

days, the rumour spread that he was dead, and that DÁRÁ SHÁH concealed his death in order to arrange his affairs and secure for himself the whole of the Empire. It is certain that the King, believing that he was about to die and was near his last hour, ordered DÁRÁ SHÁH to assemble all the *Omrahs*¹ or nobles of the Kingdom, and seat himself on the throne, which belonged to him, being the eldest of all the brothers. He also told him that if God prolonged his life for some days he desired to see him, before he died, in the peaceable possession of his Empire; and this intention which he had for his eldest son was especially right, because he had observed for some time that the three other Princes manifested much less respect and affection for their father than DÁRÁ SHÁH had. At this conversation which the King held with his son, DÁRÁ SHÁH, who honoured him extremely and loved him tenderly, replied that he prayed to God for the life of his majesty, which he hoped would be long, and that while God preserved it he would never dream of mounting the throne, but would consider himself always happy in being his subject. Indeed, this Prince did not absent himself for a moment from the presence of his father, in order to be at hand to attend upon him during his sickness; and, wishing to be present at all times, he slept at night close to the King's bed on a carpet spread on the floor.

However, upon the false report of the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, his three other sons straightway stirred themselves, and each laid claim to their father's throne. MURÁD BAKSH, the youngest, who held the Government of the Province of GUJARÁT, immediately

¹ See p. 98.

sent troops to lay siege to SURAT, the largest and most frequented port in all INDIA. The city, which was without protection, made no resistance, for it has only bad walls, which are open in many places ; but the citadel, where the treasure was stored, was defended vigorously ; and this young, ambitious Prince, who had need of money, used all his powers to become master of it. SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN,¹ one of his eunuchs, was General of his army, an industrious and energetic man, who conducted the siege with all the skill of an old commander.

Finding that he was unable to carry the place by main force, he had two mines made by an European, who succeeded completely, and having fired the first on the 29th of December 1659, it brought down a large portion of the walls, which filled the moat, and caused great alarm to the besieged. But they quickly plucked up courage, and, although they were few in number, defended themselves bravely for the space of more than forty days, during which time they did much injury to the army of MURÁD BAKSH, and slew many of his soldiers. SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, irritated by this vigorous resistance, caused search to be made for the women and children, and also the relatives and friends of the artillerymen in the fortress, in order to place them in front of his soldiers during the attacks which he made ; and he also sent one of the brothers of the Governor of the place to parley with him, and to make an advantageous offer to him, if he would deliver it up into his hands. But the Governor, a good servant of the King, not having received any certain tidings of his death, replied that he recognised

¹ Chabas Kan in the original.



no other master than SHĀH JAHĀN, who had confided the place to him, which he would not relinquish but to the King himself, or to whoever he pleased to order; that he honoured MURĀD BAKSH as Prince and son of the King his master, but not so much so as to hand the place over to him without receiving an express order to do so from the King.

The eunuch seeing the resolution of the Governor, made the most stringent threats to the besieged, swearing that he would kill all their relatives, their women, and their children, if they did not deliver themselves up to him on the following day. But the consideration of blood was without effect upon the besieged, and would not have had any; and it was only the breach, which they could not defend on account of the smallness of their numbers, and the fear of the second mine, that at length obliged the Governor to give himself up with all the honourable conditions which he was able to demand; these were faithfully kept by SHĀHBĀSH KHĀN, who seized the treasure, which he carried off to AHMADĀBĀD, where MURĀD BAKSH was occupied in oppressing the people in order to raise money.

The news of the capture of SURAT having been conveyed to this Prince, he immediately had a throne prepared, and being seated upon it on the day appointed for the ceremony, proclaimed himself to be King, not only of GUJARĀT, but of all the Empire of SHĀH JAHĀN, his father. At the same time he had money coined, and he despatched new Governors to all the towns. But as his throne is badly founded it will fall to the ground quickly; and this Prince, the youngest of all, for having wished to usurp a sceptre which did not belong to him, will be confined in a close prison.



Prince DĀRĀ SHĀH was anxious to succour SURAT, but it was impossible for him (to do so), for not only was he occupied in assisting the King, his father, during his sickness, but he had to watch his second brother, SULTAN SHUJĀ, who was much more powerful than MURĀD BAKSH, and caused him far more trouble. He was already advanced into the Kingdom of LAHORE,¹ and had entirely subjected that of BENGAL. All that DĀRĀ SHĀH was able to do was to despatch with speed his eldest son, SULIMAN SHEKO,² with a powerful army against SULTAN SHUJĀ. In short, this young Prince defied his uncle, and having driven him into the Province of BENGAL, the frontiers of which he secured by strong garrisons, returned to DĀRĀ SHĀH his father. In the meantime MURĀD BAKSH, recognised as King in the Kingdom of GUJĀRĀT, carried all his thoughts towards the Empire of INDIA, to the destruction of his brothers, and to the establishment of his throne either in AGRA or JAHĀNĀBĀD.

Meanwhile, AURANGZEB, as ambitious and more cunning than his brothers, let them expend their first fire, and concealed his designs from them, which he will spring upon them, however, before long to their great injury. He feigned to have no pretension to the Empire, as though he had renounced the world, and led the life of a *Dervish*, or solitary devotee.³ In order to play this part with greater success he communicated

¹ Lahore is here a mistake for Behar. He could not have reached Lahore, and if he had, it would not have served his purpose. (See p. 336.)

² Soliman Cheko in the original. He was accompanied by Raja Jái Singh. The engagement took place at Benares.

³ As will be seen from the context, there are many striking points of resemblance between the conduct of Aurangzeb and that of Richard III of England.



to his younger brother, MURÁD BAKSH, that he perceived that he was desirous of reigning, and wished to aid him in his object, and that the throne being his desert on account of his bravery, he would aid him with his armies and money to vanquish DÁRÁ SHÁH, who was an obstacle in the way. This young Prince, having little judgment, and being blinded by the prospect of his good fortune, was only too ready to believe AURANGZEB, and having joined forces with him,¹ agreed to advance with him on AGRA to take possession of it. DÁRÁ SHÁH came to meet them, and the battle was commenced, as unfortunately for him as it was auspiciously for the two brothers. This Prince, trusting too much to the principal officers in his army, contrary to the advice of the General who commanded, who was his Prime Minister, and was faithful to him, believed himself to be able to secure a victory by attacking his brothers first, without giving them time to rest.² The first shock was rough and bloody, and MURÁD BAKSH, full of fire and courage, fighting like a lion, received five arrows in his body, and the elephant upon which he was mounted was covered with them. Victory tending to the side of DÁRÁ SHÁH, AURANGZEB retired; but quickly turned his face when he saw coming to his aid the traitors in DÁRÁ SHÁH's army, who had basely abandoned him after he had lost his best officers and their General. Immediately AURANGZEB took courage, and returning to the combat with DÁRÁ SHÁH, the latter Prince, seeing that

¹ This junction took place near Ujain in Málwá, whither Aurangzeb had marched from Burhánpur.

² The forces engaged, according to Bernier, were 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of artillery on Dará's side, against 30,000 to 35,000 horse on that of Aurangzeb and Murád.



he was betrayed, and had no longer anything to hope from the few people remaining with him, immediately beat his retreat, and returned to AGRA, where the King his father was, who had already begun to amend. He advised his son to withdraw into the fortress at DELHI, and carry with him the treasure which was in AGRA;¹ this he did without loss of time, being accompanied by his most faithful attendants. Thus the victory was complete on the side of AURANGZEB and MURÁD BAKSH, who before the end of the battle, being weakened by the loss of blood, had retired to his tent to have his wounds dressed. It was easy for AURANGZEB to gain over these traitors, not only on account of the enormous treasure which he had acquired, but because the Indians are ever inconstant and ungrateful. Moreover, the chiefs are generally fugitives from PERSIA, people of no birth and of little heart, who attach themselves to those who give most.

SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, son of ASAF KHÁN,² who had betrayed the King BOLÁKI, as I shall relate, in order to obtain the throne for SHÁH JAHÁN, his brother-in-law; SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, I say, uncle of these four Princes whose mother was his own sister, ranged himself on AURANGZEB's side, with the greater number of the principal officers of DÁRÁ SHÁH and of MURÁD BAKSH, who abandoned their masters. MURÁD BAKSH at last began to realise the mistake he had made in having trusted AURANGZEB, who, seeing himself favoured by fortune,

¹ According to Bernier, Sháh Jahán's treasure never amounted to 6 crores of rupees, which, at the rate of 2s. 3d., would be about £6,750,000. This was exclusive of the precious stones and throne. (*Hist. of the late Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 63.)

² Asaf Khan was the brother of the famous Núr Jahán, wife of Jahángir.



lost no time in carrying out his plans. MURÁD BAKSH, who with reason entertained doubts as to his brother, sent to him to demand half the treasure which had been seized, in order that he might retire into GUJARÁT, and AURANGZEB, by way of reply, assured him that he desired to aid him in ascending the throne, and that on that account he wished to consult with him ; MURÁD BAKSH, finding his wounds somewhat better, went to see AURANGZEB his brother, who received him well and praised his courage, which merited, he said, the first Empire in the world.

The young Prince allowed himself to be charmed by these soft words ; but his eunuch, SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, who had acquired for him the best part of the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, tried to excite his distrust, and make him realise the trap which had been set for him. But when MURÁD BAKSH wished to profit by the advice of his eunuch it was then too late, as AURANGZEB had already taken his measures to ruin him. He invited MURÁD BAKSH to a feast, and the more he excused himself the more he was pressed to come. The young Prince, unable to refuse any longer, resolved to go so that he might conceal his mistrust, although fearing that the day was to be the last of his life, and that some deadly poison had been prepared for him. He was mistaken, however, for AURANGZEB did not then aim at his life, contenting himself with securing his person ; so, in place of aiding him to ascend the throne, as he promised, he sent him under safe custody to the fortress of GWALIOR, to give him time to be cured of his wounds, and to take his own in order to accomplish his designs.



CHAPTER III

Concerning SHÁH JAHÁN'S prison, and how he was punished by AURANGZEB, his third son, for the injustice he had done to PRINCE BOLÁKI,¹ his nephew, grandson of JAHÁNGIR, to whom, since he was the son of the eldest son, the Empire of the MOGULS belonged.

