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

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

Dow, Alexander

London, 1772

Chap. IV. Prudent administration of Aurungzebe - Observation on his conduct - His behaviour toward his second son - Soliman Sheko betrayed by the Raja of Serinagur - He flies - is taken - brought to ...

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

AURUNGZEBE.

CHAPTER IV.

Prudent administration of Aurungzêbe—Observations on his conduct—His behaviour toward his second son—Solimân Shekô betrayed by the Raja of Serinagur—He flies—is taken—brought to Delhi—and imprisoned—An embassy from Persia—Shaw Allum declared heir-apparent—A famine—Wise and humane conduct of the emperor—War in the Decan—Aurungzêbe falls sick—Distractions at Delhi—Intrigues of Shaw Allum—Recovery of the emperor—He demands the daughter of Dara—and the Imperial jewels from Shaw Jehân—but is refused—His art to appease his father—Promotions.

THE war with Suja, which was carried on in the extremity of the empire, neither disturbed the repose of Aurungzêbe, nor diverted his attention from the civil affairs of the state. Impartial and decisive in his measures, he was even acknowledged to be a good prince, by those who recognized not his right to the throne; and men began to wonder, how he, who was so just, could be so cruel. The people suffered little by the civil war. The damage done by the marching and counter-marching of armies, was paid out of the public treasury. An exact discipline had been observed by all parties; for the rivals for the crown of Hindostan, though in the field against one another, could not persuade themselves that they were in an enemy's country. The prince who prevailed in a province, extended not the punish-

A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.
Reflections.



A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

Prudent ad-
ministration

of Aurung-
zêbe,

ment of treason to those who supported a competitor with their swords; and, what is scarce credible, not one man beyond the family of Timur, was either assassinated in private, or slain by the hands of public justice, during a civil war, so long, so bloody, and so various in its events.

The emperor accustomed to business, in his long government of various provinces, was well acquainted with the whole detail of public affairs. Nothing was so minute as to escape his notice. He knew that the power and consequence of the prince depended upon the prosperity and happiness of the people; and he was even from selfish views an enemy to oppression, and an encourager of agriculture and commercial industry. He established a perfect security of property over all his dominions. The forms of justice were made less intricate, and more expeditious than under former reigns. To corrupt a judge was rendered for the first time a crime. The fees paid in the courts of judicature were ascertained with accuracy and precision; and a delay in the execution of justice, subjected the judge to the payment of the loss sustained by the party aggrieved.

The course of appeals from inferior to superior courts was uninterrupted and free; but to prevent a wanton exertion of this privilege, the appellant was severely fined, when his complaint against a judgment was found frivolous and ill-founded. The distributors of public justice, when their decrees were reversed, could not always screen themselves under a pretended error in judgment. Should the matter appear clear, they were turned out of their offices, as swayed by partiality or bribery. Aurungzêbe, soon after his accession to the throne, established a precedent of this kind. An appeal came before him in the presence of the nobles. The decision had been unjust. He sent for the judge, and told him in public, "This matter is clear and obvious;



vious; if you have no abilities to perceive it in that light, you are unfit for your place, as a weak man; if you suffered yourself to be overcome by presents, you are an unjust man, and therefore unworthy of your office." Having thus reprimanded the judge; he divested him of his employment, and dismissed him with ignominy from his presence.

A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

But this is the fair side of the character of Aurungzêbe. Dark and determined in his policy, he broke through every restraint to accomplish his designs. He pointed in a direct line to the goal of ambition; and he cared not by what means he removed whatever object obstructed his way. He either believed that morality was inconsistent with the great tract of government; or, he acted as if he believed it; and he sometimes descended into a vicious meanness, which threw discredit on his abilities, as well as upon his honesty. He held the cloke of religion between his actions and the vulgar; and impiously thanked the Divinity for a success which he owed to his own wickedness. When he was murdering and persecuting his brothers and their families, he was building a magnificent mosque at Delhi, as an offering to God for his assistance to him in the civil wars. He acted as high-priest at the consecration of this temple; and made a practice of attending divine service there, in the humble dress of a Fakier. But when he lifted one hand to the Divinity, he, with the other, signed warrants for the assassination of his relations.

Observations
on his con-
duct.

During the civil wars which convulsed the empire, all remained quiet in the Decan. The prudent management of Mahommed Mauzim, the second son of Aurungzêbe, prevented the lately conquered provinces from shaking off the yoke. That prince, with a great share of his father's abilities, exceeded him if possible in coolness and self-denial. He knew the stern jealousy of the

Artful con-
duct of his
second son.



