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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

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Arungzebe.

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A U R U N G Z E B E.

C H A P. I.

*Reflections—Misfortunes of Solimán Shekó—His flight to Serinagúr—
Distress, irresolution, and flight of Dara—He quits the Suttuluz—
the Bea—and Lahore—Aurungzébe returns—Preparations and
march of Suja—Approach of Aurungzébe—The battle of Kidg-
wá—Defeat and flight of Suja—Unaccountable conduct of the
Marája—His flight—Aurungzébe arrives at Agra—Writes to his
father.*

THE confinement of the emperor, and the seizure of the person of Morád, opened a fair field for the ambition of Aurungzébe. To disguise longer his serious designs on the empire, would, from the improbability of the thing, be imprudent. He however covered his love of power with professions of necessity; and still lamented the occasion which had burdened his head with a crown. This specious conduct, though too obvious in its design to deceive, derived an advantage from its modest appearance; and men forgot his deviations from virtue, in the opinion that he was ashamed of his crimes. Having subdued the passion of vanity before he gave the rein to ambition, he appeared insensible of his own exaltation. His humility seemed to encrease upon the throne to such a degree, that even those who could not approve of his measures, were at a loss to what they ought to ascribe his conduct. Averse to pleasure, and contemning pomp and magnificence, the obvious inducements to the seizing of the scepter were wanting.

A. D. 1658.

Fig. 1068.

Reflections.



A. D. 1658.

Hig. 1058.

wanting to Aurungzêbe; but his active mind found, in its own vigour, a kind of right to command mankind.

Solimân

The new emperor had scarce mounted the throne near Delhi, when he was alarmed with intelligence of the march of Solimân, by the skirts of the northern mountains; to join his father Dara at Lahore. We lost sight of that prince in the midst of his mutinous army, near Allahabâd. The principal nobles who had attended him in his successful expedition against Suja, deserted his standard at the first news of his father's defeat. The confinement of Shaw Jehân deprived him of more of his followers; but a number, sufficient to deserve the name of an army, still remained in his camp. Though bold and unconcerned in action, Solimân was subject to political fears. The news of repeated misfortunes came daily from every quarter. He became perplexed and undecisive: various expedients presented themselves to his view, but he could fix on none. His first resolution was to return to Bengal; but, dubious of success against Suja with a reduced and dispirited army, he dropt that design, and gave himself up again to wavering schemes. He had none to advise him; and his own mind afforded no resource in distress. When intelligence of the march of the confederate princes from Agra arrived in his camp, he thought of surprising the capital, and, by releasing his grandfather, to add the weight of that monarch's name to his declining cause. He decamped, but his evil stars prevailed. He changed his course, and directed his march to Lahore.

deserted

The undecisive measures of Solimân were known to his troops. They began to despise the authority of one who could not persevere in any plan. All discipline became relaxed. The independance of the soldier rose with his contempt of his general. Regularity was lost in licentiousness; confusion, rapine and insolence prevailed;

prevailed; and the whole army, instead of obeying the prince, placed a merit in their not deserting his cause. That intrepidity and firmness which was necessary to the occasion, no longer remained in Solimân. His standard had been left by those whom he thought his best friends, and a melancholy distrust prevailed in his mind. To correct the licence of the soldiery, was to lose their support. He permitted them, with a vain hope of conciliating their affections, to ravage the country at large. But when they had loaded themselves with spoil, they deserted in whole squadrons, to secure their wealth at home, and to avoid the doubtful chance of war.

A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1658.

Destitute of all authority, the prince moved along, sullen and silent, at the head of an army converted into a mob of banditti. He issued out no orders, under a certainty of their not being obeyed; and he even looked with indifference on the gradual decline in the number of his followers. Every morning presented to his eyes at a distance, whole squadrons that had quitted his camp in the night. There only remained at last four thousand miserable wretches, who had suffered themselves to be robbed of their booty. Fear, and not attachment, kept these round the standard of Solimân. Their rapine had converted the whole country into an enemy, and there was no longer any safety in desertion. They, however, marked their march with ruin, and covered their rear with the smoke of villages, which they had plundered and set on fire.

by his army;

Aurungzébe received certain intelligence of the destructive rout of Solimân through the countries of Shinwâra and Muchlis-pour. He detached Fidai Chan with a considerable force to interrupt his march. Shaista, who had been left in the government of Agra, was ordered with troops, by a different rout, to prevent the escape of the prince by the road through which he had come. He was in no condition to cope with either of those lords. He turned his
 march

taken



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

march to the north, and entered the almost impervious country of Serenagûr, where the Ganges issues from the mountains into the plains of India. Pirti Singh, the Raja, received the unfortunate fugitive with kindness and respect. He sent his own troops to guard the passes, and permitted the forces of Solimân to encamp in his valleys, to recover from the fatigues of a tedious march. Aurungzêbe, upon receiving advices of the escape of the prince, recalled Fidai to the Imperial camp, and ordered Shaisa to his government of Agra.

refuge

Safe in the hospitality of the prince of Serinagûr, Solimân remained shut up in a secluded country. The mountains, which protected him from the enemy, prevented him from hearing of the fate of his friends. He became anxious and thoughtful, and discovered neither pleasure nor amusement in the rural sports pursued by others through the romantic vallies which formed the dominions of the Raja. He loved to walk alone; to dive into the thickest woods; to mix his complaints with the murmur of torrents, which, falling from a thousand rocks, filled the whole country with an agreeable noise. One day, as the prince wandered from his party, he entered a narrow valley formed by one of the streams which fall headlong from the impassable mountains that environ Serinagûr. In the center of the valley there stood a mound almost covered with trees; through the branches of which appeared undistinctly what seemed an Indian pagod. The stream, divided into two, surrounded the mound, and appeared to have worn away the foundations of the rock, on which the building stood; which circumstance rendered it inaccessible on every side. Solimân, pleased with this romantic scene, rode forward, and found that what he had mistaken for a temple, was a house of pleasure belonging to the Raja. Thither that prince often retired, with a few attendants, to enjoy the company of some Calhmirian women of exquisite beauty. Some of these were walking on the terrace when

when Solimân approached. He was struck with their persons; but he instantly retired.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

When he returned to the residence of the Raja, he mentioned his adventure to that prince. His countenance was suddenly overcast, and he remained for some time silent. He at length said, "All my dominions have I given up to Solimân, yet he has intruded upon one little valley which I reserved for myself." Solimân excused his conduct by his ignorance; but though the Raja pretended to be satisfied, there appeared from that day forward a manifest change in his behaviour. He became cold and distant; and he was discontented and agitated when the fugitive prince came before him. Jealousy, however, was not the cause of this alteration. Aurungzêbe had applied to him through his emissaries; and the honour of that prince contended with his avarice. Solimân became uneasy at the doubtful gloom which hung on his countenance. He encamped, with his few followers, at some distance from the Raja's residence; and he began to watch narrowly the conduct of a prince, whom he still called his protector and friend.

in Serinagûr.

When Solimân entered the mountains of Serinagûr, he dispatched a messenger with the news of his misfortunes to his father Dara. That prince was encamped, with a considerable army, on the banks of the Suttuluz. When he received the letters of his son, he shut himself up in his tent, and gave way to melancholy reflections on his own misfortunes. The imprisonment of his father was an event, which, as it was expected, did not surprize him; but the desertion of the victorious army under his son, was a severe stroke to his declining fortunes. He even had conceived hopes from the presence of Solimân, whose activity and fame in war might revive the drooping spirits of his party. But he was

Irresolution



A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1063.

shut up within impervious mountains; and the enemy had occupied all the passes. Dara was left to his own resources, and they failed, in the distressed situation of his mind. He reflected on the past with regret; he looked forward to the future with fear. Agitated by various passions, he could fix upon no determined expedient to extricate himself from misfortune; and a panic began to seize his troops from the irresolute undecisiveness of his conduct.

of Dara.

Aurungzêbe, who had his spies in the camp of Dara, was no stranger to the situation of his mind. To add to his panic, he marched from Karnal on the fifteenth of August, and directed his course toward Lahore. Dara, who had remained irresolute on the banks of the Suttuluz, decamped, upon the news of the enemy's approach, with precipitation. The advanced guard of Aurungzêbe passed the river without opposition; and Dara sat down with his army behind the Bea, on the road to Lahore, to which city he himself soon after retired, leaving the troops under the conduct of Daood Chan, an able and experienced officer. Dara had great resources in the provinces behind Lahore. The governors had still remained faithful to the old emperor; the revenues of the preceding year had not been paid; and the prince found a considerable sum in the Imperial treasury at Lahore. He soon raised twenty thousand horse, and his activity had begun to change the aspect of his affairs. But he had hitherto been unsuccessful: and he judged of the future by the past. He was disturbed by the news of the approach of a part of the army of Aurungzêbe, who, having constructed a bridge on the Suttuluz, were on full march to the Bea.

He retreats
from the Bea.

Daood, whom Dara had left at the head of the troops on the Bea, had lined the banks with artillery, and thrown up entrenchments



ments and redoubts, with a firm assurance of stopping the progress of the enemy. The rainy season was now come on, and he was under no apprehensions of not being able to keep the enemy for five months at bay. The northern provinces might, in the mean time, furnish Dara with an army of hardy soldiers. Mohâbet, who commanded in Cabul, was in his interest; and he rivalled his predecessor of the same name in his abilities in war. But the evil genius of Dara prevailed. He sent orders to Daood to quit his post. That officer was astonished: he sent a remonstrance against the measure to the prince, and the jealous mind of Dara suspected his fidelity. Positive orders were sent: Daood reluctantly obeyed. The prince, finding himself wrong in his suspicions, repented of his conduct. He flew into a violent passion against the accusers of Daood, and he ordered that officer back to his post. It was now too late. The advanced guard of the enemy had crossed the Bea; and Aurungzêbe, with the main body, arrived on the Suttuluz on the twenty-fifth of August.

Dara, reflecting on the folly of his past conduct, and the pressure of the present time, was thrown into the utmost consternation. Chan Jehân, who commanded the enemy, had been reinforced by a body of troops and a train of artillery from the main body. Daood advised the prince to give battle, to confirm the courage of his troops by the defeat of a force so much inferior in point of numbers. The prince was obstinate. He alleged, that though his army was more numerous than the enemy, they were not equal to them in discipline; that, suddenly gathered together, they had not been habituated to danger; and that to engage the rebels, for so he affected to call the abettors of Aurungzêbe, would be to hasten the completion of their wishes, by giving them an easy victory. "But, Daood!" continued he, "I am not only unfortunate, but weak. Had I followed your advice, and kept possession of the

N n 2

Suttuluz

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

Hesitates about giving battle,



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

Suttuluz and Bea, I might have at least suspended, for some months, the fate of the empire. But I, who have been so often deceived by my brothers, am become distrustful of my friends."

and flies from
 Lahore.

Daood endeavoured to comfort the prince, by observing, that though the reputation of keeping a victorious enemy at bay during the rainy season, might contribute to change the face of affairs, yet still there were hopes. That to remain at Lahore without obtaining a victory, would be as improper as it appeared impossible; that still they had rivers which might be defended against the whole force of Aurungzêbe; and that if the prince should be pleased to blot all unworthy suspicions from his mind, he himself would undertake to give him sufficient time to collect a force in the provinces beyond the Indus. Dara embraced him with tears, and began to retreat. The army, discouraged at the apparent irresolution of their commander, began to fear for themselves. Having lost all confidence in the abilities of the prince, they saw nothing before them but distress to him, and ruin to themselves. They deserted in whole squadrons; and the unfortunate Dara saw his numbers hourly diminishing as he advanced toward Moulân. The van of the enemy under Chan Jehân hung close on the heels of the fugitive, and his friends throughout the empire gave all their hopes to the wind.

Several no-
 bles submit

Aurungzêbe arriving on the Suttuluz, was informed of the flight of Dara. His apprehensions from that quarter vanished, and he encamped for ten days on the banks of the river to refresh his army. The Maraja, who had given the first battle to Aurungzêbe near the city of Ugein, thinking the affairs of Dara desperate, came to the camp with a tender of his allegiance. A number of the nobility, who had hitherto remained firm to the old emperor, hastened to the court of the new, and prostrated themselves

selves at the foot of the throne. Aurungzêbe received them with
 unconcern, and told them that the season of forgiveness was past.
 "When Fortune," said he, "hung doubtful over my arms, you
 either abetted my enemies, or waited in security for the decision of
 Fate concerning the empire. These," pointing to his nobles,
 "served me in my distress. I reward them with my confidence;
 but I grant you, in pardoning your lives, a greater favour than
 those I conferred on them. Necessity gives me your obedience:
 let your generosity convince me that you are sincere. My enemies
 have dissipated the treasures of the empire, and I, who hope long
 to manage its affairs, will not impoverish it by heavy exactions.
 Your wealth is great. Justice, which in affairs of state follows
 fortune, gives me a right to the whole; but my moderation only
 claims a part." They paid large sums to the treasury, and a general
 indemnity passed, under the seals of the empire.

A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1668.

The haughty spirit of the Maraja revolted at the indignity of a
 cold reception. He however had gone too far to recede. Natu-
 rally averse to the subtle character of Aurungzêbe, he had actual-
 ly performed the promise which he had made to his high-spirited
 wife after his defeat. He collected an army, and was about to
 pursue Aurungzêbe, when the misfortunes of Dara began. The
 loss of the battle near Agra staggered his allegiance; he became
 more irresolute after the imprisonment of Shaw Jehân; and the
 flight of Dara to Lahore, threw him at the feet of the new empe-
 ror. He told Aurungzêbe, That being of a religion which incul-
 cated the belief of a Providence as superintending over human af-
 fairs, he was now under no doubts concerning the side on which
 the gods had declared themselves. It were therefore, continued he,
 a kind of impiety to oppose him whom Heaven has placed on the
 throne. Aurungzêbe pleasantly replied, "I am glad to owe to
 the religion what I hoped not from the love of Jesswint Singh."

to Aurung-
 zêbe.

The



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1668.
 Jumla arrives
 at court.

The visier Meer Jumla, who at the beginning of the rebellion had submitted to a political imprisonment in the Decan, seeing the affairs of Aurungzêbe in too good a condition to demand a continuance of his double conduct, broke his fictitious chains, and presented himself at court. The new emperor received him with every mark of honour and affection. He presented him with elephants, horses, riches, dresses, and arms; but of his whole fortune, which, to keep up appearances, had been confiscated, he only returned about fifty thousand roupees. "In serving the state," said Aurungzêbe, "I have expended your fortune; but you, in serving it again, may acquire another." Jumla made no reply, but seemed satisfied with his escape from the critical situation in which he had been plunged by the civil war. A field soon presented itself to his abilities; and his fortune was amply restored by the unabating favour of his sovereign.

Aurungzêbe
 marches to
 Moulân.

Intelligence arriving in the Imperial camp that Dara had taken the rout of Moulân, Aurungzêbe crossed the Suttuluz on the fifth of September. He advanced with rapid marches toward that city, wishing to put an end to the war in the north. Chan Jehân, who commanded the vanguard, arriving in Moulân, the unfortunate prince fled toward Bicker, and the mountains beyond the Indus. In vain had it been remonstrated to him by his followers, that he ought to have taken the rout of Cabul. Mohâbet, who had been always averse to Aurungzêbe, was at the head of a disciplined army in that province. Aids might be drawn from the western Tartary; there was even a prospect of Persia's espousing the cause of Dara. Soldiers of fortune, men adapted by their manners and climate for the field, would flock to his standard. But Fortune had forsaken Dara, and she was followed by Prudence. Aurungzêbe, when he first heard of the course of his brother's flight, cried out, in an ecstacy of joy, "That the war was at an end." He detached

detached eight thousand horse, under the conduct of Meer Baba, after the fugitive, and moved his camp on his return toward Agra.

A. D. 1658.
Hig. 1068.

Many causes concurred in making Aurungzêbe anxious to return to Agra. The force left in that city was small; and Shaista, who commanded there, was no great soldier. The troops, though silent, had not yet reconciled their minds to the force used against the person of Morâd; and they were, in some measure, shocked at the emperor's breach of faith to a friend as well as a brother. Shaw Jehân, though closely confined, had his emissaries and friends every where. Whispers concerning the unworthy usage of that great prince were carried round, and heard with attention. Many of the nobles raised by his favour respected him still for what he had been; and the empire, in general, which had flourished under his government, lamented the cloud which had settled on the latter end of a life of renown. The Maraja was still his friend. Proud and haughty beyond measure, he could not forget his defeat by Aurungzêbe, and he was chagrined at the cold reception which that prince had lately given to his proffered allegiance. Joy Singh, who had in a manner betrayed Solimân, thought also that he was not well requited for his services. He was still attached to Shaw Jehân, whose open and manly behaviour upon every occasion he compared with advantage to the cold duplicity of his son.

Cause of his
return.

Suja, who first appeared in arms against Dara, saw now a more dangerous enemy in another brother. The loss which he had sustained against Solimân was soon recovered in the rich and populous kingdom of Bengal. He saw a new cloud forming which was to burst upon him, and he prepared himself against the storm. He collected an army with his usual activity, and was on the point of

Preparations



A. D. 1658.
 Hig. 1068.

taking the rout of Agra, to relieve his father from confinement. To deceive Aurungzêbe, he had congratulated that prince on his mounting the throne at Delhi; he owned his title, and only solicited for a continuance of his government over Bengal. The emperor was not to be deceived. He saw the views of mankind in their situation and character, and took professions of friendship from rivals for mere sounds. He however had behaved with his usual civility to the messenger of Suja. He pretended to be anxious about knowing the state of his health, and he made a minute inquiry concerning his children and family. "As for a new commission to my brother," said he, "it is at once unnecessary and improper. I myself am but my father's vicegerent in the empire; and I derive my whole power from those infirmities which have rendered THE EMPEROR unfit for the business of the state." This answer, though not satisfactory, amused Suja, and furnished an opportunity for Aurungzêbe to break the power of Dara, and to establish his own authority.

of Suja.

Suja, at length, threw off the mask; from a subject to Aurungzêbe, he became his competitor for the empire. He began his march with a numerous army, accustoming them to the manœuvres of the field as he moved. His brother, who expected the storm, was not surpris'd at its approach. He remained but four days at Moulân. His son Mahommed was made governor of that province; that of Punjab was conferred on Chillulla. He outstripped his army in expedition; and on the twenty-fourth of October he entered Lahore. He arrived at Delhi on the twenty-first of November; and notwithstanding the pressure of his affairs in the south, he celebrated his birth-day in that city, having entered the forty-first year of his age. The splendid and numerous appearance of the nobility on that occasion, convinced Aurungzêbe, who always made judicious observations on the behaviour



behaviour of mankind, that he was firmly established on the throne which he had usurped. The nobles most remarkable for their penetration, were the first to pay their respects: they saw the abilities of the reigning prince; they were no strangers to the inferiority of his brothers; and they considered Fortune as only another name for Prudence. Daood, who had adhered hitherto to Dara, forsook that prince when he took, contrary to his advice, the rout of Bicker. He threw himself at the feet of Aurungzêbe; who, knowing his abilities, received him with distinction, and raised him to the rank of six thousand horse.

A. D. 1658.
Fig. 1069.

During the few days which Aurungzêbe passed at Delhi, he informed himself minutely of the force and resources of Suja. That prince was more formidable than the emperor had imagined. To insure success, he ordered his son Mahommed to join him with the army from Moulân, and he resolved to avail himself of the great parts of Jumla. That lord had been sent, soon after his arrival at court, to settle the affairs of Chandeish and Guzerat, and he was ordered to return with some of the veteran troops stationed on the southern frontiers of the empire. The emperor, in the mean time, having arrived at Agra, reinforced the garrison of that city under Shaista; being apprehensive of an invasion under prince Solimân, from the mountains of Serinagûr. He himself took immediately the field; and moved slowly down the Jumna, in hourly expectations of reinforcements from the north and west.

Preparations
of Aurung-
zêbe.

Suja, in the mean time, with a numerous army, was in full march toward the capital. He arrived at Allahabâd; and having remained a few days in the environs of that place, he renewed his march, and encamped his army, in a strong position, at a place called Kidgwâ, about thirty miles from Allahabâd. Distrustful

Suja on full
march.



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1069.

of the discipline of his army, he entrenched himself, and waited for the arrival of Aurungzêbe, whom he wished to engage with an advantage which might supply the inferiority of his troops, in point of courage and hardiness. But Aurungzêbe studiously protracted the time. His march was designedly slow, till he was joined by his son Mahommed with the troops of the north. He then moved forward with great expedition; Mahommed commanding the van, consisting of five thousand chosen horse. Suja was astonished at this sudden vigour in his brother's measures; he began to fortify his camp, and to make dispositions for receiving the enemy with warmth.

Fortifies his
 camp.

The prince Mahommed, naturally full of fire, exceeded his orders. He pressed onward with the van, eager for a fight of the enemy; and when he presented himself before Suja, the emperor, with the army and artillery, was forty miles in the rear. He rode along the lines of the enemy, and, with unpardonable rashness, seemed to provoke them to battle. Suja, however, for what cause is uncertain, took no advantage of his temerity. The prince at length encamped his small army; and dispatched a messenger with his observations on the position and strength of the enemy. Aurungzêbe was offended at the rashness of his son. He was, however, gentle in his reproof. "When you shall possess the empire, Mahommed," said he, "you must protect it with more caution. A monarch ought to be a general rather than a partizan; and few forget folly in valour." The haughty spirit of the prince was impatient of rebuke. Active, gallant, and fiery, he despised the slow dictates of Prudence; and would rather owe his fame to his sword, than to political management and address.