JAHÁNGIR, King of INDIA, son of AKBAR, and grandson of HUMÁYUN, enjoyed a very peaceable reign for the space of twenty-three years, being equally beloved by his subjects and his neighbours. But his life was too long to suit the ambition of two of his sons, already advanced in years. The eldest² raised a powerful army at LAHORE, with the object of surprising his father JAHÁNGIR, and seating himself by violence on the throne. The King, becoming aware of the insolence of his son, resolved to chastise him, and going to meet him with a large army, took him prisoner, with many of the chief nobles who followed him. But JAHÁNGIR, being a generous Prince, who dearly loved his son, although he had him in his power was unwilling to cause him the death which he deserved; and contented himself with destroying his sight, by ordering a hot iron to be passed over his

¹ Bolaki, also called Dawár Baksh, son of Khusru.

² Namely, Khusru.

eyes¹ in the manner which, as I have described, is followed in PERSIA. The King resolved ever after to keep this blind son about his person, with the intention that his eldest son, SULTAN BOLÁKI, should some day reign; this Prince had already several other sons, all being under age. But SULTAN KHURRAM,² who afterwards took the name of SHÁH JAHÁN, thinking that, as second son of JAHÁNGIR, he should be preferred to his nephew, resolved to use every effort to keep him from the throne, and to seat himself upon it, without waiting for the death of the King. He dissimulated, however, keeping his real purpose concealed, and appeared at first altogether submissive to the will of his father, who always kept the children of his eldest son beside him. It was by this submission that SHÁH JAHÁN more easily arrived at the attainment of his ends; and having in this manner gained the goodwill of his father, obtained permission from him to take with him the blind Prince his elder brother to his Government in the Kingdom of DECCAN. He represented to the King that it was advisable to remove from before his eyes an object which had become distressing to him, and that this Prince, being deprived of his sight, would not in the future be other than a charge and trouble to him, and would pass the rest of his life with greater comfort in the DECCAN. The King, not penetrating the designs of KHURRAM, consented

¹ Chardin relates how it came to pass, in the reign of Shah Abbás II, that the custom of destroying the sight of Princes by means of a red-hot blade of copper passed over the eyes was replaced by the actual removal of the eyeballs themselves, in consequence of some of the Princes who had been operated on having been found to possess partial sight. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. vi, p. 27.)

² Courum in the original.



without difficulty to what he asked, and as soon as he had this poor Prince in his power he knew how to rid himself of him by the most secret means, and used the most plausible pretexts possible, in order to conceal his crime from the view of men, not considering that he was unable to conceal it from the eyes of God, who did not leave this action unpunished, as we shall shortly see.¹

After the death of this blind Prince, SULTAN KHURRAM caused himself to be called SHÁH JAHÁN, *i.e.* King of the World, and in order to uphold the title raised an army to finish the task which his brother had begun, namely the dethronement of his father JAHÁNGIR and the taking possession of the Empire. The King, being much irritated by the death of his son and the outrage against his own person, sent considerable forces to chastise KHURRAM for so criminal an enterprise, and this rebel Prince, feeling himself too weak to resist them, quitted the Kingdom of DECCAN, wandering with some vagabonds who followed him, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, until he arrived in BENGAL, where he raised an army in order to give battle to the King. Having passed the GANGES, he directed his steps towards the Kingdom of LAHORE,² and the King in person confronted him with a more numerous and stronger army than his. But JAHÁNGIR, being old and distressed by the troubles which had been caused by his two sons, died on the

¹ Elphinstone throws some doubt upon this charge of murder against Sháh Jahán. (*History of India*, vol. ii, p. 368.)

² As on p. 330, Lahore is here also a mistake for Behar. The only opposition Sháh Jahán met with in Bengal was from the Governor of Rajmahal, whom he defeated in a pitched battle in 1624. (See Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 332.)



road,¹ and left SHÁH JAHÁN free to pursue his designs. However, before he died this good King had time to commend the care of his grandson, SULTAN BOLÁKI,² to ASAF KHÁN, Commander-in-Chief of his armies and Prime Minister of State, who governed the whole Empire. He ordered all his officers to recognise BOLÁKI as King and legitimate heir of his Kingdom after his death, declaring SULTAN KHURRAM to be a rebel, and as such incapable of succeeding him on the throne.

Moreover he made ASAF KHÁN swear in particular that he would never suffer BOLÁKI to be killed, however affairs might eventuate; this oath ASAF KHÁN swore upon his thigh, which bound him religiously in so far as that item, but not for his establishment on the throne, where he wished to place SHÁH JAHÁN, to whom he had given in marriage his eldest daughter, mother of the four Princes and the two Princesses to whom I have referred in the preceding chapter.

On the news of the King's death being reported at Court, all appeared to be sorely afflicted, and immediately the nobles of the Kingdom proceeded to give effect to the will by recognising SULTAN BOLÁKI as King, he being still a youth. This Prince had two first cousins³ who, with the King's consent, had become Christians, and had made public profession of the same. These two young Princes, who were kind-hearted, observed that ASAF KHÁN, father-in-law of SHÁH JAHÁN, and father of SHAÍSTÁ KHÁN, of whom I have often spoken, had evil designs against the new

¹ Jahángir died on the 28th October 1627. Tavernier's account is incorrect, as he died on his return journey from Cabul to Lahore (Elphinstone).

² Otherwise known as Prince Darwár Baksh.

³ These were sons of Sháh Dániál.



King, to whom they speedily gave warning, and this warning cost them their lives and the King the loss of his Kingdom. The young King, who did not yet possess that prudence which can alone be acquired by age, told ASAF KHÁN ingenuously what the two young Christian Princes, his cousins, had said to him in private, and asked him if it was true that he designed to make his uncle, SULTAN KHURRAM, King, as they had assured him. ASAF KHÁN took care not to tell him the truth ; on the contrary, he accused those who had made the report of falseness and insolence, and protested that he would be faithful to his King all his life, and that, in order to maintain him on the throne, he would shed his blood to the very last drop. SULTAN BOLÁKI understood this to refer to himself, but ASAF KHÁN, when promising to be faithful to his King, really meant his own son-in-law SHÁH JAHÁN, whom he desired to elevate to the throne—the consideration of affinity prevailing over that of justice. Seeing that his perfidy had been discovered, he averted the punishment which he began to apprehend, and obtaining possession of the two Princes, had them forthwith murdered. As he was all-powerful both in the army and in the Empire, he had already secured, in the interests of SHÁH JAHÁN, the greater number of the officers and nobility of the Court ; and the better to conceal his game and to lull the suspicion of the young King, who understood these affairs but imperfectly, he spread the report that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, and that, having desired to be interred near JAHÁNGIR, his father, his body was to be brought to AGRA. The stratagem was adroitly conducted. ASAF KHÁN himself told the King of this



pretended death, and assured him that etiquette required that his majesty should go out of AGRA to meet the body, when it came within a league or two, such honour being rightly due to a Prince of the blood of the MOGULS who was the brother of his father, and son of JAHÁNGIR. Accordingly SHÁH JAHÁN approached incognito, and when he was in sight of the army, near AGRA, he got into a bier, where there was sufficient air for respiration. This bier having been carried into a tent, all the principal chiefs, who were in concert with ASAF KHÁN, came as though to do honour to the dead Prince, the young King, on his side, having left AGRA to be present at the meeting. It was then that ASAF KHÁN saw that the time had arrived for the execution of his design; he had the bier opened, and SHÁH JAHÁN raised himself and appeared standing before the eyes of all the army; he was saluted as King by all the generals and other officers, who took their cue, and at the same moment the name of SHÁH JAHÁN as King was passed from mouth to mouth; the proclamation was made public, and the Empire of the MOGULS was assured to him. The young King hearing this news on the road, was so upset by it that he thought of nothing but flight, as he saw himself deserted by almost every one; and SHÁH JAHÁN, not thinking it prudent to pursue him, allowed him to wander for a long time in INDIA as a sort of *Fakir*. But at length, wearied with that kind of life, he took refuge in PERSIA, where he was magnificently received by SHÁH SAFVÍ,¹ who bestowed upon him a pension worthy of a great Prince. He enjoys it still, and I had an opportunity of conversing with him

¹ Cha Sefi in the original.



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during my travels in PERSIA, and drank and ate with him.¹

SHÁH JAHÁN having usurped the throne in this way,² in order to secure himself and to stifle all the factions which might arise on behalf of the legitimate King, whom he had unjustly despoiled of his Kingdom, by degrees murdered all those who, from having shown affection for his nephew, had made themselves suspects, and the early years of his reign were marked by cruelties which have much tarnished his memory. The end of his reign was in like manner unhappy for him, and as he had unjustly stolen the Empire from the legitimate heir to whom it belonged, so he was, during his lifetime, deprived of it by his own son AURANGZEB, who kept him a prisoner in the fortress of AGRA; and this, in a few words, is how it came to pass.

After DÁRÁ SHÁH had lost the battle against his two brothers AURANGZEB and MURÁD BAKSH, in the plain of SAMONGUIR,³ and was basely deserted by the principal officers of his army, he retired to the Kingdom of LAHORE with whatever of the royal treasure he had been able to take in the confusion of his affairs. The King, in order to resist the impetuosity of his victorious sons, whose only thoughts were of reigning by depriving him of his throne, and possibly also of his life, shut himself up in the fortress at AGRA so as not to be captured, and to see to what limits his sons would carry their insolence. AURANGZEB having secured the person of MURÁD BAKSH, as I have related

¹ He was seen also, according to Olearius (*Voyages and Travels*, etc., Eng. Ed., p. 190), by the Holstein Ambassadors in 1633, and Dow's statement as to his murder by Asaf Khán is incorrect.

² Sháh Jahán ascended the throne on the 4th February of 1628.

³ Samoghár, one march from Agra.

in the preceding chapter, entered AGRA and pretended to believe that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, in order to have an excuse for entering the fortress, which, as he said, one of the *Omrahs* was in possession of. The more AURANGZEB published the report that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, the more SHÁH JAHÁN strove to make public the fact that he was alive; but at length the King perceiving that he was no longer able to resist AURANGZEB, who had all the power and all the good luck on his side, and as the wells of the AGRA fortress were dried up, he was compelled to provide himself with the river water by a small postern which was the weakest part of the whole place, and which AURANGZEB had already reconnoitred, he therefore sent FAZL KHÁN, the Grand Chamberlain, to assure AURANGZEB that he was alive, so that he should no longer pretend to be ignorant of it. FAZL KHÁN was instructed to tell the Prince that the King, his father, ordered him to return to the Kingdom of DECCAN, the seat of his Government, without causing any more trouble, and that by showing this sign of obedience he would enable him to forget all that had passed. AURANGZEB, being still firm in his resolve, replied to FAZL KHÁN that he was convinced that the King, his father, was dead, and that upon that ground he had fought for the throne, which he believed he deserved equally with his brothers, who naturally had no more right to it than he had. That if the King was alive he had too much respect for him to have the smallest idea of doing anything which would displease him, but in order that he might be convinced that he was not dead he desired to see him, and to kiss his feet, after which he would retire to his own Government, and obey his orders implicitly.