A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

the emperor; and he rather affected the humility of a slave, than the manly confidence of a son. He was no stranger to the facility with which his father could sacrifice every thing to his own security; and he looked upon him as an enemy who watched his motions, more than in the light of a parent who would grant indulgences for errors. He knew that the best means for preventing the suspicions of Aurungzêbe, was to copy his own art. He affected to love business; he was humble and self-denied in his professions, destitute of presumption, and full of devotion.

suspected.

Aurungzêbe, whose penetrating eye saw some design lurking in secret behind the conduct of Mauzim, insinuated to that prince, that to reign was a delicate situation; that sovereigns must be jealous even of their own shadows; and, as for himself, he was resolved never to become a sacrifice to the ambition of a son. Mauzim knew the intention of the speech, but he seemed not to understand it; and he redoubled his attention to those arts which had already, in a great measure, lulled asleep the watchful suspicions of his father. He remitted the revenue to the capital, with great regularity and precision. He practised, in his expences, the economy and frugality which his father loved. In appearance, and even perhaps from constitution, an enemy to effeminate pleasures, without vanity enough for pomp and magnificence, his court seemed like the cell of a hermit, who grudged to others the indulgences for which he had no taste himself. All this art, however, prevailed not with Aurungzêbe to continue him in his viceroyship of the Decan. He knew, from his own experience, how dangerous it is to continue the government of a rich province, long in the hands of a prince of abilities. He, therefore, recalled Mauzim to court, and gave his high office to Shaisa Chan.

The



The attention of Aurungzébe turned from Bengal to another quarter, upon receiving certain intelligence of the flight of Suja to Arracân. Solimân still remained inclosed in the mountains of Serinagur, under the protection of the Raja. The emperor did not think himself firmly fixed on the throne, whilst any of the family of Dara remained out of his hands. He applied through Joy Singh, who, from being of the same religion with the Raja, had great influence over him, to the prince of Serinagur. He tempted his avarice, and he wrought upon his fears. The Raja, being averse to be thought dishonourable, hesitated contrary to the bias of his passions. He, however, connived at an invasion of his country to reconcile his people, by an appearance of necessity to the delivering up of the prince. The troops, who entered his country with pretended hostilities, carried to him the price set upon the head of Solimân.

A. D. 1651.
Hig. 1071.
Expedient
against Soli-
mân.

The unfortunate youth, being apprized of his danger, fled Seized,
over the frightful mountains which separate Serinagur from Tibet. Three friends accompanied him in this impracticable attempt. The sides of these mountains are covered with impervious forests, the haunts of beasts of prey; on their top dwells a perpetual storm. Rapid rivers and impassable torrents occupy the vallies; except where some brushwood here and there hides dangerous and venomous snakes. It was then the rainy season; and mist and darkness covered the desert with additional horror. The unhappy fugitives, not daring to trust any guide, lost their way. When they thought themselves on the borders of Tibet, they were again within sight of Serinagur. Worn out with fatigue, they took shelter under a rock, where they were discovered by a shepherd, who gave them some refreshment, but at the same time informed the Raja of what he had seen. That chief sent his son with a party to seize Solimân. The prince was



A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

asleep when they arrived in sight; but he was roused by one of his three friends who kept the watch. They took to their arms. The young Raja plied them with arrows from a distance, and two of the prince's companions were slain. He himself was wounded. He fell under this unequal mode of attack; and was brought bound into the presence of the Raja.

and sent to
Delhi.

That prince began to excuse his breach of hospitality by public necessity. He diminished the independence of his own situation, and magnified the power of Aurungzébe. "To seize an unfortunate fugitive," said Solimân, "is a crime; but it is aggravated by the insult of making an apology, for what Heaven and mankind abhor. Take your reward for my life; it alleviates the misfortunes of my situation, that now I owe you nothing for the friendship which you exhibited upon my arrival in your dominions." He turned his eyes in silence to the ground; and, without a murmur, permitted himself to be carried prisoner to Delhi. The emperor affected to be displeased, that the unhappy prince had fallen into his hands. To leave him at large was impossible; and even the walls of a prison were not a sufficient security, against the designs which the disaffected might form in his favour. He ordered him to be brought into the hall of audience, in the presence of all the nobles; even the chief ladies of the haram were indulged with a sight of a young prince, as famous for his exploits, as for his misfortunes.