Aurungzêbe
 offers battle.

The Imperial standard came in sight on the thirteenth of January 1659; and Aurungzêbe encamped his army, leaving an extensive



extensive plain, very fit for a battle, between him and the lines of Suja. He drew up his army, on the morning of the fifteenth, in two lines, advancing his artillery some paces in the front. About twelve o'clock the cannon began to open on both sides. Suja had placed his artillery on a rising-ground, and his batteries were well served. He scoured the enemy's lines; and Aurungzêbe, who durst not attack the trenches, was obliged to return with some loss to his camp. Suja took no advantage of the retreat of his brother. He retired within his lines, and imprudently neglected to keep possession of the rising-ground on the right, from which his artillery had played with such advantage on the enemy. Meer Jumla, who had arrived a few days before from the Decan, observed the negligence of Suja. He represented the advantage which Fortune had offered to Aurungzêbe; and that prince ordered him to take possession of the hill in the night. Before morning appeared, Jumla threw up a redoubt on the place, and lined it with cannon; which were covered with a strong party of spearmen.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

When day-light appeared, Jumla ordered his battery on the hill to open. The tents of Suja were in the range of the shot; and the prince was obliged immediately to strike them, and to move his quarters to the left. Aurungzêbe, who perceived the commotion in the enemy's camp, on account of the unexpected fire from the battery, thought this a proper opportunity to make a general assault. His army were already formed; and he ordered his elephants to advance with all expedition to tread down the entrenchments. A strong body of cavalry sustained the charge. The defendants, already in confusion, made but a faint resistance. The elephants soon levelled the entrenchment, and the horse poured into the camp. Flight, confusion, and slaughter prevailed. Aurungzêbe, mounted on a lofty ele-

The battle
begins.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1669.

phant, saw the appearance of victory on every side. He pushed forward into the center, to render complete the advantage which he had already obtained. But Fortune took a sudden change; and inevitable ruin seemed to overwhelm him and his affairs.

Treachery of
the Maraja.

The Maraja, Jesswint Singh, having made his peace with Aurungzêbe, had joined that prince with his native troops. His defeat at Ugein remained still fresh in his mind; and he longed to recover the laurels which he had lost in that unfortunate field. He had received orders to advance with his Rajaputs; and he even made a shew of attacking the enemy. But when he saw the emperor entering their camp, he suddenly turned, and fled with all his forces. The Moguls, however, followed not his example. Aurungzêbe carried forward on his elephant the Imperial standard; and they were ashamed to leave it to the enemy. Jesswint, disappointed in his aim of drawing his party to flight by his own, fell suddenly on the rear of the line. He seized upon the baggage; and put servants and women to the sword, without either distinction or mercy. The noise of the slaughter behind was carried to the front, which was engaged with Suja in the center of his camp. Some fled to save their wives; and, cowards, wanting only an example, they were followed by thousands. The lines began to thin apace; the attack was sustained with less vigour; and the enemy acquired courage.

Resolution of
Suja,

Aurungzêbe exhibited upon the occasion, that resolute firmness which always rises above misfortune. To fly was certain ruin; to remain, an almost certain death. He sat aloft on his elephant, in full possession of his own mind; and he seemed not to know that any disaster had happened in the rear. The enemy, who had been tumultuously hurrying out of the camp, returned with vigour

vigour to the charge, upon the sudden change in the face of affairs. Suja, with an undaunted countenance, led the attack, standing in the castle, upon an enormous elephant. When his eye fell upon his brother, he ordered his driver to direct the furious animal that way. One of the principal officers of Aurungzêbe, who was also mounted on an elephant, perceiving the intention of Suja, rushed in before the prince. He was overthrown in the first shock, but the elephant of Suja suffered so much in the concussion, that the animal stood trembling through every joint; having lost all sense of command, and almost the power of motion. The disappointed prince seemed enraged at his fortune; but the elephant of one of his nobles advanced against that of the emperor; and, in the first shock, the latter animal fell upon his knees; and it was with great difficulty he recovered himself. Aurungzêbe had one foot out of the castle, ready to alight. The crown of India hovered on the resolution of a moment. Meer Jumla was near, on horseback: "Stop," said he, turning sternly to Aurungzêbe; "you descend from the throne." The emperor, who was now composed, seemed to smile at the reproof. Whilst the animals continued to engage, the marksman, who sat behind him, shot the adversary's driver; but the enraged elephant continued, notwithstanding, to fight. Aurungzêbe was now in imminent danger; when he was delivered from destruction by the resolution of his driver. He threw himself dexterously on the neck of the other elephant, and carried him off; whilst his own place was supplied by one of the officers who sat behind the castle. Another elephant, in the mean time, advanced against Aurungzêbe; but he had the good fortune to shoot the driver with his own hand.

The emperor now found that his own elephant, from the many shocks which he had received, was much weakened and

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dispirited.

A. D. 1659.

Fig. 1069.

and of Au-
rungzêbe;

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

dispirited. He began to be afraid that he could not even keep the animal in the field. To alight would be equal to flight itself. The elephant began to turn; and Aurungzêbe, whose resolution never failed him in desperate situations, ordered the chains, which are always ready for binding him, to be locked round his feet. The emperor remained immoveable amidst the enemy; a thousand shot were aimed at him, a thousand arrows fell into the castle; but being in complete armour, he remained unhurt. Some of the nobles observing this daring behaviour in their prince, rushed forward to his rescue. They bore all before them in this last effort; and Suja, in the moment of victory, was beginning to give way. His elephant, disabled by the first shock, was not to be moved forward. Aliverdi, one of his friends, came with a horse; and Suja, in an evil hour, descended from his lofty seat. The same conduct had ruined Dara. The elephant returning to the rear, with an empty castle, the army thought that the prince was slain; and they began to fly on every side.

who obtains
the victory.

Aurungzêbe, who owed his victory to his own intrepidity, was in no condition to pursue the enemy. Night was now coming on; and he lay on the field under arms. During the action, the Maraja had defeated the party left to defend the baggage; and loading camels with the booty, sent them off under an escort. He himself still hovered round the rear. The proximity of the Imperial tents to the line, had hitherto protected them from being plundered by the Rajaputs. Night coming on, the Maraja advanced; and, about an hour after it was dark, fell upon the tents of Mahommed, who had remained with his father on the field. A few, who defended the quarter of the prince, were cut off to a man; and the Rajaputs advanced to the Imperial tents, and seized upon every thing valuable within the square; putting every one that opposed them to the sword. The night became a scene of



horror, confusion, and death. Aurungzêbe was not to be moved from the field; but he detached a part of the army to oppose the Maraja. When day appeared, the troops of Suja were no more to be seen; and the emperor, now convinced of his victory, turned his arms upon the Maraja. That prince stood his ground. A bloody battle ensued. The Rajaputs retreated; but they carried their booty away.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1067.

Suja fled with so much precipitation in the night, that he left all his tents, equipage, and artillery, on the field. His army deserted him; and he even deserted his army. He changed his clothes, he threw off every mark of distinction, and hurried forward to Patna like a private man. He feared no enemy; but he was afraid of his friends. When Fortune had forsaken him, he hoped not to retain their faith; for to deliver him to Aurungzêbe would not only procure their safety, but advance their interest. The sun was scarce up, when Aurungzêbe detached ten thousand horse, under his son Mahommed, in pursuit of his brother. The enemy were so much dissipated, that few were slain. The instructions of the prince were to follow Suja. He arrived at Patna, and the unfortunate prince fled to Mongeer; hoping to derive from walls that safety which he could not command in the field. His courage, however, forsook him not in his distress. He had still resources in his own active mind; and the whole province of Bengal was devoted to his interest, from the strict justice and mildness of his government.

Suja pursued
by Mahom-
med.

After the flight of the Maraja and the departure of Mahommed, the emperor called together the nobility and principal officers of his army. He had marked, from his elephant, the particular behaviour of each. He punished some for cowardice; others he promoted for valour. His reproofs were strong and pointed:

Aurung-
zêbe's speech
to his nobles.



A. D. 1659.
 Hg. 1669.

pointed; the praise he bestowed manly and just. He, at the same time, made a long speech from the throne. He assumed no merit to himself, he even gave up that of his army, and attributed his success to Providence. He involved Heaven in his quarrel with his brothers; and made it the partner of his own guilt. This religious oration was received with bursts of applause. Mankind are in all ages and nations superstitious; and the bare profession of sanctity hides the blackest crimes from their eyes. Aurungzêbe, however, did not forget his temporal affairs in his devotion. Anxious for the reduction of Bengal, and for an end of the war with Suja, he detached a large body of horse under Meer Jumla, to reinforce Mahommed, whilst he himself took the rout of the capital.

A false report carried to Agra.

The Maraja, in the mean time, with his booty, advanced to the walls of Agra. News of the defeat of Aurungzêbe had already filled that capital with surprize. The appearance of the Rajaputs confirmed the report. The adherents of the new emperor began to shift for themselves; and grief and joy prevailed, as men were variously affected to this or the other side. Shaista, who commanded in the city, was struck with melancholy and despair. He knew the active part which he himself had taken for Aurungzêbe; and he could expect no favour from the conquerors. He even made attempts against his own life; and seemed indifferent about shutting the gates of the citadel against Jeffwint Singh. That prince, though he suffered little in the running fight with Aurungzêbe, was still afraid of the Imperial army, which followed close on his heels. Had he boldly entered the city, taken advantage of the panic of Shaista, and released Shaw Jehân, Aurungzêbe might still be ruined. But the fortune of that prince was still greater than his abilities.

Aurungzêbe,



Aurungzêbe, apprehensive of some mischief in Agra, hastened his march to that capital. The city was now undeceived with regard to the battle; and the Maraja, who had boasted of the defeat of the emperor, began to fly before him. He directed his course to his own country; and, though incumbered with spoil, outstripped his pursuers in the march. Aurungzêbe entered Agra without any pomp. He did not permit himself to be saluted by the guns of the fort. "It would be improper," said he, "to triumph in the ears of a father, over the defeat of his son." He wrote a letter to Shaw Jehân, enquiring concerning his health; and he excused himself from coming into his presence on account of the hurry of public affairs. He slightly mentioned his victory, by insinuating that Providence, by his hands, had frustrated the designs of the enemies of the house of Timur. His father, who was no stranger to the situation of affairs, would not read the letter. He gave it back to the messenger, and said, "If my son means to insult me, to know it would but add to my misfortunes; if he treats me with affection and respect, why does he permit me to languish within these walls?"

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

Aurungzêbe
arrives in
that city.



A U R U N G Z E B E.

C H A P. II.

Dara's flight to Bicker—He crosses the desert—Gains the governor of Guzerat—Marches toward Agra—Fortifies himself at Ajmere—Deceived—attacked—and totally defeated by Aurungzêbe—His unheard-of misfortunes—Distress in the desert—Arrival at Tatta—Throws himself under the protection of Jibon—Death of the Sultana—Dara betrayed—Carried with ignominy through Delhi—Confined at Chizerabad—Assassinated—Reflections.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.
Dara flies to
Bicker.

DARA having fled from Moulân, took the rout of Bicker, beyond the Indus. The Imperialists were close at his heels. His army fell off gradually in his flight. His affairs were desperate, and their attachment gave way to personal safety. Four thousand still adhered to their colours, with which number Dara encamped near Bicker, having garrisoned the place, and submitted it to the command of a faithful friend. He had scarce pitched his tents, when the enemy came in fight. Though worn-out with fatigue, he was obliged to fly. He found boats by accident, and crossed the Indus with all his followers. On the opposite shore stood the strong fortrefs of Sicar. Struck with the hard fate of Dara, the governor opened the gates. But it was not the business of the prince to shut himself up within walls; which at best could only protract misfortune. He reinforced the garrison with a part of his troops; and left some valuable effects under the protection of the governor.



Disincumbered, he betook himself to the open field, before he had even thought of the quarter to which he should direct his course. He wandered away in a melancholy mood. His faithful adherents, for only those whose attachment to his person overcame their own fears were now in his train, followed silently the path of a master whom they loved. Having marched a few miles, the prince came to the place where the road parted into two; the one leading to Tatta, the other toward the Persian province of Chorassan. Starting from his reverie, he stood for some time irresolute. On the one side there was apparent ruin; on the other, a certainty of personal safety. But glory was blended with disgrace in the first; in the latter there was nothing but obscurity and dishonour. When he weighed these things in his mind, the chariots in which were his women arrived. His perplexity increased. The desert toward Persia was extensive and inhospitable; on the side of India, his own misfortunes must overwhelm his family. He could not decide; and a melancholy silence prevailed around.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1669.

Meditates to
retire to
Persia.

The favourite Sultana, seeing the undecisiveness of Dara, at length put an end to his doubts. "Can the first of the race of Timur," she said, "hesitate in this moment of distress? There is danger, but there may be also a throne on one side; but a frightful solitude, and the cold reception given to fugitive princes by strangers, threaten from the other. If Dara cannot decide, I, who am the daughter of Purvêz, will decide for myself. This hand shall prevent me, by death, from dishonour. The descendant of the immortal Timur shall not grace the haram of the race of Sheikh Sefi!" The features of the prince were at once lighted up into a kind of mournful joy. He burst into tears; and, without uttering a word, spurred forward his horse toward Tatta. He had not remained many days in that city, when he

but changes
his course to
Tatta.



A. D. 1659.

Hig. 1669.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

received advices that a considerable detachment of the enemy was arrived within a few miles of the place. He evacuated Tatta, crossed the Indus, and fled toward the capital of Guzerat. The enemy laid a bridge of boats over the river; and were preparing to pursue the fugitive, when unexpected orders arrived for them to repair with all expedition to join the Imperial army, in full march against Suja.

Crosses the
 desert,

The removal of the Imperial troops procured a happy respite for Dara; but it was but a transient gleam of Fortune, who had resolved to continue her frowns. The road of the prince lay partly through burning sands, destitute of water; partly through abrupt mountains, covered with impervious woods, the haunts of beasts of prey. His people were parched with thirst; his very camels died of fatigue. His unfortunate women were just expiring for want of water, when the prince, who ranged the solitudes far and wide, lighted on a spring. He encamped near it; and having refreshed his attendants, arrived next day on the borders of the territories of the Raja's Jâm and Bahâra, which lay contiguous to each other in his rout. They received him with hospitality; but they declined to embrace his cause. They were the natural enemies of the house of Timur, who had, often from views of conquest, penetrated into their almost inaccessible country. When persuasion failed, Dara endeavoured to work upon the pride of Jâm. He proposed an alliance between his son Sipper Shekô, the constant attendant of his misfortunes, and the daughter of the Raja. The match did not take place. The few Mogul nobles who adhered to him, were so much dissatisfied with the proposal, on account of its inequality, that it was laid aside; and Dara proceeded to Ahmedabâd.

Shaw



Shaw Nawâz, whose two daughters were married to Aurungzêbe and Morâd, had been left by the latter in the government of Guzerat, and kept his residence in Ahmedabâd. When Morâd was seized, Aurungzêbe sent a new commission to Shaw Nawâz, which that lord received, and governed his province in the name of the new emperor. He prepared to oppose Dara with all his forces. The match was unequal, and the prince, hemmed in with misfortunes on every side, began to despair. He, however, resolved to carry no longer round the empire a life obnoxious to misery. He advanced with his few attendants; and, as the last resort, wrote a letter to the younger daughter of Shaw Nawâz, who was the wife of Morâd, and had been left with her father when the prince marched toward Agra. He recounted his own misfortunes; and compared them with those of her husband. "The enemy of both is one," said he: "if the memory of the unfortunate Morâd still lives in the breast of his wife, she will persuade her father to favour Dara, who is oppressed by the same untoward fate!"

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.
and arrives
in Guzerat.

The princess, who had mourned incessantly for the misfortunes of her lord, whom she loved to distraction, burst into a flood of tears at the reception of the letter. She grasped at the shadow of hope for her husband's releasement, which was offered by a prince overwhelmed by his own bad fortune. She threw herself at the feet of her father; her tears suppressed her voice; but she looked up to him with that forcible eloquence of eyes, which it is impossible to resist from beauty in distress. She placed the letter of Dara in his hands. He read it with emotion; and turned away in silence. She followed him on her knees, holding the skirt of his robe. "Is not my daughter," said he, "already sufficiently wretched? Why does she wish to involve her father in the irretrievable misery which has overtaken her lord?"

Gains over
the govern-
nor.

But



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

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But she will have it so--and prudence must give way to pity." He ordered the gates to be thrown open; and the princess, in an ecstasy of joy, sent accounts of her success to Dara.

Raises an
army.

The prince could scarce believe his own eyes, when he received the letter of the wife of Morâd. A gleam of hope came in upon his misfortunes. He entered Ahmedabâd; and the governor received him with the highest distinction and respect. He gave to the prince about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in money, together with jewels to a great amount, to contribute to raise troops. This new life to the affairs of Dara, rendered him active in his preparations for war. In a few weeks he found himself at the head of a considerable army. He in the mean time received letters from the Maraja, who, with his native troops, was on his march with Aurungzêbe to attack Suja. That prince acquainted him of his design of deserting the new emperor in the action; and we have already seen that he kept his promise. He conjured Dara to hasten his march to support him in his intended defection. The advice was good; but the evil genius of Dara prevailed. He delayed, that he might augment his forces; and lost the golden opportunity of restoring his affairs by an act of boldness and intrepidity. Suja was, in the mean time, defeated; and Aurungzêbe turned his whole force toward the storm which was brewing in the West.

Marches to-
ward Agra.

The defection of the Maraja had spread news of the defeat and death of Aurungzêbe to every corner of the empire. The agreeable intelligence came to Dara. He instantly marched toward Agra, to seize the capital before the arrival of Suja, who was said to have conquered. In three days, the unfortunate prince was undeceived. Letters from different quarters brought him the particulars of the action, and of the complete victory obtained by his



his greatest foe. He was again thrown into perplexity. To proceed with so small a force was imprudent; to retreat, ruinous to his reputation. He had built his last hopes on his army; to retire, was to lose them by desertion. Many Europeans were in his camp. He had gained them by large promises; and they naturally loved that impartiality which he shewed indiscriminately to men of merit of all nations. His artillery was upon the best footing; and he was not destitute of able engineers. His soldiers, for the most part consisting of the troops of the empire stationed on the frontiers, were habituated to action. But they were too few in number; and their leader was destined for misfortune.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1669.

The Maraja, after plundering the Imperial camp, declared his intentions of marching to Guzerat with the spoil. Dara halted to take him up by his way. But the Indian had no serious intentions of assisting effectually any branch of the house of Timur. An enthusiast in his own religion, he considered all Mahomedans as his natural enemies. He abetted none of the princes through choice. He studied to add fuel to the flame which raged between them, and to derive advantage from their dissensions. He hoped to find that freedom and independence in their weakness, which he could never expect from their favour and power. Under the influence of these political principles, he studiously avoided to meet Dara. He took the rout of Marwâr, to lodge his booty in his own dominions in safety. He, however, wrote letters to the prince, to advance to his borders, where he would join him with a recruited army. Dara accordingly marched toward Meirta, at which place he encamped with his forces, in daily expectations of the junction of the Maraja, who was collecting his forces at the capital of his dominions.

Turns toward
the domi-
nions of the
Maraja,

Aurungzêbe



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1069.
 who is gained
 over by Au-
 rungzébe,

Aurungzébe was, in the mean time, alarmed at the great preparations of the Maraja. He saw danger in his defection; and he had recourse to his usual art and address. He wrote to him a letter. He acquainted him, That the opposition given to his fortune at the battle of Ugein, had long since been blotted out of his memory, as it was the result of the Maraja's opinion in favour of Dara; that his submission to his government, while yet his brothers were in the field, was a conduct which entitled him to favour; but that his late defection in battle, and his subsequent attack upon the Imperial baggage, could not be forgot, though it might be forgiven. "The love of public tranquillity, however," continues Aurungzébe, "has expelled from my breast every wish of revenge. It is therefore your interest, to withdraw your foot from the circle of Dara's misfortunes. That you should join my standard, I neither expect nor wish. I cannot trust again your faith; and my own force is sufficient to overthrow my enemies. You may therefore look from your own country, an unconcerned spectator of the war; and to reward you for your neutrality, the government of Guzerat shall be added to that of your hereditary dominions."

and deserts
 Dara.

The letter had the intended effect on the Maraja. He preferred the proffered advantage to the gratitude of Dara, whose fortunes wore such a doubtful aspect. He broke off his correspondence with that prince, at the very time that he was buoyed up with the hopes of the junction of a great army with his own forces. A stranger to the motive of the Hindoo, he sent his son Sipper Shekô to endeavour to prevail upon him to throw off his inactivity. The young prince was received at his capital with distinction and hospitality. He was, however, disappointed in his views. The Maraja would give no satisfactory answer; and the prince returned to his father, who was



greatly disconcerted by this new misfortune. He, however, resolved to hesitate no longer with his fate. He decamped and marched in a direct line for Agra; and arrived at Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

In the neighbourhood of Ajmere, the high-road to the capital passes between two steep hills, each of which forms the point of an impassable ridge of mountains, which stretch far into the country on both sides, and separate the kingdom of Guzerat from the rest of Hindostan. Dara halted with his army in this pass. His high opinion of the European mode of war, which he imbibed from the English, French and Portuguese in his service, had rendered that prince fond of entrenchments. He had considered the appearance of security, more than the movements of the human mind: for armies often take entrenchments in no other light than as a proof of the superiority of the enemy. He threw up lines from hill to hill in his front, and strengthened them with artillery. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, marched with an army to stop his progress; and arrived with great expedition in the neighbourhood of Ajmere. When he came in sight of the entrenchments, he ordered his army to encamp; and he himself rode out to reconnoitre the enemy.