FAZL KHÂN conveyed this reply to the King, who answered that he was willing to see his son, and sent FAZL KHÂN back to say he would be welcome. But AURANGZEB, more astute than SHÁH JAHÁN, assured FAZL KHÂN that he would not venture into the fortress till the garrison which was in it gave place to his own soldiers. This Prince feared, with good reason too, that if he entered except as master he might be served an evil turn and his person seized, and the King having heard of his resolution, not being able to do any better, consented to all that his son demanded of him. Accordingly the garrison of SHÁH JAHÁN went out of the fortress, and that of AURANGZEB entered under command of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, the eldest of his sons, to whom he gave a command to secure the person of the King his father. However, he postponed the visit from day to day, awaiting an auspicious hour for this interview, and his astrologers not finding one, he withdrew to a country house 2 or 3 leagues distant from AGRA; this displeased the people much, as they awaited with impatience the fortunate hour, which, by the visit of the son to the father, would terminate their disputes.

But AURANGZEB, who had no desire for this interview, on the contrary, took a strange resolution, which was to control his father's personal expenditure, and assume possession of all the treasures which DARÁ SHÁH had been unable to carry off on the occasion of his precipitate flight.¹ He also caused BEGUM SAHIB, his sister, to be confined in the fortress, that she might keep company with the King, whom she dearly loved.¹ And he also took possession of

¹ See p. 344.



all the wealth which she had received from her father's liberality.

SHÁH JAHÁN, incensed at the insult of being treated in this manner by his own son, made some efforts to escape, and slew some of the guards who dared to oppose him; this caused AURANGZEB to order closer confinement for him. It is a most surprising thing, however, that not one of the servants of this grand King offered to assist him; that all his subjects abandoned him, and that they turned their eyes to the rising sun, recognising no one as King but AURANGZEB—SHÁH JAHÁN, although still living, having passed from their memories. If perchance there were any who felt touched by his misfortunes, fear made them silent, and made them basely abandon a King who had governed them like a father, and with a mildness which is not common with sovereigns. For although he was severe enough to the nobles when they failed to perform their duties, he arranged all things for the comfort of the people, by whom he was much beloved, but who gave no signs of it at this crisis. Thus this great King finished his days sadly in prison, and died in the AGRA fort about the end of the year 1666, during the time of my last journey in INDIA. As during his reign he had commenced building the city of JAHÁNÁBÁD, which was not yet completed, he wished to see it once more before he died. But for this purpose it was necessary to obtain the consent of AURANGZEB, his son, who held him prisoner, and was quite willing to allow him to make the journey, and even to remain at JAHÁNÁBÁD as long as he wished, shut up in the castle, as he was in AGRA, provided that he consented to travel by boat, ascending the river,

and returning likewise in one of the small painted and ornamented frigates which are on the JUMNA at the palace of JAHÁNÁBÁD. For AURANGZEB was unwilling to permit him to travel by land on his elephant, as he feared lest his father's showing himself to the people might immediately raise a party in his favour, and that placing himself at their head, as people are inconstant, he might find means to remount the throne. SHÁH JAHÁN, perceiving the severity of his son, who wished to hurt him in this way, thought no more of the journey, and the great displeasure he felt at such cruel treatment precipitated his death. As soon as AURANGZEB had news of it he came to AGRA and seized all the jewels of the late King, his father, which he had not touched during his life. BEGUM SÁHIB also had a quantity of precious stones,¹ which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, being at that time satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full. These jewels afforded certain evidence to AURANGZEB's sense of propriety, as for other reasons the Princess, his sister, had already been suspected of having had improper relations with SHÁH JAHÁN, and he found means to obtain them in a manner which appeared honest and far from criminal, by treating the BEGUM SÁHIB with much honour and attention; but he removed her to JAHÁNÁBÁD,² and I saw the elephant pass upon which she was mounted when she left AGRA with the court, as I was entering it on my return from

¹ The delivery of the precious stones by Begum Sáhib to Aurangzeb is described in Book II, chap. vii.

² Here Jehanabad is in the original, though elsewhere generally Gehanabat. In the 1713 edition by a misprint it is Jehanabab.



BENGAL. In a short time after news was spread of the death of this Princess, and all the world believed that it had been hastened by poison. Let us now see what has become of DÁRÁ SHÁH, and what has been the result of the war between the sons of the unfortunate SHÁH JAHÁN.



CHAPTER IV

Concerning the flight of DĀRĀ SHĀH to the Kingdoms of SIND and GUJARĀT; of his second battle with AURANGZEB; of his capture and death.

DĀRĀ SHĀH having carried off in haste, on the advice of his father, some of the gold and silver which was in the fortress of AGRA, and having retired to the Kingdom of LAHORE, hoped to be able to place on foot, in a short time, a second army, in order to attack AURANGZEB, his brother. His most faithful servants and friends had always accompanied him in his misfortune, and his eldest son SULEMAN SHEKO was with *Raja RŪP*¹ in the territories of his Kingdom in order to raise troops, having with him five millions of rupees (5,000,000),² which amount to seven million five hundred thousand (7,500,000) *livres* of our money, in order to attract soldiers more rapidly. But this large sum made *Raja RŪP*'s eyes open, and he seized it for himself by a base and infamous act of treason. SULIMAN SHEKO fearing he would go further and seize his person also, withdrew promptly to the Kingdom

¹ Roup in the original. *Raja RŪp Singh*, a daughter of whom, although a Hindu, was married to Aurangzeb's son, Mu'azzam, in the year 1661.

² £562,500.



of SRINAGAR, under the protection of *Raja* NAKTI RANI,¹ who, by a still blacker act of treason, delivered him over to AURANGZEB some time afterwards.

DÁRÁ SHÁH, having had notice of the treason of *Raja* RÚP, and seeing all his friends abandoning him to join the side of AURANGZEB, left LAHORE in order to retire into the Kingdom of SIND. Before leaving the fortress he ordered all the gold, silver, and jewels which were in the treasury to be embarked on the river in the care of a strong escort, in order to send them to BUKKUR,² which is in the middle of the river INDUS, where he took possession of a fort. He left there, as governor and guardian of his wealth, a eunuch who was faithful to him, and six thousand soldiers, and all the munitions necessary to sustain a siege, after which he went to SIND, where he left many large cannons. He then went into the country of the King of KACHNAGANA,³ who made him magnificent promises which proved of no effect; next he entered the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, where he was received by the people with great acclamation as the legitimate King and heir of SHÁH JAHÁN. He issued his commands in all the cities, and especially in SURAT, where he established a Governor; but the Governor of the fortress, who had been appointed by MURÁD BAKSH and was a *Raja*, would not submit to DÁRÁ SHÁH.⁴ He protested that he would

¹ Sereneger in the original. In the French edition of 1713, Serenager—for Srinagar, capital of Kashmir. Nakti Rani I have not identified.

² Baker in the original, Bukkur or Bakhar. For the history of this island-fortress, which has always been a position of strategical importance, see *Imperial Gazetteer*. It was the principal British arsenal during the Sind and Afghan campaigns. ³ Cutch (or Kachchh).

⁴ As already explained on page 7 the governorship of the fort at Surat was a distinct post from that of the governor of the town.



not give over charge of the place into the hands of any one except on the express order of MURÁD BAKSH; and as he continued firm in this resolve, he was allowed to remain peaceably in the fortress, without, on his part, causing any trouble to the Governor of the town.

In the meantime, DARÁ SHÁH got news at AHMADÁBÁD that JESWANT SINGH,¹ one of the most powerful *Rajas* in all INDIA, had detached himself from AURANGZEB, and wished to join him. He was even invited by this *Raja* to advance with his army, which was not large, and did not exceed 30,000 men when he arrived at AHMADÁBÁD. DARÁ SHÁH, confiding in his promise, followed his counsel, and went to AJMIR,² the appointed *rendezvous*, where he hoped to find him. But JESWANT SINGH, who had been won by the arguments of the *Raja* JAI SINGH,³ who was more powerful than he, and was wholly devoted to the interests of AURANGZEB, did not come to AJMIR on the day he had promised, and only got there at the last moment, when it was for the purpose of betraying this poor Prince. The armies of the two brothers being opposed to one another, the combat commenced, and the battle lasted for three days; but during the course of the engagement JESWANT SINGH, with manifest treachery, passed over to the side of AURANGZEB, which being seen by DARÁ SHÁH's soldiers, they lost courage and took to flight. There had been much bloodshed on both sides; SHÁH NAWÁZ KHÁN,⁴ father-in-law of AURANGZEB, remained on the field, and there

¹ Jeswant Singh—Jessomseing in the original. He was Raja of Jodhpur in Marwar, and died in 1678.

² Emir in the original.

³ Jesseing in the original.

⁴ Chanavas Kan in the original.

were on both sides 8000 or 9000 men slain, without counting the wounded, the number of whom was still greater. DÁRÁ SHÁH having no other resources, and fortune having been against him in all his enterprises, in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies, took flight with his wives, some of his children, and his most faithful followers, in a pitiable conveyance. As he approached AHMADÁBÁD, Monsieur BERNIER,¹ a French physician, who was on his way to AGRA to visit the Court of the GREAT MOGUL, and who is well known to all the world as much by his personal merit as by the charming accounts of his travels, was of great assistance to one of the wives of this Prince who was attacked with erysipelas in one leg. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having learnt that an accomplished European physician was at hand, sent immediately for him, and Monsieur BERNIER went to his tent, where he saw this lady and examined into her ailment, for which he gave a remedy and quick relief.² This poor Prince being much pleased with Monsieur BERNIER, strongly pressed him to remain in his service, and he might have accepted the offer if DÁRÁ SHÁH had not received news the same night that the Governor whom he had left at AHMADÁBÁD had refused to allow his quartermaster to enter the town, and had declared for AURANGZEB. This compelled DÁRÁ SHÁH to decamp quickly in the darkness of the night, and take the road to SIND, fearing some new treachery, which he could not defend himself from in the unhappy condition in which he found himself.