Brought before the
emperor.

When he had entered the outer-gate of the palace, the chains were struck off from his feet; but the fetters of gold were left upon his hands. The whole court were struck with the stately gracefulness of his person; they were touched with grief at his melancholy fate. Many of the nobles could not refrain from tears; the ladies of the haram wept aloud behind the screens.

Even



Even the heart of Aurungzêbe began to relent; and a placid anxiety seemed to wander over his face. Solimân remained silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground. "Fear nothing, Solimân Shekô," said the emperor; "I am not cruel, but cautious. Your father fell as a man destitute of all religion; but you shall be treated well." The prince bowed his head; and then raised his hands as high as his fetters would permit, according to the custom in the Imperial presence. He then addressed himself to the emperor. "If my death is necessary for the safety of Aurungzêbe, let me presently die, for I am reconciled to my fate. But let me not linger in prison, to languish away by degrees, by the means of draughts, which deprive the mind of reason, when they enfeeble the body." This alluded to an infusion of poppy, which the imprisoned princes were forced to drink in Gualîâr. It emaciated them exceedingly, their strength and understanding left them by degrees, they became torpid and insensible, till they were at last relieved by death. The emperor desired him to rest satisfied that no design was entertained against his life. He was sent that very night to Agra, and soon after ordered to Gualîâr, with the prince Mahommed, the emperor's eldest son.

The imprisonment of Solimân put an end to the fears of Aurungzêbe. He found himself firmly seated on the throne; and mankind were unwilling to disturb the tranquillity which they enjoyed under his prudent administration. Peace prevailed all over the empire. The most distant and inaccessible provinces became perviewous to his authority. He extinguished party, by retaining no appearance of revenge against those who had opposed his elevation. He made friends of his enemies by conferring upon them favours; and he secured the faith of his friends by repositing in them his confidence. The neighbouring states, who had remained unconcerned spectators of the civil wars, acknowledged

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the

A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

Embassies
from Persia
and Tartary.



A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

the right which Aurungzêbe had acquired by his fortune and address. An ambassador arrived from Shaw Abas the Second of Persia, to felicitate him on his accession to the throne; and he was followed by another from Suja king of the western Tartary. The emperor's pride was flattered by the acquiescence of these two powerful monarchs, in his title to the crown. He received their representatives with unusual pomp; and at the same time that he gratified the princes with magnificent presents, he enriched the ambassadors with very considerable sums of money.

Shaw Allum
declared heir
of the em-
pire.

The folly of the prince Mahommed had totally estranged from him the affections of his father: his obstinacy and daring disposition had rendered him an object of terror to the provident mind of Aurungzêbe. That monarch had resolved to keep him always a close prisoner in Gualiâr: he, however, allowed him a household, and the company of women. This humane treatment had raised the hopes of the prince of being speedily released. He wrote to his father penitential letters; but they produced no answer. Mahommed, in the vigour of his own mind, had a crime which could not be forgiven. Mauzim the second son, took advantage of his brother's misfortune. He redoubled his attention to his father's orders; and seemed to obey with so much humility, that he eradicated all fears of wishing to command from his suspicious mind. To cut off the hopes of Mahommed, as well as to secure the affections of Mauzim, the latter was publicly declared heir of the empire, and his name changed to that of Shaw Allum, or, King of the World. A son was soon after born to that prince; and his birth was celebrated with uncommon splendour and festivity.

A dreadful
famine.

In the midst of this public joy, the news of a dreadful calamity was received at court. A prodigious famine, occasioned by the
uncommon



uncommon drought of the season which burnt up the harvest, prevailed in different parts of India. The emperor exerted himself with a humanity unsuitable to his behaviour toward his own family, to alleviate the distress of his subjects. He remitted the taxes that were due; he employed those already collected in the purchase of corn, which was distributed among the poorer sort. He even expended immense sums out of the treasury, in conveying grain by land as well as by water into the interior provinces, from Bengal and the countries which lie on the five branches of the Indus, as having suffered less on account of the great rivers by which they are watered. The grain so conveyed was purchased, at any price, with the public money; and it was resold at a very moderate rate. The poorer sort were supplied, at fixed places, with a certain quantity, without any consideration whatever. The activity of the emperor, and his wise regulations, carried relief through every corner of his dominions. Whole provinces were delivered from impending destruction; and many millions of lives were saved.

