you wish to make me King of Hindustan, it suffices to induce Shah Shuja‘ to get down from his elephant during the battle, and I pledge you my word to reward you and all your family, who are on my side. I have the strongest hope that you will not fail me.—AURANGZEB.’ [229]

Noticing the disorder in the ranks of Aurangzeb when the raja fell upon his rear-guard, Shah Shuja‘, without giving a chance for re-forming or collecting the scattered people, although it was getting late for an onset, felt that he was master of the situation, and moved out against Aurangzeb in order to seize this favourable moment. Displaying great energy and valour, he speedily routed the vanguard, which he threw into a state of terror, and advancing, attacked Aurangzeb himself, who stood fast seated on his elephant. The elephant-driver was killed by an arrow, thus forcing Aurangzeb to assume himself the control of the elephant. The arrows fell like rain upon the elephant, which, finding itself encircled and in pain, beat a retreat. Aurangzeb was all this time a target for Shah Shuja‘’s arrows.

¹⁸⁰. Allahwirdi Khan, a descendant of the Saljuqs, rose to favour under Jahangir. He and one son, Saifullah Khan, were killed at Akbar-nagar (Rajmahal), by Shah Shuja‘’s orders, in the middle of Rajab, 1069 H. (circa April 8, 1659) (see ‘Ma‘asir-ul-Umara,’ i. 207; ‘Ma‘asir-i-Alamgiri,’ p. 26; ‘Tarikh-i-Muhammadi,’ year 1069 H.; and Bernier, 77).
Owing to this great extremity, it came to the point of his putting one foot out of the howdah, as if he wished to get down, and yet was unable to decide what was best to do in the midst of all that confusion and uproar. He hardly seemed to know where he was. Mir Jumlah, who was quite near, doing his duty as a good leader (and from him nothing else could be expected), when he noticed Aurangzeb’s movement, shouted in a loud voice: ‘Kaem! kaem!’ (Qa,im! qa,im!)—that is to say, ‘Stand fast! stand fast!’ Dara lost the empire by getting off his elephant. He called out: ‘Kaem! kaem!’ (Qa,im! qa,im!) in reliance on the note sent to Allahwirdi Khan.

Already Aurangzeb was in the last extremity, abandoned by all, fearful of capture, and Fortune seemed to have deserted him. He thought he could never escape from his enemy’s hands. But such was his lucky star, that he stopped upon his elephant and endured the severe assault. He remembered the battle he had fought against Dara at Samugarh, and believed that by sitting patiently on his elephant he would conquer.

Allahwirdi Khan, when he received the note from Aurangzeb, went off to Shah Shuja’ [230] and resorted to the same tactics as Khalilullah Khan used with Dara, calling out to him: ‘Congratulations to my sovereign on the victory the Most High has given your majesty! All that is left to do is to take the coward Aurangzeb before he can escape. Why do we delay thus? Let us advance with more speed; and to do this, let your majesty descend from your elephant and mount on horseback, and in a single charge we can seize our prey.’ Here we can see how eagerly Fortune favoured Aurangzeb. For by this time the prince Shah Shuja’ had won the day, and Aurangzeb was without hope and utterly lost. She changed the hands they held, so that Aurangzeb came out the winner, and Shah Shuja’ the loser.

All this came to pass, notwithstanding Shah Shuja’ knew what had happened to his brother Dara, who by quitting his elephant became a lost man. In spite of this, he followed the advice of Allahwirdi Khan, left his elephant, got upon his horse, and started for an attack on Aurangzeb. But the evil-minded traitor, Allahwirdi Khan, in place of going on with his prince,

181. This appears in Bernier, 76, as ‘Decankon,’ which Constable reads as ‘Dakhin kahan’ (‘Where is the Deccan?’).
turned back, and, displaying great terror, began to ask everybody anxiously what had become of Shah Shuja'; he could not be seen on his elephant. All the army looked in that direction, and not perceiving him, fell into confusion and dismay. They imagined that he must be dead, and they began to take to flight—above all, the division of Shah Shuja'; this was just as it had happened to Dara. Thus Sha Shuja', finding that there was no longer any hope, was forced hurriedly to join the fugitives. Meanwhile Aurangzeb sat unmoved on his elephant, with no more than five hundred horsemen round him. Perceiving that Sultan Shah Shuja' was no longer on [231] his elephant, he advanced with vigour to the attack, beating his drums to make it appear as if the victory was already his. By this manoeuvre he increased the hesitation of Shah Shuja's army, which, losing hope entirely, took to flight.

