

flight of Mr. Watts, the envoy, and the other gentlemen of the factory at Cossimbuzar, convinced him of the reality of that conspiracy ; and now filled with consternation, and well aware of the great influence as well as military abilities of his general, he laid aside his hostile intentions towards him, and endeavoured by every means in his power to mollify his anger, and separate him from his English connection. The meditated assault was, therefore, converted into a friendly negociation, and Jaffier put on the appearance of being reconciled to his master. When solicited, however, to attend the durbar, being apprehensive of some violence, he declined the honour. The stake was great, a kingdom ! and no time was to be lost. The Nabob, therefore, relinquishing his state, condescended to visit Jaffier, carrying with him but a slender guard. This visit, and the explanation that followed, produced a reconciliation ; but only sincere on the part of the Nabob ; though sanctioned by mutual oaths on the Koran. The confidence with which this interview inspired the Nabob, induced him immediately to write a letter full of invective and breathing defiance to Colonel Clive ; at the same time he ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, without delay, to commence their march to Plassey.

In the mean time the English army had advanced to Cutwah, on the western shore of the Ganges, opposite the island of Cossimbuzar, and after some little resistance, had taken possession of the fort which commanded the passage of the river. Here Clive received letters from Jaffier, stating the circumstance of his pretended reconciliation with the Nabob, but in spite of his oath solemnly taken on the Koran, avowed his determination of abiding by his prior contract with the English commander ; he also informed him that on the moment of writing he was preparing to quit the city for the camp, but as he proposed no plan of

operations, Clive remained for some time in a state of the greatest perplexity what plan to pursue, especially as the English had no horse, and the principal strength of the enemy lay in his very formidable body of cavalry. In this dilemma he summoned a council of war, and the majority, under the existing circumstances, were against immediate action. In this opinion Clive at first coincided; but the dread of imputations which might be dishonourable to the English name and character among the princes of Hindostan, who might impute his inactivity to timidity, determined him, at length, to pursue that line of conduct which valour dictated, and glory approved. Taking, therefore, all the risque upon himself, and resolved to brave every difficulty, he issued orders that the army should cross the river the next morning. With the first beam of the rising sun those orders were carried into execution, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, the whole army was landed on the opposite shore, impatient to be led against the enemy. Here other letters arrived from Jaffier with information that the Nabob had halted at Muncarra, a village six miles to the south of the city of Cossimbuzar; that he was entrenching himself, and intended there to wait the event; and he recommended that the English army should attack him by surprise, marching round by the inland part of the island. No junction, or co-operation of forces being even now intimated, Colonel Clive returned this decided answer; that he should immediately march to Plassey, and the next day advance six miles farther to the village of Daudpoor, where, if Meer Jaffier did not join him, he would make peace with the Nabob. Before sun-set the troops were again in motion; but the immense labour of towing the boats against a stream uncommonly rapid prevented their proceeding with expedition, and it was one o'clock in the morning when they reached Plassey.

A grove of mango trees, of considerable extent, adjoined to Plassey, and of this grove the army took immediate possession. They had scarcely done this, before their ears were assailed with the sound of martial music, such as generally accompanies the night-watches of an Indian camp; by this they were convinced that a hostile army was encamped at no great distance, and, on cautious enquiry, it was found to be the Nabob's. On finding the English slower in their progress than his startled imagination had suggested, he had altered his intention of remaining at Malcurra, and arrived at Plassey twelve hours before them. The proper guards and centinels being stationed, the wearied soldiers were permitted to take repose; the crisis was too awful, from the vast disparity between the two armies, to allow the eyes of the general and his chief officers to be closed in slumber. The whole of the English force consisted of a body of 900 Europeans, 100 to-passes, and 2000 sepoy; in all 3000 men, with eight field pieces, all six-pounders, and two howitzers. To these the advancing morning would see opposed the formidable army of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon, for the most part of the largest calibres, 24 and 32 pounders. The cavalry, too, which Clive chiefly dreaded, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were of a more robust class than any he had been accustomed to encounter in the armies of Coromandel. Near the grove, and on the banks of the river, stood a hunting-house of the Nabob, the summit of which Clive with the break of dawn ascended to take a comprehensive view of the numerous battalions, already alarmed and in motion, with which his small but resolute army had to contend. He was struck with the splendor of their battle array, and the exulting confidence which they displayed, as they quitted their entrenchments, and marched into the plain on which so many were that day doomed to perish. They ad-

vanced towards the grove in large columns of horse and foot, and in the openings between the columns were interspersed the artillery, mounted on huge machines, raised six feet from the ground, and drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen of the largest size, while behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to assist at difficult tugs, by shoving with his forehead against the hinder part of the carriage. Against this immense unwieldy army the English general had now to oppose the efforts of genius, and the energies of disciplined valour.

The first display of that genius was shewn in his instantly ordering the army which he commanded to quit the GROVE, as their longer continuance beneath its gloomy covert might, by the enemy, be imputed to timidity, and his boldly drawing them up in a line with the hunting-house, in the very front of the advancing foe. The European battalion, with three pieces on their *right*, and the same number on their *left*, occupied the centre of that line; the sepoys, in two equal divisions, were stationed one on the right hand, and the other on the left, of the battalion. The two remaining field-pieces and the howitzers were advanced 200 yards in front of the left division of sepoys, and posted behind two brick-kilns, whence in the course of the day they did effectual execution. Thus every thing being arranged by the wisdom and prudence of their accomplished general, the army waited, in awful silence, the attack which was to decide the fate of the English in Bengal.

On the plain of Plassey were two tanks, or public reservoirs of water, the one much larger than the other, and considerably nearer to the grove. These tanks are generally surrounded with a mound of earth, at some distance from the margin of the water. On the mound of the latter of these tanks, that nearest the grove, a body of about 40 Frenchmen, fugitives from Chandernagore,

and in the pay of the Nabob, under the command of one Sinfray, had advantageously taken their station with four pieces of light cannon. In a line with this tank, also, close to the banks of the river, two larger pieces of ordnance were stationed. Behind these posts 5000 horse and 7000 foot were drawn up under the command of Meer Murden, the Nabob's favourite general. Meer Jaffier and the confederate generals were in a distant part of the field, determined, as it should seem, to preserve his oath to God and his fidelity to the Colonel, by standing neuter in this arduous contest.

The first shot was fired by the party at the tank, which seemed to be the signal for commencing the fire through the whole line of the artillery of the Nabob. The shot from the French detachment did some execution; but that from the Mogul artillery, being unskillfully pointed, flew too high. The two advanced field pieces in front answered the fire from the tank; the dreadful fire of the European battalion was directed against the heavy artillery on the plain, but from the distance they kept could not reach the guns. Every shot however took effect either in one or other of the numerous bodies of infantry or cavalry opposed to them; and dreadful was the slaughter, horses and men rolled promiscuously together over the bloody plain. In order to induce the enemy to advance their heavy artillery nearer, a stratagem was devised and practised; the troops were ordered to retire into the grove. Elated by this retreat, the imagined effect of their prowess, the Moguls moved forward, and fired with increased vivacity, but their shot only struck the trees, for the men were ordered to sit down, all but the cannoneers, who now poured the destructive fire of their artillery upon them with the effect desired; silencing the guns, and exterminating those who worked them. Explosions of powder were now heard frequently among

their artillery; and this seemed the moment for rushing on the disheartened and confounded enemy; but in a council holden at the drum head it was determined to continue the cannonade during the rest of the day, and at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. To add to their misfortune, about noon, a very severe shower of rain fell, and so materially damaged the enemy's powder that their fire slackened considerably; while the English ammunition continued uninjured, and their fire unabated.

All this time the Nabob, justly apprehensive that no superiority of numbers would ultimately prevail against British skill and valour, remained in his tent, far from the reach of danger, and deeply agitated with terror. Notwithstanding this, his attendants, one half of whom were engaged in the conspiracy, flattered him with the assurance of decisive victory. Intelligence being, at length, brought him that his favourite general Meer Murdeen was killed by a cannon-ball, that terror became excessive, and in an agony of conflicting passion he sent in haste for Meer Jaffier. As soon as the general entered the tent, he tore his turban from his head, and throwing it on the ground, exclaimed; "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." He promised to do so at every risque, but immediately on quitting the tent wrote word of what had passed to Colonel Clive, and urged him either to press forward that instant, or to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning. The incessant firing operating on the messenger's fears, prevented his immediate advance, and in the mean time, the Nabob's terrors continually increasing, he consulted his courtiers as to what in this extremity was best to be done. Roydoolub, the treasurer, taking advantage of them, recommended his immediate return to his capital. The Nabob acquiesced, and ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments. No time was lost in making these orders known; the cannonade ceased on the part

of the enemy ; the trains of oxen were perceived yoking to the artillery, and the whole army was soon in full retreat. The French party at the tank, alone remained firm in their station, and continued the firing ; till Clive, in person advancing with a strong detachment drove them away, and planting the English artillery upon the mound, cannonaded from it the fugitive Moguls.

The main body of the English army now advanced towards the camp of the enemy. On their march a considerable portion of their army was observed to linger in the rear, and by their motions towards the north-east angle of the grove it was supposed that the baggage and boats were intended objects of their attack : a detachment with cannon was therefore sent to oppose their progress. They proved eventually to be the troops of Jaffier ; but their signals were not understood, and the fire of the artillery soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Advancing still nearer to the intrenchments of the enemy, a more vigorous cannonade than ever was now commenced by the English. Galled by the fire, some regiments of horse came out of the intrenchments, threatening to charge sword in hand, and several pieces of their artillery were again put in motion ; but the former were constantly repulsed by the well-directed fire of the cannon, and the havock made by the shot among the bullocks rendered the latter absolutely unmanageable. At length the troops of Jaffier being recognized, and their desertion of the Nabob's standard being evident, Clive resolved to take advantage of this circumstance, and the panic universally prevailing through the Mogul army, by storming their camp. After a most judicious disposition of his little force, it pressed forward in three divisions ; the works, principally defended by the French, were soon carried, and the astonished foe fled with precipitation ; their terrified

monarch leading the way, mounted on a camel urged to its utmost speed, and accompanied by about 2000 of his fleetest horse. Although immense spoil was spread around them, the English soldiers, being promised ample compensations in money, suffered not their ardour to cool, nor their progress to be impeded by the plunder of it; but received, with acclamation the orders of their general, to march on, that evening, to Daudpore, where by a note written hastily on the field of victory, he requested Jaffier to meet him the next morning.

To that conference Meer Jaffier, attended by his son Meerum, was punctual, but approached the Colonel under evident apprehensions of his displeasure for not having joined the British army, conformably to his promises. Clive, though, not wholly satisfied with the efforts he had made, was too magnanimous to reproach him, and accepted his apologies for his conduct. He then embraced him, and aloud saluted him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He advised him not to delay an instant his march to Muxadavad, in order to prevent the escape of Surajah Dowlah, and the plunder of his treasures: promised that he himself would follow with all possible celerity; and by him dispatched letters to the other confederated chiefs, particularly to Monick-chund, promising him that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta.

With respect to Surajah Dowlah himself, with such rapidity was his flight effected that he arrived at his capital before the midnight after the battle, attended by some of his principal omrahs, equally well mounted. These, quickly assembled in council, began to deliberate what was best to be done in the present calamity. Their opinions were various and opposite: some recommended his throwing himself wholly upon the generous clemency of the English; but this was rejected, as springing

from treachery. Others were for a liberal advance of pay to the army, and the Soubah's again appearing at their head the next morning. Out of the sound and the reach of the English cannon, this advice appeared the most plausible, and three months pay to the troops was immediately ordered. The morning, however, found the Soubah engaged in an employ widely different from that of commanding armies; he was preparing with the utmost precipitation for flight, and had already sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with treasure, and necessaries, meaning himself to follow under the covert of the ensuing night. At ten that night, taking with him a casket of his most valuable jewels, disguised in mean attire, and shuddering at the quivering of a leaf, the conqueror of Calcutta secretly went out of a window of his palace, and attended only by his favourite concubine, and the eunuch who governed his seraglio, got undiscovered into a boat prepared for the purpose by the eunuch, and rowed away to the northward, meaning to go to Patna, where the governor was the faithful friend of his family.

Meer Jaffier, on his arrival, having been informed of the Sultan's flight, immediately dispatched various parties in pursuit of him. Many of his infamous parasites were taken in endeavouring to effect their escape, and intelligence soon arrived that the women, and elephants with the treasure, were stopped by a party of Jaffier's troops at a town on the Ganges, 15 miles north-east of Muxadavad. On the 29th of June Colonel Clive, at the head of a large proportion of his army, the main body of which lay encamped in the neighbourhood, made his public entry into Muxadavad, and was lodged in a magnificent palace, called *MORAUDEAUG*. Here he was immediately attended by Meerum, the son of Jaffier, with whom in a short time he returned to the palace of the late Nabob, of which Jaffier had taken possession. In the great hall

of audience, where the musnud was fixed, on which enthroned Surajah Dowlah sate on public days, Jaffier, with the great officers in the city, was waiting to receive him. The first salutations having mutually taken place, Clive led him towards the musnud, and, placing him upon it, made obeisance to him as lord of the three provinces, and presented a plate with gold rupees; in the same manner all the Omrahs present, likewise, paid their homage, and presented gold. Afterwards he was publicly proclaimed Nabob, and the general rejoicings proved how welcome was the change to an oppressed and irritated people.

The awful hour of retribution for so many extortions and murders as Surajah Dowlah had committed was at hand; and the vengeance of heaven was directed by one of the objects of his cruelty. So many parties were sent in pursuit of him, that it was scarcely possible for him to escape. The rowers of his boat had by very great exertions reached Rajamal, a town 70 miles north of Muxadavad. Here, overcome with excessive fatigue, they were compelled in the night to stop. Close by the river spread a deserted garden, under whose umbrageous covert the Nabob and his concubine were happy to procure shelter. At break of day he was recognized by a man of mean condition, who had however good reason to remember him, for on a former sanguinary expedition that way, for some slight offence he had ordered the poor fellow's ears to be cut off. The injured man immediately communicated the intelligence to a brother of Meer Jaffier who resided in Rajamal. He was instantly secured, and delivered to the soldiers who were in quest of him to be conveyed to Muxadavad, which was done with every mark of studied insult and indignity. At midnight, bound and covered with bruises, he was brought, as a common felon, into that palace of which a few days before he had been the despotic lord. Meer Jaffier is said

to have relented at the piteous spectacle, and as he lay prostrate before him, overwhelmed with the dread of death, and with tears imploring *life alone*, wished to preserve a prince who had been so highly his benefactor. But Meerum, his son, a youth not seventeen, to the last degree fierce and barbarous, insisted on instant death, in which decision joined many of the courtiers, who saw the impolicy of preserving the possible source of so much future contention. Others, however, induced by respect for Allaverdy's family, inclined to mercy, among whom apparently Jaffier. His committing him, however, to the care of Meerum, his decided enemy, for the night, argues little in favour of his sincerity ; for Meerum, when his father had retired to his seraglio, by a confidential servant sent an immediate mandate for his execution. So eager were the executioners to perform their dreadful office, that when the agonizing Sultan requested time only sufficient to make his ablutions, and say his prayers, that he might die a true mussulman, a pot of water, which accidentally stood in the chamber, was hastily thrown over his head, and he was dispatched with repeated stabs of swords and poniards. The next morning his mangled remains were exposed on an elephant through the city, and then consigned to the tomb of Allaverdy.

The important work of the restitutions was now seriously entered upon ; but the sum which Jaffier had engaged to pay on that score was found far to exceed all the treasures left in coined money and jewels by the deceased Nabob. The sum originally stipulated amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds sterling, including donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee. Of this vast aggregate, upon the strong and repeated representation of Roydoolub, the treasurer, of the absolute inefficiency of the exchequer at once to discharge it, one half was agreed to be paid immediately down ; the other

half to be paid in three years, at three equal payments. On the 6th of July was received the sum, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, which, being packed up in 700 chests, and laden in 100 boats, was, under a strong escort, conveyed down the river to Calcutta, the boats of the whole fleet attending with banners displayed, and music sounding, in the manner of a triumphal procession. In August following, the remainder was paid in gold and jewels ; and caused not only the public but the private treasuries of individuals in Calcutta once more to overflow with wealth. Nothing could exceed the transport into which the whole city was thrown by this great change in their affairs, from despair and poverty to exultation, and affluence—commerce revived and protected, their ancient privileges restored, and the limits of their territory greatly enlarged. The praises of Clive, of Watson, and the brave army and squadron, whose unequalled exertions had redeemed them from that state of despondency and penury, glowed in every heart, and resounded on every tongue.

That exultation, and those praises, however, only the first of those commanders survived to witness ; Admiral Watson, after a few days illness, having fallen a victim, on the 16th of August, to the attacks of a malignant fever peculiar to the climate. Colonel Clive, at length, having settled affairs at Muxadavad, and firmly seated the new Nabob on his throne, began to descend the river with the army on the 14th of September following, and was received at Calcutta with all the honours due to so distinguished a general. He freely lent the aid of his genius to every plan adopted for improving the settlement in its military and its civil departments ; and for the defence and ornament of the city which his protecting arm had saved. From that æra Calcutta, now become the capital of an extensive district, daily increased in splendour and population. To guard

against the recurrence of any similar calamity, under Clive's inspection, the foundations of a vast fort, the future wonder and terror of the East ! were immediately laid ; immense magazines were constructed ; and the banks of the Ganges were lined with the magnificent palaces of its merchants, who began to vie in splendour with the princes of Asia.*

The great importance of these transactions just recorded in Bengal, not only with respect to the Company's affairs, but eventually to ALL INDIA, which has since, through its utmost limits, felt the decided superiority of the British nation, both in the *cabinet* and the *field*, rendered necessary the ample details above given. Having now brought the history of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdollah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional book, the history of the European establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided.

* My authorities for the preceding statements are nearly the same (except a few references, already correctly exhibited in the pages where they occur) as those referred to at the close of the last chapter ; Orme, Cambridge, Holwell, the accounts published from the India House, and in the London Gazettes of the period.

BOOK VI.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS IS CONCLUDED.

CHAPTER I.

SHAH JEHAN, *after crushing his rival, Shehriar, and murdering his Uncle Daniel's surviving Progeny, ascends the Throne.—Account of the Children of the Emperor.—Preliminary Observations, and Review of his Character and past Conduct.—In the subordinate Capacity of Prince deeply criminal; as a Sovereign, endowed with many excellent Qualities.—Flight and Rebellion of Lodi.—War in Deccan.—Defeat of the confederated Princes.—Death of Lodi.—Renewed War in Deccan.—Dowlatabad taken, and the Nizam made Prisoner.—The Emperor returns to Agra.—The astonishing Magnificence of his Court.—The Peacock Throne.—Aurungzeb begins to distinguish himself.—The Emperor visits the Northern Provinces of his Empire.—Rebuilds Delhi; and denominates the new City after himself, JEHAUNABAD.*

FROM the petty conflicts of rival Soubahs, and their feudal dependencies, we at length return to the more dignified contests of imperial ambition. A considerable portion of the early military achievements of Shah Jehan (or rather Jehaun) have already engaged our attention, during the reign of his father Jehanguire; first, in the wars waged with Rajah Ranna, the most powerful of the native princes in Malva; * secondly in the partial subjugation

* See of this Volume, p. 198 and 199; see, also, Gladwin's History of Jehanguire, p. 30 and 39.

of the kingdoms of the peninsula ; and lastly in his nefarious but unsuccessful attempts to dethrone that father. The hand of all-conquering death had now removed the great bar to his ambition ; but he mounted not the vacant throne without some obstruction, and the shedding of that kindred blood, which, in Eastern climes, too generally bathes the steps by which it is ascended.

So entirely enslaved, in his latter days, was the deceased emperor by the charms and artifices of his beloved NOURMAHAL, and so unbounded was her influence in the empire from that monarch's devotion to her, and the power of her brother, Asoph Khan, the Vizier, that scarcely was the breath out of his body, when she attempted to realize the daring project, formed in her mind, of raising her son-in-law Sultan SHEHRIAR to the imperial dignity ; a project to which she had, in the unguarded moments of blind devotion, gained the consent of the doating emperor. For this purpose a sum amounting to 90 lacs of rupees was lavishly distributed among the soldiery by the young candidate for sovereignty ; and the great distance of Shah Jehan in the south, seemed to render practicable the meditated usurpation. Asoph, together with the principal courtiers, however, entertained different sentiments, and, firm to the interests of Jehan, not only confined his sister to the palace, but took up arms against Shehriar, who in vain opposed them with a purchased army of 20,000 horse. To prevent the tumults usual during an interregnum, and to crush for ever the claim of Shehriar, they placed the crown on the head of Sultan Bolaki, the son of Khosro, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, who certainly possessed the prior claim. His actual elevation to the throne, however, was by no means intended, nor did Sultan Bolaki without reluctance receive a boon pregnant with so much danger. Letters were immediately

dispatched to Shah Jehan, explaining their conduct, and recommending expedition in his progress to take possession of the hereditary diadem. In the mean time, precipitately hurried on by ambition to his ruin, though deserted by his mercenary generals, and the greater part of his hired army, who fled to Bolaki, Sultan Shehriar attempted to fortify himself in Lahore against the imperial troops ; but Asoph Khan with superior forces storming its castle, he was taken prisoner, and blinded by a red-hot iron, which fatal operation, throughout Asia, excludes the prince for ever from the imperial dignity.

Shah Jehan wanted no incentive to expedition ; and his right to the throne being indisputable from the death of his elder brothers, Sultans Parveiz and Khosro, he was joined in his march by all the principal Rajahs, and governors of provinces, with armies fully adequate to support that right. Still, however, accustomed to, as well as practised in, the perfidies of eastern courts, there appeared to him no safety while Shehriar, Bolaki, and the three sons of Sultan Daniel, the deceased brother of Jehanguire, who were all confined in the castle of Lahore, remained alive. Haunted by these phantoms, and the terrors of a guilty mind, he sent without delay, by an officer in his confidence, an order for the murder of those unfortunate princes ; and Asoph the governor, too obedient to his new sovereign, and too well versed in the state-policy that dictated the sanguinary measure, delivered them over to the ruthless assassins. Sultans Shehriar and Bolaki were executed as rebels and traitors, for having assumed the imperial purple, though in fact it was cruelly forced upon the latter. But hard indeed was the fate of the innocent progeny of Sultan Daniel who had been confined during the whole reign of Jehanguire, and from whom no plots could be feared, being alike imbecile in mind and body, from long

confinement. But what can allay the awakened fears of a tyrant ? At midnight the blood-hounds of despotism were let into their apartments, and strangled them in their beds. Their bodies were then secretly conveyed away, and buried in a garden near the tomb of the deceased monarch. In this manner, either by the dagger or the bow-string, were dispatched all the males of the house of Timur, so that he himself and his children alone remained of the posterity of Baber the conqueror of India. Of those children, at least the sons, doomed at a future period to be the scourge of their father, and the avengers of the blood thus inhumanly shed, it is necessary to present a short account to the reader.

They were four in number : DARA, the eldest, was at his father's accession, only thirteen years old ; he was a prince, as far as his mental qualities had yet dawned, of an open, noble, and generous disposition. SUJAH, the second in order, was in his twelfth year, a youth of great shrewdness, penetration, and bravery. AURUNGZEB, the third, was in his tenth year, and had already displayed evident symptoms of that cautious reserve and deep dissimulation which marked his riper years. Of the fourth, MURAD, being only four years old, no opinion indicative of his future conduct in life could yet be formed. Shah Jehan had also three daughters, Jehanara Begum, Roxanara Begum, and Banu Begum, all highly accomplished, and beautiful ; and all more or less conspicuous in the changeful scenes of this eventful reign.

These obstacles removed, and the empire being in profound peace, Shah Jehan was crowned at Agra, with circumstances of unusual pomp and splendour, according to Fraser,* on the 1st of February, 1628, in the 37th year of his age ; having been born on the 5th of January, 1592. He immediately appointed Asoph

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 24.

his Vizier, and the famous Mohabet Khan captain-general of his armies. The first was the father of his favourite Sultana, had secured to him the possession of the empire, and was, moreover, endeared to him by the tender care which he had taken of his children, who were hostages for the good behaviour of the father at the court of Jehanguire, when that monarch died. The second, although once his declared enemy, had found means by assisting him in his recent misfortunes with large supplies of men and money to regain his forfeited regard. Their salaries were ample beyond all former precedent ; proportionate to the great services rendered by both to the empire, and suitable to the magnificent mind of Shah Jehan. As the reader may possibly revolt at the term *magnificent* applied to the man so lately criminated as the unfeeling murderer of innocence and virtue, it becomes necessary to premise a few introductory remarks, before we enter on the events of this diversified reign.

It has been already observed that the lofty title of SHAH JEHAN, or *king of the world*, was given him by his father after his conquest of Rajah Ranna, and the province of Malva ; an injudicious mark of over-weening affection ! since the title of Shah, or king, had been hitherto solely confined to the EMPERORS of the house of Timur ; and this doubtless fanned the flame of his ambition to be what that title implied. The reader will be pleased to pardon my bringing again before his view the portrait then drawn of this monarch, and the subsequent reflections, as they are necessary to the complete developement of a character, one of the most singular, in many respects, of all that occur in the varied page of this history ; and not less eminent for his greatness than his misfortunes.

“ From the moment in which Sultan Khorum was dignified with the title of Shah Jehan, he seems to have discarded from his

mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an insatiable ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman (Nourmahal) swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning, being very partially blinded, and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

“ If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour

of a KING. But nothing less than an imperial diadem would fully satisfy Shah Jehan.—”*

That diadem was at length obtained ; that empire was now his own ; and it must be owned that, could his previous assassinations be forgotten, no prince ever conducted himself in many respects more worthy of the imperial dignity, till that dark, that fatal moment arrived, when his sons, impatient for the sceptre of their sire, began to pursue towards *him* the same iniquitous line of policy with which he had acted towards Jehanguire ; following with too scrupulous exactness the pernicious example which in his youth that sire had set them. For the greater part of this interesting piece of history we are indebted to the learned and philosophic Bernier, who resided at the court of this prince for eight years, in quality of his physician, enjoyed a great share of his confidence, and attended him in several of his journeys, particularly to Cashmere, of which beautiful province he has favoured us with a correct and animated description. Since we can no longer have the advantage of Mr. Gladwin's *almost literal* version of a respectable Persian author, as in the life of Jehanguire, Bernier will be our surest guide, though as Mr. Dow professes to translate the SHAH JEHAN NAMMA, or history of Shah Jehan, by Mirza Casim, private secretary to Aurungzeb, considerable advantage will accrue from that, certainly not *literal*, but very *liberal* version.†

* See of this Volume, Part I. p. 200 ; and indeed an attentive perusal of the whole of what relates to Shah Jehan in the former reign, is necessary to the full understanding of his conduct in this.

† Sir William Jones early cautioned me, on this account, against too great a reliance upon Dow. His letter runs thus : “ I was acquainted with Dow ; he understood Hindostanee, but knew little of Persian, and his translation of *Ferishta* is said to have been made through the medium of his Moonshee.” The Moonshee, however, doubtless understood the original ; and, if Dow reported

In the first year of the reign of Shah Jehan a strong body of Uzbek Tartars made an irruption into Cabul, of which province, during the distractions immediately consequent on the death of Jehanguire, they had meditated the entire conquest; but the speedy restoration of tranquillity enabled him to send a superior army into that quarter, by which they were repelled and routed.* To obliterate the memory of his sanguinary cruelties to those of his own house, he the same year opened the gates of the state-prison, GUALIOR, to all the criminals in that fortress, many of whom had languished in confinement there during the whole of the former reign. The Persian monarch, Shah Abbas, soon after sent a splendid embassy to Agra to congratulate the new monarch on his accession to the throne; but scarcely had the ambassador made his public entrance, when intelligence arrived of the death of that powerful prince, who in the last reign, had wrested Candahar from the Mogul. He was succeeded by Shah SEFI; a monster of cruelty, skilled to use the dagger and the bowl, but not formidable in the field. Shah Jehan, now sedulously applied himself to rectify the numerous abuses which, during the indolent reign of his father, had pervaded every department of the government. With inflexible severity he punished all well-founded complaints against his officers whether civil or military; and established an active and vigorous police throughout his vast dominions. By great rewards he encouraged agriculture, and by great immunities he promoted commerce. Midnight robbery† and assassination, before so faithfully, the work must be considered as valuable. Notwithstanding, in consequence of that caution, I have throughout this work, when citing that author, always endeavoured to obtain collateral authorities.

* De Laet, *India Vera*, p. 288.

† In proof of this we are told by Bernier that the warehouses of the Dutch factory at Surat having been broken open by night and plundered of goods to a great amount,

frequent, were no longer heard of; and the Viceroys in their respective provinces being compelled to refund, out of their private fortunes, the money extorted by depredators on the public roads, took such vigorous measures for the extermination of those banditti, that the traveller, in pursuit of business or pleasure, journeyed in safety through the most inhospitable and unfrequented districts.

From these pacific and laudable pursuits the attention of Shah Jehan was suddenly diverted by the necessity of taking up arms to crush a formidable insurrection brooding in the south. Previous to his assumption of the crown, and while yet his success was doubtful, he had received a gross insult from Lodi, the general of the imperial troops in Deccan, who, gained over by Nour-mahal, had not only openly espoused the cause of Shehriar, but had opposed his march through that province to Agra. Lodi was an Omrah of the highest distinction, and boasted his descent from the dynasty of that name which governed India, prior to the Moguls. Shah Jehan, aware of his power and great military talents, when, established on the throne, he sent an army to reduce him, sent also by his general terms on which pardon and reconciliation might be obtained. In those terms Lodi prudently acquiesced, consented to resign his station in Deccan, and was made governor of Malva. On the emperor's solicitation, he afterwards repaired to Court, where a series of indignities convinced him that the reconciliation of Shah Jehan was not sincere. In daily dread of assassination, he fled with his two sons towards Malva, and in their flight, being pursued by the imperial troops, the eldest was slain bravely fighting in his father's defence. Having reached Malva, he endeavoured to collect an army

on complaint to the emperor he obliged the governor from his salary to remunerate them for their loss. Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. ii. p. 168.

sufficient to oppose the imperialists, but the pursuit was so warm and vigorous, that he could make no effectual stand against them, and therefore he continued his flight with his few valiant comrades in arms to Bundela, in the mountainous defiles and almost impregnable fortresses of which country he defended himself with such resolute bravery, that the army was at length wearied out by incessant fatigue, and gave over the pursuit. To Lodi, also, some repose was necessary ; and after remaining a short time in Bundela, he traversed the provinces of Berar and Oudipore, in his way to Golconda, nor relaxed his speed till he reached Dowlatabad, where his friend, the Nizam, received the exhausted fugitive with open arms. His relation of the unmerited insults which he had met with at the court of Agra, and the sufferings he had since undergone, excited alike the compassion and the resentment of the Nizam, and he promised him protection, at the risque of his kingdom.

In the mean time the emperor, to whom the darling project of conquering the Deccan, had descended from his predecessors, Akber and Jehanguire, determined to make this friendly reception of a rebel to his authority an excuse for renewing those efforts for its complete subjugation which had hitherto been only crowned with partial success. Its princes were tributaries indeed to the empire ; but were far from being wholly subdued. The principal of them were Adil, sovereign of Beejapour, or Visiapour, Cuttub, king of Hyderabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam, king of Deccan proper. At the courts of each of these princes Lodi was hospitably received, and his cause espoused with ardour. The crisis seemed favourable to their views of bursting those shackles which the Delhian sovereigns during two reigns, had attempted to impose on the princes of the Deccan ! Lodi, equally brave and eloquent, in a strain of glowing oratory, inflamed their hopes ;

and promised, if they would unite their forces, to lead them to certain victory. Combating singly they would, as before, fall an easy prey to the Mogul ; united they would be invincible. After some hesitation, the effect of mutual jealousies, they complied with his advice. Under so consummate a general they thought they had nothing to fear, and preparations for the worst that might happen were accordingly commenced with the utmost promptitude and vigour. Shah Jehan, to the rage of disappointed vengeance adding that of ambition and conquest, lost no time in executing the resolutions he had formed. His project of conquering the Deccan forms one grand feature of his reign ; and as it is only those grand features of the reigns of the Mogul dynasty, that this history attempts to display, we shall dwell more largely upon it than usual.

Early in the year 1631 he moved southward at the head of 100,000 horse, and arriving at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, fixed his encampment in the vicinity of that city. Thence he dispatched messengers to the confederated princes, commanding them to appear personally before him ; to disband their armies, and to deliver up Lodi, his rebellious subject : otherwise he would pour destruction upon them, and make their country a desert. The princes returned an evasive answer ; and, with increased vigour, continued the preparations for war.

Thinking it beneath his dignity in person to lead his troops against a rebel in arms, Shah Jehan dispatched Eradit Khan, the governor of Candeish, with 25,000 horse, assisted by two other Omrahs, with 14,000 each, making in the whole a body of 53,000 men, to ravage the territories of the Nizam, who having first received Lodi under his protection, became the first object of his resentment. Lodi with an inferior army, but with superior military abilities, immediately advanced to oppose these forces, and ;

taking possession of the difficult passes of the mountains on the frontier, so completely obstructed their line of march, and so harrassed them with partial attacks, without risking a general engagement, that Eradit with all his exertions was unable to penetrate into Golconda. The Emperor, who knew the abilities of Lodi, and by no means expected an easy conquest, yet after some months was stung with disappointment that no farther progress was made, and distrusting Eradit's ability to cope with Lodi, immediately sent his Vizier Asoph, with ten thousand additional horse, to supersede that Omrah. The very name of Asoph, a man equally illustrious in the field and in the cabinet, carried terror with it. The war assumed a new aspect, the confederates were panic-struck, and in spite of the most heroic bravery displayed on the part of Lodi, were defeated. They were compelled to sue for peace, but the Emperor would listen to no terms that did not include the surrender of Lodi. That brave man, however, suspecting treachery, had fled beyond the bounds of Golconda, but not beyond the vengeance of the Emperor. Numerous parties were sent every way in pursuit of him, and, at length, with about thirty of his faithful adherents, he was overtaken, surrounded, and cut to pieces; after having made dreadful havoc among his assailants.