¹ M. Bernier. See p. 115.

² According to Elphinstone she had been wounded. (*Hist. of India*, vol. ii, p. 444.)



DARÁ SHÁH arrived in SIND, intending to pass into PERSIA, where SHÁH ABBÁS II awaited him with a magnificent outfit, being resolved to aid him with men and money. But this Prince being unwilling to entrust himself to the sea, and fearing that its uncertainty would submit him to some new reverse of fortune, believed that by going by land he would secure greater safety to himself and his women and children. However, he deceived himself, for when passing through the country of the PATHANS,¹ on the road to KANDAHÁR, he was again shamefully betrayed by one of the chieftains of the country named JUIN KHÁN, who had been an officer of the King his father, and who, having been condemned to death for his crimes, by the mouth of the King, and sentenced to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, obtained forgiveness through the intercession of DARÁ SHÁH, to whom, therefore, he owed his life. To augment his affliction DARÁ SHÁH, before reaching the house of JUIN KHÁN, received by a foot messenger the sad intelligence of the death of that one of his wives whom he loved most, and who had accompanied him always during his misfortunes. He learnt that she had died of heat and thirst, not being able to find a drop of water in the country to assuage her thirst.² The Prince was so affected by this news that he fell as though he were dead, and when, by the assistance of those who were with him, he came to himself, in the excess of his grief he rent his garments; this is a custom of great antiquity in the East, as DAVID himself rent his at the news of the death of ABSALOM, his son.

¹ Patanes in the original. This was the territory of *Jun* or *Juin* on the eastern frontier of Sind (Elphinstone).

² According to Dow he was present at her death.

This unhappy Prince had always appeared to be unmoved on all the occasions of his evil fortune, but this one grief overwhelmed him, and he refused all the consolation offered by his friends. He clad himself in garments appropriate to his affliction, and in place of a *sesse* or turban wrapped round his head a piece of coarse cloth. It was in this miserable costume that he entered the house of the traitor JUIN KHÁN, where, having laid himself down on a camp-bed to rest, a new subject of grief appeared on his awakening. JUIN KHÁN on attempting to seize SEPEHR SHEKO,¹ the second son of DARÁ SHÁH, the young Prince, though but a child, resisted the traitor with courage, and having taken up his bow and arrow laid three men low on the ground. But being alone he was unable to resist the number of traitors, who secured the doors of the house, and did not allow any one of those who might have aided him to enter. DARÁ SHÁH, having been awakened by the noise which these cruel satellites made when seizing this little Prince, saw before his eyes his son, whom they brought in with his hands tied behind his back. The unhappy father, unable to doubt any longer the black treason of his host, could not restrain himself from launching these words against the traitor JUIN KHÁN: "*Finish, finish,*" said he, "*ungrateful and infamous wretch that thou art, finish that which thou hast commenced; we are the victims of evil fortune and the unjust passion of AURANGZEB, but remember that I do not merit death except for having saved thy life, and remember that a Prince of the royal blood never had his hands tied behind his back.*" JUIN KHÁN being to some extent moved by these words, ordered the little Prince to be

¹ Sepehr Sheko; Sepper Chekour in the original.

released, and merely placed guards over DĀRĀ SHĀH and his son. At the same time he sent an express to *Raja* JESWANT SINGH and to ABDULLA KHĀN to give them tidings that he had captured DĀRĀ SHĀH and his followers. On receipt of this intelligence they hastened to take part in the spoliation of the Prince, but they could not arrive so quickly but that JUIN KHĀN had had time to seize DĀRĀ SHĀH's most precious possessions, and he also treated his wives and children with the greatest barbarity. The *Raja* and ABDULLA KHĀN having arrived, they made DĀRĀ SHĀH and his son leave on an elephant, and his wives and children on others; and with this equipage, very different from that with which they had before appeared at JAHĀNĀBĀD, they travelled thither, and entered it on the 9th of September. All the people hastened to witness this spectacle, desiring to see the Prince whom they had wished to have as King; and AURANGZEB ordered him to be taken through the principal streets, and all the bazaars of JAHĀNĀBĀD, so that no one should entertain any doubt as to his capture, and as though he himself were glorified by the treachery he had shown towards his brother, to whom he allotted the fortress of ASSER¹ as a prison. But of all those who crowded to see this Prince, and were not ignorant of the fact that he was really their legitimate King, and even then desired to see him on the throne, there was not one who had the courage to aid him. There were only some generous soldiers who had served the Prince, who, as they had received many benefits, thought themselves bound on this occasion to give him some mark of their acknowledgment.

¹ Asser. Asirgarh, near Burhānpur, in Khāndesh.

Being unable to deliver their legitimate Prince from the hands of those who held him captive, they flung themselves with fury on the traitor JUIN KHĀN, who was indeed delivered from them for the moment, but in a short time afterwards suffered the penalty due to his crime, having been slain while traversing a forest when on his return to his own country.

However, AURANGZEB, being a good politician and extraordinary dissembler, caused it to be noised abroad that he had not ordered the seizure of the person of DĀRĀ SHĀH, but only that he should be persuaded to depart out of the Kingdom. As DĀRĀ had been unwilling to do so, JUIN KHĀN had, without authority, unworthily seized his person, and instead of honouring the royal blood, had shamefully tied the hands of the young Prince, SEPEHR SHEKO, son of DĀRĀ SHĀH, behind his back. That this criminal action, which was an offence against his Majesty, deserved a severe punishment, and that it had in part been avenged by the death of JUIN KHĀN and his accomplices. But this story which AURANGZEB ordered to be spread among the people was only for the purpose of deception; for if he truly had such consideration for the royal blood and any love for his elder brother, he would not at the same time have ordered his head to be cut off, as was immediately done in the following manner. DĀRĀ SHĀH, having left JAHĀNĀBĀD with his guards to go to the place of his imprisonment, when he had reached a pleasant spot where he thought he was to sleep, his tent in which he was to lose his head was prepared. After he had eaten, SĀIF KHĀN,¹ who had been in his service, came to announce to him the order

¹ Seif Kan in the original.

for his death. DĀRĀ SHĀH, seeing him enter, welcomed him and said that he was rejoiced to see one of his most faithful servants. SAĪF KHĀN replied that it was true that he had formerly been in his service, but that he was now the slave of AURANGZEB, who had commanded him to return with his head. "Am to die then," said DĀRĀ SHĀH. "It is the order of the King," replied SAĪF KHĀN; "and I am here to carry it out." SEPEHR SHEKO, who was sleeping in an antechamber of the tent, awakened by this conversation, endeavoured to seize some weapons which had been removed from him, and made an effort to aid his father, but was prevented by those who accompanied SAĪF KHĀN. DĀRĀ SHĀH also wished to resist, but perceiving it would be useless, merely asked time for prayer, which was granted. In the meantime SEPEHR SHEKO was drawn aside, and, whilst they amused him, a slave cut off DĀRĀ SHĀH's head; and SAĪF KHĀN took it to AURANGZEB, who thought that by the blood and death of his brother he would establish his throne. After this bloody tragedy the afflicted SEPEHR SHEKO was conveyed to the fortress of GWALIOR to keep company with his uncle, MURĀD BAKSH.¹ As for the wives and daughters of DĀRĀ SHĀH, they were given quarters in the harem of AURANGZEB, who, in order to fix himself firmly on the throne of the MOGULS, now only thought of the destruction of his other brother, SULTAN SHUJĀ, who was in BENGAL—where he was assembling forces in order to come to the release of the King his father, who still lived in the fortress at AGRA, where AURANGZEB kept him a prisoner.

¹ This was in July 1659.



CHAPTER V

How AURANGZEB seated himself upon the throne and had himself declared King; and concerning the flight of SULTAN SHUJÁ.

It was not difficult for AURANGZEB, after the imprisonment of his father SHÁH JAHÁN and of his brother MURÁD BAKSH, and having cruelly decapitated his eldest brother, to whom by right the Kingdom belonged, to resolve to have himself declared King, especially as fortune favoured it and all the nobles of the Kingdom applauded him. As it is the custom, at this ceremony, to sit upon the throne, not much time was required to prepare it, as SHÁH JAHÁN, before being imprisoned, had completed the throne which the great TAMERLANE had commenced; it is the richest and most superb throne which has ever been seen in the world. But as it was necessary that the *Grand Kázi*¹ or Chief of the Law should proclaim the new King, it was in this direction that AURANGZEB encountered the first obstacle. The *Grand Kázi* openly opposed his design, and said that the law of Muhammad and the law of nature equally prevented him from proclaiming him King during the lifetime of his father; added to which, in order to ascend the throne, he

¹ Cadi in the original.

had murdered his eldest brother, to whom the Empire belonged after the death of SHĀH JAHĀN, their father. This vigorous resistance of the *Kāzi* gave trouble to AURANGZEB, and in order not to appear unjust, he assembled the doctors of the law, to whom he represented that his father was incapable of reigning on account of his great age and the infirmities with which he had been overwhelmed; and as for DĀRĀ SHĀH, his brother, he had put him to death because he was not zealous in obeying the law; that he drank wine, and favoured infidels. These reasons, mingled with menaces, caused his "Council of Conscience" to pronounce that he merited the Empire, and that he ought to be proclaimed King—which, nevertheless, the *Grand Kāzi* persistently resisted. There was, in consequence, no other remedy therefore but to depose him from his office as a disturber of the public peace, and elect another zealous for the honour of the law and the good of the Kingdom. This was forthwith done. The person elected by the Council was afterwards confirmed by AURANGZEB, and in recognition for this act of grace, he proclaimed him King on the 20th of October 1660.¹ This proclamation having been made in the Mosque, AURANGZEB seated himself on the throne, where he received the homage of all the nobles of the Kingdom, and there were great rejoicings upon that day in JAHĀNĀBĀD. At the same time orders were sent throughout all the Kingdom to celebrate his coming to the throne.

¹ This date appears to be incorrect. Aurangzeb's accession took place in August 1658, when he was first proclaimed Emperor; but he did not put his name on the coin and was not crowned till the following year. This has caused some confusion in the dates of his reign, but it cannot be said to have commenced later than 1659.



This was effected with great splendour, and lasted for many days.