Dara fortifies

Nothing could equal his astonishment when he viewed, through a spy-glass, the position of his brother. The strength of the works was inconceivable; instead of a common entrenchment the prince had fortified himself with a strong rampire, defended by bastions, a deep ditch and a double row of palisades, which extended six miles across a valley. Aurungzêbe was perplexed beyond measure. He knew not how to act. An assault was evidently impracticable; to do nothing would derogate from that high opinion which he had already established in the minds of the people. Every day would add to Dara's influence

himself at
Ajmere.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1059.

and party; and mankind, who always side with the unfortunate, would attribute to ability what was the gift of chance. He called a council of the nobles. They differed in their opinions; much time was spent in argument without coming to a decisive measure. They at last agreed upon an expedient. They knew that the spirit of Dara was impatient of insult; and they advised the emperor to draw out his forces, and to offer battle.

Aurungzêbe
offers battle.

In compliance with the advice of his nobles, he formed his line on the 23d of March 1659, and advanced with his artillery within cannon-shot of the camp. Dara continued within his lines; and Aurungzêbe began to fortify himself under the enemy's fire. He continued the work the whole night, and covered his men before day-light appeared, notwithstanding his brother had sallied thrice during that time. The sun was scarce risen, when Debere, and some other nobles, issued out of the camp, and advanced on full speed with five thousand horse near the lines; hoping, by insulting him, to draw Dara from his lines. They paid dear for their temerity. The artillery of the enemy being well served, galled the assailants so much, that they retreated in disorder, and were glad to shelter themselves behind their own lines. Things remained in this doubtful situation for several days. The army of Dara, having the country in their rear open, were in no want of provisions; and were, therefore, under no necessity of retreating; and it was impossible, without a long siege, to overcome their almost impregnable lines.

His stratagem

Fortune, who never forsook Aurungzêbe, relieved his anxiety upon this occasion. A petty Indian prince, who commanded three thousand of his native infantry in the Imperial army, informed himself of a narrow and steep path, by which men, accustomed to climb, might ascend the mountain on the right of Dara's lines. He communicated his information to the emperor, who was overjoyed



joyed at the discovery. He made large promises to the Raja, should he gain, with a party, the summit of the mountain, without alarming the enemy. Should he be so fortunate as to succeed in the attempt, he was ordered to make a signal to the emperor from that side of the mountain which was covered from Dara. When night came on, he marched with his troops. Having encountered many difficulties, he ascended the mountain, and the appointed signal was ready to be shewn by the dawn of day.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1669.

Aurungzêbe never rested his hopes upon the success of a single scheme. He had, during the night, planned the ruin of his brother's affairs, by a more fatal stroke of policy than the stratagem of the Raja. Debere Chan, and the Indian prince, Joy Singh, had, at the beginning of the war, adhered with warmth to the interests of Dara. Under the prince Solimân, they had distinguished themselves in the defeat of Suja, and the reduction of Bengal. Yielding to the pressure of the times, and to the intrigues of Aurungzêbe, they deserted, as has been already related, the colours of Solimân; and ruined all the hopes which the unfortunate Dara derived from the victorious army under his son. To these chiefs the emperor applied with much address. He promised largely; and he mixed threats with his proffered favour. He at length prevailed upon them to write an insidious letter to Dara, to the following purpose:

to deceive

"It is not unknown to the emperor," for with that title they affected to distinguish Dara, "that Debere and Joy Singh once deemed it their greatest glory to be numbered among his servants. With how much fidelity they obeyed his orders, they derive a proof from their actions, under the command of the illustrious prince Solimân Shekô. So much satisfied was Dara with the conduct of his faithful servants, that, in his letters, which were

Dara.

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presented



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1069.

presented to us by the prince, he attributed the victory over Suja to our conduct and valour. The emperor was partial in our favour; but we presume to hope, we deserved a part of his praise. When the news of the defeat of our prince, and of the imprisonment of the king of kings, came to our ears, we thought ourselves alone amidst the victorious armies of our foes. What could we do? Our loyalty remained, but necessity was near. The times left us no choice, and we were forced to submit. We have ever since been dragged along, the unwilling slaves of Aurungzêbe. But now Fortune has returned to the threshold which leads to the presence of Dara. The accession of his faithful servants to his power, though not necessary to his affairs, will bring them to a more speedy conclusion. When, therefore, daylight shall appear, let the gate of the camp be opened to receive us; that we may have an opportunity of regaining, by our merit, the favour, of which we have been deprived by necessity. As soon as the sun shall arise, we look for admittance into the camp, with all our followers and friends."

Succeeds

This letter was thrown into the lines, by a horseman on full speed. It was immediately carried to the prince; and, with that credulity which is inherent in a sincere mind, he implicitly believed every thing which the letter contained. Shaw Nawâz in vain remonstrated to him, in the strongest terms, that there was danger in confiding in their sincerity. Dara was always averse to advice; and now he was rendered blind by the hopes of gaining such powerful chiefs to his party. He was obstinate; and determined to risque all on the faith of men who had, a few months before, betrayed his son. He gave positive orders, that in the morning, that gate of the camp which looked toward the enemy should be thrown open, to receive the expected fugitives. He, at the same time, issued directions to all the officers, that

that care should be taken not to fire upon them as they advanced. Shaw Nawâz was highly dissatisfied; Mahommed Sherif, who commanded the forces, was astonished. The orders were peremptory, and they must be obeyed. They, however, resolved to stand upon their guard; and when morning came, they posted themselves, with several squadrons, without the lines; giving orders, at the same time, that all the troops in the camp should stand to their arms.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

Aurungzêbe, who was no stranger to the character of Dara, foresaw that his stratagem would succeed. He drew up his army before day, behind his own camp; being covered by the tents from the enemy's view. The sun was not yet up, when he ordered Debere to issue forth from his right, and Joy Singh from his left, at the head of their troops, and to advance on full speed toward the camp. These officers accordingly rushed forth; and Aurungzêbe, to carry on the deceit, began to fire with his artillery, but with powder only, on the pretended deserters. Dara, full of expectation, stood on the rampire. When he saw the squadrons advancing, he ordered the gate to be thrown open; but Mahommed Sherif, who, with a chosen body, stood without the lines, being still dubious of the intentions of the fugitives, ordered them to stop, till he should be satisfied of their real designs.

against

Debere, who first advanced, had no time to deliberate. A parley would discover the whole to his own men; he immediately stopt short, and gave the signal of attack, by shooting Sherif, with an arrow, through the heart. That officer fell headlong to the ground; and a dreadful slaughter commenced, hand to hand. Debere, unmatched in that age for strength and personal bravery, hewed on his way to the gate, which Shaw Nawâz was endeavouring to shut. But the thing was now impracticable, from the

that prince,

numbers



A. D. 1659. i
Hig. 1069.

numbers that crowded into the camp. Debere entered, sword in hand; and Shaw Nawâz advanced to oppose him. The match was unequal. Debere, who respected the virtues, the years, the high quality of his adversary, desired him to surrender; and to fear nothing from his son-in-law. "I myself," said Debere, "will intercede for Shaw Nawâz." The pride of the old lord arose. "No!—Debere Chan;—I have hitherto defended my life by my valour; nor shall I purchase a few years of decrepid age at the expence of my former fame." Debere, at the word, ran him through with his spear. With Shaw Nawâz and Sherif, the courage of Dara's army fell. The treacherous Debere was now within the camp, with his squadron, who, fired with the example of their leader, made a prodigious slaughter. Joy Singh followed close on their heels.

who is to-
tally de-
feated.

The emperor, in the mean time, advanced with his whole line; and the party, who had gained the summit of the mountain in the night, shewed themselves above the camp. The hills re-echoed to their shouts; and they began to roll stones and loosened rocks into the valley. These, falling from precipice to precipice, came crashing down on the affrighted army; and they turned their eyes from the swords of their enemies to this new species of danger. An universal panic spread over all. Confusion every where prevailed. Some fought, others fled, many stood in astonishment, without having even the courage to fly. Dara mounted his elephant to be seen by his army; but he himself saw nothing around but terror and death. He rushed forward to meet the enemy; but he was left alone. He called for Sherif; that chief was already cold in his blood: he wished for the presence of Shaw Nawâz, but his dead body presented itself to his eyes. He turned back, and gave his soul to despair. The safety of his women came then across his mind; he hastened with them from the field;



whilst the spoils of his camp kept the enemy from pursuing his flight. Four thousand fell on the side of Dara, in this extraordinary action: Aurungzêbe lost not above two hundred; and in that number, no officer of distinction except Sheich Meer, the captain-general of his forces.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

The grief of Dara for his defeat was great, but it was not equal to his astonishment. The misfortune, though dreadful, was unexpected, and by the sudden ill prevented the fear. It was, however, succeeded by misery, and unequalled distress. The unfortunate prince fled to the capital of Guzerat. But the governor, whom he left in the place, shut the gates against his lord. He sat down in silence, and knew not whither to fly. His friends became his greatest enemies. Two thousand Mahrattors still adhered to the unhappy prince. When they heard of the message of the governor, they despaired of the affairs of Dara, and added their own cruelty to his misfortunes. In a pretence of having large arrears of their pay due to them, they fell upon his baggage, and plundered it in his presence. Some caskets of jewels were saved by his women; for even in that season of licence and disorder, their persons were sacred from barbarity itself. This outrage was committed in the night. When day-light appeared, the robbers, as if ashamed of their conduct, fled with their spoil. A few only of the lowest menial servants remained. Every thing was removed from the field. The miserable tents, which he had collected in his flight, were carried away; and nothing was left but a few old screens of canvass, which covered the Sultana and her female slaves from the public eye. The distress of the prince may be imagined, but cannot be described. He walked about in seeming distraction; and the sad complaints of the women from behind their wretched covering, drew tears from the eyes of the few servants who still adhered to their unhappy lord.

The misfortunes of Dara.

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A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1059.

Flies to the
desart.

The pressure of his misfortunes at length awakened Dara from a melancholy reverie, in which he had strayed from the place where his camp had stood. He returned in manifest disorder; and seemed to question every one with his eyes, about the means of moving to some place of safety. A few beasts of burden were collected by his servants; and the robbers, who had deserted and plundered his camp, had left to him the two elephants which he had brought from Ajmere. On these he placed all the effects which had escaped the ravages of the Mahrattors; and a few oxen found in a neighbouring field, dragged slowly away in covered carriages his women. The prince himself, with his son Cipper Shekô, attended them on horseback, with an ill-mounted retinue of two or three hundred servants and faithful adherents. He turned his face to the frightful solitudes in which he had suffered so much before; but the parched desarts, which stretched themselves from Guzerat to the Indus, were less unhospitable to Dara than a brother's hands.

His great

The prince soon arrived in the territories of Raja Jâm, whose hospitality alleviated his distress. He again applied to that chief for his aid, but he was deaf to the request. Dara promised largely, should Fortune again favour his cause; but she had taken her flight to return no more. Jâm was too prudent to throw his own fate into the scale of the prince. He became cold and reserved; and seemed, by his manner, to wish for the departure of his unfortunate guest. He was again forced to encounter the hardships of the desart. The heat of the season had added to the natural sterility of these dreadful solitudes. There was no water to be found; not a blade of grass to be seen. The air seemed, in some measure, on fire. There was nothing to shade the desolate travellers from the scorching sun; excepting when clouds of sand, raised by whirlwinds, covered them with a fatal darkness. The
beasts



beasts of burden died for want of provender; the very camels perished for want of water. The favourite elephant, which had often carried Dara in all his pomp, was now the only useful animal that remained; and even he began to fail. To add to the misfortunes of the prince, the favourite Sultana, the mother of all his children, and whom he tenderly loved, was at the point of death. She had been seized with hysterics from the fright of the battle; and had ever since been subject to violent fits. Death cut off gradually his retinue; at the end of every furlong, he was obliged to pay the last sad offices to some favourite servant or friend.

A. D. 1659.
Heg. 1069.

When he came within sight of Tatta, the elephant which had carried his family across the desert, worn out with fatigue and thirst, lay down and died. The few that remained of his followers were so languid and spent, that they could not crawl to the neighbouring villages for succour. Dara himself was obliged to execute that necessary service. He came to a hind, who kept oxen in a field. He mentioned his distress and his name; and the clown fled from his presence. He sat down; having no strength to return to his desolate family. Curiosity, however, brought the whole village around; and every eye was full of tears. They brought all their beasts of burden to the place; and the whole country accompanied him, with shouts of joy, to Tatta. He, however, did not rest long in that city. He crossed the Indus, and threw himself under the protection of the petty chiefs of the district of Bicker; and they, touched with compassion, promised to support him with their lives and fortunes.

distress.

The active spirit of the emperor was not, in the mean time, idle. So long as Dara lives, he must totter on his throne. He knew the rout which his unfortunate brother had taken; but his troops would not pursue the fugitive through such a perilous way.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

He hoped that the hardships of the desert might prevent him from embuing his hands in blood; but Dara must perish; and Aurungzêbe was resolved to be provided against every event of Fortune. He ordered some troops to march down along the Indus from Moulân; and the news of their approach came a few days after the arrival of Dara. The generous chiefs, who from compassion had resolved to support his cause, being not yet prepared to receive the enemy, advised him to fly into Persia, the frontiers of which were within four days march of the place at which he then resided.

Prepares to
fly to Persia;

He prepared for his flight; but Nadîra Bâna, the favourite Sultana, was dying. Spent with fatigue, overwhelmed with sickness, and worn out with misfortune, she was altogether incapable of the journey; and he could not leave her behind. She knew his situation, and requested earnestly that they should move away. "Death," said she, "will soon relieve the daughter of Purvez from her misfortunes; but let her not add to those of her lord." She could not prevail upon him to march whilst she was in such a situation; and he had, besides, placed great hopes in the friendship of Jihon Chan, a neighbouring chief of great power. Jihon had been twice saved from death by the interest of Dara. Shaw Jehân, who was an enemy to oppression, had ordered him to be, at two different times, prosecuted for murder and treason, before the chief justice of the empire. That judge, upon the clearest proofs, condemned him twice to death; and, at the request of Dara, he was pardoned by the emperor, and restored to his estate which had been confiscated. The prince, therefore, had reason to expect a return of gratitude; but the obligations were too great for the pride of this unprincipled chief, and they pressed upon him like injuries.



The natural perfidy of Jihon was so notorious, that all his friends, with one voice, remonstrated to Dara against his design of throwing himself on the faith of that chief. The prince, naturally obstinate, was now blinded by his fate. He could not think of leaving his beloved Nadîra in the hour of death; and he resolved to risque all for the melancholy satisfaction of being present when the faithful companion of his distress expired. Some nobles, who had hitherto attended his person, and who had determined to accompany him in his exile to Persia, separated themselves from a prince devoted to ruin. With seventy domestics only, he went to the residence of Jihon; and that chief, apprized of his coming, came out to meet him, and received him with the warmest professions of friendship. He quitted his own palace to accommodate the prince; and nothing was to be seen around but the greatest marks of hospitality and profound respect.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1059.
but throws
himself on
Jihon Chan.

June 21st.

The distemper of the Sultana had increased on the road to the residence of Jihon. She fainted away when she was carried into the apartments assigned for her reception; and the prince sat in tears by her side, during the whole night. In the morning she expired in his arms. "It is only now," said Dara, "I have found that I am alone. I was not bereft of all my friends whilst Nadîra lived. But she has closed her eyes on the misfortunes which are to involve her children and lord; and thus a peculiar happiness has succeeded to accumulated distress." He tore off his magnificent robe, and threw the Imperial turban on the ground: then, clothing himself in a mean habit, he lay down by his departed consort on the bed. In the evening one of his faithful servants joined him with fifty horse. He was overjoyed at his arrival, and, starting up, took him in his arms, and said, "My situation, Gal Mahommed," for that was the officer's name, "is not without resource. Nadîra, having forsaken the devoted Dara, has met

The Sultana
dies.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

with a part of that good fortune which was due to her virtues. You must, with your fifty horse, escort the body to Lahore, to the sepulchre of her great ancestors. Aurungzêbe himself will not refuse a grave to the family of Dara." The body was accordingly embalmed; and, being placed in a magnificent herse, was escorted to Lahore.

He is betray-
ed by Jihon,

Dara had not remained many days at the residence of Jihon, when intelligence was received, that Chan Jehân, one of the principal generals of his brother, was advancing from Moulân; and that his van was already arrived in the neighbourhood. Dara resolved to make his escape into Persia. He called his servants together, and he took leave of Jihon. When he had proceeded about a mile on his way, he discovered Jihon coming after him, with about a thousand horse, on full speed. He imagined, that Jihon designed to escort him with these troops to Persia. He rode back by way of doing him honour; and, when he was about addressing his thanks to the treacherous chief, he was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. "Villain!" said Dara, "is it for this I twice saved your life from the resentment of my father, when the elephants were standing over you waiting for orders to crush you to death? But Justice will be satisfied, and Heaven has revenged your crimes upon my head." He stopt—and, with a scornful silence, submitted his hands to be bound.

and delivered
up

Jihon heard the prince without making any reply; for what could he say to vindicate his conduct? He ordered the prisoner to be mounted on an elephant, and then he fell upon the baggage, to enrich himself with the spoil of his benefactor. He then hastened toward Chan Jehân; and, during the journey, notwithstanding the natural unfeelingness of his mind, he durst not for once come into the presence of the much injured prince. His fate



fate being now determined, that anxiety, which had long clouded the countenance of Dara, vanished. His son was carried with him on the same elephant. Having a talent for poetry, he composed many affecting verses on his own misfortunes; with the repetition of which he often drew tears from the eyes of the common soldiers who guarded his person. "My name," said he one day, "imports that I am IN POMP LIKE DARIUS; I am also like that monarch in my fate. The friends whom he trusted, were more fatal than the swords of his enemy." Notwithstanding these casual complaints, he maintained his usual dignity, and there was even something majestic in his grief. It was not the wailings of a woman, but the manly afflictions of a great mind.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

When Chan Jehân, who had been apprized of the imprisonment of Dara, saw that prince advancing, meanly dressed on a sorry elephant, he could not bear the sight; and he hid his tears in his tent. He detached a party from his army to escort him, together with the traitor, to Delhi, where Aurungzêbe at the time kept his court. The emperor, though he rejoiced at the news that his brother had fallen into his hands, was full of perplexity and indecision. He called a council of his nobles; and they differed in their opinions; some, declaring for sending him by another rout to the castle of Gualiâr; some, that he should be carried through the city, to convince mankind that he was fallen for ever. Many advised against a measure that might be full of danger from the humanity of the people; a few argued, that such conduct would degrade the dignity of the family of Timur. Others maintained, to whose opinion the emperor himself seemed to lean, that it was necessary he should pass through the capital, to astonish mankind with the absolute power and invincible fortune of Aurungzêbe.

to the enemy.

The



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1669.
 Carried with
 ignominy
 through Del-
 hi.

The unfortunate prince, accordingly, accompanied by his son, entered Delhi on an elephant. This, says a certain writer, was none of the fine elephants of Ceylon and Pegu, which they were wont to ride with golden harness, embroidered covers, and magnificent canopies to defend them from the sun. No. It was an old animal, dirty and lean, with a tattered cover, a pitiful seat, and the castle open on all sides to the winds. The splendid ornaments of his person were now vanished, like his good fortune. A dirty dress of coarse linen scarce covered his body from the weather; and his wretched turban was wrapt round with a scarf made of Cashmire wool. His face, which formerly commanded respect with the manly regularity of its features, was now parched and shrivelled by being long exposed to the heat; and a few straggling locks, which appeared from his turban, presented a grey colour unsuitable to his years. In this wretched situation he entered Delhi; and, when the mob who crowded to the gates knew that it was Dara, they burst into loud complaints, and shed a flood of tears. The streets were rendered almost impassible by the number of the spectators; the shops were full of persons of all ages and degrees. The elephant moved slowly; and the progress he made was marked to those who were distant by the advancing murmur among the people. Nothing was heard around but loud complaints against Fortune, and curses on Aurungzêbe. But none had the boldness to offer to rescue the unfortunate prince, though slightly guarded. They were quite unmanned by their sorrow.

Confined in
 a neighbour-
 ing village.

After wandering over the features of Dara, the eyes of the people fell on his son. They opposed his innocence, his youth, his graceful person, his hopes and his quality, to the fate which impended over his head; and all were dissolved in grief. The infectious sorrow flew over the whole city: even the poorest people



people forsook their work, and retired to secret corners to weep. Dara retained his dignity upon this trying occasion. He uttered not one word; but a settled melancholy seemed to dwell on his face. The unfortunate young prince was ready frequently to weep, being softened by the complaints of the people; but his father checked him with a stern look, and he endeavoured to conceal his tears. Dara, having been thus led through the principal streets of Delhi, was conducted to Chizerabâd, a village four miles without the walls. He was locked up, with his son, in a mean apartment, in which he remained for some days in hourly expectation of his death. Here he amused himself with writing instructions for his son Solimân; having concealed an ink standish and some paper in one of the folds of his garment. His anxiety to know the intentions of Aurungzêbe, sometimes broke in upon his melancholy amusements. He appeared through the window to the guards; but they knew nothing of what passed at court. He then enquired concerning an old devotee, who had formerly lived in a cell near the foot of the Imperial garden at Delhi. One of the soldiers knew the old man; and the prince gave a billet to be carried to him, requesting some intelligence. "But even he, perhaps," he said, with a sigh, "may have changed with the current of the times."