The confederates had lost their general, and had suffered a defeat: they had even solicited peace in hopes that the conditions would be reasonable at least, if not favourable. The demands of Shah Jehan however being too exorbitant to be complied with, the negotiations were broken off. The Vizier's presence being necessary at court for the transaction of public business, Eradit was again intrusted with the command of the army. The confederates had after their defeat retired from the field into their strong holds, and the war was converted into a succession of

sieges. The fortresses were strong, the garrisons determined, and the imperialists not over skilful; still the Emperor would not relax from the severity of his demands; great numbers of his troops perished by famine, disease, and the sword, but little progress was made in the subjugation of Deccan. Thus matters continued for a great length of time; all the open country was ravaged with fire and sword; whole cities were depopulated, and fertile provinces converted into deserts. Armies were sent on armies in fruitless and destructive expeditions; and a succession of great generals was employed with no other ultimate success than the capture of a few insignificant forts. At length in 1633, the fortress of Dowlatabad, deemed impregnable, in which the Nizam had shut himself up, was taken by the most experienced of those generals, Mohabet; who after all owed his success to a large bribe bestowed on the governor. During the protracted siege the aged Nizam had died, but the young Nizam, his grandson, was delivered up; sent prisoner to Gualior, and his dominions were annexed to the empire. Beejapour and Tellingana still remained to be subdued; but the Emperor, gratified with this partial success of his arms, leaving Mohabit in the command of the country which he had conquered, returned to Agra. It was his fixed determination however at no distant period to return with all the forces of the empire, and undertake in person the accomplishment of his favourite object.

Engaged in detailing the more important events of the Portuguese government in Malabar, and at their presidency of Goa, I neglected to notice the misfortune that befel them in the present year (1633) at their factory at Hoogley, where from their imprudent conduct having drawn down upon them the displeasure of the Emperor, they were by his command attacked by Casim, the Soubah, at the head of the provincial troops, their property

plundered, and many of them put to death. Shah Jehan is said, in Dow's life of him, to have harboured resentment against this nation for refusing to assist him in his distresses, when, after the battle of the Nerbudda in the former reign, he took refuge in Bengal; and it is there added that these were the first hostilities against Europeans, recorded in the histories of the East.*

The revolt of the Rajah of Bundela (Bundelcund), which also happened this year, would, from its inferior importance, have remained unnoticed in these pages, had it not proved the means of introducing, for the first time, on the theatre of Indian warfare, the young prince, AURUNGZEB, to whom, under the tuition of Nuserit, governor of Malva, the reduction of that rebel was intrusted. Though then only thirteen years old, he on all occasions manifested the most undaunted intrepidity; was foremost in every assault of danger and difficulty; and eminently displayed those talents for military command which afterwards distinguished the conqueror of the peninsula. After a long and obstinate contest the Rajah was subdued, slain, and his head carried to Agra, where, soon after, Aurungzeb also appeared the welcome bearer of about three millions in silver coin, gold, and jewels, found in the vaults of his palace, which he laid at the feet of his transported father, as the first fruits of his victories.†

Shah Jehan had from his early youth a taste for splendour and magnificence. The sumptuous throne which he caused to be built in the former reign, when contending for the empire, out of the spoils of plundered provinces, ornamented with a profusion of the richest jewels, evinced that to be one of his ruling passions.‡ He now began a more superb one, the famous *TUKT TAÔUS*, or *peacock throne*, of which the body was formed of solid

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 145. † Ibid, p. 147. ‡ See of this volume, p. 203.

gold, incrusting over with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. This throne, in finishing, and the expence of the jewels alone, amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling! It was called the peacock throne, from having the figure of *two peacocks* standing behind it, with their tails expanded, which were studded with various jewels to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald. The finest jewel was a **RUBY**, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398.* This is Dow's account, and it is corroborated, with some little variety of description, by Tavernier, a merchant in diamonds, who travelled in India, in Shah Jehan's reign, and who declares that monarch to have been the most skilful in jewels of any man in his own dominions. After such lengthened and disgusting details of blood and slaughter, I am not afraid of offending the reader by inserting Tavernier's more circumstantial account of the peacock throne; it is evident, from the variation in the accounts,† that some alteration must have taken place in this splendid pageant, between the period when it was first exhibited (1635) and about twenty years after, when Tavernier surveyed it at Delhi.

“ The Great Mogul has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds; others, with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. This (the peacock) is the largest throne, and is set up in the hall of the first court of the palace; it is, in form, like one of our field-beds, six foot long and four broad. The cushion, at the back, is round

* Ibid, p. 155.

† I had it engraved for the Indian Antiquities from a drawing by a Venetian artist who visited India in the suite of Manouchi, chief physician to Aurungzebe during forty years. It forms the frontispiece of the final volume of that work. It answers to the first of these descriptions, and has *two peacocks*.

like a bolster ; the cushions on the sides are flat. I counted about a hundred and eight pale rubies in collets about this throne, the least whereof weighed a hundred carats ; but there are some that weigh two hundred. Emeralds, I counted about a hundred and forty, that weighed some threescore, some thirty, carats.

“ The under part of the canopy is all embroidered with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of pearls round about. Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch with four panes, stands a peacock, with his tail spread, consisting entirely of sapphires and other proper coloured stones : the body is of beaten gold encased with several jewels ; and a great ruby upon his breast, to which hangs a pearl that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays, as high as the bird, consisting of various sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enamelled. When the king seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant of eighty or ninety carats weight, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung that it is always in his eye. The twelve pillars also, that uphold the canopy, are set with rows of fair pearl, round, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats apiece. At the distance of four feet, upon each side of the throne, are placed two umbrellas, the handles of which are about eight feet high, covered with diamonds ; the umbrellas themselves being of crimson velvet, embroidered and fringed with pearl. This is the famous throne (he adds) which Tamerlane began and Shah Jehan finished ; and is really reported to have cost a hundred and sixty millions and five hundred thousand livres of our money. Besides this stately and magnificent throne, there is another less, of an oval form, seven foot long and five broad. The outside of it shines all over with diamonds and pearls, but there is no canopy over it.

The five other thrones are erected in another magnificent hall, in a different court, entirely covered with diamonds without any coloured stone.”*

As another instance of that ostentatious magnificence in which the soul of Jehan delighted, the same traveller mentions the sumptuous gallery built by that monarch, which he had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the fashion of grapes.† To this account Manouchi, also an eye witness, adds, that the opposite side of the gallery, in which are the windows, is adorned with looking-glasses of considerable magnitude whose borders are set with the largest oriental pearl. The clusters of precious stones, multiplied in the looking-glasses, reflect an inconceivable splendor, which dazzles by day, and enlightens the whole gallery by night.‡

This costly pageant of Jehan, was not wholly without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus,|| was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in

* See Tavernier's Indian Travels, part 2. book ii. chap viii.

† Tavernier's Indian Travels, book I. chap. vii.

‡ Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 218. edit. oct. 1709.

|| See Herodot. Lib. vii. and also Athenæus, Lib. xii.

form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius,* amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer.†

Independently of the innate love of regal pomp, Shah Jehan thought that a public display of magnificence raised awe in his subjects, and gave weight to his authority. With this view he selected a hundred youths from among the sons of the nobility who were of the most distinguished merit, and made them omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they always attended the presence. They were all uniformly dressed in clothes richly embroidered, with golden helmets, swords inlaid with precious stones, and shields studded with gold. When the Emperor went abroad these constantly attended him with drawn sabres, all mounted on the fleetest Arabian horses, and from these he chose his officers of state. His vanity, however, was principally gratified in the splendour of his Haram. Early in his reign he had the misfortune to lose, in child-bed, his favourite Sultana, the daughter of the Vizier, and mother of all his surviving children. For a time he was inconsolable, and raised at Agra a magnificent tomb to her memory, which cost, in building, no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. While she survived he was very constant to her; but, after her decease, he indulged his licentious passions to great excess, and his seraglio was crowded with the

* Quintus Curtius, Lib. viii. cap. ix.

† Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 213.

finest women of Asia. Most of our Eastern travellers who have attempted to describe the œconomy of the seraglio, have doubtless, from the sacredness of that recess, imposed upon their readers a heap of gross falsehoods. Manouchi, so long physician at the court of Agra, may be supposed to write from better information than most of them, and his account of what concerns the external decoration of the fair incarcerated inhabitants is in substance as follows.

Their hair, perfumed with the finest essences, and braided with pearls, falls down in graceful tresses. Some, on the crown of the head, wear turbans adorned with plumes of feathers, glittering with precious stones, while long scarves of gold tissue fastened to them behind, hang down, and reach to the very ground. Others wear a kind of diadem, formed of pearl, on the front part of the head, in the centre of which is fixed a glorious jewel resembling in its figure the sun, a crescent, a star, or some beautiful flower. Their necklaces, too, are of the finest oriental pearl, intermixed with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. The climate obliging them to wear only the slightest covering, there is, he tells us, a silk made on purpose for them, so very fine that a whole suit of it does not weigh above an ounce. These dresses are never worn a second time, but every returning day supplies a new suit of a different colour from the former. While, however, these delicate females shrink from this slight incumbrance of clothing, they wear, he adds, so many jewels that they are in a manner burdened with them. The neck and bosom are covered with interwoven pearl and diamonds, suspended crosswise in brilliant rows. Their pendants and bracelets are of a surprising magnificence. Their fingers and their toes, which are always uncovered, as they only wear sandals, are alike adorned with the richest rings. On the right thumb they wear a small looking-

glass, in the form of a signet, set round with pearl, in which they are for ever admiring themselves. The ornament most becoming these princesses (for we must suppose Manouchi only speaking of the highest order of females in the seraglio) is a gold girdle of about two fingers breadth garnished with variegated stones. Labels of the same metal hang down from it with clusters of orient pearl at the extremities. What is most astonishing is that each Sultana has, at least, six or eight changes of these jewels. The reader will doubtless here fancy that he has been travelling in *fairy land*, where all is pearl and diamonds; but the description just given falls very far short of the truth.

Here I should finish this gaudy picture; but what our author has remarked concerning the *sources* of this vast accumulation of precious stones at the Mogul court is too deserving of notice to be omitted, and I hope to render it more so by additional remarks of my own.

The court of the Mogul, he observes, is richer in jewels than can well be conceived in Europe. Timur, the founder of the empire, had enriched himself with the plunder of the palaces of the greatest part of the sovereigns of Asia. In the Indian Antiquities the reader will find an account of the great feast which that conqueror made after his conquest of Asia, on the plain of CANAGHA, in which all his immense treasures in gold and jewels were displayed; treasures compared with which, as I have there truly observed, the riches of Xerxes and Darius were trifling.* The delight of the Tartar monarchs who succeeded was to hoard up inconceivable masses of precious stones. Baber carried with him from Samarcand to the Indies a great part of the treasures

* Indian Antiquities, vol. vii. p. 98. in an express dissertation on the wealth of the ancient world, which for the most part centred in India in the purchase of her rare and valuable commodities.

of Gengis and Timur. The long reigns of Akber and Jehanguire, enriched with the plunder of the Rajapouts and the Deccan, gave time for the imperial treasures to accumulate. To the latter no present was so acceptable as a rare and costly jewel, of which the vanquished Rajahs, among whom remained the ancient stores in that way of the ancient Hindoo empire, were aware, and availed themselves.* Aurungzeb, by his conquest of the kingdom of Golcondah, became master of the diamond mines; and every year, besides the tribute paid him out of Golconda in precious stones, bought up the fairest and most perfect for the use of his wives and daughters. These jewels are never alienated, for at the death of the Sultanas, the emperor being their only heir, they revert to the crown. It may be farther observed, that the jewels of the seraglio are rendered unfit for sale by being perforated. In proof of this it is observed that Akber, being in want of money to carry on the war in Guzzurat, sent some rubies to be sold at

* See in Gladwin's *Life of Jehanguire* a great variety of instances. Thus, when the Ranna of Oudipour, after his defeat, was first introduced to the prince, his victor, he made him a present of a "RUBY, a valuable family jewel," p. 30. When the prince and his captive the Ranna had their audience of Jehanguire, his nuzzir among other things was "*a chrystal casket full of jewels*, and the RUBY which had been presented to him by the Ranna, valued at 60,000 rupees," p. 31. "Rajah Bickermajeet laid out two lacks of rupees (24,000l.) at Goa in the purchase of a RUBY, which he presented to Shah Jehan," p. 39. The *peishcush*, or present, at one time offered by Shah Jehan to his father was as follows: "the above RUBY, weighing 17 miskals; an AMETHYST, valued at a lack of rupees (12,000l.); a DIAMOND, valued at 40,000 rupees; another, of the same value; another, valued at 30,000 rupees; a pearl worth 25,000 rupees; two other pearls of the same price," p. 40. When the Emperor was last at Agra, Shah Abbass sent him a RUBY which had descended from Ulug Beg to the Seffi family: The name of Ulug Beg was engraved upon it, and Jehanguire ordered his own name to be added to it," p. 52. This is the great ruby, before mentioned, as being the noblest ornament of the peacock throne. Rubies, therefore, seem to have been the jewel most valued by these princes; the finest are found in Pegu.

Goa. They were very beautiful to the eye, but their being perforated spoiled the sale of them. With respect to that superior class of precious stones which adorn the person of the emperor, they are the master-pieces of nature, and are all distinguished by peculiar high-sounding names. One is called the Sun, another the Moon, a third Aldebaran, a fourth Sirius, and a fifth the Bear-star. By these names the Mogul distinguishes them, and calls for them when he wants them on days of national festivity.*

About this time the marriages of Sultans Dara and Sujah were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence at Agra : no less a sum than 875,000l. was expended by the emperor on this occasion ; and the nobles vied with each other in the most expensive entertainments and shews. Aurungzeb, now in his fifteenth year, became so expert in his martial exercises, and evinced such a superior understanding, as greatly to increase in favour with his father. His fortitude at those years was such as amazed the Emperor and the whole court, before whom he publicly fought on horse-back against an elephant, and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. On this occasion appeared the first symptoms of that unhappy jealousy, which afterwards broke out among the princes ; the two elder burned with envy at the preference given to Aurungzeb, and ever after bore the young prince a secret enmity. To prevent any ill effects from this rising spirit of animosity, Sujah was sent into Deccan to govern that province, assisted by the councils of the sage Mohabet, whose control, however, his lofty spirit could not brook. He was, therefore, recalled, and shortly after made viceroy of Bengal, which province he governed nearly all the remainder of Shah Jehan's reign. With respect to Sultan Dara, the eldest,

* Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 331.

being the imperial prince, his father kept him near himself at court, much against the Sultan's consent, who murmured greatly at the distinguished honours conferred on Sujah, while he himself had neither province nor command. His father endeavoured to pacify him by representing to him, that it arose solely from his tender affection towards the heir of the throne that he did not permit him to take the field ; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. With these representations, however, ~~Sujah~~ was by no means satisfied ; and the emperor, to appease him, appointed him to the command of six thousand horse. Jehan, for this guarded conduct towards Dara, had doubtless other motives besides affection : he had marked the young scyon of ambition shooting up and expanding in his mind, and viewed him with the same jealous eye with which the prince himself regarded his brother Sujah.

The vast preparations making for the Emperor's intended conquest of Deccan were, in the mean time, advancing towards completion. The greater part of the year 1634 was spent in visiting the northern provinces of the empire. He moved but slowly ; a considerable army, and the whole court attending his progress. Being an excellent sportsman, he hunted in all the forests on the way, and is said with his own hand to have shot *forty deer* before he reached Delhi. After staying some time at Delhi, he proceeded to Lahore, and with great pomp and affected piety went to visit the tomb of that father whose life he had so much embittered. He made magnificent presents to some learned men of that city, and to the fakeers who kept up the perpetual lamp burning in the tomb of his father ; he then hastened on to Cashmere, where he arrived about the middle of June. There, during the tropical heats, he relaxed from the fatigues of public business, and amused himself with viewing the curious springs, the cascades,

the hanging woods, and the ample lakes which diversify the face of that romantic and beautiful region.

Shah Jehan, during his stay at Delhi, had formed the resolution of rebuilding that ancient capital after a magnificent manner. The two kings, his predecessors, had set him an example in this respect, Akber having rebuilt Agra, and Jehanguire having repaired and beautified Lahore. On the Emperor's return southward, this important undertaking was ordered to be immediately carried into execution, and the most skilful architects and masons were procured from the greatest distances to forward its accomplishment. He drew the outlines of his new city on a large plain on the western banks of the Jumna, and, in constructing it, made use of the same sort of red stone, of the hardness and colour of jasper, brought from the quarries of Fetti-pore, which Akber employed in building the castle of Agra. The city was fortified with twelve lofty towers, and had as many magnificent gates; the principal, that fronting the palace, of uncommon magnitude and grandeur. The palace itself surpassed every thing of the kind in India, the walls of the principal apartments being lined with marble, and the cielings of many of them overlaid with plates of silver. The grand mosque, or JAMA MUSJED, was also without its rival, being incrustcd within and without with marble of various colours. The great Omrahs, too, of Shah Jehan's court, to gain their master's applause, vied with each other in raising splendid palaces within the limits of his new city, and besides the JAMA MUSJED, there were many other mosques inferior in magnitude, but of exquisite beauty. The bazars, or public market places, were surrounded by arches, which at the same time that they gave a perpetual shade below, supported noble terraces above, while the shops themselves were stored with the richest merchandize of Asia, encouraged by high immunities to

centre in this new and beautiful metropolis. The city was about seven miles in circumference, and was surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone, the Jumna itself forming its defence on the fourth, while Shah Jehan's principal care was to make two gardens of inconceivable magnificence, called the gardens of Shalimar, which alone cost him a million sterling. Here were grottos of great extent and depth, where the beams of the sun never penetrated, canals of the fairest water filled with gold and silver fishes, fountains that for ever playing diffused a refreshing coolness around, while the choicest flowers and fruits of Asia, by their fragrance and flavour, on every side administered to the gratification of the delighted senses.

Lest the reader, not accustomed to the extravagance of Eastern magnificence, should think the above account exaggerated, I shall conclude this chapter with inserting Mr. Franklin's description of a part of this palace, as it was seen by him in its ruined state, on his visit to Delhi in 1793, from which some judgment may be formed of what it was in the meridian glory of the empire, when adorned with the peacock throne, and the other sumptuous regalia of Mogul splendour. This description, it will be observed, only concerns the great and lesser hall of audience, and the royal baths.

"The PALACE of the royal family of *Timur*, was erected by the Emperor SHAH JEHAN at the time he finished the new city. It is situated on the western bank of the *Jumna*, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of red stone. I suppose the circumference of the whole to be about a mile. The first object that attracts attention after entering the palace, is the *Dewaun Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all descriptions of people. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and is a noble building, but at present much in decay. On each side of the *Dewaun Aum*,

and all round this square, are apartments of two stories high, the walls and front of which in the times of the splendour of the empire, were adorned with a profusion of the richest tapestry, velvets, and silks ; the nobles vying with each other in rendering them the most magnificent, especially on festivals, and days of public rejoicings, when they presented a grand sight. These decorations have however been long since laid aside, and nothing but the bare walls remain. From the *Dewaun Aum*, we proceeded through another handsome gateway to the *Dewaun Khass* beforementioned. This building is also situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and elevated upon a marble terrace about four feet high. The *Dewaun Khass* in former times has been adorned with excessive magnificence,* and though stripped and plundered by various invaders, still retains sufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be a hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by a great many columns of fine white marble, which have been richly adorned with inlaid flower-work of beautiful stones : the cornices and borders have been decorated with a great quantity of frieze and sculptured work. The cieling was formerly incrustated with a work of rich foliage of silver throughout the whole extent, which has been long since taken off and carried away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired, and it is matter of heartfelt regret to see the barbarous ravages that have been made in picking out the different cornelians, and breaking the marble by violence. Around the interior of the *Dewaun Khass*, in the cornice, are the following lines in Persian engraved in letters of gold, upon a white marble ground.

“ If there be a paradise upon earth, this is it—’tis this, ’tis this.”

* Within this the peacock imperial throne was erected.

The terrace on which the *Derwaun Khanah* is built is composed of large beautiful slabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the same materials.

“The ROYAL BATHS built by SHAH JEHAN, are situated a little to the northward of the *Derwaun Khass*, and consist of three very large apartments surmounted by white marble domes. The inside of the baths is lined, about two thirds of the way up, with marble, having a beautiful border of flower-worked cornelians and other precious stones, executed with taste. The floors are paved throughout with marble in large slabs, and there is a fountain in the centre of each with many pipes: large reservoirs of marble, about four feet deep, are placed in different parts of the walls; the light is admitted from the roof by windows of particoloured glasses; and capacious stones with iron gratings are placed underneath each separate apartment. There is a noble mosque adjoining, entirely of white marble, and made after the fashion described above. A great part of this noble palace has suffered very much by the destructive ravages of the late invaders. The *Rohillas* in particular, who were introduced by GHOLAUM KAUDER, have stripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements, and have even picked out the stones from the borders of many of the floorings.”*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 431.

CHAPTER II.

Third Expedition of the Emperor to Deccan, the Result of Ambition and Avarice united.—Conquest of the Kings of Bejapour, and Tellingana.—Aurungzeb made Governor of Deccan.—His Marriage.—Candahar restored to the Moguls.—Incursions of the Uzbek Tartars; defeated by Aurungzeb.—Candahar retaken by the Persians.—The Emperor grows jealous of his Sons, and they of each other.—Consequent dreadful Distractions of the Empire.—Their Contests for the Sovereign Power.—Aurungzeb finally prevails, imprisons his Father, and ascends the Throne.

It was near the close of the year 1636 before Shah Jehan commenced his long-meditated expedition for the purpose of reducing the Mahomedan governments of the Deccan, not yet conquered. Mohabet, the greatest of his generals, was dead; and from that event the progressive march of his armies in that quarter had ceased. The kings of Bejapour and Tellingana, in modern geography Visiapour and Golconda, having retreated into the strong fortresses in which those kingdoms abounded, defied the utmost efforts of his generals to bring them under the Mogul yoke. They had laid waste, but had not subdued, the country; and the task of their complete subjugation was left to the emperor, and his son Aurungzeb.

Ambition had doubtless a very decided influence over the emperor's mind in making this attack, but the vast sums which Shah Jehan was at this moment expending in rebuilding Delhi, and improving Agra, and in the unequalled splendour of a most luxurious court, render the supposition of his eastern biographer

extremely probable, viz. that AVARICE had also no small share in exciting him to this undertaking. In the different assaults already made on that devoted country, much of its hoarded treasure in coined money, and very considerable quantities of the finest jewels of Golconda, had found their way to Agra. For this species of wealth we have seen the insatiable avidity of this monarch, as well as the mode of its application. That kingdom was a mine of jewels, rich in itself, and rich in the wealth of its dependent kingdom of Bisnagar, as yet only partially plundered. Both Tavernier and Thevenot were at Golconda in this reign; and the latter, a traveller of great veracity, gives the following account of the king's splendid personal appearance, from which an idea may be formed of the riches and magnificence of his court and kingdom. I cite it verbatim from the English edition of 1687. " This prince wears on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of inestimable value. It is a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches in diameter. On the top of that rose there is a little crown out of which issues a branch resembling that of a palm tree, but it is round; and that palm tree branch is a good inch in diameter, and about half a foot long. It is made up of several sprigs which are (as it were) the leaves of it, each of them having at their extremities a lovely long pearl, in shape like a pear. At the foot of this posie there are two bands of gold in the fashion of table bracelets, in which are enchased large diamonds, set round with rubies, which with great pearls that hang dangling on all sides make an exceeding rare shew: these bands are fastened to the head with clasps of diamonds. In short, this king doubtless surpasses all the kings of the Indies in precious stones," &c. &c.* Tavernier's account of the wealth of Golconda is still more particular and surprising;

* Thevenot's Indian Travels, book 2d. chap. 7. p. 102. folio edit. 1687.

but the above specimen is fully sufficient to support the conjecture that it was not *ambition alone* that led this ostentatious monarch to invade the Deccan.*

From political motives the march of the army was slow and circuitous. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces, as he advanced, and many of them, being at a considerable distance from the intended scene of action, required time for the junction. Aurungzeb, now in high favour, and ardent to distinguish himself, accompanied the emperor. At his request the army passed through Bundelcund, which was the scene of the first campaign of that prince, and where he pointed out to his delighted father the spots on which he had encountered the greatest difficulties, and the forts that had longest held out in that protracted contest. By premeditated delays, and by excursions of hunting, in which exercise the emperor greatly delighted, nearly a year was consumed before he entered the borders of the Deccan. When, at length, he reached Dowlatabad,† and had been joined by all the troops, his force was so prodigious, as almost to exceed calculation, while it promised to annihilate resistance on the part of the enemy.

Twelve different armies were immediately formed, and dispatched, under as many experienced generals, by different routs, into the kingdoms of Bejapour and Tellingana. The amazed inhabitants were attacked at once and from so many different

* In his chapter on Golconda Tavernier informs us that the two largest diamonds in the world, that is, *cut diamonds*, belong, the one to the Great Mogul, weighing 279 carats; and the other, weighing 139 carats, to the Duke of Tuscany.

† The names of Eastern capitals and provinces are perpetually varying, which causes much inevitable confusion. Thus to the province called Ahmednagar, in Ferishta's *History of Deccan*, a later age has given the name of Dowlatabad, in that writer's time its capital; at a still later period, Aurungabad, built by Aurungzeb, became its capital; at present the Nizam's capital is Hydrabad.

quarters that they knew not whither to retreat, and no quarter was given to any that resisted. " Towns and cities," says the Persian historian, " were seen in flames on every side ; the hills were shaken with the continual roar of artillery, and the tigers of the desert fled from the more ferocious fury of man." One hundred and fifteen towns and castles were taken and destroyed in the course of a year, while from the lofty citadel of Dowlatabad the relentless emperor looked down with savage pleasure on a country in flames, and an expiring people. Shut up in their strong fortresses, and unable to assist their suffering subjects, the kings of Bejapour and Tellingana at length became convinced that universal ruin and depopulation must be the consequence of longer resistance in this war of dreadful devastation. In supplicating terms they therefore solicited peace ; and Shah Jehan took advantage of their necessities, to impose such severe terms upon them as virtually amounted to the loss of their kingdoms. Though their crowns were forfeited, however, they were established hereditary governors of their own dominions, on condition of acknowledging the emperor, and his successors, to be LORDS PARAMOUNT of the Deccan, and of paying a large annual tribute, of which the first payment was to take place immediately. Although no particular sum is specified, and the task of completely ransacking Golconda was left to Aurungzeb at a future period, yet we may depend upon it that the ransom and tribute paid by these princes in gold and jewels were of no inferior kind ; but sufficient at once to re-imburse Shah Jehan the expense of the expedition, and greatly to augment the lustre of his inestimable THRONE.

His grand project being now fully accomplished, the emperor commenced his march for Ajmere, leaving Aurungzeb with a large force, under the tuition of Khan Zeman to govern the

conquered provinces. For some time past a treaty of marriage had been negotiated between that prince, now in his twentieth year, and a grand daughter of the famous Asoph Khan, the Visier, which the present cessation from hostilities gave leisure to complete. The most splendid preparations were accordingly made, and in the course of a few months the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp at Ajmere; the venerable Visier himself coming from Agra to attend the ceremony. Shortly after Khan Zeman died, when he had the sole command of the imperial army, and the undivided government of the Deccan intrusted to his charge; an important charge to so young a prince. He had however given proofs of wisdom and experience adequate to it, and had already formed in his mind the plan of his distinguished triumphs on this wide theatre of his future glory.

Candahar, to which the Persian sovereigns had long laid claim, and which had been taken from the Moguls by Shah Abbas, during the distractions that prevailed in the reign of Jehanguire, was, about this time, restored to Shah Jehan by its Persian governor, Ali Murdan, who, disgusted at the innumerable cruelties practised in Persia without bound and without remorse by the tyrant SHAH SEFI, from the highest Omrah to the lowest peasant, and fully aware of his own precarious existence, resolved to change masters; and only stipulating for his personal safety, delivered up that citadel to the governor of Cabul. Nothing could exceed the joy of the emperor at the recovery of this important fortress, the source of perpetual contentions between the two kingdoms; and he not only immediately conferred the most ample pecuniary rewards on Ali Murdan, but, finding him worthy of his esteem and confidence, afterwards exalted him to offices of very high trust and dignity in the empire. On the other hand enraged equally at the treachery of his governor, and the loss of

the fortress, the Persian Shah ordered an army of 7000 horse to advance from Chorasán to retake it. The Indian commander, however, marched out with an inferior force, and totally defeated those troops, who possibly fought with no great ardour in the cause of their sanguinary master.

The Emperor continued his rout from Ajmeer to Lahore, in his progress correcting abuses, hearing complaints, and removing cruel or venal governors. His sons, Sultans Dara and Sujah, were about this time dignified with higher rank in the army, the former being made an Omrah of 10,000 horse and as many foot, and the latter of 7000 horse and an equal number of foot. Sultan Murad too, the fourth son of the Emperor, now in his seventeenth year, having in a late instance, in the province of Marwar, given decisive proofs of his martial fire and talents, had a considerable command given him, and was, shortly after, under proper tuition, made governor of Multan. It is, in this place, necessary to observe that Shah Jehan, having frequently declared his intention of leaving the throne to Dara, he always appointed him to the first place in dignity and power, and wished to habituate his sons to regard him as their future sovereign; although he is said by Bernier* to have ever harboured a latent jealousy of this prince, and secretly to have encouraged the ambition of Aurungzeb, whose abilities for governing he thought superior. This writer also informs us that on this account, while the other sons had distant and affluent governments assigned them, he retained Dara at court, where he had a throne placed for him, in the hall of audience, a little lower than his own, and whereon he sate as a second emperor, forgetting an old eastern adage, that *two suns never yet shone in one hemisphere*. This imprudent, irresolute conduct in Shah Jehan, who had acted so summary a part by his own

* Bernier's Mogul Empire, p. 29, et seq.

brothers, and who might have crushed the evil in time, by sending all the suspected to Gualior, is rather astonishing, and certainly *was* the cause of all his succeeding calamities.

Amidst events of more important consideration in an empire, the death of a great and good man, who, when acting from himself, was the model of upright ministers, may surely be enumerated. Such was Asoph Jah, brother of NOURMAHAL, and father of the favourite Sultana, the mother of so many princes and princesses, who died this year, 1641, in the 72d year of her age. Although he left several sons and daughters, yet for political reasons he constituted his grandson, Dara, heir to his immense fortune, amounting in coined money, jewels, and plate, to four millions sterling. He bequeathed his children to that empire which he had more than once, together with its sovereign, preserved from destruction. The beautiful TAJEMAHAL, his daughter, had died in child-bed in 1631, and was honoured with a marble mausoleum at Agra, now called by her name, that had scarcely its rival in India, and cost Shah Jehan no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. His sister, NOURMAHAL, died in 1645, in her palace at Lahore, in dignified seclusion from that world in which she had, by her beauty, borne so unbounded a sway. Such was the concluding scene of the three most distinguished personages of their day!

One method which Shah Jehan, in his strict administration of justice, took to prevent that undue influence which the Soubahs were too apt to acquire in their governments, was to remove them every third year. Tirbiet Khan was in this year complained of for his unrelenting severity in exacting the revenues from the poor oppressed inhabitants of Cabul. He was superseded, deprived of his honours, and confined; for during this reign, even of the once sanguinary Jehan, the punishment of death was seldom inflicted, and justice and clemency seemed to go hand in hand.

Ali Murdan was appointed in his room Soubah of Cabul. Even Aurungzeb himself, when complaints were once made against him for mal-administration in Deccan, was ordered to the presence to answer to the charge. That prince readily obeyed the summons, completely exculpated himself, and was re-instated in his government.

In laudable occupations of this kind, occasionally intermixed with the pleasures of the chase and the delights of an overflowing haram, sometimes at one capital and sometimes at another, as either caprice or the varying season dictated, elapsed several years of Shah Jehan's reign. Nothing was now wanting to fill up the measure of his greatness, or the plenitude of his power. Excepting the occasional insurrection of a discontented Rajah, and an accidental irruption on the frontier of some daring Patan, or Tartar chief easily crushed by neighbouring Soubahs, the empire remained in profound tranquillity. Rebellion suppressed in the provinces, and order and subordination happily established among all classes of his subjects, the will of the Emperor was received as law through all its vast extent. An immense revenue, the result of commerce duly encouraged, and property effectually protected, under the code of the great Akber, poured from every quarter into the royal coffers. The new capital honoured with his name, and by which that name was to descend to latest ages, as well as himself to be considered as the patron of architecture and every nobler science, was now nearly finished, and about to open its gates to admit the most splendid court of Asia. The domestic irresolution of a monarch, whose conduct in every other respect was marked by the utmost vigour and decision, ruined this fair prospect of dawning felicity, and cast a dreadful gloom over his closing life.

In 1642 Shah Sefi who had inundated Persia with the blood

of his subjects, having quelled those intestine commotions which his cruelties excited, directed his arms towards Candahar, with a determination to recover that city and fortress. As this was a favourite acquisition of Shah Jehan, he made the most formidable preparations for resisting the attack, and Sultan Dara at the head of an army of 50,000 men, to be joined at Cabul by 30,000 more, was soon on his march for that citadel. Sultan Murad, too, whose character was now become eminent for invincible bravery, was dispatched with twenty thousand horse, with orders to take post behind the Nilab, and re-inforce his brother if requisite. All these mighty preparations, however, proved in the end unnecessary. Shah Sefi, breathing war and vengeance, had not advanced far in his march towards Candahar, before he was suddenly taken ill, and died, it was thought by poison, amidst the execrations of his remaining subjects. His army was disbanded, and as Abbas the Second manifested at that time no inclination to follow up the military projects of his predecessor, the two princes returned with their forces to their father at Lahore.