Shah Shuja' retreated upon the city of Ilavas (Allahabad). On the day that he arrived at his quarters, he took measures against Allahwirdi Khan. The latter with the greatest assurance, as if he had done some great deed or benefit on his prince's behalf, stayed with the defeated army. He was put in chains and brought into the presence of Shah Shuja'. Recognising too late the treason committed, in great anger and without putting a single question, Shah Shuja' deprived him of life by a spear-thrust from his own hand (a chastisement well earned by this ungrateful traitor). God purposed, by taking the life of this clever traitor, to give to vassals a lesson of fidelity.

Jaswant Singh had assumed that Shah Shuja' would come out the victor; he therefore made for Agrah, where he halted for some days. Then came the unexpected news that Shah Shuja' had lost, to the great relief of Shaistah Khan, at that time governor of Agrah city; and the rajah started for his own country. For previously a rumour had been current that Aurangzeb had lost the battle and had been taken prisoner along with Mir Jumlah, and that Shah Shuja' had carried them off in chains. Thus, Shaistah Khan, aware of the treachery he had committed, already held his life as lost, and had resolved to swallow poison and kill himself. He had the goblet ready before him, and commending himself to Muhammad, expected as a certainty that Jaswant Singh would come into the city to seize him. If Jaswant Singh had only entered the city, he could without a doubt, by the slightest pressure
or threat, have caused the commandant of the fortress, called Mortuzacan (Murtaza Khan), a very old man who had under him the fighting men, to open the gates, and Shahjahan would have been delivered from prison; for, seeing the agitation [232] into which his men were thrown by the news brought in by the men of Aurangzeb’s army who had fled at the beginning of the battle, the said commandant was already in a tremor. But as Fortune favoured Aurangzeb, she hindered Jaswant Singh from even this small effort. For twenty-four hours the city of Agra was transported at the news of Aurangzeb’s defeat, and everyone hoped that the rajah would enter and deliver Shahjahan. But the rajah having exact knowledge of what had passed, it was inconvenient for him to make any such effort. While we admit that he was not wanting in a wish to release Shahjahan, he judged that in existing circumstances it was impossible, there being no one to take his side. By himself he could not oppose the army of the victorious Aurangzeb. For these reasons he arranged for a speedy retirement to his home country.

Fearing that Jaswant Singh might undertake something in favour of Shahjahan, Aurangzeb turned and hastened in person to Agra. He thought it sufficed to leave Mir Jumlah with a large force to pursue Shah Shuja. He was nominated generalissimo of the army and perpetual victor of the whole province of Bengal, the appointment to pass on his death to his son. But from reasons of State he left behind in his (Mir Jumlah’s) company his own first-born son, Sultan Muhammad, who was to make the campaign under the orders of Mir Jumlah, but without a command. At this arrangement Sultan Muhammad was much put out, but he kept this grievance within his breast, waiting until an occasion arose to wreak vengeance.

At this time Shah Shuja had fortified himself in the city and fortress of Allahabad, without much reduction of his numbers [233]. He made use of the Hindu princes who live on the right and left banks of the river Ganges, and gathered together in a short time a huge force, through the reputation he had with everybody of being wealthy and liberal. In this way he became extremely strong at

182. Possibly Murtaza Khan, Sayyid Shah Muhammad (see ‘Ma‘asir-ul-Umara,’ iii. 597); but there is no mention of his being put in charge of ‘Agrah’ fort. Moreover, as this man survived for twenty years, he could not have been so very old in 1659.
that important and famous fortress, which forms the first gate into
Bengal. Recognising the valour and strength of Shah Shuja', Mir
Jumlah did not venture to attack him by force of arms. It sufficed
to send him valuable presents and many letters with misleading
promises. In another direction he set to work to raise against Shah
Shuja' certain Hindu princes living about Benares and Patniah.
They had an old quarrel with the prince, and now rose against him;
they hindered his supplies, while they gave Mir Jumlah free passage.
The latter lost no time in sending his troops and closing the routes.
On receiving this melancholy news Shah Shuja' beat a retreat,
before they could totally block his road, to the ancient city called
Banaras (Benares), lying on the river Ganges, on the left bank.

Mir Jumlah followed in pursuit, and left him no time to fortify
himself there. Thus Shah Shuja' was forced to retreat again,
passing by the great city of Patniah, not feeling sufficiently secure
there owing to the great open plains of those regions. He took
shelter in a little town called Muguer (Munger) that had been
founded on the right bank of the river Ganges. It is called by
the inhabitants the 'Key of the Kingdom of Bengal,' because
it is at the foot of hills, and near it are extensive jungles, called
by the dwellers there Burianquel (? Bar Jangal)—that is to say,
'Terrifying Woods,' because in them are many wild beasts, tigers,
rhinoceroses, wild buffaloes, and other animals.