The traitor Jihon, in the mean time, made his appearance at court, to claim the reward of his treachery. Aurungzêbe dignified him with a title, and enriched him with presents. Passing through the city of Delhi, he was pointed out to the mob, who, falling upon him near the gate which leads to Lahore, killed seven of his attendants. He himself escaped; but the country people rose upon him every where. They hunted him from place to place; till at length he met with his deserts, and was slain when he had almost reached the boundaries of his own government.

A. D. 1629.
Fig. 1069.

The traitor
Jihon slain
by the
people.



A. D. 1655.

Hig. 1059.

Disturbances
at Delhi,hasten the
murder of
Dara.

ment. The zeal of the people, however, proved fatal to Dara. The emperor, hearing of the tumult near the gate of Lahore, ordered the chief magistrate of the city, with his officers, to go to the place, and enquire into the cause of the disturbance. The mob fell upon the judge and his attendants. They fled to the palace, and the whole city was in an uproar.

Aurungzêbe, in dread of a general revolt, called a council of his nobles. He had determined before to send his brother to the fortrefs of Gualiâr; but now he was afraid of a rescue by the way. The minds of the people were strangely agitated. Their imprecations against his cruelty reached him in the midst of his guards; and he began, for the first time, to shew symptoms of political fear. He asked the advice of his lords. The majority seemed to be for sparing the life of Dara; and for sending him, under a strong guard, to the usual prison of the Imperial family. Aurungzêbe, though not satisfied, was about to yield to their opinion; when one Hakîm, a Persian by birth, with a design to gain the favour of the emperor, insisted that Dara should be put to death, as an apostate from the faith of Mahommed. The emperor pretended to be startled, and said, "The thing is determined, I might have forgiven injuries done to myself; but those against religion I cannot forgive." He immediately ordered a warrant to be issued to Nazir and Seif, two fierce Afgan chiefs, which empowered them to take off Dara that very night.

On the eleventh of September, about midnight, the unfortunate prince was alarmed with the noise of arms coming through the passage which led to his apartment. He started up, and knew immediately that his death approached. He scarce had awakened his son, who lay asleep on the carpet at his feet, when the assassins burst open the door. Dara seized a knife, which



which he had concealed to mend the reed with which he wrote. He stood in a corner of the room. The murderers did not immediately attack him. They ordered his son to remove to the adjoining apartment; but he clung round his father's knees. Two of the assassins seized him, to force him away; when Dara, seeing Nazir standing at the door, begged to be indulged a few moments to take leave of his son. He fell upon his neck, and said, "My dear son, this separation is more afflicting than that between soul and body, which I am this moment to suffer. But should HE spare you—live. Heaven may preserve you to revenge my death; for his crimes shall not pass unpunished. I leave you to the protection of God. My son, remember me." A tear half started from his eye; when they were dragging the youth to the adjoining room. He, however, resumed his wonted dignity and courage. "I beg one other favour, Nazir!" he said, "much time has not been lost by the last." He wrote a billet, and desired that it should be delivered to Aurungzébe. But he took it back, and tore it, saying, "I have not been accustomed to ask favours of my enemies. He that murders the father can have no compassion on the son." He then raised up his eyes in silence; and the assassins seemed to have forgot their office.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

During this time of dreadful suspense, the son, who lay bound in the next room, listened, expecting every moment to hear his father's dying groans. The assassins, in the mean time, urged on by Nazir, seized Dara by the hands and feet, and throwing him on the ground, prepared to strangle him. Deeming this an infamous death, he, with an effort, disincumbered his hand, and stabbed, with his pen-knife, one of the villains to the heart. The others, terrified, fled back; but as he was rising from the floor, they fell upon him with their swords. His son, hearing the noise, though his hands were bound, burst open the door, and

who is assassinated.



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

entered, when the murderers were severing his father's head from his body. Nazir had the humanity to push back the youth into the other apartment, till this horrid operation was performed. The head of Dara was carried to Aurungzébe; and the unfortunate young prince was left, during the remaining part of the night, shut up with his father's body. Next morning he was sent privately under a guard, to the castle of Gualiâr.

Reflections

Thus fell the unhappy Dara Shekô; a prince whose virtues deserved a better fate. But he was born to distress; and his imprudence often assisted the malignity of his fortune. Though destitute of the address which is necessary to gain mankind in general, he was much beloved by his family and domestics; and he was the darling of his father, who was often heard to say, That all his other children were not half so dear to him as Dara. This predilection in his favour was the source of the misfortunes of both. The other princes envied the influence of Dara, and all their differences with, and every disappointment which they experienced from, their father, was laid to the account of their brother, who possessed all his confidence and esteem. Dara was certainly jealous of his brothers, whom he saw invested with too much power in their respective provinces; and his opposing their measures at court was the natural consequence of his fears. This mutual animosity being once kindled, all the princes looked forward to the death of their father with terror. The seeds of civil war were long sown before they appeared; and the illness of the emperor was the signal to begin the charge, from the four corners of his dominions. Dara had the post of advantage; but he was not a match in abilities to Aurungzébe.

on his death.

Nazir, before day light appeared, was admitted into the citadel to the emperor. That prince had remained all night in anxious expectation. Many of the nobles had expressed their high dissatisfaction



satisfaction at the measure of putting Dara to death; and he was afraid that the resolution, before it took effect, might be communicated to the people and army. He saw that he was supported only by his own abilities and the venality of his followers. The unbiassed, by either interest or fear, looked with horror on the crimes which his ambition had already committed. They were disgusted at his cruelty to his father and his injustice to his brothers; and they, with indignation, saw hypocrisy, and the worst kind of ambition, lurking behind professions of religion and moderation. Nazir, however, relieved him of a part of his fears. The head of Dara being disfigured with blood, he ordered it to be thrown into a charger of water; and when he had wiped it with his handkerchief, he recognized the features of his brother. He is said to have exclaimed, "Alas, unfortunate man!" and then to have shed some tears.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1059.



A U R U N G Z E B E.

C H A P. III.

*War against Suja—He is driven from Mongeer—and Raja-Mábil—
The prince Mabommed deserts to Suja—A mutiny in the army—
Quelled by the visier—Battle of Tanda—Artifice of Aurungzébe
—Mabommed leaves Suja—His imprisonment and character—
Suja driven from Bengal—His flight through the mountains of
Tippera—Arrival at Arracán—Perfidy, avarice, and cruelty of
the Raja—Misfortunes—resolution—bravery—and murder of
Suja—Deplorable fate of his family—Reflections.*

A D. 1659.
Hig. 1669.
Reflections.

THE fears of the emperor from the most formidable of his rivals, were extinguished with the life of Dara. The silence which accompanies the decisions of despotism, is an effectual prevention of tumult and confusion. The people, for some days, were strangers to the death of the prince, and his prior misfortunes had even lessened the regret, which his murder might have otherwise created in the minds of mankind. Misery had risen to its height; and the worst period it could have, was in some degree fortunate. The conduct of the emperor contributed to obliterate his crimes. With an appearance of humanity and benevolence in the common operations of government, men were apt to attribute the instances of cruelty which he exhibited, to the necessity of his situation; and they forgot the evils done to individuals, in the general good of the whole. Should self-preservation be admitted



as an excuse for the commission of bad actions, Aurungzêbe was not without apology. He had gone too far not to go farther still: he had deposed his father, he had excluded his brother from the throne, and a flame had been kindled which could be extinguished by nothing but blood.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

During the misfortunes of Dara in the west and north, the war was carried on with vigour in Bengal against Suja. That prince having, after the unfortunate battle of Kidgwâ, escaped to Mongeer, was active in making new preparations for the field. Naturally bold and intrepid, misfortune had no effect upon him but to redouble his diligence to retrieve it; and he wanted not resources in his province for recommencing hostilities, with an appearance of being able for some time to ward off the hand of Fate, which seemed to hang over his head. His first care was to collect the remains of his dissipated army in the neighbourhood of Mongeer, which commands the pass into Bengal; and, whilst he was collecting more troops from the extensive country in his rear, he drew lines from the mountains to the Ganges, to stop the progress of the enemy.

Preparations
of Suja.

Mahommed, the son of Aurungzêbe, had been detached with ten thousand horse from the field of Kidgwâ in pursuit of Suja. The prince was soon joined by Jumla the visier, with a great force; and they proceeded slowly down along the banks of the Ganges. The strong position of Suja gave him a manifest advantage; and Jumla, an able and experienced officer, contrived to drive him from his post without bloodshed. The ridge of mountains to the right of the Ganges are, in their fertile valleys, possessed by petty, but independent princes. Jumla found means to draw these over to his party; and they shewed to him a passage through their country, by which he could turn the rear of Suja. Having, by

Jumla turns
his rear.

way



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1069.

way of blind, left a considerable part of the army to fall down, in the common rout, along the river, he himself, accompanied by the prince, entered the mountains, and was heard of by Suja in his rear, when he expected to be attacked in front. Suja decamped with precipitation; but he arrived in the environs of Raja-Mâhil some days before Jumla issued from the mountains. He fortified himself in his camp; and the visier, who could make no impression without artillery, marched toward the left, to join the army coming down along the Ganges.

Attacks him
 in his lines.

The whole army having joined, the Imperialists presented themselves before the lines of Suja. The visier opened upon him with his artillery, and made several unsuccessful assaults. During six days he was repulsed with slaughter; but Suja durst not trust the effeminate natives of Bengal in the open field against the Tartars of the north, who composed the greater part of the Imperial army. Jumla played incessantly with his artillery upon the fortifications, which being only made up of hurdles and loose sandy soil, were soon ruined. Suja's post becoming untenable, he decamped under the favour of night; and Jumla, afraid of an ambush, though he was apprised of the retreat of the enemy, durst not follow him. The rainy season commenced on the very night of Suja's flight; and the Imperialists were constrained to remain inactive for some months in the neighbourhood of Raja-Mâhil.

Suja retreats.

Suja, with his army, crossing the Ganges, took the rout of Tanda; and, during the inactivity of the Imperialists, strengthened himself with troops from the Lower Bengal. He also drew from that quarter a great train of artillery, which was wrought by Portuguese and other Europeans, who were settled in that country. Suja, being attached to no system of religion, was favourable to all. He promised to build churches for the Christians, should he succeed in his views

on



on the empire; and the missionaries and fathers entered with zeal into his cause. The affairs of the prince began to wear a better aspect. His effeminate troops acquired confidence from a well-served artillery; and even Aurungzêbe, who confided much in the abilities of Jumla, was not without anxiety. An event happened about this time which raised the hopes of Suja, and added to the fears of his brother.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

The prince Mahommed, who, in conjunction with Jumla, commanded the Imperial army, had, before the civil war, conceived a passion for one of the daughters of Suja. Overtures of marriage had been made and accepted; but the consummation of the nuptials had been broken off by the troubles which disturbed the times. He seemed even to have forgot his betrothed wife in his activity in the field; but the princess, moved by the misfortunes of her father, wrote with her own hand a very moving letter to Mahommed. She lamented her unhappy fate, in seeing the prince whom she loved, armed against her father. She expressed her passion and unfortunate condition, in terms which found their way to his heart. His former affections were rekindled in all their fury; and, in the elevation of his mind, he resolved to desert his father's cause.

The prince
Mahommed.

The visier, upon affairs of some importance, was, in the mean time, at some distance from the army, which lay at Raja-Mâhil. The opportunity was favourable for the late adopted scheme of Mahommed. He opened the affair to some of his friends: he complained of his father's coldness, and even of his ingratitude, to a son, to whom, as having seized the person of Shaw Jehân, he owed the empire. He gave many instances of his own services; many of the unjust returns made by Aurungzêbe, and concluded by declaring his fixed resolution to join Suja. They endeavoured to dissuade him from so rash an action; but he had taken his resolution, and he would

goes over to
Suja.



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1069.

listen to no argument. He asked them, Whether they would follow his fortunes? they replied, "We are the servants of Mahommed; and if the prince will to-night join Suja, he is so much beloved by the army, that the whole will go over to him by the dawn of day." On these vague assurances, the prince quitted the camp that evening with a small retinue. He embarked in a boat on the Ganges; and the troops thought that he had only gone on a party of pleasure.

Jumla perplexed;

Some of the pretended friends of Mahommed wrote letters, containing an account of the desertion of the prince, to the visier. That lord was struck with astonishment at the folly and madness of the deed. He thought it impossible, that, without having secured the army, he could desert his father's cause. He was perplexed with anxiety and doubt; he expected every moment to hear, that the troops were in full march to Tanda; and he was afraid to join them, with a design of restoring them to their duty, lest he should be carried prisoner to the enemy. He, however, after some hesitation, resolved to discharge the part of a good officer. He set out express for the camp, where he arrived next day. He found things in the utmost confusion, but not in such a desperate situation as he had expected. A great part of the army was mutinous, and beginning to plunder the tents of those who continued in their duty. These had taken arms in defence of their property; so that bloodshed must soon have ensued. The country, on every side of the camp, was covered with whole squadrons that fled from the flame of dissention which had been kindled. Tumult, commotion, and disorder reigned everywhere when the visier entered the camp.

quells

The appearance of that lord, who was respected for his great qualities by all, soon silenced the storm. He mounted an elephant in the center of the camp, and spoke after this manner to the army, who crowded tumultuously round him: "You are



no strangers, my fellow-soldiers, to the flight of the prince Mahommed, and to his having preferred the love of the daughter of Suja to his allegiance to his sovereign and father. Intoxicated by the fame to which your valour had raised him, he has long been presumptuous in his hopes. Ambition brought him to the edge of the precipice over which he has been thrown by love. But in abandoning you, he has abandoned his fortune; and, after the first transports are over, regret, and a consciousness of folly, will only remain. Suja has perhaps pledged his faith to support the infatuated prince against his father; he may have even promised the throne of India as a reward for his treachery. But how can Suja perform his promise? We have seen his hostile standards--but we have seen them only to be seized. Bengal abounds with men, with provisions, with wealth; but valour is not the growth of that soil. The armies of Aurungzêbe are numerous; like you they are drawn from the north, and he is himself as invincible in the field as he is wise and decisive in the cabinet.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

“ But should we even suppose that Fortune, which has hitherto been so favourable to Aurungzêbe, should desert him in another field, would Mahommed reign? Would Suja, experienced in the arts of government, and ambitious as he is of power, place the scepter of India in the hands of a boy? Would he submit to the authority of the son of a younger brother? to the tool of his own designs? The impossibility is glaring and obvious. Return, therefore, my fellow-soldiers, to your duty. You can conquer without Mahommed. Fortune has not followed him to the enemy. Your valour can command her every where. He has embraced his own ruin; but why should we share in his adverse fate? Bengal lies open before you: the enemy are just not totally broken. They are not objects of terror, but of plunder: you may acquire wealth without trouble, and glory without toil.”

a mutiny



A. D. 1659.
 Hig. 1039.
 in the army.

This speech of the visier had the intended effect. Every species of disorder and tumult subsided in a moment. The troops desired to be led to the enemy; and Jumla did not permit their ardor to cool. He immediately began to throw a bridge of boats across the river. The work was finished in three days; and he passed the Ganges with his whole army. Mahommed, in the mean time, having arrived at Tanda, was received with every mark of respect by Suja. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence and pomp; and the festivity was scarce over, when certain news arrived of the near approach of the Imperial army under Jumla. Suja immediately issued out with all his forces from Tanda. He posted himself in an advantageous ground, and waited for the enemy, with a determined resolution to risk all on the issue of a battle.

Defeats Suja.

Mahommed, who was naturally full of confidence and boldness, did not despair of bringing over the greatest part of the army of Jumla to his own side. He erected his standard in the front of Suja's camp; and when that prince drew out his forces in order of battle, he placed himself in the center of the first line. Jumla, conscious of the superiority of his own troops in point of valour, was glad to find the enemy in the open field. He formed his line; and ordered a column of horse to fall immediately upon Mahommed. That prince vainly supposed, when the enemy advanced, that they were determined to desert Jumla. But he was soon convinced of his error by the warmth of their attack. He behaved with his usual bravery; but the effeminate natives of Bengal were not to be kept to their colours. They fled; and he was carried along with their flight. The utmost efforts of Suja proved also ineffectual. His troops gave way on all sides; and he himself was the last who quitted the field. A great slaughter was made in the pursuit, and Tanda opened her gates to the conqueror. The



princes fled to Dacca in the utmost distress, leaving the eldest son of Suja dead on the field: but Jumla, remaining for some time in Tanda to settle the affairs of the now almost conquered province, gave them some respite, which they employed in levying a new army.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

The news of the flight of Mahommed arriving in the mean time at Delhi, Aurungzêbe concluded that the whole army in Bengal had gone over to Suja. He immediately marched from the capital with a great force. He took, with incredible expedition, the rout of Bengal. He however had not advanced far from Delhi, when intelligence of the success of his arms in the battle of Tanda met him on his way, and he forthwith returned to the capital. He there had recourse to his usual policy. He wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to one received; and he contrived matters so, that it should be intercepted by Suja. That prince, having perused the letter, placed it in the hands of Mahommed, who swore by the Prophet that he had never once written to his father since the battle of Kidgwâ. The letter was conceived in terms like these:

Artifice of
Aurungzêbe

“To our beloved son Mahommed, whose happiness and safety are joined with our life. It was with regret and sorrow that we parted with our son, when his valour became necessary to carry on the war against Suja. We hoped, from the love we bear to our first-born, to be gratified soon with his return; and that he would have brought the enemy captive to our presence in the space of a month, to relieve our mind from anxiety and fear. But seven months passed away, without the completion of the wishes of Aurungzêbe. Instead of adhering to your duty, Mahommed, you betrayed your father, and threw a blot on your own fame. The smiles of a woman have overcome filial piety. Honour is forgot in

to separate
Mahommed



A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

the brightness of her beauty; and he who was destined to rule the empire of the Moguls, has himself become a slave. But as Mahommed seems to repent of his folly, we forget his crimes. He has called the name of God to vouch for his sincerity; and our parental affection returns. He has already our forgiveness; but the execution of what he proposes is the only means to regain our favour."

from Suja.

The letter made an impression on the mind of Suja, which all the protestations of Mahommed could not remove. He became silent and discontented. He had an affection for the prince, and he was more enraged at being disappointed in the judgment which he had formed, than at the supposed treachery. Having continued three days in this agitation of mind, he at last sent for the prince. He told him, in the presence of his council, that after all the struggles of affection with suspicion, the latter had prevailed; that he could no longer behold Mahommed with an eye of friendship, should he even swear to his innocence in the holy temple of Mecca; that the bond of union and confidence which had lately subsisted between them was broken; and that, instead of a son and a friend, he beheld him in the light of an enemy. "It is therefore necessary for the peace of both," continued Suja, "that Mahommed should depart. Let him take away his wife, with all the wealth and jewels which belong to her rank. The treasures of Suja are open; he may take whatever he pleases. Go.—Aurungzèbe should thank me for sending away his son, before he has committed a crime."

He is dismissed by that prince,

Mahommed, on this solemn occasion, could not refrain from tears. He felt the injustice of the reproach; he admired the magnanimity of Suja; he pitied his misfortunes. But his own condition was equally deplorable. He knew the stern rigour of his father;



ther; who never trusted any man twice. He knew that his difficulty of forgiving was equal to his caution. The prospect was gloomy on either side. Distrust and misery were with Suja, and a prison was the least punishment to be expected from Aurungzêbe. He took leave, the next day, of his father-in-law. That prince presented his daughter with jewels, plate, and money to a great amount; and the unfortunate pair pursued their journey to the camp of Jumla.

A. D. 1659.
Hig. 1069.

Mahommed, accompanied by his spouse the daughter of Suja, ^{seized,} moved slowly toward the camp of Jumla. His melancholy increased as he advanced; but whither could he fly? No part of the vast empire of India was impervious to the arms of Aurungzêbe; and he was not possessed of the means of escaping beyond the limits of his father's power. He was even ashamed to shew himself among troops whom he had deserted. Regret succeeded to folly; and he scarce could reflect with patience on the past, though the fair cause of his misfortunes still kept her dominion over his mind. Having approached within a few miles of the Imperialists, he sent to announce his arrival to the visier. That minister hastened to receive him with all the honours due to his rank. A squadron with drawn swords formed around his tent; but they were his keepers rather than guards. Jumla, the very next day, received a packet from court; which contained orders to send Mahommed, should he fall into his hands, under a strong escort to Delhi. The officer who commanded the party was ordered to obey the commands of the prince; but he, at the same time, received instructions to watch his motions, and to prevent his escape. When he arrived at Agra, he was confined in the citadel, from whence he was soon after sent to Gualiâr, where he remained a prisoner to his death.

Mahommed,



A. D. 1665.
 Hig. 1070.
 and imprisoned.

Mahommed, though brave and enterprizing like his father, was destitute of his policy and art. Precipitate, full of fire, and inconsiderate, he was more fitted for acting the part of a partizan than of a general; and was therefore less adapted for war than for battle. Haughty in his temper, yet easy in his address; an enemy to cruelty, and an absolute stranger to fear. He was daring and active on occasions of danger; but he knew his merit, and he was self-conceited and haughty. He ascribed to his own decisive valour the whole success of his father; and he had been often known to say, that he placed Aurungzêbe on the throne when he might have possessed it himself. Naturally open and generous, he despised the duplicity of his father, and disdained power that must be preserved by art. His free conversations upon these subjects estranged from him the affections of his father, who seems to have confessed this merit by his own fears. Had Mahommed accepted of the offer of Shaw Jehân, when he seized that prince, he had courage and activity sufficient to keep possession of the throne of the Moguls. But he neglected the golden opportunity, and shewed his love of sway, when he was not possessed of any rational means to acquire the empire. His misfortunes however were greater than his folly. He passed seven years in a melancholy prison at Gualiâr, till death put a period to his misery.