Awed by the reputation of Shah Jehan and his valiant sons, the Uzbek Tartars had long refrained from committing depredations on the Indian frontier; but in 1643 they recommenced their barbarous incursions. Ali Murdan, however, the governor of Cabul, repulsed them with great slaughter, and, in return, ravaged their country as far as Balkh. In the following year he renewed the attack upon those northern hordes, the descendants of the ancient Massagetæ, and took several towns and forts in Badakshan. His daring courage hurrying him on too far into that inhospitable region, the enemy were enabled to cut off his supplies and his communication with Hindostan; they had also retaken several forts which had fallen into his hands when he advanced. A retreat, therefore, was deemed prudent by that commander, who

extricated himself with great ability from the difficulties that surrounded him ; reconquered the captured forts ; and having established a chain of posts along the skirts of Badakshan, returned with honour to Cabul. This however did not satisfy Shah Jehan ; any thing short of the absolute subjugation of so presumptuous a foe his soul disdained, and, therefore, on a renewal of their incursions, more vigorous and decisive measures were taken for that purpose, during which the military talents of both Aurungzeb and Murad were successively called forth. Their complete reduction was at length accomplished in 1647, but not without several obstinate battles, and a very great expenditure of blood and treasure.*

It was not until the commencement of the year 1648, according to his Persian biographer, that his new city of Jehanabad, was completely fitted for the reception of his numerous court, and the immense population that, encouraged by the promises held out to the new settlers, flocked to it from every quarter of India. From Agra alone were exported thither by his order and at his expence, no less than 500,000 of its inhabitants, and that great city was left almost a desert. On this occasion no bounds were placed to the generosity and hospitality of the Emperor, and when in all his glory he mounted the throne in that city on the festival of the NAURUZ, or *new year's day*, which in India falls at the vernal equinox, no end to the presents that were offered by the high nobility to himself, and by their ladies to the Sultanas. That festival, ever magnificent, was sumptuous beyond all conception, and continued *nine* days, a favourite number of the Moguls, during which period the whole city as well as the court

* Compare Abulghazi's History of the Uzbek Khans with what occurs in Dow, vol. iii. p. 190, and in Bernier, tom. ii. p. 1. who met the Uzbek ambassadors at Delhi, A. D. 1656.

was treated at the public expence, and all classes dissolved in boundless dissipation.

In the life of Jehanguire I have given Sir Thomas Roe's description of the celebration of this great Persian and Tartar feast at Agra. Bernier was at this new capital, of which he has favoured us with an elaborate description, in 1663, about fifteen years after this first ascension of its throne by Shah Jehan, when its lustre was probably rather increased than abated by fresh importations from Golconda, and saw Aurungzeb, (Shah Jehan still living) sitting upon it, and celebrating the same great annual festivity. The eastern narratives may appear extravagant and inflated to our cold northern conceptions, but credit ought surely to be given to so authentic a writer as Bernier. I may add, that Mr. Franklin's and his account of the palace will be found mutually illustrative of each other, due allowance being made for the great distance of time, at which they respectively saw it, the one in its full splendor, the other in ruins. With respect to the grand pageant, the THRONE itself, he agrees in most points with Tavernier, and he is very particular in enumerating the *sources* of the wealth of the Mogul. He computes the actual treasures of Shah Jehan at six crore of rupees, about seven millions and an half sterling; but he adds, "In this sum I by no means comprehend that great abundance of goldsmith's work, so variously wrought in gold and silver, nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls in his possession, of a very high value. The throne alone covered with them is valued, at the least, at three crore. It is however, to be considered that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Patans and Rajahs, accumulated from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly on certain festivals to make him, especially on his *birthday*. These are esteemed

the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a king of India, in case of necessity, would find it very difficult to raise the least sum.”*

After introducing us through those great gates, where the stone elephants *were* at that time standing, and through the two outer courts, full of guards and living elephants, he leads us to the Am-kass, or hall of audience, where “ The king appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of audience, splendidly appparelled. His vest was of white satin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a bird wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topaz, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the great diamonds are there in profusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four crores of rupees. Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzeb, is the prince who caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those ancient *Patans* and *Rajabs*, and of the presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter : that which I find upon it best devised, are two peacocks covered

* See Bernier's *Mogul Empire*, vol. i, p. 165. English 12mo. edit. 1676.

with precious stones and pearls, which are the work of a Frenchman, that was an admirable workman. Beneath this throne there appeared all the *Omrabs* in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purpled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balustrade. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purpled gold, having the ground of gold ; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered satin, fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixt with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the *Asper*, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court ; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Chittes*, or cloth painted by a pencil of *Masulipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the *Am-kass* adorned and set out.

As to those *arched galleries*, which I have spoken of, that surround the court ; each *Omrah* had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purpled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the king caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers *Omrabs*, in

great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed great joy, that the king weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kinds of festivals, but never any was celebrated with so much splendour and charge. It is said, that what induced Aurungzeb to celebrate this splendid feast, was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in these four or five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expenses of the Omrahs were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an ancient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs : and it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the king in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear generous, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments ; or to purchase the favour of the king, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make him presents that are extraordinary. Some present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones ; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies ; others give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and an half. I remember, that Aurungzeb, having gone to visit (during this great festival) his Visier Jafer-kan, not as Visier, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised anew, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued at forty thousand crowns.*

* Ibid, vol. iii. p. 57.

From the bower of indolence, and the banquet of intemperance, the emperor was roused before the close of the year, by intelligence that Shah Abbas, at the head of a great army was rapidly advancing to besiege Candahar. He immediately commenced his march for Lahore, and the Visier Sadulla and Aurungzeb were dispatched with 50,000 men, to cover that fortress. Before their arrival, however, in the spring of 1639, it had surrendered by capitulation, and the Persian sovereign, leaving ten thousand men to garrison the place, had retreated with the remainder of his army. The great strength of the citadel enabled the besieged for a long time to resist all the efforts of this formidable force to retake it, and the valour of the garrison, when a practicable breach was made, to repel the assailants, with great loss. On the presumption that the place could not hold out till winter against such an army, commanded by such leaders, neither provisions nor warlike stores had been provided in sufficient abundance for their support. The intenseness of the cold, also, in that high and mountainous region, began to be severely felt by troops accustomed to milder latitudes. In consequence of this, but determined under more auspicious circumstances to renew the attack, Shah Jehan ordered the siege to be raised, and Aurungzeb for the first time was on his return to his father, unadorned with the laurels of victory. But that disgrace was prevented by the guardian genius which seemed to preside over all the actions of his fortunate life.

The imperialists had not advanced far on their retrogressive march, when Ali, governor of Candahar, aided by the army of observation that guarded the Persian frontier, fell furiously upon the rear of the retreating army. Aurungzeb, who was at the head of the cavalry in the van, immediately and with rapidity wheeling round, attacked the assailing army in flank, threw them into confusion, and then following up the blow, completely routed

them. Having however been reinforced by a strong detachment from Candahar, the enemy shortly after renewed the contest against an army thinned by famine, and exhausted by fatigue. The imperialists turned upon them with the heroic courage of men determined to conquer, or die ; and now the contest and the carnage became alike dreadful. The shock was along the whole line from wing to wing ; every Indian soldier was strenuously engaged in warfare with his Persian antagonist. Victory seemed inclined to favour the unimpaired vigour of the Persians, and to be already within their grasp, when, Rustam, one of Aurungzeb's generals, who commanded the reserve, consisting of 2000 horse, undauntedly leading up his battalions, charged the Persians with such irresistible impetuosity, as greatly contributed to turn the fortune of the day. Aurungzeb, both by his voice and his actions, animated his troops ; the combat was renewed with redoubled fury, and the enemy were not only a second time routed, but pursued twenty miles beyond the field of battle. Crowned with unexpected but well-earned glory, the prince returned to his father at Lahore, was received with rapturous gratulation, and loaded with distinguished honours.

In the mean time Shah Abbas, undiscouraged by this defeat of his army, greatly increased the number of the garrison in Candahar, and so strengthened the works as to render that fortress almost impregnable. In vain therefore, did Aurungzeb, after immense preparations, and with a still greater army, in 1642, again appear before that fatal obstacle to the repose of two great empires. To retake it baffled his utmost efforts, as well as those of his brother Dara, and Candahar, till its seizure by Abdollah, remained an appendage to the Persian empire.

The smothered flame of rancour and jealousy that had long secretly burned in the bosoms of these rival brothers was now on

the point of breaking out, not a little increased, in that of Aurungzeb, by the Emperor's solemn public appointment about this period, of Dara to the succession. He went even farther than this ; he permitted him to enjoy a large portion of the imperial power, gave him a signet of equal authority with his own, and settled upon him an annual allowance of nearly two millions sterling, for the expences of his household. The passions of Shah Jehan had by no means diminished with his advancing years, but having devolved on Dara and the Visier the burthen of public business, he passed the greatest part of his time in the pleasures of the haram, and the varied delights of the gardens of Shahlimar. There, forgetting the martial exercises of his youth, he gave himself up to enjoyments unworthy of so great a monarch. Music, dancing, and comic entertainments engrossed, in succession, the hours of his voluptuous day. He was not content with that multitude of women which the Mahommedan law allows to the gratification of a grovelling passion, but ranged among his courtiers for forbidden beauty, and stained the hallowed purity of the nuptial bed. To his favourite women he was generous and magnificent beyond conception, but sometimes not very nice in his choice of them. The gallery adorned with jewels is said by Manouchi to have been made to gratify a female dancer of the very lowest class ; and to the wife of Calil Khan, one of his principal officers, he presented a pair of slippers of inestimable value.

By a transition not very unusual, the passions of this prince, in his old age, became greatly altered, and boundless prodigality was exchanged for insatiable avarice. He grew intolerably severe in exacting the tribute from the governors ; and those were highest in honours and most in favour who remitted the largest sums to court. For the better security of the immense treasures

which he had thus accumulated, we are told by Manouchi that he caused two deep and capacious vaults to be excavated under the palace of Delhi, supported by marble pillars, in one of which, in mighty heaps, was piled up his gold, in the other his silver. He tells us farther, that to prevent these precious metals from being carried away, he had the precaution to form them into vast ingots, unfit to be used in commerce, and that these vaults were the favourite resort of the emperor, who under the pretence of enjoying the cool of that subterraneous gloom, spent a great part of the day in these caverns, feasting his eyes on the enormous wealth contained in them.*

No very important national occurrence arose to interrupt the domestic repose of Shah Jehan till 1656, when new disturbances broke out in Deccan, owing, as was alleged by Aurungzeb, in his representations to his father, to the dilatoriness of Cuttub Shah, in remitting the annual tribute due to the empire. On this account he professed to have put the troops under his command in motion, and requested farther assistance from the Emperor to enable him to compel the obedience of its refractory sovereign. His request was granted, though in direct opposition to the advice of Dara, who beheld with indignation the growing power of his brother in that quarter, and dreaded its increase, if an army adequate to the conquest of so wealthy a kingdom as Golconda were sent him from Agra. Aurungzeb, however, had taken the precaution to dispatch a messenger, armed with irresistible arguments, to convince Shah Jehan of the necessity of this new war; it was his friend and comrade in arms, Emir Jemla, a most important personage in the dreadful drama about to be acted, and whom we must therefore, in a particular manner, introduce to the notice of the reader.

* Manouchi, p. 233, et seq.

Emir Jemla was born near Ispahan in Persia, of parents in an inferior rank in life ; but able to give their son a tolerable education. His abilities recommended him to the employ of a merchant who traded to Golconda for diamonds, whither he usually accompanied him, and where, finally settling, and by commerce growing affluent, he purchased a considerable place about the court. In this situation, the same abilities rendering him conspicuous, he attracted the notice of the reigning sovereign CUTTUB Shah (a name common to the kings of this dynasty, as ADIL is to that of Visiapour) who assigned him a military post of consequence, and gradually advanced him to the chief command of the army of Tellingana. He carried on the war in Karnata, or the Carnatic, for that prince ; and brought it to a successful termination. His conquests in that rich country enabled him to transmit immense treasures to the court, but he likewise retained incalculable wealth for himself, which, when called upon, he refused to divide with his sovereign. In consequence, being compelled to fly from Golconda, he sought and found a ready asylum with Aurungzeb, who promised to revenge his cause and to procure the restoration of his family, and treasures, on a great part of which Cuttub had seized. Aurungzeb, who dived deep into the human heart, exulted in his good fortune in having found, as he thought, in Emir Jemla, a proper instrument to promote his ambitious projects, and exerted all his interest for his promotion at the court of his father. Of these projects at various conferences he gradually unfolded to him the depth and extent, and in these consultations were laid the first solid foundations of his future sovereignty.

Fully acquainted with all his views, and fully resolved to support him in them, no more proper ambassador could have been selected than Emir Jemla to impress on Shah Jehan the necessity

of renewing the war with the king of Golconda, nor any argument more powerful than a bulse of the finest diamonds, recently delved from its mines, one absolutely unparalleled for its lustre and magnitude, which he now displayed to his delighted view. The doom of its monarch was instantly sealed, and an army of twenty thousand horse, which, to avoid increasing the envy of Dara, Aurungzeb deputed his eldest son Mahommed to command, was in a short time before the gates of its capital, Hyderabad. Cuttub, wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a force, prepared by submission to ward off the blow; he offered immediately to pay down the arrears of the tribute, he released the son and family of Emir Jemla from their confinement, and endeavoured to soothe Mahommed by presents of great value; but that prince, stern, haughty, intractable, refused every overture of accommodation till the treasures of Emir Jemla should be returned. A few chests of money, and some caskets of jewels were now sent to the camp, as the property of Emir Jemla, but his son, then with Mahommed, declaring *that* to be but a small portion of the immense treasures of his father, and, in fact, the object being conquest and plunder rather than restitution, the dreadful work of desolation and slaughter immediately commenced.

Than the sack of this rich city, according to various writers before me, Thevenot, Tavernier, Dow, De Faria, nothing can be conceived more terrible from the united rage and avarice of the assailants. The pavement of the principal street and square is said to have been died with the blood of the miserable inhabitants, and the spoil taken was beyond all calculation; there being in it whole streets full of shops of jewellers and bankers, in which the finest diamonds were wrought, and disposed of. It was not only in diamonds that this superb city abounded; it was crowded with merchandize brought to the shores of Coromandel from the

farthest parts of Asia in exchange for those valued articles, but much of this was consumed by the flames which their fury had kindled in different parts. What was incombustible, the gold, the silver, and the jewels alone, remained uninjured to the conquerors, but of that the amount was enormous, for Thevenot in particular informs us that the very floors of the state-apartments in the palace were covered with plates of gold.* In the mean time the king had escaped out of a private gate, and fled to the castle of Golconda, two leagues distant, a castle which in the usual style of the Indian writers was called impregnable. The hill on which it stands, like that of Dowlatabad, rises like a sugar-loaf to a vast height, fortified with walls and bastions, mounted with cannons of a great size, to its very summit. At its base, and round its sides, stand the palace and the town. Mahommed invested this formidable retreat; Cuttub drawing courage from despair marched out at the head of 6000 horse and 12,000 foot, and gave battle to the imperial troops. He was defeated with great slaughter, and together with his recreant troops those of Mahommed rushed into the castle. Cuttub now threw himself at the victor's feet, imploring mercy and peace. Mahommed was relentless, till Rizia, his beautiful daughter appeared in a supplicating posture. Electrified, vanquished by her charms, he sheathed his sword. A treaty favourable to Cuttub was concluded, by which half of his wealth became the conqueror's. He granted him, also, his daughter in marriage, with a kingdom in reversion for a dowry. The shouts of mirth and the shrieks of sorrow were heard rising together on this memorable occasion; and the palms of victory were seen blended with the funereal cypress.

Aurungzeb received with transport his son doubly triumphant

* Thevenot's Indian Travels, part 3, chap. vii. p. 101.

in the field of war and love. He sent a pompous account of his exploits to the Emperor, who raised him to the rank of eleven thousand horse. Emir Jemla was charged with these dispatches to Shah Jehan, and so ingratiated himself with that monarch that, contrary to all the remonstrances of Dara, he conferred on him the high office of Visier, vacant by the recent death of Sadulla. The Emperor is said to have been not wholly uninterested on this occasion, but, relinquishing the more rigid maxims of his early government, to have received from Jemla a *peishcush* of six lacks of rupees. While Jemla remained at Agra information was received of the death of Adil, king of Visiapour, with the additional intelligence that the principal officers of his court had, without asking permission of the Emperor, raised his son to the sovereignty. Shah Jehan, who considered the dominions of Visiapour, after the last compact, as an appendage to the empire, took fire at this neglect. The new Visier was immediately ordered with 20,000 men into that kingdom, to depose the son of Adil, at least till he should make his submission at the court of his lord paramount, the Emperor. On his arrival at Brampour he was joined by Aurungzeb with all his forces, and the march was continued with all the expedition possible for so numerous an army. In the mean time, Ali, the Visier of the deceased and the existing sovereign, had foreseen the impending storm, and had in some degree guarded against its fury by levying troops, and fortifying again the dismantled castles and towns on the frontier. His army, however, consisting for the most part of raw recruits, were unable to stand the shock of veteran troops, and though numerous, were every where routed. Bider, one of the strongest fortresses in the country, and indeed deemed impregnable, was taken by storm after a siege of twenty-seven days, and the garrison put to the sword. In Bider, Ali had deposited

all the wealth of the young sovereign, which consequently became the spoil of the captor. Kilburga, with a more numerous garrison, held out longer, but was at length taken in a similar manner on the 11th of June, 1657. Callian, near the coast, was next invested, and met with the same fate. At length, utterly discomfited both in the open field, and the fortified redoubt, Adil, led by his minister Ali, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror, and was pardoned on condition of paying down a great sum, the amount of the expence of the war, of putting his strongest forts into the hands of Aurungzeb, and of remitting to court, as the future tribute of Visiapour, what in our money would be equal to one million, eight hundred, and seventy-five thousand pounds.*

The strict bonds of friendship that subsisted between Aurungzeb and the Visier were still more closely cemented by these splendid successes in the field, while their projects of ambition were greatly promoted by the additional force which had attended the latter into Deccan. The hour was now arrived when those projects were to be carried into execution, for in September of the same year Shah Jehan was seized with that dangerous illness, the result of intemperance in his seraglio, which was the signal for his four sons to rush to war, and desolate the empire with their sanguinary contests. The better to conceal those views of ambition which were only known, in their full extent, to Jemla, and extinguish the jealousy of his brothers, Aurungzeb

* The reader will find the substance of the above in Manouchi's History, p. 249, in Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, at the places before cited; in Dow, vol. iii. from p. 116 to p. 205, and all for the most part confirmed in the account of the Nizam, Cuttub, and Adil Shah dynasties in Scott's valuable but summary history of the Deccan. In Fryer's Travels, and in the Portuguese Historians, De Faria and Maffæus many allusions are also made to these facts; the above is the result of all. From this period to the end of the chapter we shall principally be obliged to the entertaining Bernier.

on all occasions, whether in the palace or the field, affected the rigid austerity of a Fakeer, or Mahommedan devotee. Being only the third son, and Dara having been not only publicly proclaimed heir to the throne, but already invested with a great share of the imperial authority, he saw in deep dissimulation alone the secure means of attaining his ends. Absorbed in the rigid routine practice of the prescribed duties of the Koran, in fasting, prayer, and ablutions, he avowed an utter contempt for the magnificence of courts, and in the lofty pride of spiritual elevation, looked down on the pageantry of thrones. The wars in which he had engaged were by no means contrary to the spirit of a religion that delights in blood ; those wars were waged with infidel Hindoos, or those who were equally detestable to a true Islamite, against the Deccan kings, who were from Persia and of the sect of Ali, and termed in contempt Schiites, heretics ; but even amid the rage of war enthusiastic devotion prevailed, and on *Friday*, the Mahommedan sabbath, the operations of the field were constantly suspended. By nature of a severe, reserved, saturnine disposition, he was well adapted for the character which he assumed. His exterior was through life accommodated to his professions ; for, even when a monarch, except on high festival days, he seldom appeared arrayed in cloth of gold, or decorated with jewels, nor was his table loaded with Eastern delicacies and profusion. His affectation of religion, however, had never the effect to veil his real views from his father, or his elder brothers, but they deceived, as they were principally intended to deceive, his younger brother Morad, whose open, generous, unsuspecting nature rendered him an easy dupe to his designs.

The artful and deep policy of Aurungzeb in thus appearing the zealous champion of religion is farther evinced by the

circumstance that Dara was known to be a great latitudinarian in religious principles, or rather that he was, as Aurungzeb frequently called him, an absolute KAFIR, an infidel ; while Sujah was known, for interested purposes, to favour the heretic sect of ALI, of which sect were most of the great Persian lords about the court, and to be very partial also to the Hindoo Rajahs and their religion. This conduct in the two brothers, and in general the laxity of the descendants of Timur in those religious maxims which they brought into Hindostan, had given great offence to all true Mussulmen, of which our pretended *Fakeer* knew well how to take the proper advantage. This summary sketch of the leading feature in the character of Aurungzeb was thought necessary to the full developement of that character ; the current of history now leads us back to events at Delhi.

The disease of the emperor was at first thought mortal, and he remained for several days in a state of utter insensibility. By copious bleeding, however, after some time, he recovered his senses, but was wholly unable to attend to public business, and it was thought would ever remain so. Dara of his own accord instantly mounted that throne in the splendour of which he had before so largely participated. The violence with which he acted, on seizing the imperial sceptre, betrayed, at once, his hatred and his suspicions of his brothers, and hurried on that catastrophe to which, otherwise, affairs were unhappily, but only gradually, advancing. He forbade all persons on pain of death, from holding any correspondence of a political kind with his brothers. Their known agents in the capital, together with their papers, were seized and imprisoned, and all the money in their hands confiscated. In a public assembly of the nobles he expatiated on the insatiable ambition of his brothers, from intercepted letters unfolded their designs, and deprecated the horrors of a civil

war. He declared his firm resolution not to abandon a throne which heaven and his father had assigned him. He called upon his own friends for their active support ; from the friends of his brothers, those who had received favours from them, or had estates in the provinces commanded by them, he disdained to ask aid, but he commanded the strictest neutrality. An army proportionate to the emergency was immediately assembled, and he seemed anxious to risque the fate of a great empire on a single battle.

Under the plea of improving his father's health, but doubtless with a political view, that he might be more in the centre of the empire, and nearer the threatened field of war, Dara caused the infirm monarch to be conveyed in a barge down the Jumna from Delhi to Agra. The army and court accompanied him, moving slowly along the bank of the river, under his immediate command. Most part of the day was spent with his father ; but his night was invariably passed on shore. As the recovery of the king's health was exceedingly slow, and his relapses were frequent, various and even contradictory reports were circulated on that subject, which were eagerly carried, by their partizans, to the princes in the provinces. Some of these affirmed him to be actually dead of his disorder ; others, that he was only confined to the palace by Dara ; others that he was poisoned by him. Sultan Sujah, who had accumulated vast wealth in Bengal, during his long government of that rich province, was the first who appeared in the field, and he justified his conduct by the violence of Dara. He had attached to himself most of the great Omrahs about the court ; his resources were vast, and his army was formidable. He issued a manifesto, declaring that he was marching to revenge the death of his father, and to dethrone the parricide. It was in vain that letters were dispatched to Sujah, even by the

Emperor himself, announcing his gradual recovery, and commanding his return to his capital. He professed to treat them as a daring forgery of the usurper; and advanced with his army to Benares. He had gone too far to retreat; his object was a diadem, and that the richest of Asia. At Benares for the present we must leave him, and return to observe the motions of the politic Aurungzeb.

From the immense preparations making on all sides, the war was likely to prove of the most obstinate and sanguinary complexion. It may here be remarked that the conflicts of the younger princes of Asia are in general of this cast. The contest between them is not only for victory, but for life. A throne, perpetual imprisonment, or a grave, are the dreadful alternatives. The unsettled succession to the crown, especially among the Moguls, where primogeniture confers no absolute right to the empire, is the cause of this sanguinary warfare. That magnificent boon by the Tartar code depends solely on the will of the reigning Emperor; but even that will is not always implicitly obeyed, of which Dara in the present case is a glaring proof. Each brother is, in consequence, to the other equally the object of terror and envy, till success or the scymeter shall have decided his fate. On this principle, which has led to the extermination of so many illustrious Asiatic dynasties, are the inextinguishable hatred and jealousy that raged between the sons, and we may add the grandsons, of Shah Jehan to be accounted for. Inflamed with no inconsiderable portion of those passions, Aurungzeb determined to oppose the claims to the empire on the part of Sultans Dara and Sujah on the embattled plain; of Sultan Morad he hoped to unite the army, the valour, and the resources with his own. In consequence he immediately dispatched to that young prince, in Guzzurat, letters at once the most importunate

and affectionate, informing him that as he himself from religious motives declined being a candidate for imperial honours, and as he wholly disapproved of the accession of either of their elder brothers to the throne of India—of the first, from his incapacity for government and his utter indifference about all religion; of the second, from his being little superior in ability to Dara, and from his being a heretic—he was resolved to throw all the weight of his influence and authority into the scale of Morad, who from his bravery, ability, and principles, was alone worthy to sit on the throne of their great ancestor, Timur. That with respect to himself, the utmost he solicited of him was, when, by their mutual exertions, the crown should be secured to Morad, that he would grant him in some corner of the empire a secure and quiet retreat, where he might pass in acts of piety the remainder of his days. He conjured him to lose not a moment in urging those just claims, but, joining the forces of Guzzurat with those commanded by himself in Deccan, immediately to commence the march for Agra. He accompanied his letters with a present of 100,000 rupees, apologizing for the smallness of the sum, but advised him, without delay, to seize on the castle of Surat, where he knew the imperial treasure was deposited, to employ that treasure in raising troops to reinforce his army, and to meet him, with the whole force he might thus be able to raise, at Ujein, in their way to the capital.

Morad, blinded by ambition, and the splendour of a crown, neither perceived nor suspected the artifices of the writer. On the contrary he was transported with joy at the proposal, seized Surat and the imperial treasure, levied a great army, and having caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan, hastened to meet his brother at the appointed place. On the junction of the two armies, which took place on the banks of the Nerbudda,

the troops sent by Dara to oppose his march having taken possession of Ujein, Aurungzeb's solemn renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, and his determination to live and die a *Fakeer* were renewed ; at the same time he never addressed the deluded prince without the title of *majesty*. During these transactions, Emir Jemla, whose family were at Agra, in the power of Dara, did not dare openly to appear in the field against the court. He continued extending his conquests in the south, but his heart, and the flower of his army, were with Aurungzeb. One of the first acts of Dara's assumed power had been to discard him from the Visirat, as the sworn friend of Aurungzeb ; and the destruction of his whole family he had reason to think would be the immediate consequence of his openly espousing the cause of his patron. The confederated princes, however, had too often triumphed in the bannered field to fear the result of a contest with the troops of Dara, even without the counsels of that experienced warrior.

The imperial army, for thus we must denominate that of Dara, was commanded by Kassim Khan, a general of distinguished reputation, and Jesswunt Sing, who had married a daughter of the famous Rajah Ranna, and succeeded him as well in the title of Maha Rajah, as in the command of the Rajapouts of Marwar, of which province Ujein is the capital. Previous to hostilities, these commanders had obeyed the injunctions of Shah Jehan, anxious to preserve the lives of his children, by announcing to them that monarch's recovery, and his positive orders contained in letters from the Emperor himself for their return to their Soubahs. The messengers were detained, and the letters treated only as a forgery of Dara. The result was a battle, into the particulars of which, as well as of many inferior ones in this contest I cannot enter, fought on the banks of the Nerbudda, in which the princes were completely victorious over their antagonists, although they

fought with heroic bravery, in particular Jesswunt and his Rajapouts, of whom after the engagement, out of 8000 only five or six hundred remained alive. Aurungzeb and Morad, after this signal victory, entered Ujein in triumph, whence the latter, in the pride of his exultation, insisted on immediately proceeding to Agra. Aurungzeb, however, convinced him of the absolute necessity of staying there some days, both to refresh the army, exhausted by a long march and a battle, and to obtain intelligence from their friends of affairs at Agra.

In Bengal the imperial army had been more fortunate. On the first intelligence of the taking up arms by Sujah, Soliman Shekoh, the eldest son of Dara, was dispatched into that province with a large body of horse under the control of Rajah Jessing, a venerable and cautious general, who had secret orders from Shah Jehan to avoid coming to an engagement with his rebellious son till the last necessity. These orders Jessing would gladly have carried into execution, but Soliman being full of the fire of youth, and that ardour for glory, which distinguished his family, and Sujah being impatient to become master of the capital before his competitors from Deccan should arrive there, he found it impossible to prevent an engagement. The two armies appeared in battle-array on the two opposite banks of the Ganges, and Sujah was preparing a bridge of boats to cross the river with all possible expedition, and make that assault which he too vainly confided would secure him the empire. Till that bridge should be completed he imagined himself safe from attack, and considered the Ganges as an insuperable barrier. The discipline of his army was in consequence rather relaxed, and his camp less strictly guarded than it ought. The active enterprising spirit of Soliman could not brook this delay. He changed his ground; he had the river explored; and some miles higher up, owing to a remarkable

drought which occurred that year, it was found fordable for cavalry. He passed it with all his horse at the dead of night; and the instant day-light appeared rushed furiously on the enemy, buried in profound slumber, and totally unprepared for resistance. Sujah himself, roused by the clashing of swords, and the cries of the wounded, started from his bed in wild surprise. He was soon armed, and on horseback, at the head of the few guards whom the universal consternation had not driven to precipitate flight; but it was too late to rally the dispersed and terrified battalions, who, in the utmost confusion, were flying on every side before the impetuous assault of Soliman's cavalry, or lay trampled beneath their feet.

At length having succeeded in collecting together a small but resolute body of men, principally officers, he charged the enemy with retorted fury; but their courage was unavailing: they were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the river, and the prince himself with difficulty made his escape in a canoe, nor stopped till he reached the strong fortress of Mongeer. Soliman continued for some time in Bengal, and, after pursuing to destruction the routed army, closely invested the fugitive prince in Mongeer. The critical situation, however, of his father and grandfather at Agra imperiously commanding his presence and that of his troops there, he was compelled suddenly to raise the siege, and making the best terms which the urgency of the times would admit of with Sujah, among which was an express stipulation that he should no longer oppose the claim of Dara to the throne, he returned by forced marches to that capital.

When the intelligence of the defeat at the Nerbudda reached Agra, the whole court was thrown into the greatest consternation. Dara was filled with rage at the perfidious or cowardly conduct of the Moguls, who, if they had fought like the brave

Rajapouts, must inevitably have secured the victory. Shah Jehan, now perfectly recovered, with apparent liberty, but in reality a prisoner at the disposal of his son, viewed the distractions in his family with the agonizing feelings of a dethroned king, and a neglected father. To whomsoever victory inclined, he was convinced that no benefit would result to himself; he was a prisoner for life, and his sceptre was gone for ever. Still, however, as Dara treated him with great external respect, and consulted him in all public transactions; as he had fanned his ambition and had prematurely exalted him to that throne of which he was now so tenacious; he submitted with the best grace possible to his altered condition. Too justly suspecting, also, that a change of masters might be for the worse, he exerted in favour of Dara all his remaining authority, summoned his oldest generals, unlocked his buried treasures, and even intimated his resolution to take the field with him against that prince's rebellious brothers. From his resolution he was imprudently dissuaded by Dara, who, elated with the success of the army in Bengal, panted for a day of victory, in the glory of which none should participate. For this reason it probably was that he refused to follow Shah Jehan's earnest recommendation to wait the junction of the army under his son Soliman, though composed of the best troops in the army, in the same vain confidence telling his more experienced sire that in three days he would bring both Aurungzeb and Morad, bound hand and foot, before him to suffer for their nefarious conduct what his justice should determine. The old emperor, whose ideas and whose practice of carrying on war were widely different from his son's, heard him with a dejected aspect, again cautioned him not to be precipitate, and by no means to hazard a battle till reinforced by the troops of Soliman. With the farewell embrace he gave him his blessing, and said, " Go, my son; but

beware of returning to my presence unadorned with the laurels of victory !” Vehement by nature, and inflamed with all the ardour of hope, Dara passed like lightning through the capital, and was soon at the head of an army more formidable than any that had issued out of its gates since Shah Jehan marched to conquer the Deccan : it consisted of 100,000 horse, and 1000 pieces of ordnance. He advanced rapidly to the banks of the river Chambul, distant about twenty miles from Agra, and there occupying a position, strong by nature, but made doubly strong by art, he awaited with impatience the approach of the enemy.

In the mean time the confederate princes, after some days repose at Ujein, and having obtained all the information desired from their spies about the court, commenced their march towards Agra, and gained the banks of the Chambul on the 1st of June. They encamped on an eminence directly opposite to the principal army, whence the extent and the strength of their lines could with ease be discerned, and they appeared to Aurungzeb, who the following morning more closely reconnoitred them, too formidable to be forced by an army of such inferior magnitude as theirs, scarcely amounting to 40,000 men. The depth of the river too at that place was an additional obstacle ; and though Morad was for trampling on every difficulty, the prudence of his brother again restrained his impetuosity. A momentary gloom overcast the aspect of both, but genius is fertile of expedients, and perfidy accomplished what force could not. Prevailed on by large bribes, a neighbouring Rajah undertook to conduct his army by secret paths over the mountains that stretch between that spot and Agra. Leaving, therefore, their tents, baggage, and part of their artillery, under a strong guard, to amuse the enemy, that very night the army decamped, performed with rapidity a fatiguing journey of thirty miles, and the next day were discovered by

the scouts of Dara in full march towards the capital. Dara, equally confounded and astonished, with precipitation broke up his camp, and leaving, also, part of his cannon behind him, by forced marches pushed between the enemy and the capital. On the fourth he presented himself in front of the confederates, and on the fifth ordered his army to be formed in battle array.

His artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains, to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery were ranged light camels, mounted with a small swivel, with a man behind to manage it. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines, and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows, together with sabres, in the use of which the Indian cavalry are expert. Dara, mounted on a lofty elephant of Ceylon, whence he could command a view of the field, was in the centre, surrounded by his body-guard. Shaista, son of Asoph Jah, had the command of the right wing; that of the left was entrusted to Rustam, a Persian Omrah, and the greatest general of his time. Of the confederate army Morad was requested by Aurungzeb to take the command of the centre; as the post of honour due to the sovereign. The artillery was ranged in the front, opposite to that of the enemy, and, among the engineers who served it, were several Portugueze and other Europeans, lured into his service by high rewards. He took upon himself the command of the right wing, and appointed his son Mahommed to that of the left. According to a recent fashion introduced with effect by Emir Jemla, some concealed field pieces were intermixed among the troops of the Omrahs, a sort of masqued battery; and here and there were stationed persons armed with *Bannes*, a sort of grenado fastened to a stick, which may be hurled among

cavalry to a great distance, while the explosion greatly terrifies the horses, and often kills them.

