



fatisfaction 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 hypocrify, 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. 1069.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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 Mahommed deserts to Suja—A mutiny in the army—
Quelled by the visier—Battle of Tanda—Artifice of Aurungzébe
—Mahommed 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. 1569.
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



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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



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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



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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.

listen



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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



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no strangers, my fellow-foldiers, 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. 1699.
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-foldiers, 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. 1069.
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



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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.—Aurangzêbe 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 fa-

ther;



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 Gualîâr, where he remained a prisoner to his death.

Mahommed,



A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1070.
and impri-
soned.

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



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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 Affam. Jumla was close at his heels; but Suja, having crossed the Baramputre, which, running through the kingdom of Affam, 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. mind of the Raja. He thought himself unsafe in his natural fast-
Hig. 1070. nefs; 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



HATTA A U R U N G Z E B E.

him act an open part; and his boldness will atone for a portion of his crime."

A. D. 1660.
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. At

Ordered to
leave Arracân.



A. D. 1660.
Hig. 1070.

His resolution,

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:

"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



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The officer who commanded the party, sent in the mean time some of his foldiers 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 1070.

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 foldiers; 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.

Piâra Banî, 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-



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C H A P. IV.

Prudent administration of Aurungzêbe—Observations on his conduct—His behaviour toward his second son—Solimân Sherkô 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 administration

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. Aurung-zêbe, 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 ;



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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 cloak 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

Artful con-
duct of his
second son.

the



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 suspicious of his father. He remitted the revenue to the capital, with great regularity and precision. He practised, in his expences, the œconomy 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 Shaista Chan.



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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-
man.

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



A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

asleep when they arrived in 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 Aurungzêbe. "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 harâm 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 harâm wept aloud behind the screens.

Even



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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 Sherkô," said the emperor; "I am not cruel, but cautious. Your father fell as a man destitute of all religion; but you shall be treated well." The prince bowed his head; and then raised his hands as high as his fetters would permit, according to the custom in the Imperial presence. He then addressed himself to the emperor. "If my death is necessary for the safety of Aurungzêbe, let me presently die, for I am reconciled to my fate. But let me not linger in prison, to languish away by degrees, by the means of draughts, which deprive the mind of reason, when they enfeeble the body." This alluded to an infusion of poppy, which the imprisoned princes were forced to drink in Gualîâr. It emaciated them exceedingly, their strength and understanding left them by degrees, they became torpid and insensible, till they were at last relieved by death. The emperor desired him to rest satisfied that no design was entertained against his life. He was sent that very night to Agra, and soon after ordered to Gualîâr, with the prince Mahommed, the emperor's eldest son.

A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

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 pèrvous to his authority. He extinguished party, by retaining no appearance of revenge against those who had opposed his elevation. He made friends of his enemies by conferring upon them favours; and he secured the faith of his friends by repositing in them his confidence. The neighbouring states, who had remained unconcerned spectators of the civil wars, acknowledged

Embassies
from Persia
and Tartary.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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



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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 re-sold 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.

A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1071.

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.

Wisdom and
humanity of
of Aurung-
zêbe.

To



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1661.
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



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.

A D. 1662.
Hig. 1672.

The emperor was so much pleased with the expedition of Shaiſta into Malabâr, that he resolved to reinforce him to complete the conquest of Cökin. 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 Cökin 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 Maraja
sent

The



A D. 1663.
Hig. 1073.

to reinforce
the army.

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

His plot to
assassinate

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



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

A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.

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.

the captain-general.

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

Aurungzêbe falls sick.



A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.

punishing his injustice to his relations. His sister, the princess 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.

Consternation 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



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

A. D. 1664.
Hig 1074.

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

Anxiety



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 princefs 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.



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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



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

A. D. 1664.
Hig. 1074.

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

Shaw Allum
sent to the
Decan;

The



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

The arrival of the prince in the Decan superseded the Maraja, who, during the illness of Shaista, commanded the army. He requested to be permitted to return to his government of Guzerat; but it had been conferred upon Mohâbet. This lord, during the troubles which convulsed the empire, remained quiet in his government of the city and province of Cabul. He retained his loyalty to Shaw Jehân; and executed the duties of his office in the name of that prince. After the death of Dara, and the flight of Suja beyond the limits of the empire, he saw an end to all the hopes of the restoration of his ancient lord. He, therefore, began to listen to the proposals of 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-



A U R U N G Z E B E.

CHAP. V.

Recovery of the emperor—Progress to Cashmire—Disturbances in Guzerat—Conquest of Affâm—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.

perfidious 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 Cashmere.

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 flood ready on horseback at every stage; and the Imperial mandates were dispatched to the various provinces as soon



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as they were seated 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

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Hig. 1075.

with the increasing moon, were unsuitable 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,



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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.

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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 him

the kingdom



A. D. 1665.
Hig. 1075.

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

of Affam.

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 Laffa. 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. Forts, 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



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

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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.

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.



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



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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 invincible in the hour of battle, when they dealt their deadly blows around.

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Hig. 1975.

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 Aurungzêbe.

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



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

A. D. 1665.
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In the seventh year of the emperor's reign, his son the prince Mahommed died in prison in the castle of Gualiar. 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 overfret 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 Shaisfa, 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.
Hlg. 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



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

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Hig. 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 Aurungzêbe. 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 Aurungzêbe, 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

Aurungzêbe, 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 Aurungzêbe, building

too.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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



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

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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 bason, 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 defarts 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 Dilêre. 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 obeisance 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 fight

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 obeisance, 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 obeisance 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 Shaisa 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 Shaisa. 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 surprise the general in his tent; attributing to the known intrepidity of Sewâji, what actually

The Maraja
discontented.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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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, surprised the forts of Jugdea and Allum-



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gire 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.

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The letter had the intended effect upon the Portuguese, who began to fear the threatened storm. They immediately entered into a negociation 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.

Gains over
the Portu-
guese.



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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 repulled, 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



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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. Ameid 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.

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AURUNG-