Suja

Jumla, having settled the affairs of the western Bengal, marched with his army toward Dacca. Suja was in no condition to meet him in the field; and to attempt to hold out any place against so great a force, would be to ensure, by protracting, his own fate. His resources were now gone. He had but little money, and he could have no army. Men foresaw his inevitable ruin, and they shunned his presence. His appearance to the few troops who had remained near him, was even more terrible than the sight of an enemy. They could not extricate him from misfortune, and they pitied



pitied his fate. He however still retained the dignity of his own soul. He was always cheerful, and full of hopes; his activity prevented the irksomeness of thought. When the news of the approach of the Imperialists arrived, he called together his few friends. He acquainted them with his resolution of flying beyond the limits of an empire, in which he had now nothing to expect but misfortunes; and he asked them, Whether they preferred certain misery with their former lord, to an uncertain pardon from a new master?

A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

To the feeling and generous, misfortune secures friends. They all declared their resolution to follow Suja to whatever part of the world he should take his flight. With fifteen hundred horse he directed his march from Dacca toward the frontiers of Assam. Jumla was close at his heels; but Suja, having crossed the Baramputre, which, running through the kingdom of Assam, falls into Bengal, entered the mountains of Rangamâti. Through almost impervious woods, over abrupt rocks, across deep valleys and headlong torrents, he continued his flight toward Arracân. Having made a circuit of near five hundred miles through the wild mountains of Tippera, he entered Arracân with a diminished retinue. The hardships which he sustained in the march were forgot in the hospitality of the prince of the country, who received him with the distinction due to his rank.

driven from
Bengal,

Jumla lost sight of the fugitive when he entered the mountains beyond the Baramputre. He turned his arms against Cogebâr, and reduced that country, with the neighbouring valleys which intersect the hills of Kokapâgi. But Suja, though beyond the reach of Jumla's arms, was not beyond his policy. The place of his retreat was known; and threatening letters from the visier, whose fame had passed the mountains of Arracân, raised terrors in the mind.

takes refuge
in Arracân.



A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

mind of the Raja. He thought himself unsafe in his natural fastness; and a sudden coolness to Suja appeared in his behaviour. The wealth of his unfortunate guest became also an object for his avarice. Naturally ungenerous, he determined to take advantage of misfortune; but he must do it with caution, for fear of opposing the current of the public opinion. He sent a message to Suja requiring him to depart from his dominions. The impossibility of the thing was not admitted as an excuse. The Monsoons raged on the coast; the hills behind were impassable, and covered with storms. The violence of the season joined issue with the unrelenting fate of Suja. The unfeeling prince was obstinate. He issued his commands, because he knew they could not be obeyed. Suja sent his son to request a respite for a few days. He was accordingly indulged with a few days; but they only brought accumulated distress.

His uncommon

Many of the adherents of the prince had been lost in his march; many, foreseeing his inevitable fate, deserted him after his arrival at Arracân. Of fifteen hundred only forty remained; and these were men of some rank, who were resolved to die with their benefactor and lord. The Sultana, the mother of his children, had been for some time dead: his second wife, three daughters, and two sons composed his family. The few days granted by the Raja were now expired; Suja knew of no resource. To ask a longer indulgence was in vain; he perceived the intentions of the prince of Arracân, and he expected in silence his fate. A message in the mean time came from the Raja, demanding in marriage the daughter of Suja. "My misfortunes," said the prince, "were not complete, without this insult. Go tell your master, that the race of Timur, though unfortunate, will never submit to dishonour. But why does he search for a cause of dispute? His inhumanity and avarice are too obvious to be covered by any pretence. Let him



him act an open part; and his boldness will atone for a portion of his crime." A. D. 1650.
Hig. 1070.

The Raja was highly offended at the haughtiness of the answer of Suja. But the people pitied the fugitive, and the prince durst not openly do an act of flagrant injustice. To assassinate him in private was impossible, from the vigilance of his forty friends. A public pretence must be made to gain the wealth of Suja, and to appease his enemies by his death. The report of a conspiracy against the Raja, was industriously spread abroad. It was affirmed that Suja had formed a design to mount the throne of Arracân, by assassinating its monarch. The thing was in itself improbable. How could a foreigner, with forty adherents, hope to rule a people of a different religion with themselves. An account of the circumstances of the intended revolution was artfully propagated. The people lost their respect for Suja, in his character of an assassin. It was in vain he protested his innocence; men who could give credit to such a plot, had too much weakness to be moved by argument. distress.

The Raja, in a pretended terror, called suddenly together his council. He unfolded to them the circumstances of the conspiracy, and he asked their advice. They were unanimously of opinion, that Suja and his followers should be immediately sent away from the country. The Raja was disappointed in his expectations; he had hoped that death should be the punishment of projected murder. But the natural hospitality of the nobles of Arracân prevailed over his views. He, however, under the sanction of the determination of his council, resolved to execute his own designs. The unfortunate prince, with his family and his forty friends, were apprised of his intentions. They were encamped on a narrow plain which lay between a precipice and a river, which issuing from Arracân, falls into the country of Pegû. Ordered to
leave Arracân.



A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

either end of the plain a pass was formed between the rock and the river. Suja, with twenty of his men, possessed himself of one; and his son with the rest, stood in the other in arms. They saw the Raja's troops advancing; and Suja, with a smile on his countenance, addressed his few friends:

His resolution,

“The battle we are about to fight is unequal; but, in our present situation, the issue must be fortunate. We contend not now for empire; nor even for life, but for honour. It is not fitting that Suja should die, without having his arms in his hands: to submit tamely to assassination, is beneath the dignity of his family and former fortune. But your case, my friends, is not yet so desperate. You have no wealth to be seized; Aurungzêbe has not placed a price upon your heads. Though the Raja is destitute of generosity; it is not in human nature to be wantonly cruel. You may escape with your lives, and leave me to my fate. There is one, however, who must remain with Suja. My son is involved with me in my adverse fortune; his crime is in his blood. To spare his life, would deprive the Raja of half his reward from Aurungzêbe for procuring my death.”

bravery,

His friends were silent, but they burst into tears. They took their posts, and prepared themselves to receive with their swords the troops of the Raja. The unfortunate women remained in their tent, in dreadful suspense; till roused by the clashing of arms, they rushed forth with dishevelled hair. The men behaved with that elevated courage which is raised by misfortune in the extreme. They twice repulsed the enemy, who, afraid of their swords, began to gall them with arrows from a distance. The greatest part of the friends of Suja were at length either slain or wounded. He himself still stood undaunted, and defended the pass against the cowardly troops of Arracân. They durst not approach hand to hand; and their missive weapons flew wide of their aim.

The



The officer who commanded the party, sent in the mean time some of his soldiers to the top of the precipice, to roll down stones on the prince and his gallant friends. One fell on the shoulder of Suja; and he sunk down, being stunned with the pain. The enemy took advantage of his fall. They rushed forward, disarmed and bound him.

A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1079.

He was hurried into a canoe which lay ready on the river. The officer told him, that his orders were to send him down the stream to Pegû. Two of his friends threw themselves into the canoe, as they were pushing it away from the bank. The wife and the daughters of Suja, with cries which reached heaven, threw themselves headlong into the river. They were, however, brought ashore by the soldiers; and carried away, together with the son of Suja, who was wounded, to the Raja's palace. The prince, sad and desolate, beheld their distress; and, in his sorrow, heeded not his own approaching fate. They had now rowed to the middle of the stream; but his eyes were turned toward the shore. The rowers, according to their instructions from the cruel Raja, drew a large plug from the bottom of the canoe; and throwing themselves into the river, were taken up by another canoe which had followed them for that purpose. The canoe was instantly filled with water. The unfortunate prince and his two friends betook themselves to swimming. They followed the other canoe; but she hastened to the shore. The river was broad; and at last, worn out with fatigue, Suja resigned himself to death. His two faithful friends at the same instant disappeared in the stream.

misfortunes,
and murder.

Piàra Bani, the favourite, the only wife of Suja, was so famed for her wit and beauty, that many songs in her praise are still sung in Bengal. The gracefulness of her person had even become proverbial. When the Raja came to wait upon her in the haram,

Deplorable
fate of his
family.



A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

she attempted to stab him with a dagger which she had concealed. She, however, was disarmed; and perceiving that she was destined for the arms of the murderer of her lord, in the madness of grief, rage and despair, she disfigured her beautiful face with her own hands; and at last found with sad difficulty a cruel death, by dashing her head against a stone. The three daughters of Suja still remained; two of them found means by poison to put an end to their grief. The third was married to the Raja; but she did not long survive what she reckoned an indelible disgrace on the family of Timur. The son of Suja, who had defended himself to the last, was at length overpowered, by means of stones rolled down upon him from the rock. He was carried to the Raja; and soon after, with his infant brother, fell a victim, by a cruel death, to the jealousy of that prince.

Reflections.

Such was the melancholy end of Suja, and of all his family; a prince not less unfortunate than Dara, though of better abilities to oppose his fate. He was bold and intrepid in action, and far from being destitute of address. His personal courage was great; and he was even a stranger to political fear. Had he, at the commencement of the war, been possessed of troops equal in valour to those of his brother, we might probably have the misfortunes of Aurungzêbe, and not those of Suja, to relate. But the effeminate natives of Bengal failed him in all his efforts. Personal courage in a general, assumes the appearance of fear with a cowardly army. When Suja prevailed, the merit was his own; when he failed, it was the fault of his army. No prince was ever more beloved than Suja; he never did a cruel, never an inhumane action during his life. Misfortune, and even death itself, could not deprive him of all his friends; and though his fate was not known in Hindostan for some years after his death, when it was heard, it filled every eye with tears.

AURUNG-



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.

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.

Prudent ad-
 ministration

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.

of Aurung-
 zêbe,

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 Shaiста Chan.

The



The attention of Aurungzêbe 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. 10714

asleep when they arrived in fight; 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 Gualiâr. 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 Gualiâr, 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 reposing in them his confidence. The neighbouring states, who had remained unconcerned spectators of the civil wars, acknowledged

A. D. 1061.
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.

shall A was
and declared
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Wisdom and
humanity of
of Aurung-
zêbe.

shall A
same

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 Aurungzêbe. The Imperial governor, Shaista Chan, irritated at the depredatory incursions of the subjects of Sewâji, prince of Côkin 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 Côkin. 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.

The

A. D. 1662.
Hig. 1072.

The Maraja
sent



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 Shaista'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 roupees, 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. Shaista, 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 Shaista, 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 Shaista 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 Shaista 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 were 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

A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.

the captain-
general.

Aurungzêbe
falls sick.



A. D. 1664.
Fig. 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.

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."

A. D. 1664.
Hig 1074

Anxiety



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 princess 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 princess 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; Shaiста 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 Aurungzêbe. 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-



AURUNGZEBE.

CHAP. V.

Recovery of the emperor—Progress to Cashmire—Disturbances in Guzerat—Conquest of Assâm—Death and character of Meer Junla—Insurrection of Fakiers—quelled—An universal peace—Death of the prince Mahommed—War with Sewâji—Death of the emperor Shaw Jehân—Anecdotes of his private life—Grief of Aurungzêbe—Strange conduct and flight of Sewâji—The Maraja discontented—War against Arracân—Chittagong reduced.

THOUGH Aurungzêbe was judged out of danger on the thirteenth day of his illness, his disorder hung upon him for more than two months. His application to business was an enemy to the speedy restoration of his health; but the annual rains, which commenced in July, having rendered the air more cool, his fever entirely left him, and he soon regained his former strength. His physicians advised him to avoid, by an expedition to Cashmire, the heat of the ensuing season; and his favourite sister Ro-chinâra, whose counsel he generally followed, being very desirous of visiting that delightful country, persuaded him to prepare for his progress. The affairs of the empire had become settled with his returning health. The hopes of novelty had subsided in the minds of the people; and the precision with which government was carried on, left room for neither their hopes nor their fears. The su-

A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.
Recovery of
the emperor.



A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.

perfidial judges of things however blamed the emperor for quitting the center of his dominions; whilst his father remained a prisoner in his own capital. Aurungzêbe judged of the future by the past; the nobles were tired of revolution and war, and the vulgar are seldom mutinous or troublesome, where no glaring oppression exists.

His progress

About the middle of December 1644, the emperor, after a tedious preparation for his progress, left Delhi; and moved toward Lahore, at which city he arrived by slow marches at the end of seven weeks. The army which accompanied him in this tour, consisted of near fifty thousand men, exclusive of the retinues of his nobles, and the necessary followers of the camp. The heavy baggage and artillery kept the common highway, but the emperor himself deviated often into the country, to enjoy the diversion of hunting. The princess Rochinâra, fond of pomp and magnificence, was indulged in her favourite passion by the splendor of her cavalcade. The emperor, who in a great measure owed his success to the intelligence which she had from time to time transmitted to him from the haram, shewed himself grateful. Her jealousy of the influence of Jehanâra over her father first attached her to the interests of Aurungzêbe; and the partiality shewn by her sister to Dara, naturally threw Rochinâra into the scale of his foe. Her abilities rendered her fit for politics and intrigue; and the warmth of her constitution, which she could not consecrate to pleasure, adapted her for business and action.

to Cashmire.

The progress of the prince did not obstruct the necessary business of the state. Attended by all his officers, the decisions of each department were carried from the camp to every corner of the empire. Expresses stood ready on horseback at every stage; and the Imperial mandates were dispatched to the various provinces as soon



as they were sealed in the tent of audience. The nobles, as was customary in the capital, attended daily the presence; and appeals were discussed every morning as regularly as when the emperor remained at Delhi. The petitioners followed the court; and a small allowance from the public treasury was assigned to them, as a compensation for their additional expence in attending the Imperial camp. In this manner Aurungzêbe arrived at Cashmire. The beauty, the cool and salubrious air of that country, induced him to relax his mind for a short time from business. He wandered over that charming valley, after a variety of pleasures; and he soon recovered that vigour of constitution which his attention to public business, as well as his late sickness, had greatly impaired.

A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1075.

The universal peace which had encouraged the emperor to undertake his progress to Cashmire, was not of long continuance. Disturbances broke out in the kingdom of Guzerat. The Rajas of the mountains, thinking the tribute which they paid to the empire too high, rebelled. Rai Singh was chosen chief of the confederacy. They joined their forces, and, issuing from their narrow valleys, presented a considerable army in the open country. Cuttub, a general of experience, was ordered against them with the troops stationed in the adjacent provinces. He arrived before the rebels, and encamped in their presence. Both armies entrenched themselves, and watched the motions of each other. The commanders were determined not to fight at a disadvantage; and they continued to harass one another with flying parties, whilst the main bodies remained in their respective camps. Slight skirmishes happened every day, in which neither side arrogated to themselves any great advantage.

Disturbances

The mountaineers, being chiefly of the Rajaput tribe, at length resolved to continue no longer inactive. The nights, being lighted

in Guzerat

Z z 2

with



A. D. 1665.
 Hig. 1075.

with the increasing moon, were unfuitable for a surprize; but an accident happened which favoured their designs. Under the cover of a flying shower, they fell upon the Moguls. Advancing in a cloud, they came unperceived to the intrenchments; and many had clambered over the walls before the sentries gave the alarm. A sudden tumult and confusion flew over the camp; and a dreadful slaughter commenced. The Moguls had no time either to arm or to form. The horses broke loose from their piquets, and rushed, in disorder, over men, and tents, and baggage, and arms. Some who had mounted were thrown headlong with their horses over the tent-ropes, and other embarrassments of the camp.

quelled.

A few in the mean time opposed the enemy in a tumultuous manner. The Rajaputs themselves were in disorder. The confusion and terror of the scene intimidated all. They withdrew on both sides; as they could not distinguish friends from foes. The night was full of horror. Every heart beat with fear; every tongue joined in the uproar; every eye looked impatiently for day. The light of morning at length appeared; and a sudden shout from both armies gave testimony of their joy. Preferring certain danger to evils which they could not distinguish clearly, each side, on the approach of battle, discovered that elevation of spirit which others derive from victory. The rebels renewed the attack, but the Imperial general, who had improved the suspension of battle, was now prepared to receive them. Rai Singh, with a body of his officers, charged in the front of the Rajaputs, and sustained the whole shock of the Moguls. Three hundred persons of rank, with Rai Singh, the general of the confederates, lay dead on the field; fifteen hundred of their followers were slain, the remaining part of the rebels having fled, and left their camp standing to the victors. The Imperial general pursued the fugitives into their mountains; and, in the space of six months, he reduced their whole country,



try, and, depriving the princes of their hereditary jurisdictions, he subjected the people to the authority of temporary governors, who derived their power from Aurungzêbe.

A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1075.

During these transactions in the north and west, Jumla continued in the government of Bengal. After the total defeat and flight of Suja, he returned to the capital of his province to regulate public affairs, thrown into confusion by a length of hostilities. Aurungzêbe, jealous of the great power and reputation of Jumla, had signified to that lord, that his presence in the capital would be soon necessary for discharging the duties of his high office of viceroy. He at the same time informed him, that he longed much to have an opportunity of expressing in person the high sense which he entertained of his eminent services. Jumla, who preferred the pomp and activity of the field to the sedentary business of the closet, signified to the emperor his desire of continuing in his province; pointing out a service, from which the empire might derive great advantage, and he himself considerable honour.

Invasion of

Aurungzêbe, who was unwilling to discover his jealousy to a man whom he esteemed as well as feared, acquiesced in the proposals of Jumla. He, however, resolved to point out to that lord an enemy, which might divert him from any designs he might have to fortify himself in the rich and strong kingdom of Bengal against the empire. An army inured to war were devoted to Jumla; and his ambition was not greater than his ability to gratify it in the highest line. To the north of Bengal lies the rich province of Assam, which discharges the great river Baramputre into the branch of the Ganges which passes by Dacca. The king of Assam, falling down this river in his fleet of boats, had, during the civil wars, not only ravaged the lower Bengal, but appropriated to himself what part of that country lies between the Ganges at Dacca and the mountains which environ Assam. His power and wealth made

the kingdom

him



A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1075.

of Affam.

him an object of glory as well as of plunder; and Jumla received an Imperial mandate to march against him with his army.

Jumla, having filed off his troops by squadrons toward Dacca, joined them at that city; and, embarking them on the Baramputre, moved up into the country which the king of Affam had long subjected to depredation. No enemy appeared in the field. They had withdrawn to the fortress of Azo, which the king had built on the side of the mountains which looks toward Bengal. Jumla invested the place, and forced the garrison to surrender at discretion; then, entering the mountains of Affam, defeated the king in a pitched battle, and besieged him in his capital of Kirganu. The vanquished prince was soon obliged to leave the city, with all its wealth, to the mercy of the enemy, and to take refuge, with a few adherents, in the mountains of Lassa. In many naval conflicts on the river and great lakes, through which it flowed, Jumla came off victorious; and the small forts on the banks fell successively into his hands.

Retreat,

Thus far success attended the arms of Jumla. But the rainy season came on with unusual violence, and covered the valley which forms the province of Affam, with water. There was no room left for retreating; none for advancing beyond Kirganu. The mountains around were involved in tempest, and, besides, were full of foes. The king, upon the approach of the Imperialists, removed the grain to the hills; and the cattle were driven away. Distress, in every form, attacked the army of Jumla. They had wealth, but they were destitute of provisions, and of every thing necessary for supporting them in the country till the return of the fair season. To remain was impossible: to retreat almost impracticable. The king had destroyed the roads in the passes of the mountains; and he harassed the march of the Imperialists with incessant skirmishes. Jumla, in the mean time, conducted his measures with his wonted abilities and prudence; and carried back

his]



his army, covered with glory, and loaded with wealth, into the territory near the entrance of the mountains from Bengal.

A. D. 1665,
Fig. 1075.

Expresses carried the news of the success of Jumla to the emperor. He acquainted Aurungzêbe that he had opened a passage, which, in another season, might lead his arms to the borders of China. Elated with this prospect of extending his conquests, he began to levy forces, and dispatched orders to Jumla to be in readiness for the field by the return of the season. But the death of that general put an end to this wild design. Upon his arrival at Azo, a dreadful sickness prevailed in the army, and he himself fell a victim to the epidemic malady which carried off his troops. Though the death of Jumla relieved the emperor of some of his political fears, he was affected by an event which he neither expected nor wished. He owed much to the friendship of that great man; he admired his abilities and renown in arms.

death.

Though Jumla arose to the summit of greatness from a low degree, mankind ascribed his elevation less to his fortune than to his great parts. Prudent, penetrating, and brave, he excelled all the commanders of his age and country in conduct, in sagacity, and in spirit. During a war of ten years, when he commanded the army of the king of Tillingâna, he reduced the Carnatic and the neighbouring countries, with all their forts; some of which are still impregnable against all the discipline of Europeans. He was calculated for the intrigues of the cabinet, as well as for the stratagems of the field. He was wise in planning; bold in execution; master of his mind in action, though elevated with all the fire of valour. In his private life he was amiable and humane; in his public transactions dignified and just. He disdained to use ungenerous means against his enemies; and he even expressed his joy upon the escape of Suja from his arms. He was, upon the whole,

and character
of Jumla.

equal



A. D. 1665.
 Hig. 1075.

equal in abilities to Aurungzêbe, with no part of the duplicity which stamp some of the actions of that prince with meanness. Jumla, to his death, retained the name of Visier, though the duties of the office were discharged by Raja Ragnatta, who did not long survive him.

