after the lapse of nearly 500 years. He was passionately fond of music, and drank hard; but, as he said, never to affect his reason, and he hoped, if these were sins, he should be pardoned for them. He had an immense harem, and boasted that it contained a representative of every nation on earth, including Europeans, and that he could speak to each lady in her own tongue. He founded a town which was called Ferozabad, on the Bheema, where the mad fakeer had called him to be king, and built a fort-palace there, which still exists, overlooking a large pool of the river, on which boats conveying musicians and fireworks floated for the amusement of his seraglio. Though he worked continuously at state affairs during the day, he devoted the evening to pleasure; and his assemblies were open to all his friends, who called for what they pleased. Every year his ships sailed from Goa and Choule to Arabia and Egypt, and brought back the choicest productions of Europe; and among all his extensive reading, there was none he more particularly enjoyed than the Old and New Testaments, for in religion he was perfectly tolerant of all sects and creeds. Few monuments of his reign survive him, except the half-finished mosque in the fort of Goolburgah, said to be a copy of the great mosque of Cordoba in Spain, and the palace-fort of Ferozabad. All else of the splendid palaces of Goolburgah, which overlooked the artificial lake constructed by him, are now mere masses of ruin.

The events of his reign were very varied. In 1398, as it began, Déo Rái, rajah of Beejanugger, encouraged by the news of constant revolutions at Goolburgah, invaded the Raichore Dooáb. Feroze Shah moved to meet him, but was obliged to detach part of his army to check an incursion of the Rajah of Kéhrla into Berar. With the remainder, however, he advanced to the Krishna, where an individual having volunteered to slay the Hindoo rajah or his son, received permission to make the attempt. Disguising himself as a minstrel, the man, with several companions, attended a performance before the rajah's son; and themselves being called upon, danced according to the custom of the country with naked weapons. Watching their opportunity, they assassinated the young prince and escaped. Before dawn the king had crossed the river, and Déo Rái having fled in the panic caused by his son's murder, his camp was taken possession of with booty to an immense amount. The Hindoos were pursued to Beejanugger, and the large sum of 440,000*l.* was paid to the king as arrear of tribute and ransom for Brahmin prisoners.

Events of his reign.

Tamerlane invades Northern India.

The son of the Rajah of Beejanugger assassinated.

Victory of King Feroze.

In 1390 the king in person conducted a campaign against Rajah Nursing Rái of Kéhrla, with great success; receiving a daughter of the rajah's into his seraglio, with money and elephants. In 1401,

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an embassy sent to Teimoor aroused the suspicions of the Kings of Malwah and Guzerat, who opened negotiations with the Rajah of Beejanugger for a defensive alliance, which might have brought about another war; but it occurred from another and remarkable cause.

Remarkable war with Beejanugger.

A goldsmith of the town of Moodgul had a very beautiful daughter: and inflamed by the accounts of her, and the refusal of her parents to give her up, the Rajah of Beejanugger sent a body of horse to carry her off. The girl, however, escaped; and for revenge, the cavalry plundered the districts. Folád Khan, the governor of the Dooáb, chased them out of it across the Tumboodra with heavy loss; but King Feroze was by no means inclined to put up with this unprovoked insult; and, assembling his army at Ferozabad, marched across the Dooáb and invested Beejanugger, whence he despatched detachments westward and southward to overrun the country. That sent to the west succeeded in taking the fort of Bunkapoor with its dependencies; the other returned with a rich booty in captives and gold. Déo Rái had relied upon assistance from Malwah and Guzerat: but none having come, he was now in sore straits, for Feroze Shah not only demanded his daughter in marriage, but Bunkapoor and the western districts as her dowry. The proposal of the Mahomedan king was humiliating to the utmost degree, but it could not be evaded, and Feroze Shah was married to the Beejanugger princess, with the utmost pomp and ceremony on both sides. The Hindoo prince, however, failed in a point of etiquette on the departure of Feroze Shah, and the king declared he would one day avenge it, and so returned to his capital, where he married the goldsmith's beautiful daughter to his son Hussun Khan.

Feroze Shah marries a princess of Beejanugger.

War with Beejanugger renewed.

Pope Martin V.

Nothing further of moment occurred till the year 1417, when the king endeavoured to possess himself of the fort of Paungul, which belonged to Beejanugger. Déo Rái took the field against his son-in-law, whom he completely defeated: and, as the Mahomedans had done on former occasions, laid waste the dominions of Feroze Shah with fire and sword. These disasters were redeemed by Khan Khanan, the king's brother; but Feroze Shah's health and intellects were both giving way: and after some years of troubled character he fell dangerously ill, and having sent for his brother, resigned the crown to him on September 15, 1422, dying himself on the 25th of the same month. He had reigned upwards of twenty-five years, for the most part in great prosperity and glory.

Feroze Shah dies, 1422.

Siege of Constantinople by Amurath.

On ascending the throne, Khan Khanan assumed the title of Ahmed Shah, to which was added 'Wully,'

Ahmed Shah Wully succeeds, 1422.

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or saint; and as the King Feroze on his death-bed had not recognised his son Hussun, he was put aside and provided for liberally. The accession of Ahmed Shah was, therefore, unopposed. After providing for the safety of his northern frontier, Ahmed Shah declared war against Beejanugger, and as no reason is given by the historian, it can only be attributed to the king's fanatical character, in the desire for the extermination of 'infidels.' Although the agreement not to slaughter inoffensive persons had been observed since the days of Mahmood I., yet, probably to avenge the invasion of Déo Rái, the king now broke down Hindoo temples and colleges, desecrated sacred places, and 'whenever the slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days and made a festival, in celebration of the bloody event.' Such at least is the statement of the Mahomedan historian, and it was most likely from such fanatical deeds that the king obtained his much-prized appellation of 'Wully.' In the sequel, the Rajah of Beejanugger paid up the arrear of tribute, and the parties separated with acts of mutual courtesy. In 1421, a war with Wurungul followed, in which its rajah was slain; and for several years afterwards the king appears to have been travelling through his dominions, for in 1425 he completed the fortifications of Gawilgurh in Berar, and in 1426 engaged in hostilities with Sooltan Hooshung of Malwah, who had invaded the Deccan kingdom, and defeated him. On his return, Ahmed Shah founded the city of Beeder, on the site of an ancient Hindoo capital of the country, which afterwards became the capital of the Bahmuny dynasty, and will be described hereafter. The fort was finished in 1432, and it apparently became a favourite resort of the king's until his death, which occurred there on February 19, 1432. He had reigned twelve years, and was buried where he died, at Beeder.

War with Beejanugger.

Massacre of Hindoos.

War with Wurungul.

The city of Beeder founded.

Ahmed Shah Wully dies, 1435.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE BAHMUNY MAHOMEDAN DYNASTY OF THE DECCAN (*continued*), A.D. 1435 to 1461.

AHMED SHAH WULLY BAHMUNY was succeeded by his son Alla-ood-deen Shah II.; and as the court was then at Beeder, he was crowned at that city. Contrary to the usage of Mahomedan monarchs, he was much attached to his brother the Prince Mahomed Khan, and provided liberally for him instead of blinding or confining him.

Alla-ood-deen II. succeeds, 1435.

Paris retaken from the English, 1436.

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This conduct, however, was not reciprocated; for when the Prince Mahomed was despatched, soon after his brother's accession, with an army to demand arrears of tribute from Beejanugger, he was induced by some discontented officers to conspire with the rajah to effect a revolution in his own favour; and with a force supplied by the rajah, he seized upon and occupied the Dooáb of Raichore, Beejapoor, and other provinces. So formidable a conspiracy and rebellion could only be subdued by force; and the armies of the brothers met in the field, the king proving victor in a hard-fought battle. The insurgent troops and their officers fled and dispersed, and the king induced his brother to surrender on promises of protection. It is pleasing to record that the king fulfilled all his engagements: not only pardoning his brother, but conferring on him the estate of Raichore and its dependencies, where Prince Mahomed lived undisturbed till his death.

Conspiracy of Prince Mahomed.

Prince Mahomed is defeated and surrenders.

In 1436 an army was sent to subdue the Konkan, the tract lying between the Ghâts and the sea, which was successful; the Rajahs of Ráiree and Lonekhair not only paying tribute, but the latter cementing the alliance by the gift of his daughter, a lady of great beauty, talents, and accomplishments, to the king, and she became his especial favourite, under the title of Perichehra or Fairy-face. This, however, brought about quarrels with his queen, the daughter of Nusseer Khan, king of Khandésh, and she appealed to her father for justice. Nusseer Khan, being too weak to enter into a war by himself, applied for aid to Ahmed Shah, king of Guzerat, who assisted him with troops, and the province of berar was invaded. To oppose this inroad, King Alla-ood-deen sent Mullik-oot-Toojár, one of his chief commanders, with a body of select troops, who defeated Nusseer Khan and pursued him to Boorhanpoor, which city was plundered and partially destroyed. Nusseer Khan had previously fled to Lulling, before which place another action was fought, which resulted in Nusseer Khan's complete overthrow, and Mullik-oot-Toojár returned in great triumph to Beeder, now established as the capital of the Bahmuny kingdom.

Invasion and reduction of the Konkan.

War with Khandésh and Guzerat.

The King of Khandésh finally defeated.

There is no more healthy or beautiful site for a city in the Deccan than Beeder. The fort had been already erected on the north-east angle of a tableland composed of laterite, at a point where the elevation, which is considerable, or about 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, trends southward and westward, and declines abruptly about 500 feet to the wide plain of the valley of the Manjera, which it overlooks. The fortifications, still perfect, are truly noble; built of blocks

Description of Beeder.

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of laterite dug out of the ditch, which is very broad and has a peculiar mode of defence met with nowhere else, two walls of laterite, the height of the depth of the ditch, having been left at equal distances between the *faussebraye* and the counterscarp all round the western and southern faces of the fort. There were large bastions at frequent intervals in the rampart, and the curtains are strong and lofty. Inside the fort, the royal palaces overlooked the walls; and their present ruins attest their great extent and former magnificence. To the west extended a level plain covered with groves of mango and tamarind trees, out of which rise the noble mausoleums of the later Beereed dynasty, and the ruins of garden-houses, mosques, and tombs in great profusion. The city adjoined the fort, space being left for an esplanade, and stretched southwards along the crest of the eminence, being regularly laid out with broad streets. There was a plentiful supply of beautiful water, though the wells are deep; and in every respect, whether as regards climate, which is much cooler and healthier than that of Goolburgah, or situation, the new capital was far preferable to the old one. At the present time, though the city has diminished to a provincial town, and the noble monuments of the Bahmuny kings are decayed, there is no city of the Deccan which better repays a visit from the traveller than Beeder.

War with Beejanugger.

In 1443 Déo Rái, rajah of Beejanugger, having largely augmented his army and taken a corps of Mahomedans into his service, became impatient of continual payment of tribute, and once more determined upon trying the issue of war. He therefore invaded the Raichore Dooáb, the old battle-field, and took up a position on the right bank of the Krishna river. Alla-ood-deen Shah, having assembled his troops at Beeder, found himself at the head of 50,000 horse, 60,000 foot, and a considerable train of artillery; and with as little delay as practicable, he marched to the scene of action. In two months three severe actions were fought on the wide plains of the Dooáb, in the first of which the Hindoos had the advantage, in the second the Mahomedans, and the third seems to have been doubtful; but two Mahomedan officers of distinction having been taken prisoners, the king sent word to Déo Rái that 'he valued the lives of each at 200,000 common men,' and swore, should Déo Rái put them to death, that he would revenge each by the slaughter of 100,000 Hindoos. Such grim threats on the part of the Bahmuny kings had not proved vain on former occasions, and there was little occasion to doubt them on the present.

Peace ensues.

Their effect was a proposal on the part of Déo Rái to make peace, which was duly concluded; the parties

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contracting to respect each other's dominions, and Déo Rái agreeing to pay tribute as before. The terms of this treaty were strictly observed on both sides to the close of the king's reign.

It is pleasing to read records of the king's benevolence in erecting and endowing hospitals, and of his vigorous prosecution of idle vagabonds and robbers, who were sentenced to hard labour in chains. Edicts also were issued against the use of fermented liquors; but it does not appear that the king himself set a good example to his subjects. He not only indulged largely in wine, but now gave himself up to a sensual life, neglecting the affairs of state, and seldom appearing in public. A considerable force, however, was despatched under Mullik-oot-Toojár to reduce the rebellious and hitherto independent rajahs of the Konkan; but in 1453, after some successes, Mullik-oot-Toojár with his army was treacherously entrapped in a frightful ambuscade, when the whole of the force, and its gallant commander, perished miserably.

The king's government beneficial.

Mullik-oot-Toojár with his army perish in an ambuscade.

The jealousies and rivalries between the foreign troops and the Deccanies had been gradually augmented during this reign; and a great number of the former were massacred in cold blood by the latter at the fort of Chakun, an event which laid the foundation of those commotions which eventually caused the decay of the dynasty. The king suppressed them for the time, and with much of his former vigour, notwithstanding the painful disorder in one of his feet, led his army in 1455 to oppose the King of Guzerat, who, however, retreated. On his return to Beeder in 1457, the king's disorder increased; and he soon afterwards died of mortification of the affected part, after a reign of nearly twenty-four years, appointing his son Hoomayoon as his successor.

Contention between foreign and native troops.

Alla-ood-deen II. dies, 1457.

A feeble attempt to raise the king's youngest son Hussun to the throne was frustrated by the Prince Hoomayoon himself, who, having blinded and imprisoned his brother, took possession of it without opposition, and appointed Khwajah Mahmood Gáwan, who had been steadily rising in public esteem, to the office of chief minister. Before his accession to the throne, the cruel and vindictive temper of Hoomayoon had shown itself on so many occasions that he was feared by all classes; and it was not long before it broke out in acts of the most hideous cruelty. During the king's absence on a campaign in Telingána in 1459, a few desperate individuals, in the interest of one of the state prisoners, succeeded in setting him at liberty, and with him the king's brothers, the Princes Hussun and Yehéyá, who, with some 7,000

Hoomayoon Shah succeeds, 1457.

Khwajah Mahmood Gáwan, minister.

The king's cruelties.

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persons were confined on various counts. The rage of the king when he heard of this event was beyond bounds. 2,000 of the city guards were put to death, and 8,000 cavalry despatched after the fugitives, who were finally entrapped at Beejapoor, and sent to the capital. The king now glutted himself with revenge. Seating himself in a balcony, over the gate of the fort, still perfect, he ordered his brother to be cast before a ferocious tiger, which killed him instantly and partially devoured him; and all who had even the most distant connection with the affair of his release, even menial servants, were impaled upon stakes, hewn to pieces, or cast alive into caldrons of boiling oil. After this, Hoomayoon threw off all restraint; and his horrible cruelties continued to his death on September 3, 1461, by some accounts from fever, and by others, probably more accurately, from the hands of his servants, who, in one of his fits of intoxication, put him to death. By his will, drawn up during his illness, he appointed the queen-mother and Khwajah Mahmood Gáwan, with Khwajah Jehan Toork, to be a council of regency on behalf of his son Nizam Shah, then eight years of age. Hoomayoon Shah had reigned three years and a half, the last two of which were passed in the revolting and inhuman cruelties which have been related, and in the most terrible debaucheries, too indecent to be recorded.

Hoomayoon Shah dies, 1461.

Edward king of England.

Nizam Shah succeeds, 1461.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE BAHMUNY MAHOMEDAN DYNASTY OF THE DECCAN (*continued*), A.D. 1461 TO 1482.

NIZAM SHAH, the young king, was a boy of great promise, spirited, and yet amenable in all respects to his mother and her counsellors. The queen herself was one of the few remarkable women that have appeared among female Indian sovereigns. She did not sit in public; but she daily received all reports of the kingdom tendered to her by the members of the regency, and gave her opinion and orders upon them. She brought her son forward in public, and directed that he should sit every day in the hall of audience while the business of the State was being transacted, in order that he should gain a full knowledge of current affairs. Under this attention to general affairs of State, the neglect and cruelty of Hoomayoon were speedily redeemed; but the dominion of a woman and a child could not be believed powerful by the neighbouring princes, and

Nizam Shah, king.

The queen-dowager's character.

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the Hindoos of Orissa and Telingána were the first to take the field, and advanced with a great army upon the capital. The queen, in nowise dismayed, put herself at the head of 40,000 troops: and when the Hindoos had advanced to within ten miles of Beeder, an unaccountable panic seized them, and they began to retreat. They were closely pursued by the royal army, until the Rajah of Orissa was obliged to take refuge in a fort, from which he was not allowed to depart without paying the expenses of the war. During these operations, the young king was daily in the field with Mahmood Gáwan, and was thus early initiated into the details of war. Hardly had the Hindoos retired, than Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwah invaded the Bahmuny kingdom, in the hope of annexing it to his own; and advanced, unchecked, to within a short distance of Beeder. The young king again appeared at the head of his army, and was present in a severe general action fought near Beeder, during which, for a time, the Bahmuny army was successful; but, at a critical point in the action, the Sooltan of Malwah charged the Bahmuny centre with his chosen horse and won the battle. The Sooltan of Malwah now invested Beeder; and the queen, under the advice of her counsellors, betook herself to Ferozabad on the Bheema, carrying the king with her. Ambassadors had also been despatched to the King of Guzerat, Mahmood Shah, who, unwilling to see the balance of power destroyed, marched at once with 80,000 horse into the Deccan, being met by Mahmood Gáwan, who had kept the field, and was cutting off the Sooltan of Malwah's supplies. Beeder had been invested by the sooltan, but the fort proved impregnable; and now threatened on his flank by the combined forces of Guzerat and the Deccan, he abandoned the siege of Beeder, and commenced his retreat to his own dominions. While Mahmood Gáwan directed 10,000 cavalry to harass the sooltan's retreat, he operated himself on the left flank of the enemy, declining a general action, until the Malwah army was reduced to sore straits for food. The sooltan burnt his baggage, and was pursued to the frontier of the Gónd districts, whence, through the desolate forest tracts which compose them, he retreated into Malwah, losing the greater part of his army by heat, starvation, and thirst. In the following year, 1462, the invasion was renewed by way of Dowlatabad; but the King of Guzerat again interfered in force, and the Sooltan of Malwah was obliged to retreat.

The kingdom invaded by the Hindoos of Wurungul.

They retreat.

Invasion by the Sooltan of Malwah.

The Bahmuny forces are defeated.

Beeder invested.

Relief from Guzerat.

The Sooltan of Malwah retires.

His privations and losses.

The Bahmuny dominions being now at peace, the queen-mother returned to Beeder with her son; and preparations for his

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marriage were in progress, when, to the great grief of all, he died suddenly on July 29, 1463, having reigned only two years.

Nizam Shah dies, 1463.

King Hoomayoon had left three sons, Nizam, Mahomed, and Ahmed; and the Prince Mahomed, now in his ninth year, was placed on the throne; the regency of the queen-mother, with her two counsellors, continuing as before. Of the latter, Khwajah Jehan Toork, who represented the Deccany party, was the executive minister at Beeder; and having contrived to keep Mahmood Gáwan employed at a distance, usurped the queen's authority, and so greatly misused it in peculations from the treasury, and other corrupt practices, that the queen determined to rid herself of him. She accordingly instructed her son the king, who sat daily in public, to denounce the minister; and as the boy one day took his seat, he cried to Nizam-ool-Moolk, one of the chief nobles, as he pointed to the minister, 'That wretch is a traitor, put him to death,' an order instantly obeyed. Mahmood Gáwan was now sent for, and to him the queen committed the executive details of the government. When the king had reached his fourteenth year he was married, and the queen, recognising his majority, retired from the regency; but her son continued to consult her on all important affairs of State for many years afterwards, indeed to the close of her life.

Mahomed Shah II. succeeds, 1463.

Misconduct of the minister,

who is executed.

The queen-dowager retires from office.

The first act of the king was to despatch an army to reduce Kéhrla, the rajah of which, in connection with Malwah, kept up much irritation on the northern frontier. This expedition was successful; but the brave Nizam-ool-Moolk, who commanded it, was treacherously killed by two of the enemy, after the place was taken, a loss deeply felt by the young king. The Sooltan of Malwah was not likely to submit tamely to the capture of Kéhrla, and remonstrated; and after a series of negotiations, which are very graphically detailed by Ferishta, a treaty resulted, by which Kéhrla was given up, and Malwah resigned all claim upon Berar or any part of the Bahmuny dominions, terms which were faithfully observed on both sides. In 1469, the kingdom being otherwise at peace, Mahmood Gáwan marched into the Konkan, where it will be remembered Mullik-oot-Toojár had perished with his army during the reign of Alla-ood-deen Shah Bahmuny II. The expedition was particularly directed against the Rajah of Kéhrla, who maintained a piratical fleet and intercepted the trade of the Mahomedans. These operations were perfectly successful. The whole of the Konkan, hitherto considered irreclaimable, was reduced to obedience in three years, and was taken with its

Kéhrla attacked and taken.

The Konkan reduced and annexed.

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dependencies from the Rajah of Beejanugger; and Mahmood Gáwan was received on his return to Beeder with public honours.

The king himself undertook his first campaign in 1471, when he marched into Telingána, at the instance of Ambur Rái, a relative of the Rajah of Orissa, who promised to become tributary should he be restored to his rights. The king on this occasion took Condapilly and Rajahmundry, and brought the campaign to a successful conclusion. Yoosuf Adil Khan, governor of Dowlatabad, was also successful at the period in a campaign against the independent chieftains of the mountains bordering on Khandésh, and was rising steadily into notice and favour.

Campaign in Telingána.

Battle of Barnet, Edward IV. restored.

In 1472 the king conducted his second field campaign, against Birkána Rái, rajah of Belgaum, then, as now, a strong fort with a wet ditch. The fort was regularly besieged, and artillery employed to breach the walls, as well as mines to blow in the counterscarp of the ditch. When the breach was reputed practicable, it was assaulted, and on the failure of the first attack the king himself led another, which was entirely successful. The queen-mother had accompanied her son on this campaign, and to his great grief died on the journey homewards, in camp near Beejapoor. Her remains were buried at Beeder. After about five years of peace another expedition into Orissa occurred in 1477; but it is doubtful whether the king, though he levied tribute from the rajah, ever completely possessed the country. He reduced, however, the Rajah Nursinga, whose dominions lay on the coast, near Masulipatam, and extended probably to those of the Beejanugger kingdom: and while engaged in these operations, he marched with a light force upon Conjeveram, and despoiled the great temples there of an immense amount of jewels and gold. It was the first occasion on which the Mahomedan arms had penetrated so far to the south of India, which, as yet, belonged exclusively to the Hindoos; and the event was considered so remarkable, that to commemorate it, the king assumed the title of Gházy, or holy warrior. On this occasion, however, the king had slain a Brahmin with his own hand, and as Brahmins had been hitherto spared out of consideration for Gungoo of Dehly, the circumstance was considered by the people a dire omen for the dynasty.

The king's second campaign.

Use of artillery.

Death of the queen-dowager.

Second expedition against Orissa.

Conjeveram plundered, 1477.

By the recent conquests of the king and his generals, the Bahmuny territories had become considerably extended. They now stretched from sea to sea, and had attained their greatest limits, and a new division of them took place. Many other reforms were carried out under the suggestions of Mahmood

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Gáwan, who, in the capacity of chief minister, had behaved with unexampled fidelity and ability. His reforms not only extended to every department of the State, to finance, to justice, to the army, and to public education, but embraced a new assessment and, in many instances, survey of the village lands, traces of which still remain in the country. By a note drawn up by the accomplished translator of Ferishta's history, it is evident that the Bahmuny army was better paid in 1470, when the value of money was greatly higher, than the English native army in 1830, the rates of which, since then, have been considerably reduced. The cost of a regiment of cavalry of 500 men, on the Bahmuny rates of 1470, was 31,500*l.* per year, that of an English native regiment of the same description in 1830, 21,900*l.* A private soldier, furnishing his own horse and arms, then received forty rupees per month; the allowance is now only twenty. It may be inferred, therefore, from this example, that the whole of the State establishments were in a highly creditable and practical working condition; and so efficient were the checks imposed by one part of the administration upon the other, that peculation was impossible.

Policy and acts of Mahmood Gáwan, the minister of State.

It has been previously recorded, that there were two great military parties in the State—the foreigners and the Deccanies. The foreigners were Moghuls, Persians, Turks, Arabians, and the like; and these, as well from natural sympathy as from their opposition to the Deccanies, held together. The Decannies and Abyssinians were the descendants of foreigners in perhaps many degrees, mixed up with converted Hindoos. They were equally numerous with the foreigners, indeed perhaps exceeded them; but they were seldom able or trustworthy as State servants in civil affairs, though brave in battle. At the period of Mahmood Gáwan's reforms, he, Yoosuf Adil Khan, a Turk by birth, and some others, were the chiefs of the foreign party; Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry and others, the leaders of the Deccanies and Abyssinians. Since the period of the execution of Khwajah Jehan, who had belonged to the Deccany party, the foreigners were in the ascendant; and the admirable conduct of Mahmood Gáwan left no room for cavil or complaint. He was in the almost exclusive confidence of the king, who had repeatedly conferred the highest honours on him that could be afforded to a subject, and these, instead of engendering arrogance, had only produced in the great minister additional exertions to make himself worthy of them. The Deccany party were, however, by no means idle; and their representative, Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, and his creatures, began their execrable plot against the minister by

Military parties and factions.

Conspiracy against Mahmood Gáwan.

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poisoning the king's mind with covert insinuations of the minister's faithlessness in public matters, of his peculations under cloak of reform, and of his mischievous interference with ancient vested rights and privileges of the nobility and the people. As these gradually had their effect, the conspirators determined upon a bolder and final effort. Yoosuf Adil Khan, the minister's adopted son, was absent, and the minister in sole attendance on the king in camp: accordingly a letter was drawn up, purporting to be from the minister to the Rajah of Orissa, representing the general discontent against the king, and the defenceless state of the eastern frontier; and urging him to march on Beeder, where he himself would join him, depose the king, and divide the kingdom between them. The minister's seal was obtained by drugging the slave who had charge of it, and an impression attached to the blank paper on which the forged letter was written. The letter itself was declared to have been taken from a messenger who had escaped. Such was the hellish plot.

Nizam-ool-Moolk was present when the letter was delivered to the king, and pretended that it was no more than he had long expected, and given warning of. Mahmood Gáwan was then sent for. He was apprised of his danger, and many of his adherents pressed him to escape, under their escort, to Yoosuf Adil Khan; but he refused. 'Such conduct,' he said, 'would be open rebellion;' and resolute in his own innocence of any crime, he went bravely to meet the accusation. The king was already intoxicated, and on the minister's entrance into the tent, sternly demanded what should be the punishment of a disloyal person? 'Let the abandoned wretch,' said the minister, 'who practises treason against his lord meet with no mercy.' The king then produced the letter, and while the minister was denouncing it as a forgery, the king rose from his seat, and ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhur to put the minister to death on the spot. 'The death of an old man,' said Mahmood Gáwan to the king as he passed into the harem, 'is indeed of little moment; but to your Majesty it will be the loss of your character, and the ruin of an empire.' Kneeling down, Mahmood Gáwan repeated the creed of his faith, and at one stroke his head was severed from his body. This lamentable event occurred on April 5, 1481, in the seventy-eighth year of his age: and with him departed all the cohesion and the power of the great Bahmuny kingdom. Two Persian verses curiously mark the date by computation of letters, and express the cause of his death. One, which is carved on the architrave of his tomb at Beeder, is:—'Kutl-i-na huq—the unjust execution;' the other, 'Bé goonah, Mahmood Gáwan,

Bajazet II. emperor of the Turks.

Mahmood Gáwan executed, 1481.

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shood shaheed — without fault, Mahmood Gáwan became a martyr.'

Character of Mahmood Gáwan.

The character of Mahmood Gáwan stands out broadly and grandly, not only among all his contemporaries, but among all the ancient Mahomedans of India, as one unapproachably perfect and consistent. The utter absence of selfishness or of self-aggrandisement in his public conduct and policy, his perfect and unaffected devotion to his sovereign the queen, through two trying and helpless minorities, when he might, as others had done at Dehly, and as his colleagues did after him at Beeder, have created an independent kingdom for himself; his noble and judicious reforms, his skill and bravery in war, his justice and public and private benevolence, have, in the aggregate, no equals in the Mahomedan history of India.

His origin.

Mahmood Gáwan was descended from an ancient family in Persia, which had filled the office of vizier to the princes of Geelan. He was of royal descent, and, apprehensive of the jealousy of Shah Tahmasp, declined office, and in his forty-third year set out to travel as a merchant. In this capacity he came to Beeder, by way of Dabul, during the reign of Alla-ood-deen Bahmuny II., who persuaded him to join his service, and thenceforward he rose steadily, by the sheer force of his great abilities, to the post he occupied at his death.

His personal habits and benevolence.

His personal habits, though he kept up public state as befitted him, were curiously simple. At his death his treasurer rendered to the king an account of all the minister had possessed, which consisted of the capital he had brought from Persia—about 4,000*l.*—out of the profits of which he paid his private expenses for food and clothing, which were two larees, or four shillings a day; the rest being remitted to poor relations in Persia, and to humble friends, and the remainder disbursed to the poor. Out of the public revenues of his ample estates, while he paid the public establishments attached to him, he built and endowed the magnificent college at Beeder, which was partially destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder, in the reign of Aurungzebe, and which, while he lived at the capital, was his daily resort; and the grand fortresses of Owsah, Puraindah, Sholapoor, Dharoor, and many others, attest alike his military skill and science. He slept upon a mat, and none but earthern vessels were employed for cooking his simple meals. He had collected a library of 3,000 volumes, but they belonged to the college he had founded, and those works he wished to read were borrowed as he required them. Many affecting anecdotes of him are told by the local historians, but none more characteristic of the man than the following. When he returned from his great campaign in the

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Konkan, and honours and gifts were showered upon him; and when the king paid him a memorable visit, and put his own robes upon his minister, Mahmood, when the king had left him, went to his chamber, and casting himself on the ground, wept bitterly; after which, he sent for the holy men of Beeder, and distributed what he possessed among them. When asked why he had done this, he said gravely, 'When the king honoured me with a visit, and the queen-mother called me brother, my evil passions began to prevail against my reason, and the struggle between vice and virtue was so great in my mind, that I became distressed even in the presence of his majesty. I have, therefore, parted with my wealth, the temptation to evil.' Every Friday night he went disguised through the different wards of the city distributing alms to the poor, saying, as he gave them, 'This is sent by the king;' and his private charities from his estates, and from personal savings, reached poor and distressed persons in far distant cities of Mahomedan kingdoms.

Such was the practically benevolent and simple, but noble, character of the man so basely destroyed. 'O king,' said the fearless treasurer of the minister, when rendering an account of the funds in his charge, 'may many thousands such as Mahmood Gáwan be sacrificed for thy safety; but why didst thou not regard the claims of that minister, and ascertain who was the bearer of the letter to the Rái of Orissa, that his treason might be made manifest to us and to all mankind?' Too late the king discovered the horrible deceit which had been practised on him. Two of his principal officers at once separated themselves from him, and would not return till the arrival of Yoosuf Adil Khan, who was hastily summoned to camp. A fresh distribution of estates was ordered; but on their arrival at Beeder, the recipients of these honours would not enter the city, and sullenly withdrew to their possessions. It was the beginning of the end. When the king, restless at Beeder, soon afterwards marched to Belgaum, he dispatched Yoosuf Adil Khan to defend Goa, of which the Rajah of Beejanugger strove to repossess himself; and returned to Ferozabad. But Imád-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan, governors of Berar, with the whole of the Berar divisions of the army, refused to accompany him, and marched to their respective capitals. Mahomed Shah remained for three months at Ferozabad, afflicted with illness, and scared by the reproaches of his own conscience, vainly endeavouring to dispel care by sensual pleasures. When he arrived at Beeder, he had somewhat recovered from his fever, when excessive drinking brought on a relapse, from which he was partially relieved by his physicians; but in their temporary absence, he drank again, and fell into convulsions, from

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which he could not be relieved, and died on March 24, 1482, exclaiming constantly to the last, that Mahmood Gáwan was tearing him to pieces. Mahomed Shah had reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Mahmood. then twelve years of age.

Mahomed Shah dies, 1482.

Mahmood Shah II. succeeds, 1482.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE BAHMUNY MAHOMEDAN DYNASTY OF THE DECCAN (*concluded*), A.D. 1482 TO 1526.

Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, the author of the detestable plot against the late minister, was too strong to be interfered with. He was the head of the Deccany party in the State, and now became executive minister and regent at Beeder. The young king was crowned with much pomp and ceremony, but all the chief foreign officers were absent, which gave rise to many rumours, and to not a little apprehension as to their ultimate designs. Shortly afterwards, Yoosuf Adil Khan arrived at the capital with his forces, and his entry into the city at the head of a thousand foreign cavalry, in glittering armour, as described by the local historian, must have been a grand sight, and reminds the reader of the Moorish chivalry of Spain. The minister and Yoosuf Adil Khan met in an apparently friendly manner, but they were each attended by some hundreds of their chosen personal guards, and their sentiments in regard to each other were well known: nevertheless, the offices of State were distributed afresh, and with a really fair consideration for the claims of both parties. Yoosuf Adil Khan, however, would accept no office, except his military command, and remained on his guard at the capital; but so long as he lived, Nizam-ool-Moolk was never certain that the late minister's death might not be suddenly avenged, and a plot was arranged to attack the foreign troops, and put Yoosuf Adil Khan to death. It was clumsily executed. The foreigners were attacked in the city unawares, and many of them killed; but they soon rallied, and in their turn did much execution. Eventually the holy men of Beeder mediated between the parties, and Yoosuf Adil Khan retired to his estate of Beejapoor, leaving the field to his rival. He never afterwards returned to Beeder, and declared his independence at Beejapoor in 1489, as will be related hereafter.

Mahmood II. crowned, 1482.

The rival ministers.

Plot against the foreign troops.

Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry was himself a native of the Deccan,

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the son of the Brahmin 'Putwary,' or hereditary accountant of the town of Putree; or, by other accounts, the son of a Brahmin of Beejanugger, named Timapa. He had been taken prisoner when young, and, as was the usual custom, circumcised and educated as a Mahomedan. His abilities had raised him to the post he had gained before the death of Mahmood Gáwan, and his power and native origin secured to him the leadership of the Deccany party in the State. His disposition was, however, crafty and unfaithful. The queen-dowager soon suspected him, and endeavoured to rid herself of him; but this was not effected, and for a time the minister became stronger than ever, until the king entered upon the conduct of public affairs. From that time, the minister's influence began to decline, and he seems to have contemplated the establishment of an independent kingdom, like Yoosuf Adil Khan. Leaving the king's camp, then in Telingána, Nizam-ool-Moolk returned to the capital, and sending for his son, Mullik Ahmed, distributed to him much of the royal treasures, and dispatched him to Joonair, his seat of government, intending to follow with more; but Pusund Khan, governor of Beeder, delayed his departure, on various pretences, writing the particulars of his conduct to the king. Mahmood Shah replied, 'that if he were sincere he would send the traitor's head without delay,' and set out for Beeder; but Pusund Khan was faithful; he entered the minister's palace, strangled him, and sent his head to the king. Thus was the death of the great minister Mahmood Gáwan avenged, but too late to save the kingdom. Nizam-ool-Moolk's son, Mullik Ahmed, declared his independence on receipt of the news of his father's execution, and maintained it, as will be hereafter shown.

Origin and rise of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry.

He meditates independence.

Is put to death.

His son declares his independence.

The king's own conduct was little suited to the emergency of the situation. Instead of proceeding in person against his rebellious officers, or checking the dissensions of his foreign and Deccany troops—on one occasion of which he narrowly escaped with his life—he gave himself up to pleasure. 'He totally neglected,' quaintly writes the historian, 'the affairs of his government, leaving them entirely to the direction of his favourites. Musicians and dancers flocked to his court from Lahore, Dehly, Persia, and Khoraseán, as also story-tellers, reciters of the Shahnama, and other agents of pleasure. The people, following the example of their king, attended to nothing but dissipation: reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns, and presided over the wine-flask.' Imád-ool-Moolk, the governor of Berar, who had been virtually

The king's imbecile conduct.

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Leo X. pope.

Ahmed Shah II. succeeds, 1518.

Dies, 1520.

Alla-ood-deen Shah II. succeeds, 1520.

Deposed, 1522: and put to death.

Wully Oolla Shah succeeds, 1522.

Poisoned, 1524.

Kulleem Oolla Shah succeeds, 1524.

Sweden and Denmark became Protestant.

Review charact the Bahi dynasty.

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independent since he withdrew from Mahomed Shah at Ferozabad, as related in the preceding chapter, had already become king. The Bahmuny dominions had now lost their finest and most valuable provinces on the north, west, and south-west: and the districts round the capital, with Telingána, and the northern Circars, then under the government of Kootub-ool-Moolk, were all that remained. At the capital, Kassim Bereed, a Turk of great ability and craft, was minister, and the king became little more than a cipher in his hands. In the year 1493, however, on the complaint of the King of Guzerat, he entered on a campaign against Bahadur Khan Geelany, who was partially independent, at Goa, and in the sequel Bahadur Khan was killed in action. During this spirited campaign, the king displayed more energy than he had been believed capable of; but it did not last, and after betrothing his son to the daughter of Yoosuf Adil Shah, at Goolburgah, in 1497, he returned to Beeder. Here, in 1504, died Kassim Bereed, the minister, who was succeeded by his son Ameer, and henceforward the king's life was passed in entire dependence. Kootub-ool-Moolk, governor of Telingána, declared his independence in 1512, and all that remained to Beeder were the provinces immediately adjoining the capital. With the royal treasures, however, Ameer Bereed raised troops and endeavoured to win back portions of the old dominions, and in 1514 had invaded Beejapoor, taking the king with him, who was made prisoner in a general action near that city, when Ameer Bereed was defeated by Ismail Adil Shah, the successor of Yoosuf. The Beejapore king sent Mahmood Shah back to Beeder, under an honorary escort of his own cavalry, and for a time the king enjoyed comparative liberty; but shortly afterwards the Beejapoor troops withdrew, and the minister returning, resumed his power. Weary of this humiliation, the king, in 1514, escaped to Imád Shah, king of Berar, who sent an army with him to reinstate him at Beeder; but the treatment he received from Imád Shah appears to have been worse than that of Ameer Bereed, and as the hostile forces approached each other, in a general action, the king, leaving the army of Imád Shah, galloped across the field to Ameer Bereed, and was never afterwards allowed to escape. He was used as a pageant king for some years afterwards, whenever Ameer Bereed took the field; but had no power whatever, and died on October 21, 1518, after a reign of thirty-seven years, passed in constant vicissitudes. With him the dynasty of the Bahmuny kings

Imád-ool-Moolk becomes king of Berar.

Kassim Bereed minister.

Campaign against Goa.

Kassim Bereed dies.

Philip I. king of Spain.

Kootub-ool-Moolk becomes king of Golcondah.

The king's humiliation and subjection.

Mahmood Shah dies, 1518.