AURANGZEB did not consider his throne assured nor his Empire well established so long as SULTAN SHUJÁ, his brother, was engaged in raising a powerful army in BENGAL with the design of setting SHÁH JAHÁN at liberty. He thought that it behoved him to anticipate him, and sent considerable forces against him under the command of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, his eldest son, to whom he gave as lieutenant the MIR JUMLA,¹ one of the greatest captains who had ever migrated from PERSIA to INDIA. His good judgment and courage would have caused him to be revered by posterity if he had only been faithful to the Princes whom he served. But he first betrayed the King of GOLCONDA,² with whom he made his fortune, and afterwards SHÁH JAHÁN, under whose protection he maintained it at so high a pitch that there was scarcely another noble in the whole of INDIA more powerful or richer than he was.

Moreover, he was both feared and beloved by the army, and he understood the art of war perfectly as it is carried on in this country. Having then abandoned the interests of SHÁH JAHÁN, he attached himself to the side of AURANGZEB, and if SULTAN SHUJÁ had not had opposed to him so brave and able a commander he would, no doubt, have given more trouble to his

¹ Although previously called Mir Jimola or Mir Gimola, his name is here given in the nearly correct form of Emir Jemla. (See Index).

² His desertion of the King of Golconda seems to have been justified by the action of that King, as described by Tavernier on page 165 *et seq.*, but there is some ground for the supposition that his son, Muhammad Amin, brought the family into disgrace by his imprudence and misconduct at the King's Court.

brother, and possibly might have conquered him. The two armies having encountered one another many times, victory was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and SULTAN MUHAMMAD, assisted by the advice of his lieutenant, seeing that this war was protracted, resolved to change the method and to combine ruse with force in order to accomplish the destruction of SULTAN SHUJÁ. He treated with the majority of the officers of his uncle's army secretly, and made them magnificent promises, urging them so strongly to follow the side of AURANGZEB—whom he called the pillar and protector of the Muhammadan law—that he secured the principals, to whom he afterwards made considerable presents, to assure himself better of their support. This was a mortal stroke for SULTAN SHUJÁ, which he was unable to parry; for those who followed him being mercenaries, and that kind of people who declare for those who give most, they concluded that they had nothing more to hope from this Prince, whose finances were expended, and would find it more profitable to declare for AURANGZEB, whom fortune favoured in every way, and was master of all the treasures. Thus it was easy for AURANGZEB to bribe the whole army of his brother, who in the last battle which was fought found himself abandoned by all and compelled to fly with his wives and children. The traitors, ashamed of their baseness, did not pursue the unfortunate Prince, as they might have done; and, like mean folk, as soon as he had taken flight busied themselves with the destruction of his tents and the pillage of his baggage. This was allowed them by MIR JUMLA as a reward for their treachery. SULTAN SHUJÁ, having embarked with his family in some boats,



crossed the GANGES, and some time afterwards withdrew to the Kingdom of ARAKAN, on the confines of BENGAL, where we must leave him to take breath, in order to ascertain tidings of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, eldest son of AURANGZEB, and SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, who still caused trouble to AURANGZEB.



CHAPTER VI

Concerning the prison of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, son of Aurangzeb, and of SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of DÁRÁ SHÁH.

ALTHOUGH AURANGZEB was considered a very great politician, and was so in fact, still he allowed himself to be deceived in entrusting a powerful army to his son under the conduct of a great captain, but one who, having already, as I have said, betrayed two Kings, his masters,¹ ought to have made AURANGZEB fear for himself a similar treatment. This Prince, who had mounted the throne by means of many crimes, and had supplanted his father, whom he held a prisoner, and also his two brothers, one of whom he had executed, and the other of whom he had put to flight, was always justly alarmed lest Heaven should inspire his own son to avenge his grandfather. As it had been reported to him that SULTAN MUHAMMAD was extraordinarily pensive and melancholy, he firmly believed that he was meditating means to ruin him, and in this belief he sought to draw some explanation from MIR JUMLA. He wrote to him that having heard that SULTAN MUHAMMAD had had some secret communications with his uncle, SULTAN SHUJÁ, it was advisable that he

¹ Namely, the King of Golconda and Sháh Jahán.



should arrest him and send him to court. The letter having been accidentally seized by SULTAN MUHAMMAD's guards, and afterwards brought to that young Prince, who was a man of sense, he concealed the matter from MIR JUMLA, fearing that he might have received other more precise orders from his father concerning his life, he resolved to cross the GANGES, and throw himself into the arms of his uncle SULTAN SHUJÁ, from whom he hoped for more kindness than from his father.¹ With this resolve he pretended to go fishing, and, having speedily prepared some boats on the GANGES, crossed with many of his officers to the camp of SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was on the other side of the river, and who had found means for assembling some troops during the time he had been meditating his retreat to the King of ARAKAN. SULTAN MUHAMMAD having reached his uncle's presence, threw himself at his feet, and asked his pardon for having taken up arms against him, to which he had been forced by his father, adding that he was not ignorant of the injustice with which he had seized the throne. Although SULTAN SHUJÁ might have thought that the arrival of MUHAMMAD in his camp was only a ruse of AURANGZEB's, who had sent him to spy out his condition and discover his weakness, nevertheless, as he was a good and generous Prince, seeing his nephew at his knees, he immediately raised him, and embracing him, assured him of his protection against AURANGZEB. Some days afterwards these two Princes made an attempt, and recrossing the GANGES, made a long

¹ The real object of his affection, and possibly the cause of his going over, was Sultan Shuja's daughter, whom he desired to marry, and to whom he was in fact soon after married.



detour to surprise the army of the enemy, who did not expect them. They attacked with vigour, and slew many; but when they saw that the enemy began to recover from this sudden attack, they contented themselves with the advantage gained, and recrossed the GANGES, being afraid of being surrounded by the multitude, and of not being able to withdraw when they wished.

MIR JUMLA had already given notice to AURANGZEB of the flight of his son, at which the father experienced considerable displeasure, though he dared not show it to the MIR, for fear that it might cause him to do likewise, and betray him as he had betrayed SHÁH JAHÁN, his father, and the King of GOLCONDA. AURANGZEB merely wrote to him that he confided entirely in his great prudence and delicate tact to restore SULTAN MUHAMMAD to his duty; who was still young, and that this fit only proceeded from an age full of fire, which ordinarily loved change. The confidence which AURANGZEB showed in MIR JUMLA induced that general to use all possible means to withdraw MUHAMMAD from the hands of SULTAN SHUJÁ. He informed the young Prince that the King, his father, had the best intentions regarding him, and that he was always ready to receive him with open arms, provided he would make good use of his retreat to SULTAN SHUJÁ, which he might make serviceable to AURANGZEB, who would love him the more, and would thus have an opportunity of praising his prudence and affection. The young Prince allowed himself to be easily persuaded; and by the same way as he had gone to the camp of his uncle SULTAN SHUJÁ, he returned to that of his father AURANGZEB, where MIR JUMLA received him with honour, and with great demonstrations of joy. He advised



him to say to his father as soon as he saw him, that he went to SULTAN SHUJÁ merely for the purpose of spying out his forces and the condition of his army, and that he should repair with speed to AURANGZEB, in order to tell him what he had done in his service, and to receive his reward. It was also the command of AURANGZEB that his son should be sent to him; and MUHAMMAD, whether willingly or by compulsion, set out for JAHÁNÁBÁD, where he arrived accompanied by the guards which MIR JUMLA had sent with him. Their commander having announced to the King the arrival of his son, his Majesty assigned a lodging for him outside his palace, and would not allow him to come to kiss his hands. He ordered him to be informed that he was indisposed; and whilst this lodging served him as a prison until he was transferred to the fortress of GWALIOR,¹ let us see what was done to SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of the unfortunate DÁRÁ SHÁH, whose head AURANGZEB had cut off.

SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, after having been betrayed by *Raja RÚP*, as I have above related,² remained in the country of SRINAGAR,³ under the protection of NAKTI RANI,⁴ its ruler. This Prince, who was courageous as well as unfortunate, was compelled to pass a wild life in the mountains in order not to fall into the hands of AURANGZEB, who with all his forces was unable to harm him there. On the other hand, NAKTI RANI assured him by an oath, accompanied by all the

¹ Sultan Muhammad died in 1677, in his 38th year. His wife, the daughter of Shujá, was with him in prison.

² See p. 346.

³ Serenaguer in the original, Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir.

⁴ Dow calls the *Raja*, Pirti Singh. (*History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 246.) For Nakti Rani see p. 347.



ceremonies which could render it solemn and inviolable, that he would lose his Kingdom rather than allow AURANGZEB to do him the least violence to the prejudice of that protection which he afforded him. He went for this purpose to a river which runs through his country, to bathe his body as testimony of the purity of his soul; and being thus purified in the water, he made his promise to SULIMAN SHEKO never to abandon him, took his gods as witnesses to the purity of his intentions, and gave the young Prince no ground for doubting his promises. SULIMAN SHEKO, after that, thought only of amusing himself and his followers with the chase, and they, on their part, sought to amuse him to the utmost of their power, while he devoted himself entirely to pleasure.

AURANGZEB ordered troops to advance towards the mountains of SRINAGAR in order to compel *Raja* NAKTI RANI to put SULIMAN SHEKO in his power. But the *Raja* being able with 1000 men to defend all the entrances to his country, which are narrow and difficult, against 100,000, rendered all AURANGZEB's efforts futile, who thereupon had recourse to ruse, seeing that force availed nothing.

He sought at first to treat with the *Raja*, but in vain, for the *Raja* would not violate his oath; and moreover his priests assured him that AURANGZEB would be deprived of his Kingdom, and that SULIMAN SHEKO would reign in a short time; this made him treat the young Prince with all possible kindness.

AURANGZEB seeing that his army was unable to advance into the country of the *Raja*, set himself to make another kind of war in order to obtain DARA SHAH's son from his hands. He forbade commerce



between his subjects and those of the *Raja*; this was very prejudicial to the latter, who, inhabiting a country of mountains and rocks, are constrained to provide themselves from outside with whatever they want. They immediately commenced to murmur at the protection which he had given to SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, and cried out that it was to the prejudice of the public welfare. Their priests also began to doubt the truth of their oracles, and to believe that it was desirable to interpret them otherwise. At last they began to arrange for the ruin of this poor Prince; and what completed it was that *Raja* JESWANT SINGH, who had betrayed DÁRÁ SHÁH, as I have above related, sent secretly to *Raja* NAKTI RANI to advise him that it was for his own safety and that of his country to yield to the will of AURANGZEB, and give up his nephew into his hands. This advice of JESWANT SINGH sorely embarrassed the *Raja*, for on the one side he had made a solemn oath, and sworn by *Ram Ram* to protect SULIMAN SHEKO at the risk of his country and his life, on the other he feared a revolt in his Kingdom and the prospect of losing it.