Insurrection

The security which Aurungzêbe acquired by the defeat of so many formidable rivals, was disturbed from a quarter which added ridicule to danger. In the territory of the prince of Marwâr, near the city of Nagur, there lived an old woman, who was arrived at the eightieth year of her age. She possessed a considerable hereditary estate, and had accumulated, by penury, a great sum of money. Being seized with a fit of enthusiasm, she became all of a sudden prodigal of her wealth. Fakiers and sturdy beggars, under a pretence of religion, to the number of five thousand, gathered round her castle, and received her bounty. These vagabonds, not satisfied with what the old woman bestowed in charity, armed themselves, and, making predatory excursions into the country, returned with spoil to the house of their patroness, where they mixed intemperance and riot with devotion. The people, oppressed by these sanctified robbers, rose upon them, but they were defeated with great slaughter.

of

Repeated disasters of the same kind were at last attributed to the power of enchantment. This ridiculous opinion gaining ground, fear became predominant in the opponents of the Fakiers. The banditti, acquiring confidence from their success, burnt and destroyed the country for many leagues; and surrounded the castle of the pretended enchantress with a desert. The Raja marched against them with his native troops, but was defeated; the collectors of the Imperial revenue attacked them, but they were forced to give way. A report prevailed, and was eagerly believed by the multitude, that on a certain day of the moon, the old lady used to cook
 in



in the skull of an enemy, a mess composed of owls, bats, snakes, lizards, human flesh, and other horrid ingredients, which she distributed to her followers. This abominable meal, it was believed by the rabble, had the surprising effect of not only rendering them void of all fear themselves, and of inspiring their enemies with terror, but even of making them invisible in the hour of battle, when they dealt their deadly blows around.

A. D. 1667.
Hig. 1673.

Their numbers being now increased to twenty thousand, this motley army, with an old woman at their head, directed their march toward the capital. Bistamia, for that was her name, was a commander full of cruelty. She covered her rout with murder and devastation, and hid her rear in the smoke of burning villages and towns. Having advanced to Narnoul, about five days journey from Agra, the collector of the revenue in that place opposed her with a force, and was totally defeated. The affair was now become serious, and commanded the attention of the emperor. He found that the minds of the soldiers were tainted with the prejudices of the people, and he thought it necessary to combat Bistamia with weapons like her own. Sujait was ordered against the rebels. The emperor, in the presence of the army, delivered to that general, billets written with his own hand, which were said to contain magical incantations. His reputation for sanctity was at least equal to that of Bistamia; and he ordered a billet to be carried on the point of a spear before each squadron, which the soldiers were made to believe would counteract the enchantments of the enemy. The credulity which induced them to dread the witchcraft of the old woman, gave them confidence in the pretended charm of Aurangzêbe.

Fakiers

The Fakiers, after their victory at Narnoul, thought of nothing but the empire for their aged leader. Having rioted upon the

quelled.



A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1075.

spoils of the country for several days, they solemnly raised Bistamia to the throne; which gave them an excuse for festivity. In the midst of their intemperate joy, Sujait made his appearance. They fought with the fury of fanatics; but when the idea of supernatural aid was dispelled from the minds of the Imperialists, the Fakiers were not a match for their swords. It was not a battle, but a confused carnage: a few owed their lives to the mercy of Sujait, the rest met the death which they deserved. Aurungzêbe, when he received Sujait, after his victory, could not help smiling at the ridicule thrown upon his arms, by the opposition of an old woman at the head of a naked army of mendicants. "I find," said he, "that too much religion among the vulgar, is as dangerous as too little in a monarch." The emperor, upon this occasion, acted the part of a great prince, who turns the passions and superstitions of mankind, to the accomplishment of his own designs. It was more easy to counteract the power, than to explode the doctrine of witchcraft.

An universal
peace.

The season of peace and public happiness affords few materials for history. Had not the rage of conquest inflamed mankind, ancient times would have passed away in silence, and unknown. Eras are marked by battles, by the rise of states, the fall of empires, and the evils of human life. Years of tranquillity being distinguished by no striking object, are soon lost to the sight. The mind delights only in the relation of transactions which contribute to information, or awaken its tender passions. We wish to live in a peaceable age; but we read with most pleasure the history of times abounding with revolutions and important events. A general tranquillity now prevailed over the empire of Hindostan. Aurungzêbe, pleased with the salubrious air of Cashmire, continued long in that romantic country. Nothing marks the annals of that period, but a few changes in the departments of the court, and

in



in the governments of provinces; which, though of some importance to the natives of India, would furnish no amusement in Europe.

A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1075.

In the seventh year of the emperor's reign, his son the prince Mahommed died in prison in the castle of Gualiâr. Impatient under his confinement, his health had been long upon the decline; and grief put at last an end to misfortune which the passions of youth had begun. His favourite wife, the daughter of Suja, was the companion of his melancholy; and she pined away with sorrow, as being the cause of the unhappy fate of her lord. Mahommed had long supported his spirits with the hopes that his father would relent; but the sickness of the emperor, during which he had named another prince to the throne, confirmed him that his crime was not to be forgiven. Mahommed, though violent in the nobler passions of the human mind, was in his private character generous, friendly and humane. He loved battle for its dangers; he despised glory which was not purchased with peril. He was even disappointed when an enemy fled; and was heard to say, That to pursue fugitives was only the business of a coward. But he was unfit for the cabinet; and rather a good partizan, than a great general in the field. He had boldness to execute any undertaking, but he wanted prudence to plan. Had his warm disposition been tempered by length of years, he might have made a splendid figure. But he was overfet by the passions of youth, before experience had poised his mind.

Death of the
prince Ma-
hommed.

The war with Sewâji the prince of Cokin, on the coast of Malabar, which had been for some time discontinued, broke out this year with redoubled violence. The attempt of the Maraja upon the life of Shaista, though no proof could be carried home to that prince, had induced Aurungzêbe to recal him with all his native forces.

War with
Sewâji.



A. D. 1666.
 Hig. 1076.

He would no longer trust his affairs in the hands of a man, whose violent passions could not spare the life of a person with whom he lived in the habits of friendship. A truce, rather than a solid peace, had been patched up with the enemy; but their love of depredation overcame their public faith. The prince of Cokin made incursions into the Decan; and complaints of his hostilities were carried to Aurungzêbe. Under the joint command of the Raja, Joy Singh and Dilêre, a considerable force was sent against the enemy. He fled before them, and they entered his country at his heels. The strong holds of his dominions soon fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Sewâji and his son surrendered themselves to Joy Singh, and he sent them under an escort to Delhi; to which city the emperor was now returned, after his long absence in the north.

Death of
 Shaw Jehân.

The emperor Shaw Jehân, after an imprisonment of seven years ten months and ten days, died at Agra on the second of February 1666. The same disorder which had lost to him the empire, was the cause of his death. He languished under it for fifteen days; and expired in the arms of his daughter Jehanâra, his faithful friend and companion in his confinement. Though Aurungzêbe had kept him with all imaginable caution in the citadel of Agra, he was always treated with distinction, tenderness and respect. The ensigns of his former dignity remained to him; he had still his palace, and his garden of pleasure. No diminution had been made in the number of his domestics. He retained all his women, singers, dancers and servants of every kind. The animals, in which he formerly delighted, were brought regularly into his presence. He was gratified with the sight of fine horses, wild beasts, and birds of prey. But he long continued melancholy; nothing could make a recompence for his loss of power. He for several years could not bear to hear the name



name of Aurungzébe, without breaking forth into rage; and, even till his death, none durst mention his son as emperor of Hindostan.

A. D. 1666.
Fig. 1076.

They had endeavoured to conceal from him the death of Dara, but he knew it from the tears of Jehanâra. The particulars of the melancholy fate of his favourite son, made such an impression on his mind, that, absent in the violence of his passion, he took his sword, and rushed to the gate of the palace. But it was shut; and reminded him of his lost condition. Though the rebellion of Suja had enraged him against that prince, he lost his wrath in the superior crimes of Aurungzébe. He heard with eagerness every turn of fortune in Bengal; and when the flight of Suja from that kingdom reached his ears, he abstained from eating for two days. He, however, comforted himself with the hopes of his return; and, eager for the revenge of his wrongs upon Aurungzébe, he attended with joy and satisfaction to the vague reports which were propagated concerning the appearance of his son, in various provinces of the empire. Accounts of the death of Suja came the year before his father's death. He burst into a flood of tears: "Alas!" said he, "could not the Raja of Arracân leave one son to Suja to revenge his grandfather?"

Anecdotes

Aurungzébe, whether from pity or design is uncertain, took various means to sooth the melancholy of his father, and to reconcile him to his own usurpation. To express his tenderness for him, was insult; he therefore flattered his pride. He affected to consult him in all important affairs. He wrote him letters requesting his advice; declaring that he reckoned himself only his vicegerent in the empire. These artful expressions and the absence of every appearance of restraint on his conduct, made at last an impression upon his mind. But Aurungzébe, building

of his

too



A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

too much upon the success of his art, had almost, by his demand of the daughter of Dara for his son, ruined all the progress which he had made. His apology for what his father called an insult, obliterated his indiscretion; and his abstaining from force upon the occasion, was esteemed by Shaw Jehân a favour, which his pride forbade him to own.

private life.

Shaw Jehân, brought up in the principles of his father and grandfather, was destitute of all religion in his youth. He had often been present when Jehangire, who delighted in disputes on abstruse subjects, called before him Indian Brahmins, Christian priests, and Mahomedan Mullas, to argue for their respective faiths. Jehangire who, with his want of credulity on the subject of religion, was weak in his understanding, was always swayed by the last who spoke. The Mahomedan, who claimed the pre-eminence of being first heard, came always off with the worst; and the emperor, observing no order of time with regard to the Christian and Indian, was alternately swayed by both. The Mulla saw the disadvantage of his dignity; and, being designedly late in his appearance, one day he was heard after the priest. Jehangire was perplexed for whom he should give his opinion. He asked the advice of Shaw Jehân, and that prince archly replied, "That he too was at a loss for whom to decide. But as each have established the credit of their systems," said he, "with a relation of miracles, let them both be put to that test. Let each take the book of his faith under his arm; let a fire be kindled round him; and the religion of him who shall remain unhurt, shall be mine." The Mulla looked pale at the decision, and declared against this mode of proving his faith: the priest knew the humane temper of the emperor, and offered himself for the pile. They were both dismissed. But the misfortunes of Shaw Jehân rendered him devout in his latter days. The Coran was perpetually



perpetually read in his presence; and Mullas, who relieved one another by turns, were always in waiting.

A. D. 1667.
Hig. 1077.

The emperor, when first he heard of his father's illness, ordered his son Shaw Allum to set out with all expedition to Agra. "You have done no injury," said he, "to my father; and he may bless you with his dying breath. But as for me, I will not wound him with my presence; lest rage might hasten death before his time." The prince rode post to Agra; but Shaw Jehân had expired two days before his arrival. His body was deposited in the tomb of his favourite wife, Mumtâza Zemâni, with funeral solemnities rather decent than magnificent. When the news of the death of his father was carried to Aurungzêbe, he exhibited all the symptoms of unaffected grief. He instantly set off for Agra; and, when he arrived in that city, he sent a message to the princess Jehânâra to request the favour of being admitted into her presence. The requests of an emperor are commands. She had already provided for an interview; and she received him with the utmost magnificence, presenting him with a large golden basin, in which were contained all the jewels of Shaw Jehân. This magnificent offering, together with the polite dexterity of the princess in excusing her own former conduct, wrought so much on Aurungzêbe, that he received her into his confidence; which she ever after shared in common with her sister Rochinâra.

Grief of Aurungzêbe.

The most remarkable transaction of the ensuing year, was the escape of the Raja Sewâji from Delhi; and his flight through by-roads and desarts to his own country. The turbulent disposition of that prince, and his depredatory incursions into the Imperial dominions in the Decan, brought upon him the arms of Aurungzêbe, under the conduct of Joy Singh and Dilere. Unfortunate in several battles, he shut himself up in his principal fortrefs;

Strange conduct



A. D. 1667.
 Hig. 1077.

trefs ; and, being reduced to extremities, he threw himself upon the mercy of the enemy ; and was carried, as has been already related, to Delhi. Upon his arrival, he was ordered into the presence, and commanded by the usher to make the usual obeifance to the emperor. He refused to obey ; and looking scornfully upon Aurungzêbe, exhibited every mark of complete contempt of his person. The emperor was much offended at the haughty demeanor of the captive ; and he ordered him to be instantly carried away from his sight.

and flight

The principal ladies of the haram, and, among them, the daughter of Aurungzêbe, saw from behind a curtain, the behaviour of Sewâji. She was struck with the handsomeness of his person, and she admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the subject of much conversation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf ; and the princess was warm in her solicitations, at the feet of her father. " Though I despise pomp," said Aurungzêbe, " I will have those honours which the refractory presume to refuse. Power depends upon ceremony and state, as much as upon abilities and strength of mind. But to please a daughter whom I love, I will indulge Sewâji with an abatement of some of that obeifance, which conquered princes owe to the emperor of the Moguls." A message was sent by the princess, in the warmth of her zeal ; and the Raja, without being consulted upon the measure, was again introduced into the hall of audience.

of Sewâji,

When he entered, the usher approached, and commanded him to pay the usual obeifance at the foot of the throne. " I was born a prince," said he, " and I know not how to act the part of a slave." " But the vanquished," replied Aurungzêbe, " lose all their rights with their fortune. The sword has made Sewâji my



my servant; and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given." The Raja turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his commands against Sewâji, when that prince spoke thus, with a haughty tone of voice: "Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father: but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing shall extinguish but death." The wrath of the emperor subsided at a request which he reckoned ridiculous and absurd. He ordered him as a madman from his presence; and gave him in charge to Fowlâd, the director-general of the Imperial camp. He was closely confined in that officer's house; but he found means to escape, after some months, in the disguise of a man, who was admitted into his apartments with a basket of flowers.

A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

The war with Sewâji proved fatal to the Maraja's influence with Aurungzêbe. Naturally passionate, deceitful and imperious, he considered every order from the emperor, an injury. He had been gratified with the government of Guzerat, for deserting the cause of the unfortunate Dara. When the three years of his subaship were expired, he received an Imperial mandate to repair, with the army stationed in his province, to the assistance of Shaista against Sewâji. On the way, it is said, he entered into a correspondence with that prince; being enraged to find, that the rich kingdom of Guzerat had been submitted to the government of Mohâbet. It was from Sewâji, that the Maraja received the assassins, by whose means he had attempted to assassinate Shaista. He, however, covered his crime with so much art, that mankind in general believed, that it was only a party of the enemy, who had the boldness to surprize the general in his tent; attributing to the known intrepidity of Sewâji, what actually

The Maraja
discontented.



A. D. 1666.
 Hig. 1076.

proceeded from the address of Jesswint Singh. The emperor, who expected no good from an army commanded by two officers who disagreed in their opinions, recalled them both, as has been already related; and patched up a temporary peace with the enemy. Shaista, disfigured and maimed with his wounds, returned to court; but the Maraja retired in disgust to his hereditary dominions.

Shaista made
 governor of
 Bengal.

Shaista, at once, as a reward for his services, and a compensation for his misfortunes, was raised to the government of Bengal, which had been managed by deputy ever since the death of Jumla. The affairs of the province stood in need of his presence. The death of Jumla had encouraged the prince of Arracân to invade the eastern division of Bengal. He possessed himself of all the country along the coast, to the Ganges; and maintained at Chittagong some Portuguese banditti, as a barrier against the empire of the Moguls. These robbers, under the protection of the invader, spread their ravages far and wide. They scoured the coast with their piratical vessels; and extended their depredations through all the branches of the Ganges. The complaints of the oppressed province were carried to the throne; and Shaista was not only commissioned to extirpate the pirates, but even to penetrate with his arms into Arracân. A generous regret for Suja joined issue with an attention to the public benefit, in the mind of Aurungzêbe. The cruelty exercised against the unfortunate prince was not less an object of revenge, than the protection afforded to public robbers.

Takes the
 island Sin-
 diep.

Shaista, upon his arrival in the province, sent a fleet and three thousand land forces, under the command of Hassen Beg, against the Raja of Arracân. The fleet sailed from Dacca, and falling down the great river, surpris'd the forts of Jugdea and Allum-



gure Nagur, which the Raja had formerly dismembered from Bengal. Shipping his land forces on board his fleet, he set sail for the island of Sindiep, which lies on the coast of Chittagong. The enemy possessed in this island several strong-holds, into which they retired, and defended themselves with great bravery. The Mogul however, in the space of a few weeks, reduced Sindiep, and took part of the fleet of Arracân. Hassen's force being too small to act upon the continent with any prospect of success, Shaista had, by this time, assembled ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca, with the command of which he invested his son Ameid Chan. He wrote in the mean time a letter to the Portuguese, who were settled at Chittagong, making them advantageous offers, should they join his arms, or even remain in a state of neutrality; and threatening them with destruction, should they aid the enemy.

The letter had the intended effect upon the Portuguese, who began to fear the threatened storm. They immediately entered into a negotiation with Hassen Beg. The Raja of Arracân was apprised of their intentions, by one of their own party, who betrayed their secret. He prepared to take ample vengeance by putting them all to the sword. The Portuguese, in this critical situation, ran to their boats in the night, and set sail for the island of Sindiep, where they were well received by Hassen. He ordered them, soon after, to proceed to Bengal. Shaista, upon their arrival, adhered to his former promise, and gave them houses and lands. He engaged many of them in his service; and he took advantage of their experience in naval affairs, by joining them, with their armed vessels, to the proposed expedition against Arracân.

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A. D. 1666.
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A. D. 1666.
 Hig. 10. 6.
 Invades
 Chittagong.

Every thing being prepared for the invasion, Ameid, with his fleet, consisting of about five hundred sail, and a considerable body of horse and foot, departed from Dacca in the beginning of the fair season; and, in the space of six days, crossed the river Phenny, which divides Chittagong from Bengal. The troops of Arracân made a shew of opposition; but they fled to the capital of the province, which was about fifty miles distant. They shut themselves up in the fort. Ameid pursued them without delay. The fleet sailed along the coast, in sight of the army, between the island of Sindiep and the shore. When it had reached Comorea, the fleet of Arracân, consisting of about three hundred Ghorâbs and armed boats, made its appearance. A smart engagement ensued, in which the enemy were repulsed, with a considerable loss of men, and thirty-six of their vessels. Being reinforced the next day, they prepared to renew the fight. Ameid, fearing the defeat of his fleet, ordered it to hawl in close to the shore, and, having detached a thousand musqueteers, with some great guns, from his army, posted them among the bushes behind the fleet.

Capital of
 Chittagong
 taken, and
 the province
 reduced.

The enemy, encouraged by the retreat of the Moguls from the open sea, pursued them with great eagerness, and began the attack within musquet-shot of the land. The Moguls defended themselves with resolution. The enemy pressed on furiously, and began to board their boats. The whole fleet would have certainly been destroyed, had not the detachment upon the shore advanced to the water's edge, keeping up such a fire upon the enemy, with guns and small arms, as obliged them to put off to sea. Many were, however, disabled in such a manner as not to escape, and they were so much discouraged, that they fled up the river, and secured themselves behind the fort. Ameid, without delay, laid siege to the place. The enemy lost their
 courage



courage with their success. They behaved in a dastardly manner. The town was very strong, and well supplied with artillery, stores, and provisions. They, however, all evacuated it, excepting fifty men, who remained with the governor; and surrendered at discretion. The fugitives were pursued; and two thousand being surrounded on a neighbouring mountain, were taken and sold for slaves. Auricid found twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon in the place, and a prodigious quantity of stores. He named the town Islamabad; and annexed the whole province to the kingdom of Bengal.

A. D. 1666.
Fig. 1076.

The army, encamped by the river of the Ganges, from the open sea, pursued them with great eagerness, and began to strike within a short distance of the town. The Mughal detachment, which consisted of a few hundred men, and a few pieces of artillery, began to board their boats. The whole force would have certainly been destroyed, had not the detachment upon the shore advanced to the water's edge, keeping up a fire of musketry, and the enemy with caution and skill, and he did not then retreat. Many were however, who were killed, and a number of boats were sunk. They were so much distressed, that they fled up the river, and several thousand were taken, and sold for slaves.

AURUNG

Capital of
Gujarat,
and
the province
reduced.



A U R U N G Z È B È.

C H A P. VI.

Origin of the quarrel with Persia—Conduct of Shaw Abâs—Aurungzêbe endeavours to appease him—He prepares for war—Writes a letter to the visier—which is intercepted—The emperor suspects the Persian nobles—A proclamation—A massacre threatened—Consternation at Delhi—The prince's Jehanâra arrives from Agra to appease the Persians—The visier exculpates himself—The Persian nobility received into favour—March of the emperor—Death and character of Shaw Abâs—Peace with Persia—Revolt of the prince Shaw Allum—He returns to his duty—War with the Afgans—Magnificent reception of the king of Bucharia.

A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.
The origin

THE emperor having, by his address, as well as by his crimes, extricated himself from domestic hostilities, was suddenly involved in a foreign war. The Persians, who with a preposterous negligence, had remained quiet during the civil dissensions in India, shewed a disposition to attack Aurungzêbe, after his fortune and conduct had firmly established him on the throne. But various reasons had induced Shaw Abâs the Second, who, with no mean abilities, held then the scepter of Persia, to avoid coming to extremities with the house of Timur, when all its branches were in arms. The unsuccessful expeditions against the unconquered tribes along the Indian ocean, had drained his treasury; and Mohâbet, who remained in a state of neutrality in the northern

northern provinces of Hindostan, kept an army of veterans in the field. The other passions of Abàs were more violent than his ambition. He seemed more anxious to preserve his dignity at home, than to purchase fame by his arms abroad; and, had not his pride been wounded by an accident, more than from any design, on the side of Aurungzêbe, that monarch might have enjoyed in tranquillity an empire which he had acquired by blood.