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may be said to have virtually closed; but Ameer Bereed found a king necessary to his political existence. The Bahmuny family were still respected in their fall by their former vassals, and could not be interfered with, whereas had the minister declared independence, he could not have maintained it. The Prince Ahmed, eldest son of the deceased king, was therefore placed on the throne, as Ahmed Shah Bahmuny II., and died in 1520. He was replaced by Alla-ood-deen Shah Bahmuny II., the second son of Mahmood Shah, in the same year, who was a person of steady character and some determination, and formed a plan for arresting Ameer Bereed, and ridding himself of him. This plot was, however, accidentally discovered, and the king deposed, after a nominal reign of two years, and shortly afterwards put to death. He was succeeded by Wully Oolla, the third son of King Mahmood, who, like his brother Alla-ood-deen, tried to liberate himself, and was poisoned in order to make way for the marriage of Ameer Bereed to his queen, of whom the minister had become enamoured, in the year 1524. He was again succeeded by Kulleem Oolla, the son of Ahmed Shah, by the daughter of Yoosuf Adil Shah of Beejapoor. The king was, however, kept in close confinement; but in 1526 he contrived to send one of his companions with a petition to the Emperor Babur, who, however, was in no condition to interfere, and he afterwards escaped to His uncle, Ismail Adil Shah, and resided for a time at Beejapoor. Nothing, however, being done on his behalf, he proceeded to the court of Ahmednugger, where he resided till his death, and the Bahmuny dynasty ended with him: it had reigned, for the most part, in great glory and power, from 1347 to 1526, or 179 years. From it had sprung five separate independent kingdoms: Imád Shahy, or kings of Berar; Nizam Shahy, or kings of Ahmednugger; Adil Shahy, or kings of Beejapoor; Kootub Shahy, or kings of Golcondah, and Bereed Shahy; for Ameer Bereed assumed the style and title of king after the departure of Kulleem Oolla Shah Bahmuny. The histories of these States must be sketched separately, until they are connected with the period already referred to, namely, 1526.

Leo X. pope.

Ahmed Shah II. succeeds, 1518.

Dies, 1520.

Alla-ood-deen Shah II. succeeds, 1520.

Deposed, 1522: and put to death.

Wully Oolla Shah succeeds, 1522.

Poisoned, 1524.

Kulleem Oolla Shah succeeds, 1524.

Sweden and Denmark became Protestant.

On reviewing the events of the dynasty of the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan, and notwithstanding the early cruelties to the Hindoo inhabitants of Beejanugger, in the reign of Mahomed Shah I., it is evident that they were, on the whole, considerate to their Hindoo subjects, and governed them with moderation. The reign of Mahmood Shah I. was one of entire peace, and evidently one of much progress and improve-

Review of the character of the Bahmuny dynasty.

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ment in civil administration; while, throughout the whole period of 179 years, foreign and domestic trade had flourished. The aim of the Mahomedan historians of the Deccan was more directed to the record of war, and of political events and intrigues, than of the transactions of peaceful years; but, notwithstanding this, there are occasional pleasant glimpses of quiet times, and their beneficial effects, which are not to be found in the records of Dehly. Of the details of the government of the country little is apparent. It does not appear that the Hindoos were employed in public affairs; but it is evident that their ancient system of corporate village government and district administration was not interfered with, and became strengthened by use. Up to the regency of Mahmood Gáwan, the revenue had been probably raised in kind, on a proportion of the crops; but his system evolved a commutation for money payment upon the value of the land, much on the principle of that afterwards perfected by the Emperor Akbar, and the great Ahmednugger minister, Mullik Umber. The country was probably as well cultivated and populated as it is at present,

Description of the Deccan by Athanasius Nitikin, 1470.

and Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian Armenian, who, in 1470, visited Beeder as a merchant, gives in his diary an interesting description of the country and its capital. There were villages at every cóss, or two miles, about the present complement; the land was laid out in fields, and the ground well tilled; the roads were well guarded, and travelling secure. Beeder is described as a noble city, with great salubrity of climate, and the King Mahmood Shah II. as a little man, twenty years old, with an army of 300,000 men, well equipped. Artillery is not mentioned; but there were many elephants, to the trunks of which scythes were attached in action, and they were clad in bright steel armour. The architecture of the Bahmuny dynasty is not remarkable. The royal mausoleums at Goolburgah are heavy gloomy buildings, with domes, roughly built and finished; but some of the stone terraces around them show specimens of good arabesque carving. The material, basaltic trap, did not, perhaps, invite more finished works. If, however, the mosque in the interior of the fort at Goolburgah, begun by Feroze Shah, had ever been completed, it would have been one of the grandest buildings in India. The city of Goolburgah is still a considerable town, and the head of a province of H.H. the Nizam's dominions, carrying on a large trade in cotton and oilseeds with Sholapoor and Bombay. The fort is still perfect, but the rich palaces of Feroze Shah are masses of undistinguishable ruins. Without, the tombs of the early Bahmuny kings form noble groups of buildings; and deserted mosques and tombs of all descriptions, with ruins of pavilions and garden-houses, mark the

Architecture of the period.

City of Goolburgah.

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once great extent of the royal city. Goolburgah is situated upon the railway from Sholapoor to Raichore, and is one of the principal stations on the line; and a line in extension will shortly connect it with Hyderabad. Could a greater contrast between India in the 15th and 19th centuries be imagined? When the court removed to Beeder it is evident that the style of architecture was much improved. The royal palaces were noble and spacious buildings, containing lofty halls and apartments, and the large oriel windows and arches, then filled up by carved woodwork, admitted air and light freely. The noble college of Mahmood Gáwan, in the city of Beeder, was perhaps the grandest completed work of the period. It consisted of a spacious square, with arches all round it, of two storeys, divided into convenient rooms. The minarets at each corner of the front were upwards of a hundred feet high, and, as also the front itself, covered with enamel tiles, on which were flowers on blue, yellow, and red grounds; and sentences of the Korán in large Kufic letters; the effect of which was at once chaste and superb. The fortresses built by the Bahmuny kings are, however, perhaps their greatest and most indestructible monuments, and far exceed any of the same period in Europe. They are of all kinds, both on the plains and on the crests of mountains, from baronial castles to forts of the grandest dimensions. Gawilgurh and Narnalla in Berar, especially the latter, are choice specimens of grandeur of design of mountain fortresses, and tasteful and munificent execution. At Narnalla, the first gateway near the crest of the mountain is covered with stone carving, in the most elegant designs, as perfect now as, when it was built, 450 years ago. In the plains, Puraindah, Kulliany, Sholapoor, Owsah, Nuldroog, Dharoor, Mahore, Kandhar, Yatgeer, Shahpoor, Oodgeer, and many others, are equally remarkable and beautiful; and of all, Puraindah and Owsah are the most perfect, according to military science. They consist of a wide deep ditch, and counterscarp with a covered way, and glacis rising to the height of the *faussebraye*. The gates were defended by traverses and redoubts; and the rampart and *faussebraye* are of cut stone, with round bastions fitted for the heavy guns of the period; which, many of them of immense size, and used for throwing stone shot, were composed of bars of iron welded together.

College at Beeder.

The Bahmuny fortresses.

To this dynasty, the origin of the present Mahomedan population of the Deccan in the rural districts is still traceable. The foreign troops, that is the Persians, Tartars, Moghuls, and Arabs, intermarried with the women of the country, or took them, forcibly at first, as slaves and concubines, and

Warlike classes and their descendants.

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from them descended the Deccanies or mixed breeds, also soldiers, but counted of lower estimation, who have gradually merged into the present agricultural classes, and in some places still preserve their ancient haughty distinction of Alla-ood-Moolks, Bhylemees, Kálachuttrees, and other designations derived from their original leaders. Their warlike spirit, however, has not remained, and in this respect they are perhaps inferior to their fellow-farmers and labourers, the Mahrattas. In respect to education, the Bahmuny kings were liberal for their time. Mosques, often perhaps small and rude, were built in all the principal villages and market-towns, and well endowed as part of the existing village system. To each a moolla was appointed, who acted as school-master and priest, while kazies and higher officers of civil law superintended the whole; colleges existed at the chief cities, all richly endowed. Thus means of education were free to all who chose to learn Persian or Arabic; and in most of the Deccan villages the endowments still exist. The Hindoos, it may be presumed, were neither assisted nor interfered with, and their literature was confined to the Sanskrit language, and to its professors the Brahmins. In the Telingá country, the example of the ancient Hindoo rulers in regard to irrigation works was followed in a liberal and spirited manner by the Mahomedans, and many of the noblest lake reservoirs now existing were built by them. On all these points, and in a general amelioration of manners, there is no question that the Mahomedan occupation of the Deccan during the existence of the great Bahmuny dynasty had not been barren of good effects.

Education.

Works of irrigation.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE SOUTHERN HINDOO STATES, SUBSEQUENT TO THE FIRST MAHOMEDAN INVASION—THE DYNASTY OF VIJYANUGGER OR BEEJANUGGER, A.D. 1119 TO 1524.

In Chapters XIV. and XV., Book I., the histories of several of the southern mediæval Hindoo dynasties have been sketched; but in them, that of Beejanugger could have no place, for it was not in existence at the period of the dissolution of the Chalúkya dynasty of Kulyan, and the extension of their dominions by the Yádávás of Déogurh. The family of Beejanugger claimed a very ancient origin, and a detail obtained by Mr. Edward Ravenshaw, of the Bengal Civil Service, from the Rajah of Anagoondy, its lineal descendant and present

Great antiquity of the Beejanugger family.

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representative, and published in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xx., gives a list of eighty-five princes from Pandoo, the original founder, to Yésha Nandi, whose fourteen sons divided his dominions, and being conquered by another power, Nandá Maharaja, one of them, fled to Wurungul, in Telingána, and established a dynasty there. It would appear, therefore, that he belonged to the Andhra race. Nandá died in A.D. 1076; and the succession proceeds to Vijála Raya, of Kulyan, in A.D. 1119, who, it will be remembered, had usurped the throne; but his brother Vijya Raya established himself about the same period at Vijyanugger, which he named after himself, and became the founder of a new dynasty.

Era of Nandá.

Henry IV. emperor, deposed.

Now, comparing the foregoing with the history of Kulyan, as shown by its inscriptions (vide Chapter XV., Book I.), some confusion is apparent. Vijála, who occupied the throne of Kulyan in 1162 A.D., was a Kála Bhúrya, and a feudal noble of the Kulyan kingdom; and it is quite possible that his brother or descendant Vijya, in the troublous times which succeeded the deposition of the Chalúkyas, may have established a new dynasty at Beejanugger, and incorporated with it the former Kála Bhúrya possessions, which lay directly west of that city. Vijya's line, however, of five successions, ended with Bhoop Raya, who having no male issue, adopted Bukka Rajah, son of the Rajah of Kumpila, or Kumply, near Vijyanugger, from whence an unbroken line descended.

By another account, however, Bukka and Hárihárá alone are stated to be the founders of the Beejanugger dynasty, and to have been fugitives from Wurungul, after its first conquest by the Mahomedans in 1322. The probability of the first account is questionable, from the fact that Beejanugger lay in the route of Mullik Kafoor, when he traversed the country from Déogurh or Dowlatabad to the sea, and when Dwára Sumoodra fell, would not have been overlooked; but, on the other hand, the sudden growth of the dynasty, if only established in 1322, to a power which could dispute the empire of the south of India with the Mahomedans after the death of Mahomed Toghluk, is hardly conceivable. A third hypothesis is founded upon the record of the great Brahmin missionary, Máhádéva Achárya, who states that he was the minister for a time of Sangama, a prince whose dominions extended to the southern, western, and eastern seas—that is, embraced the whole of the southern peninsula—and that Bukka and Hárihárá were his sons, and the inscriptions of these princes, given in Vol. IX of the 'Asiatic Researches,' confirm this account.

Bukka and Hárihárá.

The historian Ferishta, too, seems to have been at much pains

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to make out the origin of the remarkable family of Beejanugger.

Ferishta's accounts of the family.

His statement is, that in 1344 Krishna Náik, son of the Rajah of Wurungul, had fled to Bellál Déo, rajah of the Carnatic, and that they entered into a contract to oppose the Mahomedans. To this end, a stronghold was established on the frontier, and given to his son Beeja, or Vijya, after whom it was named Beejanugger or Vijyanugger, and the Mahomedan posts, after the death of Mahomed Toghluk, were expelled from their country.

Whatever, therefore, be their exact origin, whether as an independent family, an offshoot from the Kála Bhúryas, from Wurungul, or from the Bellál dynasty of Dwára Sumoodra, there is no question that the kingdom of Beejanugger had risen to a high condition of power and prosperity at the period of the declaration of independence by Zuffur Khan in 1347.

Probable boundaries of the kingdom, in 1347.

Assuming the line of the Tumboodra river to its junction with the Krishna, and afterwards the Krishna to the sea, as its northern boundary, it possessed the whole of the present Southern Mahratta country; and Mysore, as far as the boundary of the Chôla dominions. It had extinguished, or at least subdued, the Bellál dynasty of Dwára Sumoodra and Tonoor, and held possession of the sea-coast from Goa to Calicut. The extent and consolidation of this dominion may favour the hypothesis that the Beejanugger State could not have attained its dimensions in the short period between 1294 and 1347, and that it must have grown out of the ruins of former dynasties. At the same time it must be considered that, under the rapid effects of Indian revolutions, much might have been accomplished by active and spirited princes in fifty, or even in twenty-five years, in the national consolidation of the Hindoo power of the south, which had become so seriously threatened. Of the founders of the dynasty, Bukka reigned from A.D. 1334 to 1367; Hárihárá from 1367 to 1391. The city which had been founded was, as to situation, one of the most remarkable in India. An irregular plain on the right bank of the Tumboodra, near the sacred ground of Kishkinda, celebrated in the Ramáyana, was sufficient, but no more, for its enceinte. On the east and west it was bounded by rocky granite hills, through which were a few rugged passes. On the south the spurs of the lofty range of Ramanmullay, descended into it; on the north, the river Tumboodra, in a line of extremely deep pools and violent rapids, formed an almost impassable boundary; and immediately beyond, and rising out of its bed, a range of still more rugged and impassable granite hills, which has only one outlet, constituted an outer line of

Bukka reigned, 1334-67.

Hárihára, 1367-91.

Manuel emperor of the east.

Description of Beejanugger.

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fortification, as it were, of great strength; and when the passes and hills had been fortified by bastions and curtains, the whole was rendered almost impregnable. The enceinte of the city comprised about ten square miles, and the ruins which everywhere fill it now, attest the great amount of its population, while the temples, monasteries, and receiving-houses for pilgrims to Kishkinda, are some of the finest in Southern India, many of them still in perfect preservation. Whether, therefore, from the sequestered situation of the city, the wild strange beauty of the river scenery, the temples and ruins of palaces, or its historical interest, there are few places in India more worthy of the attention of the traveller than Beejanugger.

It is not easy to determine what prince reigned in Beejanugger at the period of the accession of Mahomed Shah to the throne of Goolburgah, as none of the genealogical lists agree one with one another. The most probable is Déva or Déo Rái, who is termed Krishn Rái by Ferishta. It would be superfluous here to recapitulate the events of the war which ensued upon the wanton insult of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, king of Goolburgah, or those of the war with Mahomed's successor, Mujahid Shah, which have been adverted to in Chapter XI. of this book. Unfortunately Beejanugger had no Hindoo historian, and had it not been for the Mahomedan records, this great Hindoo dynasty, like others, would have left no memorials except inscriptions. It is therefore impossible to follow the detail of its internal condition or successive conquests during the periods in which it was not engaged with the Mahomedans; but there is no question that the extent of its dominions, as also its wealth, far exceeded those of the Mahomedans, who, as Ferishta observes, only maintained their superiority by their valour.

Whether the third war with the Mahomedans occurred from the act of the same Déo Rái already mentioned or another, it is very difficult to determine; but the Déo Rái who reigned from 1391 to 1414, according to Mr. Ravenshaw's list, was on this occasion the aggressor, and invaded the Raichore Dooáb with 30,000 horse and a vast number of foot. Feroze Shah Bahmuny was now king of Goolburgah, who met the Hindoos on the bank of the Krishna river, and procured the assassination of the rajah's son by a fanatic, who disguised himself as a player, and performed in the rajah's presence. This tragical event dismayed Déo Rái, and he fled to his capital followed by Feroze Shah, who laid waste the country south-west of Beejanugger, occupied it in force, and was only stayed from further proceedings by the payment of eleven lacs of hoons—about half a million sterling. It might be supposed that so severe a lesson would have restrained the Hindoo

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prince from further aggressions, but this was not the case. In 1406 he heard of a very beautiful girl, the daughter of a goldsmith of Moodgul, then held by the Mahomedans, and sent a large body of cavalry to carry her off. She had, however, escaped, and the Beejanugger horse, in revenge, ravaged the country. Feroze Shah Bahmuny immediately resented the insult, and as has been related in the account of his reign, Chapter XII., Book III., obliged the rajah, not only to give him his daughter in marriage, but to cede Bunkapoor and other districts to the west as her dowry, and to give also ten lacs of hoons, 450,000*l.*, five *mans* (120lbs. weight) of pearls, 50 elephants, and 2,000 slaves, and thus a third peace was concluded.

After the accession of Ahmed Shah Wully Bahmuny I., war again broke out between Goolburgah and Beejapoor. Déo Rái, according to Mr. Ravenshaw's list, had been succeeded by Vijya Rái, in 1414, who was besieged in his capital, but finding resistance fruitless, paid the arrear of tribute, and sent his son to escort the Mahomedan king to the frontier. In 1435, however, a fresh arrear of five years' tribute had occurred, and Mahomed Khan, the brother of Alla-ood-deen Bahmuny II., was sent to enforce payment. Vijya Rái had reigned till 1424, and Pandára Déo Rái had succeeded him. The campaign had a strange termination in the rebellion of the Prince Mahomed Khan, already related in Chapter XII., Book III., but the event had excited in the mind of Pandára Déo Rái a desire to conquer the whole of the Bahmuny kingdom. He admitted Mahomedans into his army, allotted to them a quarter of the city, and even built a mosque for their use, allowing them free practice for the rites of their religion. These haughty Moslem warriors would not salute an infidel prince, even on his throne, and made their salutations to a copy of the Korán placed before him, and it is very doubtful whether they were ever perfectly faithful. Having made his preparations, the Hindoo prince, in 1443, crossed the Tumboodra, and overran the country as far as Sugger and Beejapoor.

Vijya Rái, 1414.

Council of Constance.

Vijya Rái dies, 1424.

Pandára Déo Rái succeeds, 1424.

It is an interesting fact that this war, and the events that followed it, are confirmed by the journal of Abd-el-Ruzzak, an ambassador to India from the King of Khorassán in 1442–3, which has been translated for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. W. Major, and published under the title of 'India in the Fifteenth Century.' It is an extremely interesting record of events at Beejanugger, and full of quaint descriptions of the city, and of the ceremonies performed at the great Hindoo festivals. Three great battles were fought on the plain between Moodgul and the Tumboodra, in

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the course of this war, with no decisive result; but two of the Mahomedan officers having been taken prisoners, the king wrote to the rajah that he valued their lives at 100,000 Hindoos each—a grim but significant threat which brought him to terms. The arrears of tribute were paid, and peace ensued, which from 1442–3 up to 1489, a period of forty-six years, was not disturbed on either side. There are, however, no records of the local events of the Beejanugger kingdom during this long period, except that of its various successors. Pandára Déo Rái died in 1450, and was succeeded by Ramchunder Rái, who died in 1473, and was succeeded by Narsinha Rajah, who died in 1490. The last prince is authenticated by his inscriptions, and left three sons, Achootya, Suda Seeva, and Trimala. The Bahmuny Mahomedan monarchy had now broken up, and the State of Beejapoor was declared independent by Yoosuf Adil Shah in 1489. Immediately after that event, Kassim Bereed, minister of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, incited the Rajah of Beejanugger to attack Yoosuf Adil Shah, promising him Beejapoor if he could take it. The danger to Yoosuf Adil Shah was imminent: but local quarrels between the rajah and his minister delayed the projects for some time, and when the Beejanugger army advanced in 1493, it was defeated with immense slaughter by the Beejapoor monarch, and the rajah died of wounds received in the action. Between 1493 and 1524 some confusion exists as to the successions, and by Ferishta's account, it would appear that there had been several local revolutions in this period. In 1524, however, Krishn Rái Maharaya was the reigning sovereign, and it is for many reasons doubtful whether he belonged to the original Beejanugger family, or was the illegitimate son of Rajah Narsinha of Telingána, who had usurped the throne. In either case, he proved to be a man of vigour and ability. He was the only ruler of Beejanugger who ever competed evenly with the Mahomedans in the field; he carried his arms into Orissa, and married the daughter of its Hindoo king; and it was under him that the kingdom attained its greatest eminence and extent. During the long peace with the Mahomedans, its conquests had progressed; and at the period under notice, A.D. 1524, the localities recorded in inscriptions as being subject to the kingdom are as follows: Kanchy and Chôldesh, the country of the Chôlas; Pandoodesh or Madura, the original dynasties of both kingdoms having long since entirely disappeared; the whole of Mysore and the country eastwards to the sea; the midland dominions of the ancient State of Chéra, which had been conquered by the Belláls, and the Raichore Dooáb, and other

Pandára Déo Rái dies, 1450.

Ramchunder Rái, 1450.

Dies, 1473.

Narsinha succeeds, 1473.

Dies, 1490.

Krishn Rái, 1524.

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western provinces. At this stage of its history, and when, in its modern condition, it had existed from 1322 to 1524, or 202 years the record of Beejapoor is, for the present, discontinued, and will be resumed and concluded in connection with the details of the Adil Shahy dynasty of Beejapoor.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE IMÁD SHAHY DYNASTY OF BERAR, A.D. 1484 TO 1527.

FUTTEH OOLLA IMÁD SHAH was the first of the great military commanders of the Bahmuny kings to declare his independence. He was a native of the Carnatic, was originally a Hindoo, and having been taken prisoner in one of the wars with Beejanugger, was brought up as a Mahomedan by Khan Jehán, governor and viceroy of Berar, in whose service, and afterwards in that of Mahmood Shah of Beeder, he much distinguished himself. At the recommendation of Mahmood Gáwan, he received the title of Imád-ool-Moolk, and succeeded his patron as viceroy of Berar. In 1482 he was summoned with his forces to join King Mahmood in his campaign against Bahadur Khan Geelany; but he obeyed sullenly, and at the close of the field service, when the king remained at Ferozabad, proceeded direct to Berar, and declared his independence. This event occurred in 1484, and he soon after died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alla-ood-deen.

Pope Innocent VIII., 1484.

Origin of Futteh Oolla Imád Shah.

Futteh Oolla Imád Shah becomes king, 1484.

Dies, 1484.

Alla-ood-deen continued the dynastic title of Imád chosen by his father, and was crowned king at Gawilgurh, then the capital of Berar, where he continued to reside. Gawilgurh is a noble mountain, rising 2,400 feet above the valley of Berar; and projecting from the Sátpoora range, to which it is joined by a narrow neck, or isthmus, and from its rugged and precipitous sides a natural stronghold almost impregnable. The summit was an extensive undulating area, then closely covered with dwellings, which extended to another elevation to the north, communicating with the level tableland of the range. Gawil was a grand and most picturesque position; and was fortified with great care by a wall and bastions all round the crest of the exterior precipice. A mosque, and part of the king's palace, are all that remain of the fort buildings; and the dynasty was probably never rich enough

Alla-ood-deen Imád Shah succeeds, 1484.

Description of Gawilgurh.

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to indulge in architectural works of any magnitude. The most perfect of them is a pavilion in a small artificial lake, near Ellichpoor, called the Houz Kutora, which is a perfect specimen of the florid Saracenic style.

Effort to replace Mahmood Shah at Beeder.

No attempts had been made by the Bahmuny king or his ministers to reclaim Berar, and Alla-ood-deen Shah reigned in peace. In 1514 Mahmood Shah Bahmuny escaped from Beeder, and threw himself on his protection; and he marched from Berar with a large army to reinstate him. Mahmood Shah, however, had not relished the treatment he had met with; and, on the field of battle, left the Berar king and rejoined his minister, Ameer Bereed. When his father, Futteh Oolla, separated himself from King Mahmood Bahmuny, Khodawund Khan, governor of Mahore and Ramgeer, had followed his example, and become independent. In 1516 Ameer Bereed marched against Mahore, and took it by storm, when Khodawund Khan was killed. This act was resented by Alla-ood-deen Shah, who marched to the relief of Mahore; and fearing the result of a war, Ameer Bereed retreated, leaving the sons of Khodawund Khan in possession. Alla-ood-deen, however, displaced them, and retained the forts himself, in virtue of the general treaty of partition entered into with Ameer Bereed. The young men took refuge with the King of Ahmednugger, and a war ensued, which continued for some time; but in the end, the King of Ahmednugger captured and retained both Mahore and Ramgeer. The ill-will between the States continuing, Alla-ood-deen, and his ally the King of Khandésh, attacked the King of Ahmednugger in 1527; but they fared worse than on the former occasion, losing much of their dominions. In his extremity, Alla-ood-deen applied for help to the King of Guzerat, who, with a view of taking advantage of these quarrels, marched into the Deccan, and soon displayed his real intentions; and as the only means of preserving what remained of his dominions, Alla-ood-deen did homage to the Guzerat king, and held Berar nominally in his name. Soon after this, though the date is not recorded by the Mahomedan historian, Alla-ood-deen Imád Shah died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Duria Imád Shah, who enjoyed an entirely peaceful reign; but its duration is not recorded. He was succeeded by his son, Boorhan Imád Shah, an infant: and during the period of regency, Berar was annexed by the King of Ahmednugger to his dominions, as will appear in the history of that State.

Ameer Bereed takes Mahore.

Its recapture by King Alla-ood-deen.

War with Ahmednugger.

Interference of the King of Guzerat.

Alla-ood-deen Imád Shah dies.

Duria Imád Shah succeeds.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE ADIL SHAHY DYNASTY OF BEEJAPOOR, A.D. 1489 TO 1510.

Origin of Yoosuf Adil Shah.

YOOSUF ADIL KHAN, the founder of this noble dynasty, was the son, as generally believed, of Agha Moorád, or Amurath, sooltan of the Turks, who died in 1451. On the accession of his eldest son, Mahomed, an order was issued for all other male children of the late sooltan to be destroyed; but his mother, with extraordinary presence of mind, saved her son Yoosuf, and made him over to the charge of Khwajah Imád-ood-deen, a merchant of Sava, in Persia, with whom she was acquainted. To represent her son, the queen substituted a Circassian slave, who was strangled, and the real Yoosuf conveyed safely to Persia, where he was brought up. The sooltana subsequently maintained communications with her son; and sent to him his nurse, with her son Ghuzunfer Beg, and her daughter Dilshád Agha, who accompanied Yoosuf Adil Khan to India. The reason of his selecting India is attributed to a dream, in which it was revealed to him that he should attain royalty; but it is equally possible that Persia was insecure, and India a more noble field for exertion. Yoosuf, therefore, embarked at Shiraz, and reached Dabul, in the Konkan, in 1459. He was then seventeen years old, and of a handsome and engaging presence; and becoming acquainted with a Georgian merchant, was taken by him to Beeder, and sold as a Georgian slave to Khwajah Mahmood Gáwan, the minister, for the royal body-guard. He did not divulge his real rank, and probably permitted his own sale, both as a means of introduction to court, and as the best means of cutting off all trace of his position. From the rank of a private soldier, Yoosuf gradually rose to the command of the body-guard, and to be master of the horse; but becoming attached to Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork, who procured for him the title of Adil Khan, he accompanied that nobleman to Berar, on the campaign against Kéhrla, and behaved with much distinguished bravery in the storm of the fort. His friend, Nizam-ool-Moolk, having been killed on that occasion, Yoosuf Adil Khan succeeded to the command of his forces, with which he returned to Beeder. By his ability in civil government, and bravery in the field, Yoosuf Adil Khan rose gradually to the highest grades of rank and

He proceeds to India.

and is sold to Mahmood Gáwan, minister of Beeder.

His rise in the royal army.

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employment. Mahmood Gáwan loved him, and adopted him as a son; and at his death, Yoosuf Adil Khan was looked up to as the leader of the foreign party in the State. The commands and estates of the late minister were bestowed upon him, and it has been already detailed in Chapter XIV. of this Book, how he withdrew from Beeder to Beejapoor, and did not return to the capital. In 1489 he declared his independence, and was crowned at Beejapoor, the capital of his dynasty—destined to become one of the largest and most magnificent cities of India, or indeed of Asia—under the title of Abool Mozuffer, Yoosuf Adil Shah.

Withdraws from Beeder.

Declares independence.

Beejapoor was an ancient Hindoo city: and a Hindoo building in the fort bears an inscription of the Chalúkya dynasty, as a college, with a large endowment. It was probably a considerable provincial town on the accession of the Bahmuny king, Alla-ood-deen Hussun; for it became the the seat of the provincial government of the western provinces of the Bahmuny dominions. Beejapoor stands nearly on the crest of one of the great trap waves of the Deccan, the watershed of the Deccan and Carnatic, at a considerable elevation, perhaps 2,000 feet, above the sea; but there is nothing picturesque in its situation for around it are undulating downs, and the country for the most part, though fertile, is stony and uninviting. To the east, however, where the trap formation breaks into the granitic plains of the Carnatic, lies the broad valley of the Dône river, a region of unsurpassed productiveness of grain. 'If the crop on Dône ripens, who can eat it? if it fail, who can eat?' is an old Mahratta proverb, expressive of its value. From this tract, and the wide range of Shorapoor, the Raichore Dooáb and Dharwar, supplies of grain for a large city or army were unfailing; and in these respects, and its healthy climate, the situation of Beejapoor was excellent; but the dominions of Yoosuf Adil Shah were by no means extensive, the maintenance of a large army as yet was impossible, and his enemy, Kassim Bereed, was not idle in stirring up intrigues against him. Kassim Bereed's plan was a subtle one. He incited Timraj, the regent of Beejanugger, by a promise of the Raichore Dooáb, to attack Beejapoor on the south-west; he made profuse promises to Mullik Bheiry, king of Ahmednugger, for co-operation on the north; he requested Bahadur Geelany to act on the west; while he himself, with the whole of the Beeder army, should join from the east. To oppose this immense combination against him, Yoosuf Adil Shah had only 8,000 cavalry and 200 elephants. He could not pretend to oppose Timraj, and made peace with him. He then fell upon Bahadur Geelany, and defeated him, forcing him back

Description of Beejapoor.

Intrigues of Kassim Bereed.

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into his own territory with heavy loss. He then turned northward, met the combined armies of Beeder and Ahmednugger near Nuldroog, and in the partial action which ensued, Kassim Bereed fled to Beeder, leaving his ally to extricate himself as best he could; when the King of Ahmednugger, having no desire for a war on his own account, made peace and departed homewards. The confederacy was thus broken up; but the Beejanugger regent, Timraj, had been excited by the promise of the Raichore Dooáb, and determining to wrest it from Yoosuf Adil Shah, advanced with a large army for the purpose. The king proceeded to meet him; but in the first partial encounter, his troops were broken; then, hearing that the Hindoos had dispersed to plunder, he fell upon them with his reserve, with such fury, that the whole Hindoo army broke and fled to Beejanugger, leaving their camp to be plundered leisurely by the Mahomedans. The booty obtained was enormous. Sixty lacs of gold hoons were found in the treasury—about 2,500,000*l.* sterling—with many valuable jewels; and 200 elephants were captured. This remarkable action was fought in April 1493. The consequences of it were serious to the Beejanugger State, for its young rajah died of wounds received in the action, and the long peace which had subsisted between the Hindoos and Mahomedans, since the treaty of Ahmed Shah Wully Bahmuny, in 1425, or for nearly seventy years, was now broken.

The king defeats the confederates.

War with Beejanugger.

The Hindoos are defeated.

Maximilian I. emperor of Germany.

In 1495 Dustoor Deenar, an Abyssinian eunuch who held the government of Goolburgah, under Beeder, determined to declare his independence, and would have succeeded, but for the assistance given to King Mahmood by Yoosuf Adil Shah. In the previous year he had co-operated in the reduction of Bahadur Geelany, and he now rendered an equally efficient service to his former sovereign. It seems almost unaccountable how, in the course of a short period, the authorities of the Deccan could, as it were, suddenly change sides, and forget, even for a time, mutual rivalries and animosities. On this occasion, Dustoor Deenar's pretensions were supported by the King of Ahmednugger; and Kassim Bereed, in his emergency, sought the aid of Yoosuf Adil Shah, the man whom he had so recently endeavoured to destroy. It was given cheerfully, though not perhaps without a political purpose; the eunuch was defeated and humbled, but restored to his office; and Goolburgah was fixed upon as the place to celebrate the marriage of the Beejapoor princess to Ahmed Shah, son of Mahmood Shah, in fulfilment of their former betrothal. On this occasion, Yoosuf Adil Shah proposed to the king the dismissal

The king assists Beeder against Dustoor Deenar.

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of Kassim Bereed from office, on condition that he himself should receive the districts held by Dustoor Deenar; and the king consenting, the orders were made out. Kassim Bereed resisted, as might have been—probably was—expected; and was defeated near Allund. There were other parties, however, who were dissatisfied by the arrangement. The Kings of Ahmednugger and Berar put in claims for other portions of territory, in order to create a balance of power; and after a long series of negotiations, a division was made, with which all appeared satisfied for the present, except Dustoor Deenar, who had been altogether thrown out. He had amassed much treasure, and was the leader of the Abyssinians, who supported him; and with them, and other troops, he took the field. Yoosuf Adil Shah offered honourable terms to him, and these being rejected, the parties met, and a severe general action was fought with great bravery on both sides. Dustoor Deenar was slain in the battle, and the King of Beejapoor suffered a severe loss in the death of his foster-brother, Ghuzunfer Beg, from the effects of wounds received in the last desperate charge which had decided the action.

Kassim Bereed defeated.

Dustoor Deenar slain in battle.

In 1502 Yoosuf Adil Shah, in pursuance of a vow, and with the concurrence of his principal officers and advisers, changed the State profession of faith from the Soony, or orthodox, to the Sheea, or heretical, in which he had been brought up in Persia. He experienced some opposition in this as yet unprecedented public declaration of that faith in India; but, as he allowed every one to follow his own judgment, he was not opposed in his own dominions; in regard to others, however, he was not so successful. A great league was made against him, in the name of a holy crusade, by the Kings of Ahmednugger, Golcondah, and Berar, with Ameer Bereed, who had succeeded his father at Beeder, and possessed, if possible, a more intriguing and restless spirit. Mahmood Shah was made the nominal leader of the league, and the Beejapoor territories were invaded. Yoosuf Adil Shah, finding himself too weak to encounter the united armies of the confederacy, took with him 6,000 horse, marched northwards to Dowlatabad and Berar, plundering the country, and made his way to Imád Shah of Berar, his son-in-law, who had not as yet moved. Imád Shah would not, however, openly espouse his cause; he advised him for the present to restore the Soony faith at Beejapoor, and to retire into Khandésh till the storm was past; advice which Yoosuf Adil Shah at once followed. Imád Shah was an experienced politician, and of great age and wisdom. He wrote

The State creed changed from Soony to Sheea.

A league against him ensues.

Beejapoor invaded.

The king proceeds to Berar.

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to the leaders of the confederacy, to put them on their guard against Ameer Bereed, who, it was evident, had contrived the movement in order that he should be put in possession of Beejapoor; and should this occur, that he would then turn his forces against each of his allies in succession. This warning had the desired effect. The Kings of Ahmednugger and Golcondah saw, at once, that Ameer Bereed had made tools of them, and both suddenly left his camp with their forces. Yoosuf Adil Shah now returned to Gawil, and after routing the army of Ameer Bereed, who had fled to Beeder with the king, and plundering its camp, returned triumphant to Beejapoor, where, until 1510, he reigned without further molestation. In that year, the Portuguese, as yet little known, took Goa; but the king immediately proceeding thither, retook it, and expelled them. It was his last effort. He had had a tendency to dropsy for some time, which was aggravated by his exertions, and he died soon afterwards, in the seventy-fifth year of his age and twentieth of his reign. He was not buried at Beejapoor, but at the town of Gôgy, in the district of Shorapoor, about sixty miles to the eastward, near the grave of a local saint, Peer Chunda Hooseinee, whom he had venerated. No mausoleum was built over him; and in the precincts of the holy burying-ground his open tomb is as simple as many others, and an endowment, which has been preserved, still provides a covering of cotton chintz for it, renewed from year to year. Thus, as the people of Gôgy assert, with an honourable pride, there are not, as yet, faithful servants wanting to the noble king, to light a lamp at night at his grave, and to say *fatehas* for his soul's peace; while the tombs of the great Bahmuny kings, and of all his enemies in life, are desecrated. Soon after his first appointment to Beejapoor, Yoosuf Adil Khan had reduced a Mahratta chieftain, Mookund Ráo, to submission; and he married his sister, to whom he gave the Mahomedan title of Booboojee Khanum. By this lady he had three daughters and one son, Ismail, who, as a minor, succeeded to the throne. Of his daughters, Muryam or Mary, the eldest, married Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry, of Ahmednugger; Khoodeija, Alla-ood-deen Imád Shah, of Berar; and Beeby Musseety, the youngest, Ahmed Shah Bahmuny of Beeder.

The confederacy breaks up.

Ameer Bereed defeated.

The king returns to Beejapoor.

Portuguese take Goa, and it is retaken by the king.

Yoosuf Adil Shah dies, 1510.

Henry VIII. king of England.

Yoosuf Adil Shah is buried at Gôgy.

Reverence still paid to his memory.

Marriage with a Mahratta lady.

Their children.

Among the sovereigns of the Deccan, there is no one of his period who can be compared with Yoosuf Adil Shah. In political ability, in learned accomplishments, and

Character of Yoosuf Adil Shah.

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skill and personal bravery in the field, he had no equal, and was only perhaps inferior to his great patron, Mahmood Gáwan. He was perfectly tolerant of all religions, and his consideration for his Hindoo subjects may have proceeded in some degree from the influence of his wife, whom he loved with a rare affection, and to whom he was entirely faithful. Under him Hindoos were freely admitted to offices of trust, and Mahratta became the ordinary language of accounts and local business. From the means afforded by the booty of the Beejanugger army, the king built the fort and citadel of Beejapoor of stone—enormous and magnificent works of their class. The fort walls surrounded the town, as it was then, of Beejapoor, and consisted of a deep ditch and wall crowned with handsome machicolated battlements, with fine round and octagon bastions at intervals, fitted for artillery. Here and there, on weaker points, there is a *faussebraye*. In the citadel were the royal palaces and public offices, and its defences were similar to the outer walls, except that its ramparts were loftier, its bastions larger, and its ditch, partially filled with water, wider and deeper; and in addition to the ramparts there is a *faussebraye* all round. These works are, for the most part, still perfect. But in the time of Yoosuf Adil Shah, the splendour of Beejapoor was only in its infancy.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE ADIL SHAHY DYNASTY OF BEEJAPOOR (*continued*), A.D. 1510 TO 1534.

When Ismail Adil Shah succeeded his father, he was about nine years old; and the late king, on his death-bed, had appointed Kumál Khan, who had followed him from Beeder, and proved faithful on many trying occasions, to be regent, in conjunction with the queen-mother. Kumál Khan at once restored the public profession of the Soony faith. The Portuguese had retaken Goa, and he made peace with them, on condition that they should not extend their possessions. It was soon observable, however, that the regent was strengthening his own party; and, as Ferishta observes, the Deccan then supplied examples, in Ameer Bereed of Beeder, and Timraj of Beejanugger, of the success of ministers and regents against their lawful princes. In the crafty and unscrupulous Ameer Bereed, Kumál Khan found an ally ready to further any desperate intrigue. He proposed that he should assist Ameer Bereed to conquer Ahmed-

Ismail Adil Shah succeeds, 1510.

Kumál Khan regent.

Portugese retake Goa.

Intrigues of the regent with Ameer Bereed.

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nugger, if he would further his own projects for usurping the crown of Beejapoor; and these nefarious terms were ratified by a secret treaty, which provided that Kumál Khan was at liberty to imprison Ismail Adil Shah, or put him to death, as might be most expedient. The first act of the confederates was to besiege the fort of Sholapoor. Ameer Bereed had moved to Goolburgah and invested it; and Kumál Khan, confining the queen-dowager and her son to the citadel of Beejapoor, proceeded to Sholapoor, the possessor of which, Zein Khan, surrendered the fort to him. He then returned to Beejapoor, and to secure his own position, dismissed the foreign guards, who were to a man faithful to the king, while he took into his service a body of Mahratta horse, by which his own adherents were raised to the large number of 20,000 men.