This humane attention to the safety of his subjects obliterated from their minds all objections to his former conduct. He even began to be virtuous. The ambition which made him wade through blood to the throne, inclined him to the pursuit of fame, which can only be acquired by virtue. "No man," observes a Persian author, "is a tyrant for the sake of evil. Passion perverts the judgment, a wrong judgment begets opposition, and opposition is the cause of cruelty, bloodshed, and civil war. When all opposition is conquered, the sword of vengeance is sheathed, and the destroyer of mankind becomes the guardian of the human species." Such are the reflections of a writer, who published the history of Aurungzêbe in the heart of his court; and that they were just, appears from his having the boldness to make them.

A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

Wisdom and
humanity of
of Aurung-
zêbe.

To



A. D. 1651.
Hig. 1071.

To alleviate the calamity which had fallen on the people, was the principal, if not the sole business of the emperor during the third year of his reign. A favourable season succeeded to his care; and the empire soon wore its former face of prosperity.

A war on the

In the month of September of the year 1661, the news of the breaking out of a war on the frontiers of the Decan, was brought to Aurungzébe. The Imperial governor, Shaista Chan, irritated at the depredatory incursions of the subjects of Sewâji, prince of Cōkin or Concan, on the coast of Malabâr, led an army into his country. Sewâji, unable to cope with the Imperialists in the field, retired into the heart of his dominions to levy troops; and left his frontier towns exposed. They fell, one by one, before the power of Shaista, and that lord at length sat down before Chagna, one of the principal places, both for consequence and strength, in the province of Cōkin. It was situated on a high rock, steep and inaccessible on every side. The utmost efforts of Shaista were baffled. He had made breaches in the parapet, on the edge of the rock, but he could not ascend with an assault. When he attempted to apply scaling ladders, the besieged rolled down huge stones upon him, and crushed whole squadrons of his troops. To raise the siege would bring disgrace; to take the place seemed now impossible.

coast of Ma-
labar.

Shaista, in the mean time, fell upon an ingenious contrivance, which produced the desired effect. A hill rose, at some distance from the fort; from the top of which, every thing which passed within the walls could be seen through a spy-glass. The captain-general stood frequently on this hill to reconnoitre the place. He observed that, at a certain hour every day, the garrison was supplied with ammunition from a magazine in the center of the fort. He had no mortars in his train; it having been found



impossible to carry them across the immense ridge of mountains which separate the Decan from Malabâr. He, however, fell upon an effectual expedient. The wind blowing fresh from the hill upon the town, he let fly a paper-kite, which concealed a blind match, at the very instant that the garrison was supplying themselves with powder from the magazine. He permitted it to drop in the midst; by an accident the match fell upon some powder which happened to be strewed around. The fire communicated with the magazine; and the whole went off with a dreadful explosion, which shook the country, threw down the greatest part of the fort, and buried the most of the garrison in the ruins. The Moguls ascended in the confusion; and those who had escaped the shock, fell by the sword.

The emperor was so much pleased with the expedition of Shaista into Malabâr, that he resolved to reinforce him to complete the conquest of Còkin. The Maraja, who, for his desertion of Dara, had been placed in the government of Guzerat, was ordered to march to join Shaista with twenty thousand horse. That prince, fond of the activity and tumult of expedition, obeyed the Imperial mandate without hesitation. He arrived in the camp before the news of his march had reached the captain-general. Being naturally haughty and violent, he disapproved of Shaista's mode of carrying on the war. He pretended that he was sent to assist him with his counsel as well as with his arms; and that he was resolved, if he did not alter his plan, to complete the conquest of Còkin with his own troops. Shaista would relinquish no part of his power. He commanded him upon his allegiance to obey. The Maraja was provoked beyond measure, at a treatment so humiliating to his pride. He thwarted privately the measures of the captain-general; and that lord began to exercise over him all the rigour of authority.

A. D. 1662.
Hig. 1072.

The Maraja
sent

The



A. D. 1663.
 Hig. 1073.
 to reinforce
 the army.

The Maraja, whose honour was not proof against his more violent passions, formed a plot against Shaiста's life. The nobles of the first rank are permitted, by the patent of their creation, to have, among their other marks of dignity, a band of music, consisting of drums, fifes, trumpets, cymbals, and other warlike instruments. These have an apartment over the gates of their palaces in cities, in the camp a tent near that of their lord, is assigned to them; where they relieve one another, and play, when not prohibited, night and day. The Maraja, under a pretence that the captain-general was much pleased with their music, sent them one night a present of five hundred roupes, in their master's name; and commanded them, to continue to play till next morning. They accordingly struck up after supper; and made a prodigious noise. Shaiста, not averse to music, took no notice of this uncommon attention in his band.