The firing of Dara's artillery along the whole line announced the battle commenced. It was answered by volleys of shot, and a shower of arrows from the confederates. At this moment a sudden storm of rain poured down, and checked the fury of the combatants. The tempest subsiding, the artillery again began to play, and now was seen Dara aloft on his elephant, resolutely advancing in the centre of the cavalry, and in the very face of the enemy's cannon. Aurungzeb's artillery being much better served than that prince's, did infinite execution among the great bodies of horse that attended his banners, and they were soon thrown into confusion. However Dara, undaunted, continued to advance, animating his troops both by his voice and his actions. Repulsed by repeated volleys they again and again rallied, and at length rushing forward in one vast phalanx, they forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains that linked them together, and coming up with the central cavalry, commanded by Morad, a mutual and dreadful slaughter commenced. Morad, from his elephant, dealt the arrows of death thick around him, and his troops, though out-numbered three to one, for a long time fought like lions by his side. At length overpowered by multitudes, they were broken, and compelled to retreat. The prince himself, though covered with wounds, disdained to retreat, and ordered his elephant to be urged forward among the thickest of the foe, in hopes of animating his troops to renew the combat, and rally around the standard of their chief. This bold measure had the desired effect. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror, and collecting around him, fought with renovated vigour. A daring Indian chief, unable from the height of the elephant to reach Morad with

his sword, cut the pillars that supported the roof of the *Amari*, or castle, in which he sate, and that falling upon him encumbered him in such a manner as for a time to prevent his exertions. He soon, however, disengaged himself, pierced with an arrow the bold assailant, and the dreadful work of death was renewed. At this instant Mahommed, sent to his assistance by Aurungzeb, though himself severely pressed, coming up with fresh troops, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, and the imperial squadrons were in their turn repulsed.

Dara himself in the ardour of heated valour had advanced into the heart of the enemy, and was eager to terminate the contest by a personal combat with Aurungzeb. On hearing however of the retreat of his troops before the united exertions of the two princes, he returned, accompanied by a strong body of cavalry, to the support of his repulsed battalions, and re-conducted them against the enemy with such decided success as appeared eventually to promise certain victory. Aurungzeb, in the mean time, attacked on one side by the Moguls, and on the other by the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, who were ever his implacable enemies, from his hostility to their religion, could scarcely keep his troops together by the example of actions the most heroic, and of words the most animating. Seeing them gradually decreasing in number, he called aloud—"Courage, my friends, advance; what hope can there be in flight?" To shew that he himself was determined to perish on the spot rather than fly, called for chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant: his troops, abashed at these words, once more rallied around his standard, swore to live and die with him, and the contest and the carnage were renewed.

In the field of Indian warfare it has before been observed that every eye is fixed on the general, who, seated conspicuous on

his elephant, from that lofty station beholds and directs the motions of his army. The retreat of that elephant, or the disappearance of that general, is the signal of flight to his troops. While Dara was engaged in thus directing his troops, Shaista the general of his right wing, who having received a grievous outrage from Dara, secretly favoured the cause of Aurungzeb, and had remained inactive during the whole fight, rode rapidly up to the former prince; congratulated him upon his success, assured him that the contest was decided, that the day was his, and advised him to descend from the *Amari*, and mount a horse in pursuit of the routed foe. Dara not suspecting treachery incautiously followed this advice. His troops, no longer seeing him on his elephant, but that animal retreating, supposing he was slain, and that in fact the object for which they were fighting no longer existed, were struck with a sudden panic, and fled tumultuously from the scene of action. Aurangzeb having routed his assailants in another part of the field, now coming up and joining his forces to those of Morad, fell with fury on the astonished foe, and a complete victory was unexpectedly obtained over an enemy on the very verge of being triumphant. By that fatal reverse was a great empire lost to Dara, and his military renown forever tarnished.

Shaista Khan, called Khalil Khan in Bernier, by whose artful manœuvre the battle had been gained, after its termination, received the warmest acknowledgments from the confederate princes, to whose banners their own dispersed army immediately returned, and, soon after, the greatest part of the enemy's crowded with their commanders at their head. No pursuit was attempted beyond the field of battle: near that field they encamped, and Dara, continuing his flight towards Agra, sixteen miles distant, reached that capital in safety. He was overwhelmed with too

much confusion and shame to visit his father ; and, fearful of being taken prisoner, at the head of a small party, about midnight, commenced his march for Delhi. The Emperor on hearing of his defeat and flight was penetrated with the deepest affliction, and finding that he had departed without his treasure, sent after him fifty-seven mules laden with gold coin, with an order for all the money in the treasury of Delhi, together with all the horses and elephants in the royal stables. The money sent by the mules was seized, on its way, by banditti. With the help of the treasures collected at Delhi a tolerable army was raised, with which it was the Emperor's recommendation that he should advance along the northern banks of the Ganges, and form a junction with the prince Soliman his son ; for to that prince he had dispatched the earliest intelligence of the calamity, with orders for him for that purpose to enter the *Douab*, or inter-armian country, watered by the Ganges, and the Jumna.

Soliman, however, was too near and too formidable an object of jealousy to be neglected by Aurungzeb, and, in consequence, soon after the engagement he had dispatched confidential messengers to the two generals of that prince, Rajah Jessing, and Delil Khan, with the information that Dara was utterly defeated ; that most of the great Omrahs had deserted his cause and joined the victorious army ; that, to say the truth, Shah Jehan from age and infirmities was no longer fit to govern a great empire ; that a successor should be appointed, and that Morad was the most proper person ; that to prolong the contest would be a fruitless waste of blood ; and he concluded by adding, that if they would seize on Soliman and join him with their army, they should not only keep their commands, but be rewarded with the highest honours of the empire. The two generals on consultation were not averse to joining the confederate princes ; but the measure

of seizing Soliman seemed to them too bold and dangerous. They, however, went together and represented to him the desperate state of his affairs; displayed the great power which their recent victory had necessarily given to his uncles; that opposition would, under the present circumstances, prove fruitless; and they recommended him to retire to Serinagur, the Rajah of which country was his friend, and among the mountains of which he would be safe, till an opportunity should occur for descending those mountains, and commencing hostilities with better hopes of success. The prince, absorbed by anxiety for the fate of his father, earnestly solicited them to march to Delhi, and make, at least, one effort for his deliverance; but this they positively refused. Seeing himself surrounded with foes and traitors, he followed the advice of his generals, and ordering his baggage to be packed up, with a few chosen troops commenced his march for the mountains. Those faithless generals had the baseness afterwards to send a considerable body of troops to plunder the baggage of this unfortunate prince. The robbers also brought back an elephant loaded with gold rupees, by which he was driven to the greatest distress in his long and toilsome march. At length he reached the mountains, and found in that desert region a safe asylum from the perfidy and ingratitude of man.

Fully informed by his spies, who were among the first lords of the court, for every body now looked upon Aurangzeb as the sovereign of India, of all the transactions at Agra, on the fourth day after the battle the confederate princes commenced the march for Agra. The capital was in no condition to sustain a siege, and the gates were left open; those of the citadel, which was a place of great strength, were ordered to be kept shut. Aurangzeb, affecting respect for Shah Jehan, declined entering the city, but with Morad encamped in a garden without the

walls. The latter lay ill of his wounds, and the political field was, therefore, not inopportunately left open for his more artful and enterprising brother. His father was now as perfectly restored to health as his advanced years would admit of. Still considered, therefore, by all, but rebels as the only lawful emperor, it might be dangerous, as it was indecent, to force open the gates of the citadel: he determined, therefore, to make use of fraud, where he thought force might fail. His hoary sire, however, was no inept scholar in that science of stratagem which his son practised so extensively, and was prepared to repel art by art.

In conformity with this plan of deception, when, soon after his arrival, Aurungzeb dispatched to Shah Jehan a confidential messenger to make his respectful submission, he was desired to touch the ground, in his name, with his forehead, and in the strongest terms possible to assure him both of his affection as a son, and his duty as a subject. He was ordered farther to express his extreme sorrow for what had past, which was solely imputable to the ambition of Dara, whose violent and imperious character had forced both Morad and himself into those extremities; finally, that he rejoiced exceedingly at his recovery, and respectfully waited without the city the commands of his father and his sovereign. To this strain of affected attachment and loyalty Shah Jehan with equal sincerity, replied by his favourite daughter, Jehanara Begum, whom he sent on purpose to give weight and veracity to his answer, that he was fully convinced of his zeal and loyalty, as a son and a subject; that he supposed him to have been misled by designing villains, and as he doubted not the contrition he had expressed was sincere, he freely pardoned him. He added, that he could not think thus favourably of Morad, who was an obstinate determined rebel, and had actually proclaimed himself emperor in Guzzurat; but that if he would

desert Morad, he should not only be received with open arms, but whatever he could desire in the empire beneath the throne of his father should be at his command. The artful Fakeer affected to be won over by these words. For himself he declared he had no other ambition than to continue to live as a dervish, retired from man, and devoted to God; that in taking Morad's part against Dara he acted from principle, and under the conviction that the generous and open nature of the former, who was also a good Mussulman, rendered him better calculated for governing a kingdom than the licentious and arbitrary disposition of the latter; that if the Emperor was determined not to revoke his decision in favour of Dara, nobody had a right to control him; and he solemnly promised within two days to wait upon him in person, in order to discuss that important question.

Jehanara, deceived by her brother's vows and his tears, which he could shed at will, hastened to the Emperor with the joyful intelligence, that his gray hairs were not to descend in sorrow to the grave; that Aurungzeb would come in two days and make his submissions; and that their beloved Dara might yet enjoy the throne decreed to him by heaven and his father. But the Emperor had too long and too well known the Fakeer to be himself deceived. Never indeed was a deeper game of duplicity ever before played, or by more experienced masters in the art; for while Aurungzeb was determined that neither Dara nor Morad should sway the imperial sceptre, Shah Jehan was as fully resolved that Aurungzeb, if he entered the gates of the palace, should never go out of them alive. Aurungzeb, in fact, had no real intention of visiting his father. He had ever an active spy in the palace, Roxanara Begum, who was as devoted to his interests as Jehanara was to those of Dara, and she had secretly warned him to beware of treachery, for that as soon as he should

enter the more secluded apartments he would be seized upon by a number of robust Tartar women usually employed in the seraglio; whom he had armed with daggers, and who from the spirit of their country were fit for any desperate measure. After the two days had elapsed, message after message arrived soliciting the promised interview, and stating that his aged sire wished only to embrace his repentant son, and restore him to favour and distinction. That aged sire, however, had at the same time dispatched letters to Dara of a very different stamp, which were intercepted and brought to Aurungzeb. Those letters evinced the unrelenting disposition of his father towards Aurungzeb, and pointed out the necessity of the most active and immediate exertions. At length a day for his coming to the palace was appointed, and Aurungzeb sent his eldest son Mahommed to announce his approach, but confessed, as reports hostile to his safety were in circulation, that unless a small guard were allowed for the protection of his person he could not enter the palace. The request seemed too reasonable to be denied; while a refusal might excite suspicion. A guard, therefore, consisting of a limited number of men, and commanded by his son in person, was permitted previously to enter the gates. The prince, on entering, examined all the avenues with caution, and finding in one of the courts a body of men concealed, complained to the Emperor of an intention to seize his father's person, and declared that unless those men were sent away he would dispatch a messenger to prevent that father from entering the citadel. Shah Jehan, depending probably upon his armed Tartar women, consented to dismiss them. The royal Fakeer had actually set out, and his near approach was announced; when on a sudden, as if seized with a fit of devotion, he ordered the cavalcade to change their course, and move towards the tomb of Akber, where he professed his

intention of offering up his prayers to heaven. This was the signal for action. The prince's party was composed of picked men, inured to danger, whom nothing dismayed. They rushed furiously on the imperial troops that guarded the gates, and overpowered them, though infinitely superior in number. They then opened them to a far greater number of their armed comrades, who were stationed for the purpose without; and these bursting into the fortress soon made themselves masters of the walls and ramparts, while Mahommed with his chosen band took possession of the whole interior of the palace. The Emperor finding himself a prisoner, and fallen into the very snare which he had spread for another, immediately began to vent his rage against Aurungzeb and his perfidious grandson in a torrent of bitter invective. The prince replied not, but, making the usual obeisance, respectfully retired.

Not long after, when the rage of passion had subsided, Shah Jehan sent again for his grandson. The prince obeyed the summons, and found the venerable king sitting in a desponding attitude, with his hand resting on the Koran, and his eye raised upward to the imperial crown, suspended over his head. Pointing to the crown, and firmly grasping the Mahomedan code, he exclaimed, "Mahommed, by these sacred objects I swear, that if, taking compassion on my age and sufferings, you will release me from this prison, I will make you Emperor of Hindestan." The prince, by nature sufficiently ambitious, yet either doubting the emperor's *sincerity*, or his *power* to accomplish what he proposed, or rather, perhaps, fearing the vengeance of an incensed father, remained silent. With many urgent expostulations, he repeated the proposal; and Mahommed appeared agitated by contending passions; at length suddenly starting, as from a reverie, he rushed out of the apartment without uttering a word.

He presently however in his father's name dispatched a messenger to the Emperor desiring him to deliver up the keys of all the gates of the fortress. Shah Jehan, at first, refused compliance; but, after two days delay, surrendered them: at the same time, bidding him acquaint Aurungzeb that he might now, in full security, visit his imprisoned father and sovereign. Aurungzeb, whose insatiable ambition had rendered him callous to the ties of nature, sent an apology, accompanied with hints relative to the recent duplicity which had marked his father's conduct, but added that when he had annihilated the power of his rival Dara, he would himself come and open to him the gates of his prison. He appointed Etbar Khan governor of the fortress; who shut up the emperor together with Begum Saheb and all his women, causing several gates through which there was a possibility of escape to be walled up. Day and night a vigilant guard was placed over him; that he might neither write, nor speak to any body, nor, without permission, quit his apartment.

While Aurungzeb thus audaciously trampled upon the fallen Emperor, he behaved to Morad with that servile adulation which every person but the prince himself perceived to be affected. The better to delude him, and cover his nefarious purposes, he pretended a vehement desire to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was with difficulty persuaded to delay that meritorious journey, till Morad should be firmly seated on the throne by the conquest of Dara. On all occasions he addressed him as the actual Emperor, and the great Omrahs, too obedient to his commands, addressed him in a similar manner; although there were not wanting some among them who cautioned Morad against placing too firm a reliance on his specious pretensions to superior sanctity, the usual mask of the blackest designs. Blinded by ambition and vanity, Morad rejected every friendly hint of

this kind, and being now fully recovered of his wounds prepared to set out with him in pursuit of Dara. Aurungzeb having appointed his uncle Shah Hest Khan, governor of Agra, and taken out of the royal treasury what sums he wanted, the confederate princes proceeded on their march to Delhi. On their arrival at Muttra a grand banquet was provided by Aurungzeb, to which Morad was pressingly invited; and though earnestly solicited by Shabas, master of his household, and other Omrahs, who had now certain proofs of his brother's designs against his life, to refrain from going, the magnanimous prince again rejected the council of his faithful friends, and repaired about the close of eve to his brother's tent. Morad was a voluptuous prince, and whatever could provoke, or gratify, appetite was provided in abundance. After the entertainment some Shiraz wine, of delicious flavour was introduced, and Morad invited to indulge freely in the sparkling beverage, though the rigid Fakeer refused to pollute his lips with the forbidden draught. Ample portions of the same generous and potent liquor were also allowed to the Omrahs his attendants, who were no better Mussulmen than their master. On pretence of business Aurungzeb left the apartment, and the prince soon sunk into a profound sleep. In this situation his sabre and poniard were taken from him. Every previous precaution had been used for the success of the enterprize. Confidential guards had been appointed, and a band of sturdy ruffians waited without. At this moment of slumbering ambition and disarmed fortitude, entered in haste the MAN in whose breast those qualities abounded, mixed with the basest cruelties, and the blackest ingratitude. He spurned with his foot the inebriated prince, and aloud exclaimed, "Is this a conduct becoming a great Emperor? What will the nation think of those who having dethroned one prince for imbecility, suffer their intellects to be

thus wholly overpowered by wine. Morad, thy throne, thy claim to imperial distinction is for ever forfeited. Take this infamous besotted man away ; bind him hand and foot, and throw him into that room, there to sleep out his wine." The prince searched in vain for his sword and poniard ; five or six persons immediately rushed in, and in spite of all his outcries and opposition, fettered his hands and feet. An escort and an elephant were ready at hand. He was shut up in a covered amari, or castle, and before morning was far advanced on his way to Agra ; thence to be conveyed to Gualior, the fatal receptacle of the unfortunate princes of the house of Timur.* This memorable event took place on the 6th of July, 1658.

A considerable body of men under arms, previously stationed near the tent of Aurungzeb, kept, during these transactions, every thing quiet in that quarter. At a distance, diligent emissaries represented matters in so favourable a point of view, as greatly tended to pacify the rising resentment of the soldiers, not a little aided by the promise of the immediate payment of the arrears due to them. Among the officers in general very large presents were distributed, the plunder of the treasury of Agra ; and great promotions were made ; so that in a short time all irritations were allayed, and Morad with all his good qualities forgotten. Aurungzeb, now at the head of both his own and his brother's army, commenced his march with great rapidity for Delhi, but hearing that Dara had proceeded to Lahore, and determined not to leave another rival in the field, he continued his pursuit beneath the fervour of a vertical sun, with such eagerness that he often advanced almost alone several leagues before the body of his

* The Persian Author translated by Dow differs in many smaller points from Bernier, but in all the main circumstances they agree very exactly. I have endeavoured to give the blended outline of both writers, corrected by the dates of Fraser.

army, drinking unwholesome water, eating the coarsest food, and sleeping on the bare ground, like the meanest soldier. Dara, dreading to be overtaken by his inveterate enemy, quitted Lahore, and turned his course towards Multan, which circumstance gave Aurungzeb great pleasure, since, if he had marched on to Cabul, he would have there found a potent army, designed to guard the frontiers, and commanded by Mohabet, an ancient enemy of his own, who, probably, would have vigorously espoused the cause of his brother. Relaxing now in his impetuous career, and thinking his presence might be necessary at Agra, he dispatched after him Khan Jehan, his favourite and first-made Omrah, with 8000 horse, and returned leisurely to Delhi. Here contemplating the proud success of his ambitious career, he determined to reap the fruits of his crimes by circling his head with the diadem ; but this act being so directly contrary to all his professions as a religious devotee, required some management. His most intimate friends, however, who were well acquainted with the secret wishes of his heart, convened an assembly of nobles, and from motives of public necessity proposed that he should be solicited to wear that crown, to the burthen of which no one else was equal, and the glory of which none could so well maintain. As all were alike interested in the event, the proposal was received with acclamation, and they went in a body to the palace to intreat him to be reconciled to imperial honours. For a long time the crafty hypocrite hesitated, and even appeared offended at the request. But when they urged it upon him as a matter of duty, and that the deity might be served as faithfully amid the splendour of a throne, as in the gloom of a cell, he with apparent reluctance consented. In consequence, without any of the pompous ceremonies usual on such occasions, which he affected to despise, and probably *did* in his heart, his object being *power*, not *grandeur*,

Aurangzeb, the humble Fakeer, on the second of August, 1658,* in a full assembly of the nobility, at the town of Azabad, near Delhi, publicly ascended the imperial throne, and as it is usual, on these occasions, to take some pompous title, he assumed that of AULUM-GEER, OR CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, and by that title he was the same day proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan.

* Fraser says he mounted the throne on the 26th of July of this year; but if the seizure of Morad only took place on the 6th of July, sufficient time is not in that case allowed for the intervening events. In this instance therefore I adopt the date of the Persian historian.

CHAPTER III.

The Account of Aurungzeb's Wars with his Brothers continued.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Dara.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Sujah.—Capture of Soliman Shekoh.—Death of Shah Jehan.—Wars in the Deccan, and with Sevajee.—Desperate Illness and Recovery of Aurungzeb.—War with the Patans beyond the Indus.—War with the Rajapouts, and taking of Chetore.—Renewed Hostilities with Sevajee and the Mahrattas.—Farther Conquests in the Peninsula.—Death and Character of Aurungzeb.

WHEN the intelligence of Aurungzeb's having mounted the throne reached Agra, the governor filled every quarter of the city with public demonstrations of joy. The roll of the drums, the thunder of the artillery which announced that event reached the ear of the Emperor, who, apprehensive that it proclaimed some victory terminated by the death or capture of Dara, anxiously enquired the cause. When informed of the real circumstance, the old man's eyes flashed with rage and resentment. He stood for some time absorbed in profound astonishment. At length he said to his daughter Jehanara, the new Emperor has prematurely mounted his throne. He should have first added to his other crimes the last, the greatest; the murder of a father! After all, however, it must be acknowledged that the means by which Shah Jehan obtained the empire were not more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aurungzeb. He waged against his father an unprovoked rebellion, and ascended the throne while its footsteps were yet reeking with the blood of his nearest relatives.

Dara, supposing his indefatigable brother to be still personally

in pursuit of him, directed his course towards Sindi, and taking possession of the strong fortress of Bhakor (Bicker) augmented its already numerous garrison with a considerable detachment of hardy Patans from his army. Having, also, by the promise of high rewards engaged in his service a numerous body of Portuguese, Dutch, and French cannoneers to manage the artillery of that place, he thought it sufficiently secure to deposit his treasures there, which, as he had every where in his progress collected the revenues due to the crown, were now become very considerable. The prince then crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats, and took possession of Sicar, another strong fortress on the opposite bank, whose garrison he also greatly increased. Khan Jehan, in the mean time, was greatly retarded in his pursuit by the annual rains, but still unabatingly persevered, and crossed the Indus after him. Dara stayed only a few days at Sicar, and then descended along the western shore of the Indus to Tatta. That city also, being warmly pursued, in a few days he evacuated, recrossed the river with his harassed troops, and armed with resolution, undaunted amid all difficulties, immediately commenced the dreadful march across the inhospitable deserts of burning sand that stretch between that country and Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzzurat. At the gates of that city he arrived with an army nearly famished with hunger, and quite exhausted with fatigue. Shanavaz, the governor, was the father-in-law of Aurungzeb as well as of Morad, and received him in that wretched condition with at least apparent respect and hospitality. This visit of Dara to the father of his bitterest enemy is unaccountable, except as the result of urgent necessity; especially when we are informed that the latter made him considerable presents, and permitted him to recruit his army in Guzzurat. In the event, however, he betrayed him, and probably, in secret, acted

all along in concert with Aurungzeb. At Ahmedabad we must for the present leave him, as a new rival has started up in the East, and Sultan Sujah has advanced with a great army as far as Allahabad, on his march to dethrone the imperial usurper at Agra.

This prince had in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, which he had so long governed, and with the applause of the inhabitants, soon recovered the loss which he sustained in his contest with Soliman. If he had opposed, with vigour, the claims, the sanctioned claims of an elder brother to the imperial diadem, with what indignant disdain did he behold the bolder pretensions of a younger branch of his house to the same honours? His hypocritical religious fervour excited his contempt, while his multiplied crimes struck him with horror! With activity and vigour proportioned to the emergency, he immediately raised an army formidable for its numbers, if not perfect in discipline, and set out once more with the plea at least of rescuing an aged father from disgrace and captivity. He knew that his brother's faithless treatment of Morad, not less than his cruel conduct to Shah Jehan, had excited against him numerous though silent enemies, and by appearing publicly in arms against the base betrayer, he hoped to secure their decided support. He was also urged on to this early rupture by the conviction that a storm was brooding, which would sooner or later explode over Bengal: it was better to meet its fury at once, than to let it burst upon him unprepared.

Aurungzeb was fully awake to all the dangers of his situation. In the south, Dara was rapidly increasing his army, and extending his influence. Soliman was at Sirinagur, and, protected by its Rajah, was enlisting under his banners the hardy inhabitants of the northern mountains. The Rajapouts, with Jesswunt at their

head, paid him only external reluctant obedience : in their hearts they detested, and with their swords they burned to exterminate, the whole house of Timur. A decisive proof of this their disposition was given in the ensuing engagement. Undismayed by these surrounding perils the EMPEROR, as we must now denominate him, immediately prepared to take the field. He sent orders to his son, Mahommed, at Multan, to join him with all the forces under his command, and to Emir Jemla, on whose military abilities he placed the utmost reliance, to hasten towards Bengal with the veteran troops from Deccan. After strongly reinforcing the garrison of Agra under Shaista, he began to move leisurely down the Jumna to meet the enemy.

Sujah, in the mean time, had advanced from Allahabad, and was encamped in a strong position at a place called KIDGWA, about thirty miles from that station, and near a large tank, or reservoir of water. There, mistrustful of troops, far inferior in discipline and warlike manœuvre to the imperial bands, and wishing on that account to give them every possible advantage, he intrenched himself, and waited the attack of the army, which he learned from his scouts had commenced its march from Agra. The approach of the emperor, however, was designedly slow, to give time for the expected reinforcements to join him. When that junction had taken place, he pressed on to action with rapidity ; his son Mahommed commanding the van, which consisted of 5000 horse. The army of Aurungzeb encamped about a mile and an half from that of his brother, and between them lay an extensive plain very proper for a battle. Sujah, however, having a fine train of artillery which defended the front of his camp, and on which he placed great dependence, came not out of his lines. By day-break on the following morning, the imperial army advanced to the attack, but so strongly was Sujah intrenched it was

found impossible to force the lines, while the artillery, well served, did severe execution on the assailing foe. The attack was repeated several times with no better success ; and Aurungzeb, repulsed, discomfited, was plunged in the deepest perplexity.

At this important crisis intelligence was brought him that Rajah Jesswunt, who with a large body of Rajapouts had attended him to the field, and even to the attack, had suddenly retreated, and fallen on the baggage in the rear, which he had seized, and was carrying off. A general alarm and tumult pervaded the field ; all were anxious to save or recover their property ; and whole squadrons gradually disappeared. The army of Sujah now rushed by thousands from their encampment, and, headed by their prince, attacked the enemy with such vigour as compelled them to recede on every side. The carnage was horrible, and the rout of the imperialists seemed inevitable. Aurungzeb, on this occasion, evinced that intrepid firmness in danger which entitles its possessor to empire. He urged on his elephant, bearing the imperial standard, amid the thickest battalions of the enemy, and, excited by his example, the retreating Moguls rallied around their prince. Sujah, exalted on an enormous elephant, espied him at a distance, and was on fire to meet his brother in combat ; but the immense throng of elephants and cavalry between them prevented the concussion. In the mean time the driver of the elephant of Aurungzeb is shot through the heart, and he endeavours to guide the animal himself as well as he is able till another can be found to take the station of the deceased. A storm of arrows rains upon him from every quarter ; but being in complete armour he heeds them not, and his nervous arm retorts destruction upon the assailants. The animal at length became unmanageable, and began in spite of every exertion of Aurungzeb to retreat. He was just on the point of descending, and one foot was already out of

the amari, when his faithful Jemla, who near at hand, and bravely doing all that could be effected by mortal valour, exclaimed aloud, " Hold, Sir ; what are you doing ? you descend from a throne, the instant you alight from that elephant." The Emperor, who only meant to descend for the purpose of mounting another elephant, recollecting himself, immediately ordered the chains which are always ready to bind the elephant, when untractable, to be locked round his feet. He now remained immovable amidst a host of foes ; with an undaunted aspect he stood upright in the amari ; every eye was upon him and every arm of the enemy was raised against him ; a thousand shot rattled around him, but his armour rendered him impervious to their points.

In this extremity, if we are to credit Bernier, himself and his army were snatched from total destruction by the very same stratagem which had lost Dara the field in the moment of victory. It seems scarcely credible that the same error should be committed by two great generals, with the crown of India at stake, and one might suspect that the accounts were confounded. It will be recollected, however, that he was in India soon after, and being in the household of Aurungzeb, enjoyed the best means of ascertaining the truth. But thus it stands recorded in his generally authentic page.

One of Sujah's chief captains, Allaverdi Khan, bribed it is thought by Aurungzeb, observing the general disorder of the field, rode in haste up to that prince, and told him that his remaining longer on his elephant was useless, and only exposing his person to unnecessary danger. " Come down," said he, " in the name of God : the Moguls are flying on all sides ; God has made you sovereign of Hindostan ; let us pursue these fugitives ; let not even Aurungzeb escape us." Sujah in that distracted moment not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fatal error ;

he descends and mounts his horse for pursuit. The troops look around for their leader in vain, are struck with terror, and believing him either to be taken prisoner, or slain, disband in great multitudes. So great and general was the defeat, that it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped with life from the field, whence, with all the troops he could collect, he pressed on to the strong fortress of Allahabad.

Aurangzeb was in no condition to pursue the enemy. That night he lay on the field of battle under arms; and the next morning commenced his return to Agra. He was extremely anxious to get back to that capital, where a report of his entire discomfiture had been circulated by Rajah Jesswunt, on his return to his own country with the plunder of the imperial camp, which had thrown every thing there into confusion. His presence soon restored order to the distracted city, and as he was informed that Sujah was fortifying himself at Allahabad, as soon as a sufficient force could be prepared, he dispatched Emir Jemla, together with his son Mahommed, to carry on the war in that quarter; the better to stimulate the exertions of Jemla, appointing him governor for life of that populous and flourishing Soubah. Aurangzeb now wrote a respectful letter to his father, mentioning in general terms his victory, but declined visiting him on account of the pressure of public business. Shah Jehan refused to read the letter, and gave it back to the messenger with the silent disdain of an injured father, and an insulted monarch.

The force and influence which Dara had acquired in Guzzurat, with whom the Maha Rajah Jesswunt, enriched by imperial spoils, and many other neighbouring Rajapout princes had made a common cause, had by this time become so formidable to Aurangzeb as to require the utmost exertions of his genius and great military talents to make an effectual resistance. Against Jesswunt, in

particular, for his repeated perfidies, he meditated a deep and exemplary vengeance. At present, however, he had so many enemies to contend with, that it seemed more adviseable, if practicable, to subdue him by that stratagem in which he was so deep a proficient, than to attempt his reduction in the field. He knew his rooted antipathy to the race of Timur, and that in reality, he was no more attached, by principle, to Dara than to himself; but laboured to foment the discords in the royal family, and studied only to add fuel to that *flame* which, he hoped, would eventually extinguish their dynasty in India. He immediately dispatched letters to that chief of the Rajahs, in which as well by the promise of entire forgiveness of what had passed, as the most splendid offers of future reward, he endeavoured to detach him from the cause of his brother. The offence of Jesswunt was of so deep a die, and the chance of Dara's success so uncertain, that he was not long in hesitating to pursue that line which prudence and interest dictated. What, however, made the deepest impression on his mind, was the promise of the Soubahship of Guzzurat, if he would immediately relinquish the rebel banners, and act only a neutral part in this great contest. In consequence, when Dara, in full march for Agra, arrived on the frontiers of Jesswunt's country, expecting to be joined by that Rajah according to his promise with a powerful army, he received only unmeaning compliments, and cold apologies. Unable to conjecture the meaning of this altered conduct in the Rajah, he sent his son to his court, who was treated with distinction and hospitality, but could obtain no satisfactory explanation. Filled equally with grief and indignation, yet above despondence in any calamity, the prince resolutely persevered in his march towards Agra, and in a few days reached Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

Near Ajmere he encamped; and, in a situation remarkably

favourable for the purpose, threw up intrenchments of a very formidable kind, the work of European engineers ! At this place he expected to be joined by many Omrahs, his former friends, and others who might yet feel some compassion for the miserable fate of his imprisoned father. The fond hopes of Dara, in this, as in other cases, were wholly disappointed ; and as the army of Aurungzeb was only at a short distance, he prepared with vigour, but with very inadequate forces, for that battle which was for ever to decide his fate. The circumstances of this engagement are variously related. I adhere to Bernier's account, as the most authentic, and free from oriental parade. He informs us that the perfidious Shanavas being still with Dara, and high in his confidence, secretly betrayed all his designs to Aurungzeb, who was thus enabled effectually to circumvent them ; in particular, he contrived, when the battle commenced, that the artillery, on which he most depended, should be ineffectual. Judiciously placed on an eminence that commanded the field, his cannon were excellently served, and the roar was tremendous, but they did little execution, for the greater part of the pieces were uncharged with ball. An easy entrance was, in consequence, soon obtained by the imperial squadrons into the very heart of his intrenchments, where, astonished and overwhelmed, the troops of Dara were almost unresistingly cut to pieces. The prince himself mounted his elephant, and at the head of a few select bands endeavoured to rally the flying, and inspirit the dismayed. He was himself in the greatest danger of being taken prisoner, when Rajah Jessing, who still retained some respect for the individuals of the royal family, privately sent him intelligence that he was *betrayed*, and desired him to fly for his life. Before, however, he quitted the fatal field, he sought out the false Shannavas, and sacrificed that lord to his just revenge ; at least in this battle he

perished, and Bernier was told by many in India that it was by the hand of Dara himself.*

The plunder of the immense spoil found in his camp so fully occupied the victorious army, that Dara without interruption, at the head of about 2000 men, retraced his steps over the dreary deserts that stretch from Ajmere to Ahmedabad. But though unmolested by the imperial troops, he had to contend, without tents or baggage, which they were compelled to leave behind, with the sultry blast, and the dusty whirlwind, at the hottest season of the year, and with a still more ferocious enemy; the savage race of Coolies, who inhabit those deserts, and are more keen for blood and plunder than the banditti of Arabia. These robbers night and day hang on the rear of his harassed army and rifle and massacre his straggling soldiers without mercy. At length he reaches Ahmedabad, at which place, a new governor having been appointed by Aurungzeb, the gates are shut against him. About this period of his misfortunes he was met by our author Bernier, then travelling to Ahmedabad, whom he saved from assassination by the barbarous Coolies, and who draws an affecting picture of his situation. At length, with about four or five hundred cavaliers he arrives in the territories of Rajah Cutch, deriving his name from the district which he governed, who at first receives him with compassionate kindness, but being afterwards gained over by the emissaries of Aurungzeb, treats him with such marked coldness as induces him to think his person in danger, and he quits his suspected host to encounter new and still greater perils.