Kumál Khan purposes to usurp the throne.

The queen, who possessed information of these proceedings, and of the fact that Kumál Khan had actually fixed, by his astrologers, a date for ascending the throne, now determined upon his destruction, if possible, as the only available means for escape; and she urged Yoosuf Toork, the foster-father of her son, of whose devotion to the family she had no doubt, to effect it—a commission he readily accepted. Kumál Khan had feigned to be ill, and had shut himself up for some days, as the astrologers had predicted certain malign influences against him. The queen, pretending to be solicitous as to his health, sent an old female attendant, whom she knew was acting as Kumál Khan's spy, to him with a complimentary message and wave offering, and requested her to take with her Yoosuf Toork, who desired an audience for leave to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca. There was nothing in the message or in the individual to excite suspicion, and after its delivery, Yoosuf Toork was summoned to receive an honorary dismissal. On such an occasion it is customary for the superior to give some leaves of pân, rolled up with betel-nut, to the petitioner: as Yoosuf Toork advanced to receive the pân on his extended scarf, the naked hands being considered a disrespectful breach of etiquette, he concealed a naked dagger beneath it, and as the regent stretched out his hand, Yoosuf Toork suddenly plunged the dagger into his breast, and he died instantly, with a loud groan; while the attendants, hearing the noise, rushed in, and dispatched the assassin and the woman ere they could leave the apartment. Kumál Khan's body was then dressed and placed in the balcony by his mother, as though he were alive; and a message sent to the troops to hasten to salute him as king, and seize Ismail Adil Shah and his mother. Sufdur Khan, the minister's son, considering he had troops enough for this purpose, shut the gates

The queen's counter plot.

Kumál Khan assassinated.

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of the fort, and proceeded in person against the queen's palace, which was separate from the rest, with a body of 5,000 men.

The queen did not as yet know of the fate of her messenger, and supposing he had been killed, and that Kumál Khan still lived, proposed to make the best terms she could; but Dilshad Agha, the foster-sister of her husband, at once saw the danger of such a step, and determined to resist. The palace gates were shut, and a faithful eunuch dispatched to the few foreign soldiers in the fort, to warn them of the king's situation. On their arrival, they undauntedly withstood the storm of shot and arrows poured against them, Dilshád Agha and the queen, clad in armour, encouraging them in person; but when cannon were brought up against the palace, its brave defenders began to despair, and some fled. Dilshád Agha's message to the few foreigners still in the city had, however, reached them: and they gained admittance to the palace from the fort ditch, by ropes thrown over the wall. This reinforcement augmented the defenders to nearly two hundred men, and with these, Booboojee Khanum and Dilshád Agha continued to fight gallantly. As Sufdur Khan broke open the gateway of the palace, he was received with a sharp volley of arrows and shot, totally unexpected; and being himself wounded in the eye, retired, and was leaning against the palace wall, when the young king, recognising him, pushed over a heavy stone from the terrace roof above, which killed him on the spot. His followers fled, and in a short time all the loyal population had rallied round their monarch. The body of Yoosuf Toork was buried with honour, and a mausoleum raised over it; nor did the king, when at the capital, fail to visit the place once in every month, and join in the ceremonies for the repose of the soul of the faithful servant to whose devotion he owed his life. As may be conceived, so romantic an event took a strong hold of the imagination of the people, and the facts are still recited by the minstrels of the country, with unfailing interest; while the traveller, if he knows the history, will be shown the scene of the tragedy and its consequences. The account of Ferishta is amply confirmed by the local narratives.

Heroic conduct of the queen-dowager.

Although still a mere boy in years, the events of the time, and his natural high spirit, imparted a decision to Ismail Adil Shah's mind which never left him. He at once assumed the direction of his own government. He dismissed the faithless Deccanies and Abyssinians, and re-enlisted the Toorks and Moghuls who had been discharged; and these, with his father's gallant veterans, who flocked to him from all quarters, soon composed a sufficient army. Ameer Bereed, on hearing of the death of Kumál Khan, had raised the siege of Goolburgah,

The king assumes the government.

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and retired to Beeder; but he was not the less active in his designs against the young king, and eventually succeeded in inducing the Kings of Golcondah, Berar, and Ahmednugger to join him, on the part of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, in an effort to uproot the Adil Shahy dynasty. These sovereigns sent quotas of troops; and, in 1514, Ameer Bereed and King Mahmood Shah Bahmuny advanced on Beejapoor at the head of 25,000 horse. Ismail Adil Shah was in nowise dismayed. He allowed the Beeder army to advance to Allapoor, within a mile and a half of the eastern gate of his capital; and as it debouched upon the great plain before the city, he fell upon it with 12,000 foreign cavalry, and leading the principal division himself, won a complete victory. Mahmood Shah and his son Ahmed had both been unhorsed in the action, and were captured; but were received as honoured guests by the young king, himself only fourteen years old, and treated with respect and dignity. The sequel to this invasion, was the proposal of Mahmood Shah to solemnise the marriage of his son to Beeby Musseety, the king's sister; and the two monarchs proceeded together to Goolburgah, where the marriage was concluded, amidst great rejoicings. Mahmood Shah and his son, with his bride, were then forwarded to Beeder, with an escort of 5,000 select cavalry, and for a time Ameer Bereed did not appear.

League against Beejapoor.

The king defeats the confederates.

From 1514 to 1519 peace prevailed; but the Rajah of Beejanugger had succeeded in getting possession of the Raichore Dooáb; and this being an original portion of the Beejapoor State, Ismail Adil Shah determined to regain it. Timraj, the regent of Beejanugger, had poisoned his ward, and now exercised regal power; and he was by no means disposed to admit Ismail Adil Shah's demands. He took up a position on the right bank of the river Krishna; and in an attempt to cross the river while excited by wine, Ismail nearly lost his life, and sacrificed many of his best troops. He was obliged to retreat; but the event had the good effect of inducing him to abandon the use of wine, to which it had been feared he was becoming addicted. All further attempt upon the Raichore Dooáb was for the present abandoned. Soon afterwards Boorhan Nizam Shah, king of Ahmednugger, proposed to marry the king's sister Muryam, and the ceremony was performed at Sholapoor, in May 1524, which fort, with its dependencies, was fixed as her dowry. The cession was not, however, immediately made; and Boorhan Shah, taking offence, invaded the Beejapoor dominions in 1535, assisted, as usual, by Ameer Bereed. The issue of this campaign was favourable to Ismail Adil Shah, who defeated his brother-in-law in a general action, with great

War with Beejanugger.

War with Ahmednugger.

Battle of Pavia.

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loss of men and *matériel* of war, both being present in the field and leading their respective armies. In 1528, however, Boorhan Shah and Ameer Bereed renewed the contest, and were allowed to advance to within forty miles of Beejapoor, where they were attacked by Assud Khan, the Beejapoor general, and utterly routed, with the loss of their guns and elephants.

The King of Ahmednugger defeated.

These, as it were, family quarrels, did not, however, prevent the parties from assisting each other on emergent occasions; for in the same year, 1528-9, when the King of Ahmednugger was attacked by the King of Guzerat, Ismail Adil Shah sent him 6,000 horse and a sum of money equal to half a million sterling, to enable him to refit his army. It transpired, however, that while employed in this service, Ameer Bereed had tampered with the Beejapoor troops, and had promised their commander an independent estate if he would desert and join in an attack upon Beejapoor. This provoked Ismail Adil Shah beyond endurance; and he proposed to his brother-in-law that they should join to punish the man who contrived, by his malicious and unceasing intrigues, to keep the Deccan in perpetual turmoil; or, if he pleased, he might remain neutral, which would answer the same purpose. Boorhan Shah preferred the latter alternative; and in 1529 the Beejapoor king invaded the territory of Beeder with 10,000 of his best cavalry. In all his campaigns, the king seems to have trusted to archery as his chief weapon in war, and it was the national arm of the Persians, Tartars, Moghuls, and Turks, who composed his best troops; but at Beeder he had to encounter artillery and musketry, and a hard-fought action outside the walls of the city tested the bravery of his troops to the utmost. The king displayed great personal valour in this battle, killing in single combat two of the sons of Ameer Bereed, who had attacked him successively. At the close of the action, a large body of fresh cavalry was seen approaching from the right, which proved to be a contingent of 4,000 Golcondah horsemen sent to the assistance of Ameer Bereed. The king would have attacked these at once with his own division, and was with great difficulty persuaded to witness the final charge instead of taking a part in it. He therefore handed his own bloody sword to Syed Hoosein, his Arab general, and seated himself on a mound overlooking the field of battle, by which the place is still to be recognised. Syed Hoosein, and Assud Khan were completely successful, and on their return the king presented his own horse to Syed Hoosein.

Renewed intrigues of Ameer Bereed.

Ismail Adil Shah invades Beeder.

Peace of Cambray.

General action at Beeder.

The king's victory.

The fort of Beeder was now closely invested, Ameer Bereed

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retired to Oodgheer, leaving the defence to his sons, and wrote to the King of Berar to come to Beeder as a mediator. When Imád Shah arrived, he found that Ismail Adil Shah would be content with nothing less than Ameer Bereed's unconditional submission; but the fort was impregnable, and Ameer Bereed would not come to terms. Hearing that his camp was pitched near that of the King of Berar, and that he was neglectful of it, Assud Khan was sent with 2,000 horse to make a night attack upon it, when the scouts sent on, returned, and declared they had reached the royal tent without a challenge. Assud Khan, conducted by these men, took twenty-five horse and a few foot with him, and found Ameer Bereed drunk, lying on his bed, and surrounded by guards, musicians, singers and dancers, all intoxicated and asleep. The bed of Ameer Bereed was now gently lifted as he lay on it and carried off, and it was only when he found himself at a considerable distance from his camp, travelling as it were through the air, that he awoke, crying out that he was in the power of evil spirits, and praying God to forgive him. Assud Khan now rode up to him, and told him what had happened; but promised his good offices with the king. Ismail Adil Shah was overjoyed with the result of the night expedition, which indeed was more like romance than reality; and at first seemed disposed to put the aged Ameer Bereed to death, for he was led out bareheaded in the hot sun for execution. Then he humbly begged his life, and promised to give up the fort and the Bahmuny treasures if it were spared; but his son, who held the fort, replied to his father's message to surrender, that he would not, and that his father's life, at his age, was not worth such a ransom. This was, however, only a feint to get better terms, for even in this extremity the merciful and chivalrous disposition of the King of Beejapoor was relied on. Ameer Bereed now begged to be taken before one of the towers of the fort where his sons were, accompanied by the elephant which the king declared should trample him to death; when at last, believing him to be in real danger, the sons offered to give up the fort if they were allowed to depart with their families to Oodgheer; and it was afterwards discovered that they had loaded themselves with the most valuable of the crown jewels before they departed. The kings now entered the city and fort in state, and seated themselves together on the throne. All the money in the treasury, about half a million sterling, the jewels, clothes, china, and other valuables, were distributed to the armies, or in charity, and King Ismail refused to take a single article for himself; he had not made war, he said, for booty, but for his honour, which

Ameer Bereed captured.

The fort of Beeder given up.

The king distributes the treasures of Beeder to his army.

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was satisfied. The disposal of Ameer Bereed alone remained, and at the intercession of the King of Berar, an estate was conferred upon him, and he was allowed the command of 3,000 horse in the Beejapoor army.

Campaign in the Raichore Dooáb.

The king now proceeded into the Raichore Dooáb, which, with the forts of Raichore and Moodgul, he recovered. Ameer Bereed, having rendered important service, was forgiven, and assured that his government of Beeder would be restored to him; and he was soon afterwards allowed to proceed to Beeder, on condition of surrendering two forts and their dependencies. But he was no sooner free than he recommenced his old practices, and renewed his intrigues with Boorhan Shah of Ahmednugger, who was sore at having had no part in his brother-in-law's last successful expeditions. Ismail Adil Shah had given notice to his brother-in-law that he was about to make a tour of his dominions, and that the officers on the frontier should not be alarmed; to which the King of Ahmednugger replied contemptuously, 'that it would be better if he stayed at home and minded his own business.' Ismail Adil Shah received this uncourteous message at Bahmunhully, when at evening prayer, and was so incensed, that he marched at once with a slight escort, and did not draw rein till he arrived next evening at Nuldroog. Here he dismissed the Ahmednugger ambassadors, and awaited the advance of their troops. Boorhan Nizam Shah had equipped a fine army, and his train of artillery was unusually large. He brought 25,000 horse into the field on this occasion; but they were chiefly Mahrattas and Deccanies, and had no chance against the veteran foreigners of Beejapoor. Boorhan Nizam Shah was defeated with the loss of all his guns and camp equipage, and fled to his capital; but the brothers-in-law met afterwards on the frontier, and agreed mutually that Ahmednugger should annex Berar to its dominions, leaving Beejapoor at liberty to proceed against Golcondah. In 1533, therefore, King Ismail opened a campaign against Golcondah—which State he averred had attacked him treacherously, and without cause, in the affair at Beeder—by the siege of Kowilkonda. Here the king fell ill of a violent fever, and died on September 6, 1534, after a glorious and successful reign of twenty-five years. In all his military enterprises the king had suffered only one reverse, that at the Krishna river, by the Beejanugger army, which was only attributable to his own rashness: and in the subsequent campaign, he not only retrieved that disaster, but recaptured the Raichore Dooáb, which had been in possession of the Hindoos for nearly twenty years. The king's body was carried from Kowil-

War with Ahmednugger.

Boorhan Nizam Shah defeated.

Ismail Adil Shah dies, 1534.

Reformation in England.

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konda to Gôgy, and interred beside his father, a simple tomb-stone alone marking the spot. The character of this king is well given in the words of a local historian, quoted by Ferishta. 'He was just, patient, and liberal; extremely generous, frequently pardoning State criminals, and averse to listening to slander. He never used passionate language, and possessed great wit, to which he added a sound and accurate judgment. He was an adept in the arts of painting, varnishing, making arrows, and embroidering saddlecloths; and in music and poetry excelled most of his age. He supported literary men and scholars munificently at his court; and had a great fund of humour, which he displayed at his private parties and in familiar intercourse with his courtiers.' His personal bravery was beyond question, as was proved by his acts of valour in all his wars, and he shared the fatigues and privations of his soldiers, who loved him deeply, and deplored his loss. No record of his civil administration has been preserved; but, it may be inferred from his general abilities and kind disposition, that it had flourished abundantly. On his death-bed he appointed his friend Assud Khan to be protector of the kingdom; and though he had no confidence in his eldest son Mulloo, he declared him his successor. This prince was therefore raised to the throne at Goolburgah, but his father's opinion was confirmed by his conduct, which so disgusted Assud Khan, that he retired to his estate of Belgaum, leaving the regency to the old queen-dowager, Booboojee Khanum, and Ismail Khan Deccany. After enduring Mulloo Adil Shah's vices for six months, the queen-dowager determined to depose him; and with the full approbation of Assud Khan, Mulloo Adil Shah was dethroned and blinded, and his brother Ibrahim crowned king, to the satisfaction of all parties in the State.

Ismail's character.

Mulloo Adil Shah succeeds, 1534.

He is dethroned, 1534.

Ibrahim Adil Shah I. succeeds, 1534.

These transactions have brought the history of the Adil Shahy dynasty somewhat beyond the date previously mentioned, namely, 1526; but the details of the reign of Ismail Adil Shah could not be interrupted; and those of his successor, Ibrahim Adil Shah I., will be resumed hereafter.

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CHAPTER XX.

OF THE NIZAM SHAHY DYNASTY OF AHMEDNUGGER, A.D. 1489 TO 1532.

THE death of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, who succeeded Mahmood Gáwan as minister of the Bahmuny State, after his execution, has been before related in Chapter XV. of this Book, as also the declaration of independence by his son Mullik Ahmed, which immediately followed that event. He had been previously employed in the royal service, both by Mahmood Gáwan and his own father; and, at the period under notice, was engaged in reducing the Northern Konkan, which formed part of his father's public estate, to obedience. In these operations he had been singularly successful; and had captured all the Mahratta strongholds, which, up to this period, had defied the Mahomedan arms. Ferishta states, that though he assumed independence, he was not crowned, nor did he style himself shah or king, until a later period. An attempt was made by the Bahmuny State, soon after his declaration of independence, to recover Mullik Ahmed's possessions; but the generals dispatched for the purpose were successively defeated; on the last occasion with the loss of all their baggage. A third attempt by Azmut-ool-Moolk, with 18,000 men, on the part of Mahmood Shah Báhmuny, was equally unsuccessful. Mullik Ahmed evaded them, marched suddenly upon Beeder, a distance of nearly 300 miles, surprised the city guards, and carried off the females of his family without loss; an exploit which considerably added to his fame. He then rejoined his forces, and after some manœuvres by both parties, a general action ensued, on May 28, 1490, in which the Bahmuny troops suffered a severe defeat on the plain near the town of Bingar, which was commemorated by the erection of a palace, surrounded by a garden and park, which still remain. The occurrences of the reign of Ahmed Nizam Shah were so much mixed up with those of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, and his contemporaries, that they need not all be reviewed. Joonair as yet had been the capital of the new kingdom; but it was inconvenient in many respects, and was not sufficiently central. Mullik Ahmed Shah had determined to gain possession of Dowlatabad and its dependencies, which included the broad and fertile valley of the upper Godavery, and eventually to extend his power into Berar; and he fixed upon a spot near

Ahmed Nizam Shah assumes independence, 1489.

The Bahmuny generals defeated.

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Bingar, where he had already erected a palace for the new capital, which was named Ahmednugger, the fort of Ahmed. The position, in every point of view, was an excellent one. It commanded all the passes into Khandésh and Dowlatabad, and its elevation, near the crest of one of the principal Deccan ranges of hills, secured a cool and salubrious climate. The city soon sprang up, and with the noble fort palaces of the Nizam Shahy dynasty, forms one of the most valuable military stations of the British army in the Deccan.

Ahmednugger founded. 1494.

America discovered by Columbus.

The Bahmuny officer, Mullik Wujoo, in charge of the province of Dowlatabad, had, like others, declared his independence; and there had since occurred a domestic revolution, in which his younger brother, Mullik Ashruf, had obtained the power. Ahmed Nizam Shah had not as yet been able to make any impression on Dowlatabad; but he devastated its districts in every season of harvest, and determined on continuing this policy till it should be given up. In 1499 he was engaged in besieging the fort, when Mahmood Shah of Guzerat moved southwards with the purpose of reducing Khandésh and relieving Dowlatabad. This had the effect of obliging Ahmed Nizam Shah to raise the siege; and a subsequent night attack upon the Guzerat army near Sooltanpoor, in Khandésh, caused its king to retreat. Ahmed Nizam Shah now advanced once more towards Dowlatabad, the garrison of which sent him word that their master had engaged to acknowledge the King of Guzerat as his sovereign, and as they could not submit to this, they would admit him if he would come. So favourable an offer could not be neglected, and the king marched with 3,000 horse, and encamped without the walls. Mullik Ashruf was then ill, and died in a few days; and the keys of the fort were delivered up to Ahmed Nizam Shah, who, rejoiced at his good fortune, directed the whole of the works to be repaired, and placed in them a trusty garrison of his own troops. The possession of Dowlatabad, with its large dependencies, very much increased the king's power; and though frequently threatened by Guzerat, no war actually took place. Ahmed Nizam Shah Bheiry fell ill in 1508, and died in the course of the year. He was buried at Rózah, near Dowlatabad, a place to which, as well for the mausoleums and colleges of holy Mahomedan saints established there, as from its beautiful situation and delightful climate, he had become deeply attached.

Dowlatabad besieged.

Brazil discovered.

The fort is given up to him.

Ahmed Shah Bheiry dies, 1508.

League of Cambray.

The king was succeeded by his son Boorhan Nizam Shah, then a boy of seven years old. The public affairs were in the hands of experienced officers, and the young king's

Boorhan Nizam Shah, his son, succeeds, 1508.

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education was carefully conducted by them. Ferishta states, that he saw in the royal library at Ahmednugger, a treatise on the duties of kings, neatly copied by him when he was ten years old. In 1510 the kingdom was placed in some danger by the desertion of 8,000 cavalry to Alla-ood-deen Imád Shah of Berar, who, assisted by them, invaded the Ahmednugger dominions, being led to believe they would fall an easy prey; but he was resolutely opposed by Khwajah Jehán of Paraindah—who, partially independent, was yet tributary to Ahmednugger—and the young king himself: and was defeated with great loss, flying from the field of battle at Ranoory to Ellichpoor. The young king in this battle rode before Ajdur Khan, his tutor, on the same saddle, in the thickest of the fight. It was after this war that the Brahmin relations of the king claimed their hereditary rights as 'Putwaries,' or accountants of Putry. The regent, Mokumil Khan, proposed an exchange of territory for Putry, which belonged to Berar, and this being refused, he took forcible possession of the town, and it was afterwards retained as a family point of honour.

An invasion by troops from Berar defeated.

In 1523 the king was married at Sholapoor to Muryam, the sister of Ismail Adil Shah of Beejapoor: and their subsequent quarrel in regard to that fort, and the defeat of the King of Ahmednugger, when he was carried off the field fainting from the weight of his armour, have been already mentioned. Ferishta adds of this battle, 'it was so bloody a one, that nature revolts at the remembrance.' In 1527 Putry became the subject of a war. Alla-ood-deen Imád Shah of Berar retook and fortified it, when Boorhan Nizam Shah in person drove out the Berar garrison, razed the fortifications of the place, and bestowed it as 'a charitable gift' on his Brahmin relations, by whom it was held successively till the reign of the Emperor Akbur, and whose descendants still represent the family.

The king marries a princess of Beejapoor.

Solyman takes Belgrade.

Rome taken by Charles V.

In 1529 Boorhan Nizam Shah was severely pressed by the junction of Guzerat to the confederation of the Kings of Khandéah and Berar against him. The two latter he had defeated: but the accession of Guzerat to their league was very formidable. The timely assistance rendered by his brother-in-law, the King of Beejapoor, on this occasion, to Boorhan Nizam Shah, will be remembered; but the final success may be attributed to the judicious conduct of Kawur Sein, a Brahmin, who became Péshwa, or prime minister, being the first instance as yet recorded of any Hindoo being raised to an office of the highest rank. The Brahmin seems to have been as brave a soldier as he was a skilful administrator, but

League against the king.

The king defeated.

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Boorhan Nizam Shah was nevertheless defeated, and obliged to sue for peace, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Guzerat king, which was considered a sufficient humiliation. In 1530 the king sent an embassy to the monarch of Guzerat, to congratulate him on his conquest of Malwah, but he was informed that he must do homage in person—a further humiliation, at which the king's pride revolted. 'Should he who had won his independence from the great house of Bahmuny stoop to that of Guzerat?' Shah Tahir, the holy saint who had been his ambassador, now dexterously delivered him from the dilemma. At the interview between the kings, he carried on his head a Korán, written by Ally; and the Guzerat king, descending from his throne to pay it reverence, saluted Boorhan Nizam Shah, who was following his ambassador. The two kings then entered into conversation, and became good friends; Bahadur Shah, before he returned to Guzerat, formally resigning all his assumed honorary pretensions as king of the Deccan. His Brahmin minister now rendered more excellent service to Boorhan Shah, in reducing the Mahratta chiefs of the mountain tracts who had as yet not submitted, and all these princes were very judiciously confirmed in their estates.

Mahratta chiefs reduced to obedience.

The last quarrel between Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ismail Adil Shah, in 1531, resulted, as has been recorded, in the former's utter defeat; but the letter written by Ismail on receipt of the rude message 'to stay at home and mind his own business,' has been preserved in Ferishta's history, and is too characteristic of the period to be omitted. 'Have you so soon,' writes the Beejapoor king, 'forgotten your late condition at Ahmednugger? If you pride yourself on the tattered rags of the King of Malwah, the boast is ridiculous. Nor need you be too vain of the title of shah, conferred on you by the King of Guzerat, since I derive my royal lineage from a race of sovereigns, and am so styled by the kings of Persia, descendants of the Prophet. I advise you to repent of your folly and arrogance, or I shall compel you to quit the enjoyments of your Bagh-i-Nizam, and try how you like the clashing of steel in the field of battle.' No doubt much of the royal correspondence between the brothers-in-law and their neighbour was in the same strain; and could Ferishta have introduced more specimens of the familiar and political letters and transactions of his period into his history, its interest and importance, great as both are, would have been highly enhanced. The King of Ahmednugger did not, it may be presumed, like the clashing of steel in battle, to which his gallant brother-in-law invited him, though he did not evade it: and the

Remarkable letter from Ismail Adil Shah.

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defeat which followed was one of the worst he had experienced. In 1532 Ismail Adil Shah died, while Boorhan Nizam Shah lived for twenty years longer. The review of the latter part of his reign is therefore postponed. Treaty of Nuremburg.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE KOOTUB SHAHY DYNASTY OF GOLCONDAH, A.D. 1512 TO 1550.

The conquests of the Bahmuny dynasty had gradually progressed eastward after the establishment of the kingdom of Goolburgah; and the Hindoo principality of Wurungul, which made a gallant resistance, was finally reduced in A.D. 1421 by King Ahmed Shah Wully Bahmuny. Beyond this, to the east, were the provinces of the Ráis or Rajahs of Orissa, as yet very imperfectly known to the Mahomedans at that period, and consisting of some very fertile and productive possessions bordering on the sea, divided from the Deccan and western Telingána by a range of mountains, covered with thick and almost impenetrable forests, and inhabited by aboriginal races, unknown in any degree to the Mahomedans, and perhaps in a very limited one to the Hindoos. The last Bahmuny campaign, in 1477, had established garrisons as far north on the sea-coast as Rajmundry; and southwards, as far as the Krishna river, the country had been conquered from Nursingah, or Nursing Rái, a powerful prince who held an independent kingdom or principality, bordering upon the Hindoo kingdoms of Beejanugger, and probably the Chôlas of Kanchy, or their successors of Tanjore. It is equally probable, however, that the tract from the Krishna south to Madras, and west to the mountains which border Mysore, was in the possession of Palligars, or small independent princes who ruled over semi-civilised aboriginal tribes, which had not escaped the influence of Hindooism, and probably professed a nominal allegiance, either to Beejanugger or one of the southern Hindoo kingdoms. The Mahomedan possessions, however, lay north of the Krishna only; for King Mahmood Shah Bahmuny's rapid march on Conjeveram, in 1479, had been productive of no accession of territory. To the west, the Krishna and Tumboodra continued the boundary, and while Beejapoor possessed the Raichore Dooáb, Golcondah followed the left bank of the river up to its confluence with the Bheema, and then stretched in an irregular line to the hills south-

John VI. emperor of the East.

Southern Mahomedan conquests.

Boundaries.

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west of Golcondah, which form the frontiers of the province of Beeder.

This area was therefore very considerable, and the country was highly productive. At a very early age—probably about the Christian era, or perhaps anterior to it—the Hindoos had commenced the works of irrigation on which the rice crops of the province depended: and up to the conquest of the Mahomedans, these useful works had been continued by the later Andhra dynasty of Wurungul, and the smaller native dynasties which were subject to it. Over this valuable tract, Koolly Kootub-ool-Moolk, a nobleman of the Bahmuny dynasty, was appointed governor by Mahmood Gáwan, the regent and minister; and was in attendance on the king in the camp at Peerkónda when he was executed. Kootub-ool-Moolk accompanied the king to Beeder after that event; but withdrew, like other great nobles, from court, to Golcondah, which had become the capital of the viceroyalty.

Hindoo works of irrigation.

Kootub-ool-Moolk was descended from the Baharloo tribe of Toorks or Turanians, and arrived in the Deccan with a body of his countrymen, who were taken into the royal service in the reign of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny. He had been well educated, and was employed as a secretary in one of the public departments for some years. In this capacity he volunteered on one occasion to go into Telingána, to adjust disputes with the Hindoo landholders; and having succeeded by peaceable negotiation in this duty, was ennobled, and became viceroy and governor of the province. He did not immediately follow the example of Yoosuf Adil Khan and Mullik Ahmed Bheiry, in declaring his independence in 1489: but remained loyal to Mahmood Shah, until the ascendency of Kassim Bereed became unendurable, and in 1512 was crowned as sooltan, under the title of Sooltan Koolly Kootub Shah, which was continued as the designation of his dynasty.

Origin of Kootub-ool-Moolk.

His services.

Koolly Kootub Shah declares independence, 1512.

Battle of Ravenna.

Ferishta's history of his reign is meagre; but his translator, Colonel Briggs, discovered and appended a history of the several reigns of the Golcondah kings, written by a local author, which is full of interesting details, and of particulars of the various conquests and annexations of Hindoo territory made by Sooltan Koolly during his long reign. Golcondah, previously an insignificant village, lying under a small hill-fort, was selected as the capital, on account of its central situation, and became a strongly fortified city. The king gradually extended his power over the whole of eastern Telingána to the sea. He captured Dewarcónda and other forts from the Rajah of Beejanugger, and established the river Krishna as his southern boundary; and the last account

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of the famous fort of Wurungul, appears in its capture by the sooltan. Koolly Kootub Shah did not enter into the quarrels which were maintained among the other kings of the Deccan. The only act of interference that can be traced to him is the dispatch of a contingent force to assist Ameer Bereed, in 1532–33, an act which drew upon him the retaliation of the King of Beejapoor in the siege of Kovilcóndah, in 1534; in the campaign connected with which, he received a wound in the face, which terribly disfigured him for the rest of his life. Towards the close of his reign, the king, content with the dominions he had gained, applied himself earnestly to the regulations of their civil government. He had attained the great age of nearly ninety years; and retained perfect enjoyment of his faculties, though he was infirm. Some years before, he had imprisoned his son Jumsheed for conspiracy—an act which the young man never forgave; and as the king was kneeling down to prayer in the mosque of the fort, on September 4, 1543, he was killed by the commandant, at the instigation of the prince, who, as had been previously arranged among the conspirators, succeeded him.

Sooltan Koolly Kootub Shah assassinated, 1543.

Sooltan Koolly Kootub Shah was in his ninetieth year, and had reigned as king forty-four years. Very little detail is given of the events of the reign of Jumsheed. He assisted Boorhan Nizam Shah in a war against Beejapoor, when he invested the fort of Etgeer, or Yatgeer, near the Bheema; but being obliged by Asud Khan, the Beejapoor general, to raise the siege, was pursued by him to his capital with great loss in men and camp-equipage. After this event, he withdrew himself from Deccan politics, and entered into minor wars with Hindoo chiefs, many of whom he reduced. Latterly, however, he fell ill, and became cruel and morose, and died in 1550, after a reign of nearly seven years, being succeeded by his son Soobhan, a boy of seven years; when the celebrated general Seif Khan, who was in exile at Ahmednugger, was recalled as regent. This arrangement was not, however, popular, and the nobles at court offered the crown to the late king's brother, Ibrahim, who had been residing at Beejanugger under the protection of Ramraj. In pursuance of this invitation, Ibrahim arrived at the capital, which he entered in state, and was crowned on July 27, 1550.

Jumsheed Kootub Shah succeeds, 1543.

Mary queen of Scotland.

Jumsheed Kootub Shah dies, 1550.

Is succeeded by his son Soobhan, who is deposed.

Ibrahim Kootub Shah crowned, 1550.

Pope Julius III.

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CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA, A.D. 1415 TO 1501.

Early trade with India by Egypt.

It is impossible to estimate the antiquity of the trade between India and Europe. From the dim ages of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchies it had continued to the Grecian, and Alexander's invasion gave it an enormous impetus. Through the Romans, and by the Emperor Justinian, who, in A.D. 531, introduced the culture of silk into Italy, down to the Venetians and the Genoese, the trade descended with unflagging increase and prosperity. The spices, the manufactures, the sugar, the silk, and the pearls and precious stones of India, were welcome and indispensable commodities in all European markets; and the manner of the quickest and safest route of transport became a question of the highest national importance. The channels of trade were many. Through Afghanistan and Central Asia, merchandise from Northern India went first to Kabool or Kandahar, and thence, by Balkh, Samacand, Astrakhan, and the Caspian, reached the Black Sea. A more southern line was through Persia to Damascus, or Alexandria; and, in a greater or less degree, the whole of the coast of Asia Minor and Syria served as an *entrepôt* for the Indo-European trade. From Central and Southern India, as well as from its eastern portion, the sea was the only means of communication, and was largely used; and long before the Christian era, the Hindoo (Aryan) ships of Bengal took its productions to Ceylon, and at the proper season stretched across to Africa and Egypt. The western coast of India, from north to south, seems, from the earliest times, to have been a busy scene of export in the north-east monsoon, and of import in the south-west. The Indian vessels leaving Cochin, Calicut, Goa, Dabul, Choule, or Guzerat, from November to January or February, with a fair wind, made safe and rapid voyages to the Persian Gulf, or to Aden, perhaps also to the coasts of Egypt; and discharging their cargoes at Berenice, Cossien, Mocha, or Jeddo, in the Red Sea, Busheir or Bassora, in the Persian Gulf, returned with equal certainty on the change of wind to the south-west. The emporiums for the southern trade were Alexandria, Smyrna, and other ports in the Mediterranean; and from these the Venetians first, and afterwards the Genoese, had almost a monopoly of the carrying trade to Europe. When Constantinople

Trade by land through Asia.

Trade by sea from the western coast.

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was taken by the Turks, in 1453, the special protection the Genoese had received from the Greek emperors ceased, and the Venetians enjoyed a renewal of their prosperity for a considerable period.

But other means of communication with India were, after many attempts, considered practicable. Prince Henry of Portugal, in 1415, before the birth of Columbus, had explored much of the west coast of Africa, and had indicated a route by which its southern point might be passed; and it was well argued, that once Africa could be crossed, there was nothing to prevent access to India. Subsequently Columbus discovered America, but not, as he had hoped, a passage westwards to India; and it was Alonzo V., and after him King John II., who followed up the course of previous West African exploration. Portugal was poor, and the expense of fitting out expeditions very considerable. King John, therefore, offered shares in the discoveries that might be made to several European courts, on the condition that they should assist him, or otherwise allow him the full benefit of his national exertions. None, however, felt sufficient confidence in King John's theories to venture ships and men in their elucidation, and he determined to pursue them himself. He obtained the sanction of the Pope to his proceedings: and sent an expedition, under Diego Cam, who explored the coast of Africa to latitude 22° south, whence he dispatched messengers to find out where the Venetians obtained their drugs and spices. One of them, Pedro de Covillam, succeeded in reaching India, but before his discoveries were known in Portugal, Bartholomew Diaz, who had followed Diego's track in 1486, found he had rounded the Cape while driven out to sea in a storm; for when he again made land, he found it trended north-east, lying on his left hand, while to the east all was open ocean. His crew now mutinied, and, to his infinite mortification, refused to enter upon the unknown sea. On his way homeward by the coast, he discovered the southern Cape of Africa, which he called the Cape of Storms, but which was afterwards named the Cape of Good Hope.

Portuguese enterprises.

Battle of Agincourt.

Efforts of King John II.

Portuguese expedition under Diego Cam.

Second attempt by Bartholomew Diaz.

No immediate result followed this remarkable voyage. The attention of the European world had been temporarily dazzled by the discovery by Columbus of the American continent, and it was not till after King's John's death that his successor Emmanuel determined to continue the discoveries of Diaz. An expedition of three small vessels, carrying 160 men, was fitted out under Vasco de Gama, already favourably known by his qualities as a seaman, and Diaz ac-

King Emmanuel sends an expedition under Vasco de Gama.

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companied him in a subordinate capacity. The ships sailed from the Tagus on May 8, 1497. Diaz quitted the expedition at Santa Maria: and Vasco de Gama, pursuing his voyage, rounded the Cape of Good Hope on November 20 of the same year. By Christmas he had discovered that part of the south-east coast which he named Tierra de Natál, and having stretched out to sea to avoid dangerous currents, he missed Sofala, then an emporium of trade with India, but reached Mozambique, a Mahomedan city, and then Melinda, a larger city than any hitherto met with. Ships from India were lying in the harbour, and there was every evidence of large trade in the Indian manufactures and commodities with which they were laden. Here he obtained the services of a Guzerat pilot, Mélémo Kana, as he is styled—most probably Maalim Khan—and sailed for India on April 22, 1498.

Vasco de Gama sails, 1497.

He reaches Melinda.

and thence sails for India.

The pilot proved an excellent navigator, and was familiar with the use of the Portuguese quadrant, and other nautical instruments; and on Friday, May 17, the high land of India was sighted, and on the 20th they cast anchor near the beautiful city of Calicut. Here De Gama sent ashore one of the criminals whom he had brought with him to be employed on desperate services, who, not being able to make himself understood, was taken by the people to the house of a Moor of Tunis, who spoke both Portuguese and Spanish. This man went off to De Gama's ship, and on approaching it cried out from his boat, 'Good luck, good luck! many rubies, many emeralds! Thou art bound to thank God for having brought thee where there are spices, and precious stones, and all the riches of the world.' This fortunate meeting with one who could speak their language filled the Portuguese with joy: and De Gama lost no time in reporting his arrival to the Zamorin, or sovereign of the country, who, being absent at a little distance, sent him a courteous invitation and welcome, and had his ships conveyed to a safe anchorage. On May 28 De Gama set out with twelve men to pay his respects to the prince, but not without many misgivings on the part of his crew. He was, however, honourably placed in a palankeen, and, attended by an immense concourse of people, finally reached the Zamorin's palace, at Poniany. The magnificence by which the Zamorin was surrounded, seems to have struck De Gama and his companions with amazement: and the public reception having been concluded, they were taken into a private apartment, where they detailed the object of their mission, which was favourably listened to. Next day the Portuguese presents were to be delivered, and were

Vasco de Gama reaches Calicut.

They meet with an interpreter.

The Zamorin welcomes the Portuguese.

The Portuguese presents.

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certainly in nowise calculated to impress the Zamorin with the importance or wealth of the European strangers. Four pieces of scarlet cloth, six hats, four branches of coral, six almasars, a parcel of brass, a box of sugar, two barrels of oil and one of honey, were selected from the stock; and, as may be supposed, these homely articles were laughed at, while the Moors, jealous of any interference with their trade and privileges, commenced an intrigue in the palace, in which they represented De Gama to be a pirate. The letters sent by the King of Portugal, one of which was fortunately written in Arabic, were, however, honourably received by the Zamorin, who gave permission to De Gama to open trade.

The Moors intrigue against the Portuguese.

The Portuguese narrative of subsequent proceedings is very interesting, as well exhibiting the meanness and intrigue of a small Hindoo court; and De Gama was delayed on one pretence or other till August 10. His two officers, Diego Diaz and Braga, had been detained by the Zamorin; but on their release, there was no further pretext for remaining, and he weighed anchor, followed by a fleet of forty ships, which had been assembled to capture him, taking with him four natives. The Portuguese guns kept the enemy's fleet at a distance, till a breeze springing up, De Gama escaped in safety, and in September 1499 reached home.

Vasco de Gama quits Calicut.

A new expedition was now organised, under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, consisting of 13 vessels and 1,200 men, which sailed on March 9, 1500. De Gama had for the present retired; but Bartholomew Diaz and his brother Diego accompanied Cabral. On the voyage out, Brazil was discovered; and between that country and the Cape, a violent storm overtook the fleet, in which Bartholomew Diaz's ship foundered with all on board. The remainder, on the recurrence of fine weather, had, it was found, doubled the Cape of Good Hope without knowing it; and the fleet soon afterwards anchored at Melinda, where, as before, Guzerat pilots were obtained, and under their guidance the Portuguese arrived at Calicut on September 13. Cabral was received with the same imposing ceremonies as his predecessor; but the Mahomedans of Calicut were, if possible, more hostile and intriguing. Nevertheless permission was given to establish a factory, whereupon disagreements increased, till the Mahomedans one day stormed the factory unawares, and killed Ayres Correa, the officer in charge of it. Cabral's retaliation was severe. He took ten large vessels belong to the Mahomedans, and after transferring their cargoes to his own ships, set them on

The expedition under Cabral.