A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

The death of Dara and the flight of Suja having given stability to the power of Aurungzêbe in the eyes of the princes of the north, he had received, in the fourth year of his reign, congratulatory embassies from Tartary and Persia. To return the compliment to Shaw Abàs, Tirbiet Chan, a man of high dignity, was sent ambassador from the court of Delhi to Ispahan. He was received with the ceremony and respect which was due to the representative of so great a prince as the emperor of Hindostan. His credentials were read, in the hall of audience, in the presence of the nobility; and the few presents, which the suddenness of his departure from his court had permitted him to bring along with him to Abàs, were accepted with condescension and expressions of satisfaction. Tirbiet wrote an account of his reception to Delhi; and the emperor ordered magnificent presents to be prepared, and sent, under an escort, to Persia.

of the

The care of furnishing the presents is vested in an office which bears some resemblance to our chancery, having the power of ingrossing patents, and of judging of their legality before they pass the seal of the empire. Some presents had been, at the same time, ordered to be prepared for the prince of the Usbecs, whom it was customary to address only by the title of Wali, or Master of the Western Tartary. The same clerk in the office made out

quarrel

the



A. D. 1665.
 1117.
 1076.

the inventory of the presents for both the princes; and, at the head of the list for Persia, he called Shaw Abâs, Wali, or Master of Iran. The inventory, accompanied by a letter to the emperor, was sent with the presents to Tirbiet; and he, without examining either, demanded an audience of Abâs, and placed both in his hands as he sat upon his throne. Abâs, though otherwise an excellent prince, was much addicted to wine. He was intoxicated when he received Tirbiet; and with an impatience to know the particulars of the presents, he threw first his eyes on the inventory. When he read the Wali, or Master of Persia, he started, in a rage, from his throne, and drew his dagger from his side. The nobles shrunk back on either side, and Tirbiet, who stood on the steps which led up to the Imperial canopy, retreated from the wrath of Abâs. The emperor, still continuing silent, sat down. Amazement was pictured in every countenance.

with Persia.

“Approach,” said Abâs, “ye noble Persians; and hear the particulars of the presents sent by the EMPEROR OF THE WORLD;” alluding to the name of ALLUMGIRE, which Aurungzêbe had assumed, “The EMPEROR OF THE WORLD to the MASTER OF PERSIA!” A general murmur spread around; they all turned their eyes upon Tirbiet. That lord began to fear for his life; and Abâs saw his consternation. “Hence, from my presence,” said he, “though I own not the title of Aurungzêbe to the world, I admit his claim to your service. Tell the impious son, the inhuman brother, the murderer of his family, that though his crimes have rendered him master of Hindostan, there is still a lord over Persia, who detests his duplicity and despises his power. Hence with these baubles; let him purchase with them the favour of those who are not shocked at guilt like his; but Abâs, whose hands are clean, shudders at the iniquity of a prince covered with the blood of his relations.”

Tirbiet



Tirbiet retired from the presence, and wrote letters to Aurungzêbe. The emperor of Persia, in the mean time, ordered every necessary preparation for war. The troops stationed on the skirts of the empire were commanded to assemble; new levies were made; and a general ardour for an invasion of India, ran through all the Persian dominions. Aurungzêbe, upon receiving the letters of Tirbiet, wrote an immediate answer to that lord. He laid the whole blame on the inadvertence and ignorance of a clerk in office; declaring, in the most solemn manner, that he never meant an affront to the illustrious house of Sefi. "The title of Allumgire," said he, "is adopted from an ancient custom, prevalent among the posterity of Timur. It is only calculated to impress subjects with awe, not to insult independent princes. The presents, which I sent, are the best testimony of my respect for Shaw Abâs; but if that prince is bent on war, I am ready to meet him on my frontiers with an army. Though I love peace with my neighbours; I will not prostrate my dignity before their ungovernable passions."

Abâs, whose choleric disposition was almost always inflamed with wine, would not admit Tirbiet into his presence. He sent an order to that lord to depart his dominions; and his ambassador was to be the messenger of the unalterable resolves of Abâs to Aurungzêbe. That prince, when he had first received the letters of Tirbiet, called his son Shaw Allum, with twenty thousand horse, from the Decan. He ordered him immediately to the frontiers, to watch the motions of Persia. Abâs, in the mean time, having collected his army, to the number of eighty thousand, with an immense train of artillery, advanced, at their head, into Chorassan, Shaw Allum was reinforced by all the troops of the northern provinces. He, however, received strict orders from his father, not to risque the issue of a general action; but to harass the enemy in his march. He himself made preparations to take the field.

A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

The emperor
endeavours
in vain

to appease
Shaw Abâs.



A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

Spies seized.

which occur
from
Sept. 1666

A letter in-
tercepted,

general
confession

An accident, however, happened, which threw him into great perplexity, and stopt his progress.

Amir Chan, the Imperial governor of the province of Cabul, having seized four Tartars who had been sent as spies by Shaw Abâs, to explore the state of the frontiers of India, sent them prisoners to Delhi. The emperor delivered them over for examination to Alimâd, one of his principal nobles. Alimâd, having carried the Tartars to his own house, began to ask them questions concerning their commission from the king of Persia. They remained silent, and he threatened them with the torture. One of them immediately snatched a sword from the side of one of Alimâd's attendants; and, with one blow, laid that lord dead at his feet. Three more, who were in the room, were slain. The Tartars arming themselves with the weapons of the dead, issued forth, dispersed themselves in the crowd, and, notwithstanding all the vigilance, activity, and promises of Aurungzêbe, they were never heard of more. The emperor, naturally suspicious, began to suppose that the Persian nobles in his service had secreted the spies. He became dark and cautious, placing his emissaries round the houses of those whom he most suspected.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived at Delhi, that Abâs, having finished his preparations, was in full march, with a well-appointed army, toward India. A letter was intercepted from that prince to Jaffier, the visier, a Persian by descent. It appeared from the letter, that a conspiracy was formed by all the Persian nobility in the service of India, to betray Aurungzêbe into the hands of the enemy, should he take the field. The emperor was thrown into the utmost perplexity. His rage, for once, got the better of his prudence. He gave immediate orders to the city-guards, to surround all the houses of the Persian nobility. He issued forth, at the same time,

a pro-
III



a proclamation, that none of them should stir abroad upon pain of death. He called the Mogul lords to a council; he secured their fidelity, by representing to them the urgency of the danger; and, contrary to his usual coolness and moderation, he swore, by the living God, that should he find that there was any truth in the conspiracy, he would put every one of the Persian nobility to the sword.

A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

The proclamation was scarce promulgated, when Tirbiect arrived from Persia. He presented himself before the emperor; and informed him, that at his departure he had been called before Shaw Abás. That prince, after venting his rage against Aurungzébe in very disrespectful terms, concluded with telling the ambassador, That as his master might soon be in want of swift horses to fly from his resentment, he had ordered for him three hundred out of the Imperial stables, whose speed would answer the expectations of his fears. "We shall soon have occasion to try," added Abás, "whether this CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD can defend the dominions which he has usurped in Hindostan." Aurungzébe was enraged beyond measure. He commanded that the horses, as a dreadful denunciation of his wrath, should be killed before the gates of the conspirators. The troops, at the same time, were ordered to stand to their arms, in the seven military stations, and to wait the signal of massacre, which was to be displayed over the gate of the palace.

which occasions
Sept. 9.

A general consternation spread over the whole city. The people retired to their houses; and the streets were deserted. A panic seized all; they saw a dreadful tempest gathering; and they knew not where it was to fall. An awful silence, as a prelude to the storm, prevailed. The Persians were numerous and warlike; the emperor implacable and dark. The eyes and

a general
consternation



A. D. 1666.
Hig. 1076.

cars of men were turned to every quarter. The doors were all shut. There was a kind of silent commotion; a dreadful interval of suspense. Ideal sounds were taken for the signal of death; and the timorous seemed to hug themselves in the visionary security of their houses. The Persians had, in the mean time, collected their dependents. They stood armed in the courts before their respective houses, and were prepared to defend their lives, or to revenge their deaths with their valour.

at Delhi.

Things remained for two days in this awful situation. Aurungzébe himself became, for the first time, irresolute. He was alike fearful of granting pardon and of inflicting punishment. There was danger on both sides; and his invention, fertile as it was in expedients, could point out no resource. He endeavoured, by promises and fair pretences, to get the principals into his hands. But they had taken the alarm, and no one would trust himself to the clemency of an enraged despot. Upon the first intelligence of the conspiracy, the emperor wrote to his sister Jehanâra, who resided at Agra, to come with all expedition to Delhi. The Persian nobles, he knew, had been attached to Shaw Jehân, to whose favour they had owed their promotion in the empire; and he hoped that they would listen to the advice of the favourite daughter of the prince whom they loved. He himself remained, in the mean time, sullen and dark: he spoke to none, his whole soul being involved in thought.

Advice of the
Mogul lords

Taër and Cubâd, two of the most powerful, most popular, and respectable of the Mogul nobles, presented themselves, at length, before the emperor. They represented to him, that it would be both unjust and impolitic to sacrifice the lives of so many great men to bare suspicion; for that no proofs of their guilt had hitherto appeared, but from the hands of an enemy, who might



have devised this method to sow division and dissent in a country which he proposed to invade. That the Persian nobles had become powerful in the state from their high military commands, their great wealth, the immense number of their followers; that the common danger had united them; that the attack upon them would not prove a massacre but a civil war. That the Patan nobility, warlike, numerous, disaffected, still hankering after their ancient domination of which they had been deprived by the folly of their princes, as much as by the valour of the Moguls, would not fail to throw their weight into the scale of the Persians; and, upon the whole, they were of opinion, that peaceable measures should be adopted toward domestic traitors, at least till the danger of foreign war should be removed.

The arguments of the two lords had their due weight with the emperor. He declared himself for lenient measures; but how to effect a reconciliation, with honour to himself, was a matter of difficulty. The princess Jehanâra arrived, in the mean time, from Agra. She had travelled from that city to Delhi, on an elephant, in less than two days, though the distance is two hundred miles. Her brother received her with joy. After a short conference, she presented herself, in her chair, at the door of the visier's house. The gates were immediately thrown open; and she was ushered into the apartments of the women. The visit was a mark of such confidence, and so great an honour in the eyes of the visier, that, leaving the princess to be entertained by the ladies, he hastened, without even seeing her himself, or waiting for her request to the emperor. When he entered the hall of audience, he prostrated himself before the throne. Aurungzêbe descended, took him in his arms, and embraced him in the most friendly manner. He then put the letter, which was the cause of the disturbance, in the visier's hand.

Jaffier,

A. D. 1667.
Hig. 1076.

in favour of
the Persian
nobles.



A. D. 1665.

Fig. 1076.

who are
reconciled

Jaffier, with a countenance expressing that serenity which accompanies innocence, ran over the letter, Aurungzêbe marking his features as he read. He gave it back, and positively denied his ever having given the least reason to Shaw Abâs for addressing him in that manner. He expatiated on his own services; upon those of his ancestors, who had resided in Hindostan ever since the time of the emperor Humaïoon. He represented the improbability of his entertaining any designs against a prince, who had raised him to the first rank among his subjects, and had left him nothing to hope or to wish for, but the continuance of his favour and the stability of his throne. He concluded with a pertinent question: "What could I expect in Persia equal to the high office of visier in Hindostan? Let my common sense be an argument of my innocence; and let not the emperor, by an opinion of my guilt, declare to the world that I am deprived of reason."

with the
emperor.

Aurungzêbe was convinced by the speech of Jaffier; and he wondered from whence had proceeded his own fears. By way of doing him honour, he ordered him to be clothed with a magnificent dress; at the same time directing him to command all the Persian nobles to make their immediate appearance in the hall of audience. When they were all assembled, the emperor mounted the throne; and, after they had paid the usual compliments, he addressed them in a long speech. He excused his proceedings by reading the letter of Abâs; and he reproved them gently for their contumacy in not obeying his orders. He argued, that the power of a monarch ceases when his commands are disputed; and, that the indignity thrown upon him by their disobedience, touched him more than their supposed treason. "But," continued he, "a prince, though the representative of God, is liable to error and deception. To own that I have been partly



partly in the wrong, carries in itself an excuse for you. Forget my mistake; and I promise to forgive your obstinacy. Rest satisfied of my favour, as I am determined to rely upon your gratitude and loyalty. My father, and even myself, have made you what you are; let not the hands which raised you so high, repent of the work which they have made."

The speech of the emperor seemed to be well received by all the Persians, excepting Mahommed Amîn, the son of the famous Jumla. That lord, haughty and daring in his disposition, was dissatisfied with the conduct of the visier, hurt at the submission of his countrymen, and piqued at the emperor's latter words. He looked sternly upon Aurungzêbe; and said, in a scornful manner, "Since you have been pleased to pardon us for offences which we did not commit; we can do no less than forget the errors which you have made." The emperor, pretending that he did not hear Amîn distinctly, ordered him to repeat his words; which he did twice, in a haughty and high tone of voice. The eyes of Aurungzêbe kindled with rage. He seized a sword, which lay by his side on the throne. He looked around to see, whether any of the nobles prepared to resent the affront offered to his dignity. They stood in silent astonishment. He sat down; and his fury beginning to abate, he talked to the visier about the best manner of carrying on the Persian war.

The minds of the people being settled from the expected disturbances, Aurungzêbe prepared to take the field. The army had already assembled in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and the Imperial tents were pitched on the road toward the north. He marched in a few days at the head of a great force; but the storm which he feared, dissipated without falling. When he was within a few miles of Lahore, expresses arrived from his son, who commanded

A. D. 1666.
Fig. 1076.

Insolence of
Amîn Chan.

Aurungzêbe
takes the
field.



A. D. 1666,
Hig. 1076.

commanded the army of observation on the frontiers of Persia, with intelligence that Shaw Abâs, who had languished for some time under a neglected disease, expired in his camp on the twenty-fifth of September. This accident, of which a more ambitious monarch than Aurungzêbe might have taken advantage, served only to change the resolutions of that prince from war. He considered that nature seemed to have designed the two countries for separate empires, from the immense ridge of mountains which divide them from one another, by an almost impassable line.

Death and
character of
Shaw Abâs.

Shaw Abâs was a prince of abilities, and when roused, fond of expedition and delighting in war. He was just in his decisions, mild in his temper, and affable in his conversation. Destitute of prejudices of every kind, he made no distinction of countries, none of systems of religion. He encouraged men of worth of every nation; they had access to his person, he heard and redressed their grievances, and rewarded their merit. He was, however, jealous of his prerogative, and he was determined to be obeyed. He could forgive the guilty, upon being convinced of their contrition; but an insult on his dignity he would never forgive. His passions were naturally strong; he broke often forth like a flash of lightning; but when he was most agitated, a calm was near; and he seemed to be ashamed of the trifles which ruffled his temper. He loved justice for its own sake; and though his excesses in wine gave birth sometimes to folly, they never gave rise to an act of injustice. He was fond of the company of women; and his love of variety produced the distemper of which he died.

Peace with
Persia.

Upon the death of Shaw Abâs, his uncle remained in the command of the Persian army. He sent a messenger to Aurungzêbe, acquainting him of the death of his nephew; and that he left him to chuse either peace or war. The emperor returned for answer,

That



That his own empire was ample; and that all he wanted was to defend it from insult and invasion. That the disrespectful words of Abâs vanished with his life; for, conscious of his own integrity and power, that he neither feared the abuse, nor dreaded the arms of any prince. He condoled with the family of Sheick Sefi, for the loss of a monarch, whose most exceptionable action was his unprovoked attempt upon India. Aurungzêbe, however, left a powerful army on his frontiers. The Persians might be induced to derive advantage from the immense preparations which they had made; and he resolved to trust nothing to their moderation. The prince Shaw Allum was, in the mean time, recalled to Delhi. The emperor, full of circumspection and caution in all his actions, was resolved to remove temptation from his son. He feared that an army unemployed in a foreign war, might be converted into an instrument of ambition at home. Shaw Allum copied his father's moderation and self-denial upon every occasion, and he, therefore, was not to be trusted.

A. D. 1667.
Hig. 1077.

During the alarm of the Persian war, the tributary sovereign of Bijapour began to shew a disrespect for the Imperial mandates; and though he did not absolutely rebel, his obedience was full of coldness and delay. Dilère Chan, by orders from the court of Delhi, led an army against the refractory tributary. He laid waste the country, and besieged the prince in his capital. Adil Shaw was soon reduced to extremities for want of provisions; and he was upon the point of surrendering himself at discretion, when orders arrived from the emperor, in the camp of Dilère, to break up the siege, and to return immediately with the army to Delhi. These unseasonable orders proceeded from the jealousy of Shaw Allum. He knew that Dilère was in the interest of his younger brother; and he was afraid that a conquest of such splendor would give him too much weight in the empire. He had insinuated,

War in Bijapour.



A. D. 1668.
Hig. 1078.

therefore, to his father, that Dilère had entered into a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. Aurungzêbe was deceived, and the siege was raised.

Designs of
the prince
Shaw Allum

Shaw Allum, who had returned to the Decan, resided in the city of Aurungabâd. To disappoint Dilère in his prospect of fame, was not the only view of the prince. He meditated a revolt, and he was afraid of Dilère. His father's orders were favourable to his wishes. He had received instructions from court to seize the person of the suspected lord, should he shew any marks of disaffection; or to subdue him by force of arms, should he appear refractory. Thus far the designs of Shaw Allum succeeded. Dilère, apprized of the prince's schemes, broke up the siege, though with regret, as the place was on the point of surrendering. He moved toward Delhi, with a disappointed army of thirty thousand Patan horse, and the like number of infantry.

to rebel;

Dilère arriving within six miles of Aurungabâd, encamped with his army in an extensive plain. The prince lay under the walls of that city with eighty thousand men. Dilère sent a messenger to Shaw Allum, excusing himself for not waiting upon him in person that evening; but he promised to present himself in the tent of audience by the dawn of next morning. The prince called a council of his principal officers, who had already sworn on the Coran to support him with their lives and fortunes. The Maraja, who was never happy but when he was hatching mischief against Aurungzêbe, was present. This prince proposed, that when Dilère came into the presence, they should lay open to him their whole design against the emperor; that in case of his appearing refractory, he should instantly be dispatched as a dangerous enemy. Though Shaw Allum did not altogether approve of the Maraja's violence, he consented that Dilère should be



seized; and they broke up their deliberations with that resolution.

A. D. 1668.
Hig. 1078.

Dilère, who was no stranger to the conspiracy, suspected the design against his person. He was also informed, by his friends in the camp, that the principal officers were shut up in council with the prince. He struck his tents in the night, and, marching on silently, took a circuit round the other side of the city, and when morning appeared, he was heard of above thirty miles from Aurungabâd, on the road to Delhi. The prince, being informed of the flight of Dilère, was violently transported with rage. He marched suddenly in pursuit of the fugitive; but he was so much retarded by his numbers, which, including the followers of the camp, amounted to two hundred thousand men, that in a few days, he found that Dilère had outstripped him above fifty miles. He selected a part of his army, and leaving the heavy baggage behind, continued the pursuit with great vivacity. His officers did not, however, second the warmth of the prince. They were afraid of the veteran troops of Dilère; and threw every obstacle in the way which could retard their own march.

Pursues Di-
lère.

Dilère, in the mean time, apprized Aurungzebe, by repeated expresses of the revolt of his son. The Imperial standard was immediately erected without the walls; and the emperor himself took the field the very day on which he received the letters. He took the rout of Agra, with great expedition. He arrived in that city in three days; and he immediately detached a force to take possession of the important pass of Narwâr. Orders were, at the same time, sent to Dilère to march to Ugein, the capital of Malava, and there to join the troops of the province. Reinforced by these, he was directed to encamp behind the Nirbidda, which divides the Decan from the rest of India; and there

Emperor
alarmed.



A. D. 1668.
Hig. 1078.

to stop the progress of the prince. Dilère, with his usual activity, complied with the orders; and presented formidable lines, mounted with artillery, at the fords of the river.

Prince drops
his designs.

The prince, apprized of the strong position of Dilère, and the rapid preparations of Aurungzêbe, returned toward Aurungabâd. He wrote, from that city, letters to his father. He pretended that he had only executed the orders of the emperor, in pursuing Dilère. Aurungzêbe seemed satisfied with this excuse. His son was formidable, and he resolved by degrees to divest him of his dangerous power. A rebellion was thus begun and ended without shedding blood. The art of the father was conspicuous in the son. They looked upon one another with jealousy and fear; and it was remarkable, that when both were in the field, and ready to engage, they had carried their politeness so far as not to utter, on either side, a single word of reproach. The emperor himself, notwithstanding his preparations, affected to say to his nobles, that he was perfectly convinced of the loyalty of his son.

Dilère re-
warded.

The true sentiments of Aurungzêbe, however, appeared in the distinguishing honours which he bestowed on Dilère. That lord had rendered eminent services to the empire. In his march to the Decan against Adil Shaw, he had reduced some refractory Rajas in the mountains, who having joined in a confederacy, refused to pay their tribute. He deviated from his rout into the country of Bundela, and attacked, in his territory, the Raja of Hoda. The spoils of the enemy made ample amends for the tribute which had been with-held. Near two millions, in jewels and coin, were remitted by Dilère to the Imperial treasury. The tribute of the reduced princes was increased; and the successful general himself became rich at the expence of his foes. Aurungzêbe added honours to his wealth; and, without throwing any reflections on his



his son, he publicly thanked the man who had so gallantly opposed his designs.