The faithful governor whom he had appointed at Bhakor still held out for him against the Mogul general, who could make no impression either by arms, by bribes, or menaces. With a larger

* Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. i. p. 141, ubi supra.

army he might have raised the siege, but with his handful of men, the attempt would only be rushing on certain ruin : captivity or death must be his instant doom. He, therefore, turned his eye towards Persia, where the illustrious Shah Abbas would doubtless receive the unfortunate heir of a great empire ; and happy would it have been for Dara, if, notwithstanding the horrors of the Carmanian deserts which he would have had to brave, he had tried the generosity of Abbas. His favourite high-spirited Sultana, who had heroically attended him in all his difficulties, and shortly after died the victim of them, dissuaded him from that measure as unworthy of Dara. In this deep perplexity he happened to recollect that in those parts there lived a certain Patan chief named Jihon Khan, whose life he had twice saved, when doomed by Shah Jehan to be trodden under the feet of an elephant for various rebellions. To this man, notwithstanding the intreaties of his family, to whom his infamous character was well known, he determined to fly, in the confident hope that, induced by gratitude, if not by compassion, he would furnish him with troops sufficient to raise the siege of Bhakor, where his treasures were deposited, by means of which new armies might soon be levied among the hardy race of Cabul and Candahar, and the sceptre of India be yet torn from the grasp of an usurper.

The scorching sands and whirlwinds of the desert, and the savage ferocity of a professed robber appeared to Dara more safely to be trusted than an obdurate monster, thirsting for fraternal blood ! To the residence of Jihon he obstinately resorted, and that chief received him with every appearance of heart-felt gratitude and respect. In the hospitable domain of Jihon, who even gave up his palace for the accommodation of himself and his attendants, the prince for some time reposed from toil, and a gleam of hope seemed to break in upon the settled gloom of his mind. Aurungzeb,

however, was well informed, by his scouts, of the route which he had pursued, and had taken his measures accordingly. In a few days intelligence arrived that Khan Jehan was advancing rapidly with an army from Multan, and soon after his van was actually in the neighbourhood. His toilsome march must now be renewed, and, taking leave of his host, under whose roof the Sultana had died, he resolved finally to make his escape into Persia. He had scarcely proceeded one coss on his disconsolate journey before he perceived Jihon coming after him at the head of a thousand horse at full speed. The prince, surprised but not mistrustful, rode back to meet him, and was about to address him, when he was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. His attendants, by death and desertion, were by this time reduced to too small a number to make any successful resistance, and the prince was seized and bound without a sabre being lifted in his defence. The prince, resigned to his fate, maintained an indignant silence. The perfidious chief was also silent from conscious guilt. Having enriched himself with the plunder of all that remained valuable to his benefactor, he hurried him away to Khan Jehan, who immediately sent both the prince and his betrayer, under a strong escort to Delhi, where Aurungzeb at this time kept his court.

Though that subtle parricide had already, in his own mind, determined on his fate, he thought proper on this occasion to assemble his nobles; and consult them concerning the destiny of his distinguished captive. Some were for his immediate transportation to Gwalior, others were for death, as a matter of state necessity; but all agreed in the expediency of a public exposure of his person in bonds, as a prince fallen from the imperial height, like that Darius, from whom his name was derived, never to rise again. Accordingly, on a day appointed for the purpose, on a lean elephant meanly apparelled, with his son seated by his

side, he was led in melancholy procession through that great and populous city, amidst an immense concourse of its inhabitants, who with tears bewailed his fate, while the conscious skies bore witness to their secret, but cordial execrations poured forth against his tyrannical brother.

After this cruel exhibition, the unfortunate prince, together with his son, was committed a close prisoner to a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The traitor Jihon was rewarded with a title and considerable presents, but on his return home fell a sacrifice to the just indignation of the people. That indignation, indeed, soon became so violent and general, that Aurungzeb, alarmed lest a rescue should be attempted, issued orders for completing the dreadful tragedy by the immediate execution of Dara. The charge of the bloody deed was assigned to an Afghan chief, named Nazir, who was known to bear a rooted hatred to Dara. This ruffian, with three others, entering by night the prince's apartment, quickly dispatched him, and bore the head reeking with blood to Aurungzeb, who anxiously waited its arrival. It was so disfigured with clotted blood that he ordered it to be thrown into a charger of water and cleansed. When, freed from the filth, he gazed for some time on the features, and exclaiming "ah, unfortunate man!" burst into tears. He then ordered it to be taken away from his sight, and buried with the body in the tomb of Homaion. The youthful companion of his sorrows was on the following morning conveyed under a strong guard to Gwalior.

As Dara had in some degree shared imperial honours, this lengthened detail of his sufferings was thought proper; in the history of Sujah, and of Soliman Shekoh the son of Dara, the only remaining obstacles to Aurungzeb's undisturbed possession of the throne, it is necessary to be more concise.

We left the former of those princes with the remains of his routed army, encamped at Allahabad, and Emir Jemla, now governor of Bengal, with Mahommed, at the head of the imperial troops, in full pursuit of him. Apprized of their near approach, and fearful that his retreat to his capital Rajamal, might be cut off by the enemy's passage of the river, either above or below Allahabad, the prince broke up his camp, and retired to Mongeer, an important station, which commands the pass into Bengal. From this station, however, the superior military skill of Jemla contrived to expel without bloodshed the fugitive prince. By a secret road over the mountains adjoining to Mongeer, Jemla entered the province below that post, and was heard of by Sujah in his rear, when he expected to be attacked by him in the front. Sujah decamped with precipitation, and arrived some days before him in the environs of Rajamal, where he again intrenched himself, being still unwilling, with the enervate soldiers of Bengal, to contend in the open field against the more experienced and hardy veterans of the north. Sujah, during his long residence in Bengal, by high rewards had gained over a considerable body of Portuguese, and other engineers, who defended with such vigour the intrenchments which, of old materials, they had so skillfully thrown up, that for six days together Jemla attacked them without success. On the seventh, the fortifications being reduced to ruins, and the post being no longer tenable, he decamped under cover of the night, and, crossing the Ganges with all his army, took the route of Tanda. The annual rains, setting in about this time, put an end for the present to all farther operations.

The proud spirit of the prince Mahommed, who, by the seizure of Shah Jehan, vaunted to have obtained the empire for his father, ill brooked either the control assumed by Jemla over his actions,

or the stern occasional reproofs of that father himself. He was passionately attached to a daughter of Sujah, to whom, before the rupture of the imperial brothers, he had been betrothed. At this great distance from the capital, and at a moment when Jemla was absent from the camp on affairs of importance, the prince took the opportunity to put in practice the scheme he had long meditated, and with a considerable body of friends went over to Sujah, not without very confident hopes that the whole army, when they heard of his recess, would join his standard. In that respect however he was disappointed, and the confusion and dismay to which his flight gave birth, were soon allayed by the speedy return of Jemla, who though filled with extreme astonishment and regret, acted with that decision and vigour which in so desperate an extremity were required. In the mean time, Sujah with rapture received the royal deserter, consented to his immediate nuptials with his beautiful daughter, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and constituted him general in chief of his now recruited army.

When the season for military operations arrived, Jemla, determined if possible to bring the enemy to action, and finish the protracted campaign, crossed the Ganges on a bridge of boats, previously prepared, and marched with all his force against Tanda. Mahommed, in the ardour of a mind accustomed to victory, urged his father-in-law to renounce the system of entrenchment, and prepare to risque every thing in a general engagement. Sujah consented, and the prince still fondly expecting to be joined on the day of battle by the greater part of his father's troops, erected his standard in the front of the army, and marched in the centre of the first line. In this hope, however, he was dreadfully disappointed. A large column of horse bearing down upon him, by Jemla's express order, convinced him, by the

warmth and vigour of their assault, how little, except his own valour, he had to depend upon. It availed him greatly in this arduous contest, but he could not infuse any portion of it into the spiritless troops whom he now led to battle. They were of a very different cast from those at the head of which he had been used to fight. The squadrons too sent against him were picked men, and the attack was such as might strike terror into soldiers more valiant and robust than those produced in the enervating climate of Bengal. They were dispersed, and fled at the first onset; and his repeated efforts to rally them were wholly ineffectual. Nor did the daring fortitude of Sujah at all more avail to keep together the battalions which he personally commanded. They were routed and flying in every direction; and it was with the utmost difficulty those two princes escaped being surrounded, and taken prisoners. They urged their flight together to Dacca; the last town of eminence in Bengal, towards that ocean which seemed now to offer the only asylum to the ruined fortunes of Sujah. The conqueror entered Tanda in triumph, and remained there some time to settle the distracted affairs of the province.

Aurungzeb, in the mean time, though greatly enraged at the defection of his son, concealed his resentment, and made use of all that fraudulent stratagem of which he was so complete a master, to induce his return to duty and allegiance. In this respect, by means which it would be tedious to specify, he eventually succeeded, and Mahommed, arriving at Agra full of contrition for his offence, was by his unrelenting father immediately sent prisoner for life to Gualior. His unfortunate father-in-law, perpetually harassed by Jemla, was compelled at length to fly, with a few followers still faithful to him, over barren mountains and trackless deserts, into Arracan, where he was at first well received by the prince of the country, but either intimidated by the

menaces of Aurungzeb, or tempted by the great wealth which his guest had brought with him, after some time he withdrew from him his protection, and either effected or connived at the destruction of himself and all his family. The detail of his varied sufferings as given in eastern writers, is long and affecting, and the circumstances of his death are variously related ; but we have already dwelt too long on tales of woe, and must return to contemplate the fate of the last of this ill-starred family, Soliman, the son of Dara, whom we left shut up in the mountains of Sirinagur, meditating the delivery of his country, and vengeance for a murdered father.

Having nothing more to fear from Sujah and his rebellious son, yet not thinking his throne secure while that prince survived, Aurungzeb, first by menaces and then by bribes, endeavoured to prevail upon the Rajah of Sirinagur to deliver up that sole remaining obstacle to his complete felicity. His avarice being thus assailed on the one hand, and his fears wrought upon on the other, the Rajah, to avoid the opprobrium of direct treachery, connived at an invasion of his country by the imperial troops, who carried to that mercenary chief the price set upon the head of the prince. Soliman, secretly informed of the perfidy of his host, fled precipitately from his capital ; and traversed the vast deserts of that country of rock and storm, till he reached the borders of Great Thibet. His flight however was unavailing, before a foe instructed to pursue him; if necessary, to the bounds of Asia itself : he was seized and conveyed to Delhi, bound in fetters of gold. It was necessary that his person should be identified, as the real son of Dara, lest, at some future period, the empire should be convulsed by the appearance of an impostor. When for this purpose, on an appointed day, he was publicly brought into the Hall of Audience, to hear his destiny pronounced, the whole court was struck with astonishment at the

majesty and gracefulness of his person. The great Omrahs lamented his unhappy fate, and the ladies of the haram, who were permitted to view him from behind the screens, could not refrain from shedding tears. Even the iron heart of Aurungzeb seemed for a moment to relent; yet the cruel order for his perpetual imprisonment was issued, and he was that very night, under a strong guard, sent off to pass the remainder of his life with the other princes, at Gualior.

On the throne thus iniquitously obtained by the murder or incarceration of the whole royal family, Aurungzeb sate during a period of nearly 50 years, of which were I to enter minutely into the transactions, this whole volume, already swelling to a great magnitude, would scarcely contain the details. All I can pretend to in this and the following lives of the Mogul Emperors, is to give the leading facts in each reign, and to refer the reader desirous of more extensive information, to the authorities cited in the preceding pages, or those of an equally authentic kind noticed below.*

The fame of the valour and the wisdom of Aurungzeb was by this time spread widely through Asia, and ambassadors from Tartary, from Persia, from Arabia, and even from Ethiopia arrived successively at Delhi, bearing the rarest and richest productions of their respective countries to be laid at the feet of the new emperor. They were received with unusual pomp, and magnificent presents were in return sent to their respective sovereigns. Jemla was for his great and important services elevated to the rank of Visier of the empire, and his son was appointed Bukshi, or commander in chief. In Deccan during the

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire; Eradut Khan's History of Aurungzeb's Successors; the Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem; Scott's Dekkan; the History of Gholam Hussain, and other native accounts translated of recent years by our ingenious countrymen in India.

civil convulsions under Mahommed Mauzim, the second son of Aurungzeb, every thing had remained quiet, and Jesswunt Sing still remained viceroy of Guzzurat, the reward of his perfidy to Sultan Dara. Amidst this profound tranquillity Aurungzeb was seized with a dangerous illness, which he bore with heroic fortitude, and to prevent any contention about the succession, should it prove fatal, he had the precaution to have Mauzim proclaimed heir of the empire by the sounding title of Shah Aulum, or king of the world. Notwithstanding this, as a rumour of his death for some time prevailed, several armies were put in motion in different parts of the empire ; some to release Shah Jehan, and others in the cause of different individuals of the royal family. Aurungzeb, however, after a desperate struggle at length recovered ; and the profound policy by which his life was regulated induced him for the present to refrain from noticing those rebellious movements, though the authors of them at a proper time were not forgotten.

Among those, on more close investigation, was unfortunately numbered the prince himself, who had manifested strong symptoms of a desire to be invested with the imperial regalia at an earlier period than his father and nature designed. In the breast of so jealous a parent as Aurungzeb, in consequence, the affection for Mauzim rapidly declined, and his youngest son, Akber, succeeded to that partial fondness which Mauzim had lost. In short, he resolved in his mind that Akber should be his successor ; and as Dara had left a daughter who resided with Shah Jehan at Agra, he sent to solicit her in marriage for his son, with a request that his father would send him some of the crown jewels and the regalia which the old emperor still resolutely detained. A refusal from both was returned. The princess declared she would die a thousand deaths rather than marry the

son of the murderer of her father; and Shah Jehan declared that if he troubled him again respecting the jewels, the hammers were ready that should pound them to dust. At a later period, however, and perhaps on a more submissive application, he sent him a present of jewels and part of the imperial regalia to the value of about 250,000*l.* sterling. The severe illness of Aurungzeb was attended with great debility, increased by his meagre diet, as a Fakeer, from which he never varied, and his physicians recommending the soft and salubrious air of Cashmire for his complete restoration, about the close of the year 1664, he commenced his march, (for the journey of an Indian emperor is always at the head of an army,) for that terrestrial paradise, accompanied by his favourite sister Roxanara Begum. She had ever as faithfully attached herself to him and his fortunes as her sister Jehanara had to Dara and his, and Aurungzeb sensible of what he owed to her penetration and talents for intrigue, when resident at the court of her father, ever treated her in the most affectionate and grateful manner.

The empire remaining in profound peace, Aurungzeb continued to enjoy his delightful retreat at Cashmire during the greater part of the year 1665; but the public business was by no means obstructed by his absence from the capital. Vigour and dispatch marked all his measures. The great Omrahs attended the Presence daily, as at Delhi; and petitions were heard, and causes decided, as usual, by the emperor, sitting on his throne. The officers of every department of the state were constantly employed, and messengers mounted on the fleetest horses were in readiness, at every post, to bear the imperial mandates, to the remotest corners of the empire. Stern in his manners, inflexible in his justice, and with every passion but ambition completely subdued in his own breast, Aurungzeb

made few allowances for the passions and frailties of others. The distant governors trembled at his frown ; and the least deviation from his orders was punished with degradation, or with chains.

About this time perished, at Gualior, Mahommed, the son of Dara, who, together with Morad, was thought to have been dispatched by means of the *poust*, which Bernier describes as a sort of slow poison, made of an infusion of poppies in water, of which the princes confined in that state-prison are compelled to drink each morning, fasting, a copious draught. By this stupifying potion they soon become emaciated, gradually lose their strength and their intellects, and at last, die insensibly. Not long after, that is, in February, 1666, Shah Jehan, after an imprisonment of seven years, expired at the Castle of Agra. The severe confinement which he had undergone, together with the concomitant galling reflections on his altered state, had long plunged him into a profound melancholy, which all the fond attentions of his beloved daughter Jehanara availed not to dissipate. This atrabilious disease, combined with the massacre of so many of his family, by the monster who had usurped his throne, at length totally overwhelmed the faculties, and probably ruptured the heart of the once high-minded and magnificent Shah Jehan.

On receiving intelligence of this long-wished for event, Aurungzeb, only recently returned from Cashmire to Delhi, immediately proceeded to Agra, but refrained from entering the castle till he had written a letter to his sister, expressing affected grief for the event, and requesting her permission to visit the castle. Jehanara received her brother with great magnificence, and on his entrance presented him with a large golden bason which contained all the jewels of their deceased father. All due honours were paid to the royal remains, which were solemnly interred in the famous marble mausoleum erected by himself for his beautiful and

favourite wife Taje Mahel. Jehanara was henceforth received, at least apparently, into high favour with her brother, and accompanied him back to Delhi ; but died shortly after, and Tavernier, who staid later in India than Bernier, whose narrative concludes in 1666, informs us that every body suspected she was taken off by poison.*

In a preceding portion of this volume,† when giving a summary history of the Mahratta nation, I had occasion to notice the early transactions of Aurungzeb, with the famous Sevajee, the founder of that singular nation ; that able and intrepid chieftain, who though at once contending with three potent sovereigns, with Aurungzeb, on the one hand, and the kings of Visiapour and Golconda on the other, had contrived in a few years to found a kingdom extending 340 miles from north to south, and 200 from east to west, in the finest climate of India. The detail of his victories and defeats in this important struggle for empire, and while fighting with those monarchs, would make a large though perhaps not a very entertaining volume, as it must principally consist of accounts of the siege and capture of forts, for, crafty as Aurungzeb himself, he always avoided engagements on the plain, and clung to the hills and rocks among which his daring and congenial spirit was nurtured. On this account, and because the transactions of the Mahratta nation have already prematurely engaged, and will, hereafter, occupy many pages of this work, I shall enter less at large than might be expected into the particulars of their early history. Let it suffice in this place generally to state, that the Mogal Viceroys, numerous and brave as they were, successively detached against this extraordinary man from the neighbouring Soubahs of Guzzurat and the Deccan, though

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 114.

† See chapter iv. of the last book, at page 322.

sometimes crowned with partial victory, were utterly unsuccessful in their attempts wholly to subjugate him, and Aurungzeb in person, at a later period of his protracted reign, found all his high military talents, and deep political intrigues baffled by the more subtle Sevajee. When death, at length, released him of his rival, he could not conceal his joy at that event, but paid a just tribute to his memory by exclaiming, "That man was indeed a great general, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing."*

At this time, Rajah Jessing, the former general, being dead, the brave Dellere Khan was at the head of the army of the Deccan, acting alone under the orders of Sultan Mauzim, the governor, and serving as a check upon that ambition which his father, through all his subterfuges, perceived to be the predominant passion of his mind. The king of Visiapour, though so often vanquished, was constantly seeking every opportunity of shaking off the Mogul yoke, and never paid, except when compelled, the stipulated tribute to the throne of Delhi. The situation of his country, amid high and almost inaccessible mountains, abounding in difficult passes, overgrown with lofty woods, and full of fortresses, many of which were in those days deemed impregnable, encouraged his frequent attempts at rebellion, and often screened him from punishment when the Mogul armies were engaged in crushing rebellion on the northern and eastern frontier. The king of Golconda, his firm and constant ally, was in the same predicament, and found money, while the former found men and arms to carry on the war. A few years of peace always recruited

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire. p. 95. ubi supra.

the deficiency of riches, and the waste of population induced by the barbarous devastations of these fierce invaders. This will account to the reader for the frequent mention of the alternate revolt and reduction of these refractory tributaries ; nor can they be said to be finally subjugated till Aurungzeb, as we shall find, in 1686, marching into the south with the whole power of the empire, put a final period to their dynasties. Attacked by the Mogul generals on the one side, and by Sevajee on the other, who had plundered from him the whole Concan, or western regions of Visiapour, Adil Shah was compelled once more to submit, and pay up his arrears with valuable offerings ; as were many other refractory Omrahs and Rajahs bordering on Guzzurat and the Deccan ; and Dellere is said this year to have remitted, in jewels and money, nearly two millions sterling to the royal treasury.*

Faithful to the mandate of the Emperor, to watch and report the motions of his ambitious son, that loyal general was shortly afterwards, under false pretences, driven by Mauzim from the Deccan ; but was received with open arms by the Emperor, who well knew both his worth, and the weight of his obligations to him. Having not wholly neglected himself while replenishing the treasury of his master, he was affluent, and to his affluence the grateful Aurungzeb added the highest honours of nobility. On the submission also of his son who, in his recent conduct, appeared to have acted rather from avowed hatred to Dellere, than from any determined spirit of disaffection to his father, he was reconciled to him, and continued him in the government of Deccan.

That Deccan, of which so much has been recently said, was, as we have seen, the theatre of Aurungzeb's first exercises in

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 388.

the science of war; the country whence he had led the imperial armies into Visiapour and Golconda, and to occasional conquest amid the mountainous recesses of Sevajee. He had long meditated the conquest of the whole peninsula, and had fully resolved that the sea alone should be the boundary of his dominions in that quarter. An apprehended rupture with the king of Persia, and the hostile movements of the numerous and hardy tribes of Patans who inhabit the mountains beyond the Indus, kept him for the present constantly at Delhi. The origin of the quarrel with Shah Abbas was twofold: Candahar, the perpetual source of contention between the two empires was one; and insults offered to his ambassador at the court of Ispahan constituted the other. With respect to the latter cause of offence, it arose from the mere inadvertence of one of his secretaries, who, in the letter which accompanied the credentials of the ambassador, while he had ostentatiously displayed his own sovereign's assumed title of AULUM-GEER, or CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, had addressed the king of Persia by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, at which the soul of the haughty Abbas took fire. "What," exclaimed that prince, "does THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD dare to rank me among his vassals? Haste back to that vile murderer of his family, and be to him the herald of my contempt, my detestation, and my defiance." At the same time he ordered the beard of that lord to be shaved off, (the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country) and dismissed. An apology for the error of the scribe was submitted to by Aurungzeb, but the invective and the defiance were returned. He had long resolved to retake Candahar, and the most vigorous preparations had been made accordingly. Sultan Mauzim was immediately ordered with 20,000 horse to march from Deccan, to the frontiers of Persia, and he himself prepared to

take the field at the head of the whole army of the north. On the other hand Shah Abbas, who would listen to no apologies, as possibly thinking none sincere, had commenced his march for Chorasán at the head of 80,000 horse, and an immense train of artillery, and every thing seemed to forebode a most obstinate and sanguinary contest.

At this crisis of affairs Aurungzeb was alarmed by an imagined conspiracy among the Persian nobles of his court, who were very numerous, wealthy, and powerful, and certainly had not much relish for a Persian war. He was on the point of proceeding to a general massacre of that class of his subjects, and the sword was already brandished over their heads. Fortunately the intercepted letter which gave birth to the suspicion, a letter written to the Visier himself, a *Persian*, by the hand of the Persian monarch, was demonstrated in due time to be one of those state stratagems which Aurungzeb himself had so often used with the same delusive intent to his suspected sons and generals, and a dreadful execution which might have shaken his throne to the foundation was prevented. Aurungzeb had already taken the field, and was far advanced on his march towards Lahore, when intelligence arrived that Abbas, who, though in mind active and vigorous, had been for some time declining in bodily health, had suddenly expired in his camp. This intelligence was followed, after a few days, by an express message from the uncle of that prince, who had taken the command of the army, formally announcing the death of his nephew, leaving solely to Aurungzeb the choice of PEACE, or WAR. Aurungzeb, whose ardour for the Persian war was perhaps a little cooled by what had recently occurred, after due reflection replied, " that he had prepared for war only to repel invasion, and avenge insult ; that his own dominions were already sufficiently ample ; and that, with the

life of Shah Abbas, his offence was extinguished. If the regent consented, the sword might be sheathed." The proposal was accepted, and the armies of the two powers returned to the capitals of their respective empires. Aurungzeb, however, with his usual foresight, greatly strengthened the garrisons on his western frontiers, and left a considerable force to overawe the discontented Afghan or Patan tribes.

These Patans are the descendants of that valiant race who once conquered Hindostan, and gave a dynasty of kings to Delhi. They are, in all probability, the *Aborigines* of the northern mountainous regions, Gazna, Cabul, and Candahar, which they still inhabit. They hold the Moguls, who under Timur and Baber expelled them from India, in the greatest detestation. Their chiefs are valiant and robust, and have for ages sold their mercenary services to the best bidder. The expectation of a war between Persia and India had put many of their predatory bands on the Indian frontier in motion, and they continued in arms, when the differences that had subsisted between the two empires were adjusted. At length, headed by one Mahommed, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great and the queen of Transoxiana, they rushed down from the sources of the Attock and Nilab in a body of thirty thousand men, and like the torrents that roll from their native Caucasus bore down all before them. The fertile plains of the Panjab were entirely devastated by these merciless barbarians, who vaunted that they would march to Delhi and dethrone the descendant of Timur.

It was beneath the dignity of an Aurungzeb to advance in person against rebels commanded even by a representative of the king of Macedon. But the squadrons of the imperial army were in readiness, and the march was instantly commenced. Before their arrival, however, Camil the Mogul governor of

Panjab had collected a force sufficient, at least, to check the progress of the insurgents. He drew up his disciplined battalions on the eastern banks of the Nilab; which river Mahommed crossed, at the ferry of Haran, at the head of ten thousand of his best troops, and rushed upon his antagonist with the most daring impetuosity, but with little military skill. The imperial troops bore the rude assault of barbarous valour with calm intrepidity, but repelled it with tenfold effect. It was repeated, and repelled with increased success; the rebel bands being broken by the charge, and thrown into great confusion. Still, however, they disdained to fly, but returning again and again to the attack, with Mahommed at their head, who fought like no fictitious Alexander, made a dreadful slaughter of the imperial troops. Disciplined fortitude, however, at length prevailed. Their strength was exhausted, they were routed, and driven headlong into the river, in whose rapid current the greater part of them were drowned. In the mean time the governor of Cabul with the forces of that Soubah had advanced, and, attacking the enemy in the rear, a complete victory was obtained over the barbarous hordes.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, when returned to their native mountains, whither they were pursued by the imperial legions that now arrived in great force from Delhi, under the conduct of Mahommed Amin, these resolute banditti again rallied in increasing multitudes, and the banners of no less than three hundred chieftains, the heads of separate clans, dispersed among those mountains, were seen to wave in the air, and bid defiance to invasion. The imperialists, however, with undaunted resolution, clambered up the steep ascents, and stormed the fortresses situated on the most rugged acclivities. Driven back from their strong holds into the subjacent valleys, the insurgents formed again under their intrepid leader, and another general

action, more severe and sanguinary than the last, took place, owing to the increased numbers and desperation of the foe. So immense were their numbers, and so determined their resistance, that the imperialists themselves were at one time on the point of giving way, when a report, not founded in error, that the prince Mahommed was slain, being spread among the Patans, their impetuous courage began to abate. Perceiving this, the Moguls rushed forward, and, charging them with redoubled vigour, drove them a second time from the field, and by a prodigious carnage avenged upon them the deaths of their numerous countrymen, who lay slaughtered around them. Prisoners were made in immense multitudes; the whole of that part of the country which they inhabited was ravaged with fire and sword; and every thing levelled with the ground, but the rocks to which the miserable remainder fled for shelter from the swords of their destroyers.

Such is the account given by the Persian writer in all probability for the reasons alleged in the note below,* extremely exaggerated in favour of the Moguls, for according to Mr. Orme's authorities, Aurungzeb himself was afterwards, in 1673, at the head

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 391. At this period (1669) terminates Mirza Casim's Persian History of Aurungzeb, translated by Dow. Aurungzeb forbid his life to be written, except under his own inspection, and hence the *ALLUMGEERNAMA*, the work above alluded to, containing the first ten years of his life only, is, as Mr. Orme justly stigmatizes it, a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with *six* of their sons. Corrected however, throughout by Bernier's impartial history of those events, I trust these pages are not infected by the gross adulation of the *ALLUMGEERNAMA*. Orme himself collected many historical facts concerning him which are given in his *Historical Fragments*, and many respecting his wars in Deccan are detailed in Scott's History of that country. To those writers, and the traveller Fryer, we shall principally be indebted for the facts recorded in the succeeding pages of the life of Aurungzeb.

of his whole army compelled to take the field against these discomfited Patans, on an occasion that seemed to threaten the very foundations of his throne. The destruction of Sultan Sujah and all his family in Arracan through the treachery of the prince, has been already stated from authentic documents. The fact of his death however was at the time very much disputed in Hindostan, and he was asserted by many who believed it true, to have made his escape from Arracan, to be still living, and resident in Persia. Whatever was the real fact, the Patan chiefs now produced, as a competitor for the imperial diadem, a person in all respects greatly resembling Sujah, and who they declared was that identical prince, marching towards Delhi to assert his rights, and revenge the murder of his family. The whole nation is affirmed by Mr. Orme to be able to bring into the field 150,000 fighting men, and, if united, from their personal valour and strength, could never have been conquered by the Moguls. A very large proportion of this number, inflamed with the remembrance of ancient wrongs, and the recent massacre, accompanied the fictitious Sujah on his daring expedition. The successes obtained over detached parties, in the preceding campaign, had filled the governor of Peishore with confident hopes of victory, and he crossed the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong holds in the mountains; but this more numerous and formidable army of Patans inclosed his army among the defiles, and destroyed the whole with their commander. They now marched on unopposed towards Delhi, and publicly proclaimed their adopted champion, Emperor of Hindostan.

Aurangzeb, justly alarmed at the rapid advance of so powerful an enemy, supporting a pretender to his throne, immediately marched out of Delhi, displayed the standard of the empire, and

summoned around it all his banners. To that standard all who dreaded a return of the sanguinary scenes that had recently convulsed the empire quickly resorted, and at length the whole concentrated army, to an amount almost incalculable, arrived at the banks of the Indus towards the close of the year 1674. The vanguard of this mighty host which first crossed the river, was unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Patan army, and was defeated. The victors with that peculiar inhumanity which distinguishes their nation, put the prisoners, taken on this occasion, to death. That barbarous conduct fired the whole imperial army with indignation, and when their numerous and formidable columns had all passed the stream, that indignation impelled them to the assault with such resistless fury as quickly decided the fortune of the day. Than the contest of that day, though of short duration, no battle more sanguinary had of late years been fought ; but the Patans had no leader competent to cope with an Aurungzeb, exerting the full vigour of his talents, and fighting for the crown that trembled on his head. After a desperate struggle for victory, the enemy, broken and dispersed in every direction, again retreated to their strong holds in the mountains, along the whole line of the Paropamisan range, whence issuing in large bodies by night, they made frequent assaults on the enemy's camp, plundering their baggage and cutting off their supplies, by which desultory mode of attack the war was protracted for fifteen months. Numbers, however, in the end prevailed, for the Mogul army was sufficient to *people* the country they attacked ; their principal fortresses were taken, their bravest generals slain. The fictitious Emperor at the head of a few chosen followers fled over the mountains into Persia ; and the real one, Aurungzeb, having established a chain of posts,

and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned in triumph to Delhi, after an absence of two years and three months from that capital.*

After a short repose from the toils of the field, a new campaign of a very different nature, or rather a kind of religious crusade was undertaken by Aurungzeb. Not content with exterminating the Afghan savages of the mountains, he now began with a fury equally implacable to make war upon the superstitions of the Hindoos. Acting in a manner widely different from the indulgent Akber, and his immediate predecessors, in his rage to convert the Hindoos to Mahommedism, the frantic project formed by this sanguinary bigot! he everywhere persecuted the priests, tore down the images, and demolished or violated the temples. At Muttra and at Benares in particular, the two most venerated places of Hindoo devotion, he pulled down the ancient temples, and on their ruins erected mosques of the same height and dimensions: he even proceeded to an atrocity beyond this—indeed beyond all precedent in the annals of sacrilegious barbarity. According to Thevenot there was at Ahmedabad a pagoda of singular beauty, adorned with many statues and other symbols of Hindoo worship. Not content with defacing those offensive sculptures, Aurungzeb well knowing the reverence of the Hindoos for the Cow, (with them a sacred animal,) as well as their abhorrence of shedding blood, caused one of those animals to be introduced within its walls, and ordered its throat to be cut in the very sanctuary.† Goaded to vengeance by these unheard of profanations, as well as by the heavy exactions universally imposed upon them throughout the empire—upon *them*, while his

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 67, ubi supra.

† Thevenot's Indian Travels, part iii. p. 8.

Mahommedan subjects were but slightly assessed—the whole body of Rajapouts, with the three great Rajahs of Chitore, of Abmir, and of Joudpour, at their head, rushed to arms, breathing war and vengeance. These potent native sovereigns, whose dominions were situated in the very centre of Hindostan, were able, when united, to bring into the field little less than 200,000 fighting men, and against these Aurungzeb, having first summoned to his aid the troops in the distant provinces, marched from Delhi towards the close of the year 1678, at the head of two armies, one commanded by himself in person, the other by his sons, Azem and Akber. He himself, with his division, entered the Rana's country with intent to invest the great and ancient city of Chitore, which had been taken and plundered by Akber a century before,* but had again erected its venerable head among surrounding ruins, and been decorated with many new and sumptuous buildings. In this arduous attempt, having advanced too far, and without proper intelligence, among the defiles of that mountainous region, he got hemmed in with all his army, insuperable precipices obstructing his progress in front, while behind him great trees, felled by the Rajapouts who harassed his rear, blocked up his retreat. In another quarter too Udeperri, the favourite Circassian wife of Aurungzeb, who had accompanied him in this dangerous war, with her whole retinue and escort, was inclosed. By the generosity of the Rana, for which he was afterwards but ill repaid, by the plunder and destruction of his noble capital, both were liberated when wholly in his power; and the Hindoo only requested, in return, that the emperor would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion that might still be left in the plains. Aurungzeb, however, imputing his forbearance to the fear of future vengeance, continued the war with increased acrimony,

* See of this vol. p. 9.

burning and plundering wherever he came ; and, in his merciless bigotry, seemed determined to extirpate both the Hindoos and their gods.