Diaz drowned at sea.

The expedition reaches Calicut,

and is well received.

Hostility of the Mahomedans.

Cabral retaliates.

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fire. He then cannonaded the city, with destructive effect, and sailed to Cochin. Here the Portuguese were received with kindness, and underwent no difficulties in respect to loading their ships or trading with the people; and they received messengers from Cannanore and Quilon, belonging to the Hindoo kingdom of Travancore, offering them protection and trade on favourable terms. The Zamorin of Calicut, however, dispatched a fleet of twenty-five large and many smaller vessels, containing 15,000 men, to intercept Cabral, who, however, not remaining to return the hostages on board his vessels, set sail from Cochin, and got away from the enemy, to Cannanore, where, completing his cargoes, he sailed for Europe, and arrived on July 31, 1501.

And proceeds to Cochin.

His kind reception there, and trade.

Cabral returns to Portugal.

Before his arrival, three ships and a caravel had sailed under Juan de Nueva, who first touched at Anchidéva, an island near Goa, and thence proceeded to Cochin, where he found the rajah had behaved in a friendly manner to the Portuguese left in the factory. The Rajah of Cannanore also gave him pepper and other goods on credit; but the Zamorin of Calicut was still revengeful, and dispatched a large fleet against De Nueva. The Rajah of Cochin advised him to intrench himself on shore; but Juan de Nueva was a brave sailor, and as a hundred of the enemy's vessels came within shot, he handled them so severely, that they hung out a flag of truce, and presently departed. Had Cabral, with a much larger force, behaved in an equally spirited manner, the Zamorin's fleet might have been captured. De Nueva's conduct had, however, inspired respect, and he received an invitation from the Zamorin to visit Calicut, and enter upon negotiations. This he declined to do, fearing treachery; and having completed the cargoes of his ships, sailed for Europe.

Juan de Nueva's expedition.

Naval action with the Zamorin's fleet, which is defeated.

His return to Europe.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA (*continued*), A.D. 1501 TO 1527.

De Nueva's voyage home was prosperous; and the accounts given by him of the power of the native princes of India and the population of the country, convinced the king that if the enterprises to India were to be continued at all, they must be of a more formidable character. Small vessels, carrying limited crews, for mere trading, were a mark

The Portuguese determine to send larger expeditions to India.

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for the cupidity of small sovereigns like the Zamorin of Calicut, and were only tolerated by less powerful States and rulers such as Cochin and Cannanore. Of the greater powers in India, the Portuguese as yet appear to have gained no information; yet from the visits of European merchants to Beejanugger and Beeder, which seem to have been of ordinary occurrence, as 'Nazarenes' resided at Beeder, and traded as merchants in the reigns of the Bahmuny kings, the existence of some of the powerful monarchies must have been as well known to the Venetians and to the Genoese as they were to the Turks. The Christian merchants to India had apparently come, in Mahomedan or Hindoo vessels, to ports to the north of Calicut; but there is no record of any Christian settlement for trade, and it appears strange that the Nestorian Christians of Travancore and the south of India generally, should have remained undiscovered by the Portuguese till a much later period. The whole of the western trade of India, there is no doubt, had at this time fallen into the hands of Mahomedan merchants from Arabia and Southern Persia; and it is by no means impossible that they had extinguished the trade carried on by Christians and Hindoos, which had existed before the rise of Mahomedanism. It was now the great hope of the Portuguese to extinguish the Mahomedan trade in turn altogether, and to direct it into their own channel. The expedition of 1502, therefore, was composed of twenty ships, manned with a large proportion of soldiers. Cabral declined the command, and it was given to Vasco de Gama, who, with his brother Stephen, and Vincento Sodré, were to suppress the Mahomedan trade at all hazards. While Vasco de Gama himself should drive them from the coast of India, the two other captains should cruise through the Indian Ocean, and at the mouth of the Red Sea, cutting off all Moorish ships that appeared.

Early Christian merchants in the Deccan.

Mahomedan trade.

Expedition of 1502, under Vasco de Gama.

Its projects.

The fleet had assembled at Melinda, after establishing factories on the African coast, and now sailed across to the west coast of India. When near Cannanore, a large ship carrying pilgrims to Mecca, and the property of the Sooltan of Egypt, was captured, after a spirited resistance; and a scene of cruel massacre and piracy ensued, which would be hardly credible, but that it is related with every impress of truth and most minute detail by the Portuguese historian, Faria y Souza, whose account cannot be discredited. When the children of the captives were removed to the Portuguese vessels as slaves or converts, the crews of the captured vessels, with the passengers, were confined to the hold and the ship set on fire. The first attempt was not successful; but at the second, the whole, about

Wanton destruction of a Mahomedan pilgrim ship.

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300 persons, perished in the flames. Vasco de Gama then proceeded to Cannanore, where he was sumptuously received, and thence sailed to Calicut, to revenge himself upon the Zamorin.

The Portuguese are well received at Cannanore.

The Zamorin's conduct, as incited by his Mahomedan subjects, had been faithless and hostile, but not barbarously cruel. As De Gama sailed into the bay, he captured the crews of fishing craft and other small vessels, and then sent his demands to the Zamorin, declaring that if they were not settled instantly, he should execute all the natives he had taken. And he literally fulfilled his threat, hanging the prisoners at the yard-arm of his ships; and cutting off their hands and feet, sent them ashore, without further negotiation. He then cannonaded the town, destroying much of it, and set sail for Cochin. The Zamorin sent a message thither, imploring De Gama to come to him, when all would be settled, and De Gama went, taking only his own ship; but he had a narrow escape from a light fleet, by which he was intercepted, and nearly captured, and matters between the Portuguese and the Zamorin became worse than ever. De Gama did not, however, remain long in India, and sailed for Portugal on December 20, 1503; but, before that period, he had formed an alliance with the Rajahs of Cochin and Cannanore; and he left his deputy, Vincento Sodré, to protect Portuguese interests at both places.

Cruelty of Vasco de Gama.

The Zamorin's treachery.

De Gama returns to Portugal.

On De Gama's departure, the Zamorin took up arms against his subject, the Rajah of Cochin, and demanded the surrender of the Portuguese. The rajah, however, resisted gallantly, and defeated the force sent against him. Sodré was unwilling or unable to risk anything in the contest, and remained at sea with his squadron. Meanwhile, assistance was at hand from Portugal, for nine ships had sailed from Lisbon, in three divisions, under the command of Alonzo Albuquerque, his brother Francisco, and Antonia Saldanha. On their arrival, the Zamorin's combination was rendered impossible, and he was defeated and obliged to sue for peace; and Triumpára, the rajah of Cochin, being satisfied of the power and, to him, good faith of the Portuguese, gave them permission to build a fort, while a factory was established at Quilon. At this juncture, the brothers Albuquerque sailed for Europe, leaving Duarte Pachéco with a small force to defend Cochin: and the Zamorin conceived he had now the Portuguese in his power. It is probable that he obtained aid from the Rajah of Beejanugger, whose vassal he was; for he now advanced upon Cochin, with a fleet carrying 400 pieces of ordnance, and by land

Albuquerque arrives with reinforcements.

The Zamorin defeated.

Portuguese fort built at Quilon.

The Zamorin attacks Cochin.

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with an army of 50,000 men. Triumpára believed such a force to be invincible; but the gallant Pachéco bade him fear nothing, and with his handful of men and the rajah's troops, not only defeated the Zamorin in several bloody fights, but forced him eventually to retire with the loss of 18,000 men. These gallant operations were barely concluded, when Lopé Soarez arrived with a fleet of thirteen ships, the largest that had as yet been built in Portugal; and with them he sailed to Calicut, where the Zamorin agreed to all his demands, except the surrender of a Milanese, who was employed as an engineer in his service. Soarez resented this creditable refusal by again bombarding Calicut, and destroying much of the city; and on his passage from Cannanore, which had shared the same fate, he fell in with the Zamorin's fleet, and seventeen large Moorish vessels, all of which, after a smart action, he captured. These proceedings had afforded him a vast booty, and he sailed home, arriving on July 22, 1506, and leaving four ships to protect Cochin.

He is defeated by Pacheco.

Lopé Soarez arrives with thirteen ships.

Calicut is attacked.

The Zamorin's fleet captured.

In 1507 Don Francis Almeida, with the rank of Viceroy of India, arrived in command of a magnificent fleet of twenty-two ships and 1,500 trained soldiers. After building a fort at Anchidéva, near Goa, he sailed to Cochin, bearing a crown of gold and jewels which had been specially manufactured for Triumpára; but the old rajah had retired from the cares of government, and his nephew, the reigning prince, was invested with it in his stead. Almeida now gained intelligence of a formidable combination of native powers against the Portuguese. The Zamorin had not only drawn the court of Beejanugger, or Beejapoor—it is not very clear which—but the King of Guzerat, into an offensive and defensive alliance. The Mahomedans, who had so long enjoyed an exclusive western trade, found it to be very seriously interfered with, if not entirely intercepted; for the Portuguese squadrons cruised in the Indian Ocean, up to the mouth of the Red Sea, and intercepted most of the Moorish vessels. Through Mahmood Shah I., then king of Guzerat, the assistance of the Mameluke Sooltan of Egypt was invoked; and the Venetians, who took up the subject with ardour, furnished him with timber and artificers. By these means, in 1507, a fleet of twelve ships, under Ameer Hoosein, was sent to Guzerat from Suez in the Red Sea, and united with the fleet of Mahmood Shah, under his admiral, Mullik Eyáz. The combined fleets sailed southwards; and the Egyptian fleet being in advance, found the Portuguese

Madagascar discovered.

Don Francis Almeida first viceroy.

Combination of native powers against the Portuguese.

A Mahomedan fleet arrives from the Red Sea.

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at Choule, and immediately engaged it with an ardour and skill as yet unknown to the Portuguese. The Guzerat fleet followed, and the close of the action found the Portuguese so disabled, that they were obliged to retreat, losing their flag-ship, which carried Lorenzo Almeida and a crew of 100 men, of whom only nineteen escaped. The accounts given by Faria y Souza, and the Mahomedan historian, differ widely as to the loss in men; but they agree as to the flag-ship and the death of Lorenzo, and there is no doubt that the Portuguese on this occasion experienced a severe check.

Naval engagement near Choule.

The Portuguese severely defeated.

It might have been difficult indeed for them to hold the sea, but for the opportune arrival, in 1508, of thirteen ships and 1,300 soldiers, under Tristan d'Acunha, and another fleet of twelve ships, under Alfonso Albuquerque. These combined armaments attacked the Mahomedan positions in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea; and Muscat and Ormuz, the most important of all, fell in succession. Ormuz could not, however, be retained with the force at the admiral's disposal; and having received news of his appointment as viceroy, he crossed to the Indian coast. Almeida, however, who was bent on taking revenge for his defeat at Choule, would not resign his office; and proceeded in search of the combined Mahomedan fleets. They had sailed northwards, and being presently out of reach, Almeida attacked the fort of Dabul, then the property of the King of Ahmednugger, on the plea that it belonged to one who had joined the Zamorin's confederacy. This was not probable, perhaps; but it may be easily supposed that the admiral knew little of the divisions of Deccan kingdoms. After destroying Dabul by a cannonade, Almeida did not land his troops—he sailed northwards, and found the Mahomedan fleets at Diu. He at once attacked them, and the Egyptian admiral, in a chivalrous spirit, weighed anchor and engaged him. The result was a splendid victory to the Portuguese, and a complete satisfaction for the defeat of Choule; but it was stained by a savage act of Almeida, who put his prisoners to death. Of this engagement there is no trace in the history of Guzerat; but Faria y Souza's account of it is too circumstantial to be doubted. Almeida still refused to give up his authority, and actually imprisoned Albuquerque; but the arrival of a new fleet under Dom Fernando Coutinho, in 1510, obliged him to resign. Almeida perished in a quarrel with some Kaffirs on the African coast; and he had been told,

Arrival of Portuguese reinforcements under D'Acunha and Albuquerque.

Mahomedan positions captured.

Almeida destroys Dabul.

Naval engagement at Diu, and victory of the Portuguese.

Almeida's cruelty.

Arrival of a fleet under Coutinho.

Fate of Almeida.

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it is related, by an Indian astrologer, that he should not reach Portugal.

Albuquerque's first act was to attack Calicut. Coutinho led the assault; but, drawn on too far by his ardour, was killed, and Albuquerque himself severely wounded. For the present, therefore, the viceroy withdrew from Calicut, and proceeded towards Ormuz; but by the way turned against Goa, then in possession of Ibrahim Adil Shah, king of Beejapoor, which fell, almost without resistance. In 1511 Goa was retaken by Ismail Adil Shah's general, Kumál Khan; but Albuquerque had seen the beauty and value of its position, and determined to regain it, and soon afterwards, suddenly appearing before the city, carried it by assault. The Beejapoor troops defended the place bravely; but they could not withstand the ardour of the Europeans, who inflicted a loss upon them of 6,000 men. No attempt was made by the King of Beejapoor to retrieve his loss, and the Portuguese were allowed to retain this most valuable possession under a covenant not to increase their territories. Albuquerque now declared Goa to be the capital of the Portuguese dominions in India —a distinction it still preserves. From the capture of Goa till his death in 1573, the viceroy was actively employed against Malacca, Pegu, Aden, Ormuz, and Diu. Ormuz was attacked in 1514, and a fort built there, and the Portuguese power was fully recognised by the King of Persia.

Calicut attacked.

Goa captured.

Cuba conquered by the Spaniards.

Goa retaken by Ismail Adil Shah.

Goa recaptured by Albuquerque.

Goa becomes the Portuguese capital.

These glories did not, however, protect the viceroy from the intrigues of his enemies at court; and, instead of receiving the title of Duke of Goa, as he had hoped, he was superseded by his avowed enemy Soarez. He was ill when he received the news, and it hastened his death. On December 16, 1515, the great viceroy died, commending his son and a small property to his sovereign. 'In regard to the affairs of India,' he said with his last breath, 'they will speak for him and for me.' Albuquerque had literally fulfilled the object of his mission; he had made his nation master of the Indian seas, and he had carried its arms victoriously into the Eastern Archipelago, from whence, to Aden and Ormuz, there was none to dispute them. As nearly as possible all the Mahomedan trade with Western India had now been intercepted: and the European traders, instead of Genoa and Venice, now sought Indian drugs and manufactures at Lisbon. He had committed his sovereign to no territorial acquisition which would have cramped his proceedings: and when he took Goa, he restricted

Albuquerque superseded and dies of grief.

Francis I. king of France.

Effects of Albuquerque's proceedings.

Policy and character of the viceroy.

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himself to the city and fort, giving its dependencies to his native ally, Timoja, who governed them for him. Albuquerque was a brave and honourable gentleman; his acts have no stain of cruelty or deceit upon them, and he was respected, as much as feared, by his enemies.

His successors. His successors were men of a different stamp: less soldiers than merchants. Lopé Soarez made an unsuccessful attempt to take Aden; and Malacca was threatened, only to be saved by the spirit of its garrison. In 1517, however, Fernando Perez de Andrada reached Canton, and established the first European trading relations with the Chinese. Diego Lopez de Siquéra was a viceroy of much the same character as Soarez. He had a fleet of forty ships and 3,000 men. With these, in 1521, he sailed to Diu, and made the old demand in regard to a site for a fort; but meeting with a stern refusal from the old Guzerat admiral, abandoned the enterprise, and retired, but not unmolested, for Mullik Eyáz harassed his rear, took one of his vessels, and followed him to Choule, where he was again shamefully defeated. That the Portuguese were cowardly, began to be believed by the Kings of Guzerat and the Deccan; and in 1522, the King of Beejapoor attacked Goa, which he was however unable to take; but the Portuguese could not defend the territory of their native ally, Timoja, which was annexed to the Beejapoor dominions. It is true that this pusillanimity was redeemed by Hector di Silviera, in 1527; but a review of his proceedings will be better deferred to the history of Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, over whom a great victory was obtained.

First intercourse with Chinese.

Diego Lopez defeated by the Mahomedan admiral.

Rhodes taken by the Turks.

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BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE INVASION AND REIGN OF BABUR—INTRODUCTORY.

BEFORE entering on the details of the last Moghul invasion and its consequences, and the establishment of an imperial dynasty, in many respects differing very materially from its predecessors—a dynasty which, after attaining the utmost degree of splendour and power, was finally extinguished in misery and shame within the last few years—it seems an appropriate stage in this history to review, very briefly, the effects of the early Mahomedan rule upon India, and upon its people, up to the period referred to.

If this period be reckoned from the first invasion of Mahmood Shah of Ghuzny, in A.D. 1001, to the establishment of the Emperor Babur at Dehly, in 1526, it amounts to 525 years; but as the Mahomedan expeditions to India, up to the reign of Mahomed Ghoory—nearly 200 years later—may be considered more as military and predatory operations than affecting the government of the country, then only partially occupied by military posts, it becomes necessary to date the establishment of Mahomedan government from the reign of Kootub-ood-deen Eibuk, whose administration may be said to have commenced immediately after the battle of Narrain, in 1193; for, after that period, the various dynasties of the Mahomedan kings succeeded each other, as has been exhibited in detail, without interruption, down to the extinction of that of Lody, by Babur, in A.D. 1526. The period of actual administration, therefore, becomes reduced to 333 years. It was at first necessarily partial and circumscribed; but was gradually extended over the whole of India to the north, and as far as the Krishna river to the south, which as yet defined the extent of the Mahomedan possessions. South of the Krishna, as late as 1526, the country, up to this period, was exclusively Hindoo.

It is always difficult to realise the progress of time by mere numbers. If reduced to practical application, the figures 333 may

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serve to represent the period between the reigns of Henry VIII. and King John of England; or, as a later standard, between Henry VIII. and the present year, 1870, in the reign of Queen Victoria. The events of the intervening periods may be followed mentally, and the progress made estimated; and hence a deduction follows in regard to the time which has been needed to produce the changes that are evident. It is by no means so easy, however, to deal with the variations of a distant period, in a country entirely differing, in all respects, from any European standard; and while there is nothing on record among Hindoos, it is from the histories of the Mahomedans alone that the deficiency can be supplied; and from the details of their progress up to 1526, the conclusions to be arrived at are eminently unfavourable. This period has been shown to have been one continuous struggle for dominion, and, for the most part, for the suppression of Hindooism; and though the former had succeeded, the latter had made no progress whatever. It was in vain that millions, perhaps, of the Hindoos had been sacrificed under the fanatic zeal of an intolerant faith; equally vain that their temples had been destroyed, the idols they contained broken to pieces, and their holiest shrines desecrated. Hindooism yet remained, in every part of India, dear to the people, and its rites were practised in defiance of edicts, and of Mahomedan terrorism. There is hardly a reign of the early Mahomedan kings, in which expeditions for the express purpose of the extermination of idolatry and infidels are not chronicled with undisguised exultation by the Mahomedan historians; and the details of wholesale brutal massacres, or making slaves of tens of thousands of captives at a time, up to the period under notice are at once savage and repulsive. If here and there they are varied by the comparatively benevolent toleration of one monarch, he is almost invariably succeeded by another of the hereditary stamp.

Up to the period of 1526 there is no appearance of the Hindoos having enjoyed the continuance of their own peculiar laws; and indeed, under the tenets of the Mahomedan faith, and its practice, it would have been impossible for Mahomedan law officers to have administered, or even recognised them. It can only be assumed, therefore, that they were continued in secret, and were applied to questions of inheritance after a manner which avoided, or did not provoke, interference; and that their social ranks of caste protected them from disabilities which would otherwise have ensued. The Emperor Babur mentions in his Memoirs, that when he arrived in India, the officers of revenue, merchants, and workpeople were all Hindoos. In regard to the two last, the statement is no doubt literally correct. Mahomedan merchants, or dealers in money,

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were very rare, and with few exceptions Mahomedan artisans equally so; but his statement as regards the first classes must be received with reservation: and it is most probable that the employment of Hindoos extended only to the lower order of collectors of revenue, scribes and clerks—offices for which Mahomedans had neither qualifications nor tastes. In their dealings with the people, who spoke only vernacular languages, Hindoos were indeed indispensable, as interpreters and local managers; but, with very few exceptions, there is no trace of them having been admitted to public offices, or to any share in the government of their own people. Nor was it until after-times that their abilities were put to use, and they were allowed to rise in the imperial service to the rank to which they were entitled.

There was not only no progress in Hindoo literature or science, which before the Mahomedan invasion had attained great perfection, but what they possessed had grown obsolete from actual desuetude. Their trade had become impoverished, and that with foreign countries, except on the western coast, appears to have ceased altogether. Every Hindoo State, except a few of the Rajpoots in Rajpootana, had disappeared from the records of history; and while those that remained had as yet held their position only by their indomitable valour, they were tributary to the paramount power. In the whole of India there remained but one unconquered and independent, which was the kingdom of Beejanugger, and that was soon to follow the fate of the rest.

Had, however, these great national revolutions been attended with any corresponding benefit to the people? Had the Mahomedan Government introduced any civilizing influence of its own in furtherance of what had existed before? It is difficult to discover any whatever; nay, it is evident that in the destruction of the Hindoo nationality, the Mahomedans had supplied none of their own spirit or energy. They had not sought to raise the Hindoos to their own level, but to depress them as much as it was possible to effect; and they lay, as it were, at the feet of their conquerors, humbled and helpless, the sport of every succeeding tyrant, or breathing awhile in peace under the rule of a monarch comparatively merciful and considerate. In one point, however, the Mahomedans could make no impression upon the ancient Hindoo system, which would in any degree tend to their own benefit, and for the most part it underwent no interference. This was the independent government of villages by their local and hereditary corporations; and it was this system which secured to the Hindoo people, and perpetuated, the only freedom they retained.

The antiquity of village administration cannot be estimated;

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but that it descended from the Aryan period can hardly be doubted. As lands were occupied by communities, which supported themselves by agriculture, members of trades and handicrafts were necessary to the general wants, and to retain their services, became hereditary officers. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the potter, and others, were servants of the village, and were paid by dues levied on the produce at harvest. Over these was placed a chief authority or magistrate, and an accountant and registrar, whose offices also became hereditary. The head men, with the artificers and some others, formed the village council, which managed all local affairs, regulated the distribution of lands, settled local disputes, agreed with the officers of State for the revenues to be paid, collected them and transmitted them. Revolutions in general governments, of kingdoms or provinces, did not affect the constitution of these village republics: they were independent in the management of their own affairs; sometimes paying more, sometimes paying less, according to the rigour or mercy of the demand, but still preserving independence as far as social government was concerned. Nor did it much signify whether their government were Hindoo or Mahomedan. Over these communities the storms of dynastic revolution passed without effect; and as they were in 1526, so for the most part they remain, still practically free. The Mahomedans made no change in them; they must have seen that they could substitute nothing more simple or more efficient. A brutal monarch like Mahomed Toghluk might, for a time, impose cesses or taxes which rendered cultivation impossible, and when the villagers fled, might hunt them down like wild beasts; but even such misery had only a temporary result. When the storm passed over, the people resumed their old habits, and their old system, which, throughout India, might be modified by local existing circumstances, but was never wholly changed or eradicated. It was the only condition of freedom which remained to the Hindoos, and it was maintained. The Hindoo system had involved payment in kind—a fifth generally of the produce. This was changed by the Mahomedans into a commuted payment in coin, when coin became plentiful, and was probably of mutual advantage to both parties. It may also be stated, to the credit of the Mahomedan Governments, that their demands and assessments were seldom excessive or tyrannical, except when a poll-tax was imposed in addition to the demand upon the cultivation; and when this took place, it was attributable to the fanatic zeal which sought to abolish general idolatry by taxation of individuals.

It has been often said in praise of the Mahomedan period, that its monuments are unsurpassable in grandeur; and this is true to a

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certain extent, though that grandeur belongs to the period to come, rather than that which has been described. Up to 1526, architecture had made comparatively little progress, and their magnificent fortresses were only perfected after the introduction of artillery. Feroze Toghluk had constructed canals, and introduced from the south of India the system of irrigation; but his is a solitary instance of this public benevolence, and personally, in all respects, he was one of the most considerate of the early emperors of Dehly. Of the rest there are but few remains of any beauty or grandeur; even their mausoleums and palaces are insignificant in comparison with those which followed at Agra and Dehly, and in the Deccan; and it was in Guzerat and Malwah only, where the local monarchs applied the principle of Jain architecture to their public edifices, that up to this period, 1526, any remarkable buildings had been constructed.

In regard to education, the Mahomedans founded many colleges and schools at their capitals, and in some instances extended their school system into villages in connection with the endowments of mosques; but the languages taught in them, Persian and Arabic, were foreign to the people, and even to Mahomedans who became gradually part of the general population, and spoke vernacular languages. The range of acquirement was confined to religious works and a few elementary sciences, inferior to those of the Hindoos, and were unattainable by the people at large. It may be presumed that ordinary Hindoo village-schools were not interfered with, but they formed no part of the State system. It is recorded of many of the kings, that they patronised literature; that they themselves were authors and poets; but the learned men who assembled at their courts were not Indian; they came from Syria, Arabia, Persia, and even Spain; that is, from those countries to which the best era of Mahomedan literature belongs. Some local historians made records of their times; but the best of them, Ferishta, was a Persian, and belonged to a later period. Any progress in science which distinguished other Mahomedan countries did not appear in India. In poetry, and in novels and tales, there is an equal blank as regards native Mahomedans; for Ameer Khoosroo, and other Dehly authors, were foreigners. It has been already stated, that Hindoo literature was dead.

In the general improvement of the country no progress appears. Main tracks between the capital and the chief towns of provinces might be cleared of impediments and jungles; but it has not been discovered that any permanent road or causeway was ever attempted or executed. There were horse-posts, and post-houses in some instances; but these were for the use of Government

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servants and messengers, not for the people at large. In other respects, the communications through the country, whether by wheeled carriages or bullocks, remained as they were before the advent of the Mahomedans.

It will be admitted, perhaps, that such a system of government was capable of no enlightened progress, and was not fitted for initiating any. It had never attempted any centralizing influences of amelioration, and was one of brute force and conquest only, without other aim or consequence. In its turn, and without any principle of co-adhesion, it had fallen to pieces, as was its inevitable destiny; and it may be believed that in 1526, the inhabitants of Northern India regarded their deliverance from their gloomy and dissolute Afghan tyrants with a grim satisfaction, though they might not have much hope from their Moghul successors.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MOGHUL DYNASTY—THE REIGN OF BABUR, A.D. 1526 TO 1530.

BABUR was a lineal descendant of Teimoor, or Tamerlane, and the sixth in descent from him. His father, Oomur Sheikh Mirza, had first been placed in charge of Kabool, by his father, Abu Said; but he was removed to Ferghana, on the Juxartes, where Babur was born. His mother was a Moghul of the race of Ghengiz Khan; but Babur had no liking for the tribe, and indeed has recorded that he detested them. It is strange, therefore, that the dynasty he founded in India should ever have been termed Moghul; it was essentially Tartar; but the most recent invasions from the west having been by Moghuls, all Mahomedans had become known under that appellation, and the emperors themselves never seem to have desired to alter what was assigned to them by the people. It would be foreign to the scope of this work to follow the early fortunes of Babur. They are full of romance, and the student will find in the Autobiography of this prince, translated by Mr. Erskine, not only a fund of information in regard to transactions in Central Asia in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but a delightful record of his own tastes, feelings, and adventures, written with truth, and under a high sense of enjoyment of the beauties and pleasures of nature and of life, which is very charming. When he was only twelve years old, he lost his father, and became king of the family dominions; and at the age of fifteen, he had conquered for himself his

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ancestors' capital of Sarmacand. This he was too weak to retain—his conquest, and even his own dominions, alike passed away from him, and he was reduced to such straits of poverty, that his servants even abandoned him. When in his twenty-third year, Babur was driven out of Trans-Oxania, and this seems to have been the turning-point in his fortune; for in 1504, abandoning Central Asia, he had possessed himself of the kingdom of Kabool, where he reigned, in a constant state of chronic warfare with his neighbours, and of watchfulness to preserve his own possessions. In 1511 he had again taken Sarmacand; but, as before, could not retain it; and by a combination of Persians and Uzbeks, in 1514, he was deprived of all his dominions except Bactria. It was now that he turned his attention to India. The news of the distractions and repeated revolutions at Dehly reached him through Doulut Khan Lody, viceroy of the Punjâb, from time to time; and he conceived it a favourable opportunity for establishing the empire, to which, by his ancestor Teimoor's conquest, he had at least a better claim than any of the adventurers who had successively filled the throne. His first advance into India took place in 1519; but he had only reached Peshawur, when an invasion of Budukshán by the King of Kashgar obliged him to return. He had been unable to establish communication with Doulut Khan Lody; but he had written to the Emperor Ibrahim Lody, that the Punjâb should of right belong to him, and he requested its cession. In 1520 he again marched into India, but was obliged to return as suddenly as before, to repel an invasion from Kandahar. In 1524 Doulut Khan renewed his invitations, and Babur advanced as far as Lahore; but Doulut Khan had now turned against him, and in the uncertainty of his position, Babur returned to Kabool, having left governors in the districts he had occupied. Meanwhile the Prince Alla-ood-deen Lody, uncle to the King of Dehly, who had been residing at Kabool, made an attempt, under the assistance of Doulut Khan, to gain the throne of Dehly: but was defeated, and returned to his place of refuge. This seems to have encouraged Babur to make a final attempt. He crossed the Indus on December 15, 1525, at the head of only 10,000 chosen horse, and was met by Doulut Khan Lody and his son Ghazy Khan, at the head of 40,000 Dehly cavalry; but they declined an action, and reconciliation between Babur and Doulut Khan ensued soon afterwards. Invitations from many parties disaffected to the emperor now came in rapidly, and the sequel has already been related in Chapter XII., Book II.; the battle at Paniput, and the death of Ibrahim Lody in the action. Sending on his eldest son Hoomayoon to occupy Agra, Babur entered Dehly on May 10, 1526, and was proclaimed Emperor of India.

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Babur had probably been misinformed as to the true condition of the monarchy of Dehly; he may have considered that it extended over all India, whereas he found it to be confined to a narrow tract, north-west of Dehly, communicating with the Punjâb. All else, to the south and east, was in the possession of revolted chieftains, and must be reconquered. His army too was probably affected by this discovery, as much as by the heat of the weather: for it became discontented, and even among the nobles and courtiers of Dehly an expectation appears to have arisen that Babur, like his ancestor Teimoor, would be content with a ransom, and leave them to their usual intrigues and revolutions. Babur, however, was equal to the emergency. He had come to conquer India, and would do so. His appeal to his own army was successful; under his resolute demeanour, many who had revolted made submission, and in four months his son Hoomayoon had recovered Joonpoor, and with it much of Bengal and Behar.

While the power of the Dehly kings was on the decline, that of the Hindoos in Rajpootana was on the increase, and had become in a great measure consolidated under Sunga, rajah of Chittore. In 1519 he had defeated and taken prisoner Mahmood Khiljy, king of Malwah, and since then had very materially increased in power. So long as Babur was merely opposed to a King of Dehly, anything that would tend to weaken that monarchy was welcome to the Hindoo prince, and he had sent Babur friendly communications; but when he became emperor, the situation was changed. Rajah Sunga summoned to his aid all the choicest warriors of the Rajpoot tribes: and exciting them by an appeal to their former chivalrous deeds in defence of Hindooism and their country, received an enthusiastic response. Once overthrown, the Mahomedans could not again rise, and the national faith would be restored. War was now declared, Mahomedan outposts were driven into the fort of Byana, and the Hindoo army advanced towards Dehly, and was met by Babur near Sikry. His Memoirs afford ample evidence of the anxiety he suffered on this occasion. An astrologer from Kabool had foretold the defeat of his army; his best veteran troops were dismayed; his Indian horse either deserted to the enemy or left his camp. He became penitent before God, he says: forswore drinking, gave away his gold and silver cups, and vowed to let his beard grow; but he did more than this—he assembled his best officers, and appealed to their honour, and the glory they had already achieved in many a fight. Were men of Islam to quail before the infidels? The reply was a fervent shout of devotion. As he drew up his army before the action, he rode down the lines cheering the men, and giving his instructions, and saw with joy that their old spirit had

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not departed. The Rajpoots fought with a valour and desperation that astonished even Babur himself; but they sustained a bloody defeat, and fled. In the sequel, Rajpootana was reduced to order, and Mahomedan garrisons placed in strong positions; and this having been accomplished, Babur turned his arms towards Mahmood Lody, who, having assumed the title of sooltan, had declared independence, and advanced to Benares with 100,000 men. This great but incongruous levy was also defeated, and afterwards dispersed, Mahmood himself retiring beyond the Soane river. Babur was now in possession of the Dehly territory south of the Ganges. North Behar was still held by the King of Bengal; but he made little resistance, and was admitted to terms. Soon afterwards a body of Afghans, who had separated from the Bengal army, rallied under Bayezeed Khan, and had taken Lukhnow; but these also were pursued and dispersed, and at the conclusion of this glorious and memorable campaign, Babur returned to Agra. It had been his last effort.

At Agra Babur was joined by his son Hoomayoon, who had left his government of Badukshan without leave, but was nevertheless affectionately welcomed. It is very possible that he had received intimation of his father's indifferent state of health, and wished to be near him. He himself, however, fell ill, and so dangerously, that his life was despaired of. When Hoomayoon had been altogether given up by the physicians, his father, in accordance with a strange superstition of his country, and despite the entreaties of his courtiers, determined to give his own life for his son's, and take his son's illness on himself; he accordingly walked thrice round his bed praying. In a short time afterwards he was heard to exclaim, 'I have borne it away, I have borne it away!' and began to decline. But, as has been stated, his health had already been affected by the climate of India, and the immense personal exertions made in the last campaign: and an illness began, before which he gradually sank, and expired at Agra, on December 26, 1530, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Of all the varied acts of his romantic life, there was none which, for daring valour, resolution, and consummate ability, could compare with Babur's short but brilliant Indian career. In less than four years, he had not only founded the dynasty of a great empire, but had recovered most of the ancient possessions of Dehly. He had himself selected a place for his grave, by a sparkling stream, near Kabool, and he was buried there; while to this day the garden around his tomb is a favourite holiday resort of the people of that city. Mr. Elphinstone has recorded an eloquent tribute to the memory of this great man ('History,' Book VII.), and quoted

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from his Memoirs many curious and interesting passages; but the Memoirs themselves are hardly to be estimated from extracts, and should be read in their entirety, as the only means of understanding the great but simple wisdom, habitual generosity, and light-hearted cheerfulness, indomitable bravery and perseverance, wit, humour, and refreshing boon-companionship, of this most natural and extraordinary monarch.

CHAPTER III.

THE MOGHUL DYNASTY (*continued*)—THE FIRST REIGN OF HOOMAYOON, 1538 TO 1540.

On Hoomayoon's accession to the throne of Dehly, he had to make provision, agreeably with his father's dying request, for his own three brothers: Kamrán, Hindál, and Mirza Askari. Of these, Kamrán was employed as governor of Kabool and Kandahar; the others had as yet received no offices. Hoomayoon would have preferred retaining Kabool and Kandahar as an appanage to his Indian dominions; nay, very possibly, might have preferred them to India itself; but he had little choice in the matter. Kamrán was by no means disposed to give up the territory over which he ruled, and Hoomayoon had no means of compelling him to do so. He, therefore, made over Afghanistan to his brother, and with it, the whole of the Punjâb. In following this course, however, he very materially weakened his own position; four years had not sufficed for consolidating the power of the new Indian dynasty, and Hoomayoon was by no means possessed of the talent or of the prestige of his father. He depended entirely upon his army, which was in fine condition; but he had alienated from himself the provinces from which fresh supplies of men could be drawn, the Indian soldiery had already the reputation of being mercenary and unfaithful, and he had no trust in them. To his brother Hindál he allotted the government of Sumbhul, and to Mirza Askari that of Mewat in Northern Rajpootana.

The emperor's first campaign was directed against the Hindoos of Bundelkund, always turbulent and disaffected. Kalinjer, so many times the subject of contention, was again being besieged, when the Afghan chieftains of Bengal, Bayezeed and Bábun, again rebelled. This insurrection was speedily repressed, and the emperor proceeded to attack Chunar, then held by Shére Khan, another powerful Afghan feudatory. He however submitted, on condition of retaining his fort; and the emperor, in 1532, returned to Agra. At this period, the kingdom of Guzerat, as will be elsewhere related, had attained its greatest eminence. Bahadur Shah

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was its king, who, as related in Ch. III., Book III., had succeeded Mozuffer Shah in 1526. He had annexed Malwah and some Hindoo States to his dominions; and as far south as Ahmednugger the kings of the Deccan acknowledged him as a paramount power. Bahadur Shah was by no means disposed to acknowledge the new dynasty of Dehly. If he owed allegiance at all, it was to the house of Lody, which had afforded him honourable protection in his absence from Guzerat; none certainly to the house of Teimoor. Nevertheless Bahadur Shah might have been as little noticed by Hoomayoon as he had been by Babur, had he chosen to keep neutral; but he did not remain so. His first offence was the protection of Hoomayoon's brother-in-law, who, under an accusation of treason, had fled from Dehly; and while negotiations regarding him were in progress, Alla-ood-deen Lody, the uncle of the late Ibrahim Lody, whose unsuccessful attempt to possess himself of Dehly has been related in the last chapter, suddenly left Afghanistan, and claimed his assistance. Bahadur Shah dare not, perhaps, openly espouse his cause; but he gave him money, by which Alla-ood-deen was enabled to equip a considerable force, and dispatch it against Dehly, under the command of his son Tartar Khan. It was, however, defeated by the emperor in a general action fought near Byana, in which Tartar Khan was slain. Hoomayoon was not now to be restrained from following up his victory over the malcontents in an advance into Guzerat; and this was delayed on a serious point of honour peculiar to the times. Bahadur Shah was engaged in war with the Rajah of Chittore, and had invested that fort. Were he to be attacked in that position, it would not only be at a disadvantage, but as a corresponding relief to 'the Infidels.' Hoomayoon waited therefore for the fall of Chittore; and in November 1534 advanced upon Bahadur Shah's camp, which was entrenched at Mundesoor. He had placed great confidence in his guns, which were served by the Portuguese, who had enabled him to prevail at Chittore; but they were of no avail: Hoomayoon cut off the supplies, and on his final attack in March 1535, Bahadur fled precipitately to Mandoo, and thence, finding himself pursued by the emperor in person, to Cambay, and eventually to the Island of Diu. Bahadur did not attempt to defend his territories, of which the emperor took possession; but the fort of Champanair long held out, and was only taken by escalade, the emperor himself being one of the three hundred men who gained entrance by climbing its almost perpendicular side, by means of steel spikes driven into crevices in the rock, while the attention of the garrison was drawn off by a feint against the gate. Believing his occupation of Guzerat to have been secure, Hoomayoon left the province under charge of his brother

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Mirza Askari, the history of whose brief administration will be given in connection with the reign of Bahadur Shah, and marched for Bengal, about 1537, according to Mr. Elphinstone's computation of time, against Shére Khan, who had again rebelled, and on this occasion in a most formidable manner. The details of Shére Khan's progress will be more fitly given in the history of his career and reign than in this place. Hoomayoon, as he advanced eastwards, found Shére Khan was engaged in subduing Bengal: and he therefore laid siege to Chunar, which lay in the direct line of his advance, and of his communications. Chunar was taken—the pass of Chikragully, on the bank of the Ganges, was found unoccupied, and Hoomayoon's army debouched without opposition into the plains of Bengal. Gour was taken possession of almost without resistance, but still Shére Khan was at a distance. He had, however, followed a wise course. He had allowed the emperor to advance, as it were, into a decoy. The Ganges began to inundate the country, and the rains rendered it impassable. The emperor held his ground near Gour during the monsoon, but when the dry season enabled him to advance, he found that Shére Khan had thrown himself between Gour and the upper provinces, and was intercepting his communications. The advanced force of his army, on its return towards the upper provinces, was defeated near Mongyr, and before he could form any plans of his own, Shére Khan with his whole army had taken up a position across his very path. This campaign is one of the few of Indian occurrence in which military manœuvres were resorted to which can be followed with accuracy; and Shére Khan is entitled to high credit as a general, for the disposition and management of his forces. The emperor did not attack him at once, as he might have done with advantage, but allowed him, during a delay of nearly two months, to entrench his camp; out of which he sallied on the night of June 15, 1539, leaving enough force to mask his movements, and at daybreak the following morning assaulted the emperor in three divisions. The emperor's bridge of boats had not been finished, and escape was next to impossible—Shére Khan's attack was irresistible. Hoomayoon, as a last resource, plunged on horseback into the river, and would have been drowned with his horse, had not a water-carrier, floating on an inflated water-bag, rescued him. His army, including the best portion of his father's veterans, perished for the most part by the sword and in the inundations. The empress, who had been taken prisoner, was afterwards sent by Shére Khan to Agra, with every mark of respect.