A D. 1668.

Hig. 1078.

The general peace which had been established in the empire by the return of Shaw Allum to his duty, was, in some degree, disturbed by an insurrection of the wild barbarians of the north. The Afghan tribe of Eusóph Zehi, who possess the heads of the Attoc and the Niláb, rushed down from their mountains like a torrent, with thirty thousand men. They spread terror and devastation over all the plains of Punjáb; having invested their chief with the ensigns of royalty under the name of Mahommed Shaw. This prince, in the manifestoes which he dispersed in his march, averred his own descent from Alexander the Great, and a daughter of the king of Transoxiana. This genealogy was probably fabulous; but the Afgans have high claims on antiquity. A literary people, like the Arabs, and, by their mountains, their poverty, and the peculiar ferocity of their manners, secured from conquest, they have preserved among them many records of ancient authority, and undoubted credit.

Rebellion

Mahommed Shaw's power of doing mischief was less problematical than his high descent. The news of his ruinous progress was carried to Aurungzêbe. He ordered the governor of the adjoining districts to harass the enemy till troops should march to his aid. The name of this officer was Camil. Impatient of the insults of the enemy, he resolved to attack them with ten thousand Geikers, whom he had collected from their hills round his standard. He directed his march toward the ferry of Haran on the Niláb, with a determined resolution to give battle to the rebels. The Afgans, equally desirous of engaging, crossed the river with ten thousand of their best troops, and advanced impetuously against Camil. Morâd, who commanded the van of the Imperial militia, fell in sword

of the Afgans



A. D. 1068.
 Hig. 1078.

sword in hand, with the enemy before they had formed. They were thrown into confusion; but they obstinately kept their ground, and began to surround Morád. Camil, in the mean time, advanced with the main body. The battle became obstinate and doubtful. Mahommed behaved with a spirit worthy of his new dignity. The rest of his army hastened to his relief; but before their arrival he was defeated, and he involved the whole in his own flight. The Niláb, unfortunately for the fugitives, was four miles in their rear. They were pursued by Camil to the banks. They plunged into the river. More were drowned than fell by the sword. The rest were dissipated; and the insurrection seemed to be entirely quashed.

Camil, after this signal victory, entered the country of the rebels with his army. The governor of Cabul had, in the mean time, detached five thousand men, under his lieutenant Shumshir, to oppose the Afgans. Camil sat down before their strong holds. They collected an army at the heads of their valleys, and marched down upon the Imperialists. Their troops were now more numerous than before, but not less unfortunate. They fell in, upon their march, with Shumshir, whose army had been augmented to fifteen thousand. The battle was obstinate; and the Afgans derived their own defeat from their impetuous valour. Strangers to regularity and command, they rushed, without any form, into the heart of the enemy, and being singly overcome, all at last took to flight. They left some thousands dead on the spot: the survivors dissipated themselves in their mountains.

quashed.

The inhabitants of the plain country, who dreaded the incursions of these rude mountaineers, sent deputations to the emperor to request a force sufficient to extirpate the rebels. In consequence of this application, ten thousand chosen troops were ordered into the

the



the mountains, under the conduct of Mahommed Amîn, the paymaster-general of the forces. Camil and Shumshîr, before his arrival, had joined their forces. They marched up, through the principal valley, and were met by a third army of Afgans. The rebels, averse to the delays of war, offered battle upon their first appearance before the Imperialists. The action was bloody. Mahommed Shaw, the pretended descendant of Alexander, behaved with a bravery not unworthy of his ancestor. He led his mountaineers repeatedly to the charge. Fired with the gallant behaviour of their prince, they were not to be driven from the field. The Imperialists, having suffered much, were upon the point of giving way, when a report that the prince was slain induced the common soldiers among the rebels to fly. The officers were left in their posts alone. They formed themselves in squadrons; but they were surrounded, and three hundred chiefs came into the hands of the enemy. The flower of the rebel army fell in this action. Amîn, in the mean time arriving, pursued the fugitives through all their almost inaccessible vallies; and levelled every thing with the ground but the rocks, into which a few unfortunate Afgans found a refuge from the swords of the victors.

A. D. 1669.
Hig. 1079.

A general peace was now established over all the empire. Aurungzêbe, to whom business was amusement, employed himself in making salutary regulations for the benefit of his subjects. He loved money, because it was the foundation of power; and he encouraged industry and commerce, as they encreased his revenue. He himself, in the mean time, led the life of a hermit, in the midst of a court, unequalled in its splendour. The pomp of state, he found, from experience, was not necessary to establish the power of a prince of abilities, and he avoided its trouble, as he liked not its vanity. He however encouraged magnificence among his officers at court, and his deputies in the provinces. The ample allowance

A general
peace.



A. D. 1669.
 Hig. 1079.

Magnificent
 reception of
 the king of
 Bucharia.

lowance granted to them from the revenue, was not, they were made to understand, to be hoarded up for their private use. "The money is the property of the empire," said Aurungzêbe; "and it must be employed in giving weight to those who execute its laws."

An opportunity offered itself to his magnificence and generosity in the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign. Abdalla, king of the Lesser Bucharia, lineally descended from the great Zingis, having abdicated the throne to his son Aliris, advanced into Tibet in his way to Mecca. He sent a message to Aurungzêbe, requesting a permission for himself and his retinue to pass through India. The emperor ordered the governor of Cashmire to receive the royal pilgrim with all imaginable pomp, and to supply him with every article of luxury and convenience at the public expence. The governors of districts were commanded to attend Abdalla from province to province, with all their followers. The troops, in every place through which he was to pass, were directed to pay him all military honours; and, in this manner, he advanced to Delhi, and was received by the emperor at the gates of the city. Having remained seven months in the capital, he was conducted with the same pomp and magnificence to Surât, where he embarked for Arabia.

AURUNG-



A U R U N G Z E B E.

C H A P. VII.

Observations—Education of Eastern princes—Genius of Aurungzébe—His attention to justice—Contempt of pomp—Austerity—Clemency—Knowledge—Public buildings—Encouragement to letters—Charity—Skill in war—Learning—Manly exercises—Contenance—Accessibleness—Amusements—Ceremonies of reception—Creation of nobles—Business of the morning—noon—and evening—Observations.

THOUGH History loses half her dignity in descending to unimportant particulars, when she brings information, she cannot fail, even in her most negligent dress, to please. The singular good fortune and abilities of Aurungzébe stamp a kind of consequence on every circumstance, which contributed to raise him to a throne, which his merit deserved to possess without a crime. The line of his public conduct, in rising to the summit of ambition, has already been followed with some precision; but his private life, which prepared him for the greatness at which he had now arrived, remains still in the shade. To bring forward the objects which have hitherto lain distant and dim behind, will heighten the features of the picture, and perhaps recommend it to those who wish to see the glare of great transactions tempered with anecdote.



Unfavour-
able educa-
tion

The education of the natives of Asia is confined; that of young men of distinction always private. They are shut up in the haram from infancy till their seventh or eighth year; or, if they are permitted to come abroad, it is only under the care of eunuchs, a race of men more effeminate than the women whom they guard. Children, therefore, imbibe in early youth little female cunning and dissimulation, with a tincture of all those inferior passions and prejudices which are improper for public life. The indolence natural to the climate, is encouraged by example. They loll whole days on silken sophas; they learn to make nosegays of false flowers with taste, to bathe in rose-water, to anoint themselves with perfumes, whilst the nobler faculties of the soul lose their vigour, through want of cultivation.

of eastern
princes.

Princes are permitted, at ten years of age, to appear in the hall of audience. A tutor attends them, who imposes upon them no restraint. They receive little benefit from his instructions, and they advance frequently into life without having their minds imbued with any considerable knowledge of letters. They are married to some beautiful woman at twelve, and it cannot be supposed that a boy, in possession of such an enchanting play-thing as a young wife, will give much attention to the dry study of grammar. The abilities of the princes of the house of Timur, it must be confessed, extricated, when they advanced in life, their minds from the effects of this ruinous mode of passing youth. The most of them were men of letters, and given to inquiry; but their attention to the education of their children, could not altogether supersede the inherent prejudices of their country.

Early genius
of Aurung-
zêbe.

Shaw Jehân was extremely anxious in training up his sons in all the literature and knowledge of the East. He delivered each of them into the hands of men of virtue as well as of letters; he raised



fed the tutors to dignities in the state, to impress awe upon their pupils, and to induce them to listen to their precepts. Aurungzêbe, however, was not fortunate in his master. His genius flew before the abilities of the teacher; and the latter, to cover his own ignorance, employed the active mind of the prince in difficult and unprofitable studies. Being naturally remarkably serious, he gave up his whole time to application. The common amusements of children gave him no pleasure. He was frequently known, whilst yet he was very young, to retire from the puerile buffoonery of his attendants, to the dry and difficult study of the Persian and Arabic languages. His assiduity prevailed over the dulness of his tutor, and he made a progress far beyond his years.

Time had established into an almost indispensable duty, that the emperor, with his assessors, the principal judges, was to sit for two hours every day in the hall of justice, to hear and decide causes. Shaw Jehân, who took great delight in promoting justice, frequently exceeded the usual time. Aurungzêbe, while yet but twelve years of age, stood constantly near the throne; and he made remarks, with uncommon sagacity, upon the merits of the causes which were agitated before his father. The emperor seemed highly pleased at abilities which afterwards ruined his own power. He often asked the opinion of his son, for amusement, upon points of equity, and he frequently pronounced sentence in the very terms of Aurungzêbe's decision.

His attention
to justice;

When he was, in his early youth, appointed to the government of a province, he was obliged, by his office, to imitate, though in miniature, the mode of the court. He had his hall of audience, he presided in his court of justice; he represented royalty in all its forms, except in its pomp and magnificence, to which the natural austerity of his manners had rendered him an enemy. He exhib-

contempt of
pomp and
flattery:



hibited, upon every occasion, an utter aversion to flatterers: he admitted not, into his presence, men of dissolute manners. The first he thought insulted his judgment, the latter disgraced him as the guardian of the morality, as well as of the property, of the people. Musicians, dancers, and singers, he banished from his court, as foes to gravity and virtue. Mimics, actors, and buffoons, he drove from his palace, as an useless race of men.

Affects plainness in dress.

His dress was always plain and simple. He wore, upon festival days only, cloth of gold, adorned with jewels. He, however, changed his dress twice a-day, being remarkably cleanly in his person. When he rose in the morning, he plunged into the bath, and then retired for a short time to prayers. Religion suited the serious turn of his mind; and he at last became an enthusiast through habit. In his youth he never stirred abroad on Friday; and should he happen to be in the field, or on a hunting party, he suspended all business and diversions. Zealous for the faith of Mahommed, he rewarded proselytes with a liberal hand, though he did not chuse to persecute those of different persuasions in matters of religion.

His austerity, and love

He carried his austerity and regard for morality into the throne. He made strict laws against vices of every kind. He was severe against adultery and fornication; and against a certain unnatural crime, he issued various edicts. In the administration of justice, he was indefatigable, vigilant, and exact. He sat almost every day in judgment, and he chose men of virtue, as well as remarkable for their knowledge in the law, for his assessors. When the cause appeared intricate, it was left to the examination of the bench of judges, in their common and usual court. They were to report upon such causes as had originated before the throne; and the emperor,



peror, after weighing their reasons with caution, pronounced judgment, and determined the suit.

In the courts of the governors of provinces, and even often on the benches on which his deputies sat in judgment, he kept spies upon their conduct. Though these were known to exist, their persons were not known. The princes, his sons, as well as the other viceroys, were in constant terror; nor durst they exercise the least degree of oppression against the subject, as every thing found its way to the ears of the emperor. They were turned out of their office upon the least well-founded complaint; and when they appeared in the presence, the nature of their crime was put in writing into their hands. Stript of their estates and honours, they were obliged to appear every day at court, as an example to others; and after being punished for some time in this manner, according to the degree of their crime, they were restored to favour; the most guilty were banished for life.

Capital punishments were almost totally unknown under Aurungzêbe. The adherents of his brothers, who contended with him for the empire, were freely pardoned when they laid down their arms. When they appeared in his presence, they were received as new subjects, not as inveterate rebels. Naturally mild and moderate through policy, he seemed to forget that they had not been always his friends. When he appeared in public, he clothed his features with a complacent benignity, which pleased all. Those who had trembled at his name, from the fame of his rigid justice, when they saw him, found themselves at ease. They could express themselves, in his presence, with the greatest freedom and composure. His affability gave to them confidence; and he secured to himself their esteem by the strict impartiality of his decisions.

His clemency;

His



Knowledge
of affairs.

His long experience in business, together with the acuteness and retentiveness of his mind, rendered him master even of the detail of the affairs of the empire. He remembered the rents, he was thoroughly acquainted with the usages of every particular district. He was wont to write down in his pocket-book, every thing that occurred to him through the day. He formed a systematical knowledge of every thing concerning the revenue, from his notes, to which, upon every necessary occasion, he recurred. The governors of the provinces, and even the collectors in the districts, when he examined either, on the state of their respective departments, were afraid of misrepresentation or ignorance. The first ruined them for ever; the latter turned them out of their offices.

Public build-
ings.

His public buildings partook of the temper of his own mind. They were rather useful than splendid. At every stage, from Cabul to Aurungabâd, from Guzerat to Bengal, through the city of Agra, he built houses for the accommodation of travellers. These were maintained at the public expence. They were supplied with wood, with utensils of cookery, with a certain portion of rice and other provisions. The houses which his predecessors had erected on by-roads, were repaired; bridges were built on the small rivers; and boats furnished for passing the large.

Encourage-
ment to let-
ters.

In all the principal cities of India, the emperor founded universities; in every inferior town he erected schools. Masters, paid from the treasury, were appointed for the instruction of youth. Men of known abilities, honour, and learning, were appointed to examine into the progress which the learners made, and to prevent indolence and inattention in the masters. Many houses for the reception of the poor and maimed were erected; which were endowed with a revenue from the crown. The emperor, in the mean time, collected all the books which could



be found on every subject; and, after ordering many copies of each to be made, public libraries were formed, for the convenience of learned men, who had access to them at pleasure. He wrote often to the learned in every corner of his dominions, with his own hand. He called them to court; and placed them, according to their abilities, in offices in the state; those, who were versed in the commentaries on the Coran, were raised to the dignity of judges, in the different courts of justice.

Aurungzêbe was as experienced in war, as he was in the arts of peace. Though his personal courage was almost unparalleled, he always endeavoured to conquer more by stratagem than by force. To succeed by art threw honour upon himself; to subdue by power acquired to others fame. Such was his coolness in action, that, at the rising and setting sun, the times appointed for prayer, he never neglected to attend to that duty, though in the midst of battle. Devout to excess, he never engaged in action without prayer; and for every victory, he ordered a day of thanksgiving, and one of festivity and joy.

Skill and
courage in
war.

In the art of writing, Aurungzêbe excelled in an eminent degree. He wrote many letters with his own hand; he corrected always the diction of his secretaries. He never permitted a letter of business to be dispatched, without critically examining it himself. He was versed in the Persian and Arabic; he wrote the language of his ancestors the Moguls, and all the various dialects of India. In his diction he was concise and nervous; and he reduced all dispatches to a brevity and precision, which prevented all misconstruction and perplexity.

Learning.

Though not remarkable for his strength of body, he was extremely active in the exercises of the field. He was an excellent archer,

Skill in the
manly exer-
cises.



archer, he threw the lance with grace; and he was so good a horseman, that few men durst follow him in the chace. He understood the use of fire-arms so well, that he shot deer on full speed from his horse. When he wandered over the country in pursuit of game, he did not forget the concerns of the state. He examined the nature of the soil, he enquired even of common labourers concerning its produce. He understood, and, therefore, encouraged agriculture. He issued an edict, that the rents should not be raised on those who, by their industry, had improved their farms. He mentioned, in the edict, that such practice was at once unjust and impolitic; that it checked the spirit of improvement, and impoverished the state: "And what joy," said he, "can Aurungzêbe have in possessing wealth in the midst of public distress?"

Chastity.

Though he entertained many women, according to the custom of his country, it was only for state. He contented himself with his lawful wives, and these only in succession; when one either died or became old. He spent very little time in the apartments of his women. He rose every morning at the dawn of day, and went into the bathing-chamber; which communicated with a private chapel, to which he retired for half an hour, to prayers. Returning into his apartments from chapel, he spent half an hour in reading some book of devotion; and then went into the haram to dress. He entered the chamber of justice generally about seven o'clock; and there sat with the judges, read petitions, and decided causes till nine. Justice was dispensed in a summary manner; and rewards and punishments were immediate; the disputes, which were not clear, having been already weighed by the judges in their own court.



The people in general had access into the chamber of justice; and there they had an opportunity of laying their grievances and distresses before their sovereign. Aurungzêbe ordered always a sum of money to be placed by his side on the bench; and he relieved the necessitous with his own hand. Large sums were in this manner expended every day; and, as the court was open to all, the unfortunate found, invariably, a resource in the Imperial bounty.

Accessibilities to all.

The emperor retired at nine to breakfast; and continued for an hour with his family. He then came forth into a balcony, which faced the great square. He sat there to review his elephants, which passed before him in gorgeous caparisons. He sometimes amused himself with the battles of tygers and leopards, sometimes with those of gazelles, elks, and a variety of ferocious animals. On particular days, squadrons of horse passed in review. The fine horses of his own stables were also brought, at times, before him, with all their magnificent trappings, mounted by his grooms, who exhibited various feats of horsemanship. The balcony in which he sat was called THE PLACE OF PRIVACY, as it looked from the haram, and the ladies saw every thing from behind their screens of gauze.

Amusements.

An hour being spent at this amusement, the emperor, generally about eleven o'clock, made his appearance in the great hall of audience. There all the nobles were ranged before the throne, in two lines, according to their dignity. Ambassadors, viceroys, commanders of armies, Indian princes, and officers, who had returned from various services, were introduced in the following form: The Meer Hajib, or the lord in waiting, ushers each into the presence. At the distance of twenty yards from the throne, the person to be presented is commanded by one of the mace-

His mode of receiving.



bearers to bow three times very low; raising his hand each time from the ground to his forehead. The mace-bearer, at each bow, calls out aloud, that such a person salutes the EMPEROR OF THE WORLD. He is then led up, between the two lines of the nobles, to the foot of the steps which ascend to the throne; and there the same ceremony is again performed. He then moves slowly up along the steps, and, if he is a man of high quality, or much in favour, he is permitted to make his offering to the emperor himself, who touches one of the gold roupees; and it being laid down, the lord of the privy-purse receives the whole. The emperor sometimes speaks to the person introduced: when he does not, the person retires, keeping his face toward the sovereign, and performs the same ceremonies at the same places as before.

and creating
the nobles.

The introduction of an officer, when he is raised into the rank of Omrahs, is the same with that already described. When he retires from the steps of the throne, the emperor gives his commands aloud to clothe him with a rich dress, ordering a sum of money, not exceeding a lack of roupees, to be laid before him. He is, at the same time, presented with two elephants, one male and one female, caparisoned, two horses with rich furniture, a travelling bed elegantly decorated, a complete dress, if once worn by his Imperial majesty the more honourable, a sword studded with diamonds, a jewel for the front of his turban. The ensigns of his rank are also laid before him; fifes, drums, colours, silver maces, silver bludgeons, spears, the tails of peacocks, silver fish, silver dragons, with his titles engraved, with a parchment containing his patent of dignity, and the Imperial grant of an estate.

The business
of the morn-
ing,

The hall of audience in the city of Delhi, was called Chelsit-toon, or Hall of Forty Pillars, as the name imports. In the square



square which opened to the hall, the cavaliers, or soldiers of fortune, who wanted to be employed in the Imperial service, presented themselves completely armed on horseback, with their troop of dependents. The emperor sometimes reviewed them; and, after they had exhibited their feats of military dexterity before him, they were received into pay. The Mansebdârs, or the lower rank of nobility, presented themselves in another square; artizans, with their most curious inventions, occupied a third, and they were encouraged according to the utility and elegance of their work. The huntsmen filled a fourth court. They presented their game, consisting of every species of animals and beasts common in the empire.

Aurungzêbe, about one o'clock, retired into the Guffel Châna, or bathing-chamber, into which the great officers of state were only admitted. There affairs of inferior concern, such as the disposal of offices, were transacted. At half past two o'clock, he retired into the haram to dine. He spent an hour at table, and then, in the hot season, slumbered on a sofa for half an hour. He generally appeared at four, in the balcony above the great gate of the palace. A mob of all kinds of people assembled there before him; some to claim his bounty, others to prefer complaints against the officers of the crown. He retired at six, into the chapel to prayers; and, in half an hour, he entered the Guffel Châna, into which, at that hour, the members of the cabinet were only admitted. He there took their advice upon all the important and secret affairs of government; and from thence orders were issued to the various departments of the state. He was often detained till it was very late in this council, as conversation was mixed with business; but about nine, he generally retired into the haram.

Such is the manner in which Aurungzêbe commonly passed his time; but he was not always regular. He appeared not

noon, and evening.

Observation.



some days in the chamber of justice ; and other days there was no public audience. When the particular business of any department required extraordinary attention, that of others was from necessity postponed. Particular days were set apart for auditing the accounts of the officers of the revenue, some for reviewing the troops ; and some were dedicated to festivity. Though Aurungzêbe bore all the marks of an enthusiast in his private behaviour, he did not stop the progress of business by many days of thanksgiving ; for he often declared, that, without using the means, it were presumptuous to hope for any benefit from prayer.

A P P E N D I X

APPEN-