In this merciless career of blood, however, he was at length compelled to pause, for, having got a second time into a similar dilemma from which he with the utmost difficulty extricated himself, he then determined no longer personally to expose himself to difficulties beyond his age and constitution, but committing the war to his sons took up his residence with his whole court at Ajmere, whence he could with ease direct their operations against the objects of his vengeance. They continued the campaign in the true spirit of their father, each in a different part of the country, but neither, at the end of the year 1679, had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains.*

In the spring of the following year died the renowned Sevajee, that perpetual thorn in the side of Aurungzeb, with whom either in person or by his lieutenants, he had been at war during his whole life, and to curb whom he had been obliged to keep a regular army constantly in the field. He was succeeded by his son Sambajee, equally invulnerable in the field, and in death itself invincible ! The spring of the same year, also, saw the imperial standard exalted on the ramparts of the vast and ruined city of Chittore, which the troops of Azem had taken by surprize, and who, in return for the preservation of the life of his father and the Sultana, again consigned her palaces to plunder, and her temples, and idols to the devouring flames. The city that in western India had continued the sanctuary of the Hindoo religion and government for above a thousand years was indeed taken and despoiled, but the Rana and the Rajapouts were unsubdued. The former had retreated to Joudpour, and the latter in immense

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 86.

bodies still kept the field, hardy as their rocks, and immoveable as their mountains. At this instant Aurungzeb was doomed to feel a portion of those pangs which his conduct had inflicted on Shah Jehan. His favourite son, Akber, raised the standard of rebellion ; and was immediately joined by 30,000 Rajapouts. He proceeded farther ; he sent his general, a resolute Patan, to assassinate his father, at midnight, in his camp. The villain had nearly accomplished his purpose, for he had reached the tent wherein Aurungzeb reposed, when he was discovered, and cut to pieces by the guard. The other sons, Sultan Mauzim and Azem, whom Akber equally detested with his father, as alike obstacles to his mounting the throne, immediately hastened to the aid of the Emperor ; who had already contrived, by one of those deep-laid stratagems which he so frequently put in practice, to detach from him the great body of the Rajapout army, in consequence of which he retired towards Guzzurat. Sultan Mauzim had orders, with the army under his command, to follow the fugitive prince, whithersoever he fled, and not to quit the pursuit, till he was taken. Akber, however, with 500 faithful attendants, eluded the pursuit, and contrived to reach the dominions of Sambajee, by whom he was kindly received, and with whom, being afterwards reinforced by vast numbers of deserters from the other armies, he united his forces to annoy his father. Thus united, they became indeed formidable, and Sambajee publicly announced his intention of marching with 50,000 horse to Bram-pore, and there proclaiming him Emperor of the Moguls.

This bold declaration, added to the undaunted character of the chief who made it, inspired Aurungzeb with alarms similar to those which he had experienced on the march towards Delhi of the Patans with the fictitious Sujah at their head. The war with the Rajapouts and idolatry was now become of inferior

consideration, and he readily consented to proposals for an accommodation with the chiefs of that nation. This was effected without the *capitation* tax, which he had laid on the Hindoo devotees being either rescinded, or insisted upon ; but not without the surrender of many invaluable districts conquered from the Rana, and the Rajah of Joudpour, by Shah Jehan, and his successor. The three grand imperial armies being now at liberty, commenced their march, and arrived at their places of destination nearly at the same time. Sultan Azem's at Ahmednagar, Mauzim's at Aurungabad, and Aurungzeb's himself at that very capital, Brampore, where his rebellious son was threatened to be proclaimed. The concentrated force of these armies was for nearly three years with various success directed on the land-side against Sambajee, while the Mogul fleets, under the Siddees, furiously but ineffectually attacked his coast. Akber, however, perceiving the utter inability of his protector to place him on the throne of the Moguls, prudently withdrew from the operations of the field, and shortly after retired into Persia, where he married the sister of the reigning monarch, and whence neither the threats nor the promises of Aurungzeb could ever draw him.

During these contests with Sambajee, in 1683 the king of Visiapore died, and Aurungzeb immediately sent Sultan Azem with a great army to seize upon that kingdom, which, together with Golconda and the whole peninsula, he resolved before his return northward should be incorporated with the empire. Though greatly reduced in the extent of his dominions by the inroads of the Moguls and Sambajee, the prince of that country was still formidable ; for both *MYSORE, then divided among several Rajahs*, of whom the chief and most considerable was he of Seringapatam, and many other countries to the south and west, were tributaries to that monarch, and the king of Golconda

convinced that the fall of Visiapore would infallibly bring on his own, was ever ready with an overflowing treasury to supply his pecuniary necessities. Azem, in consequence, before the end of June 1684, was, according to Mr. Orme's authorities,* defeated in two pitched battles, by Ballal Khan, the protector of the kingdom during the young king's minority, in the last of which he was dangerously wounded; and his military operations in that quarter were for the present suspended. Great disturbances in the mean time, had arisen in the neighbourhood of Agra and Guzzurat, which were infested by bands of robbers, owing to the Emperor's long residence in the Deccan; and the Rajapouts were again in motion, burning with unsatiated revenge for the unatoned grievances they had endured. No consideration, however, could induce Aurungzeb to drop the project of conquering the remainder of Deccan. He sent detachments sufficient to exterminate the banditti, and keep in check the rebels; but he himself, collecting all his forces, in the following year, marched into Visiapore at the head of an army three times larger than that country could produce, and encamped at no great distance from the capital. Mighty as was his force, yet according to the usual plan of this wonderful man, of preferring, where practicable, stratagem to compulsion, he was lavish of his promises and his treasures among the chief officers of both the government and army of Visiapore, to procure their defection; and by this means in a short time his confidence of ultimate success was so strong, that he detached Sultan Mauzim with a large proportion of the army to attack the king of Golconda, of whose secretly acting in concert with Visiapore and Sambajee he had received authentic intelligence.

The reigning sovereign of Golconda, a weak and voluptuous

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 141.

prince, was entirely governed by two insolent and avaricious Brahmins, hated and despised by the principal nobles, who were Mahommedans; and the particular objects of detestation to Ibrahim Khan, the Captain General. Acquainted with these circumstances, and formed of the same subtle cast of mind with his father, though more generous in his disposition, Sultan Mauzim tried the same experiment on this chief, and many of the discontented Omrahs as Aurungzeb had tried in Visiapore, and speedily procured their defection. Rustum Roy, his general, who succeeded Ibrahim, was neither of such personal valour, nor so expert in arms, as his predecessor, and retreated towards the capital, Hyderabad, of which Mauzim took unresisted possession. The pusillanimous king had long before shut himself up in the fortress of Golconda, which Mauzim immediately invested, and dreading to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father had once attempted, but failed to seize, listened to the overtures of the king, who to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest submission, with a great quantity of gold, and the most precious diamonds of his mines. Although this was not a *conquest*, but a *compromise*; yet on the terms being referred to Aurungzeb, who was at this time fully occupied in Visiapore, he permitted the prince to conclude them.

By the gradual but certain operation of magnificent largesses, distributed by Aurungzeb among the chiefs of Visiapore, the king of that country found his army so reduced in number, that, selecting that portion of it on which he could place the firmest dependence, he retired into his capital, but not thinking himself safe within its walls, which, however, were capable of resistance, and contained a still stronger citadel, he retreated to a neighbouring fort, situated on an inexpugnable rock, and left his more experienced generals to defend the city. After two or three

vigorous assaults that city surrendered, about the middle of June 1686, and Secunder, the unfortunate young monarch himself, being severely pressed, and seeing no chance of escape, capitulated for the preservation of his life, and the possession of his women and children. He appeared before Aurungzeb in *silver chains*, and humbled himself to the dust in the presence of his haughty victor.

Notwithstanding the terms granted by Aurungzeb to the King of Golconda, terms intended, on the part of the former, at the time, not to be adhered to, he now commenced the march for that capital, against the repeated remonstrances of Sultan Mauzim, who declared aloud that the ambition of the Emperor was about to sacrifice the honour of his son pledged to that monarch. His opposition was so strenuous, that his father put both himself and his two elder sons under arrest, while by a circuitous route, as if on his return to Delhi, he proceeded to the accomplishment of his treacherous project. At Calberga, a fortified city in the direct line of his march, exists one of the most celebrated mosques in all the Deccan, containing the shrine of a Mahommedan saint of renowned sanctity. Aurungzeb requested the King of Golconda's permission to offer up his devotions at this shrine. Permission was immediately given, and a present of 500,000 gold mohurs was at the same time forwarded by the abject monarch. Unappeased by this magnificent offering, the imperial hypocrite, after paying his devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners against Golconda. The fortresses in their way were rapidly taken; Rustum Roy, who again commanded the army of Golconda, could make no effectual opposition; and the Mogul army, advancing to its walls, invested that strong fortress in the month of January, 1687. Aurungzeb himself conducted the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The walls and ramparts inclosing Golconda are six miles in circumference. Above them is another circuit, narrower, but much stronger ; and fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. With immense labour the besiegers raised and carried on a lofty mound or terrace of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defendants were brought to fight on the same level. A vigorous sally of the besieged, in April, enabled them to gain possession of the mound, and they maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. The rains setting in, shortly after, prevented further operations, and the arrival of Sultan Azem, in August, with fresh troops and artillery, gave new spirits and vigour to the besiegers, while the garrison, who had no provisions against a long siege, nor expected any succours, were struck with proportionate dismay. At length, after bribes properly distributed among the principal commanding officers, on the 27th of September, a general attack was made by night, and the garrison, exhausted by famine and fatigue, after a slight resistance, were overpowered, and for the most part cut in pieces. The unfortunate young king himself, who had taken shelter in the meanest office of his palace, was dragged out of his lurking place before the conqueror, who treated him with marked indignity, and Aurungzeb is even said to have afterwards inflicted the scourge, to extort a discovery of treasures supposed to be concealed.*

* Orme, p. 154 ; Havart's Golconda, p. 232 ; Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 74, under the year 1690, which is three years later than the date of Mr. Orme's authorities, but the latter being taken from the Company's annals at Madras are, I think, decisive. A letter from two officers at Golconda to the governor of Madras, dated the 15th of October, 1687, says, "*We are informed this day that the Mogul took Golconda eighteen days since ;* and that he has given the Carnatic government to Mahommed

Thus, finally, and for ever, were the once potent kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, that had resisted for two centuries all the power of the Delhi monarchs, torn from their ancient Mahomedan sovereigns, and added to the vast empire of the Mogul. To subjugate the other yet unconquered portion of the peninsula was the arduous effort of the remainder of the prolonged life of this indefatigable man ; who, in spite of increasing age and infirmities, for he was now in his 73d year, continued till his death almost constantly in the field. This is principally to be attributed to the rapidly increasing power and number of the Mahratta nation, now burning with implacable revenge on account of his barbarity towards Sambajee, who about this period was betrayed into his hands, and whose melancholy end has been before related.* The Carnatic, of old dependent on Golconda, the Mysore, tributary to Visiapore, and the Rajahs of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and other smaller kingdoms, were quickly reduced ; but the Mahrattas under Sahoojee, the son of Sambajee, obstinately disputed with the imperial army every foot of ground, and often by daring attacks on their rear, and by cutting off their supplies, reduced them to the greatest straits in a country devastated by perpetual war. We are also informed in the History of Deccan of another reason for the long protraction of the war in that region. It is there stated that the officers and great Omrahs were in general remiss in their military efforts, and purposely prolonged the war in the south, for the sake of the immense plunder to be obtained in those rich and yet unconquered regions ; that if they had performed their duty at the head of such powerful armies as they commanded, the

Ibrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it." See the notes to Historical Fragments, p. 297.

† See page 325 preceding.

Mahratta power must have been crushed by them with ease, but they feared lest when the Emperor should have finally reduced the peninsula, his restless and indomitable passion for war would induce him to carry his arms to Candahar and Balk, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who were far from wishing to encounter the hardships of a northern campaign, among a people brave, robust, disciplined to war, and totally destitute of gems and gold; those splendid incentives to a southern one.* From this severe censure must be excluded those great and intrepid generals, Zoolfeccar Khan, and Ghazi-o'deen Khan, names inharmonious perhaps to an European ear, but causing the heart of the valiant in Asia to bound with transport—the latter, the father of the great Nizam-al-Muluck, conspicuous in the van of every battle; the former, general in chief during this extended period, of whom it is recorded that, in the small space of six months, he had no less than nineteen actions with the enemy, and pursued them from place to place, above 8000 coss (6000 miles) in marches and counter-marches.† Into the particulars of these events, however, of neither prominent interest nor magnitude sufficient to engage the attention of the general historian, which occurred between this period and the death of Aurungzeb, it is not necessary for us to enter. Imperiously urged to brevity by the pressure of grand and interesting events, yet unrecorded, we hasten to the termination of a reign in which the chain of important facts, worthy of distinguished notice, closes with the conquest of Golconda.

The great object, upon which so many years of his life had been employed, the reduction of the peninsula being accomplished, exhausted with age and worn, as he himself affectingly says, to skin and bone, Aurungzeb retired, a few weeks previous

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 97. † Ibid, p. 109.

to his death, into winter quarters at Ahmednagar. There, finding his dissolution rapidly approaching, at the advanced age of 60, some glimpses of remorse appear to have broken in upon a mind long rendered callous by crimes and blood. There are two letters written by him, a short time before that awful event took place, to his sons Azem and Kambuksh, which display evident symptoms of its perturbed state. They are too important to be omitted, and are inserted below: they are, I presume, verbal translations, but ambition and cruelty may derive from the perusal of them a most impressive lesson. They are the dying declaration of an Aurungzeb!!!*

* *To AZIM SHAH.*

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. *The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire.* My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. *The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone.* My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Visiapore, is still near: and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction; restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. *I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished.* Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensibly incumbent. Give my last benedictions to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The

On Friday the 21st of February, 1707, after performing his morning devotions, in company with his attendants, he exclaimed,

foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAMBUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. *Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity!* My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. *I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishment I may be seized.* Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azem Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. *The agonies of death come upon me fast.* Bahadur Shah is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzzurat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekhoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. *I am going.* Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. *No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.**

* See Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 9.

“ Oh ! that my death may happen on a Friday, for blessed is he who dieth on that day !” Soon after he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun his ablutions, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his spirit fled into the boundless expanse of space. His hands remained clasped, and in tremulous motion for some time after he had ceased to breathe.——*

Thus, at an age to which few of the human race attain, the effect of abstinence and activity, expired the merciless destroyer of his family, and scourge of the persecuted Hindoos. For his atrocious conduct to his father, his brothers, and their children, it is impossible to form any apology ; his persecution of the Hindoos may be accounted for, though not excused, in the intolerant principles of the Mahommedan faith, of which, whether conscientiously or hypocritically, he through life acted as a rigid devotee. If hypocritically, we cannot but admire the unshaken fortitude with which, during so prolonged a life, he submitted to privations of every kind while presiding in the most luxurious court, and wielding the richest sceptre, of Asia ; if solely guided by the dictates of conscience, we are astonished that in other important matters its solemn dictates should have been so entirely disregarded. His diet consisted for the most parts of herbs and pulse ; no fermented liquor ever passed his lips ; in the pleasures of his seraglio he was, at least, more temperate than his predecessor ; keeping, indeed, according to the custom of the Asiatics, a number of women, but rather for ostentation than use. He allowed himself but little time for sleep or meals, and that portion of his active day that was not devoted to the hearing of petitions and other public business in the Hall of Audience, was passed in a perpetual routine of prayer, ablution, and reading

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 10.

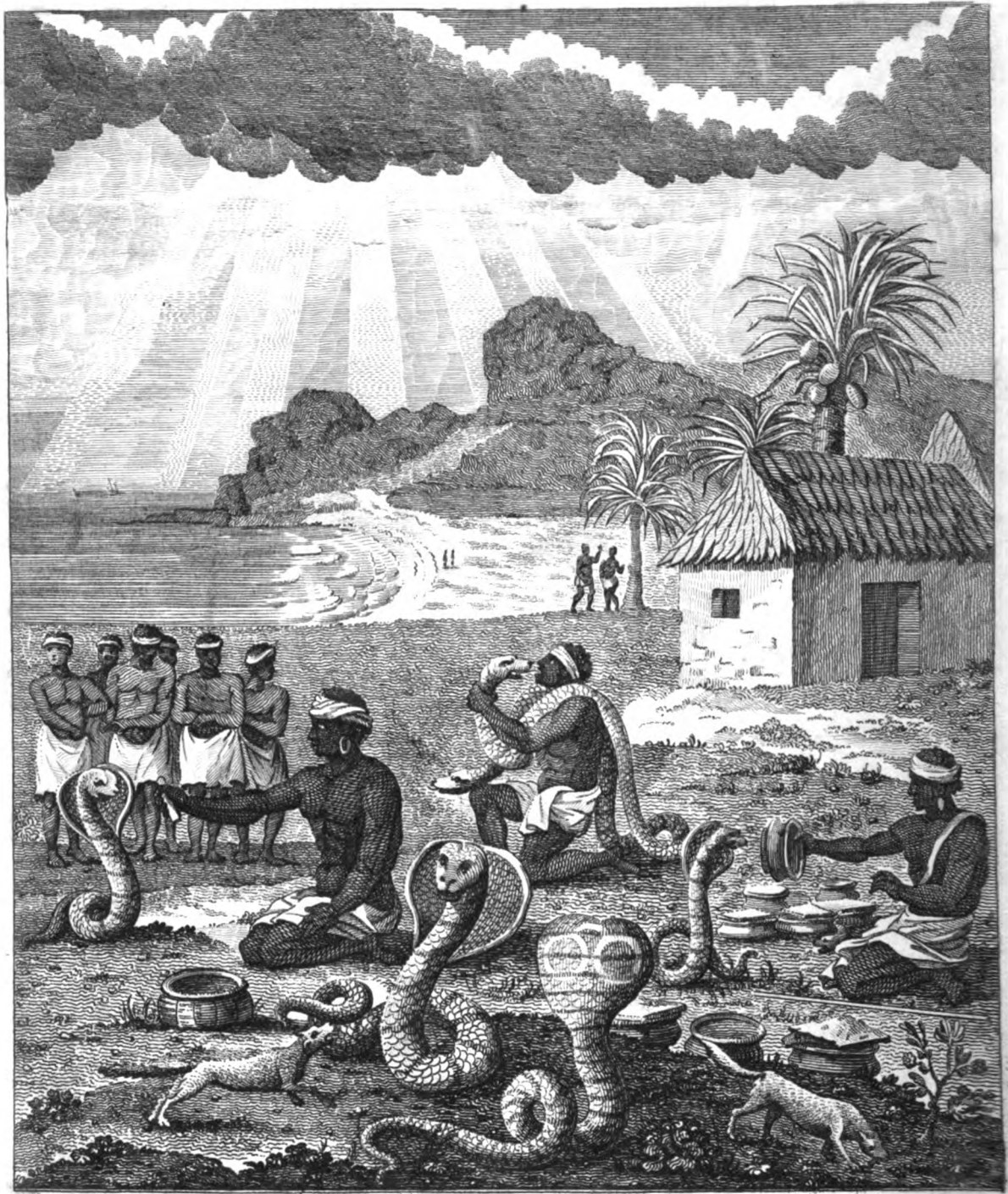
the Koran. Except on public festivals the vest he wore seldom exceeded the value of eight rupees ; nor were his sash and tiara loaded with jewels. In camp he was the most indefatigable man of his whole army ; rising early, retiring late to rest, and in his younger days he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapt up in the skin of a tiger.

Adverting to his more public character, we find Aurungzeb as a sovereign, though deeply stained with blood, yet otherwise endowed with many excellent qualities. He was accomplished in literature beyond most princes of the house of Timur. He was a complete master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and he wrote with fluency that of his ancestors, the Moguls. He patronized and corresponded with learned men throughout his dominions ; and wrote with his own hand many of the government dispatches, which were remarkable for their brevity and precision. He erected many schools and universities in different quarters of his empire ; stored them with books in every branch of learning ; appointed over them the most able masters ; and endowed them with competent salaries from the funds of the empire.

By nature of an austere and unsocial disposition, and superstitious by habit, if not from principle, he discouraged gaming and intrigues among the nobles of his court ; and the long train of dancers, singers, actors, and buffoons in which his father Shah Jehan took so much delight were banished from his palace, as destructive of morals, and degrading to majesty. His inflexible administration of justice has been already noticed. The highest rank could not arrest, nor even the wealth of Golconda avert, its two-edged sword, when lifted high to strike the guilty head ; and the princes, his sons, were no more exempt from punishment than the meanest of his subjects. He seemed to think himself the

his wishes in regard to their future destiny, manifestly expresses his apprehension that a civil war would take place between them. He appears, however, in this instance, to have been deserted by his usual foresight and sagacity ; for by not resolutely appointing either Mauzim or Azem his successor in the empire, he seems himself to have lighted the fatal brand whose flames consumed his progeny.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



HINDOOS ADORING & FEEDING SERPENTS.

SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA;
BRINGING THAT
HISTORY DOWN TO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1788,
WHEN THE
IMPERIAL MOGUL DYNASTY,
BY THE BLINDING AND DETHRONEMENT
OF
SHAH AULUM,
VIRTUALLY BECAME EXTINCT.

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P R E F A C E.

I HAVE at length the honour of presenting to the public the concluding pages of the History of Hindostan, brought down to the year of our Lord 1788, when the late Shah Aulum was blinded and dethroned, and the glory of the Mogul Dynasty, a race of princes who had swayed its imperial sceptre during a period of nearly 300 years, became utterly extinguished ! This portion of its history will be found by no means the least interesting ; and I have only to lament that it makes its appearance before the public so late, and in this supplemental form. It was impossible, consistently with other occupations, earlier to complete the arduous work, and the form is that which necessity dictated. This concluding portion being of so slender a bulk, it was thought proper to carry on the pages from the former volume, in order that, by those who please, it may be bound up with it. The work, however, is distinct and complete in itself ; containing the final section of the History, from the death of Aurungzeb to the subversion of the Mogul empire.

In this latter period of the Indian history, it was necessary to have recourse to an infinite variety of works, published both in Europe and Asia, of which the most important are occasionally pointed out in the notes ; but it was deemed useless to burthen

the page with multiplied references on subjects so recent. It may be proper, however, to inform the reader, that the basis of what is here submitted to his candid consideration is a work written in Persian, by an author mentioned in the letter to me from Sir W. Jones, inserted below, GHOLAM HOSSAIN KHAN, a native nobleman of Bahar, and the title of it is SEIR MUTAKHAREEN, or a View of Modern Times.*

* This letter was an answer to one which I had sent him, containing proposals for a General History of India; but upon a more limited scale than that upon which I was afterwards encouraged to undertake it.

Chirishna-Nagar, 10th October, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confident that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of FARISHTA, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on my authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah-Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Broughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the Modern History of India, by GHOLAM HOSSAIN. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

It must ever be a subject of deep regret to me, that I did not on the receipt of that letter resolutely sit down, and make myself master of the Persian language, at least so far (to use the President's words) as to translate *Ferishta*. But at the time of life at which I received that advice it is rather irksome to return to the Grammar, and Persian books, and MSS. were not quite so common as, happily for Eastern literature, they are at present. I had, also, at that period, the honour of being known to some distinguished Persian scholars, who, on my solicitation, would at any time have translated for me any difficult passages in *Ferishta*, or *Hossain*. Both those authors, however, had been already translated; sufficiently well for all the purposes of general history; and the reader will be pleased constantly to bear in mind that it is the *grand outline*, the *leading incidents* only of the Indian History which I have attempted to pourtray and record in a regular and connected manner; not with a view to inform Indian scholars, but to gratify individuals, unlearned in the lore of Brahma, to whom such a connected history was a *desideratum*. Colonel Dow's translation of the former is not destitute of elegance; but, unfortunately, that of *Hossain* by Mustapha, a Frenchman, converted to Mahomedism, and settled in Bengal, is in that respect greatly deficient. Facts, however, were my object; I cared little about the vehicle in which they were conveyed; and from the specimen of those parts of the original author with which Colonel Scott has obliged the public, however defective the language, and, sometimes, even the grammar of Mustapha may prove, the facts themselves, in general, seem to be narrated with fidelity.

This work of Gholam Hossain* commences at the death of

* The Persian original is in two folio volumes; the English version in three quarto volumes, price TEN GUINEAS! Calcutta printed, 1788.

Aurangzeb, with which event my second volume concluded, and carries us down through *seven* reigns of Mogul emperors, the seven last emperors; if indeed, after the calamitous visitation of Nadir Shah, the term *emperor* may with any propriety be used. The names of those emperors are Bahadur, Jehandur, Ferokhseer, Mahommed Shah, Ahmed Shah, Aulumgeer, and Shah Aulum; for Hossain seems not to have numbered among the legitimate sovereigns of Hindostan the two young and unfortunate princes, for a few months exalted to the imperial musnud, after the death of Ferokhseer, by the rebel SEYDS.

The same work, also, contains what I am given to understand from very respectable authority is a tolerably impartial account of English transactions in India. That circumstance, however, was not of very material importance to this history, for though I have brought the Mogul annals down nearly to the close of the 18th century, I found myself compelled by the forcible arguments adduced in page 639 following, to decline bringing the military transactions of the English in Coromandel lower down in time than the expulsion of the French from Pondicherry in 1761; and those of Bengal, posterior to the important period of the appointment of the Company to the DUANNY, in 1765. Of so extensive, various, and complicated a nature are those details it was found by the lowest computation, as there truly stated, that they could not be comprised in less than two large additional volumes, and the leading facts are already before the public in a variety of very esteemed publications, for the most part composed by the Company's civil or military officers on the spot.

After all I must be allowed to observe, that, however important these events of a century or two back may appear, and are in fact to us, as Britons, they are still but of inferior

moment, of subordinate interest, when compared with the great line and majestic march of its genuine history, which is principally concerned, in recording the struggles for empire, through a series of ages of the two great powers, HINDOO and MAHOMMEDAN. We have seen and traced those mighty struggles from the first invasion of India, by the generals of the Caliph Valid in the eighth century, nearly three hundred years before Ferishta's history of the Gaznavide sovereigns commences, and have brought them regularly down to the last dreadful battle of Paniput, illumining and expanding, as we proceeded, the narration of Ferishta, by the information derived from Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Al Makin, Mirkhond, and the native historians of Gengis, of Timur, of Nadir Shah, and Abdallah.

The more ancient of these valuable Persian and Arabian authors had already been presented to the public, with elegant Latin versions, by Pocock, Erpenius, Reiske, Gagnier, and other learned orientalisists of the last century; were procured by me with much difficulty; at great expense; and perused with that attention, which was necessary to prepare me to write on the subject of an Asiatic history. For India, in fact, constitutes so large a portion of Asia, and has been for so many ages the object of plunder to the most celebrated warriors of the East, that its history on the large scale, as well ancient as modern, naturally embraces a very considerable proportion of that of the continent on which it stands. The adventurous author therefore, who engages in that history, must be provided with materials proportionate to the magnitude and extent of his subject.

Whoever will please to consult my list of books expressly collected for the purpose, and inserted in the first Volume of Indian Antiquities, (edited so far back as 1792) will find these

authors, besides an infinity of others scarcely less rare or costly, with the dates of their respective editions, as here enumerated.

Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, Auctore J. S. Bayer,	Petropoli, 1738.
Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Arab. et Lat. 5 tom.	Hafniae, 1789.
Abulfaragii Hist. Dynast. Arab. et Lat. Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1663.
Abulfaragii Specimen Hist. Arab. Opera Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1659.
Al Makin's Hist. Saracenica, Studio Erpenii, quarto,	Lugd. Bat. 1625.
Ulug Beg's Epochæ Celebriores et Chorasmia,	Oxford, 1659.
Abulgazi Bahadur Khan's Hist. Genealog. des Tartars, octavo,	Leyder, 1726.
Maffei's Historia Indica, folio,	Amsterdam, 1589.
Abulfedæ Vita Mohammedis, Studio Johannis Gagnier, folio,	Oxon. 1723.
Historia Priorum Ragum Persarum, Mirkhond.	Viennæ, 1782.
Sherefeddin's Life of Timur Bec, by M. Petit le Croix, 2 vols. octavo,	Lond. 1723.
M. Petit le Croix Hist. of Gengis Khan, octavo,	Lond. 1722.
Mirkhond's History of Persia, octavo,	Lond. 1715.
Dr. White's Institutes of Timur, Persian and English, quarto,	Oxon. 1783.
Ahmed Arabsaidæ (Ahmed Arabshah) Vitz, et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Hist. Arabicæ et Latinæ, Opera S. N. Manger, 3 vols. quarto,	Leopardia, 1767.

A short account of each of these works, and their authors, is given in the prefatory chapter of the second book of this history, * under date A.D. 600, previously to my commencing the history of the Mahomedan invasions.

It is not from ostentation that I have ventured to mention these facts, and appealed to these early and incontrovertible testimonies of my zeal and diligence, but to vindicate myself from the charge brought against me by certain Reviewers, of having undertaken to write a history without any knowledge of the subject. Of however little value my continued labours, at once injurious to my health, and ruinous to my circumstances, may appear in certain quarters, my exertions at this period of the history so forcibly struck Dr. White, the Arabic professor

* See Modern History, Vol. I. p. 168.

at Oxford, that in a letter addressed to me soon after the publication of my first Volume in 1804, he condescended to encourage me to proceed, in terms almost too flattering to be repeated. His very friendly letter concluded with these words, "Your **Modern History of Hindostan** is, in my opinion, a performance of unrivalled merit. It is at once, most classically elegant, most truly judicious, and most highly interesting."

Thus much for Mussulman and other writers, from the age of Mahommed downwards. I agree in opinion with the Reviewers, above alluded to, that the **Modern History of India** properly begins at the period of their earliest invasion of that country, and the term **Classical History of India**, which I had applied to the period terminating with the death of Alexander, should have been continued down to the birth of the Arabian impostor. In this division of the work I stand before a higher tribunal than the Judicature of Bengal, and with confidence, because I am not conscious of having neglected to take the advantage of any light that could be thrown on the history of India by classical writers from Herodotus to Cosmas, or of having omitted to compare their accounts with whatever has been yet published from Sanscrit sources of information in Europe. The cause of this portion of the work appearing of such limited extent and inferior importance, notwithstanding it embraces several centuries, arises from this circumstance, that, in composing it, I adhered closely to *historical fact*, although, by intermingling, as has usually been done by preceding authors on India, elaborate descriptions of the arts, the sciences, the civil and religious institutions of the Indians, with the substance of the history, I might have swelled this particular portion of the work to an immense bulk. I had, however, previously in

a manner exhausted that subject, and thrown the whole mass of information derived from that source into the volumes of Indian Antiquities. This was done at a very early period of the undertaking by the advice of a Person of very distinguished rank in life and literature, and whose own Lectures on Modern History, which I attended at Oxford, would, if published, reflect upon him the highest honour. It was the decided opinion of this accomplished judge of historical composition, that I should avoid incumbering the page with matter not immediately relevant to the history ; but clear my way by throwing every thing of that kind, arranged under their proper heads, into previous *dissertations*, which readers might consult at their pleasure. " If you do not this," added he, " you may depend upon it your book will lose half its interest, and will probably be condemned to moulder on the shelves of your bookseller." This advice gave birth in my mind to the first idea of composing the Indian Antiquities, and if the public have been at all gratified by that publication, they are indebted for that gratification to the present Right Honourable and learned Judge of the Admiralty Court. This advice was obligingly accompanied by a list of subscribers to the intended publication of the very first rank in literature, among whom were Mr. Windham and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Shortly after, the gentleman mentioned in Sir William Jones's letter, Mr. Boughton Rouse, brought me another splendid list of names, with the great Edmund Burke at their head, with the addition of some friendly hints from Mr. Burke, upon which I also improved.*

* Mr. Burke, among other things, objected to the title of my book, which at first ran thus, " The History of Hindostan, Sanscreeet and Classical, FROM THE BIRTH OF BRAHMA." I explained my meaning to him afterwards in a personal con-

On this interesting subject of the highly flattering encouragement, afforded to this work at its commencement, as I am not likely very soon to appear again as an historian, before the public, I must beg permission to be a little more diffuse.

The anarchical and turbulent times in which these volumes successively made their appearance must ever be remembered, *nor is the danger perhaps yet entirely over.* They were deemed important towards checking the progress of Gallic scepticism, which had erected on the debateable ground of India, and its presumed unfathomable antiquity, its loftiest standard of defiance; and had they not been checked, that ambitious nation would, by this time, probably have planted standards there of a more permanent, they could not of a more fatal, kind. Animated by the genuine spirit of patriotism, several of the greatest and best men of the age stood forward to befriend my infant undertaking. Among these it would be the basest ingratitude to omit mentioning a *third* list, which rapidly followed, the spontaneous generosity of the honourable and ever to be lamented Mr. Elliot, brother-in-law of Mr. PITT, with the respected name of that great statesman, Mr. Thelluson, Mr. Thornton, and some others; a *fourth*, still more numerous, of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons; the munificent goodness of Earls Spencer, Carysfort, and several other noblemen; and the continued friendly offices of the Editors of the British Critic. Nor will the pride of virtuous and gratified ambition permit me to be silent in regard to the

ference, that the Hindoos had various systems of the cosmogony, but that the present was the "Lotos Creation," that is to say, our system commenced at the epoch when Brahma burst from the egg recumbent upon the Lotos that floated on the primordial waters. He was still dissatisfied, and said, "it would appear *affected*." I instantly, therefore, expunged the obnoxious words.

honourable public testimonies in my favour of the learned; but still unknown author of the Pursuits of Literature; of that excellent scholar and prelate the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his Elements of Christian Theology; and that still more substantial proof of desert, the LETTER sent by the late venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, and that most eminent and able judge of classical excellence, the late Earl of Rosslyn, to the East India Directors, in the most express terms recommending my undertaking to the patronage of the Court.

As this was the only instance ever known of such an application in favour of an individual to a great Commercial Company by two such distinguished characters, the one at the head of the Church, and the other of the Law of this country, my hopes were naturally raised to a high pitch; and though by the result not fully gratified, they were not wholly disappointed! I beg respectfully to state, that I still encourage hopes, from the justice and liberality of the Company, that the Letter in question, which still stands on their books, may finally obtain for my advancing years, some more ample remuneration than it was thought proper at that time to grant, (200*l.*) towards the completion of a work which, with the maps and engravings that illustrate it, has cost many thousands. Nearly twenty years of the best portion of life have been consumed in the composition of this work, and nearly the whole of a not very extensive income has been devoted to its completion, during a series of years in which, unfortunately for me, all the materials of printing have gradually advanced to treble their value at the period of its commencement.