His plot to
 assassinate

When the camp became silent toward midnight, the Maraja, who, having a correspondence with Sewâji, had admitted a small party of the enemy into the camp, ordered them to steal, unperceived, into the quarter of the captain-general. They, accordingly, passed the guards, and, cutting their way through the screens which surrounded the tents of Shaiста, entered that in which he slept. They searched in the dark for his bed. He awakened. Alarmed at their whispering, he started and seized a lance, which was the first weapon that met his hand. He, at that instant, received a blow with a sword, which cut off three of his fingers, and obliged him to drop the lance. He called out aloud to the guards; but the noise of the music drowned his voice. He groped for the weapon; and with it defended his head from their swords. His son, who slept in the next tent, alarmed by the noise, rushed in with a lighted torch in his hand. The father and son fell then upon the assassins. Murderers are always cowards. They fled; but the son of Shaiста expired of the wounds



wounds which he received in the conflict; and the father himself recovered with much difficulty.

The Maraja, in the mean time, came, in seeming consternation, to the quarter of the general. He lamented the accident; and condescended to take the command of the army till he should recover. The officers suspected the prince of the assassination; but he had cut off the channels which could carry home a proof. Silence prevailed over the camp; and, though Shaisla was not slain, the Maraja possessed every advantage which he had expected from the murder. Aurungzêbe, from his perfect knowledge of the disposition of the Maraja, was satisfied of his guilt. It would not, however, be either prudent or effectual to order him to appear to answer for his crimes in the presence: he knew that his boldness was equal to his wickedness. He, therefore, suppressed his resentment; and drew a veil on his designs, to lull the prince into security. He affected to lament the accident which had befallen to his general; but he rejoiced that the management of the war had come into such able hands.

When the affairs of Aurungzêbe wore the most promising aspect, he was near losing, by his own death, the empire which he had acquired by the murder of his relations. On the twenty-fifth of May, he fell into a fever. His distemper was so violent, that he was almost deprived of his reason. His tongue was seized with a palsy; he lost his speech, and all despaired of his recovery. The people were silent; and looked forward for a sudden revolution. Intrigues for the empire commenced. The lords met in private in their palaces; the court, the haram, were full of schemes. It was already whispered abroad, that he was actually dead. Some regretted him as an able prince, some as a great general; many were of opinion, that Heaven had interfered in

Vol. III.

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punishing

A.D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.the captain-
general.Aurungzêbe
falls sick.

A. D. 1664.
 Hig. 1074.

punishing his injustice to his relations. His sister, the prince's Roshinâra, who had possessed his confidence, was thought to conceal his death till her own plans for the succession of his younger son to the throne should be ripe for execution.

Confirma-
 tion of the
 people.

Uncertain and improbable rumours were, in the mean time, circulated, and swallowed with avidity by the people. Their affections for the old emperor being still entire, they created fictions to flatter their wishes. The Maraja, they said, was in full march to release him from confinement. Mohâbet, ever averse to Aurungzêbe, was on his way with an army for the same purpose, from Cabul; and had already passed Lahore. The people of Agra, they affirmed, were actuated by tumult and commotion; the garrison of the citadel was mutinous, and Etabâr, who commanded in the place, waited only for the news of the death of the new emperor to open the gates to his ancient lord. Though it was impossible that these fictions could have any probable foundation, from the shortness of the time, they were received with implicit faith by a credulous multitude. The very shopkeepers and artizans neglected their business for news. They gathered together in groups; and one continued whisper of important and incredible events flew over all the streets of Delhi.

Shaw Allum
 intrigues for
 the throne.

The prince Shaw Allum was not, in the mean time, idle. He secretly waited upon many of the nobility, and solicited their interest, with large promises of gratitude and advantage, in the event of his father's demise. Roshinâra, who was best acquainted with the intentions of the emperor, insinuated, that the succession was to fall on Akbâr, as yet but a boy. Both parties averred, however, in public, that at present there was no occasion for a new prince. Aurungzêbe himself, they said, only managed the empire during the debility of mind which his illness



had brought upon Shaw Jehân. That monarch, continued they, being now recovered, will resume the reins of government; and dispose of the succession in favour of any of his posterity whom he shall think worthy of the throne of the Moguls. The people already believed themselves under the government of the old emperor. The nobility entertained no resolution of that kind. Their acquiescence under Aurungzêbe, had rendered them afraid of the restoration of his father. They knew that the Maraja and Mohâbet, who still professed themselves the friends of the latter, would, in the event of his enlargement, carry all before them; and feared the violence of the first, as much as they dreaded the abilities of the second.