At this place (Munger), the best that could be found in
those regions, Shah Shuja' fortified himself. For greater security
he made [234] a great wall of earth, beginning at the foot of the
hill and ending on the bank of the Ganges, a distance, more or
less, of half a league. It was made at a distance of twelve
leagues from the city of Munger, and its object was to bar the
passage to Mir Jumlah. Recognising the great difficulty of mak-
ing an attack on Shah Shuja', Mir Jumlah began a correspondence
with some rajahs dwelling in the wilds referred to, men who also
at one time or another had been injured by Shah Shuja'. Valu-
able presents were forwarded, and they permitted the passage of
the army. Thus Mir Jumlah and Sultan Muhammad marched
on with the best of their troops, directing their course towards
Raiamahal (Rajmahal), the principal residence of Shah Shuja',
with the sole object of cutting off his retreat.

Shah Shuja', alarmed at this intelligence, abandoned all his
entrenchments, and moving with great rapidity, reached Rajmahal
before the arrival of Mir Jumlah, and there he entrenched himself as well as he could. Mir Jumlah failed to get there first, not from want of energy or effort, but by reason of the great forests and many streams on his route. As soon as his men and baggage had come up, Mir Jumlah made an attack upon Shah Shuja', who continued a valiant defence for the space of six days. But finding that the heavy artillery of Mir Jumlah did great damage to the entrenchments, which had been made of earth, gabions (arca=boxes), and fascines, he decided to retreat, having no hope of being able to continue his resistance, not only from want of men, but from the near approach of the rainy season.\(^{183}\) Taking advantage of the darkness of night, he marched away on the road to the city of Daca (Dhakkah), leaving some artillery behind him which he was unable to remove.

He was not pursued by Mir Jumlah, who feared an ambush and suspected the retirement to be a mere stratagem of war. He halted where he was, meaning to begin pursuit the next day; but Shah Shuja's lucky star favoured him, since during three days there was such heavy rain that Mir Jumlah could not move his army, nor attempt to catch up the fugitive. Shah Shuja had time [235] to get close to Dhakkah city, and there he entrenched himself on a broad river, and Mir Jumlah was obliged to go into quarters for the rainy season at Rajmahal, for, owing to the rain, the mire, and the full streams, there was no possibility of marching. He occupied the city, and was there four months, from June to September (? 1659). These are the months in which heavy rain falls through India, above all in the region of Bengal, and armies cannot march. Thus Shah Shuja had time to entrench himself anew, making use of the Portuguese, who live in Bengal since they lost their strong places in different parts of India, taken from them by the Dutch, such as the Island of Ceilao (Ceylon) and the Island of Japhonapatao (Jafnapatnam),\(^{184}\) on the coast of Choramandal. He offered high pay to these men and promised to make them all wealthy, to give full liberty for

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183. *Inverno,* literally, 'winter'; it is the word N. M. always uses for the rain season.

184. Colombo in Ceylon was taken from the Portuguese on May 12, 1656, and Jafnapatnam on June 22, 1658 (Dubois, 'Vies des Gouverneurs-Généraux,' p. 187).
their religious orders to raise up churches throughout his realm. It is certain that if fortune had favoured Shah Shujaʿ he would not have broken his promises, for he was naturally liberal and generous. There were at that period in the whole province of Bengal about eight thousand families of Portuguese, European and Asiatic, the latter popularly called *Mestiços* (mongrel, or half-castes).

Meanwhile Shah Shujaʿ entrenched himself near Dhakkah. Sultan Muhammad, his nephew, was angry at his father (Aurangzeb) having placed supreme command in the hands of Mir Jumlah, leaving him to work under his orders without any command. He wanted to have uncontrolled direction of the army, while Mir Jumlah should act under him. To this effect he wrote several times to his father that it did not befit the dignity of a prince, His Majesty’s firstborn son, for a subject to command an army while he, though not deficient in military training or power of leading, remained without a command. There were no grounds for His Majesty believing more in Mir Jumlah than in his son. In nothing was he undeserving the post of generalissimo, either by his blood or his known valour. But Aurangzeb paid not the least attention to the request of his son. He was afraid that, should he get hold of an army, [236] he might rebel against him, as is usually the case in this empire of the Moguls, and an ancient habit of theirs.

Finding himself repeatedly rebuffed by his father, Sultan Muhammad gave utterance more than once to words full of wrath and menace depreciatory of Mir Jumlah. He wished to make the troops believe that he (Mir Jumlah) aspired to the crown. All this was known to Mir Jumlah. He dissembled sagaciously, and took no notice of Sultan Muhammad’s words. The latter then recollected that his uncle, Shah Shujaʿ, had promised him his daughter in marriage, and he now resolved to rebel against his father and adopt the side of Shah Shujaʿ. He therefore left the army of Mir Jumlah by boat, accompanied by twenty-five men, without being noticed. Reaching the spot where Shah Shujaʿ was entrenched, as soon as he saw him he disclosed his purpose and declared his distrust of his father. He offered to serve him and defend him with fidelity, swearing oaths upon the Quran. The only reward he sought was the hand of his daughter, Mahacanom (Mah Khanum), that being the name of Shah Shujaʿ’s daughter.
That prince received Sultan Muhammad with the honors due to him, but did not give him many troops. He dreaded some treachery. He assigned him a lady of the harem as a spouse, deceiving him by the assertion that it was his daughter.