Hoomayoon reached Agra safely, and found public affairs in great confusion. His defeat, and the loss of his army, had reduced his prestige. His brother Hindál had conspired against him, and

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Kamrán, who had arrived from Kabool, was hardly to be trusted. Eventually, however, they were all reconciled. They expected that Shére Khan would follow up his successes, and were prepared to meet him; but instead of doing so, he remained in Bengal, reducing the whole to order, and establishing his own government. Growing weary of delay, and seeing how greatly Shére Khan was improving his position, the emperor moved against him in April 1540; and near Kanouj, met Shére Khan, who had advanced to encounter him. Hoomayoon had constructed a bridge of boats across the Ganges, over which he was allowed to pass his army without molestation. No sooner had he done so, however, than he was attacked by Shére Khan on May 16, and sustained an irreparable defeat. His army was driven back upon the bridge and into the river, where it perished for the most part; and Hoomayoon, whose horse was wounded, would have perished also, but for a eunuch, who guided an elephant on which the emperor had mounted, into the river and swam it across. Here, too, escape would have been impossible, for the elephant could not mount the steep bank on the other side; but two soldiers, who saw what had happened, tied their turbans together, threw them to the emperor, and so drew him to the shore. He was now joined by his brothers Hindál and Askari, and rallying a few troops, they made the best of their way back to Agra, whence, collecting such treasures and valuables as they could, the brothers pursued their route to Lahore, expecting that Kamrán, who was there, would enable them to hold their ground. In this, however, the emperor was mistaken; for Kamrán made peace with Shére Khan, by the cession of the Punjâb, and retired to Kabool.

Hoomayoon now proceeded to Sinde, then in possession of Hoosein Arghoon; and endeavoured to excite him to action in his behalf. But he was coldly received, and in the end opposed by this prince, who forced him to leave Sinde; and in his extremity, the emperor determined to cross the desert, and threw himself upon the protection of Mal Déo, rajah of Joudpoor. The march was one of misery and privation, many of his followers perished from thirst; and when the unfortunate monarch reached Joudpoor, he found the rajah hostile to him, and was obliged once more to resume his wanderings in the desert between that city and the Indus. It was a tract of burning sand, with hardly a break, unrelieved by the shade of a single tree, and almost destitute of water. Wherever there was any in the deep wells, a few houses had been built, generally fortified, and defended by a bold race of hereditary robbers and marauders. These people guarded their water with the utmost jealousy, resisted the attempts of the emperor's escort to obtain it, and after sharp skirmishes in many

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places, the unhappy fugitives were frequently driven off, and, already exhausted, had to struggle, as best they could, to another halting-place further on. In addition to the men, the horses, and a few camels, there was a crowd of helpless women, including the empress, then far advanced in pregnancy, and her attendants. After many weary marches, attended with the loss of numbers of their company by exhaustion, thirst, and fighting, they found themselves pursued by a body of the Joudpoor cavalry, from whom escape was impossible; but they were not attacked, and it seemed the intention of their pursuers that they should perish in the waste; for parties of horse preceded them, cutting off all access to water and provisions. Yet the emperor and his devoted followers struggled on, until, in final despair, they prepared themselves for death. At this juncture, their pursuers appear to have been actuated by pity for their sufferings; for the son of the rajah advanced with a flag of truce, and after upbraiding the emperor for a wanton invasion, as it was considered, of the country, and the slaughter of cattle, provided him with water and a few coarse provisions, and suffered him to depart. Amerkote, upon which place his final hope of deliverance rested, was, however, still far distant, and the horrors of the preceding part of this sad march were almost exceeded before it was concluded; but finally the emperor, with but seven followers, arrived at the fortress, and obtained from its rajah, Ráná Persád, the hospitality and rest he so deeply needed. Here too was born, on October 14, 1542, the Prince Akbur, destined to become one of the most glorious monarchs that India ever possessed.

From Amerkote, with the assistance of its rajah, Hoomayoon made a fresh attempt to obtain a footing in Sinde. He was joined by other Hindoo princes, and found himself at the head of 15,000 horse; but he made no progress against Hoosein Arghoon; and Ráná Persád, affronted by the conduct of some Moghuls, suddenly left Hoomayoon's camp, his example being followed by most of the others. The contest with Hoosein Arghoon did not last long after this. Glad to be rid of the emperor on any terms, he assisted him to proceed to Kandahar, and on July 9, 1543, Hoomayoon proceeded thither, all hope of re-establishing himself in India being for the present abandoned.

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CHAPTER IV.

OF THE AFGHAN DYNASTY OF SOOR, 1540 TO 1545.

AFTER the flight of the Emperor Hoomayoon from India, his successful rival, Shére Shah Soor, succeeded him; and established the seventh Afghan dynasty. Shére Shah was descended from a family of purely military adventurers. His grandfather, Ibrahim Khan Soor, a member of the Afghan tribe of that name, belonged to the town of Róh, in the province of Peshawur; and on the accession of King Bheilole Lody, came to Dehly in search of employment. The Soor family claimed descent from the princes of Ghoor, one of whom, Mahomed Soor, settled among the Afghans of Róh, married the daughter of a chieftain, and transmitted his name to his posterity. The Soor tribe were thus distinguished as illustrious from the other Afghans of the country. Ibrahim Soor did not enter the royal service of Dehly; he was employed by Jumál Khan, a nobleman of distinction, who, being afterwards appointed governor of Joonpoor, in Bengal, took Hussun, the son of Ibrahim Soor, with him, conferred upon him the command of 500 horse, and granted estates for their maintenance. This person had eight sons, the two elder of whom, Fureed and Nizam, were legitimate; but they seem to have been neglected and ill-treated, and Fureed left his father, and entered the service of Jumál Khan, as a private soldier. His father wrote for him to be sent back 'for his education;' but the young man could not be persuaded to return home, and applied himself diligently to study.

After the lapse of several years, Hussun Soor visited Jumál Khan at Joonpoor, and being reconciled to his son Fureed, now made over to him the management of the family estate, which he conducted with great success: but he was eventually displaced by his father, at the instance of a favourite concubine, in favour of one of her sons, Sooliman. Fureed then left Bengal, and proceeded to Agra, where he took service with Doulut Khan Lody, a relative of the king, Ibrahim Lody, who endeavoured to interest the king in favour of his *protégé*; but failing in this, Fureed made no other effort to disturb his father's arrangements, and on his death was recognised as his heir, and received the royal confirmation of the family estates. He was not opposed by Sooliman, who retired to the court of Mahomed Khan Soor, a distant relative, now governor of Joonpoor, who seems to have endeavoured to make an arrangement between the brothers, and was preparing to

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enforce his award, when Ibrahim Lody, the king, fell in battle, and was succeeded by the Emperor Babur.

Fureed Soor would have been unable to resist the combination against him, but for the protection of Mahomed Shah Lohany, who had assumed independence in Behar. On one occasion, during a hunting party, Fureed slew a tiger with a single blow of his sabre, and received on the spot the title of Shére Khan, by which he was ever afterwards distinguished, and was also appointed tutor to the king's son. This did not, however, preserve him from the efforts of the family combination against him; and eventually Mahomed Khan Soor, taking advantage of his temporary absence, sent a force into the district, and placed Sooliman and his brother Ahmed in possession of the family estate. Shére Khan took refuge with the governor of Kuna, and obtained from him a body of troops to recover his territories, in the name of the new Emperor Babur. In this he was perfectly successful; and he recovered also other districts in the emperor's name, besides his own, obliging Mahomed Khan Soor to fly. Shére Khan thus became locally very powerful; but he recalled Mahomed Khan Soor, and generously put him in re-possession of his estate, thus converting his greatest foe into his warmest friend. Shére Khan had doubtless thus early perceived the necessity of strengthening the Afghan party in Bengal to the utmost of his power. Having thus settled his Bengal affairs, Shére Khan returned to Kuna, and accompanied his friend the governor on a visit to the Emperor Babur's camp.

Here he seems to have first conceived the possibility of recovering the throne of Dehly for the Afghan race. He said to a friend one day, 'that he thought it would be no difficult matter to drive those foreigners, the Moghuls, out of the country. If the Afghans, who were now at enmity among themselves, could be brought to unite, the work might be effected; and should fortune ever favour him, he imagined himself equal to the task.' Ferishta gives also a characteristic anecdote of Shére Khan. He was seated one day at dinner in the emperor's tent, when solid dishes of meat were before him, and he had only a spoon. His call for a knife was not attended to, and drawing his dagger, he cut up what he needed, and made a hearty meal. The emperor, who had been watching his guest, turned to the steward of the household and said, 'This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles, he may come to be a great man yet.' Shére Khan was perhaps sensible of the imprudence of his conduct, for he left the emperor's camp suddenly, on pretence that his estate had been attacked, and proceeded to King Mahomed Khan Lohany, with whom he became an especial favourite; and it is evident that the

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manner and society of his own countrymen, the Afghans, were more acceptable to him than those of the court of the Moghul emperor.

Not long afterwards, King Mahomed Shah Lohany died, leaving a son—a minor; and his wife, the Sooltana Ladoo, as regent. Shére Khan acted as her minister; and, on the lady's death, succeeded to the chief power in the State, which was increased by a decisive victory obtained over the forces of the King of Bengal. It would appear as though it were impossible for any Afghan to endure the success or prosperity of another, and this national failing had proved the ruin of their several royal dynasties. Although Shére Khan's government of the Joonpoor State had been singularly beneficial and successful, his countrymen urged the young king, Julal Khan, to fly to the King of Bengal, already smarting under Shére Khan's defeat, and secure his aid in driving the minister from his position. Shére Khan could only protest his fidelity; but this had no effect, for the young king threw himself upon the protection of Mahmood Shah Poorby of Bengal, who, believing his statements, dispatched a large army against Shére Khan. This, however, like the former, was utterly routed, with the loss of its guns and elephants, by Shére Khan in person; and the young king, who had been present with it, again fled to Bengal, and made no further attempt to recover his kingdom.

This event materially increased Shére Khan's reputation, and also his actual power. He had now no rival in Behar, and by his marriage with Ladoo Mullika, the beautiful widow of Taj Khan, late governor of the fort of Chunar, secured that strong fort and its dependencies; while, about the same time, the successes of Mahomed Shah Lody against the Moghuls had secured Joonpoor and its dependencies, as far as Manukpoor, to the Afghans. This powerful Afghan confederacy did not, as has been already related in the life of the Emperor Hoomayoon, escape notice; and Hoomayoon marched against them from Kalinjer, which he was besieging. Whether from pique against Mahomed Shah Lody, or from a conviction that the proper time had not yet arrived, Shére Khan withdrew his forces from his ally, and an easy victory over him was obtained by the Moghuls. The Emperor Hoomayoon, who had supposed Shére Khan to be in his interest, now sent an officer—Hindoo Beg—to request the surrender of Chunar. This, however, being refused, the emperor proceeded in person to attack it, when Shére Khan protested his loyalty, and offered to send his son with 500 horse to serve in the royal army. These terms were accepted; Chunar was secured by a royal grant, and while the emperor was employed against Guzerat, Shére Khan, joined by his son from the emperor's camp, reduced

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the whole of Behar, and afterwards Bengal. Shére Khan had now completely thrown off the mask; and on the emperor's return from Guzerat, he besieged Chunar, which was taken, after a defence of six months, forced the pass of Gurhy, and entered Bengal. Shére Khan was, however, in nowise dismayed. As Chunar had been captured, what he most needed was a safe place for his family, and where his treasure could be protected; and he proposed to Hurree Krishn, a Hindoo chief who held possession of the impregnable fort of Rhotas, to admit him. The Hindoo, trusting to possess himself of Shére Khan's valuables, gave a ready assent. But Shére Khan had determined upon ejecting the Hindoo, and establishing a garrison of his own in the place. This was accomplished by sending a number of armed men in covered litters into the fort, as had been done in the case of the capture of Aseergurh by the King of Khandésh; and, after a short struggle, Hurree Krishn fled. Shére Khan, who was not far off, now took possession of Rhotas, established a strong garrison in it, and was free to prosecute the campaign against the emperor, now engaged at Gour, in Bengal. He, therefore, took up a position which he knew the royal army must pass on its way back to Agra, where the rebellion of Hindál Mirza had rendered the emperor's presence indispensable; and the emperor's entire defeat has been already recorded. Shére Khan might have pursued the emperor with success, but 5,000 Moghul horse had been left in Gour, and this force was attacked without delay, and eventually routed, with the loss of its general.

Shére Khan, king of Bengal, 1540.

Shére Khan now considered it a fitting period to assume the title of king, and he was crowned in 1539: and in the next year, marched to meet the Emperor Hoomayoon, who was advancing from Agra at the head of 100,000 men. The engagement which ensued, and which decided the fate of the empire of India for the time, has been already related in the first reign of Hoomayoon. The emperor was pursued to Agra, and through the Punjâb, by Shére Khan; who, having laid the foundations of a new Rhotas, and appointed his faithful and able general, Khowas Khan, as viceroy of the province, returned to Agra. Here he heard of a new attempt to create a kingdom in Bengal by Khizr Khan, whom he had left as viceroy, and he proceeded thither, suppressed the rebellion, and divided the territory into provinces. In 1542 the emperor, as he was now styled, took the field on a campaign against the always rebellious Hindoo States of Central India. Gwalior was taken, as also Runtunbhore; and on his return to Agra, Shére Khan applied himself diligently to the civil administration of the kingdom. In 1543 he again took up arms against the Hindoos. Raiseen was invested, and after a gallant defence, the garrison surrendered on

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condition of retaining their arms and property. One of the holy men attached to the emperor, however, decided that no faith could be kept with infidels, and Shére Khan directed the Hindoos to be attacked. None escaped this massacre, which appears to have been revolting even to the Mahomedans employed in it, and whose loss was very severe. After a brief rest, Marwar was invaded from Agra: and the emperor, finding how resolutely he was opposed by the Rajpoots, contrived, by means of a forged letter, to excite dissension and mutual suspicion among them. But while Mal Déo, prince of the country, retreated, Koonbha, one of his chieftains, discovered the deception; and being unable to 'convince Mal Déo of his error,' determined to subdue Shére Shah with his own tribe, or in any case to remove the stain upon their reputation. Shére Shah had 80,000 men in the field, Koonbha only 12,000; yet such was the fury of the Rajpoots' attack, that the emperor would have been defeated, but for the opportune arrival of a reinforcement, at the head of which he charged the Rajpoots, broke them, and slew the greater part of them. In allusion to the poverty of the country, and the bravery of its people, 'he had nearly,' he said, 'lost the empire of India for a handful of millet.' Chittore surrendered, and the emperer advanced to Runtunbhore, where he established his son Adil Khan. The Rajah of Kalinjer was next summoned, but he had heard of the emperor's treachery to the garrison of Raiseen, and refused to surrender. His fort, too, was one of the very strongest in India. The emperor invested it, and the siege had made much progress, when a shell burst in the battery, where the emperor was standing, blew up the magazine, and with it himself and many of his officers. He survived, however, till the evening, though in great agony; and when he heard that the fort had been taken by assault, he cried out, 'Thanks be to Almighty God!' and expired. This event occurred on May 22, 1545.

Shére Shah dies, 1545.

The emperor had reigned about five years, and had, notwithstanding his wars, done more for his country than most of his predecessors. He had built caravanserais, and dug wells—one at every two miles—from Soonargaum, in Bengal, to the Indus. He had erected mosques on the highways, and travellers were entertained at every stage at the public expense. Fruit-trees were planted along the lines of road, and horse-posts established for the public convenience. It is impossible to say what reforms might not have followed in the general administration, but for the emperor's death, in, as it may be said, the prime of his life. He had thoroughly effected what he had believed and declared to be possible—the expulsion of the Moghuls—and he had no rival in Northern India.

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In comparison with most of the Afghan monarchs of India, the character of Shére Shah takes a high rank; nor is there any stain of the national cruelty attached to it, except in the instance of the massacre of the brave garrison of Raiseen. Shére Shah's subjects in Bengal were for by far the most part Hindoos. Yet he had governed them without any display of bigotry, which renders the event at Raiseen the more inexplicable. Stratagem, however, was a national characteristic, and was exhibited in a remarkable manner in the capture of the stronghold of Rhotas. As a general, Shére Khan takes a very high rank among Indian commanders. His military operations against the Emperor Hoomayoon, on both occasions of invasion of Bengal, were directed by great skill in strategy; and the combination of his comparatively weak forces against the flower of the Moghul army, hitherto unchecked, and the personal bravery by which they were directed, met with deserved success. There is no instance in the attainment of empire by military adventurers in India, which can be compared with that of Shére Shah Soor. From a private soldier, he had raised himself, in comparatively few years, to the rank in which he died, and that too without any of those crimes of murder or assassination which were the characteristics of his predecessors; and from his antecedents, had his life been spared, there is every reason to think that India might have enjoyed the effects of a firm and beneficent reign. Shére Shah's remains were carried to Sasseram, his family estate in Behar, and interred in the noble mausoleum there, which is still perfect. Surrounded by a reservoir of water, a mile in circumference, it is one of the noblest specimens of Afghan architecture in Bengal.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE DYNASTY OF SOOR (*concluded*), 1545 TO 1555.

SHÉRE SHAH SOOR left two sons—Adil Khan and Julal Khan—and had appointed the elder to be his successor; but the officers of the army, with whom Julal Khan was most popular, elected him to be emperor, and he was crowned in the fortress of Kalinjer, on May 25, 1545, three days after his father's death, under the title of Islam Shah, or more familiarly, Sulim Shah, by which he is best known. He wrote, however, to his brother, Adil Khan, then at Runtunbhore, to meet him at Agra, declaring that he had only taken up the authority as emperor till he should arrive; but near Agra he was met by Khowas Khan, the commander of all the forces, who had hastened from the Punjâb

Sulim Shah Soor emperor 1545.

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on receiving news of Shére Shah's death, and who again caused him to be solemnly crowned, amidst the rejoicings of the army and the people. Sulim then renewed his invitation to his brother, and at his request deputed four officers whom he had named to escort him. The brothers met in a hunting-party near Futtehpoor Sikry, with much apparently real affection, and returned together to Agra, where Sulim attempted to seat his brother on the throne: but Adil Khan, by nature timid and indolent, well knowing also how little he had to expect from the nobles of the court, declined the honour, and leading forward Sulim Shah, placed him on the royal seat and saluted him, at the same time publicly disclaiming his birthright. He only stipulated for an estate; and being offered his choice, selected Byana, in Rajpootana. It would seem that the emperor would, on that occasion, have seized and imprisoned his brother, but for Adil Khan's conduct; but his suspicions remained, and two months afterwards he despatched a eunuch, with a pair of golden fetters, to bring Adil Khan to Agra. Of this intention Adil Khan had received intelligence, and he fled to Khowas Khan, in whom, as his father's most trusted friend, and a party to the settlement made at Agra, he had most reliance. Khowas Khan, shocked by Sulim Shah's perfidy, at once rebelled; and, aided by a number of the officers of the army, marched upon Agra. Sulim Shah was by no means prepared for such vigorous proceedings, and would have fled to Chunar; but being encouraged to try the event of a battle, marched out his troops, and attacked Khowas Khan, who was defeated. The Prince Adil Khan now fled to Patna; but disappeared soon afterwards, and was never traced. The insurgent chiefs protracted their rebellion, and retired to the Punjâb, where they were finally easily defeated at Umballa. Khowas Khan had, however, withdrawn from them on the eve of the action; and had he thrown himself on the emperor's mercy, would in all probability have been pardoned: instead of which, he wandered from place to place, till, in the year 1550, he was put to death by Taj Khan, the governor of Sumbhul, with whom he was residing. His remains were taken to Dehly and interred there, and such was the veneration in which his character had been held, that Ferishta informs us his tomb was considered sacred, and prayers were offered there, as to a saint, by all classes of suppliants.

Sulim Shah Soor lived till 1553, when he died of a painful disorder which had long afflicted him. He had reigned about nine years. Like his father, in whose campaigns he had always taken an active part, he was a brave soldier, and in other respects followed his example in time of peace. He built intermediate post-houses between those of his father, on the road from Bengal to the Indus, and maintained an

Sulim Shah Soor dies, 1553.

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excellent police. In his general conduct he was spirited and energetic; and it is related of him, that when having leeches applied to him, he received news that the King of Kabool had crossed the Indus; he immediately started from his bed, ordered out his army, and had marched six miles before evening. As the gun-bullocks were at a distance grazing, he caused the field-artillery to be dragged by men as far as Lahore. This alarm, however, proved to be unfounded, and the emperor retired to Gwalior, where he died. It is remarkable that Mahmood Shah, king of Guzerat, and Boorhan Nizam Shah, of Ahmednugger, died in the same year.

Sulim Shah Soor had married his cousin Beebee Bye, the daughter of Nizam Khan Soor, and had by her one son, the Prince Feroze, who, at his father's death, was twelve years old. Ferishta relates that the emperor had frequently warned his wife of her brother, Mobariz Khan; and asked her, if she wished to preserve her child, to consent to his execution, 'for she might rely upon his putting his nephew to death.' Beebee Bye, would not, however, consent. The event proved that the emperor's suspicion was not without foundation; for, on the third day after his death, Mobariz Khan entered the females' apartments, and tearing the young prince from the arms of his mother, slew him with his own hand. He then caused himself to be crowned under the title of Mahomed Shah Soor, to which the appellation of Adily was added commonly, and by which he is distinguished.

Mahomed Shah Soor Adily succeeds, 1553.

Mahomed Shah was a profligate libertine, addicted to the lowest company. He could neither read nor write, and he began to confer the highest dignities of the State upon his low-born companions. He selected Hémoo, originally a Hindoo shopkeeper, and a man of much spirit and cleverness, who had been made superintendent of the markets by the late emperor, to be his minister, which gave dire offence to the proud Afghans of the court. Hémoo, however, did good service to his master, and was faithful to him to the last. It is impossible to conceive a court more profligate or disgraceful than that of Mahomed Shah Soor, who flung away his treasures, even in the streets, shooting golden arrows among the populace for his amusement. Brawls among the rough Afghan chiefs, even in the royal presence, were common; and one of them resulted in a rebellion which obliged the emperor to take the field for its suppression. Ibrahim Khan Soor, his brother-in-law, was also a cause of anxiety. An attempt to seize him drove that person into rebellion, in which he was very successful. He seized Dehly, and declared himself king, and proceeding to Agra, reduced the country about that city to some distance. During

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these proceedings, Mahomed Shah Adily was at Chunar, and from thence made a feeble attempt to suppress the usurpation. He found, however, that Ibrahim Khan was too strongly supported: and returning to Chunar, contented himself with the sovereignty of the eastern provinces. The empire was thus, for the present, divided into two portions. Meanwhile another strange revolution was in progress. Ahmed Khan, another nephew of the late Shére Shah, and brother-in-law of Mahomed Shah Adily, was in the Punjâb; and with the aid of some chiefs and nobles there, assumed the title of Sikunder Shah Soor, with royal state, and marched upon Agra at the head of 12,000 cavalry. Ibrahim Khan opposed him with a magnificent army of 70,000 cavalry, splendidly equipped: 200 of its officers possessed tents lined with velvet, and the gorgeous tent-equipage of the king himself had never been equalled. Before this imposing host Sikunder Shah's resolution failed for a time, and he made overtures for peace; but these were rejected, and he was attacked with impetuosity by Ibrahim's whole army. Part of his own was at once broken, but with a reserve he charged his adversary at a judicious moment, and completely defeated him. Ibrahim Khan fled, and the conqueror took possession of the capital; but he was not long able to enjoy his good fortune; the Emperor Hoomayoon was returning to India, and was to be opposed at all hazards.

Having been defeated by Sikunder, Ibrahim Khan fled to Kalpy. Here he was met by Hémoo, on the part of Mahomed Shah Adily, with a fine army, which had been collected at Chunar, to reconquer the western provinces. With this, Hémoo defeated Ibrahim Khan, and pursued him to Byana, which he besieged. But Mahomed Shah Soor of Bengal now appeared in the field against Mahomed Shah Adily, and Hémoo was recalled; when Ibrahim Khan fell upon his rear during the march, and was badly defeated. Ibrahim afterwards became chief of the Afghans of Meeana; but he continued restless till the end of his life, and was executed at Orissa, by one of the Emperor Akbur's generals, in 1567. After his recal from Byana, Hémoo followed Mahomed Shah Soor into Bundelkund: and, in an action which ensued at the village of Chuppurgutta, the Bengal king was defeated and slain. Hémoo was dispatched to Agra to oppose the Emperor Hoomayoon, and recovered both Agra and Dehly from the Moghuls; but he was finally defeated by Beiram Khan, the general of the Emperor Akbur, and executed, as will be hereafter related. He had been the main stay of Mahomed Shah Adily: and after his death the fortunes of that king declined, and he was eventually killed in a battle with the son of Mahomed Shah Poorby, of Bengal.

The reign of Sikunder Shah proved to be a very brief one.

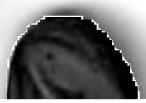
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He had been promised support by the Afghan chiefs; but no sooner had they placed him on the throne of Dehly (1554), than they fell to quarrelling among themselves for honours and estates; and, as Ferishta writes, 'the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever.' No one, in fact, seems to have been able to control these fiery and unstable Afghan chiefs but a man like Shére Shah Soor, with an indomitable will and iron hand; and Sikunder Shah, though a brave soldier, had neither. The army he sent to oppose Hoomayoon was defeated; and leading a second himself, he was beaten near Sirhind by Beiram Khan and the young Prince Akbur. Sikunder fled into the mountains, and continued a desultory contest against the Moghuls, which will be noticed in its proper place, until he was suffered to return to Bengal, where he reigned for some years; but the date of his death is not mentioned. With him the troubled reigns of the Soor dynasty ceased, and the family itself most probably became extinct, as it never afterwards rose to notice. The Emperor Hoomayoon had entered India in triumph: and it may well be supposed that the people, again weary of the rude and faithless Patáns, so long alike untrue to them and to each other, were content to expect better times from a new foreign dynasty, or to witness, with apathy, a fresh contest for superiority.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND REIGN OF HOOMAYOON, AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGHUL DYNASTY, 1555 TO 1556.

THE circumstances connected with the Emperor Hoomayoon's expulsion from India have been already narrated in Chap. III. of this Book, and it is unnecessary to make further reference to them. He proceeded from Sinde to the Persian court of King Thamasp, and was hospitably received; but was perhaps at one time in some danger, owing to a desire on the part of King Thamasp to induce or compel his guest to adopt the Sheea doctrines, which he himself professed, and to introduce them into India, should he become repossessed of his authority there. In spite, however, of some eccentricity on the part of the Persian king, he eventually rendered Hoomayoon material assistance in furnishing 14,000 horse, under the command of his son, to aid the emperor's designs; while, on the other hand, the equivalent given was the cession of the province of Kandahar, if it could be recovered from the Prince Kamrán, who now reigned at Kabool. With his Persian



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allies, Hoomayoon appeared before Kandahar, in March 1545. The place was held by Mirza Askary, on the part of Kamrán, and made a brave resistance for six months: when, from want of provisions, it was surrendered, and the Persian prince put in possession of it. So far Hoomayoon had performed his promises; but there seemed little hope of further co-operation on the part of his allies, and Hoomayoon marched towards Kabool, intending to treat with his brother Kamrán. By the way, however, news of the death of the Persian prince reached him, and he returned to Kandahar, gained possession of the fort by a stratagem, and expelled the Persian garrison, which retreated into Persia. Having thus secured a strong footing in the country, Hoomayoon, encouraged by the accounts he heard of his brother Kamrán's unpopularity, marched upon Kabool, and on the road was joined by his brother Hindál, and great numbers of disaffected persons of rank; and the invasion was so formidable, that Kamrán, unable to attempt resistance, fled towards Sinde, pursued by Hindál, while Hoomayoon, on October 2, 1545, entered the city in triumph. Here he had the happiness of being reunited to his beautiful wife and his son Akbur, now four years old; and as he took up the boy in his arms, writes Ferishta, he cried, 'Joseph by his envious brethren was cast into a well, but he was eventually exalted by Providence, as thou shalt be, to the summit of glory!'

It might be supposed that Hoomayoon would now have turned his arms against India; but news of the death of Shére Khan Soor did not reach him till some time afterwards. His successor, Sulim Shah Soor, was strong and popular; and Hoomayoon, therefore, proceeded against Budukshán, the affairs of which had fallen into much disorder. During his absence, Kamrán, who had been ill received in Sinde, and was wandering about Afghanistan, contrived to surprise Kabool; but he was unable to retain it. Hoomayoon hurried back from Budukshán, defeated several detached parties of Kamrán's troops, and finally invested the city; which, after committing many cruel acts, Kamrán evacuated, and fled to the hills, and eventually to Balkh, where he received assistance by which he was enabled to repossess himself of Budukshán. The contest between the brothers now continued. Hoomayoon's attempt to expel Kamrán from Budukshán in 1550 was not successful; on the contrary, he had a narrow escape of his life, and was obliged to fly, only eleven attendants remaining with him; but, in the succeeding year, he recovered the power he had lost, and Kamrán became a fugitive among the wild Afghan tribes which inhabited the mountains between Kabool and the Punjáb. Here also he was pursued by Hoomayoon, and in a night attack upon his camp, November 19, 1551, the Prince

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Hindál was killed. Hoomayoon had latterly loved his brother, who, by his good faith and bravery in the field, had redeemed his former errors, and was much afflicted at his loss; he now married Ruzeea Sooltana, Hindál's only child, to his son Akbur, and settled upon them the wealth Hindál had accumulated. Kamrán received no encouragement from Sulim Shah Soor to come to his court, and led a wild life among the Gukkurs and other hill-tribes of the Punjâb borders. At length, in 1552, he was seized and made over to Hoomayoon by the chief of the Gukkurs. It was the opinion of the Moghul officers of State, that Kamrán should be at once executed for his crimes; but this sentence was commuted by Hoomayoon into loss of sight, which was carried out. Some days afterwards, Hoomayoon went to see him, and Kamrán rising, advanced a few steps and said, 'The glory of the king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate;' and Ferishta adds, that Hoomayoon burst into tears, and wept bitterly. Mr. Elphinstone, Book vii. p. 173, vol. vi., gives a detailed account of the whole event from Hoomayoon's biographer; from which, as well as from Ferishta, it may be inferred that the emperor, while he had saved his brother's life, could not defend him from the only other alternative of State punishment. Kamrán asked to be allowed to proceed to Mecca, which was granted; but he got no further than Sinde, where he died in 1556.

Kamrán dies, 1556.

Hoomayoon was now the undisputed ruler of all the Moghul territory in Afghanistan, and was free to commence his operations against India. The time was singularly propitious: a civil war was raging in India between the several representatives of the family of Soor, and the people were weary of the race. Hoomayoon's friends at Agra and Dehly wrote beseeching him to come to them; but he hesitated, as indeed was natural, considering the immense hazard of the stake. On the one hand, India might not receive him, and a common danger might unite the whole of the Soor family and Patáns against him; on the other, his ever restless Afghan subjects might break into rebellion. In his perplexity, a courtier suggested an old method of divination: which was, to send three messengers in different directions, to return with the names of the first person they met; and this was put to the test. The first who returned had met a man named 'Doulut,' or empire; the second one named 'Moorád,' or good fortune; the third, a villager named 'Saadut,' or the object of desire. Thus, according to the native historian—and his anecdote bears the impress of truth—the omens were declared propitious: and no delay was made. Hoomayoon could only assemble 15,000 horse, but they were veteran troops, and with them he marched from Kabool, in December 1554. At

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Peshawur he was joined by his son Akbur, and his friend and general, Beiram Khan, with a select body of veterans from Ghuzny and Kandahar. It is worthy of remark, that the emperor, in the previous war, had despatched his son Akbur to his government of Ghuzny; and it was doubtless in this early training in public business, that his strength of character was developed. No opposition to the Moghuls was made by the Patán viceroy of the Punjâb, Tartar Khan. The fort of Rhotas was abandoned, and Hoomayoon entered Lahore without opposition. Here he halted to make some necessary arrangements in the country, sending on Beiram Khan in advance, with the Prince Akbur to check Sikunder Shah's army, which was advancing under Tartar Khan. Beiram Khan however did not hesitate to engage it, and defeated it at Machywara, near Sirhind, with the loss of elephants and baggage; while he sent out detachments which occupied the country nearly as far as Dehly. The resources of Sikunder Shah Soor were not, however, exhausted. On the defeat of Tartar Khan, he advanced in turn at the head of 80,000 men and a large train of artillery. Beiram Khan was too weak to oppose this host, but he wrote urgently to Hoomayoon to join him, and the emperor did not delay. On the morning of June 18, 1555, a memorable date in India, as well as in Europe in after years, as the young prince Akbur was inspecting the outposts, the Afghans under Sikunder Shah drew up and offered battle, and it was not declined. The contest raged for some time very hotly, the emperor, his noble son Akbur, and Beiram Khan being in the thickest of the fight; but the Moghuls, led by their young prince, were irresistible; the Patán army was defeated with immense slaughter, and Sikunder Shah fled to the hills. This victory once more decided the fate of the empire of India, and established a dynasty, which of all those heretofore existent, was to prove the most glorious and enduring. Dehly and Agra were successively taken possession of by an advanced force, and in the month of July the Emperor Hoomayoon re-entered Dehly after an absence of fifteen years of much vicissitude of fortune. Some revolts of minor character were summarily repressed, and the emperor was engaged in the general pacification of the country, when he met his death by a strange and untimely accident. On the evening of January 21, 1556, he was walking on the terrace of the library at Dehly, when, in the act of descending the steps to go to the evening prayer, the muezzin of the mosque announced the hour in the usual manner. Pausing to repeat the creed, the emperor sat down till the invocation to prayer was finished, and to assist himself to rise, made use of a pointed staff he usually carried. This slipped on the marble pavement, and he fell over the parapet into the

Hoomayoon re-enters Dehly, July 1555.

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court below. He was taken up, and put to bed; but the injuries he had received were mortal, and he expired after some days of suffering on January 25, 1556. He was fifty-one years of age, and had reigned in India and Kabool for twenty-five years. Hoomayoon dies, 1556.

With many weaknesses, the character of Hoomayoon was yet noble and interesting. With greater firmness he might have preserved his empire against Shére Shah Soor; but in his youth, though personally very brave, he was a bad general, and his adversary was one of the best India had yet produced. It must be remembered also, that the Moghuls were as yet foreigners in India, and were far from popular. To the Hindoos indeed it might have mattered little whether Moghul or Patán was in the ascendant; but the native Mahomedans were of the latter party, and had attained under it power and wealth; the Moghuls were hereditary enemies of long standing, and it was only a natural consequence that when the first flush of Babur's conquest was past, the local Mahomedan party should have rallied under a vigorous leader, and thus they may have obtained the sympathy and assistance of the Hindoos. If the first reign of Hoomayoon had been one of rest and peace, it is probable India would have prospered greatly under his mild and tolerant government. As it was, the reigns of Shére Shah and Sulim Shah Soor were exceptions to the Patán or Afghan rule, and left little to be desired as to the well-being of the people; but in Mahomed Shah Soor Adily, the worst features of the Patán domination were resumed, civil war among the members of the family was desolating the country, and the well-timed advance of Hoomayoon was productive of general relief and peace. It is impossible not to sympathise with Hoomayoon in his early misfortunes, in his miserable wanderings in the desert, his struggles in Sinde, and his personal sufferings: nor to follow his variations of fortune at Kabool without interest; and the truthful memoirs of his servant Jouhur, exhibit him in all the conditions of his life as a simple, genial, good-humoured man, inferior in capacity to his great father Babur, but with a deep, fond love for his wife and child, so rare among eastern princes. Charitable and munificent, kind and courteous to all around him, and a pleasant companion, Hoomayoon's character is not tainted by crime; and the sorest test he was ever put to, was the blinding of his brother Kamrán, to save him from death. Passionately fond, as he was, of his boy Akbur, yet when he was only ten years old his father at once pushed him into public life at Ghuzny; and before he was twelve, he was fighting with his father and his gallant tutor and general, Beiram Khan, in the fierce battles with the Patáns of Sikunder Shah, which were to decide his future glorious empire of India. To

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the memory of his father, so deeply venerated, Akbur afterwards raised a splendid mausoleum of marble, which is still perfect; and it was from this building that the last royal representative of the family was led prisoner after the capture of Dehly, in 1857, and where his two sons were shot in its precincts.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBUR, 1556 TO 1558.

THE Emperor Akbur was not at Dehly at the period of his father's death. He was employed with his tutor, Beiram Khan, in the Punjâb; and when the news reached him at Kullanoor, he was at once raised to the throne, on February 15, 1556. Born on October 14, 1542, Akbur was thirteen years and three months old, or, according to Mahomedan reckoning, thirteen years and nine months, when he began his glorious and eventful reign; and in regard to his tender years and early strength of character, has only one competitor in Indian history, Ismail Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who, in his more limited sphere, was equally distinguished. The life and character of Akbur are so remarkable, and his reign so illustrious, that he became the subject of complete biographies and histories, by native authors of high reputation; while the records of the English Embassies, and the residence at Agra of Europeans of different nations, in considerable numbers, give undoubted confirmation on many points, which were entirely wanting in regard to many former monarchs of India.

It will have been seen by the previous narrative, that, as yet, public affairs in Northern and Eastern India were by no means settled. Sikunder Shah Soor, though defeated, was still in the field, at the head of some of the best of the old Patán chivalry. In the eastern provinces, the Patáns still held royal power; and Mahomed Soor Adily, with his followers and clansmen, was a formidable antagonist. The Rajpoots and Hindoos of Central India had as yet made no declaration, either of adherence to the old Mahomedan party, or the recognition of the new: and while many new estates and dignities had been granted by Hoomayoon to those who had served him best, the estates and allowances of the nobles and officers of the Patán court were as yet unconfirmed. It is almost impossible to conceive the existence of elements more profoundly disturbing or difficult to deal with; and to increase the embarrassment, the Moghul force in the country was singularly small, and may not at this period, even with reinforcements from

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Afghanistan, have exceeded 30,000 cavalry; whereas, on the other hand, the united Patán clans could bring 100,000 into the field with ease; and Kabool and Kandahar, with Budukshán, ever restless and mutinous, were also to be controlled. Over this seething and unstable mass, a boy barely fourteen years of age, and his counsellors, inexperienced in Indian affairs, were to preside, and out of it to create one of the greatest empires of the world.