A. D. 1664.
Hig 1074

Etabâr, who commanded the citadel of Agra, seemed now to have the fate of the empire in his hands. To open the gates to Shaw Jehân, was to involve all in confusion; though it might be expected, that from the attachment of the people to their ancient sovereign, tumult and commotion would soon subside. Aurungzêbe, in the short intervals of his excessive pain, applied his mind to business. He gathered the sense of the people from the dark anxiety which covered the features of his attendants. He called his son Shaw Allum before him. He desired him to keep himself in readiness in case of his death; to ride post to Agra, and to take the merit of releasing Shaw Jehân. "Your only hopes of empire, and even the safety of your person," said he, "will depend upon the gratitude of your grandfather. Let not, therefore, any other person deprive you of that advantage." He then called for pen and ink, and wrote to Etabâr, to keep a strict watch upon the emperor: "As my death is not certain," said Aurungzêbe, "let not your fears persuade you to trust to the gratitude of any man."

Anxiety

Y y 2

The



A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.
of Aurung-
zêbe.

The anxiety shewn by the emperor on the occasion, convinced mankind that he thought his own recovery doubtful. The lords quitted the palace, and each began to prepare against the worst events. He sent, on the fifth day, a summons to all the nobility to come to the hall of audience. He ordered himself to be carried into the assembly; and he requested them, from his bed, to prevent tumults and commotions. "A lion," said he, alluding to his father, "is chained up; and it is not your interest to permit him to break loose. He is exasperated by real injuries; and he fancies more than he feels." He then called for the great seal of the empire, which he had intrusted to the princess Roshinâra. He ordered it to be sealed up in a silken bag, with his private signet, and to be placed by his side. His exertion to speak to the nobles threw him into a swoon. They thought him dead. A murmur flew around. He, however, recovered himself; and ordering Joy Singh and some of the principal lords to approach, he took them by the hand. Day after day he was thus brought into the presence of the nobility. All intrigues ceased at the hopes of his recovery. On the tenth day of his illness, the fever began to leave him, and, on the thirteenth, though weak, he was apparently out of danger. The storm that was gathering, subsided at once. A serene calm succeeded; and people wondered why their minds had been agitated and discomposed, by the hopes and fears of revolution and change.

He recovers.

The sickness of Aurungzêbe was productive of a discovery of importance, to a monarch of his jealous and provident disposition. He found that Shaw Allum, whom he had designed for his successor in the throne, had shewn more eagerness in forwarding the schemes of his own ambition, than anxiety for the recovery of his father. He also found, from the reception given to the solicitations of the prince by the nobility, that his influence was too inconsiderable to secure to him the undisturbed possession of the empire.



empire. His pride was hurt by the first; his prudence penetrated into the cause of the second. He had long thought the self-denial of his son to be a cloke for some deep-laid design; and an accident had convinced him of the truth of what he had suspected before. The mother of Shaw Allum was only the daughter of a petty Raja. Aurungzêbe had, on account of her beauty, taken her to wife; but the meanness of her birth had left a kind of disgrace on her son in the eyes of the nobles, who revered the high blood of the house of Timur. The emperor, therefore, in his youngest son, found a remedy against the objections of the nobility to Shaw Allum. That prince was born to Aurungzêbe by the daughter of Shaw Nawâz, of the Imperial house of Sefi. The Persian nobility, who were numerous in the service of the empire, discovered a great attachment to Akbâr; and even the Moguls preferred him on account of the purity of his blood, to his brother. The affections of the emperor were also in his favour; and he now seriously endeavoured to pave his way to the succession.

A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.