Uncertain what to do, he consulted the *Brahmins*, who pronounced that he was rather bound to protect his people and his faith, which would be destroyed if the country became subject to AURANGZEB, who was a Muhammadan, than to protect a Prince from whom he could never receive any benefit. These councils having been held without SULIMAN SHEKO's knowledge, his destruction was settled when he believed himself to be in the greatest safety. The *Raja* NAKTI RANI thinking to shield his honour and conscience, replied to JESWANT SINGH's messenger that he was unable to



bring himself to betray the Prince, but that AURANGZEB might seize him, and so protect his reputation ; and that SULIMAN SHEKO was in the habit of going to hunt in certain mountains in his country, taking only a few people with him, and that it would be easy for JESWANT SINGH to send a number of soldiers to take him prisoner, and hand him over to AURANGZEB.

Immediately on receipt of this reply, JESWANT SINGH gave orders to his son to go and execute the design as it had been arranged, so that when on a certain day SULIMAN SHEKO, on going to hunt at the usual place, was attacked by a strong party who were in ambuscade, he at once saw the treason, and put himself in a position of defence with his followers, who were all slain on the spot. The Prince defended himself bravely, and alone slew nine of the assailants ; but he was borne down by numbers, and was carried to JAHANABAD. When he came into AURANGZEB's presence, the King asked him how he felt. "As your prisoner," replied the Prince, "who does not expect from you different treatment from that which my father has received." The King replied that he had nothing to fear, that he would not put him to death, but only assure himself of his person. AURANGZEB then inquired what had become of the treasures which he had carried away ; he replied that he had employed a portion to raise troops to make war against him and destroy him, if good fortune had been on his side ; that another portion had been retained in the hands of *Raja RUP*, whose avarice and perfidy were sufficiently well known ; and that the traitor *Raja NAKTI RANI* had seized the remainder when delivering him treacherously to his enemies, despite his promise and pledged honour.



AURANGZEB was surprised and much moved by the noble courage of his nephew, but ambition closed his eyes and stifled in him all the sentiments of justice which a proper remorse of conscience might arouse ; and in order to secure his throne he directed that SULTAN MUHAMMAD, his son, and SULIMAN SHEKO, his nephew, should be conducted to the fortress of GWALIOR, to keep company with their uncle, MURÁD BAKSH and some other Princes who were in prison. This was done on the 30th of January 1661.

SULTAN SHUJÁ, who still lived, although in a miserable condition, was the last thorn which remained in the foot of AURANGZEB, and he who extracted it, and relieved him of this unfortunate Prince whom he had still to fear, was the King of ARAKAN, with whom he had been compelled to take refuge. As SHUJÁ saw that there was now no more hope of aid for him, he resolved to make a pilgrimage to MECCA, and from thence to pass into PERSIA to seek an asylum with the King. Having this intention he believed he would obtain a ship from the King of ARAKAN or from the King of PEGU to take him to MOCHA, but he was unaware that neither of these Kings had other than long and narrow much decorated demi-galleys, which they use on their rivers, and that they had no vessels capable of traversing the great ocean. Consequently SULTAN SHUJÁ was obliged to remain with the King of ARAKAN, who is an idolater, and in order the better to secure his protection, asked for one of his daughters in marriage, which request was granted, and he had a son by her. But this, which should have been a strong bond of friendship between father and son-in-law, soon became a cause of division and hatred ; and some



nobles of the country, who had already shown jealousy of SULTAN SHUJÁ, caused him to be regarded with suspicion by the King of ARAKAN, as though he desired, in consequence of his marriage with his daughter, and of the son which he had by her, to depose him from his throne. This pagan King, in whose country several Muhammadans were settled, easily believed what was told him, namely, that this Muhammadan Prince might readily induce all who were in his country, under the pretext of zeal for religion, to form a conspiracy, and place himself on the throne of ARAKAN, instead of that which his own younger brother had seized upon. These doubts were not altogether ill-founded, for in truth SULTAN SHUJÁ, who still had quantities of golden rupees and many jewels, easily bribed a number of these Muhammadans of the Kingdom of ARAKAN, and with about 200 men who remained of those who had followed him from BENGAL after the defeat of his army, he arranged an enterprise of much boldness, but which was at the same time less an indication of bravery than of despair.

He appointed a day with those of his own party for forcing an entry into the palace, and after having put to death all the royal family, he intended to have himself at the same time proclaimed King of ARAKAN. But this great plot having been discovered the day before it was to have been executed, SULTAN SHUJÁ and SULTAN BANGUE, his son, had no other resource left but to take flight, hoping to escape to the Kingdom of PEGU. But the high, nearly inaccessible mountains, and the thick forests full of tigers and lions¹ through

¹ There are no lions in these regions, nor is there the slightest reason for supposing that they ever ranged so far to the East as Arakan.

which they had to travel, and where there was scarcely any road, made their flight useless, in addition to which the enemy gave them but little time to get away before they followed on their tracks. SULTAN BANGUE, who marched last, to resist those whom he believed the King would surely send to seize them, and to give his father, and his family who followed him, a chance to escape, defended himself bravely against the first who attacked, but, being at length overcome by numbers and thrown down, was carried off together with his two younger brothers, his mother, and sisters. All the members of this unhappy family were placed in prison, where they were at first treated with great harshness; but some time afterwards, the King being inclined to marry the eldest sister of SULTAN BANGUE, they were given a little more liberty. They would have enjoyed it longer, but for the impatience of this young Prince, who, having an active and ambitious spirit, made a new plot against the King, which proved to be the cause of their total ruin. For the plot having been precipitated without success, the King, roused to anger, commanded that the whole family should be straight-way exterminated, even including the young Princess whom he had espoused, although she was *enceinte*.

As for what became of SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was the most advanced of all in the flight, the accounts of his fate are so different that one does not know which to believe. But, if all vary in the circumstances, they agree so far that he is no longer alive, and that he either died by the hands of soldiers who were sent to seize his person, or was torn to pieces

it being beyond the limits of their ascertained geographical distribution in prehistorical, as well as in historical times.



by the tigers or lions, which abound in the forests of these countries.¹

This, then, is what I have been able to ascertain concerning this famous war which lasted six years, and I have not met with any other version of it at SURAT, AGRA, JAHÁNÁBÁD, or in BENGAL, where I was precisely informed by those who were present at its principal events, having been myself a witness of a portion of them, as I have related in this account. Let us now see what were the first acts of the reign of AURANGZEB, and what was the fate of SHÁH JAHÁN, his father.

¹ He is said by some writers to have been taken out in the river in a canoe, which was scuttled; his captors, escaping in another canoe, left him to drown.



CHAPTER VII

*Concerning the beginning of AURANGZEB'S reign, and
the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, his father.*

I HAVE mentioned in the fifth chapter that AURANGZEB ascended the throne as soon as he had disposed of his brother, DÁRÁ SHÁH,¹ and I shall add here some details which preceded this ceremony, and are sufficiently worthy of record. Some days previously he boldly sent to present his compliments to SHÁH JAHÁN, his father, which he well knew would be displeasing to him. He begged him, as he was about to ascend the throne in a few days, to have the goodness to send some of his jewels to be used on that day, so that he might appear before his people with the same magnificence as the other Kings, his predecessors, had done. SHÁH JAHÁN, at this demand of AURANGZEB, which he regarded as an insult levelled at him in his prison by his son, became so enraged, that for some days he was like a madman, and he even nearly died. In the excess of his annoyance he called frequently for a pestle and mortar, saying that he would pound up all his precious stones and pearls, so that

¹ Aurangzeb was proclaimed Emperor on the 26th of May 1659. But his administration of the Empire commenced on the 9th of June 1658. (See p. 356 n.)



AURANGZEB might never possess them.¹ But BEGUM SAHIB, his eldest daughter, who had never left him, throwing herself at his feet, besought him not to proceed to such an extremity, and having full power over him in consequence of the intimate relations which existed between them, appeased him, rather with the object of keeping the precious stones for herself than to give pleasure to her brother, who might one day become their possessor, he having always been her mortal enemy. Thus, when AURANGZEB ascended the throne he had only one jewel on his cap (*toque*);² but if he had desired more he did not lack them, as I have elsewhere said, and he only asked for the stones from his father with the intention of retaining them permanently. This cap, as I have related in my account of PERSIA, cannot be called a crown,

¹ Sháh Jahán appears to have subsequently relented, though it is not so stated by Tavernier; but Bernier says, "that of his own accord he sent some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder, the first time he should again ask for them." (*History of the late Revolution*, etc., vol. ii, p. 100, English translation.) Ultimately, on Sháh Jahán's death, when Aurangzeb entered the Seraglio at Agra, Begum Sahib presented him with a large golden basin full of jewels, *tom. cit.* p. 174. (*Vide ante*, p. 344, and Book II, chap. x, p. 398.)

Thevenot relates the same story as Bernier, and adds that the Peacock throne was in Sháh Jahán's possession in prison, but this latter statement is incorrect. (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 101.)

² Possibly the topaz referred to in Book II, chaps. x and xxii, and also by Bernier, who says, "The King appeared seated upon his throne at one extremity of the great hall of the *Am khás* splendidly attired, his garment being of white flowered satin embroidered, his turband of gold cloth having an egret worked upon it, the feet of which were studded with diamonds of extraordinary lustre and value, and in the centre was a beautiful Oriental topaz of matchless size and splendour, shining like a little sun." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 179, Calcutta Edition, English translation, 1826.)



neither, consequently, can the ceremony be called a coronation.¹

From the moment that AURANGZEB took possession of the throne, he would eat neither wheaten bread, flesh, nor fish. He sustained himself with barley-bread, vegetables, and sweetmeats, and would not drink any strong liquor. This was a penance which he imposed on himself for the many crimes which he had committed; but his ambition and the desire to reign are still strong, so much so that he is resolved not to renounce the throne during his life.