Akbur immediately appointed his tutor and general, Beiram Khan Toorkoman, now raised to the dignity of Khan Khanán, or lord of lords, as his prime minister: and committed to him the general regulation of civil and military affairs in detail; but, young as he was, and indeed from the very first, he never seems to have evaded the responsibility or the toil of the authority in chief, to have been drawn out of it into the pleasures of youth, or ever to have lost confidence in himself. He might have estimated, by the letters of congratulation which reached him on his accession, how slight was his hold on the country. They were those of his own officers only; all else held aloof, apparently watching the issue of events; and so long as Sikunder Shah Soor and Mahomed Shah Soor Adily were in the field, it is easily to be understood why they did so. Akbur's first act was to pursue Sikunder Shah, who had collected an army in the northern hills, and presented a formidable appearance; but he was totally routed in a general action near Umballa, and again fled into the mountains. Meanwhile Soliman Mirza, who had been placed in Budukshán as its governor, by Hoomayoon, rebelled, and marched against Kabool, which had so small a garrison, that Akbur was obliged to dispatch some of his own much-needed forces to the assistance of the governor; but they proved insufficient for the purpose. Suffering from want of provisions, the garrison at length capitulated, and Soliman Mirza was declared king, but returned to Budukshán. Akbur meanwhile had subdued the mountain tribes of the Punjâb about Nagrakote, and had received Dhuam Chund, their prince, into favour. Hitherto, therefore, he had made no attempt either to march eastwards to Dehly and Agra, or to strengthen them by reinforcements; and Hémoo, the active Hindoo minister of Mahomed Soor Adily, who had been watching his opportunity, now marched against them with a powerful army of 30,000 men and 2,000 elephants. The officer in charge of Agra had no means of opposing this invasion, and fell back upon Dehly; and an attempt was made by Khan Zemán, another Moghul commander, with 3,000 horse, to oppose the advance of Shady Khan, one of Hémoo's generals; but he was defeated, with the loss of nearly the whole of his force. Agra was taken, after

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a short siege, by Hémoo, who now advanced upon Dehly with the whole of his combined forces, and defeated Tardy Beg Khan, its governor, in a general action near Meerut. Dehly now surrendered, and the country was left open. During these events, Akbur was at Jullunder, in the Punjâb, where he was joined by Khan Zemán, and other officers, with the wreck of the Dehly and Agra forces: but he could see no way of retrieving the misfortunes, and in his extremity he submitted the whole question to the decision of Beiram Khan, in whose wisdom and foresight he reposed the utmost confidence. At a council of war, the officers of the army declared that with 20,000 men, which was all that could now be assembled, it would be madness to oppose the Patáns, who had 100,000 at least under Hémoo; and that the most advisable course was to retreat to Kabool. This course, however, was opposed by Beiram Khan, who, almost unsupported, was of opinion that the emperor ought to advance at once to give battle; and Akbur coinciding with his general, the movement was determined upon. It is evident from the sequel, that discipline among the Moghul commanders had been of a very loose description. For the most part semi-independent chieftains themselves, at the head of their clans, they had been used to act very much as they pleased; and though, when assembled together, they fought bravely and faithfully, yet they were not to be relied upon when separated. Beiram Khan, therefore, resolved upon making one serious example; and on the occasion of the emperor's temporary absence from camp, caused Tardy Khan Beg to be beheaded, on the ground of his having abandoned his post at Dehly. On his return, Beiram Khan informed Akbur what he had done, and of his grounds for so severe a measure, which involved the discipline of the army, and the safety of all. Akbur gave a reluctant approval to this act; but the difference in the conduct of the officers was immediately perceptible, displaying a confidence in Beiram Khan which was in the last degree important. The Moghul army had gradually assembled at Nowshéhra, and now advanced upon Dehly. Hémoo, who had assumed the title of Raja Vikram Ajeet, was at Dehly, and marched out his army to Paniput, the old battle-field since the age of the Máhábhárut, and took up his position; but he had already lost his advance guard with its guns, which had been captured by Beiram Khan in a skirmish. The action commenced on the morning of November 5, 1556, by Hémoo's advance with his elephants, which he hoped would terrify the Moghul cavalry; but, galled by flights of arrows and javelins, they became furious, and ran back upon their own army, causing vast confusion, of which full advantage was taken. Hémoo himself, mounted upon a huge elephant, and accompanied by 4,000 Patán cavalry, continued the fight in the

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centre, when he was wounded in the eye by an arrow; and sinking back from the pain, his troops considered he was killed, and fled: but drawing the arrow from his eye he still fought on, and endeavoured to break his way to the rear, till he was surrounded by a body of horse, who conducted him to the emperor, then at a short distance. Here Beiram Khan prayed Akbur to kill the 'infidel captive,' with his own hand, and so become entitled to the proud title of 'Ghazy,' or Champion of the Faith. The boy burst into tears; but drawing his sword, touched the head of his captive with it, when Beiram Khan, observing his emotion and natural reluctance to strike, at one blow with his sabre severed the captive's head from his body. Thus perished one who, raised from the lowest ranks of society, to be the minister and general-in-chief of a powerful Patán monarchy, had not only conciliated the proud people he had to control, but exhibited a clearness of judgment in military as well as in civil affairs, which had not only prolonged the existence of his master's kingdom, but had enabled him to contest the empire of India with the bravest and most successful of the Moghul generals. He was the first Hindoo who had ever risen to distinction among the Mahomedans; and the high talent and devotion he had displayed, were worthy of a better fate.

The emperor's triumph was complete: 1,500 elephants were captured, the Patán host dispersed, and Akbur entered Dehly in triumph. Blood-stained, and of evil reputation as the capital was, it was yet the throne of India; and the young conqueror may be forgiven the emotion he displayed, as he ascended the royal seat of his revered father. Akbur did not remain there long. News reached him from Kabool that Kandahar had fallen to the Persians, and that his general, Khizr Khan, had been defeated by Sikunder Shah Soor in the Punjâb. The former misfortune was for the present irremediable; but the latter must be looked to without delay. Sikunder Shah advanced to meet the emperor, but finding himself too weak to encounter him in the field, retired to the fort of Mánkote, which he defended, with much gallantry, for six months. When suffering from his wounds, he asked for terms of surrender, which were granted; and leaving his son Sheikh Abdool Rahman in the emperor's service as a hostage, he was allowed to retire to Bengal. This event occurred in July 1557, and left Akbur the undisputed possessor of the whole of North-Western India.

Sikunder Shah Soor retires to Bengal.

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CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBUR (*continued*), 1559 TO 1567.

It may be doubted, from the records of the period, whether the young emperor's relations with Beiram Khan continued to be as cordial as usual. Akbur of late had had many great questions to decide, and many new and serious responsibilities to assume, which had given strength and decision to his character; and he had rewarded independently, those who had done him good service. Beiram Khan does not always appear to have been present on these occasions, and the boy was thus thrown on his own resources. It is evident also, that acts of Beiram Khan had been of a violent, and perhaps revengeful, character; and though, as a State necessity, Akbur had openly acquiesced in the policy of the execution of Tardy Beg Khan, yet that officer had been one of his father's earliest and most devoted friends and companions: no taint had ever fallen upon his reputation for bravery; and a general sympathy for his fate prevailed, which was shared by Akbur himself. When Beiram Khan heard that Akbur had rewarded persons without referring them to him, he took offence, and withdrew himself for some days. One day afterwards, during an elephant fight, which the emperor was witnessing, one of the beasts engaged ran through the ropes of the minister's tent, who took the accident as a personal affront, and remonstrated against it; but was apparently satisfied with his ward's protestations that no indignity was intended. Several other occurrences served to excite mutual suspicion. The summary execution by Beiram Khan of a person of some rank, who had given him offence, aroused the anger of the Choghtay Tartar nobles of the court, to whose tribe he had belonged; and Moolla Peer Mahomed, the emperor's preceptor, who had also given offence to the minister, was summarily removed from office, banished from court, and replaced by a person in the minister's interest. Other events of the same character followed; and on one occasion, the courtiers gave vent to their feelings, and remonstrated with the emperor against the minister's now frequent acts of violence. The breach between them was now evidently widening, when at Agra one of the royal elephants attacked and killed another belonging to the minister, who ordered the driver of the emperor's elephant to be put to death; and on another occasion, an elephant ran against a boat in the river in which the

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minister was seated, and almost upset it. Beiram Khan, considering this act as a plot against his life, demanded the punishment of the driver, and Akbur sent him to the minister to be dealt with as necessary. He also was put to death—an act of cruelty which caused the emperor deep pain and offence. Perceiving himself out of favour, Beiram Khan undertook a campaign against Byana, but was unable to continue it unsupported, and released Shah Abdool Maaly, a nobleman who had been imprisoned for revolt, and seems with his aid to have contemplated an expedition against the Afghans of Bengal, with a view of establishing his own independence in that direction. All these acts combined to bring on a total estrangement between the emperor and Beiram Khan: and Akbur resolved upon asserting his right to carry on the government himself. He, therefore, sent his preceptor to the minister, with the following characteristic message. 'Till now,' he wrote, 'our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal will that you should regulate the affairs of our empire; but it being our intention to govern our people by our own judgment, let our well-wisher withdraw from all worldly concerns, and retiring to Mecca, far removed from the toils of public life, spend the rest of his days in prayer.'

Beiram Khan did not resist; he sent the insignia of his rank and public establishments to the emperor, and proceeded as far as Bhikanere, in Rajpootana, on his way to Mecca. Here he seems to have changed his pacific submission for an attitude of defiance and rebellion, and in 1559 began to raise troops. A force was sent against him, which he evaded by marching into the Punjâb; but he was eventually brought to action, and defeated at Machywara, with heavy loss. Thence he fled into the mountains, where the people protected him for a time; but weary of such an existence, he sent a favourite servant to the emperor, imploring forgiveness, and an officer was dispatched to bring him safely to court. In December 1560, he was met near the royal camp by a deputation of officers from the emperor, and conducted honourably to his presence; where he hung his turban about his neck, and threw himself weeping at the foot of the throne. Akbur, much affected, stretched forth his hand and raised him, invested him with an honorary dress, and placed him in his old position, as head of the nobles. The emperor then offered him the government of Kalpy and Chundery, or, should he prefer to remain at court, his favour and protection; or otherwise, an honourable escort to Mecca. But it was evident to Beiram Khan that his former position could not be re-attained, and the great general accepted the retirement offered. 'The royal confidence once broken,' he said, 'how can I wish to remain in thy presence.

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The clemency of the king is enough, and his forgiveness is more than a reward for my former services.' A pension of 50,000 rupees (5,000*l.*) a year was settled upon him, and Beiram Khan proceeded to Guzerat, on his way to Mecca. His fate was a sad one. He had been enjoying a boating excursion on a lake near the temples of Sahasnuk, and on his return to shore with his friends, was accosted by a Patán, Moobarik Khan, whose father he had slain in battle; and when in the act of receiving the embrace of this man, was stabbed to the heart by him, and died instantly. The event occurred in January 1561. His widow and infant son were sent with a suitable escort to Agra, where they were amply provided for by the emperor; and to the last the early services of Beiram Khan, his great bravery, and his spirited conduct at a very critical moment, continued to be Akbur's constant subjects of eulogium. It must be admitted, indeed, that Beiram Khan was a gallant soldier, and a character eminently suited to guide the rough men with whom he was associated. But for him, the Moghuls would have turned back from Nowshéhra. Under his leading they won a magnificent victory over five times their number. As the head, however, of a military aristocracy, the minister's presumption led him beyond bounds of endurance; and in no act of his life did the emperor display more acute judgment and fine temper, than in the graceful dismissal of his great minister. Henceforth Akbur was to rule alone. He was now eighteen years of age, and at the head of a body of chieftains who were but too ready to overrate the services they had performed. They looked more to such present advantages as they might be able to attain or extort by intimidation, or haughty bearing, than to their real bond of union and strength in the security of their emperor's position, which many of them were ready to dispute.

Beiram Khan assassinated, 1561.

Mr. Elphinstone well observes, 'Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Tamerlane was the weakest and most insecure in its foundations.' It had as yet obtained no real hold of the country, and its enemies were powerful and numerous. Its civil government had never been properly organized, and the short reign of Hoomayoon had proved its military weakness. Numerically speaking, the troops of Akbur were even less powerful than those of his father, and certainly less than those of his adversaries; his chances of obtaining aid from Afghanistan or Central Asia were fewer, while the native soldiery of India were untried, and from their local attachment to former dynasties, as yet impossible to be trusted. The first employment of his own means of conquest was little calculated to inspire Akbur with confidence in his project for the subjection of the whole of India

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to his own rule. One of his most trusted generals, Khan Zumán, was dispatched to Bengal against Shére Shah II., the successor of Mahomed Shah Adily, in 1560. Shére Shah had advanced with 40,000 Afghans to Joonpoor, and the events of Hoomayoon's reign might be renewed. Zumán Khan was, however, entirely successful, and with only 12,000 Moghul cavalry he and his brother overthrew the Afghans; but they retained the spoils of conquest, and behaved in so haughty a manner, that the emperor was obliged to proceed to the spot to assert his authority. He used no force; but, as Ferishta records, 'giving them a gentle reproof, he secured their attachment by his princely behaviour and courtesy.' A second instance was that of Adam Khan, an equally trusted officer, who, in the following year, was employed to reduce Báz Bahadur, a Patán, who had gained possession of the kingdom of Malwah. Adam Khan obtained a brilliant success, captured his opponent's family and property, and, as Ferishta writes, 'sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Boorhanpoor.' But, as had been done by Zumán Khan, Adam Khan retained the spoil, and the ladies of Báz Bahadur's court. The latter was the occasion of an affecting incident. One of them, the beautiful Hindoo mistress of the Malwah king, was required by Adam Khan to receive him; and, unable to resist, appointed an hour for the purpose. Dressing herself in her richest apparel, she lay down on a couch; but, as her attendants tried to rouse her on the Khan's approach, they found her dead. She had poisoned herself rather than submit to be disgraced. Here again Akbur displayed that decision and promptitude of action which alone prevented a rebellion. Marching at once from Agra on his general's camp, he recalled him to his allegiance, received the spoils of Malwah, which he was told had been retained in order to be presented in person, and returning to Agra, removed Adam Khan from his government. The king's choice of a successor was, perhaps, unfortunate; for he appointed his own preceptor to the post, who, being more a man of letters than of war, was defeated by Báz Bahadur, who, for a time, regained the whole of his dominions; but the loss was quickly redeemed, and Báz Bahadur, finding resistance useless, and after many fruitless wanderings from place to place, eventually threw himself upon Akbur's clemency, and was honourably entertained in his service.

Adam Khan murders the minister, and is executed.

Adam Khan's fate was very different. Smarting under the loss of his government, and prospect of independence, he stabbed the emperor's minister to the heart; and as he stood with the bloody dagger in his hand, was, by the emperor's orders, seized and thrown from the terrace of the building in which the murder had been done. The defection of

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the new governor of Malwah followed in 1563. He was an Uzbek—a tribe which had furnished many officers and men to the emperor's army. All these formed a confederation which, at one time, assumed very formidable dimensions, and will be noticed hereafter.

In the year 1561, the emperor being in Rajpootana, visited Sumbhul, the rajah of which territory gave him his daughter in marriage, and, with his son, was enrolled among the nobles of Akbur's court. It is evident from this act, what turn the emperor's policy was taking. No fanatical attacks upon Hindoo States are perceptible; no wanton destruction of Hindoo temples and idols; but, on the contrary, a policy of conciliation and regard, which, to the Hindoo princes, was perhaps at first incomprehensible, but which, in the sequel, secured the attachment of the greater part of them. Some, however, of the Hindoo princes did not submit; and while the emperor, with six attendants, rode from Ajmere to Agra, a distance of 200 miles, in three days, an officer was sent against the fort of Mairta, which was captured, but not till after a long siege. Soon after his return from Rajpootana, the emperor had a narrow escape from assassination—an arrow shot at him by a slave penetrated his shoulder deeply; but he bore its extraction without a murmur. In the year 1564 Asof Khan Uzbek had been employed against the Hindoo principality of Guna. He had defeated the Ranee, who had stabbed herself on the field of battle rather than be captured, and following up his success, had obtained a vast booty in jewels, gold and silver coin, and bullion. A few indifferent elephants were alone sent to the emperor, and Asof Khan retained the rest for his own purposes. For this he was called to account; and immediately rebelled, in concert with the other Uzbek officers of his tribe. The first force sent against the Uzbek confederates in Bengal was defeated: a second was dispatched, which made no impression on them; and the emperor followed in person, in April 1566, when some of the rebel chiefs submitted. But the rebellion was by no means at an end, when the emperor was obliged to proceed to the Punjâb, to check a formidable combination in favour of his half-brother, Mahomed Hakeem Mirza, who, expelled from Kabool, sought to establish himself in the Punjâb, and was encouraged by several of the local commanders. On this occasion, however, Akbur's energy averted serious consequences. In the course of a few days he was in the Punjâb, whence his brother fled to Kabool, and local tranquillity ensued. The emperor now turned once more against his rebellious Uzbek chiefs, who, during his absence, had made much progress, and had gained the greater part of Oude. He crossed the Ganges, though much swollen, on

The emperor marries an Hindoo princess of Sumbhul, 1561.

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his elephant, at night, and with only his body-guard attacked the insurgents on the morning of June 6, 1566. Khan Zumán, one of the chief rebels, was killed; Bahadur Khan was taken prisoner, and the rest dispersed, most of them being afterwards taken prisoners, and executed. The rebellion had lasted for more than two years, had resisted some of the emperor's best generals, and was put an end to only by the personal energy and bravery of Akbur himself; and it is evident from its details, which are amply given by Ferishta and other writers, that the Uzbeks were not only strengthening themselves in the eastern provinces, but were identifying themselves with the former Mahomedan parties there—an obviously appropriate course for them, and which added much strength and importance to their rebellion. The slight hold which the emperor possessed upon his Moghul chiefs will also have been apparent to the reader from the rebellions of his officers in Malwah, Guna, the Punjáb, and Bengal, the danger of which was increased by the transactions in Afghanistan and Mooltan; and it is impossible to withhold a tribute of high admiration of the ability, firmness, and personal activity which Akbur displayed. Never during these exciting occurrences does he appear to have hesitated as to his mode of action, and never to have thrown away a chance of success. He had now subdued his military aristocracy, and had defeated their formidable combinations. He had checked, if not entirely broken up, the Afghan party in Bengal; he had annexed a large portion of that country to his dominions, and had extended them to Malwah, and the frontiers of Khandésh and the Deccan. Yet it does not appear that his original means as to troops had been augmented. Kabool and Budukshán were too unstable and precarious to afford supplies of men; and admiration for his character is increased by the consideration of the accurate judgment by which his military operations must have been directed, in the employment of such troops as he possessed, amidst such serious distractions, and in so widely divided provinces.

Defeat of the Uzbek chiefs.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBUR (*continued*), 1567 TO 1586.

In July 1567, after arranging the government of the provinces which had been held by the rebel Uzbek chiefs, the emperor returned to Agra, and thence proceeded on a tour through Malwah—of which province he changed the governor—to Chittore, the

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rajah of which had refused to acknowledge him. This place was the stronghold of Hindoo independence; Rana Oody Singh was the head of the Rajpoot clans, and must be subdued before he could expect a general acknowledgment of his authority as emperor. The Rana left 8,000 picked men as its garrison, and retired to an inaccessible part of the country to wait the issue, and the fort was regularly invested. Ferishta gives a minute and spirited account of the siege; but what is especially noticeable in the detail, is the scientific mode of approach and attack, which, it is questionable, could have been exceeded in Europe at the period. Akbur does not appear at this time to have possessed, or to have in any form used, artillery. No mention is as yet made of it in his battles. A fort was to be taken by sabats, or zigzag approaches formed by gabions and trenches, thrown up to reach a part of the wall selected to be breached, by mining. In the case of Chittore, there were two principal sabats, carried under two separate bastions, ending in mines. Both were loaded with gunpowder, and were to have exploded simultaneously; but while one succeeded, the other hung fire till the storming party was near it, and blew up, causing much loss to the besieged as well as to the storming party. This attack, therefore, failed; and another one was in progress, when the emperor chancing to see Jugmul, the governor of the place, directing the repair of one of the breaches by torchlight, seized a matchlock from an attendant and shot him in the forehead. The Rajpoots now became desperate; they performed the ceremony of Jowhur—put their women and children to death, and burned them with their leader's body; they then retired to their temples, and awaited the Mahomedans' approach. The emperor, seeing the walls deserted, entered the place at daylight; the temples were stormed, and the brave garrison, rejecting his offers of quarter, perished to a man. The capture of Chittore conduced in a great degree to the pacification of Rajpootana, and to the eventual co-operation of the Hindoo princes, which was a leading feature in the emperor's policy; and it does not appear that the Rajpoots, on any other occasion afterwards, repeated their rebellion.

Chittore captured, 1567.

In the year 1569, the strong fort of Runtunbhore, so frequently in the alternate possession of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, was taken; and on September 2 the emperor's first child was born, and named Selim. Kalinjer, which had lapsed again into Hindoo possession, was surrendered; and in 1570 a second son was born, who was named Moorád. In this year also the emperor married the daughter of Rajah Kullian Mul, of Bhikanere, and enrolled him with high rank among the nobility. Both his sons having been born in the town of Sikry,

Runtunbhore taken, 1569.

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the emperor laid the foundation of a city, to be called Futtehpoor —a name which the town still bears. The year afterwards, the affairs of Guzerat, as will be elsewhere related, having fallen into confusion, the emperor marched thither, and on the road received the intelligence of the birth of his third son, the Prince Daniel; and as he approached Ahmedabad, the capital, Mozuffer Shah, the king, came out to meet him, and submitted, laying down his crown and being enrolled among the nobility. The emperor's cousins, however, sons of Soliman Mirza of Budukshán, were at the head of considerable forces in Guzerat, where they had retreated from Malwah, and their reduction occupied some time. One affair with them is remarkable as showing Akbur's personal bravery. A body of the rebels, under his cousin Ibrahim Mirza, intending to march into the Punjâb and continue their insurrection there, was endeavouring to pass the royal forces, when the emperor heard of its position, and marched upon it at once with a slight escort. At Surtál he found he had but forty troopers with him; but a reinforcement arrived of seventy men under Rajah Mán Singh, Soorjun Rái, Bhugwundas, and some other officers. The whole party amounted to only 156 men in all. With these, the emperor determined to attack his cousin's force, which was dispersed after a sharp skirmish, in which his cousin escaped. This affair shows what trust the emperor now placed in his Rajpoot friends, and how heartily it was reciprocated; for the Rajpoot chiefs fought side by side with him in the affray, and one of them lost his life; nor, though otherwise blamable for the reckless exposure of his person, could such events fail to cement a personal affection and respect. Akbur left Guzerat before the monsoon set in, and reached Agra on June 4, 1573. His cousin, Ibrahim Hoosein Mirza, who had escaped from him at Surtál, had proceeded to Sumbhul, in the Punjâb, but was pursued and killed; and his head sent to the emperor by the governor of Mooltan.

Futtehpoor Sikry founded, 1571.

Guzerat campaign, 1572.

Affair of Surtál.

The emperor had little time to rest. In July he received advice by express from Guzerat, that the officers of the Guzerat kingdom had united in a formidable insurrection, taken several districts, and were then besieging Ahmedabad. The rainy season had set in, and the transport of a large force was impossible. Two thousand picked horsemen were therefore pushed on, and the emperor and his retinue, about 300 persons, followed by double marches on camels. When he reached his advanced troops at Paitun, the whole, Ferishta states, did not exceed 3,000 men. They had marched 450 miles in nine days. With this small force the emperor marched direct on Ahmedabad, ordering the

Rebellion in Guzerat, July 1573.

Akbur's march from Agra to Guzerat.

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royal kettledrums to beat as he approached the enemy's camp. Mahomed Hoosein Mirza, the king's cousin, and brother of Ibrahim, rode out to the river to reconnoitre, and perceiving one of the emperor's officers examining the ford, asked whose army was approaching, and was told it was Akbur in person. 'Impossible!' he exclaimed; 'it is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him at Agra.' 'It is only nine days since he marched,' was the reply. In the battle which followed outside the walls of the city, the emperor led several charges in person; and in one of these directed his own body-guard against his cousin, broke through his troops, and Mahomed Hoosein Mirza was captured. The beleaguered governor was now able to sally from the city, and the enemy's rout was completed. Akbur did not stay in Guzerat. Bengal required his immediate attention; Dáwood Khan Kirany had taken up arms, and the whole of the eastern part of the province was yet unsubdued. The emperor loaded a thousand boats with soldiers, and sailed down the river in the heaviest part of the monsoon. Hajypoor was occupied without resistance. Dáwood Khan wished to treat, but the emperor insisted on his unconditional submission. 'Tell Dáwood Khan,' Ferishta records of him, 'I have a thousand men as good as he, and if disposed to put the point to an issue in single combat, I will myself meet him.' But Dáwood Khan fled: and the emperor, perhaps despising his antagonist, left the war to be finished, as was his custom, by his commander, Moonjim Khan. Rajah Toder Mul, subsequently the famous minister of finance, pursued Dáwood Khan into Orissa, and was defeated by him; but reinforcements arriving under Moonjim Khan, the war was renewed, and Dáwood Khan, in a final arrangement, being permitted to retain Orissa and Kuttack, surrendered all pretensions to Bengal and Behar, which, in the year 1575, became incorporated with the empire. It was after the conclusion of this campaign, that the emperor lost his faithful servant and able commander, Moonjim Khan. He had endeavoured to establish Gour as the metropolis of Bengal, but died there of its unhealthy climate, on October 12, 1575. On hearing of this event, Dáwood Khan endeavoured to repossess himself of Bengal; but in an action fought on July 23, 1575, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed after the battle. His son, Jooneed Khan, died of the wounds he had received, and thus the last of the Patán dynasties of Bengal became extinct, while Orissa and Kuttack reverted to the emperor. Several subsequent revolutions nevertheless followed, which will be hereafter noticed.

Attack on the insurgents before Ahmedabad.

Who are defeated.

Dáwood Khan rebels in Bengal.

Akbur proceeds thither.

Bengal and Behar annexed, 1575.

Death of Moonjim Khan at Gour, 1575.

Dáwood Khan taken and executed.

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From 1575–6 to 1579 seems to have been a brief interval of peace, employed by the emperor in civil affairs, and the construction of the splendid mosque and other buildings at Futtehpoor Sikry and Agra (he habitually avoided Dehly); and in the latter year, his brother, Mahomed Hakeem Mirza, ruler of Kabool, invaded the Punjâb, and defeated Rajah Mán Singh, the governor of the province. It is thus evident, that Hindoos of rank now shared the highest offices with the Moghuls. The Punjâb was one of the most important provinces of the empire, and the emperor would not have appointed Rajah Mán Singh to the charge of it without full confidence in his ability, both as a soldier and an administrator. Prince Hakeem Mirza invaded Lahore; and on the urgent request of his commanders, who were defending the place, Akbur marched to the scene of action, and his brother retreated to Kabool, in February; but, following up his success, the emperor deputed his son, the Prince Moorád, to pursue him. This division was, however, defeated near Kabool; but on March 6, 1579, a victory was gained, on which the Prince Hakeem Mirza fled to the mountains, and the emperor entered Kabool, but on his brother's submission forgave him, and restored his territories to him. Nevertheless, in October of the same year, Rajah Bhugwundas, of Jeypoor, was appointed to the charge of the city—perhaps as a check upon his brother's actions. In this year the fort of Attock on the Indus was rebuilt; and about the same time the fortifications of Allahabad, one of the most splendid memorials of the emperor's reign, were commenced.

Hakeem Mirza invades the Punjâb, 1579.

Akbur proceeds to the Punjâb, and his brother flies to Kabool.

Akbur enters Kabool.

Mozuffer Shah, the king of Guzerat, who had abdicated on the emperor's first expedition into that province, had remained at court, and had been granted an estate for his maintenance; but he had kept up his connection with his former dependants, and in 1581 an insurrection was commenced in his favour, which was for the time highly successful. Mozuffer Shah now proceeded to join his friends, and regained possession of Ahmedabad and the southern districts without difficulty. After desultory operations and struggles on both sides, which continued for three years with varied success, Mirza Khan, the imperial general, brought the king to action on January 29, 1584, near Ahmedabad, and completely defeated him. He fled to the vicinity of Joonagurh, and there assembled another force, and with the Jám of Joonagurh, advanced towards the capital; but did not await the attack of Mirza Khan, and again fled. He renewed his efforts a third time, when he was equally unsuccessful, and continued to reside in Kattywar, until, in 1586, he again plundered the country, but without any

Insurrection in favour of the King of Guzerat, 1581.

Joined by Mozuffer Shah

The king defeated, 1584.

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decisive result. About this period, the emperor was drawn into the disputes in the Deccan, which were in progress at the court of Ahmednugger in 1585. Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy, a holy person who had arrived from the Deccan, received an office near the emperor's person, and was succeeded by two officers of the Ahmednugger court who had been defeated by Sulabut Khan. Other refugees followed, and were hospitably received. There can be little doubt that the accounts given by those persons of the political state of the Deccan, the constant wars between the rival sovereigns, as well as of its fertility and fine climate, acted gradually upon the emperor's mind, and induced an eventual interference in its affairs. For the present, however, the emperor was fully employed, and the most he could do was to direct Mirza Azeez Koka, the governor of Malwah, to take advantage of circumstances. In 1586 the emperor married his eldest son, the Prince Selim, to the daughter of Rajah Bhugwundas, which still further strengthened his Rajpoot connection; and as his brother, Hakeem Mirza, ruler of Kabool, had died, Akbur proceeded thither, sending Mán Singh, the son of Rajah Bhugwundas, to bring the children of the Prince Hakeem Mirza to Lahore; and the son of Mán Singh was afterwards appointed to the charge of Kabool on the part of the emperor. No objection seems to have been made by Hindoos of any grade to cross the Indus, or to serve in Afghanistan during the emperor's reign; yet it is worthy of remark that, in after times, the Hindoo Sepoys of the British army were held to have violated caste by proceeding beyond Attock. During his residence at Attock, in 1586, the emperor dispatched a force into Kashmere, which was distracted by family disputes, and another against the Afghans of Swát and Bijour, who had been uniformly rebellious.

Refugees from the Deccan received at court.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBUR (*continued*), 1586 TO 1605.

THE operations against the Afghans were more unsuccessful than any of the emperor's previous warlike undertakings. Zein Khan Koka, the emperor's foster-brother, commanded the army, being assisted by Rajah Beerbul Singh, and other distinguished officers. The rajah was an especial favourite of Akbur; witty, brave and accomplished, he was one of his habitual comrades and companions, and many of his *bons mots* have survived him. The Moghul forces

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were no match for the Eusufzyes on their own ground. The latter had been easily beaten in the plains; and pursued to their mountain valleys and fastnesses. They drew on the Moghuls, till extrication was impossible; and Rajah Beerbul Singh and 8,000 men perished in one of the rugged defiles. On the other hand, Rajah Mán Singh, who had been dispatched against the Afghans of the Khyber Pass, when it had been closed by them between Kabool and Peshawur, gained a complete victory. The expedition against Kashmere, under Shah Rokh Mirza and Rajah Bhugwundas, suffered severely from snow in the passes, and did not succeed in entering the country. They were met by the King Yoosuf Shah Chuk, with whom they entered into a convention, by which a small tribute and some minor advantages were secured to the emperor; and on their return to Lahore, the king accompanied them. Akbur, however, refused to ratify the convention, detained Yoosuf Shah Chuk, and sent another force, under Mahomed Kasim Khan, who bore the title of Ameer-al-Behr, or admiral. This officer penetrated to the capital, Sirinugger; and though Yakoob, the son of Yoosuf Shah, maintained a desultory warfare for some time, and even gained some temporary advantages, he was eventually obliged to surrender, when he and his father received estates in Behar, and were enrolled among the Moghul nobility. In 1589 the emperor proceeded on a tour through his new dominions, and made arrangements for their proper government; travelling thence to Kabool, where he stayed for two months. Here he received intelligence of the death of Rajah Toder Mul, his great finance minister, which caused him sincere distress; and he returned to Lahore, where he continued to reside for some years.

Rajah Beerbul Singh and 8,000 men killed by the Eusufzye Afghans, 1586.

Kashmere annexed, 1587.

Akbur visits Kashmere and Kabool, 1589.

Death of Rajah Toder Mul, 1589.

It does not appear that the imperial authority had ever been extended to Kattywar, where, with the Jám rajah of that province, Mozuffer Shah had taken refuge. In 1589 Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of Guzerat, attempted to annex the province. He was met by the Jám with 20,000 horse, and a severe action was the result, in which both sides lost heavily; and, as no further attempt was made by Mirza Azeez, he had probably found the Jahreja Rajpoots, the descendants of the proud Saurashtra dynasties, too powerful to be interfered with for the present; but, watching his opportunity, he took advantage of the death of the Jám in the succeeding year, and captured Joonagurh, after a siege of several months duration, when the rest of the province submitted. Sinde still remained independent. The Arghoon family had been succeeded by one of Persian extraction;

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among which arose continuous disputes; and the harbouring of malcontents, and other frontier troubles, gave a pretext for interference, which probably amounted to necessity. In 1590 Mirza Khan attacked Sehwán by sea, but the Prince of Sinde defended himself bravely, and the Moghuls were reduced to some straits; when a detachment from another force sent from Lahore into the north of Sinde, by a rapid march into the province, induced its ruler to submit; and in 1592 he proceeded to court, where he was favourably received; and, as was the case with all conquered princes who submitted, enrolled among the nobles of the empire. In the same year, the Prince Moorád, now twenty years old, was employed in the public service, and made governor of Malwah.

The year 1593 was very productive of incidents. Mozuffer Khan, the ex-king of Guzerat, was given up by his protectors to Mirza Azeez Koka, the viceroy of Guzerat, and on his way to Ahmedabad committed suicide. In Bengal, Rajah Mán Singh, the governor, overthrew Kootloogh Khan, who had raised an insurrection of the old Afghan families, and occupied part of Orissa. The emperor, in 1590, had dispatched ambassadors to the four Kings of the Deccan, with, as it may be believed, demands to acknowledge his supremacy. They all returned in this year (1593), with the same result. The four Mahomedan kings evaded or refused the emperor's demand; and this increased his desire to bring to subjection territories which he considered belonged to the empire of Dehly. About the same period, also, Kandahar and its dependencies were made over to the emperor by Prince Roostum Mirza, whose family had occupied them independently since their possession by Persia. The Kandahar chief was created a noble of the empire, and appointed to the government of Mooltan. By the occupation of Kandahar, Akbur had thus regained the western portion of the ancient empire of India; and the whole of India itself, as far south as the Nerbudda, was now in his possession.

If the reader have followed the course of events and conquests since Akbur's accession in 1556 to the present period, it will have been evident how, in the course of thirty-seven years, province after province, at different intervals, was conquered or submitted to his rule. His empire now included Afghanistan on the west, Kashmere and the Punjâb on the north, and the whole of the north-western provinces; on the east, Oude and Bengal, with Orissa and Kuttack; while on the south, Malwah and Guzerat, with Sinde, formed the southern frontier. The Rajpoot provinces remained under the direct government of their own chiefs; but most of these were connected to the empire by marriages, or by

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political alliances, and furnished not only some of its best troops, but many of its most able commanders and civil governors. Over the whole of the rest of Northern India the emperor's administration was firmly established, and maintained in a spirit of tolerance and general advancement, which secured tranquillity and the good-will and affection of his subjects. The emperor was, however, deeply mortified by the conduct of the Deccan sovereigns in the absolute rejection of his authority, and prepared to enforce it. An army was ordered to march southwards under the command of the Prince Daniel; but the emperor revoking the order, recalled his son, and conferred the command upon his general, Mirza Khan.

The kingdom of Ahmednugger, which, as the reader will remember, adjoined Guzerat, had fallen into confusion, the particulars of which will be reviewed hereafter. A boy had been raised to the throne by the vizier of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., Meean Munjoo, to whom the nobles objected; and the vizier, besieged by them in Ahmednugger, besought the aid of the Prince Moorád Mirza, now viceroy of Guzerat. Any legitimate pretence for interference in Deccan affairs was most opportune; and the prince, with his father's permission, moved with his army towards the scene of action. Meanwhile Mirza Khan had arrived in Malwah, and at Mandoo had received the submission of Rajah Ally Khan, the ruler of Khandésh, who joined him with 6,000 horse. With these, and his own forces, he marched to join Prince Moorád, and formed a junction with him at Galna, whence the united armies marched upon Ahmednugger. Here, however, they found that the vizier, who had called upon the Moghuls for support, had been obliged to return to his master at Beejapoor, and that Ahmednugger was defended by Chánd Beebee, the widow of Ally Adil Shah of Beejapoor, a princess of Ahmednugger, who now acted as regent on behalf of her nephew. The fort was invested by the Moghul army in November 1595, and its memorable siege will be detailed in its proper place, in connection with the history of the kingdom.

The siege of Ahmednugger, 1595.

Several desperate assaults having failed, and an army from Beejapoor being on its way to relieve the garrison, the Prince Moorád accepted the terms offered by the queen-dowager, which included the cession of Berar; and raising the siege, marched thither to take possession of that rich and fertile province. Shortly after his departure, however, a revolution occurred at Ahmednugger, and Chánd Beebee was deprived of power. Her treaty with the Moghuls was set aside, and the chiefs of Ahmednugger and Beejapoor, at the head of 50,000 horse, marched to expel the Moghuls from the province. The armies met at Soops,

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on the banks of the Godavery river, on December 27, 1596. The Moghuls were commanded by Mirza Khan, who was now better known under his title of Khan Khanán, with Rajah Ally Khan of Khandésh, and Rajah Ram Chundur; the Deccanies by Soheil Khan, who assumed charge of the confederate troops of Ahmednugger, Beejapoor and Golcondah. The action was well fought on both sides; it was, in fact, a national contest for superiority, which both parties, nearly equal perhaps in numbers, maintained with appropriate vigour and bravery. Rajah Ally Khan of Khandésh and Rajah Ram Chundur were killed in the first onset, and by nightfall the action was still undecided. Over the field of battle, parties of Moghuls and Deccanies, separated from their main bodies, wandered in the darkness, through heaps of dead and dying, and frequent collisions and skirmishes ensued, which increased the general confusion and added horror to the scene. As day broke, Soheil Khan, who had contrived to collect 12,000 horse, advanced upon the Moghuls, who were now much inferior in numbers, and the contest was renewed with fury; but he had been badly wounded the day before, and was again wounded; and worn out by loss of blood and fatigue, fell from his horse. He was borne off the field; and his troops, believing him dead, followed. The Moghuls thus kept possession of the field of battle: but were unable to pursue any advantage they had thus gained, and returned to the Prince Moorád, who was at Shahpoor, his cantonment, in Berar. As Khan Khanán and the Prince Moorád could not agree, the emperor recalled the former in 1597, and the prince occupied his troops for the present in reducing Namalla, Gawilgurh, and other mountain forts of the province. He had married also the daughter of Bahadur Khan Farooky of Khandésh, and established a local court in the new province. The climate of Berar did not, however, suit him, and he fell ill, and died at Shahpoor, in May 1599, to the great grief of his father, who, perceiving that his best troops had made little impression on those of the Deccan, determined upon proceeding to the south himself. He appointed his eldest son, Prince Selim Mirza, to conduct the affairs of government, and having dispatched a fresh army under the command of the Prince Daniel and Khan Khanán, he followed them by easy stages to the Deccan.

Battle of Soopa, December 26, 1596.

Death of Prince Moorád, 1599.

The emperor proceeds to the Deccan, 1599.

The affairs of Ahmednugger were found to be in a worse state if possible than before; and the queen-dowager, Chánd Beebee, was for a second time obliged to defend her capital against the Moghuls. These events will be detailed in the history of that State; but after the queen's murder, the fort was taken by assault, and the young king was sent to

Second siege and capture of Ahmednugger, 1600.