But retrospects are unavailing; it is now completed, and on the comprehensive plan upon which I proposed to execute it, consisting of, 1. THE ANCIENT INDIA, in two volumes, quarto,

with eighteen illustrative engravings. 2. **THE MODERN INDIA**, also in two quarto volumes, together with this Supplement, and a coloured map of India, by Arrowsmith, according to its latest divisions. And lastly, though first published, **THE INDIAN ANTIQUITIES**, in seven volumes, octavo, with thirty engravings on quarto plates. This latter work, I must again observe, is an essential appendage to the Ancient India ; the contents of those volumes must be considered as illustrations of that work,* and it ought properly to have appeared in a quarto form, to bind up uniformly with the volumes with which they are so inseparably connected.

That a work of this magnitude and extent, and in its early portions so abstruse and intricate, should have been accomplished by an individual, not only unassisted, but pertinaciously obstructed, amidst increasing difficulty and unmerited obloquy, will, by all considerate persons, be thought of as it deserves. However neglected by the present age, when party rage and jealous competition shall be extinguished in the grave, posterity will do justice to my page ; and to posterity I appeal with the confidence of a man who has, at least *endeavoured* to merit the applause of his country.

* It may be agreeable to some of the encouragers of this work, to know that an effort of that kind was, some time ago, made ; but from the enormous expence attending it, the project was relinquished, when one large volume, elegantly printed by Bulmer, and comprehending nearly three of the octavo volumes, was completed. The whole now remains in that imperfect state, in Mr. Faulder's possession.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA.

Retrospective moral View of Events in the preceding Reign.— Dreadful Battle between the Sultans Mauzim and Azem.— Mauzim victorious, Azem killed—the former ascends the Throne by the name of BAHADUR SHAH.—The new Emperor marches into Deccan, where his younger Brother, Sultan KAMBUKSH, had taken up arms to oppose him.—A Battle ensues, and KAMBUKSH is slain.—Origin and History of the SEIKS.—The Emperor marches against them; is taken suddenly ill, and dies after a short Reign of six years.—Succeeded by JEHANDER SHAH, a weak effeminate Prince, deposed by the SEYDS.—FURRUKSEER, who granted their FIRMAUN to the English East India Company, deposed and murdered by the same Omrahs.—RAFFEIH AL DIRJAT shares the same melancholy Fate.—RAFFEIH AL DOWLAT, an Infant, escapes a violent, by a natural, Death.—MAHOMMED SHAH vanquishes the SEYDS, and restores the imperial Authority.

THE very singular fact of Aurungzeb having been treated at various periods of his reign with the same marked disobedience as a father, and the same disloyalty, as a sovereign, by four out of his five sons, which Shah Jehan had experienced from himself, is a circumstance that exhibits a memorable proof of the just dispensations of divine Providence. Mahommed, engaged in open rebellion, perished at Gualior. Mauzim, repeatedly im-

plicated in rebellious projects, was imprisoned for six years in Deccan, and had just obtained his liberty when Gemelli visited Aurungzeb's camp in 1695. Fear probably dictated his being sent to Cabul, and kept at as great a distance as possible from the Presence. Akber, the beloved Akber, still more keenly wounded the feelings of his father, by joining the forces of Sambajee, his bitterest enemy! He fled to Ispahan and *died* there in the year preceding the death of his father.* Azem had plotted with his relative the King of Visiapore, previous to the final conquest of that kingdom; but being restored to favour, had ever after maintained unshaken loyalty and affection. Kambuksh, too, the youngest, was deeply infected with the ambition of his brothers, but being yet young, had committed no open act of disloyalty against his father. The preceding pages display to us a dreadful picture of crimes and consequent punishment; and hold up an awful lesson to filial ingratitude and disobedience.

The same indomitable spirit of ambition that led his father to spurn at a divided empire, induced Sultan Azem immediately to commence his march for Agra and Delhi, where he hoped to seize the imperial treasures; nor would he listen to the very generous overtures made him by his elder brother towards an accommodation. A long and severe imprisonment had taught the latter, during his father's life time, the useful doctrine of disguising his sentiments; and one of his own nobles, Eradut Khan, declares it to have been universally reported, under the sanction of the prince himself, that rather than harass the kingdom by new contentions for imperial honours, he would retire into Persia. The jealous Emperor's death, having freed him from restraint, Mauzim also, without delay began his march from Cabul for Delhi and Agra; and by the strenuous exertions

* This fact is asserted in Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 122.

of his wise and faithful minister, Monauim Khan, in whose praises our author is lavish, every means of expeditious advance being rapidly prepared, the treasures both of Delhi and Agra, that had been collecting since the time of Akber, were fortunately secured to him who, as the elder son, seemed to have the greatest claim to them, "treasures that might enable him to support, if he chose, all the troops to be levied in the empire."*

The rival armies met at the river Chambul, which Mauzim had placed in his rear, and seldom in India have two such mighty hosts appeared in arms against each other. That of Mauzim consisted of 170,000 horse and 150,000 foot, 3000 elephants, and 3000 pieces of cannon;† and that of Azem was little inferior; but it will be recollected that the two princes shared between them the collective forces of the empire, and with the followers and attendants their armies together must have amounted to a million. The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest. In fact, the princes fought for the sovereignty of an empire, at that time in extent and wealth unrivalled; their attendants for their ALL. Most of the great Omrahs who had served under Aurungzeb displayed their standards in the line of Mahommed Azem, and the greater part of them fell, together with the two elder sons of Azem. Nevertheless, Azem stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, which were surrounded by ten times the number, when, to avoid the disaster of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the

* *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, p. 42.

† These numbers may appear improbable, but they are stated to have been of this vast amount both by Orme and Fraser. (*Orme's Fragments*, p. 307. *Fraser's Nadir Shah*, p. 39.) That of the elephants is least credible, as scarcely half of the number ever appeared at one time in the field.

heart with his poniard. No victory could be more decisive, and Mauzim immediately mounted the throne, and was proclaimed Emperor by the assumed name of BAHADUR SHAH, which he had taken before he left Cabul.

Vengeance, however, still cried from the ground on account of the accumulated murders of Aurungzeb, and another victim was yet demanded from his family to satisfy omnipotent justice. It has been already stated, that a few days before his death he had dispatched Kambuksh "his son, nearest to his heart," being his youngest, and by his favourite Circassian wife, to Visiapore, and his will enjoins that he shall not be molested, if he rested content with that Soubah and Golconda ; a third portion certainly, and not the least abundant in riches, of his immense empire. Kambuksh, however, inflamed with even more ardour than his brother Azem for independence, immediately on his arrival at his government, ordered himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the *Kootba*, or public prayers, and coins to be struck in his own name, the decided token of royal distinction. Hurried away by ambition and all the headstrong passions of youth, his conduct is represented by our historian as almost bordering on insanity ; on the slightest suspicion devoting to tortures and even to death the most beautiful women of his haram, his most tried friends, and his most faithful servants.* Notwithstanding this intemperate conduct of Kambuksh, as he was the beloved son of Aurungzeb, and invested by that prince himself with the southern governments, the most powerful nobles of Deccan, whether Mussulmans or Hindoos, at first enlisted under his banners ; but his perseverance in these atrocious measures soon lost him their support, and the greater part of them retired in disgust to their own districts, where they fortified themselves in the best manner

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 31.

they were able till this contest for the throne should be decided.

Taking advantage of the distracted state of public affairs about this time, also, many of the Rajapouts began to manifest symptoms of disaffection. Indignation at the unrelenting severity with which both their religion and themselves had been treated by Aurungzeb still burned in their bosoms, and they panted to retaliate on the race of Timur the series of injuries under which they had groaned for so many ages. Powerfully impelled by these circumstances, the new Emperor commenced his march for Deccan at the head of an army superior in number by 100,000 men to that which had accompanied his father thither; all the princes of the empire and a vast concourse of nobility attending in his train. Kambuksh had left Visiapore, and encamped at Hyderabad, and Bahadur, anxious to reclaim his brother without having recourse to arms would advance no farther than Aurungabad, whence he wrote to him letters, couched in the most importunate and affectionate terms, requesting that, if possible, their differences might be adjusted, without the shedding of any more fraternal blood. In addition to the two provinces he offered to confer upon him the Nizamut of the Deccan, with unlimited authority in the south, the revenues of all which united, he observed, were equal to half of the revenues of the empire itself. He concluded by declaring that if he assented to this generous proposal he would, after paying a visit to the hallowed tomb of their father, return with all his forces to Hindostan.*

Callous to all the kindness, and deaf to all the remonstrances of his brother, Kambuksh continued his preparations for war with increased activity and vigour. Independently of the natural

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 34.

impetuosity of his disposition, which disposed him for war rather than peace, he was induced by some religious impostors who had found their way into his court, to believe that destiny had decreed him the empire; and that, in urging his claims, though millions opposed him in battle, he would be invincible. His enthusiastic confidence in the venal predictions of these hypocritical fakeers urged him on to the field, and though deserted by all the Omrahs of ancient family and military renown, who were disgusted with his folly, his tyranny, and his insane reveries, the rash prince, with scarcely twenty thousand men, resolved to risque a general engagement, opposed to an army of ten times that amount. Bahadur, finding every effort towards reconciliation ineffectual, had now advanced within twelve coss of Hyderabad, but still anxious to avoid coming to extremities, employed his faithful Vizier Monauim Khan, by large bribes, and the assurance of the Emperor's forgiveness and favour, to detach from him the few chiefs who yet lingered in his train. His principal generals, Rustum Dill Khan, Syef Khan, and even his foster-brother, Meer Mulling, had resolved to come over, and embrace the protection thus offered; but Kambuksh having gained intelligence of their intended flight, had them all seized and put to death on the same day and hour, and confiscated their effects. Scarcely ten thousand troops now remained with him, and those of the worst Deccan horse, mutinous for pay, and more zealous to plunder their master, than attack the enemy: at the head of this rabble he marched out of Hyderabad, and encamped on a plain three coss from it, in sight of the imperial army.

With difficulty the amiable Emperor restrained his myriads from that assault which must in an instant have overwhelmed his unfortunate brother; but Zoofeccar, who had not been used to this kind of warfare, and who had long cherished an enmity

against the misguided prince, determined to put an end to it by surrounding and seizing him. With these intentions, but without imparting them to the Emperor, he asked and obtained permission to reconnoitre the enemy, and took care to have with him a detachment sufficiently strong to effect his purpose without the risque of a battle. Kambuksh, however, on the approach of this force, although treble the amount of that under his command, immediately prepared for action, but was almost instantly deserted by his cowardly bands, who took to flight in every direction. A few personal attendants alone remained with the infatuated prince, and from the centre of these, seated on his elephant, with his bow and arrows he dealt destruction on the surrounding foe. Irritated by his obstinate and frantic defence, the assailants discharged several arrows at him, till at length he sunk down on his seat through loss of blood, was taken prisoner, and carried to the imperial tents, where, pale and bleeding, he was placed on a bed adjoining the royal apartments. An affecting scene now took place. The Emperor with benignity and compassion in his looks, and attended by his sons, entered and endeavoured to soothe and console him by every expression of affectionate concern. He remained for a long time sullen, and silent; and though the physicians and surgeons of the household attended, he obstinately refused to have his wounds dressed, though earnestly solicited both by his majesty and his sons. They were mortal, however, and no aid could have availed him. To a variety of questions, put to him with much tender solicitude by his nephews, he returned answers neither kind, nor conciliating. He seemed to think their presence and their queries an intrusion on his dying moments. At length, turning to the Emperor, he said, "there are in a casket upon my elephant some valuable jewels of our

father and my own, of which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this, he grew faint, and languished in silence till nine at night, when he expired without a groan.

Thus perished the youngest and favourite son of Aurungzeb, the victim of that ambition, and probably also of that *superstition*, which he inherited from his father. Aurungzeb in the letter to him before cited evidently alludes to his headstrong turbulent disposition, which he in vain endeavoured to restrain. In other respects he is said to have been a very accomplished prince. He had an excellent memory, was familiar with the authors, and elegantly wrote the dialects, of Asia. But his passions at times were so boisterous as to disorder his understanding, and he fell a victim to their ungovernable fury.

Having thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, and having paid his devoirs at the tomb of Aurungzeb, at Hyderabad, Bahadur resolved to turn his arms against the Rajapouts, who from the long absence of the imperial troops were in a state bordering on rebellion. The two chiefs of that unconquerable nation had recently strengthened their alliance by an intermarriage ; the Rajah Jey Sing having espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing ; and every circumstance seemed to forebode the renewal of those hostilities that devastated India in the reign of Aurungzeb. Just on the eve of this dreadful flame breaking out circumstances arose that imperiously demanded the Emperor's presence in a very distant quarter of the empire, and it became necessary to postpone for a time the vengeance about to be poured on the determined enemies of the house of Timur. Intelligence about this time arrived that the SEIKS had risen in the north in great force, and were ravaging without controul the whole country from the Indus to the Jumna. Of this SECT and NATION, which about this period first began to be

formidable, the following summary account from an authentic source may be acceptable to the reader.

The SEIKS are a tribe of Hindoos, who profess to worship one Invisible Being, omnipotent, omnipresent, and whom they consider as degraded by any similitude or images. In truth, both in theory and practice, they are pure theists. They are descended from one NANEK of the Kattry or war-cast, who flourished in the province of Lahore towards the close of the 15th century, and who from his eminent piety, and superior talents, was revered as a sort of prophet among them. Their GOOROOS, or chiefs, of which they enumerate a long succession, seem also to have been invested with a character both sacred and military, as was anciently the case among many eastern people ; at once priests and soldiers. Like the present Hindoos, they are perfectly tolerant in matters of faith ; though unlike them the Seiks admit of proselytes, which is doubtless one reason of their rapid increase as a people ; since proselytes are made without any other ceremony than an oath, binding them to civil and religious obedience. They abhor, however, the multiplicity of idols displayed in their temples, even though attempted to be apologized for under the mild denomination of *the attributes of the deity personified*. The sacred volumes that contain their theological doctrines are written partly in Sanscreeet, and partly in a character invented by Naneek himself.*

For a long period, equally inoffensive in their tenets and blameless in their manners, they remained undisturbed by the Mahommedan governors of Lahore and Multan, where they principally abounded ; but their numbers vastly increasing, especially during the latter period of the reign of Aurungzeb, and

* See Mr. Wilkins's account of the SEIKS in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 289. Calcutta edition.

with their *numbers* their *power*, during the long absence in Deccan of the imperial army ; in short, a religious sect becoming gradually converted into a nation of warriors, hardy from their climate, mounted on fleet horses, and panting for independence, it was absolutely necessary to adopt the most instantaneous and vigorous measures for their reduction. Under their present Gooroo or chief, they had extended their ravages on both banks of the Jumna, and the inhabitants of Delhi itself were struck with consternation. Filled with implacable hatred against the Mahomedans, and with detestation of their religious principles, they every where insulted and plundered them ; levelling their mosques, and burning their palaces. The governor of Sirhind at the head of the provincial troops had marched against the marauders, but had been defeated and killed. Their wide devastations and cruel excesses, the result of both political and religious rancour, were only to be checked by the Emperor in person, and therefore, for the present, compromising matters in the best manner possible with the Rajapout chiefs, and having conferred on Zoofeccar the vice-royalty of Deccan, who governed it by deputy, he hastened northward with all his forces. Passing by Agra and Delhi, without entering either of those capitals, he in a short time arrived at Sirhind, where the rebels were collected in great force. On the approach, however, of the imperial army they retired to Daber, the original residence of their chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Daber is situated on the summit of a rocky mountain, and round it, at different heights, the greatest part of the rebel army had encamped, secure as they thought amidst its rugged precipices and frightful cavities that seemed to forbid the approach of an enemy. The Emperor stationed his army around the foot of the mountain, and resolved to lie inactive for some

time before the enemy, in the hope of rendering them confident, and tempting them to risque an engagement. The ardour of the Mogul troops frustrated his intention, for the Vizier having obtained permission with a considerable detachment to reconnoitre the enemy's position, although positively forbidden to make an assault, yet being extremely galled by the fire from the cannon of the fort, as well as by the discharge of rockets and musquetry, both general and soldiers became to the last degree irritated, rushed on impetuously to the attack, clambered up the most difficult heights, penetrated the deepest defiles, and drove the astonished enemy before them with the greatest rapidity under the very walls of the fort. Here, firmly concentrated, the rebel bands made a desperate resistance, and night coming on only suspended, but did not terminate, the contest. It was renewed with the earliest dawn ; and the remainder of the army having now, by exertions equally laborious, joined their valiant comrades, a dreadful and general slaughter commenced, no mercy being shewn to wretches who had evinced none. They were cut off to a man. The fort was afterwards taken by storm, and all within it also put to death ; but the wily Gooroo, who knew the intricate windings of the hills among which Daber is situated, disguised like a Yogee, had made his escape in the night, and fled by a secret path to the snowy mountains. The Vizier who had vowed to bring him dead or alive, to the Emperor, as some atonement for his disobedience of orders, was so mortified by the disappointment as well as by the cold reception of his sovereign, after deeds of valour that deserved so warm an one, that he shortly after fell ill, and is supposed to have died of a broken heart.*

The terrible example thus made of so large a portion of their

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

from which time he had courted alternately Raffeh and Jehaun Shah. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.*

This ameer al omrah was Zoolfecar Khan, whom we have seen fighting under the banners of his protector Aurungzeb, leading his armies to victory, and now his grand-children to slaughter in furious contest, which, instead of inflaming, he ought to have repressed ; a contest in which *three* out of the *four* are doomed to perish. The particulars are given at length in Eradut Khan, but are too long to be detailed here : they are summarily as follows. Azem Ooshawn being in the possession of the imperial treasures, as well as those which he had brought from Bengal, hoped to secure the throne by bribery. Instead, therefore, of coming to immediate action with his brothers, he intrenched himself in his camp, and suffered them at the outset by his inaction to gain very important advantages over him. He is at length compelled to engage them, is deserted by his troops, and sinks down covered with wounds, upon his elephant, in which situation the elephant, frantic from the anguish of its own wounds, hurries him off the field, and both are supposed to have perished in the rapid stream of the Rauvi, which washes Lahore. Jehaun Shah, by whose skill and bravery, principally, aided by Zoolfecar, the battle was gained, now calls upon Zoolfecar to perform his plighted promise of equitably dividing the empire and the treasures, declaring himself ready to submit to his decision. Faithless to that promise, Zoolfecar had privately resolved to seat Jehaundar on the throne without a rival, “ as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrolled power." With this view, he, on various pretences, delays making a division of the treasure, and at length openly avows his intentions in favour of Jehaundar. A second battle ensues, in which Jehaun Shah is killed by a musket shot while fighting against a host of foes headed by the traitor Zoolfecar. His son, a prince finely accomplished, who sat behind him on the same elephant, descended and fought with his scymeter, till he could stand no longer, and then sunk down, weltering in his blood !

There now remained no other rivals for the empire than Jehaundar, and Raffeh Ooshawn. As Zoolfecar, during the life of the late Emperor, had been under the greatest obligations to the latter, he made no doubt of himself being the decided object of his choice for the vacant throne. Zoolfecar, however, remained firm to the interest of Jehaundar ; a third battle was fought, in which Raffeh Ooshawn met in the field with the same shameful desertion and ingratitude, which had been fatal to his brothers, and he died with their lion-like courage. " The unhappy prince," says our historian, " surrounded by his enemies on all sides, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the SABRE OF GLORY FROM THE SCABBARD OF HONOUR, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, fighting singly against so many ? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. Jehaundar Shah now sounded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in

the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the imperial family. The mausolea which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shah.”*

JEHAUNDAR SHAH.

The perfidious Zoolfecar having now exalted his imperial puppet beyond the power of a rival, assumed the chief administration of affairs, and acted in the most cruel and tyrannical manner; degrading and putting to death the ancient nobility, and plundering the opulent without mercy. Nurtured in the school of war, accustomed to deeds of daring ferocity, when so long opposed to the Mahrattas in the mountains of Gaut, and the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, combating for life and religion in the deserts of Ajmere, he brought into the cabinet all the turbulent ambition of the soldier, and ruled only by the sword. His principal aim seemed to be to heap up immense masses of wealth, not to bestow in generous munificence on the friendless and destitute, but to glut the eye, and fill the grasp of insatiable avarice; for even his sycophant dependents suffered the pressure of poverty, and though he conferred titles on many, he allowed jaghires to none. All orders and descriptions of men, the rich whom he had robbed, and the poor whom he had trampled, Hindoos and Mussulmans, alike sent up their prayers to heaven for the downfall of Zoolfecar.

With respect to Jehaundar himself, he was a disgrace to the name of monarch, and to the house of Timur. With intellects little superior to those of an idiot, indolent in his habits, and effeminate in his person; so that his treasury was kept full,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 79.

which was artfully contrived by the extortions of Zoolfecar, and was one end of them; so that his table was supplied with the choicest dainties, and his haram well stored with Circassian women, he was indifferent to the concerns of government. "He made," as Eradut Khan indignantly exclaims, "the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtesan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two crores of rupees, that is, two millions sterling, annually, were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her clothes and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeably to caprice, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the imperial palace. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a height, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and *the grant of a village*, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace,

and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women ; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace.”*

Compared with the high and dignified deportment on the Mogul throne, of the more virtuous sovereigns of the race of Timur, how infinitely degrading was this conduct in one of that illustrious line ! There can scarcely exist a doubt but that Zool-fecar, who must have despised this silly pageant of his usurped authority, only suffered him to fill that throne until he could by heaping up sufficient wealth raise an army to secure it for himself. His own conduct, however, though in a different line, was equally disgusting, and a powerful party of discontented Omrahs were acting in secret to undermine both the silly monarch and his guilty minister. At the head of this party were two nobles, brothers, of uncommon wealth and influence, called Seyd Abdollah Khan, and Seyd Hossain Khan. They had both been firmly attached to, and had faithfully served, the late Emperor, whose son, Azem Ooshawn had rewarded them, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter with the province of Bahar. On his death and the consequent troubles they had both raised, with the imperial revenues, considerable bodies of troops, as well for their own safety as that of the countries they governed : at least, such

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 82.

was their pretence. Their known attachment, however, to Azem Ooshawn, and his father rendering their motives for arming suspected, Jehaundar Shah had appointed another governor to Allahabad, whom Abdollah had opposed, defeated, and driven back. One only son survived to Ooshawn, named Furrukseer, who resided in Bengal, and to him the eyes of the dissatisfied omrahs of Delhi were turned. The chiefs above-mentioned, whose resentment the court by subsequent favours had in vain endeavoured to appease, heartily joined in the projected revolution, and united their forces to raise Furrukseer to that throne which his father had lost. The standard of rebellion being thus raised in Bengal, multitudes daily flocked to it, and the prince, accompanied by the Seyds, moved towards Agra amidst the acclamations of an indignant people, who were filled with equal detestation at an idiot king, and a sanguinary minister.

At the height of his abused authority, and in the midst of his debaucheries, a report being suddenly propagated at Delhi that Furrukseer was in full march for the capital, with intent to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne, the whole court was struck with consternation. The great power and wealth of the Seyds too were well known, and firmauns containing additional grants and mighty promises were dispatched without delay, to secure their loyalty, or if engaged in the rebel cause, to detach them from it. Their choice, however, was irrevocably fixed. A body of the imperial troops being put in motion, the ameer al omrah fearing to leave the whole power in the hands of his enemies, refused to take the command of them; and at length, in the distracted councils of the moment, it was resolved to place at the head of them, AIZ AD DIEN, eldest son of Jehaundar Shah, quite a youth, under the tutelage of Dowran Khan, and other officers, not much more experienced than himself. On the

army's arrival at Agra it received considerable reinforcements, but not of the most formidable description of soldiers; and the march was continued to Kidgwa, where the great battle before described between Aurungzeb and Sultan Sujah was fought. At this spot Furrukseer and the two Seyds had previously arrived with an army consisting of about 70,000 horse and foot, mostly adventurers, and hoping to benefit themselves by a revolution.

Abdollah Khan, accompanied by some other officers, going out early the next morning to reconnoitre the enemy's position, was attacked by a party of royalists, which brought on a partial action, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which lasted till evening; and at midnight the young prince and his general, Dowran, magnanimously fled in a woman's covered pallankin, nor stopped till they arrived at Agra. In the morning, when the army found themselves deserted by their chief, the greater part enlisted under the banners of Furrukseer; and the rest disbanded. On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Jahaundar took the field in person, and moved towards Agra, where a large army was soon collected by a lavish expenditure of the royal treasures that had been accumulating there from the time of Shah Jehan. Formidable by their numbers, and not deficient in valour and discipline, for many of them were veteran soldiers, and had fought under Aurungzeb, if attachment to the royal cause had not been wanting, they probably would have triumphed over the insurgents; but the great Omrahs had for the most part been disgusted by the absurd and tyrannical conduct of the court, and, when the two armies at length met on the banks of the Jumna, the contest was neither long nor arduous. Zoolfecar, indeed, at the head of a few determined battalions, displayed his usual courage as a man, and his abilities as a commander; but the great body of the army was soon broken by the resolute and repeated charges of the Seyds,

and Furrukseer in person, who pierced through to their artillery, near which Jehaundar had taken his station, but which was deserted as they approached. The terrified Emperor immediately sought safety in flight, and disappearing from his elephant, the route became general and complete. Amidst this scene of dismay and confusion, the ameer-al-omrah bravely stood his ground till darkness covered the field; he then slowly retired to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of the Emperor, in the hope, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and renewing the attack the next morning. Jehaundar however was not to be found, and Zoolfecar, with the remainder of the army, marched towards Delhi. Thither, also, Furrukseer with his victorious army, immediately directed his progress, and was, by his two protectors, elevated to the throne of Timur. The wretched Jehaundar was afterwards taken, having in vain disguised himself by shaving off his beard and whiskers, and was strangled in prison. Thus every one of the four brothers, who had contended for the empire, fell in his turn the victim of that insatiable ambition which had been the occasion of so profusely shedding the blood of the race of Timur; and, in the end, Zoolfecar himself, the fomentor of their disputes, miserably perished by the same fatal bow-string. As a public example, at once, of imperial imbecility, and of great abilities prostituted to the basest purposes, their bodies were afterwards tied together, and with their heads downwards, slung across an elephant, in which condition they were exposed to public view, when the new Emperor made his triumphal entry into Delhi.*

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, page final.

FURRUKSEER.

Furrukseer, often written Feroksere, grandson of Bahadur, and great grandson of Aurungzeb, being firmly seated on the throne, appointed Abdollah Seyd his Vizier, and raised his brother Hossain to the rank of Ameer al Omrah. For a long time these powerful nobles, as well on account of their distinguished stations in the realm, as of the weight of obligation by which Furrukseer was bound to them, were suffered to have the sole administration of public affairs. Like their predecessors however in power, in every age and country, they grossly abused this delegated authority, and Furrukseer too soon found himself fettered by even more oppressive bonds than Jehaundar himself. Although not of brilliant abilities, he possessed a mind far more vigorous than the dethroned monarch, and by separating the brothers, he hoped to weaken their power and influence in the state. As, therefore, during the desolating wars that had recently taken place between the sons and the grandsons of Aurungzeb, the Rajapouts, and in particular, the Maharajah himself, Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar, had been guilty of the most daring acts of rebellion, levelling the mosques, and re-erecting the temples of the Hindoo deities, destroyed by Aurungzeb, it was proposed that Seyd Hossain, the brother most experienced in arms, should march against the insurgents at the head of the imperial troops. The project was seen through by the sagacious Seyds, for they well knew that a secret combination of courtiers, headed by one Meer Jumla, a worthless minion, in high favour with the Emperor, was formed against them; but a full confidence in the strength of their own party, added to the pressing necessity which existed, that some exertion should be made to crush the Rajapout rebellion, induced Hossain to consent

to the acceptance of the command. By a policy equally despicable and ruinous, encouragement was secretly given, from court to Ajeet to persevere in his resistance to the imperial army, sent to subdue him, in order that Hossain might be detained as long as possible in that region; but Hossain, who received frequent letters from his brother, with intelligence of the proceedings of the opposite faction at Delhi, informing him that they were about to imprison them, and intreating his speedy return, carried on the war with such decisive spirit and vigour against the enemy, as quickly compelled them to sue for quarter. The terms of peace were the immediate payment of a large peshcush, the daughter of Ajeet, to be given in marriage to the Emperor, and his son to be sent to court as an hostage for his future good behaviour. After concluding this treaty, he returned with the utmost expedition to Delhi,

On his arrival at court, the ameer al omrah found every thing in confusion; the Emperor's confidential minister, Meer Jumla, disposing at his pleasure of all places and emoluments, and Abdollah Seyd, vizier only in name. Accused to their sovereign of direct disloyalty, he had resolved to seize on both their persons; but the knowledge of the intended arrest coming to their ears, they found means to render unavailing the plots laid to ensnare them, and now determined to act a more decisive part. They declined all attendance at court, on the plea that their lives were in danger from the intrigues of the favourite; they even levied troops and fortified themselves in their palaces, while Furrukseer and the courtly cabal held daily councils what were the best measures to be taken, pacific or hostile, with men of such vast resources, extensive connections, and daring ambition. It was found impossible for Meer Jumla and themselves to hold exalted stations under the same imperial roof, as great public measures

could not be for ever subject to the caprice of an individual. In this dreadful situation all public business was suspended ; every body saw that a great storm was ready to burst ; but nobody could resolve who were to be the victims. At length the court faction deemed it expedient to give way ; the mother of the Emperor, who had guaranteed the treaty between her sons and the Seyds, when they first took up arms in his favour, interfered to prevent a rupture that must again convulse the empire, and it was finally agreed that Meer Jumla should be promoted to the government of Bahar, to which he should immediately retire, while Hossain was promoted to the richer soubahdary of Deccan, which he obtained permission for the present to govern by deputy.

Harmony being thus restored at court, by the removal of the obnoxious favourite, the most splendid preparations commenced for celebrating the nuptials of Furrukseer, with the daughter of the Maharajah, an union which it was hoped would prove a public benefit, by blending in one, the interests of the two great contending powers, whose sanguinary conflicts, for four centuries, had entailed so many disasters on India. Nothing, even in the days of the magnificent Shah Jehan, ever exceeded the pomp of those nuptials, for a love of splendour and ostentation was the characteristic of that vain prince, who was not stained with any deep crimes, but wanted fortitude and judgment. He was only unfortunate in having his hands fettered by those who placed him on the throne ; and from whose tyrannical usurped power, he was for ever, but in vain, struggling to get released. Somewhat previously to this period, (A. D. 1715), arrived at Delhi, the ambassadors sent from Calcutta by our East India Company, as mentioned in a former page, and they are said to have been materially indebted for their success to the medical abilities of Mr. Hamilton, surgeon to the embassy, who by an operation,

skilfully performed, restored the Emperor to health, when given over by his own physicians, for which, among other rewards, (and much greater were intended) he was presented with models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold.*

Hossain at length commenced his journey for the Deccan; but when he had his final audience, he resolutely told the Emperor, that if any sinister designs were put in practice against his brother, the Vizier, he would in twenty days be with his army at the gates of Delhi. To make way for him, that old and favourite general of Aurungzeb, the NIZAM, had been removed, and for the temporary loss of his government, he meditated against the Seyds a deep, though concealed revenge. When arrived at Brampore, on the frontiers of that soubah, his authority was resisted by Daood Khan, an Afghan, the deputy appointed to govern during his absence, and secretly instigated, it was thought, by the Emperor, to oppose and cut him off. For this purpose he had received into his pay a body of Mahrattas, commanded by one of the principal chiefs of that nation, and encamping under the walls of Brampore, with confidence awaited the attack of the royalists. The engagement was obstinate and bloody; and at one time, even doubtful on the side of Hossain; but as the Afghan chief rushed forward with his elephant, to end the conflict by a personal combat with his antagonist, at that instant a matchlock ball entered his breast, and he fell dead upon his elephant. The Mahrattas, who, with their usual perfidy, had stood neuter at some distance, till it could be perceived which army was likely to prove triumphant, now pressed forward to join the victor, and share the plunder, which was very considerable. A part of it, with the intelligence of Daood's defeat, was transmitted to the Emperor, who received it in a manner that decisively

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 139, ubi supra.

proved to the Vizier his deep regret that, instead of the Afghan, the imperial general had not perished.

Towards the close of this year, the Seiks, who during the late public disturbances, had multiplied considerably, and become very formidable, again appeared in arms. The governors of Lahore and Sirhind * were successively sent against them, but the former was defeated with great slaughter, and the latter basely assassinated in his tent by a Seik, sent for the purpose by Bunda, their chief, the same who had escaped by night when the fortress of Daber was invested by Bahadur. The governor of Cashmere now took the field, at the head of an army quadrupled in number, and was successfull. They were exterminated without mercy, and Bunda himself being taken, and refusing to turn Mahommedan, first had his infant child butchered before his face, and its palpitating heart forced (horrible atrocity!) into the wretched father's mouth; and was himself afterwards put to death, by having his flesh torn from his bones with red hot pincers, and other exquisite tortures; all which he bore with undaunted firmness. It may here be remarked, that from the rooted hatred borne by this sect towards the Mahommedans, their stern oppressors, the wars between them have ever been carried on with the most unrelenting barbarity.

About this time, the banished favourite, Meer Jumla, arrived at Delhi, from his exile in Bahar, not, it was thought, without a secret invitation from the Emperor. His imprudent conduct had greatly embarrassed the affairs of that province, and the outrages committed by his officers on the inhabitants, had nearly occa-

* "The Seiks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Panjab, and Multan, with great part of Delhi, and bands of them have more than once made inroads into the Nabob Vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by the approach of a British army." Note by Captain Scott, 1794.

sioned a general insurrection. This event seemed to forbode the immediate downfall of the Vizier, who, filled with just apprehension, summoned and armed his dependents in all the neighbouring districts.

The Emperor, also having neglected to discharge the arrears due to a body of twenty thousand cavalry, which he had ordered to be raised in a crisis of difficulty, that body, on being dismissed, mutinied, and between them and the Vizier's armed followers, the agitated city was thrown into the utmost confusion. When the ferment was at its highest, Furrukseer, ever precipitate, and equally irresolute in his plans, prudently gave way ; he consented to satisfy the disbanded troops, and allayed the suspicions of the Vizier, by sending the favourite once more into banishment at Lahore.