When AURANGZEB was settled on the throne, and all ASIA had heard the news, there arrived at different times at JAHANÁBÁD many ambassadors, who came to salute the new King on the part of their masters, to offer him their service and ask for his friendship. The USBEG TARTARS were the first,² afterwards the *Cherif*³ of MECCA, the King of HYEMAN,⁴ or ARABIA FELIX, the Prince of BASSORA, and the King of ETHIOPIA sent theirs. The Dutch also sent M. ADRICAN, Commander-in-Chief of the factory at SURAT, who was very well treated, and was quickly received out of respect for the European nation. For these Kings of INDIA consider that it enhances their

¹ This very trivial point as to whether the term coronation was strictly applicable or not, was the subject of some sharp controversy between Chardin and our author. (See Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam Edition, 1711, vol. ix, p. 85; and *Persian Travels*, Book V, chap. i, p. 524.)

² A previous embassy from the Usbeg Tartars to Sháh Jahán brought him boxes of choice lapis lazuli, camels, fruit, etc. Lapis lazuli is a product of Badakshán. (See Bernier, *History of the Last Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 4.)

³ For *Sharif*, Arab., generally written *Shereef*, a descendant of Muhammad.

⁴ The province of Oman, S.E. corner of Arabia.



dignity for foreigners to remain at Court for a considerable time. All these Ambassadors made presents to AURANGZEB, according to custom, of whatever was most rare in their respective countries, and this Prince, who desired from the first to spread a good reputation for himself throughout ASIA, took care to send them back well satisfied.

Some months before the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, AURANGZEB sent an Ambassador to PERSIA, who was at first magnificently received,¹ as I have alluded to in the first part of my travels. When he arrived the talk for a month was all of feasts and hunting parties, and every night he was entertained with fireworks. The day upon which he was to make the present on behalf of the GREAT MOGUL, the King of PERSIA appeared upon his throne, superbly clad, and having accepted what the Ambassador had to give, distributed the whole of it contemptuously among the officers of his house, only retaining for himself a diamond weighing nearly 60 carats. Some days afterwards he sent for the Ambassador, from whom he inquired, after some conversation, whether he was a *Suní*²—that is to say, of the sect of the Turks; the meaning of this has been

¹ Chardin says that *Negef Coulibec* (Najaf Kuli Beg) was sent by the King of Persia as Ambassador in the year 1664, in order simply to report the safe arrival of the Mogul's Ambassador in Persia, and to convey a present of melons and other fruits. The Great Mogul received him well, and sent him back with presents; but news having arrived, two days after his departure, of the bad treatment of the Mogul's Ambassador by the King of Persia, the Mogul had Najaf brought back, and ordered all the fruit to be flung into the house where he lodged. (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam Edition, 1711, vol. viii, p. 213.)

² *Sonnís* in the original. The distinctive characteristics of the *Sunís* and *Shíás* are set forth in Book IV, chap. vii, of the *Persian Travels*. (See also vol. ii, Book III, chap. i.)

sufficiently explained elsewhere. The Ambassador in his reply having allowed some smart remark to escape him against the Prophet ALI, whom the Persians revere, the King again asked him his name. He replied that his Majesty SHÁH JAHÁN had given him the name of BAQBHÁK (?) KHÁN,¹ *i.e.* lord of a free heart, that he had received great bounties from him, and had been honoured by one of the first offices in his Court. "Thou art then a villain," said the King with an angry countenance, "to have abandoned thy King in his need after so many favours, and to serve a tyrant who keeps his father in prison, and has murdered his brothers and nephews. How is it," continued the King, "that he dares to assume the stately titles of ALAMGIR, AURANG SHÁH, of King who holds the universe in his hand, since he has as yet conquered nothing, and all he possesses is derived from murders and treason? Is it possible," added this Prince, "that thou art one of those who have counselled him to the shedding of so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to hold his father in prison; thou who hast acknowledged to having received so much honour and so many benefits? Thou art not worthy," said the King, "to possess the beard that thou wearest," and straightway he ordered him to be shaved, which is the greatest affront that can be done to a man in that country. The Ambassador, who but little expected to be so treated, at the same time received orders from the King of PERSIA to return, and the King gave him as a present for AURANGZEB, his master, 150 beautiful horses, with a quantity of gold and silver carpets, pieces of gold brocade, rich sashes, and other

¹ Baubec Kan in the original. Its identity with Baobhák is doubtful.



beautiful stuffs; this was worth much more than the present which AURANGZEB had sent him, although that was valued at near two millions.¹

When BAQBHAK KHAN returned to AGRA, where the King then was, AURANGZEB, enraged at the affront done to himself by the King of PERSIA, in the person of his Ambassador, ordered the 150 horses to be taken, some to the centre of the city, and others to the corners of the streets, and had it proclaimed throughout the city that the followers of ALI could not mount these horses without becoming *Nagis*,² i.e. unclean, since they came from a King who did not observe the true law, and one with whom they could have no communion. This done, he ordered the 150 horses to be slain, and all the rest of the present to be burned, while he used most abusive language towards the King of PERSIA, by whom he considered himself to be mortally insulted.

At length SHAH JAHAN dying in the AGRA fort towards the end of 1666,³ AURANGZEB had no longer before his eyes a troublesome object which reproached him constantly with his tyranny, and he began to enjoy more fully the pleasure of reigning. He received BEGUM SAHIB, his sister, into his favour soon afterwards, restoring all her governments to her, and commanding, moreover, that she should bear the title of Princess Queen. It is true that she has infinite qualities, and is capable of governing the whole

¹ The coin not being mentioned, whether rupees, *livres*, or some Persian coin, the statement is vague. In the English translation of 1684 the passage is judiciously rendered "to a vast value."

² This is probably *najáz*, Persian for unclean. (See *Vamberg's Life*, p. 57, for an example of its use.)

³ Shah Jahan died in December 1666.



Empire. If, at the commencement of the war, her father and her brothers had only believed her, AURANGZEB had never been King, and affairs would have had a totally different aspect. As for RAUSHENÁRÁ BEGUM, his sister, she had always taken AURANGZEB's side, and when she heard that he had taken up arms immediately sent him all the gold and silver she could. He also promised her, in recognition of her good services, that when he became King he would give her the title of SHÁH BEGUM, and would seat her on a throne.¹ He kept his word, and they were always much attached. Nevertheless, the last time I was at JAHÁNÁBÁD I heard that their friendship had somewhat cooled. That arose, as I was assured, in consequence of the Princess having had conveyed into her apartments a handsome young man, and wishing to get rid of him at the end of fifteen or twenty days, when she was tired of him, the thing could not be accomplished so secretly but that the King heard of it. The Princess, in order to anticipate the disgrace and reproach which she feared, hastened with assumed terror to the King, saying that a man had entered the harem even to her chamber, that she was certain it was either to slay or rob her, that such a thing had never before been seen, that the safety of his royal person was involved, and that his Majesty should severely punish all the Eunuchs who were on guard that night. Immediately the King himself, with a number of Eunuchs, hastened to the spot, and in this

¹ Some writers consider that this amounted to a promise that he would marry her himself, although she was his sister. Whatever truth there may be in the reputed incest of Sháh Jahán, it does not appear that Aurangzeb was guilty of that crime.



extremity the poor young man could not do otherwise than leap from the window into the river which flows below. Thereupon a crowd assembled from all quarters to seize him, the King calling out to them to do him no injury, but take him to the Chief Judge. Since then no more has been heard of the matter, and it is not difficult to imagine that strange things take place in the enclosure where these women and girls are shut up.



CHAPTER. VIII

Concerning the preparations which are made for the festival of the GREAT MOGUL, when he is solemnly weighed every year. Of the splendour of his thrones and the magnificence of his Court.

AFTER having completed all my business with the King, as I have related in the first Book,¹ and on going to take leave of his Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me that he was unwilling that I should depart without having witnessed his *fête*, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders for me to be shown all his jewels.² I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he did me; and thus I was a spectator of this grand festival, which commenced on the fourth of November and lasted five days. It is on the anniversary of the King's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him,³ and if he should

¹ See Book I, chap. viii, p. 137.

² See p. 394.

³ Aurangzeb evaded the custom of distributing his weight in money, and did not have tokens coined, like his predecessors, to celebrate the occasion of his coronation. Sir T. Roe describes the scramble for thin pieces of silver, made to resemble different fruits, in rather contemptuous terms. The Mogul, Jahángir, presented a basin full of them to him; but while he held them in his cloak the nobles snatched most of them from him. He estimates that the amount distributed did not exceed £100 in value. (*Journal*, Calcutta Ed., p. 104.) Terry, his chaplain, also describes the scene. (*Voyage*, London 1777 Ed., p. 376.)



weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is much greater on that account. When he has been weighed, he seats himself on the richest of the thrones, of which I shall speak presently, and then all the nobility of the kingdom come to salute him and make him presents. The ladies of the court send some also, and he receives others from all the Governors of Provinces and other exalted personages. In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold and silver, as well as rich carpets, brocades of gold and silver, and other stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses, the King receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 *livres*.¹

Preparations for this festival are commenced on the 7th of September, about two months before the five days which it lasts; and the reader should remember here the description which I have given of the palace of JAHÁNABÁD in the sixth chapter of Book I.² The first thing done is to cover in two grand courts of the palace from the middle of each court up to the hall, which is open on three sides. The awnings covering this great space are of red velvet embroidered with gold, and so heavy that the poles which are erected to support them are of the size of a ship's mast, and some of them are 35 to 40 feet in height; there are thirty-eight for the tent of the first court, and those near the hall are covered with plates of gold of the thickness of a ducat. The others are covered with silver of the same thickness, and the cords which sustain these poles are of cotton of different colours, and some of them of the thickness of a good cable.

¹ 30,000,000 *livres*, at 1s. 6d. to the *livre* = £2,250,000.

² See Book I, chap. vi, p. 97.



The first court is, as I have elsewhere said, surrounded by porticoes with small rooms connected with them, and here it is that the *Omrahs* dwell while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the *Omrahs* mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the court as also about the palace or the tent of the King, when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, besides many elephants. During this week the *Omrah* on guard receives his food from the King's kitchen, and when he sees the food which is being brought to him afar off, he makes three obeisances in succession, which consist in placing the hand three times on the ground, and as often on the head, at the same time asking God to preserve the King's health, and that He will give him long life and power to vanquish his enemies. All these *Omrahs*, who are the nobility of the kingdom and Princes of the blood, regard it as a great honour to guard the King; and when they mount guard, or when they leave it, they don their best clothes, their horses, elephants, and camels being also richly clad, and some of these camels carry a swivel-gun with a man seated behind to fire it. The least of these *Omrahs* commands 2000 horse, but, when a Prince of the blood is on guard, he commands up to 6000.