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reside at Gwalior, as a State prisoner. Meanwhile the ruler of Khandésh, Meerun Bahadur Khan, had evinced a rebellious spirit, and the emperor himself proceeded to Boorhanpoor, whence he directed the siege of Aseergurh: and the fort was eventually surrendered to him, with the accumulated wealth of the ancient Hindoo as well as the Mahomedan dynasties. Khandésh was now finally annexed to the empire; but Ahmednugger continued to resist, and to occupy the exertions of the imperial forces for some years. While the emperor was at Boorhanpoor, he received an embassy from Ibrahim Adil Shah II. of Beejapoor, offering his daughter in marriage to the Prince Daniel, and an escort was dispatched for the bride. Before her arrival, however, the emperor, in 1602, was obliged to return to Agra; and having consolidated the new provinces of Ahmednugger, Berar and Khandésh into one government, he appointed the Prince Daniel as viceroy. The Beejapoor princess arrived shortly afterwards, and the marriage was solemnised in the camp at Paitun, on the Godavery, with great splendour, in June 1604; but the prince did not long survive it. He died at Boorhanpoor on April 8, 1605, of the effects of excessive drinking, from which no one could restrain him.

Death of Prince Daniel, 1605.

The cause of the emperor's sudden return to Agra was the conduct of his eldest son Selim, whom he had left in charge of the government. He had been ordered to carry on the war against the Rana of Oodypoor, and Rajah Mán Singh, the viceroy of Bengal, was appointed his coadjutor. The prince had hardly commenced the campaign in Rajpootana, when an Afghan insurrection in Bengal broke out, and the rajah was obliged to proceed to his own government. The prince, freed from restraint, now seems to have formed the idea of asserting his own independence. He first tried to secure Agra, but the governor was faithful to the emperor, and refused to give up the fort. The prince then proceeded to Allahabad, seized the local treasury, which contained 300,000*l.*, and proclaimed himself king. The grief caused to the emperor by this unlooked for conduct, was aggravated by the news of the murder of his minister and intimate friend, Abool Fuzl, the author of his biography, and one of the most remarkable characters of the period, at or near Oorcha, as he was travelling to join the emperor, from the Deccan. It was a happy circumstance that Akbur never knew whose hand had directed that crime; but the prince himself, in his Memoirs, as the Emperor Jehangeer, not only acknowledges that he had directed the Rajah of Oorcha to kill Abool Fuzl, but justifies the act, as well as his own rebellion, by asserting that the minister had persuaded his

Rebellion of Prince Selim, 1600.

Murder of Abool Fuzl, 1602.

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father to renounce Mahomedanism. In regard to his son's conduct, Akbur displayed his usual consideration and fine temper. Had he proceeded against him in person, or dispatched an army to Oude, there can be little doubt that a civil war would have commenced, and with it the scenes of the Afghan monarchies would have been renewed. Instead of this, the emperor wrote a kindly and impressive remonstrance, at the same time offering his son reconciliation and forgiveness if he would return. The prince seems to have hesitated at first, and even collected troops, with which he advanced towards his father's camp; but being requested to come slightly attended, returned to Allahabad; and it was during this interval of indecision, that he directed the assassination of the minister. The emperor, however, still pursued his policy of reconciliation. He conferred Bengal and Orissa on his son, and sent to him one of his queens, who, on the death of his own mother, had adopted him; and it was probably owing to her good offices that the prince returned to his father's court and made his submission. After a while, he was requested to resume his campaign against Oodypoor; but his conduct continued to be so far from satisfactory, that he was directed to return to Allahabad. The prince had been long addicted to drinking profusely; and this vice increased upon him so rapidly and materially, that not only may much of his wild and rebellious conduct be attributed to it, but the cruelties he now practised, which, to his humane father, were peculiarly abhorrent. Remonstrance was of no avail; but the emperor's affection could not be restrained, and had in the end some effect upon his son, who repaired to Agra, and for a time submitted to restraint. Here his sons Khoosroo and Khurrám quarrelled, both being still boys, and separate parties were formed for each; thus the condition of the imperial family was productive of many sad anticipations for the future. In the midst of these trying scenes, the news of the death of the Prince Daniel reached the emperor, and the grief he felt seems to have stricken him down. Daniel was perhaps his favourite son, and was possessed of much real ability; but the vice he was addicted to, though it had produced no bad effect like that of his brother, was even more ineradicable; and in regard to any reformation, as was proved by his sudden and untimely death, the emperor's continuous remonstrances, and the prince's oaths to his father, were alike useless.

Akbur's illness commences.

From the time he heard of the event, the emperor, it may be said, never completely rallied, nor was the conduct of those around him calculated to soothe his last days; for there was, for a time, every prospect of a contest between the Prince Selim and his sons for the throne. In Sep-

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tember 1605 Akbur grew worse. Finding his end approaching, and true to his promises to his son Selim, he assembled the nobles of his court to hear his dying declaration that he was to succeed him. Mr. Elphinstone, from Price's 'Memoirs of Jehángeer,' thus describes the final scene. 'When they were assembled, he (the emperor) made a suitable address to them, and after wistfully regarding them all round, he desired them to forgive any offences of which he might have been guilty towards any of them. Selim now threw himself at his feet, and burst into a passion of tears; but Akbur pointed to his favourite scimitar, and made signs to his son to bind it on in his presence. He seems afterwards to have recovered from this exhaustion; he addressed himself to Selim, and earnestly conjured him to look to the comfort of the ladies of his family, and not to forget or forsake his old friends and dependants. After this he permitted one of the chief Moollahs, who was a personal friend of Selim's, to be brought to him, and in his presence he repeated the confession of faith, and died in all the forms of a good Mussulman ('Hist.' vol. ii. book ix. p. 276). The event occurred at Agra, on October 13, 1605.

Death of the Emperor Akbur, 1605.

The emperor was born on October 14, 1542, and had thus completed his sixty-third year, all but a day. Of that period he had reigned, in all the success and glory which have been detailed, for fifty-one years and some months. He was buried in a splendid mausoleum, near Agra, erected by his son Selim, who, as the Emperor Jehángeer, succeeded him, which is well described by Bishop Heber in his 'Travels,' and is still perfect.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CHARACTER AND ADMINISTRATION OF AKBUR.

But little romance has ever attached itself to the characters of Indian history: and in this respect the difference between the actions of the Moors of Spain, and the early Mahomedans of India, is very remarkable. During the cruel and gloomy reigns, with few exceptions, of the Afghan dynasties of India, there was little scope for romantic incident, or the development of any free or chivalrous spirit among the people; and it is to the research of Colonel Tod, the Froissart of the Rajpoot clans and States, that the history of all that existed among them, exceptional as it was, is due. The Mahomedans of the same period may be considered too cruel and too savage to allow of the existence of any chivalry. Where they predominated, whatever had hitherto existed was

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crushed out; their conquests were massacres of the people, or captures of them for sale into slavery. Any idea of equality or sympathy with Hindoos and infidels was utterly foreign to their morose and gloomy fanaticism; and consequently there was no birth of that free social intercourse and mutual respect which sprang up afterwards under Shére Khan Soor, and was perfected by Akbur. This, in some respects, may be compared to the relative situation of the Moors and Christians of Spain; hereditary enemies and religious opponents, yet becoming fused together, as it were, under the influence of a common and beneficent civilisation.

In Akbur's character, romance prevails from the earliest dawn of its development, through its constant exercise, down to his last sad moments in the forgiveness of his son's rebellion. In his wars, in his hunting exploits and expeditions, in his State policy, in the generous and tolerant spirit of his religious principles, and their application to the necessities of the varied classes of his people — instances are so numerous, that nothing short of an entire biography would suffice to exemplify them. Romance may be of two kinds: healthy and vigorous; or, on the other hand, mawkish and sentimental; devoted to public benefits, or confined to private gratifications. In Akbur, it was emphatically the former. It made him humane and merciful in conquest, just and considerate; yet, in all cases, firm and decided in action; and while he permitted no scope for the exercise of national fanaticism, he yet secured the high respect, and often the affection, of his opponents. In former times, the rulers of conquered States in India were either trampled to death by elephants, hewn to pieces, or blinded and consigned to State prisons for life; and there were occasions in Akbur's reign when similar courses would have been applauded by his countrymen and courtiers. Yet they were never followed; and when a foe submitted, he was, in the highest spirit of romance, promoted to dignity, and provided with estates, while very rarely was there any instance of subsequent defection.

As one of the first instances of this generous spirit, the case of Báz Bahadur may be stated, who, an usurper of the throne of Malwah himself, and a military adventurer, had no claim but that of his sword to that portion of the imperial dominions. Indolent and voluptuous, he fought badly at first; but he redeemed his character as a soldier, and in the second campaign against him, slew the young emperor's preceptor and friend, and hunted his army nearly to Agra. Continuing afterwards a predatory life, he became unable to bear its privations, and at last threw himself on the emperor's mercy. By any former sovereign of India, his

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conduct would have provoked, if it did not deserve, instant execution; but Akbur respected the man who had fought bravely for his territory, and of whose prowess in love and war romantic tales were in the mouths of singers and minstrels; and he was not only forgiven, but raised to the highest rank of local nobility. It was the same with all other cases of which accounts can be found in his history or his memoirs. It might even be supposed he had modelled his conduct upon the laws of Menu in regard to king-craft. 'When a rajah has conquered a country,' writes Menu, 'he should respect the deities which are worshipped . . . distribute largesses . . . and reassure the people by loud proclamations. . . . He should respect the laws of the country: or he may form an alliance with the rajah whom he has conquered, and act in union with him . . . by securing a firm ally, a rajah obtains greater strength than by gaining wealth and territory.' Yet, though the emperor's acquaintance with Hindoo moral codes, from Feizi's translations, may have influenced his decision in later times, his earlier instances of generosity proceeded from the spontaneous romance of his character. When the captive Hémoo was brought before him after the battle of Paniput, and he was asked to slay him, he burst into tears, and refused to strike a wounded and helpless enemy. In this case, too, the difference between the old merciless cruelty, and the new tolerance that was to follow, was exemplified in a marked degree. As Akbur wept, Beiram Khan, his uncle and general, struck the 'infidel's' head from his body. Had Akbur obeyed his uncle's desire, the bloody act might have influenced his whole life.

This gentleness, the truest test of chivalrous valour, followed Akbur through his life. With a rare perception of its value, both to himself and to his posterity, he forbade, under heavy penalties, the practice of making slaves of persons captured in war, or selling captives as slaves. In former times, while thousands of male Hindoo prisoners were massacred in cold blood, women and children were openly sold into slavery. They were not only sold in India, but dispatched to foreign markets—Arabia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia; but this was now rendered impossible. In regard to the practices of Hindoos also, Akbur's perceptions for the necessity of reform were very deep; yet he did not carry them out with any show of fanatical zeal—they were reforms, not persecutions. He prohibited suttee, except when the act should be entirely voluntary, and on one occasion rode a long distance to prevent the sacrifice of a princely Rajpoot lady, by her family. He allowed, and even provided for, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows; made trial by ordeal a crime; prohibited the sacrifice of living animals, and forbade marriage before the age of puberty.

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All these were serious innovations upon Hindoo faith and usage, and might have been considered dangerous experiments by another; but Akbur knew no fear: his designs were benevolent, and in the ordinary practices of their religion, the Hindoos were not only unmolested, but all previous restrictions, in the taxation of temples and places of pilgrimage, of sacred bathing-places, with the odious capitation tax, were removed.

Considering the emperor's toleration of 'infidels,' his refusals of fanatical persecution, his abolition of slavery and of the poll-tax, his non-interference with temples; his protection of his Hindoo subjects, their priests and wealth—all the opposite of which had been avowed, and heretofore jealously maintained, as tokens of Mahomedan supremacy; and considering also his own unconcealed doubts upon many points of Mahomedan faith, and law as part of that faith; his rejection of any religious opinion promulgated by man, as an article of faith; his rejection of Mahomedan forms of prayer and ceremonial; his encouragement of Christians, his veneration for Christian symbols, his reverence for the sacred Scriptures, and his permission for the establishment of Christian schools, missions, and colleges—it is only wonderful how he escaped, or repressed, solely by his indomitable will, any outbreak of intolerant zeal, to which he would probably have been the first victim. If Mahomedans hated Hindoos, they hated Christians even more; yet the emperor's patient and constant discussion of points of faith with them, and his encouragement of theological controversies between the Christian and Mahomedan priests, were regarded by his powerful nobles, priests, and courtiers without remonstrance.

It is easy to perceive how deeply Akbur's religious tolerance affected his State policy. He had induced the proudest and most exclusive of the hitherto inaccessible Rajpoot chiefs to bestow daughters in marriage upon himself, his sons, and his grandsons. He employed Rajpoot princes as generals and civil administrators, and his great finance minister, Rajah Toder Mul, brought, by his measures of reform, thousands of Hindoos into the imperial service. They shared the details of all ordinary business with Mahomedans; were collectors, treasurers, surveyors, assessors, everything indeed but judges; for their administration of Mahomedan law would have been impossible. Hindoos, however, enjoyed the protection of their own laws, which were now recognised and explained in the courts of the Mahomedan judges. When all these reforms are considered, it becomes difficult to realise how they not only emanated from, but were carried out in all their details by, one mind; and that too under frequent interruptions by war, and other political events. One material circumstance, how-

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ever, in the emperor's proceedings, will not have escaped the reader's observation. He seems to have had no abstract passion for war, nor ever employed much of his time in it. If necessary, he opened a campaign in person; and after giving general instructions to his commanders, in regard to its prosecution, he returned to his seat of government, and devoted himself to civil affairs. But his opponents well knew that, though absent in person, he was yet present in spirit, and in case of any reverse to his troops, that he would join them as rapidly, and fight in person with the same fiery valour he had displayed at Surtál, and from his youth upwards.

When everything he directed for the relief of his people was important and progressive, Akbur's system of the assessment of the land revenue of his kingdom was perhaps the most perfect and most elaborate of his reforms. The measure was devised in conjunction with Rajah Toder Mul, and possibly other ministers; but the clear decision of the emperor himself can be traced throughout. The merit of entire originality may be denied him, for he took up what Shére Shah Soor had partly begun; but the recognition and perfection of so grand a reform, is not much below that of original discovery. The land—that is, every field of every village—was measured by an imperial standard. Fields and part of fields might each contain soils of various qualities, and these were calculated in three classes. The averages of value of produce were then decided upon an average of the prices for nineteen years. Of the product, the Government share was fixed at one-third, which was a greater proportion than that of Shére Shah Soor; but, on the other hand, it was now the only rate or tax levied on the agricultural classes. All minor petty taxes, many of which had been very vexatious, were abolished; extra fees and considerations to officers of Government were removed, and the system of farming out districts to individuals, and contractors for revenue, which had given rise to much abuse and oppression, was entirely discontinued. In its main features, Akbur's system bears a very close resemblance to that of the recent revenue survey and assessment of the Bombay Presidency. The groundwork in the measurement of the land, the record of proprietors and occupants, the classification of soils, and the calculation of the value of produce, is as nearly as possible identical in both, and served the same great national purpose and need—the prosperity and contentment of the people. Under Akbur's settlement, no land tenures were altered, or interfered with, in any way. They were accepted as they were found to exist among the people; and so long as an hereditary occupant paid the Government assessment, either in commuted money payments or produce, as he pleased,

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he could not be outbid, or removed from his possession. It is not to be considered that the emperor's system was perfect; its first provisions were found to be too minute, and involved yearly settlements, which were altered to terms of ten years; but it was an immense and liberal concession to the people, and that it formed the foundation of subsequent revenue settlements in India by native powers, and even English administrators, vouches for its excellence, after an experience of three hundred years.

It is impossible to review thoroughly the emperor's various reforms—of the army, of justice, of police, and of general State policy—which are contained in the 'Ayeen Akburi,' which Mr. Gladwin's translation has placed at the command of all students of Indian subjects. Taking the code as a whole, it displays an amount of careful consideration and practical ability before unknown in India, combined with a rare benevolence and philanthropy highly characteristic of its author. Although it is impossible that the whole can have emanated from Akbur himself, yet there can be no doubt that it was compiled under his own immediate direction, and that he watched its execution very carefully. A proof of this is afforded by the emperor's letter to the Viceroy of Guzerat, given entire in Mr. Bird's history of that province, and quoted by Mr. Elphinstone. While it specifies the limited punishments he was authorised to award, he is enjoined to be sparing in capital punishment; and, unless in dangerous sedition, to inflict none, until he has sent the proceedings to court, and received the emperor's confirmation—nor was execution to be accompanied with mutilation or other cruelty. Thus, throughout the whole, the evidences of order, and systematic regularity, extend from the highest to the lowest branches of State policy and executive detail of administration.

Akbur's court was perhaps the most magnificent in the world. It was the most gorgeous that even India had ever seen; and when the details of it, as given by Sir T. Roe, Hawkins, Bernier, and the Portuguese priests, which cannot be questioned as to accuracy or truth, are considered, it must be admitted that splendour—whether in jewels and ornaments, in costume and decoration, in cloth of gold and velvet, and the gorgeous manufactures of the country; in camp and hunting equipage, elephants, horses, and general equipment of the nobility and the army—could go no further. Akbur had a revenue of 30,000,000*l.* sterling a-year, which, without any reckless extravagance, was royally expended; as was proved by the State treasury at his death, which contained only 10,000,000*l.* sterling, with some bullion. He was never in debt, and the stipends of his civil establishments of all kinds, as well as the pay of his army, were

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disbursed with the utmost regularity. The emperor's personal application to business was immense. He took but little sleep; three to four hours a day being sufficient for him. He had used to indulge in wine, though not to excess, in his youth, but he gave it up entirely; and he ate moderately of plain food, abstaining from meat two days in every week. Every day he sat in public, transacting business, and receiving petitions even from the most humble. As Purchas describes him, he was 'affable and majestical, merciful and severe; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies.' In all professions of handicraft he took the greatest interest, especially in cannon founding, the manufacture of arms, and architecture, which, of his reign, is at once grand and beautiful. The town of Futtehpoor Sikry, one of his favourite places of residence, was especially decorated with public buildings, and the palaces and mosques at Agra remain exquisite specimens of his pure taste and costly expenditure.

Such a man may have had private vices, yet they do not appear; and had any existed as prominent points in his character, they must, more or less, have influenced his public conduct. Faults, indeed, he humbly acknowledged to all. Of other Indian monarchs, the native historians of their times have not been sparing in comment or record when vices, meanness, or cruelty appeared; and there is no reason to suppose that Akbur would have escaped had there been necessity for animadversion. His public and private character display a vivid sense of true honour, rare perhaps in royal life. He had no deceits, no falsehood, no shifts, no intrigues. He could find, he once said, 'but one road to the attainment of his purposes, and that was the straight one,—after all the easiest and best.' In his private friendships, who more sincere and constant? The men he raised to that honour were of the people, and so far inferior in rank to himself; yet he was true and faithful to all, lamenting their deaths with a passionate grief which could hardly be pacified or consoled. Enough, however, of the great emperor. There is no character of the period with whom he can be compared, nor indeed with any other who, like himself, created an empire and ruled over it. At his death, the population of his empire can hardly have been less than 150,000,000, and may have been more; and there is no instance in the world's history, of such a kingdom having been won, not only with so small an amount of human suffering, but with so positive a relief from oppression; and the more his acts, his policy, and his disposition, in all their generosity and humanity, are studied and understood, the stronger will be the conviction that Akbur stands alone. Of his personal appearance there are few very particular accounts. His manly vigour of body was a

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fit accompaniment for so large a mind; and of his feats in riding great distances, of walking sometimes forty miles a day, of slaying wild animals, and of his valour in battle, there are many interesting details in his Memoirs. The Jesuits record that he was white like a European; but his son Selim's picture may be nearer the truth, when he describes him as tall of stature, of a ruddy brown complexion, his eyes full and dark, and his eyebrows meeting; while his great breadth of chest, and long sinewy arms, gave him the strength of a lion.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE PROGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA, 1527 TO 1612 (*continued from Chapter XXIII., Book III.*).

ENCOURAGED by the success of his fleet, the King of Guzerat, in 1527, sent it again against the Portuguese, who were at their naval station of Choule; but on this occasion the Portuguese were entirely victorious, and of eighty-three Guzerat vessels, seventy-three were either sunk or driven on shore and burned; and the Portuguese followed up their success by an advance by land under Hector di Silviera, in which Tannah, Salsette, and other towns were made tributary. On this occasion, and subsequently, the Portuguese co-operated with the troops of Ahmednugger. In 1530, Antonio di Silviera sacked the rich city of Surat, and burned Damaun; but their greatest expedition was directed against Diu, in 1531. Four hundred vessels of all sizes were assembled in the present harbour of Bombay, under the command of Nuño da Cuerpa, governor-general in India; and conveyed 22,000 men, of whom no less than 3,600 were Europeans. On February 7, the island of Beyt, in the Gulf of Cutch, a strongly fortified position, was carried by assault, with heavy loss to the enemy in men, and sixty pieces of cannon; but the brave Hector di Silviera fell in the attack. The expedition then proceeded to Diu, but was eventually repulsed with heavy loss by its defender, Moostafa Khan, a Turk, and the Portuguese returned to Goa, burning and destroying several towns by the way. But they had by no means given up the idea of possessing Diu. They were joined by the Prince Chánd of Guzerat, who promised them extensive privileges for their assistance; and, ostensibly on his behalf, nearly the whole of the Northern Koncan, including Bombay, was annexed. When the prince's rebellion failed, the governor-general made overtures to the Emperor Hoomayoon,

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who had invaded Guzerat; but this policy was abandoned for an alliance with Bahadur Shah, the King of Guzerat, who, in his extremity, ceded to them Bassein, and the long-coveted Diu. Bahadur Shah took Portuguese into his pay, and in his contests with Hoomayoon was latterly assisted by a corps of 450 Europeans. On a subsequent visit to the Portuguese at Diu, he was killed, as is elsewhere related. In 1537, after the representations and petitions for assistance of Bahadur Shah had reached Constantinople, the sooltan determined upon an expedition against Diu, and seventy-six vessels were fitted out at Suez, carrying 7,000 men. This fleet arrived off Diu in September, at a time when the garrison had been reduced to 600 men, and was straitened for provisions. The Egyptian fleet was supported by a Guzerat land army of 20,000 men. The commander of Diu, Antonio di Silviera, made a noble defence in a close siege of eight months' duration, during which the garrison suffered the extremities of hunger—a crow shot on the dead bodies was a luxury for the sick, and nauseous vermin were used as food. The Portuguese ladies took a noble part in the defence, and the details, as given by Faria y Souza, exhibit the highest qualities of heroism. The siege was raised by a fleet under the command of the viceroy, John de Castro, carrying 1,000 pieces of cannon and 5,000 men. Of the fleet, 93 vessels safely reached Diu, and their progress up the coast had been marked by horrible outrages on the inhabitants of many of the large towns; not only were they pillaged and burned, but men, women and children massacred without distinction, while several thousands of the people were sold into slavery. When the relief arrived, the garrison sallied out and routed the besiegers; and on his return to Goa, the viceroy made a triumphal entry, the particulars of which excited astonishment, even in Portugal.

In 1543 Garcia de Noronha being viceroy, the Prince Abdoolla, or Mulloo Khan, of Beejapoor, took refuge at Goa. Assud Khan, the minister, according to the Portuguese historian, offered the whole of the Koncan to him, if the prince should be given up; but the offer was refused. On the death of Assud Khan, it is recorded that they agreed to the demand of Ibrahim Adil Shah, for the delivery of his brother, on condition of receiving the whole of Assud Khan's wealth, and acknowledge to have received ten millions of ducats; but the prince was not surrendered. In 1545, Diu was attacked unsuccessfully by Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, and the siege was renewed in 1548; but the place was relieved by Dom John de Castro, who obtained a great victory, both by sea and land. The King of Beejapoor also renewed his negotiations for the surrender of his brother, which was again refused; and in 1554 the Portuguese assisted him with a force of 3,000 European

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infantry, with which he took possession of the Poonda ghaut and fort, the pass leading from Goa to the Deccan. Here, however, the intervention seems to have ended; and whether the Portuguese had any political objection, as may have been the case, to entering upon the continent of India, or whether they found Mulloo or Abdoolla's party less powerful than they had supposed, does not appear; but they at once abandoned his cause, and the prince, persisting in his rebellion, was defeated, taken and executed. Had the Portuguese advanced with him, his expedition against his brother, then in the last degree unpopular, would, most probably, have been successful. Ibrahim Adil Shah retaliated by sending a large army to invade the Goa territory; but it was repulsed, though some of the Koncan was lost. In 1570, however, a serious combination was made against the Portuguese by the Kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, assisted by the Zamorin of Calicut. Ally Adil Shah of Beejapoor invested Goa with an immense army, and 350 pieces of cannon of all sizes. The siege continued for ten months, and was ultimately abandoned by the king, who had lost 12,000 men, 300 elephants, 4,000 horses, and 6,000 head of oxen, partly by casualties of the siege, and partly from the effects of climate. The attack upon Goa by the King of Beejapoor was seconded by one on Choule by the King of Ahmednugger, of almost equal magnitude; but it suffered a very severe defeat. At the same time, however, the Zamorin's attack upon Châle, near Calicut, was successful. The fort was surrendered by Don George de Castro, who was afterwards beheaded for imputed cowardice. These efforts on the part of the Portuguese appear to have inspired their enemies with respect, for peace ensued on favourable terms with the Deccan kings. In 1592, Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednugger renewed his attack upon Choule; but this expedition was even more disastrous than the first. Its commander, Furhád Khan, was taken prisoner with his family. Seventy-five pieces of large cannon were captured, and the Mahomedan historian acknowledges the loss of 12,000 men. Furhád Khan and his daughters became Christians, and went ultimately to Lisbon. The year 1595 brought the first real interruption to the trade of the Portuguese. The Dutch, their first rivals, had sent two ships to the Indian Archipelago, which were, however, intercepted on their return in 1597. They were followed by a fleet of eight ships, which returned to Holland safely, and henceforth the maritime supremacy of the Portuguese was not only disputed, but afterwards destroyed in the East, by the Dutch and by the English. In 1604 they were expelled from Amboyna, and in 1612 they suffered their first defeat in Indian waters from an English fleet. The Portuguese never aspired to be more than a

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maritime and trading power in India, and this continued only so long as they preserved a monopoly. They might have used their opportunity both in Guzerat and in the Deccan to acquire political and territorial influence; but they had apparently no desire for any possessions but what could be guarded by sea. They were excellent sailors: but their never attempting military operations by land, except in the defence of their own seaports, either marks timidity or disinclination, amidst opportunities which few other adventurers would have neglected during a career of more than 100 years. Of their actions, some rise to heroism; but they are deplorably tarnished by cruelty and vindictiveness, which surpassed the acts of their Mahomedan contemporaries, and combined with their unscrupulous avarice, made them in the end detestable. Their history in detail, however revolting in many respects, is extremely curious and interesting, and well repays the perusal of the student from its outset to its close. The acts of the horrible Inquisition of Goa need no exemplification, and the nominal conversion of 'infidels' to Portuguese Christianity, gave pretexts of persecution and vengeance to this horrible tribunal, at which humanity shudders.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO INDIA, 1553 TO 1613.

In the reign of Henry VIII., Robert Thorne, a merchant, who had resided in Spain, addressed a memorial to the king, setting forth the benefit of direct trade with China. The text of this document is extremely curious, as exhibiting the ideas then prevalent, of a passage to India by the north-west, and the information possessed regarding India; and it became the foundation of subsequent expeditions. In 1553, three ships, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, with instructions from Sebastian Cabot, sailed from Greenwich on May 10, bearing letters from Edward VI., addressed to all the potentates of the earth, in furtherance of the designs of the expedition. The little fleet was separated in the White Sea. Willoughby's two ships were frozen in, their crews perished during the winter, and one only returned to England. Several other attempts followed, the last by Henry Hudson, in 1597, serving to satisfy even the most sanguine, that a north-west passage to the East was impracticable.

Robert Thorne's petition.

Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition, 1553.

Henry Hudson's voyage, 1597.

Failure to the northward of the American continent induced attempts to the south; and the route of Magellan, in 1519-22,

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whose expedition had circumnavigated the globe for the first time, was followed by Sir Francis Drake in 1577, who, with five small vessels, the largest of which was barely 100 tons burden, left Plymouth on December 13, and on September 26, 1580, again reached that port. He had crossed the Atlantic and Pacific, had sailed through the Eastern Archipelago, and touching at Ternate, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope from the east; but he had not seen India. Nor was it till his subsequent capture of a Portuguese ship from India, that particulars of trade with, and access to, that country were understood. Drake's voyage was followed by that of Cavendish, 1586–88, which was perfectly successful, and returned with a large booty from ships and countries of all nations, which he seems to have considered lawful prize; and in his report of his voyage to Lord Hunsden, chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, he expressly states that he had been well treated by the heathen inhabitants of 'Malucoes,' and where 'our countrymen may trade as freely as the Portugals if they will themselves.'

Magellan's voyage round the globe, 1519–22.

Sir Francis Drake follows, 1597.

Cavendish's voyage, 1586.

The supplies of eastern produce to England had hitherto been obtained through the Mediterranean Sea, by means of Venice and Genoa, as also directly from the Levant; and a company was chartered by the queen in 1581, which traded direct with the Levant and Turkey; but the eastern trade had already turned into a different channel, of which, as will have been understood, the Portuguese had the monopoly, and the supplies obtained by the Levant Company were entirely insufficient to meet the demand for eastern produce now rapidly increasing in England. There had been a remonstrance from Spain against Drake's passage through the Eastern Archipelago and Indian Ocean, which the queen treated with characteristic contempt. She declared the sea, as the air, common to all men; and that her subjects had as good a right as the Spaniards to sail where they pleased. An expedition to India direct was therefore projected, and instructions issued to Mr. Edward Fenton for its fulfilment, which may be read at length in 'Hakluyt,' vol. iii., and were admirably adapted for the purpose. Four ships sailed on May 1, 1582; but the expedition failed signally, only reaching the Brazils, and returning with but one ship out of the four. No attempt whatever appears to have been made to double the Cape of Good Hope; and the failure may be attributed to the ill-conduct and want of enterprise of the commanders. No further attempt was made for several years to renew English enterprise to the east; but after the failure

Levant Company, 1581.

Remonstrance by Spain against Drake's voyage.

Queen Elizabeth's reply.

Fenton's expedition to India, 1582.

Its failure.

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of the Spanish Armada, a body of merchants of London petitioned the queen to allow them to despatch three ships to the east by way of the Cape of Good Hope; and, after some delay, the expedition sailed from Plymouth on April 10, 1591. On July 28 the Cape was seen, and on August 1 the three ships anchored in Saldanha Bay. They had lost a great proportion of their crews from scurvy. One of the ships, the 'Royal Edward,' was despatched home with the sick; and with the 'Penelope' and the 'Edward' the voyage was continued. Of these, the 'Penelope' was lost, and is supposed to have foundered; but Lancaster held on his course with the 'Edward,' and continued a desultory cruise by the Nicobar Islands into the Eastern Archipelago, capturing two large Portuguese ships in the Straits of Malacca. Thence the ship returned to Ceylon, where the crew being mutinous, obliged Lancaster to proceed homewards. The close of the voyage was most disastrous. While on the coast of Brazil, nearly all the crew being on shore, the carpenter cut the ship's cable, and it drifted out to sea. Lancaster, and six men, were eventually taken to St. Domingo by a French ship, and he finally reached England alone, on May 24, 1594. Thus a second expedition to India had failed in its object. The Dutch, however, took up the project, and under the command of Cornelius Houtmann, sent out four powerful vessels, in 1595, which sailed on April 2. On June 1, 1596, after many delays, they arrived on the coast of Sumatra, and finally reached Bantam, a Portuguese factory in Java. Here his attempts to open trade were met with the utmost jealousy by the Portuguese; Houtmann and some of his countrymen were imprisoned; and they escaped finally, having undergone much danger of their lives, but having, nevertheless, obtained recompense for their maltreatment. On the coast of Java one of the ships was abandoned as unseaworthy, and with the other three, the united crews being reduced to only eighty-three men, Houtmann arrived in Holland on August 14, 1598. He was honourably welcomed, and a fresh expedition immediately fitted out of eight ships, four of which returned in fifteen months with rich cargoes. Thus the eastern trade of Holland became established, and in 1602 the several companies which had engaged in it were incorporated as one, under a charter.

The merchants of London dispatch three ships, 1591.

Disastrous ending of the enterprise.

Dutch voyage under Houtmann, 1595.

Second expedition of the Dutch, 1598.

This example was followed in England. A company was established with a subscribed capital of 30,000*l.*, and in a petition to Queen Elizabeth, set forth its objects in a clear and business-like manner, embodying the results of Portuguese and Dutch successes. The petition

English company established under charter by Queen Elizabeth, 1600.

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was accepted by the queen, and the company was finally embodied by charter in 1600, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies.' It was provided with rules expressed in the charter, which embraced all possible contingencies, and a letter was drawn up by the queen, recommending the expedition and its objects to the care and hospitality of all monarchs and peoples whose countries it might visit. Finally five ships left the English coast on April 22, 1601; but the 'Guest,' of 130 tons, was unloaded at sea and abandoned. On November 1, the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and the fleet, after much terrible suffering from scurvy, reached Acheen, in Sumatra, on June 6. Here Lancaster, who was the commander, delivered the queen's letter, and trade was opened with much spirit. Lancaster did not, however, confine his operations to trade; he captured a Portuguese ship of 900 tons with a valuable cargo of Indian produce and manufactures, by which, and with pepper and spices, his ships were completely laden; and having established a factory at Bantam, where he traded very profitably, he set sail homewards with the 'Dragon' and the 'Hector,' leaving the 'Susan' to follow when her cargo should be completed. On the voyage, his ship, the 'Hector,' lost her rudder, and Lancaster writing a very noble letter to the company, advised the commander of the 'Hector' to abandon him to his fate; but, eventually, both ships reached England together, finding their consorts had arrived before them.

Dispatch of five ships, 1601.

Captain Lancaster's proceedings.

Factory at Bantam established.

Before the return of these ships, the queen had endeavoured to prevail upon the company to dispatch another expedition; but her energetic, and even reproachful, language had no effect, and she died before the first reached England. The enterprise had, however, been eminently successful, and the same ships were again fitted out for a second. The commander received the honorary title of admiral and vice-admiral; and Captain, or Admiral, Middleton, was placed in command of all. This fleet sailed on March 25, 1604, and had a prosperous voyage to Bantam, where it arrived on December 20, and was at first hospitably received by the Dutch; but jealousies afterwards broke out, and it was evident that they aspired to a monopoly of the spice trade. Nevertheless, by trading at Ternate, Banda, and other islands where the Dutch had no pretext for interference, the cargoes were completed. The 'Susan' was the first to leave for England, but is supposed to have foundered at sea. The other three ships reached England

The same ships again dispatched under Middleton, 1604.

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on May 6, 1606. As yet, therefore, India Proper had not been visited by any English vessel.

The third expedition, 1607.

In the third eastern venture, three ships were employed: the 'Dragon,' the 'Hector,' and the 'Consent,' a small vessel of 150 tons burden only, which, under the command of David Middleton, sailed alone on March 12, 1607; and it can only now be marvelled at, as in the case also of Drake, how such small ships contrived to escape the perils of their long voyages. The project was, however, perfectly successful. The 'Consent' reached Bantam on November 14, and having taken in pepper, was on a cruise, when she met with a Java junk, from which Middleton purchased cloves to the value of 3,000*l.*, which realised in England 36,287*l.* He now returned to England, which he reached in December 1608. The other two ships sailed on April 1, 1607, and after doubling the Cape, proceeded along the coast of Africa to Socotra. Here they separated, the 'Hector,' under the command of Captain Hawkins, sailing to Surat, and thus being the first English ship which had reached India. But he does not appear to have effected anything in regard to trade, and in hope of making arrangements for the establishment of a factory remained on shore, sending his ship to Bantam to rejoin her consort. Captain Hawkins's subsequent proceedings will be hereafter noticed. From Bantam, both ships returned to England with full cargoes. Two vessels, dispatched during their absence, were wrecked with heavy loss to the company; but the next expedition, under Middleton's command, which sailed on April 24, 1609, for Bantam, returned to England in safety. The profit on the whole undertaking proved to be enormous, and fully justified further proceedings; and on the petition of the company, King James I. granted a new charter in 1610, which confirmed all existing privileges of the former. Upon this, and a new subscription for trade, three ships were dispatched under Sir Henry Middleton, one of them, 'The Trade's Increase,' being of 1,000 tons burden. Leaving one ship at Aden, Middleton sailed for Mocha; but, when within sight of the port, his Arab pilots ran the ship on a bank, and he, with many of his crew, were imprisoned. 'The Trade's Increase' was however floated, and he was eventually released, when he proceeded to Surat.

Middleton's second voyage, 1609.

The company obtains a new charter from James I., 1610.

Sir Henry Middleton's voyage, 1610.

The Portuguese were fully aware of the transactions of English vessels in the Red Sea, and Middleton found a fleet of considerable strength waiting to oppose him. The Portuguese pleaded their monopoly of trade, recognised by the West Indian authorities, as superior to any pretensions on the part of

Hindrances of the Portuguese at Surat.

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the English; but Sir Henry Middleton, while he could not dispute the right of the Portuguese to trade, denied their establishment of monopoly, and gave them to understand that, as he considered India a free and independent country, he should persevere, by force if necessary, and in pursuance of the royal charter, to trade as he pleased. The native authorities were, however, so fearful of the Portuguese, that Middleton found trade impossible at Surat, and was advised to proceed to Gôgo, not far distant, where he would not be interfered with. This advice he adopted, taking on board, as passengers, Captain Hawkins and his wife, who had recently arrived from Agra. Hawkins's adventures had been of a very romantic character in those early days of English intercourse with India. When he had remained at Surat, in 1608, and sent his ship, the 'Hector,' to the eastern settlements, he soon found that without an imperial deed of permission, he would be unable to establish a factory or to enter into mercantile transactions with the native traders; and having the king's letter to 'the Great Moghul' in his possession, determined, in absence of other credentials as ambassador, to proceed to Agra and present it in person. He was received honourably by the Emperor Jehángeer, promised a handsome salary, and became a personal favourite. According to the emperor's desire also, he married an Armenian lady, who appears to have made him a faithful wife. But, as far as the object of his mission went, he was unsuccessful; the intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries frustrated all his efforts to obtain a firman—his salary remained unpaid—he was in continual dread of being poisoned, or otherwise made away with by Portuguese emissaries; and failing to receive assistance from Jehángeer, he returned with some difficulty to Surat, in turn to be taken on board Sir Henry Middleton's ship.

Middleton proceeds to Gôgo.

Captain Hawkins arrives from Agra.

His previous proceedings, and journey to Agra.

Intrigues of the Jesuits against him.

Middleton and his council now came to the determination of taking by sea what could not be obtained by land; and he stationed himself near the Straits of Babel Mandeb, intercepting vessels from India, from which he took Indian products, giving their masters portions of his own cargoes in payment. These transactions, it is evident, were little better than rank piracy; but they were continued till the arrival of three ships, the 'Thomas,' 'Hector,' and 'Clove,' which had left England under the command of Captain Saris, and had proceeded direct to Mocha: but the former jealousies of the people still existed, and on his return he found Sir Henry Middleton engaged as has been related. Saris appears to have seen nothing objectionable in Sir Henry's proceedings; and joined

Middleton's proceedings.

Is joined by three ships under Captain Saris.