Thus did every exertion of the unfortunate Emperor, ultimately, only tend to bind him faster in those chains, with which the Seyds had manacled their devoted victim. Numerous were the other projects, to which he resorted to emancipate himself; but they are unworthy to be recorded in the dignified page of serious history, which seizes only on the great features and striking characters of each reign, and leaves minor characters and incidents to perish in deserved oblivion. The Mahrattas, now rising into great power and consequence, are eminently entitled to that distinguished notice, and to them and the affairs of Deccan we return.

The reader has already seen Aurungzeb engaged in active hostility against them during all the latter period of his life. Sahojee, or, as he is sometimes denominated, the Sou-rajah, the reigning sovereign, continuing to act with the same vigour and caution as his ancestors, had, during the dissensions that raged between the sons and grandsons of Aurungzeb, widely extended

his power, and added vastly to his domains in Viziapore, and the neighbouring Soubahs ; harassing, as usual, on their march, the armies of the Mogul governors, and every where, on the old pretence of being *lords of the soil*, rigidly exacting the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenues. The Ameer al Omrah, filled with indignation at their continual depredations on the imperial domains, determined to curb the insolence of that people. Being informed that they had erected a chain of forts on the high road between Surat and Brampore, from which they issued in large bodies, and compelled merchants and travellers to pay a *fourth* part of their property, or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole ; he dispatched an army of four thousand horse, and as many foot, to expel the robbers, and raze the forts. The force thus detached was utterly inadequate to the undertaking ; and the commander being outgeneraled, and drawn into ambush, they were defeated, and the whole detachment either killed, or taken prisoners. An army, far more powerful, under approved commanders, was afterwards sent against them ; but with these troops the wary Mahratta chief was reluctant to contend in the open field, and retreated to Sattarah ; at that time the capital of the Mahratta state, in the strong fortress of which Sahoojee himself resided. Still, however, his predatory bands continued their depredations ; on their fleet horses, scouring uncontrolled the open country, and plundering and burning wherever they came, but ever cautiously avoiding a general engagement.

It was now resolved to lay siege in form to Sattarah, and crush the evil at its source ; but, at this instant, letters were received at Aurungabad, informing Hossain of the dissensions raging at Delhi, and moreover, that the Emperor had sent private orders to Sahoojee, and all the persons of authority in Deccan, to oppose and distress his own governor there. Enraged to the last

degree at this intelligence, he immediately recalled the troops marching to invest Sattarah, and instead of farther irritating the Mahrattas, he resolved to make friends of that powerful confederacy, and bind them to his own interest, and that of his brother. He offered them terms degrading to the imperial dignity, and suffered them to have a resident at Aurungabad, to receive the *choute*, with the addition of what is called *deesmukkee*, or ten rupees in each hundred collected; a right not satisfactorily explained. The emperor, whose perfidy was thus retorted upon his own head, dared not refuse to ratify the treaty; but with increased assiduity laboured to undermine that power which he could not openly control. This admission of the exorbitant claims of the Mahrattas, in the governor of Deccan, was to the last degree impolitic, and laid the imperial crown of Timur at their feet. After this period, how rapidly their power and consequence increased in India, how bold their aggressions, and how shameless their extortions, the future pages of this history will too frequently demonstrate.

Before we come to the close of this reign of disaster and imbecility, another description of people must also be noticed, who were now becoming formidable by their numbers, and their outrages, I mean the Jats, or Jauts, who made their first appearance during Aurungzeb's prolonged wars in the south, as an intrepid band of robbers, and as such, received chastisement from that prince, who, on being informed of their depredations, sent from Deccan a strong detachment to reduce them. They are said to be descended from the ancient tribe of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Mahmud of Gazna. They seem to have been the Getes, upon whom Timur, in his invasion of India made war, and were probably not unconnected with the Getæ of classical historians.

Their ferocious, predatory habits, seem to justify their presumed descent from those barbarians. It should not be omitted, however, that the word JATE, in Hindoo, signifies a husbandman, from which some have derived their name, however different their practice. Under a succession of daring chiefs, they gradually extended themselves along the banks of the Jumna river, and in the vicinity of Agra, and about this time broke into open rebellion. Rajah Jey Sing was sent by Furrukseer at the head of a considerable force to bring them to obedience; but taking refuge among their strong fortresses, they resisted all his efforts to subdue them for nearly a year, when, by bribes sent to the Vizier, who wished to secure their assistance, in any crisis of difficulty, together with a large pecush paid into the royal treasury, they obtained the recall of the troops under Jey Sing, who was greatly disgusted at having victory thus ravished from his grasp.

That crisis was rapidly approaching; the deposition of the Emperor was determined upon by the enraged brothers. In vain had Furrukseer summoned around him, from various and distant quarters, all the great vassals of the empire, in full confidence that they would support him against their usurpation. The artful Vizier held out alluring bribes to their ambition; and his brother was in full march from Deccan, with an army devoted to his interests, and ready, by one decisive blow, to crush every opponent. That army consisted of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of which were Mahrattas. They poured, in a resistless torrent, into the capital, occupied the great squares, and filled all the avenues of the palace. Furrukseer, in a paroxysm of terror, fled into his haram, the doors of which, with barbarous violence were burst open, and the pusillanimous monarch was dragged from the midst of the shrieking females, who composed his family, not indeed to immediate death, but to confinement in a

dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace, where he was blinded with a hot iron. Attempting, however, soon after, to make his escape from his gloomy prison, he was assassinated, according to Fraser, on the 16th of February, 1719, after an inglorious, distracted reign of about seven years.*

The triumphant brothers now reigned without control, dividing among themselves and their adherents, the imperial treasures, jewels, elephants and horses; and Abdollah Seyd, who, to unbounded ambition, added unbridled lust, seized for his own use several ladies of the royal haram. Their principal agent in these and other atrocious transactions, was a venal and unprincipled wretch, named Ruttun Chund, their Dewan, or steward, who had long exercised a supreme control over the revenues of the empire, which he had farmed out to wretches, venal and extortionate as himself. Under him every thing had its allotted price; in that empire honours and titles were brought to a public mart, and all distinction between virtue and vice seemed to be annihilated. Although *they* may be truly said to have *reigned*, yet a nominal sovereign of the blood of Timur, an imperial pageant, was deemed necessary to their security, and therefore proceeding to the castle of SELIMGUR, in which the royal princes were confined, they took out of its solitary chambers,

RAFFEH AL DIRJAT,

the son of Raffeh Ooshiawn above mentioned, and placed him on the vacant throne. He was quite a youth, and had neither voice nor will of his own, while all the great offices of state, and the most lucrative governments were filled with the friends, and dependants of the Seyds. The Vizier took possession of the palace, whence the eunuchs and other domestics, grown old in

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p: 45.

the service of the royal family, were ejected, to make room for the creatures of the new dynasty. They were cautious, however, of offending the more powerful among the old nobility. Sirbullind Khan, an omrah of great weight and influence, and at that time on his way to Cabul, at the head of a considerable army, was confirmed in his recent appointment to the government of that province, and adorned with new honours. To conciliate Nizam al Muluck, formidable both for his great military and political knowledge, the soubahdary of Malva was conferred upon him, whence he soon *appointed himself* to his former government of the Deccan, for we find him established there in great power, and the object of dread to the tottering brothers, in the first year of the reign of Mahommed Shah. He will soon become an important actor in the scenes, the eventful and sanguinary scenes, without parallel in the history of nations, about to pass in rapid succession, before the view of the reader.

The aim of the Seyds, in exalting to the throne so juvenile a prince, was, doubtless, that they might enjoy uncontrolled, during a long minority, the imperial power. But in this expectation they were grievously disappointed, for, after a nominal reign of about four months, the young emperor died of a consumption. Fraser says he was murdered by them; but as there appears no adequate cause to have excited them to such wanton barbarity, they may reasonably be presumed guiltless of that crime. They now raised to the same painful pre-eminence his younger brother,

RAFFEH AL DOWLAT;

But his reign was still shorter, for in less than three months he also died, it is said, a natural death, though there are writers of respectability, who, arguing possibly from the atrocious character,

and the wavering politics of the Seyds, assert that both of these unfortunate princes perished by the hand of assassination. A son of that Jehaun Shah noticed before as so distinguished by valour and abilities, a youth of about seventeen, yet remained in the prison-palace of Selimgur, and India saw a ray of transient glory illumine her horizon, when Sultan Rooshun Akber, under the assumed title of

MAHOMMED SHAH,

assumed that throne for which his father died contending. When the last pageant emperor died, the brothers were with the army at Agra, the governor of which city had rebelled, but being vigorously pressed, and despairing of pardon from his pursuers he put himself to death, and immediately the citadel surrendered at discretion. The mother of Mahommed, a woman of deep policy and sound judgment, attended her son to Agra, and devoted her attention to acquire confidence of the brothers, while the emperor himself was in all things scrupulously subservient to their will. This subserviency, however, in both mother and son was the result of the deepest hypocrisy, and they privately meditated plans for the overthrow of the haughty disposers of the throne, and destroyers of the race of Timur.

Shortly after the governor of Allahabad, who had been insulted by the brothers, raised the standard of independence, and the royal army began its march towards that quarter. A negotiation, however, commenced; the Seyds thought it prudent to relax a little from the stern severity of their despotism, and matters were amicably adjusted. The army now prepared to march against a more formidable rebel to their authority, the Nizam, who bade them defiance, and had collected a considerable army of muselman and Mahratta troops to support his opposition. The

Emperor is said secretly to have encouraged his rebellion, and to have sent him a firmaun constituting him Soubah of Deccan in the place of Hossain. He was likewise encouraged to persevere by many of the discontented nobles at court who were grown weary of the insolence and tyranny of the usurpers, whom they hoped to crush, if they could be separated. The iniquitous Dewan saw into the projected scheme to ruin his protectors, and strongly advised the ameer al omrah not to proceed with the army to Deccan, but to make peace with the Nizam by a voluntary resignation to him of the government of that province. At this latter idea the pride of Hossain revolted, though he was easily persuaded to send an army commanded by another general against his antagonist. That general, however, and a second who followed him at the head of a still larger army, were successively and totally defeated by the experienced veteran who had so often led to victory the armies of Aurungzeb, and, at length, after great debate and irresolution between the brothers, in which their dread of the result was evident to the young sovereign and the whole court, it was determined that Abdollah, the Visier, should return to Delhi, and Hossain with the emperor march with the army to Deccan.

This plan of operations exactly coinciding with the wishes of those who had combined for their destruction, no time was lost in preparing for the expedition. In October 1720, according to Fraser, the imperial army left Agra, and having marched nine measured coss the first day, the emperor called a *divan* that night, and, after a short stay, withdrew. The conspirators, Mahommed Ameen Khan, an omrah high in favour with the emperor, Hyder Kuli Khan, the general of the artillery, and Dowran Khan, with several others, had fixed on that very evening for the assassination of the ameer al omrah, and as he was returning from the

audience in his pallankin, one of them on whom it had fallen (for it was decided by casting lots) to strike the fatal blow, approached it with a petition, at the same time crying aloud for vengeance on Mahommed Ameen Khan. At these words, which conveyed no unwelcome sounds to the ears of his bitterest enemy, he ordered the guards to stop, and while he was perusing the petition, the noble assassin struck his dagger into his breast, and immediately fell beneath a thousand swords plunged into his own. His followers, who were numerous, immediately flew to arms to revenge his death, but proper arrangements having been previously made, and the artillery being commanded by Hyder Kuli, the contest was soon decided; and the emancipated emperor, having publicly appointed the Nizam to the soubahdary of all Deccan, exultingly returned to Agra. Mahommed Ameen was appointed Visier, Dowran ameer al omrah, and on all who had assisted in the overthrow of the fallen Hossain were bestowed the most distinguished honours and rewards.*

When the fatal intelligence of a brother slain, and what might be truly called an empire lost, arrived at Delhi, it excited in Abdollah the mingled sensations of exquisite grief and high resentment. Resentment, however, prevailing, he immediately burst open the royal treasury, and robbed the peacock throne of its finest jewels,† in order to purchase the assistance of all who could bring a horse or arms, and by this means was enabled in a short time to raise a promiscuous army of 80,000 men; of whom not a few, after receiving their pay, deserted his standard. Many

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 55. Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Fraser says, "he broke to pieces the famous *peacock throne*, which cost Shah Jehan nine crores," or as many millions sterling; but that imperial pageant we know afterwards became the plunder of Nadir Shah. I have, therefore, mitigated the outrage to a partial depredation of its jewels.

great omrahs, however, who owed their honours and fortunes to the Seyds, with their followers remained faithful to his cause, and to give it still more weight and consequence, he took out of his imprisonment Sultan IBRAHIM, the infant son of Raffeh Ooshawn, caused him publicly to be proclaimed emperor, and placing him at the head of the forces, marched out of Delhi to meet and combat the imperial army. That army was already rapidly advancing towards the capital; and both received in their progress great multitudes of auxiliary troops, Afghans, Jauts, and other adventurers, ever ready, in hopes of plunder, to join in the contests of the princes of India. Not to enter into military details disgusting by their uniformity, the important battle that was to fix the crown on the head of Mahommed Shah, or rend the sceptre for ever from his grasp, took place, according to Fraser, on the 2d of November, 1720, at Sirkad, twelve coss from Muttra. It was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end Abdollah's forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded, and taken prisoner. The victorious Emperor on this occasion exerted a benignity that did honour to his heart. Abdollah being brought before him, after being severely reprov'd, was dismissed with no other punishment than that confinement which the monarch's security rendered necessary, had the palace of Asoph al Dowlat assigned him for his residence, and a princely establishment settled upon him, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he died a few months afterwards of his wounds. The same clemency was also shown to the young Sultan, who was only remanded to his former apartments in the castle of Selimgur. In short, no sovereign ever enjoyed victory with more moderation, nor re-ascended a contested throne under more happy auspices than Mahommed Shah. The vigour and decision with which he had acted awed to obedience the refractory governors

A. D. 1721.]

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in the distant provinces ; tranquillity was again restored to the distracted empire ; and the most confident hopes were entertained that his reign would be not less glorious than those of the most distinguished sovereigns of the house of Timur.

CHAPTER V.

Great Change in the Conduct of MAHOMMED, who becomes indolent, and enervated.—The NIZAM invited to Delhi, and made Vizier, but soon retires in disgust to Deccan, and there meditates Independence.—He incites the Mahrattas to invade Agra and Delhi.—They are defeated, but renew their Irruptions in greater Numbers.—The Emperor at length purchases their Retreat by submitting to pay the CHOUTE for those Provinces, from which Period the Fall of the Mogul Monarchy may be dated.—Distractions at Court.—Character of SADIT KHAN.—He conspires with the Nizam, and they invite NADIR SHAH to invade India.—That Invasion described.—Consequent Ruin of the Empire.—Death of the Nizam.—Death of Mahommed.

THE Oriental historian describes the triumphal entry of Mahommed into his capital, after the destruction of the Seyds, to have been one of the most splendid and magnificent pomps ever seen. He himself was mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and beauty, most sumptuously adorned with housings of gold brocade, and sparkling with precious stones. This was preceded and attended with several other led elephants and horses adorned with equal magnificence; while the travelling thrones and other carriages of the Emperor, glittering with gold and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and the nobility were all newly clothed for the occasion, and the great omrahs vied with each other in the magnificence of their appearance. Gold and silver coins were scattered in profusion among the populace, whose acclamations of joy at

the restoration of the imperial authority rent the heavens. On his entering the palace he was met by his mother and the princesses bearing golden basons, filled with jewels, which they waved in triumph around his head ; and the principal nobility presented *nuzzurs* (gifts) of the most costly kind. Of a reign thus happily and splendidly begun, it is painful to the historian to relate the unfortunate incidents that marked its progress, and its calamitous termination.

Those powerful enemies, those creators and destroyers of sovereigns, being crushed, and no public foe remaining to be subdued, Mahommed soon relaxed from the vigour that distinguished his early councils, and resigned himself to those seducing pleasures that had proved so fatal to many of his predecessors. He was in the prime of youth with every incentive of pleasure around him, and all the means of gratifying the passions predominant at that season were within his reach. His favourite minister Dowran Khan, the prince of the omrahs, though not without abilities and great military talents, was, also, not less devoted to dissipation than his master ; and the new Visier, Kammer o'deen Khan, all young like the monarch, was of the same dissolute description. The sword was returned to the scabbard, as if danger had ceased to exist ; days, months, and even years rolled on in circles of ever-varying delight ; virtue was without honour, and valour without its reward.

In the mean time, those ancient enemies of the empire, the Rajapouts, took advantage of the supine indolence in which the court was plunged, and spread desolation through Ajmere, and the central provinces ; while the Mahrattas, defeating and expelling the Mogul governors, without control extended their growing empire over Guzzurat, and the whole western coast. The Nizam, having collected a powerful army in Deccan, pre-

served that region and the peninsula from their ravages, but it was not for the Emperor that he preserved it. He had long aspired at independence, and was now taking the most effectual means of securing that extensive portion of the empire for himself and his posterity. A sensible writer* has well observed, that it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the Mogul emperors had they never attempted to make conquests in Deccan, as its great distance from the capital, as well as its innumerable local advantages, held out a perpetual temptation to the viceroy to make himself independent ; and that probably, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timur might have still swayed the sceptre of Hindostan. The vast armies necessary for its subjugation in the first instance, and the reduction of its rebellious governors in the second, were an eternal drain upon the capital, and left the northern provinces of Lahore and Cabul without an adequate army for the defence of those frontier provinces through which Mahmud, Timur, and, as we shall soon see, a still more dreadful conqueror, Nadir, made their destructive irruptions.

Immersed in shameless debauchery, no active vigorous exertions were taken by Mahommed and his ministers to check the torrent of insubordination that threatened to subvert the empire. Palliatives were alone used to check the advances of the two former, the chief of the Rajapouts, Ajeet Sing, being confirmed in the government of Ajmere, from which it had been attempted to remove him, and the choute being allowed to the Mahrattas by the Mogul governor of Guzzurat. With respect to the Nizam, every effort was made to inveigle him to court, and the high station of Vizier was promised him ; but for a long time the crafty viceroy resisted every solicitation. At length,

* Major Rennell.

however, being still more closely pressed, by letters from the emperor himself, and having settled matters on a firm basis in Deccan, he resorted thither at the head of a well-disciplined army of 10,000 men, as his guard, on whose fidelity in any emergency he knew he might place an entire dependence. Thus attended he met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, was appointed Absolute Agent, a rank higher than Vizier, and honoured with the title of Asof Jah.*

The Nizam, educated in the rigid school of Aurungzeb, and attached to his maxims both in politics and war, immediately urged upon the Emperor the necessity that existed for restoring the affairs of government to their ancient order and discipline ; for a total reformation of manners ; and a strict observance of the wise but severe laws enacted by that great man. Mahommed, who had recently married a daughter of the late emperor, Furrukseer, and at intervals was capable of serious reflection, listened to the hoary monitor, then in his eightieth year, with attention and respect, but his profligate courtiers ridiculed his projects of reform, which agreed not with the dissoluteness of their manners, and endeavoured to divert the Emperor's mind from attending to his grave admonitions by renewed dissipations. On the other hand, the veteran warrior, finding no efforts made to put those admonitions into practice, and disdaining to be the associate of men, who passed their whole time with abandoned women and low buffoons, solicited permission to march with his army into Guzzurat, and restore order in that distracted province. That permission was easily obtained, and the courtiers viewed with

* Asof Jah, says Mr. Fraser, is a title commonly given to Viziers. It signifies, in place and rank as Asof, whom, they say, was Solomon's Vizier. At the same time that they honour their Viziers with this title, they flatter their own vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon.

joy the departure of a man of power too strong to be opposed, and of manners too inflexibly rigid to be seduced. The rebellion that had been secretly cherished by himself in Guzzurat was soon allayed by his presence in that province, to be excited again whensoever it suited the determined purposes of his ambition. The Mahrattas, indeed, were now become the necessary engines of that ambition, and shortly after his return to Deccan, without leave, he again solicited them to avert the vengeance that was fulminated against him from Delhi. He entered into an agreement with Rajah Sahoo, that a large body of that nation should immediately march northwards, and, ravaging all before them, penetrate even to the vicinity of Agra and Delhi. He hoped by this bold measure to rouse from their dream of indolence the luxurious emperor, and his besotted ministers, and that they might see and feel the absolute necessity of defending themselves and protecting the throne before they ventured to march an imperial army into Deccan.

In consequence, the Mahrattas, under the command of their most celebrated general, Bajerow, in 1730 commenced that fatal invasion, which with one tremendous sweep laid for ever low the humbled majesty of the empire. Their first attack was on Malva and Guzzurat, where the Mogul governor for some time made a vigorous resistance, but timely succours not being sent from Delhi, they were finally defeated, the country was extensively devastated, and has ever since remained in the hands of the conquerors. Bahadur, the viceroy of Malva, who died bravely fighting at the head of the provincial troops, wrote several remonstrative letters to the ministers, and told them in the most positive terms, that if properly supported, while he lived he would prevent the Mahrattas from pursuing their conquests further northward; but that if he fell, and they passed the frontiers of

Malva, they would infallibly over-run the whole empire. Bahadur was not supported, fell at his post, and, on his death, the prophecy was too amply verified. It seems to have been the aim of the Visier to subdue the enemies of the empire, not by arms, but by intrigue and bribery, a glaring proof of which was soon exhibited in the regular appointment by a firman of Bajerow to the soubahdary of Malva, thus rivetting the power which a more enlarged policy should have resisted to the last gasp of the expiring empire. But, observes the Oriental historian, the subtle fox cannot overcome the lion; and it was not by imprudent concession that such men as Bajerow and the Nizam were to be checked in the career of their insatiable ambition.

Notwithstanding, therefore, these ill-judged attempts at pacification we find the Mahrattas, in 1732, rapidly advancing their hostile legions towards Agra, and plundering even the districts appropriated to the support of the royal household. Thus insulted, and even braved, it became impossible for the imperial army to remain any longer inactive. It took the field in great force under the command of Muzzaffir, the Visier's brother, and every effort was made to bring on a general action with them; but the cautious Mahrattas declined, as usual, engaging him in the field. They contented themselves with perpetually harassing his line of march, and cutting off its supplies. The army, however, continued its progress without any opportunity of displaying its prowess, except in occasional skirmishes, till it reached Malva, where it met with the same mode of desultory attack which it had experienced in its march, and after a residence of some months at Sironje in that province, returned without having rendered any substantial service to the empire. The negative success that had attended the expedition was magnified by the Visier beyond victory; Muzzaffir entered Delhi in triumph; and

was presented with a rich tassel of jewels for the turban ; an honour, seldom conferred, but on the most distinguished conquerors.

Repulse only inflamed the hostile fury of those marauders, and incited them to new aggressions. In 1734, they renewed their devastations in the neighbourhood of Gualior, and in the suburbs of Agra, when the ameer al omra and the visier took the field to oppose them. But the campaign again terminated without any signal success over an enemy that always fled at their approach, and still eluded every attempt to bring them to close action, while their excursive legions, spreading in all directions, plundered the country without mercy, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The following year a considerable body of them crossed the Jumna with intent to plunder the rich province of Oude, of which Sadit Khan, a general of great experience, of tried valour, and having under his command a body of troops of superior courage and discipline, was the governor. Sadit immediately marched against them, by his superior skill brought them to action, and after an obstinate engagement defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of them.* In attempting to repass the Jumna vast numbers were drowned, and the general, Mullar Row with difficulty reached the camp of Bajerow near Gualior. Bajerow, not at all discouraged by this misfortune, prepared to act against the Moguls with increased vigour ; while Sadit, flushed with his recent triumph, and burning for military glory resolved to follow up the blow, and, if possible, drive those barbarous invaders beyond the bounds of Hindostan Proper.

Intelligence being brought to Delhi of this signal defeat of the Mahrattas, the Vizier, and the prince of omrahs thinking

* Fraser, p. 66.

the present a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow; immediately put the imperial army in motion, and marched towards Agra. Sadit was already far advanced in his march towards Gualior, when he received orders from the imperial commanders to halt till he could join them with his forces, in order, that united, they might act with more effect against the common enemy. Those orders that chief very reluctantly obeyed, because he was well acquainted with the rapid motions of the foe with whom they had to contend, and the importance of expedition. What that sagacious commander had conjectured actually took place. Bajerow, knowing the capital was almost deserted of troops, at the head of his choicest and best mounted cavalry pushed forward with the rapidity of lightning to Feridabad, ten coss from Delhi, which place they plundered; and arrived in the suburbs of Delhi, before any tidings of his movement had reached that capital. The emperor, dissolved in pleasure, and the nobles and citizens utterly unprepared for resistance, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Paleness sate on every face, and despair reigned in every heart. Never before for ages had an armed enemy, not of the royal blood, or combating in defence of it, dared to approach so near the august abode of the race of Timur. For three successive days they continued plundering the wretched inhabitants, and laying in ruins whatever was valuable and sacred in the environs of that great city. On the fourth day, when they were on the point of entering the metropolis, arrived Sadit Khan, with the Vizier and ameer al omrah at the head of the imperial army, when the enemy was attacked, defeated and put to flight. They were pursued by the two latter as far as Alaverdi Khan's serai, about seven coss from Delhi, where being joined by others of their tribe, they made a resolute stand, and the two ministers, rather than hazard

a second battle, consented to an inglorious compromise of their own honour and that of the empire, by agreeing to pay the Chout for Delhi and Agra, on condition of their immediately evacuating those provinces. Having thus obtained their object by an immense accumulation of plunder, and by laying the imperial throne itself under contribution, the Mahrattas retreated to Malva, and the Mogul army returned to Delhi, whence the brave Sadit Khan, disgusted at the base compact entered into with the determined enemies of the empire, abruptly, and without taking leave of the emperor, who by Dowran's persuasion had confirmed it, departed for his province. This fatal compact, which gave the death-blow to the empire, took place towards the close of the year 1735.*

In the mean time the Nizam continued extending his conquests, and his influence in Deccan, and though in the receipt of a vast annual revenue, under the pretended necessity of keeping up a great standing army to over-awe the Mahrattas, remitted nothing to court. Nor were the accustomed revenues received from the rich provinces of Malva, Narwah, Biana, and Ajmere, which had been so ravaged by the Mahrattas that no taxes could be levied on the unfortunate inhabitants. In this perplexed situation of public affairs, and as the chief cause of that perplexity was known to arise from the discontent of the Nizam, new efforts were made by the emperor to pacify that omrah and allure him once more to court. The emperor was probably sincere in his wishes in the present emergency to have the benefit of the advice of so great a statesman ; but his ministers could only desire his presence at Delhi, the sooner accomplish his destruction ; and however incredible it may seem that so crafty a politician, as

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 66. Scott's Deccan, p. 201. Dow's Decline of the Mogul Empire, vol. iii. p. 316.

the viceroy of the Deccan, should again trust himself in the hands of those who considered him as the greatest obstacle to their projects, and plans, those efforts were successful. That event, according to Fraser, who was at that time in India, and might have obtained his information from an authentic quarter, was accomplished through the means of Mihr Parver, the emperor's grandmother, who had great influence over that omrah, and at his urgent request wrote to him letters, full of kindness, and assuring him that he should have the entire management of affairs at Delhi, provided he came without delay. He complied with her request, but met with no better treatment than before. The omrahs, not only disregarded him, but took all opportunities of affronting him, especially Dowran and his creatures, who, when he came to pay his respects at court, used to ridicule him, saying in a scoffing manner, *Observe how the Deccan monkey dances*. This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of inflamed resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the empire, and destroying Dowran and his creatures. He imparted his design to the Vizier Kammir o'deen Khan, imagining he would join with him. But notwithstanding the alliance between them, (Nizam's son being married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to Nizam's daughter) he could not engage him to join in any plot detrimental to the public interest; on the contrary, he used his endeavours to dissuade him from the project, by representing to him the infamy of sacrificing his country to private resentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his measures, he applied himself to Sadit Khan, the Soubahdar of Oude, who then had a great body of men at his command, was an officer of experience, and had lately raised his reputation by his action with the Mahrattas; and, what was still more to his purpose, had,

since that time, stood ill-affected towards the emperor and his favourite. These omrahs having entered into an agreement, it was resolved that Nadir Shah, ruler of Persia, who was then besieging Candahar, should be the instrument of distressing the emperor, and of removing Dowran from his counsels for ever.* Such is Fraser's concise statement of this important combination, by which a great though declining empire was utterly subverted, and an ancient dynasty plunged in irretrievable ruin. In describing the calamity itself, it will be necessary to go into a more extensive detail; for the annals of Asia record no event more momentous in its consequences than the invasion of India by **NADIR SHAH.**

That conqueror, but newly seated on the usurped throne of Persia, on account of insults offered to his ambassador, and of the protection afforded by the Mogul governor on the frontiers to the rebellious Afghans, his subjects, already harboured a secret resentment against the court of Delhi, but till the invitation received from those disaffected omrahs does not seem to have meditated any irruption of the extent and magnitude that afterwards took place. The splendour of the exploit, and the immensity of the plunder, by which the myriads who composed his army might be supported without oppressing Persia with new burthens, urged him to undertake an expedition by which his ambition and his avarice might at once be gratified. Having at length planted his victorious standards on the heights of Candahar, Nadir set out for Cabul, according to the before-mentioned author, at the head of 80,000 horse, composed of various nations and tribes, but all inured to hardships, and from their infancy trained to war. Nasser Khan, the governor of that soubah, having in vain solicited auxiliary troops from Delhi, retreated nearer the capital to Peishore,

* Fraser, p. 69.

in hopes of making a more successful stand ; but Sherzih Khan, the more resolute governor of the castle of Cabul, refused to surrender the keys, and defended both the city and castle for six weeks with the most undaunted bravery. During this period he wrote repeated letters to court for assistance ; but none arriving, both city and castle were at length taken by storm, and he and his son were put to death. Nadir Shah found there treasure, jewels, arms, &c. to a vast amount, which had been laid up in vaults ever since the reign of Sultan Baber.*

According to Sir W. Jones's summary but luminous account of this invasion, of which we shall now have the benefit, the Persian army lay encamped in the plains of Cabul till the middle of June, 1738, in which interval Nadir sent an expostulatory letter to the Mogul, containing a succinct narrative of the affront he had received, of his resolution to chastise the insolence of the Afghans, and of the obstruction made to his progress by the governor of Cabul ; he declared, that he had strictly forbidden the least act of violence by his soldiers, and that he desired nothing so much as the continuance of their mutual friendship. This letter was entrusted to an envoy, who set out for Delhi attended by several chiefs of Cabul, who were enjoined to confirm the truth of his assertions : but, when they reached Gelalabad, the governor of that place put the Persian envoy to death, and compelled the chiefs of Cabul to return. Nadir Shah could no longer brook such a succession of injuries, but marched with great rapidity towards Gelalabad, 70 miles below Cabul, and, on the 28th of July, encamped at Kendemac, a place remarkable for the serenity of its air, and the beauties of its situation. From this place he detached a body of Persians against Gelalabad, who entered the city without opposition on the 10th of August : but

* Fraser, p. 132.

the governor Mir Abbas, conscious of his crime, and fearing the punishment due to it, retreated to a fortress situated on a mountain of very difficult access. The Persians attacked his intrenchments, and took the fort by assault: Mir Abbas was killed, together with the Indians that attended him, and his family were sent in chains to the royal camp.

Soon after, the Persian army marched to the east of Gelalabad, and halted in the station of Rikab, where Nadir received intelligence of a formidable army, that was preparing to oppose him. Nasser Khan, governor of Cabul, had assembled on that spot a considerable body of Afghans and Indians, and was resolved to dispute with the Persian invaders the passage of Peishor, which was also defended by a strong castle. Upon this information, Nadir left the artillery with the prince Nafralla, and advanced with great celerity towards Peishore; the next day, after a rapid march, he reached the army of Nasser, who were so astonished at the incredible haste of the Persians, that their courage and resolution wholly forsook them: their ranks were broken in an instant, and those only escaped the sword, who had recourse to a precipitate flight. Nasser, and several Indian chiefs, were taken prisoners; and their camp was entirely pillaged: the captives were kept under close confinement, and the plunder was distributed among the Persian soldiers. After this victory the fortress of Peishore was easily taken, and the king staid several days in the adjacent plains, in order to refresh his troops, and to wait for the arrival of the prince Nafralla.

That prince having at length arrived, Nadir resumed his march, and with the skill and firmness of a great general whom no difficulties could retard, and no dangers dismay, safely conducted the army over the five branches of the river Indus, which at that season were swelled with the rains, and flowed with the

most rapid current. A numerous army was assembled on the opposite banks, under the command of Zekaria, governor of Lahore : but whether they were alarmed at the swift progress and formidable appearance of the Persians, or confounded at their surprising passage over the Indus, they retreated with a mixture of terror and astonishment. As Nadir continued to advance towards the city of Lahore, Zekaria sent an officer of rank, with a considerable present, to implore his clemency, and to promise the strictest submission. This messenger met with a favourable reception, and Zekaria, having received many marks of distinction, was confirmed in his government of Lahore. At the same time Nasser was admitted into favour, having been bribed, according to Fraser, by the conspirators, and returned, by the permission of the conqueror, to the capital of his province.

In the mean time the Mogul was preparing to obstruct the progress of these victorious invaders ; he had marched twenty-five leagues from the metropolis of his empire, and lay encamped on the plains of Karnal, with an army of thirty thousand Indians, and two thousand armed elephants : the rest of his very numerous forces were making all possible haste to join him, and were commanded by the most illustrious princes of India. It was not long before Nadir's emissaries gave him a full account of Mahommed's situation ; upon which he left Lahore, and arrived at Serhind on the 8th of January, 1739, whence he dispatched six thousand Persians to examine the Indian camp, while he continued in full march towards it, with the rest of the army. On the 10th he reached Ambala, about thirty miles from Karnal ; and, in the same night, the detachment fell upon the Mogul's camp, and, having slain or taken prisoners a great number of the guards, retreated to Azimabad, where they were joined on the 14th by the royal forces. Nadir was informed by the Indian