When the family of Dara had, with the unfortunate prince, fallen into the hands of Aurungzêbe, that monarch had, at the request of his father and the prince's Jehanâra, delivered over the only daughter of Dara into their hands. She remained in the prison at Agra with her grandfather. Aurungzêbe, upon his recovery, wrote a letter, full of professions of regard, to his father; and he concluded it with a formal demand of the daughter of Dara, for his son Akbâr; hoping, by that connection, to secure the influence of the young prince among the nobles. The fierce spirit of Shaw Jehân took fire; Jehanâra's indignation arose. They rejected the proposition with disdain; and the old emperor returned for answer, That the insolence of Aurungzêbe was equal to his crimes. The young prince's was, in the mean time, alarmed.

His demands

She



A. D. 1664.
 Hig. 1074.

She feared force, where intreaty had not prevailed. She concealed a dagger in her bosom; and declared, that she would suffer death a hundred times over, before she would give her hand to the son of her father's murderer. Shaw Jehân did not fail to acquaint Aurungzêbe of her resolution, in her own words; and that prince, with his usual prudence, desisted from his design. He even took no notice of the harshness of his father's letter. He wrote to him, soon after, for some of the Imperial jewels, to adorn his throne. "Let him govern with more justice," said Shaw Jehân; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious stones. The hammers are ready which will crush them to dust, when he importunes me for them again."

on his im-
 prisoned
 father.

Aurungzêbe received the reproaches of his father with his wonted coolness. He even wrote back to Agra, that "to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful servant. Let Shaw Jehân keep his jewels," said he, "nay more, let him command all those of Aurungzêbe. His amusements constitute a part of the happiness of his son." The old emperor was struck with this conduct. He knew it to be feigned; but the power of his son to enforce his requests gave value to his moderation. He accordingly sent to him a present of jewels, with a part of the ensigns of Imperial dignity, to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. He accompanied them with a short letter: "Take these, which I am destined to wear no more. Your fortune has prevailed.—But your moderation has more power than your fortune over Shaw Jehân. Wear them with dignity; and make some amends to your family for their misfortunes, by your own renown." Aurungzêbe burst into tears upon the occasion; and he was thought sincere. The spoils of Suja were, on the same day, presented at the foot of his throne. His fears being



ing now removed, there was room left for humanity. He ordered them from his sight, and then retired, in a melancholy mood, from the hall of audience.

A. D. 1664.

Hig. 1074.

During these transactions at court, Shaw Allum was commissioned by his father to take the command of the Imperial army in the Decan; Shaista being rendered unfit for that charge by the wounds which he had received from the assassins, armed against him by the Maraja. The forwardness of the prince in making a party during his father's illness, adhered to the mind of Aurungzêbe; but he concealed his sentiments on that subject. There, however, subsisted a coolness, which the accurate observers of human nature could plainly perceive, in the conduct of the emperor; and his abridging the power and revenue of his son, when he appointed him to the government of the Decan, shewed that he distrusted his loyalty. Men, who are willing to suppose that Aurungzêbe sacrificed every other passion to ambition, affirm, that he became even careless about the life of his son; and they relate a story to support the justice of the observation. A lion issuing from a forest not far distant from Delhi, did a great deal of mischief in the open country. The emperor, in an assembly of the nobles, coolly ordered his son to bring him the skin of the lion; without permitting him to make the necessary preparations for this dangerous species of hunting. Shaw Allum, whose courage was equal to his reservedness and moderation, cheerfully obeyed; and when the master of the huntsmen proposed to provide him with nets, he said: "No; Aurungzêbe, when at my age, feared not to attack any beast of prey, without formal preparations." He succeeded in his attempt; and brought the lion's skin to his father.

Shaw Allum
sent to the
Decan;

The



A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.
and Mohâbet
to Guzerat.

The arrival of the prince in the Decan superseded the Maraja, who, during the illness of Shaista, commanded the army. He requested to be permitted to return to his government of Guzerat; but it had been conferred upon Mohâbet. This lord, during the troubles which convulsed the empire, remained quiet in his government of the city and province of Cabul. He retained his loyalty to Shaw Jehân; and executed the duties of his office in the name of that prince. After the death of Dara, and the flight of Suja beyond the limits of the empire, he saw an end to all the hopes of the restoration of his ancient lord. He, therefore, began to listen to the proposals of Aurungzébe. That prince informed him, that instead of being offended at his attachment to his ancient lord, he was much pleased with his loyalty. That such honour, conduct, and bravery, as those of Mohâbet, far from raising the jealousy of the reigning prince, were deemed by him as valuable acquisitions to his empire; and that to shew the sincerity of his professions, he had sent him a commission to govern, in quality of viceroy, the opulent kingdom of Guzerat.

AURUNG-