It should be stated that the GREAT MOGUL has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars

which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large *balass*¹ ruby, cut *en cabuchon*, with four emeralds round it, which form a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four *balass* rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all being showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the

¹ *Balet* in the original, for *balass*, etc. I have elsewhere referred to this word as being probably derived from Balakshán, a form of the name Badakshán (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 430). The *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, however, establishes this view beyond question of doubt by quotations from Ibn Batuta, iii, 59, 394, and Barbosa, etc. The stones from this locality, which is on the banks of the Shignán, a tributary of the Oxus, are not, however, rubies, but spinelles; at the same time it would appear that with some authorities the term *balass* has been transferred to true rubies of a particular shade of colour—hence a considerable degree of confusion has arisen in this branch of the nomenclature of precious stones. After Ibn Batuta's testimony, derivations from Baluchistan and Baluchin—an old name for Pegu?—need perhaps only be mentioned in order to be dismissed; but with reference to the latter, Chardin, *Voyages*, tome iv, p. 70, Amsterdam Ed. of 1711, says:—“On l'appelle aussi Balacchani, Pierre de Balacchan, qui est le Pegu, d'où je juge qu'est venu le nom de Balays qu'on donne aux Rubis couleur de rose.”



three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows; and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively enriched.¹

I counted the large *balass* rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all *cabuchons*, the least of which weighs 100 carats,² but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds,³ there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about one hundred and sixteen (116); thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of

¹ See Book I, chap. vi, p. 99.

² Rubies of good quality weighing 100 carats would be worth more than diamonds of equal weight, but it is probable that these were not perfect in every respect.

³ For the source whence the emeralds were obtained, see Book II, chap. xix.



the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne which is opposite the court there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the King is seated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my opinion is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by TAMERLANE and completed by SHÁH JAHÁN; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of what this great work has cost, have assured me that it amounts to one hundred and seven thousand lakhs of rupees,¹

¹ There is certainly some mistake here; the figure should stand at 107,000,000, namely, one thousand and seventy *lakhs*, which at two-thirds of the rupee to the *livre* would be equal to 160,500,000 *livres*, or £12,037,500, the rupee being 2s. 3d., and the *livre* 1s. 6d. Thevenot says that the throne was reported to be worth 20,000,000 in "gold" (*mohurs*?), but he adds that a true estimate could only be arrived at by a careful examination of the precious stones with which it was adorned. (*Voyages*, Paris Ed., 1684, p. 123.) Bernier says 4 *crores* of rupees, or about 60,000,000 French *livres*, say £4,500,000. (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Eng. Trans., Calcutta Ed., 1826, p. 179.) A recent estimate of the value of this throne as it stands in the Sháh's palace at Teheran at present is 13,000,000 dollars, say £2,600,000. (See *Persia*, by S. G. W. Benjamin, p. 73.)

sic. (i.e. 10,700,000,000) which amount to one hundred and sixty millions five hundred thousand *livres* of our money (i.e. 160,500,000).

Behind this grand and magnificent throne there is placed a smaller one, which has the form of a bathing-tub. It is of an oval shape of about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered over with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.

When in the first court you see, on the right hand, a special tent under which, during the King's festival, the principal *baladines* of the town are obliged to be present in order to sing and dance while the King is on his throne. To the left there is another place, also covered by a tent, where the principal officers of the army and other officers of the guard and of the King's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time that the King remains seated on his throne, there are thirty horses, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men. The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, some having only small gold coins. Each horse has upon its head, between the ears, a bunch of beautiful feathers, and a small cushion on the back with the surcingle, the whole embroidered with gold; and suspended from the neck there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these horses costs from 3000 to 5000 *écus*, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, i.e. 10,000 *écus*.¹ The young Prince, who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the

¹ The *écu* being equal to 4s. 6d., the prices of the horses would be £875 to £1125 and £2250.



height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the King is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained to war, are brought for inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the King wishes to mount; the others are covered with housings of brocade, with chains of gold and silver about their necks, and there are four which carry the King's standard upon their backs; it is attached to a hand pike which a man holds erect. They are brought, one after the other, to within forty or fifty paces of the King, and when the elephant is opposite the throne it salutes his Majesty by placing its trunk on the ground and then elevating it above its head three times. On each occasion it trumpets aloud, and then, turning its back towards the King, one of the men who is riding upon it raises the housing in order that the King may see if the animal is in good condition, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to show whether it has increased since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, which the King is very fond of, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses.¹ It is fed with the best food and quantities of sugar, and is given spirits to drink. I have spoken elsewhere of the number of elephants kept by the King,² to which I

¹ £56. The ordinary Government allowance for all expenses connected with the keep of an elephant is, or was a few years ago, about 30 rupees a month in Northern India. Saunderson gives it at only 24 rupees in Bengal, and 48 rupees in Madras (*Thirteen Years*, etc., p. 100).

² See Book I, chap. xviii, p. 280.



add here that when he rides out on his elephant the *Omrahs* follow him on horseback, and when he rides a horse the *Omrahs* follow on foot.

After the King has inspected his elephants he rises, and accompanied by three or four of his eunuchs enters his harem by a small door which is behind the oval-shaped throne.

The other five thrones are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered over with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one becomes disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they form a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are furthest from the people.

After the King has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs in order to seat himself in that one of the five thrones which is in the middle, and during the five days that the festival lasts, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is not done without much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the GREAT MOGUL being in power and wealth in ASIA, what the King of FRANCE is in EUROPE, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans.



CHAPTER IX

*Concerning other details of the GREAT MOGUL'S
Court.*

SINCE AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, has occupied the throne of the MOGULS, which he usurped from his father and brothers, he has imposed on himself, as I have said, a severe form of penance, and eats nothing which has enjoyed life. As he lives upon vegetables and sweetmeats only, he has become thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet of the year —, ¹ which appeared very large in INDIA, where I then was, AURANGZEB only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him, and since that time he has never had perfect health. ²

¹ This comet, if, as we may suppose, it appeared in 1665, was first seen in Europe at Aix, on the 27th of March of that year. It lasted four weeks, and had a tail 25° long. Its orbit was computed by Halley (*vide* Chambers's *Astronomy*, "Catalogue of Comets," No. 64). Terry refers to two great comets which appeared while he was at the Mogul's Court in the month of November 1618. They were followed by drought and famine. (See *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, p. 393.)

² At one period this Emperor subsisted on the proceeds of the sale of caps which he had embroidered with his own hands. He also wrote and sold extracts from the Koran for his daily bread. (See Chardin,



I remember having seen the King drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him upon a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a large cup of rock crystal,¹ all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the King eat except his women-kind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to eat at the house of any of his subjects, whether of a Prince or even of his own relatives. While I was on my last journey, ZAFAR KHAN, who was his *Grand Vizier*, and besides that his uncle on his wife's side, invited the King to visit him in order to see the new palace which he had had built for himself. This being the greatest honour his Majesty could do him, ZAFAR KHAN and his wife, in testimony of their gratitude, made him a present of jewels, elephants, camels, horses, and other things, to the value of seven *lakhs* of rupees (700,000), which amount to one million and fifty thousand (1,050,000) *livres* of our money.² This wife of ZAFAR KHAN is the most magnificent and the most liberal woman in the whole of INDIA, and she alone expends more than all the wives and daughters of the King put together; it is on this account that

Voyages, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 91.) He is said on one occasion, when urged to found hospitals, to have replied that he would make the country so prosperous that there would be no more mendicants to be seen in it. (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam Ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 86.)

¹ Vessels made of rock-crystal were much esteemed by the Emperors. I remember to have seen some very fine examples of large size which were found in the palace at the capture of Delhi after the Mutiny. Possibly some of the specimens preserved in the Green Vaults at Dresden came from India.

² £78,750. See Book II, chap. xxii.



her family is always in debt, although her husband is practically master of the whole Empire. She had ordered a grand banquet to be prepared for the King, but his Majesty, as he did not wish to eat at ZAFAR KHÁN's house, returned to the palace, and the Princess sent after him the dishes she had destined for him. The King found all the dishes so much to his taste that he gave 500 rupees to the eunuch who brought them, and double that amount to the kitchen.

When the King goes to the mosque in his *pallan-keen* one of his sons follows on horseback, and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot. Those who are Muhammadans wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he is about to come out they precede him to the gate of the palace. Eight elephants march in front of him, four carrying two men each, one to guide the elephant, and the other, seated on its back, carries a standard attached to a hand pike. The four other elephants carry a seat or species of throne on their backs,¹ one of which is square, another round, one covered and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the King goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men for his bodyguard, each man being armed with a kind of hand pike. They attach fireworks to the iron blade; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length; when ignited these will carry the hand pike 500 yards.² The King is also followed by 300 or 400

¹ *Howdah*.

² Rockets were used, and often proved most effective, in battle. It is said that the cause of Dará Sháh's descending from his elephant at the critical moment when engaged with Murád and Aurangzeb (see Book II, chap. ii) was that the elephant had been struck by a rocket, which rendered it unmanageable.



matchlock men, who are timid and unskilful in firing, and a number of cavalry of no greater merit. One hundred of our European soldiers would scarcely have any difficulty in vanquishing 1000 of these Indian soldiers ; but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustoming themselves to so abstemious a life as theirs. For the horseman as well as the infantry soldier supports himself with a little flour kneaded with water and black sugar, of which they make small balls ; and in the evening, whenever they have the necessaries, they make *khichri*,¹ which consists of rice cooked with a grain of the above name in water with a little salt. When eating it they first dip the ends of their fingers in melted butter, and such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and the poor people. To which it should be added that the heat would kill our soldiers, who would be unable to remain in the heat of the sun throughout the day as these Indians do. I should say *en passant* that the peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth to cover those parts which natural modesty requires should be concealed ; and that they are reduced to great poverty, because if the Governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway by right or by force. You may see in INDIA whole provinces like deserts, from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the Governors. Under cover of the fact that they are themselves Muhammadans, they persecute these poor idolaters to the utmost, and if any of the latter become Muhammadans it is in order not to work any more ; they become soldiers or *Fakirs*, who are people who make profession of having renounced

¹ See p. 282.