When the rains were over, Mir Jumlah moved in search of Shah Shuja, and then the contests were renewed. Sultan Muhammad at the head of his small force proved his courage, destroying many of the enemy and causing great trouble to Mir Jumlah. When informed of what had happened Aurangzeb ordered Daler Khan, whom he highly esteemed, to proceed against Shah Shuja with reinforcements. Meanwhile Mir Jumlah employed a stratagem. He prepared a letter to Sultan Muhammad in which he desired him to continue as he was doing, until occasion arose to fulfill his promise to his father. As intended by Mir Jumlah, this letter fell into the hands of Shah Shuja; and it confirmed him in the distrust he had of Sultan Muhammad. He took away the small body of troops he had assigned him, and forbade him to enter the palace.

When Sultan Muhammad heard [237] of this letter he sent to Shah Shuja to say that he must not give any heed to Mir Jumlah. The letter was a forgery, meant for nothing but to sow disunion between the two of them; and he ratified afresh the oath to serve him faithfully. But these arguments were not sufficient to secure Shah Shuja’s confidence. Unhappy Sultan Muhammad, finding himself out of favor everywhere, and having by this time discovered the deception about his marriage, resolved upon having recourse to his opponent, Mir Jumlah. Abandoning Shah Shuja, he transferred himself to Mir Jumlah’s camp, where he was received with due dignity, and a promise was given to write in his favor to Aurangzeb. Mir Jumlah would do all he could to get his father to overlook the past. There are not wanting those who declare that the flight of Sultan Muhammad to Shah Shuja was planned by Aurangzeb. This is due to what they have experienced of his wiles; but it was not so, because if Shah Shuja had put faith in Sultan Muhammad, Mir Jumlah and Daler Khan would not have had such an easy victory.

Learning that his son was reconciled with Mir Jumlah, Aurangzeb wrote him a letter full of demonstrations of affection, with an order of recall. Mir Jumlah’s orders were to send him back under a good and trustworthy guard, fearing that on the
way he might attempt some escapade similar to the last. For this reason he was carried in a palanquin carefully watched. Reflecting on what he had done, and afraid of his father, whose deceitful and vengeful nature he knew, Sultan Muhammad became very anxious, and began to contemplate renewed flight to the mountains of Srinagar. In order to intimidate the guard over him, he jumped frequently out of the palanquin, in the supposition that, either out of fear or respect, he would be allowed to take to flight. But naught availed him, for those in charge of him had received very strict orders. Hearing what was going on during the journey, Aurangzeb sent off the eunuch Danish (Danish), at the head of two thousand cavalry, with the fetters used for Murad Bakhsh. These were [238] at once to be put on him, and he was to be placed on an elephant in a closed howdah. They were to cross the river Ganges, and carry him to the fortress of Gualier (Gwaliyar, Gwalior). There he was detained, and orders were given to ply him continually with the water of posto (post, opium) until his mind was destroyed.

In that condition the wretched Sultan Muhammad was left, being treated not as a prince, but as a vile slave. By his father’s orders all human communication was prohibited; so great was the rigour used that no one could speak in his presence nor answer any question. Such was Aurangzeb’s distrust of his son that he did not allow him to have a barber, or a knife to use at his meals. As a trial of his son’s resignation, Aurangzeb sent to ask him whether he would like his wife sent to him, the daughter of the King of Gulkandah. In a great rage he replied that he begged to be excused from diversions whilst being treated so tyrannically. The rest of what happened in prison to Sultan Muhammad I will refer to farther on, in its proper place (II. 150).

Mir Jumlah continued vigorously his campaign against Shah Shuja', who on his side responded with such diminished force as he had left. He retreated to the banks of the Ganges river for defence and recovery. But as the results of battles are uncertain, Aurangzeb stood fast with his army on the boundaries of Agrah in order to reinforce Mir Jumlah, if need for help arose. At this time he ordered Murad Bakhsh to be removed from the fortress of Salimgarh, where he was a prisoner, and shut up in close prison at Gwaliyar fortress. His orders were to give him poppy-water to drink, as in the case of Sultan Muhammad; both were treated with the same harshness, nor was the slightest conversation allowed bet-