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him, receiving on each transaction of forced barter, a proportion for his three ships. In the course of a short time, the ships, having obtained cargoes for the eastern market, and disposed of their own, all set sail for Bantam. The finest of these ships, 'The Trade's Increase,' was lost on the voyage, and Sir Henry Middleton died; but Captain Saris proceeded to Japan, in order to establish a factory there, and, notwithstanding the jealousy of the Dutch, was favourably received. The produce of this voyage proved very remunerative to the company. Captain Hippon's voyage in the 'Globe' about the same time possesses a peculiar interest; for, instead of following the usual track, he sailed up the eastern coast of India, touching at several native ports, where he found the Dutch established under grants from the King of Golconda. At these stations trade was impossible; but he succeeded in establishing a small factory near Masulipatam, and these comparatively insignificant proceedings laid the foundation of the extensive trade subsequently developed.

The fleet proceeds to Bantam.

Captain Hippon's voyage.

Factory established near Masulipatam.

It had now become sufficiently evident in England, that small enterprises, in weakly manned and nearly unarmed vessels, could have no chance of establishing trade in India, in the face of the superior strength possessed by the Portuguese; and that means must be adopted to repel force by force, if necessary. Accordingly, four ships, the 'Dragon,' 'Osiander,' 'Solomon,' and 'James,' sailed from England on February 1, 1612, under the command of Captain Thomas Best. These ships were fully armed as vessels of war, and made direct for Surat, where they anchored early in September. Mr. Kerridge, the factor of the 'Osiander,' who had before resided at Surat, soon obtained an official permission for trade, and it was about to open, when a Portuguese fleet of four galleons, convoying a large number of trading vessels, entered the harbour. These Best immediately attacked, and three of the Portuguese ships were driven ashore. They were got off, and the fight renewed, but with even more certain and disastrous results. Up to this time, perhaps, the English had been looked upon as mere traders, and as such with a certain degree of contempt, which, artfully fomented by the Portuguese at Agra, had tended to Hawkins's discomfiture; but the position was now changed: the hitherto irresistible Portuguese had been beaten on their own element, as it were; the English had established a reputation for valour, and its effect was soon practically and beneficially apparent. The Emperor Jehángeer concluded a treaty, by which

Armed fleet sent out under Best, 1612.

Naval engagement with Portuguese at Surat, who are defeated.

Treaty of the Emperor Jehángeer with the English, 1613.

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English settlers or traders at Surat should be protected. An ambassador from England should reside at his court, and customs dues on imports should amount to no more than 3½ per cent. This treaty, which contained many other privileges, was received by Captain Best at Surat, on February 6, 1613, and necessarily becomes a famous incident in the progress of the English in India. They may be considered as established from that period, and their heretofore desultory proceedings to be at an end.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE MAHOMEDAN KINGS OF GUZERAT (*continued from Chapter III., Book III.*), 1526 TO 1584.

WHEN Sikunder, who succeeded his father Mozuffer Shah II., ascended the throne, there were two parties in the State—one his own, which was the weakest; the other that of his brother, Bahadur. Imád-ool-Moolk, the minister, secretly favouring the latter, and believing that the king intended to put him to death, watched his opportunity, and caused him to be assassinated on May 31, 1526, after a brief reign of three months. At this time, Bahadur was absent at Dehly, where he had taken refuge; but, when his younger brother, Nusseer Khan, was elevated to the throne, under the title of Mahmood Shah II., and letters reached him from many of the nobility offering him assistance to attain his rightful position, he set out for Guzerat. He had, however, been offered the kingdom of Joonpoor, in Bengal, by the Afghans; and, undecided as to whether he should accept this offer, or proceed to Guzerat, determined to leave the matter to chance or fate, and to take whatever direction his horse should proceed in. Casting the reins on its neck, the animal took the southern road; and Bahadur, believing in the omen, proceeded. He was joined on the frontier by parties of the nobility, and proceeded to Nehrwalla Puttun, where he was formally crowned on August 3, 1526, and reached Ahmedabad on the 28th, when his brother was deposed. In 1528 the king entered upon a campaign against Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednugger, on behalf of Imád Shah, king of Berar, and marched as far as Baboree; but the expedition was fruitless of result, except the nominal submission of the Ahmednugger king, and his acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Bahadur over his dominions. In 1531, however, when visited by Boorhan Nizam Shah in

Sikunder Shah assassinated, 1526.

Mahmood Shah II. succeeds, 1526.

Bahadur Shah crowned, 1526.

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Khandésh, he withdrew his pretensions, and even conferred royal honours and insignia upon him, as is related in the history of Ahmednugger. During this campaign, the fortress of Raiseen was surrendered by Lôkman, the brother of Rajah Silhuddy, its owner, who had been taken prisoner, on condition of his brother's release, and became the scene of a terrible and memorable tragedy. Wishing to remove the females of his family before the Mahomedan garrison should take possession, Lôkman proceeded to the private apartments, where he was received with indignation by Doorgawutty, his brother's wife, who upbraided him with cowardice in not defending the fort, hitherto deemed impregnable; and having previously filled the palace with combustibles, she set fire to the place, and with 700 other women perished in the conflagration. This event so affected the brothers, Silhuddy and Lôkman, that, at the head of a few adherents, they attacked their guards, and perished to a man. The Portuguese armament for the reduction of Diu arrived after the king's return to his capital, and its defeat is only slightly alluded to by the Guzerat historian, though it was in reality a great victory against an immense expedition. One of the guns taken from the Portuguese was the largest ever then seen, and was taken to the fort of Champanair.

In 1533 Mahomed Zumán Mirza, a relative of the Emperor Hoomayoon, fled to Guzerat, and the king contemptuously refused all demands to give him up. Not content with protecting this prince, Bahadur Shah, over confident of his strength, conferred the highest honours upon him. About the same time also, Tartar Khan, the son of the late Emperor Bheilole Lody of Dehly, also a fugitive, received a warm reception; and Bahadur Shah appears to have contemplated the possibility of becoming emperor. Tartar Khan was furnished with an army of 40,000 men; but he was utterly defeated by the Prince Hindál Mirza; and the Emperor Hoomayoon, who had been waiting a suitable opportunity, now declared war against Bahadur Shah, and marched upon Guzerat: but purposely delayed by the way, till its king had finished the siege of Chittore. After some desultory movements, Bahadur Shah, depending upon his artillery, and against the advice of his best officers, intrenched himself. By this act he left the country open to the Moghuls, who cut off all his supplies, and the army became reduced to such straits, that Bahadur Shah fled secretly at night to Mandoo; but he was pursued, and sending his jewels and treasures to Diu, took refuge at Cambay. The siege of Champanair and occupation of Guzerat followed, as has been related in the history of the first reign of Hoomayoon. No sooner had the emperor left the province, than an insurrection against the

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Moghuls broke out, and they retired, after a few feeble and ineffectual struggles.

During the war with Hoomayoon, and while the king was at Cambay, he had concluded a treaty with the Portuguese, in the hope of receiving their assistance: by which, with other stipulations, permission to erect a fort at Diu was granted. This treaty was executed in 1534, and the Portuguese seem to have lost no time in constructing a very strong fortification. When the Moghuls withdrew, Bahadur Shah evidently repented of what he had done; and, as the Portuguese historian, Faria de Souza, and the Mahomedan, in the 'Mirat Iskunderi,' both relate, was endeavouring to get the fort into his possession. The Portuguese general and viceroy, Nuño de Cuerpa, was invited to a conference, which he declined: and the king was proceeding to the viceroy's ship, according to the Portuguese account, when a sudden brawl arose between some Portuguese officers and the king's attendants, during which the king, falling into the sea, was struck with a pike, and killed. The Mahomedan account is somewhat different, and attributes the act to deliberate previous arrangement; nor is it at all improbable that treachery was intended on both sides. The event happened on February 14, 1537, in the thirty-first year of the king's life, and eleventh of his reign. The gorgeous jewels and treasures he had sent to Diu —the spoils of Hindoo princes of Guzerat—had been forwarded to Medina for greater security, and fell into the hands of Soliman, the sooltan of Constantinople, by whom they were appropriated

Bahadur Shah killed by the Portuguese, 1537.

Bahadur Shah having left no offspring, the throne was conferred by the nobles of the State upon Meerun Mahomed Farooky of Khandésh, the late king's nephew: but he died suddenly, after a brief reign of hardly two months, and the only representative of the royal line that remained was Mahmood, the son of the late king's brother, Lutteef, who was residing at Boorhanpoor. He was now sent for, and crowned at Ahmedabad, on April 5, 1538. Mahmood appears to have been a moderate man, of simple habits, fond of erecting palaces and ornamenting parks, but in public affairs a mere cipher. His deer-park was walled round, and was fourteen miles in circumference; and in his reign, also, Surat was strongly fortified to repel the frequent incursions of the Portuguese. Having incurred the deadly enmity of his private chaplain Boorhan, whom on one occasion he had built up to his neck in a mud wall, he was assassinated at his instigation in the year 1553, after a reign of fifteen years. On this occasion Boorhan succeeded in destroying several of the ministers by armed men, whom he had

Meerun Mahomed Farooky succeeds, 1537; and dies.

Mahmood Shah III. succeeds, 1538.

Mahmood Shah assassinated, 1553.

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stationed in the king's chamber, and even assumed the crown; but he and his accomplices were all put to death as soon as they appeared in public. Mahmood left no heir, and a youth named Ahmed, declared to be a son of the Prince Ahmed, was crowned; but during his inglorious reign of eight years he was admitted to no exercise of power, and the affairs of State were managed by the nobles, who seem, for the most part, to have divided the kingdom among them. In the year 1561, the king was found dead of wounds, lying under the wall of a nobleman's house, where it was supposed he had been carrying on an intrigue. He had left no heir, and a boy named Hubeeb, declared to be a son of Mahmood Shah II., was produced and crowned under the title of Mozuffer Shah III. Etimád Khan became regent and minister, but was a weak character, afraid of his colleagues, among whom he divided the kingdom into five districts (reserving one for himself), over which they were virtually supreme. In the year 1566 Chungiz Khan, the most active and ambitious among them, declared independence at Talnair, of which he had gained possession; and proceeding towards the capital, defeated Etimád Khan and the king, and took possession of it. He now allotted estates to the five sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, who had fled before the Emperor Akbur; but these persons in the sequel disputed his authority, and even defeated him in a general action. Chungiz Khan was afterwards killed while playing at choughan, by an Abyssinian—an event which gave some relief to Etimád Khan; but it was of short duration. Quarrels ensued between him and the other powerful chiefs, and eventually he wrote to the Emperor Akbur, requesting him to come and take possession of the kingdom. The emperor proceeded at once to Guzerat, where he was received without opposition, and the kingdom was annexed to the empire on November 20, 1572. The king abdicated, and was provided with an estate; but nine years afterwards he escaped from surveillance, and in his last efforts to regain his kingdom, Mozuffer Shah III. displayed more spirit and energy than when he was its real sovereign. After his final struggle, in 1584, he retreated into Kattywar, where, until his death, he lived under the protection of Rajah Rái Singh. Thus ended the royal dynasty of Guzerat, which had reigned, for the most part in great splendour, from 1396 to 1572, or 176 years.

Ahmed Shah succeeds, 1553.

Is killed, 1561.

Mozuffer Shah III. succeeds, 1561.

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CHAPTER XV

OF THE ADIL SHAHY DYNASTY OF BEEJAPOOR (*continued from Chapter XX., Book III.*), A.D. 1534 TO 1579.

THE long reign of the Emperor Akbur, and the occurrences which preceded it after the first reign of Hoomayoon, have brought the history of the Moghul dynasty down to the period of his death, in 1605; and it becomes necessary to revert to the progress of the other kingdoms of India, to make the general history of the period as complete as possible. Up to the death of the emperor, no interference with any of the Deccan kingdoms, except Ahmednugger, had taken place; and their power, and the interests attached to their progress, entitles them to more consideration than has hitherto been bestowed upon them by writers of Indian history.

As has been already related in Chapter XX., Book III., Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded to the crown on the dethronement of his brother Mulloo, in 1534. His first act was to abolish the profession of the Sheea faith, and to restore the Soony, and also to exchange Persian for Mahratta, as the language of accounts and current business in the State. This involved the introduction of many Brahmins into the royal service, and was a concession to Hindoo influence which had a marked effect. The foreign troops, the majority of whom were Persians and therefore Sheeas, were discharged, and their places supplied by Deccanies and Abyssinians. The new army consisted of 30,000 cavalry, the horses of which, for the most part, belonged to the State; and it does not appear that infantry or artillery formed any considerable part of the Beejapoor equipment. Of the foreign cavalry discharged, 3,000 were taken into the service of Ramraj, the Hindoo prince of Beejanugger; and as they refused to salute an infidel, a Korán was placed before the rajah's throne, to which the usual reverence was paid. The year after Ibrahim Adil Shah's accession, a revolution occurred at Beejanugger, and the aid of the Beejapoor king was sought by the rajah for his own support. This proceeding, involving Mahomedan intervention, caused vast alarm throughout the Hindoo kingdom, and for the present arrested mutual differences. Ibrahim, who had proceeded to Beejanugger, was royally enter-

A.D. 1534. Reformation in England.

Ibrahim Adil Shah restores the Soony faith in Beejapoor.

Mahomedan cavalry entertained by the Rajah of Beejanugger.

Ibrahim Adil Shah assists the Rajah of Beejanugger.

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tained, and dismissed with the payment of fifty lacs of hoons—1,750,000*l.*—for his own and his army's expenses. In consequence, however, of a fresh revolution, in which the rajah had perished, Ibrahim became involved in hostilities with his successor; but these were of short duration, and the king returned to his capital. A period of tranquillity followed; but, jealousy of his minister, Assud Khan, induced that able person to retire to his estates; and the quarrel was taken advantage of by Boorhan Nizam Shah, of Ahmednugger, and Ameer Bereed, of Beeder, who coalesced, and reduced King Ibrahim to such straits, that he was obliged to retire to Goolburgah. From this difficulty he was released by the instrumentality of the man he had suspected. Assud Khan wrote to the King of Berar, the uncle by marriage of the king, beseeching him to render assistance; and he marched with a large force, which had the desired effect. Ibrahim's own army, too, rallied about him, and the losses by the invasion were soon redeemed; while Ameer Bereed's death broke up the confederacy. This peace was not, however, of long duration. Boorhan Nizam Shah was smarting under his defeat, and in 1543, assisted by Jumsheed Kootub Shah of Golcondah, and Rajah Ramraj of Beejanugger, declared war against Beejapoor. The kingdom was now invaded on three points simultaneously; and its destruction and division among the confederates seemed inevitable. Assud Khan was again called into council: who advised, that, at some small sacrifices, peace should be made with the King of Ahmednugger and the Rajah of Beejanugger. This having been effected, Assud Khan led the Beejapoor army against the King of Golcondah, who was defeated, and followed up to his capital, receiving so severe a wound in the face from Assud Khan's hand, that he never recovered its effects.

Coalition of the King of Ahmednugger and Ameer Bereed.

Renewed coalition against Beejapoor.

The King of Golcondah defeated.

But it seems to have been impossible to restrain the quarrelsome disposition of the Ahmednugger king, who, soon afterwards, again marched with a large army against Goolburgah. He was met near the town of Oorchán, on the Bheema river, by Ibrahim and Assud Khan, who gained a memorable victory; Boorhan Nizam Shah leaving 250 elephants, 570 pieces of cannon, with all the royal insignia and camp-equipage, on the field of battle. Ibrahim fought bravely in this action, slaying three antagonists in single combat. Here, however, the quarrel did not rest; and in the next campaign, Boorhan Nizam Shah not only redeemed his losses, but reduced Ibrahim to serious extremities. These fluctuations of fortune seem to have affected the king's disposition

Ahmednugger renews the war,

And is defeated.

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very materially; and he became morose, and suspicious of his officers. In the course of two months he put forty Hindoos and seventy Mahomedans of rank to death; and a plot was formed to dethrone him, and elevate his brother Abdoolla to the throne. On the discovery of this conspiracy by the king, Abdoolla fled to the Portuguese at Goa, and endeavoured to persuade the viceroy to assist him with troops, proffering large concessions of territory. Had the Portuguese yielded to his solicitations, there is no doubt, under the prevailing discontent, that they would have succeeded, and might have laid the foundation of local power in the Deccan; but they declined all offers, and the prince, finding them impracticable, addressed himself to the Kings of Ahmednugger and Golcondah. The Portuguese, in their history, declare that Assud Khan was the prime mover in Prince Abdoolla's rebellion; but this is contradicted by the fact that Assud Khan repelled with scorn the overtures of the King of Ahmednugger to support the pretensions of the prince. Had Assud Khan indeed been disloyal, there can be no question that Ibrahim would have been deposed. While these events were pending, the great minister died, in January 1549, and left a reputation little less, in general estimation, than that of Mahmood Gáwan, the regent and minister of the Bahmuny kingdom.

Ibrahim Adil Shah's cruelties.

The Portuguese refuse to take part in native struggles.

The remainder of the reign of Ibrahim was occupied with almost perpetual wars and struggles with Ahmednugger, in which Ramraj of Beejanugger appears as the active ally of the latter. Boorhan Nizam Shah had died; but his successor Hoosein followed the same policy, and defeated Ibrahim in a severe action near Sholapoor. This, with the rebellion of his great general, Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, whom his harsh conduct had driven into insurrection, reduced the king's fortunes to the lowest ebb; and though, by the payment of twelve lacs of hoons—420,000*l.*—he obtained temporary relief from the Rajah of Beejanugger, he was unable to take the field. Latterly he had become afflicted with a complication of disorders, and as he put to death, one after another, physicians who failed to relieve him, he was deserted by all, and died miserably in the year 1557. Ibrahim Adil Shah I. had reigned twenty-four years, and was buried near his father and grandfather, at Gôgy. He left two sons and two daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son Ally without opposition.

The struggle with Ahmednugger continued.

Ibrahim Adil Shah dies, 1557.

Philip II. of Spain defeats the French at St. Quintin.

Ally Adil Shah succeeds, 1557.

The first act of Ally Adil Shah was to restore the public profession of the Sheea faith, which had been

Restores the Sheea faith.

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set aside by his father. These changes of State religion, accompanied, as they were, with changes of offices in almost every department, produced the worst effects in the State of Beejapoor, and were a fertile source of disaffection, as well as of party intrigues; for the present, however, the young king's cause was not impeded. His negotiations with Hoosein Nizam Shah, in regard to restoration of Beejapoor territory, having failed, he made an alliance with Ramraj of Beejanugger; and in 1558 their combined armies invaded the Ahmednugger territory, and completely overran it. The Hindoos, revenging themselves for all the outrages they had suffered from Mahomedans from the earliest times, behaved with shocking barbarity in the first campaign, which was exceeded, if possible, in the second. But the combined forces failed to take the fort of Ahmednugger, and the monsoon breaking upon the besiegers, they were eventually obliged to raise the siege. The allies returning southwards, separated at the fort of Nuldroog, the fortifications of which were renewed by Ally Adil Shah.

Ahmednugger invaded.

The siege of Ahmednugger raised.

This campaign and its consequences, brought about the memorable quadruple treaty of alliance against Ramraj, whose power was now thoroughly comprehended, and felt to be dangerous to the Mahomedan interests. No single Mahomedan kingdom could pretend to oppose the Hindoos of Beejanugger in the field: and after mature deliberation with his counsellors, Ally Adil Shah determined to sound the intentions of the Deccan monarchs on the subject of a crusade against them. His minister, Kishwur Khan, was therefore despatched to Golcondah, where the project was well received; and an envoy from that State proceeding from Beejapoor to Ahmednugger, found Hoosein Nizam Shah willing to sink all differences with Beejapoor in the common alliance. To cement this, he gave his daughter, the afterwards famous Chánd Beebee, in marriage to Ally Adil Shah, with the long disputed frontier fortress of Sholapoor as her dowry; and received Ally's sister, Huddeea Sooltana, as the bride of his eldest son, Moortuza.

Combination against Beejanugger.

League of the Mahomedan Kings of the Deccan against Beejanugger.

With Ally Bereed Shah of Beeder there was no difficulty: and the treaties were exchanged and confirmed by solemn oaths. Early in the month of December 1564, the confederate armies had assembled at or near Beejapoor, and the kings and their whole forces marched leisurely southwards on December 26, by the route of Talikote. It is only a short march from Talikote to the river Krishna, and on arrival there, the confederates found the right bank occupied by the enemy's out-

Maximilian emperor of Germany.

The combined armies unite near Beejapoor.

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posts, while the main body of his army was encamped at a little distance beyond. Ramraj had, for this great need, assembled all the available forces of his dominions. He had dispatched his younger brother, Yeltum-raj, with 20,000 cavalry, 500 elephants, and 100,000 foot, to secure the river; his second brother, Venket-Adry, with an equal force, to support him; and he himself followed with the flower of the army. The numbers of this host, as given by Ferishta, are beyond belief; but unquestionably they were very numerous. Finding the fords guarded by heavy masses of men, that on the extreme right of the Hindoo position, which was defended by a field-work, the traces of which are still visible, was esteemed the most assailable; and the allies, making a feint of marching up the river, returned suddenly on the night of the third day and carried the ford by storm. The Hindoos fell back upon their supports and main bodies, and the Mahomedans crossing the river, advanced for about twelve miles to the south-west, where they found the whole Hindoo army in position. The Mahomedans now formed in line of battle, Ally Adil Shah commanding the right wing, Ally Bereed Shah and Ibrahim Kootub Shah the left, while Hoosein Nizam Shah, with his famous artillery, took post in the centre. On the other side, Yeltum-raj commanded the right wing of the Hindoos, Venket-Adry the left, and Ramraj himself the centre. There were 2,000 elephants in the Hindoo army, and these and the artillery were posted along the line. It was a memorable battle —to decide, as each party knew, the final supremacy of Hindoo or Moslem in Southern India—and was well fought on both sides. In the first attack by the Hindoo cavalry on the wings of the Mahomedan army, both fell into confusion from the showers of rockets, and were even retreating; but Hoosein Nizam Shah, with his artillery, was not to be denied. He had brought 600 pieces of all calibres into action, commanded by Chuleby Roomy Khan, a Turk of great ability; and these preserving order, advanced in three lines, supported and assisted by the elephants. Seeing the danger, Ramraj directed them to be charged by his best infantry in a mass. As it approached it was met by a withering fire from the large guns, of shot, and copper money enclosed in strong canvas bags, which did vast execution: 5,000 of the Hindoos were left in heaps before the guns, and Kishwur Khan Lary, an intelligent Beejapoor general, fell on the flank of the retiring column with 5,000 of the Beejapoor cavalry, and completed the rout. Ramraj had witnessed the defeat of his infantry from a singhasun, or lofty royal litter, whence he had been distributing rewards; and his attendants

The invasion resisted by Beejanugger.

The allies cross the Krishna river.

A great battle ensues.

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placed him on horseback as the Ahmednugger elephants came up. He was then taken prisoner, and conducted to Chuleby Roomy Khan, who sent him to Hoosein Nizam Shah. On ascertaining who he was, the king ordered him to be beheaded; and his head, stuck on a long spear, was displayed to the army. The ghastly trophy was preserved, and for many years afterwards was annually displayed at Ahmednugger on the anniversary of the victory. The rout of the Hindoo army was quickly completed: 100,000 men are stated to have perished on the field and in the pursuit. Yeltum-raj was killed, and the whole of the treasures of Ramraj, an immense booty, were captured. Venket-Adry escaped to Penkóndah, and the allies continued their march to Beejanugger, which was completely plundered, and for the most part destroyed, and henceforth became almost deserted. By this great battle, which is usually called that of Talikote, though in reality fought nearly thirty miles to the south-west of that town, the Hindoo power of Southern India was destroyed. The dynasty of Beejanugger, represented by the Prince Venket-Adry, settled for a time at Penkóndah, but afterwards withdrew, under the encroachments of the Mahomedans, to Chundergiry, and its great dominions became parcelled out among its feudal chieftains.

Ramraj is taken prisoner.

And is beheaded.

The Hindoo army is routed.

The allies advance to Beejanugger, and plunder the city.

The Hindoo power of Southern India broken.

Beejanugger abandoned.

It is curious, perhaps, that Ferishta, generally so ample in the detail of wars, should have omitted, in his history of Ally Adil Shah's reign, any account of the alliance between the Kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, for the reduction of the Portuguese. This occurred, however, in 1571, when Ally Adil Shah besieged Goa; but was repulsed with severe loss, and at the same time their other factory, Choule, or Revadunda, in charge of Dom Luis de Andrada, was attacked by Moortuza Nizam Shah, with a like result. This event is slightly noticed in Ferishta's history of the reign of Moortuza Nizam Shah of Ahmednugger, but there is no indication of the combination of the two powerful monarchies against the Portuguese, and their failure. In the year 1573, part of the intermediate period having passed in a desultory campaign with Ahmednugger, founded upon the jealousy of its king in regard to territorial acquisitions from Beejanugger, Ally Adil Shah marched to the south-west, captured Bunkapoor and Dharwar, and attached their dependencies, with the country nearly as far as Penkóndah, to his dominions; but the subjection of the petty chieftains proved to be no easy task; it occupied several years, and was in the end only partially

Attack on the Portuguese, 1571.

The Turks defeated at Lepanto.

Haarlem taken by the Spaniards.

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effected by confirming them in their estates as feudal vassals. In 1579 the king, who, on the termination of these operations, had returned to Beejapoor, was assassinated by a favourite eunuch, to whom he had given offence. Having no male issue, he had previously appointed his nephew Ibrahim, son of his brother Shah Thamasp, to succeed him. During his life, Ally Adil Shah had commenced a noble mausoleum for himself, which remains as it was left by him, unfinished, and in the centre of its precincts he was buried. He had also erected the spacious Jooma mosque, which would accommodate 5,000 persons at prayer —a grand edifice, which is still perfect. Aqueducts for the supply of water to all parts of the city were constructed, and the city walls and fortifications, which were six miles in circuit, were completely finished. Ally Adil Shah had reigned twenty-two years.

Ally Adil Shah assassinated, 1579.

Republic of Holland.

The public works of Ally Adil Shah.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE ADIL SHAHY DYNASTY OF BEEJAPOOR (*continued*), 1579 TO 1626.

At the period of his accession to the throne, Ibrahim Adil Shah II. was nine years old. The queen-dowager, Chánd Beebee, took charge of him, and the affairs of State were managed by the minister, Kamil Khan. As had been frequently the case in similar circumstances, the minister endeavoured to usurp the chief authority, but had little counted on the cost of deceiving such a woman. The queen resolved on his deposition, and directed Kishwur Khan to remove him from office. Fearing for his life, Kamil Khan fled, but was pursued, overtaken, and killed ere he had proceeded more than a few miles from the capital, and Kishwur Khan succeeded him. But the queen had not delivered herself from thraldom; on the contrary, she had increased it. One of the new regent's first acts was to procure the assassination of Moostafa Khan, the ablest officer of the State, who had been employed in the government and pacification of the territory acquired from Beejanugger, and was a person on whom the queen could thoroughly depend. Freed from his influence, Kishwur Khan now removed the queen from Beejapoor, and confined her in the fort of Sattara. This, with other acts of violence and oppression, rendered the regent highly unpopular. Plots were made

Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeds Ally Adil Shah, 1579.

Kamil Khan, regent, killed.

Kishwur Khan succeeds.

Moostafa Khan Ardistany assassinated.

The queen-dowager confined in Sattara.

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against his life; he was even hooted by the populace of the city, and would probably have fallen a victim to its fury; but he escaped to Ahmednugger, where, receiving only a cool reception, he proceeded to Golcondah, and was killed there by a relation of Moostafa Khan, who had pursued him.

Kishwur Khan escapes to Ahmednugger.

Is killed at Golcondah.

Meanwhile an insurrection was in progress in the queen's favour, headed by Yekhlas Khan and other Abyssinian chiefs, who, at the head of a large army, proceeded to the capital. The queen was released, and placed in her former position, and Yekhlas Khan created minister. The parties of Deccanies and Abyssinians had frequently been in opposition to each other, and their feuds and jealousies now broke out with great violence; the streets of the capital were frequently the scene of bloody conflicts between them, and duels were of ordinary daily occurrence. These disturbances afforded a pretext for the interference of the Kings of Golcondah and Ahmednugger, who, in concert, besieged Nuldroog or Shahdroog, one of the strongest forts of the kingdom; but it was bravely and loyally defended, and being unable to take it, the combined forces marched upon Beejapoor. At this crisis there were not more than 3,000 troops in the city; but two generals, Ankoos Khan and Ein-ool-Moolk, arrived with 8,000 cavalry, and kept the enemy in check. Between them, however, and the Abyssinian chieftains in the city, disagreements reached such a pass, that the generals went over to the enemy, declaring that it was impossible to save the State. At this time also, a large portion of the city wall fell down, owing to heavy rain, and its capture appeared imminent. The breach was, however, repaired; and under the intervention of the general of the Berar contingent, who was unwilling to witness the success of the allies, the Beejapoor generals were induced to return to the city and offer their services to the queen-dowager. The office of minister had been conferred upon Syed Abool Hussun, an able man, who rendered essential service. All differences between the parties of the State were accommodated, and in six months he had raised an army of 20,000 horse. Beejapoor had been besieged for twelve months, and its suburbs for the most part destroyed; but before a reunited kingdom the allies could effect nothing, and abandoning further efforts, returned to their dominions; Dilawur Khan, the Beejapoor general, pursuing the King of Golcondah to the gates of his capital, and returning laden with booty. But the efforts of Abool Hussun were ill-rewarded. Dilawur Khan, on his return, conspired against him

The queen is released.

Kings of Golcondah and Ahmednugger besiege Beejapoor.

Danger of the city.

Syed Abool Hussun minister.

The siege of Beejapoor abandoned.

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seized and blinded him, and afterwards put him to death; nor could the queen prevent his assumption of the regency, for she was now confined to the palace, and deprived of authority. Dilawur Khan, however, proved in the sequel to be both able and loyal, and in the course of the six years of his regency, the affairs of the kingdom were completely retrieved. There had been no further quarrel with Ahmednugger, and in 1584 the king's sister, Khodeija Sooltana, was betrothed to the son of its sovereign, Moortuza Nizam Shah. On the occasion of the journey of the bride to Ahmednugger, the queen-dowager, her aunt, accompanied her on a visit to her brother Moortuza, and never afterwards returned to Beejapoor.

Abool Hussun blinded by Dilawur Khan.

Chánd Beebee, the queen-dowager, returns to Ahmednugger, 1584.

In 1586, Mullika Jehán, the daughter of the King of Golcondah, was asked in marriage for the young king—a transaction which gave great offence to the King of Ahmednugger, and had well-nigh produced a fresh war; but the difficulties were overcome, and the marriage took place at Shahdroog, with great pomp, though not without the cover, as it were, of an army of observation from Beejapoor. The king, who displayed great aptitude for public business, now desired to be freed from the trammels of his minister, whose conduct had become offensive, not only to the king, but to others. Buleel Khan, an officer of great ability and distinction, who had been employed as viceroy in Malabar, arrived at court when the Beejapoor army was in the field against Ahmednugger, and was received with honour by the king; but the minister, jealous of the distinction that had been shown him, caused him to be seized and blinded—an act which the king would have resented at once had he been able. He, however, watched his opportunity, and soon afterwards escaping from his guards, proceeded at night to the camp of Ein-ool-Moolk. Dilawur Khan followed him at daylight, and a slight skirmish ensued, when the minister, seeing that he had no further chance, fled to Ahmednugger, and the revolution was complete. In his history, Ferishta, who was a spectator and actor in the whole scene, gives a graphic account of it, which is highly interesting (Briggs's Trans. vol. iii. pp. 163–170). Ibrahim now returned to Beejapoor, and entered on the administration of public affairs with great ability and success; but his character is tarnished by his conduct to Dilawur Khan, now upwards of eighty years old, whom he induced to return to Beejapoor under promises of favour; and on his arrival, caused to be blinded and imprisoned in the fort of Sattara, where he died.

The king's marriage.

Case of Buleel Khan.

The king declares his independence, 1587.

Mary queen of Scots beheaded.

Dilawur Khan flies to Ahmednugger.

Dilawur Khan blinded and imprisoned.

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In 1593, the king's brother, Ismail, who resided at Belgaum, rebelled, and the insurrection grew formidable. Ein-ool-Moolk, who was sent to quell it, joined the prince, and proclaimed him king; but, in an action which followed, he was defeated and slain; his head was sent to the king, who caused it to be fired from a cannon on the walls, and the prince was executed. These events were hardly at an end before the ever-restless King of Ahmednugger entered into an alliance with the Rajah of Penkóndah, and invaded the Beejapoor territory. During the campaign, he fell ill and died; but the war was continued by his son, or rather by the regent, as he was a minor, and in a severe general action, the young king was killed. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who had acted only on the defensive, returned to his capital on September 9, 1596, making a triumphal entry amidst the rejoicings of his people. This proved to be the last war with Ahmednugger; and the conclusion of those frequent and desperate struggles for superiority which had lasted throughout their existence, which treaties and intermarriages did not prevent, and which weakened and at times exhausted both.

Rebellion of Prince Ismail, 1593.

He is executed.

New war with Ahmednugger.

Cadiz taken by the English.

From this period henceforth the kingdom of Beejapoor had no special historian, and its progress and final extinction by the Emperor Aurungzebe, form events of general history which supplies only great occurrences; but it can be gathered, that the last portion of the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah was prosperous and splendid. In the first attack by the Moghuls upon Ahmednugger his forces were too late to relieve the city, and in the attempt, conjointly with Golcondah and the Ahmednugger army, to drive them from Berar, his best troops were defeated in the battle of Soopa, as already related in Chapter X. of this Book, and the contest was never renewed. On the arrival of the Emperor Akbur at Boorhanpoor, in 1603, Ibrahim Adil Shah sent an embassy to him with costly presents, and overtures of alliance. It is believed that a secret treaty was then executed, which, while it protected Beejapoor, left the emperor free as regarded Ahmednugger; the marriage of Ibrahim's daughter to the Prince Daniel followed, and his subsequent neutralility saved his kingdom from any attempt at subjugation by the Moghuls, during the reign of his son. Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1626, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was the greatest of all the Adil Shahy dynasty, and in most respects, except its founder, the most able and popular. Without the distraction of war, he applied himself to civil affairs with much

Separate history of Beejapoor ceases.

Death of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

His character and acts.

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care; and the land settlements of the provinces of his kingdom, many of which are still extant among district records, show an admirable and efficient system of registration of property, and its valuation. In this respect, the system of Toder Mul, introduced by the Emperor Akbur, seems to have been followed with the necessary local modifications. Although he changed the profession of the State religion immediately upon assuming the direction of State affairs from Sheea to Soony, Ibrahim was yet extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindoos not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmins and Mahrattas. With the Portuguese of Goa he seems to have kept up a friendly intercourse. Portuguese painters decorated his palaces, and their merchants traded freely in his dominions. To their missionaries, also, he extended his protection; and there are many anecdotes current in the country that his tolerance of Christians equalled, if it did not exceed, that of his contemporary Akbur. He allowed the preaching of Christianity freely among his people, and there are still existent several Catholic churches, one at Cheetapoor, one at Moodgul, one at Raichore, and others, endowed by the king with lands, and other sources of revenue, which have survived the changes and revolutions of more than 300 years. Each of these churches now consist of several hundred members, and remain under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa.

Catholic churches endowed.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was fond of architecture, and during his long reign, and its peaceful close, embellished his now splendid capital with many noble buildings. His own mausoleum, which is still perfect, and kept in repair by the British Government, is one of the most elaborate specimens of Indo-Gothic architecture in India; and both of the tomb, and the fine mosque and terrace attached to it, the basalt of which they have been constructed has been worked with admirable skill and grace of design, and much of it is polished like marble. These buildings were not quite finished at the king's death: and the inscription records their completion in the reign of his son Mahmood, at a total cost of 528,150*l.* at the present value of gold coinage, which was perhaps greater at the period. The work occupied thirty-six years. The noble palaces at Toorwah, three miles west of the city, which were entire till unroofed by the Mahrattas, with their gardens, were constructed by the king in 1604, and were connected with the fort by a broad street, three miles long, and perfectly straight, which can be traced by its ruins: while to the right and left the extent of the old city can be followed for several miles.

Architecture.

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At his death the king left a full treasury, a large and well-paid army of 80,000 horse, and his dominions extended to the borders of Mysore. He was succeeded by his son Mahmood, then in his sixteenth year, and the history of his reign and that of his successors, in the absence of any local record, must be traced in connection with the general history of India.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE NIZAM SHAHY DYNASTY OF AHMEDNUGGER (*continued from Chapter XVIII., Book III.*), 1532 TO 1586.

BOORHAN NIZAM SHAH, after the death of Ismail Adil Shah of Beejapoor, in 1532, enjoyed a period of peace until 1542, when he endeavoured to take advantage of the quarrel between Ibrahim Adil Shah and his minister, Assud Khan. The real object of the attack seems to have been the acquisition of the districts of Purainda and Sholapoor, always in dispute between the States; and having taken possession of them, he marched to Belgaum. Here there appears some inconsistency in Ferishta's history, for Boorhan Nizam Shah is represented as having induced Assud Khan to join him in attacking Beejapoor; whereas, as is most probable from the general loyalty of Assud Khan's conduct, the history of the events as given in the account of Ibrahim's reign, is much more probable. The result of the attack on Beejapoor was unfortunate: and the king was not only obliged to surrender what he had taken, but to retreat to Dowlatabad. His restless disposition, however, impelled him into a fresh war in 1546, when he was defeated at Oorchán, as has been related in Chapter XV. of this Book, with the loss of his artillery, elephants, and camp-equipage. Failing against Beejapoor, the king now attacked the Beeder State, in revenge for having denied him assistance against Beejapoor; defeated the Beeder troops, and took Owsa, Kandhar, and other forts, which occupied him till 1545, when the rebellion of the Prince Abdoolla of Beejapoor, and his flight to Goa, occurred. In this matter he was able to effect nothing; Assud Khan rejected his overtures, and the Portuguese would not join the confederacy against Beejapoor. The king now invited the cooperation of Ramraj of Beejanugger, and advanced as far as Kulliany to meet him. Near this town he defeated Ibrahim Adil Shah, with severe loss, and returning by Purainda, again took possession of it. This war

The king is defeated at Oorchán.

Defeats the troops of Beeder.

The king invites the co-operation of the Rajah of Beejanugger.

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continued till 1549, in which year the king proceeded into the Raichore Dooáb, and had a conference with the Prince of Beejanugger; the result of which was, that each was left to pursue the conquest of such portions of the Beejapoor territory as he could effect. Ramraj, therefore, occupied Moodgul and Raichore, while Boorhan Nizam Shah besieged Sholapoor, which was taken by assault. In the year 1553, the affairs of Beejapoor being in a distracted condition, Boorhan Nizam Shah again commenced operations against its dominions, and besieged Beejapoor; but being taken ill of dysentery, the siege was raised, and he returned to his capital, where he died at the age of fifty-four, having reigned forty-seven years. He left two sons, Hoosein and Abdool Khadur, by his wife Ameena, and two by Beebee Muryam, the daughter of Yoosuf Adil Shah. Of these Hoosein was the eldest, and at thirteen years of age succeeded him.

Mary queen of England.

Death of Boorhan Nizam Shah, 1553.

Hoosein Nizam Shah succeeds, 1553.

Notwithstanding his youth, Hoosein Nizam Shah entered upon the conduct of public affairs with much spirit. A rebellion by his brother Abdool Khadur, supported by the Deccany party, was quickly suppressed, while his half-brothers took refuge with their uncle at Beejapoor. These desultory contests, as has been already related, continued to the last with Ibrahim, and were revived after Ally Adil Shah's succession. They eventually provoked the invasion of the Ahmednugger dominions by Ally Adil Shah and Ramraj conjointly, with, according to Ferishta's account, 100,000 horse and 900,000 infantry, by whom the country was overrun and plundered. But Ahmednugger, though besieged, was not taken; provisions were supplied to the garrison from without; the allies seem to have been unprovided with artillery, by which alone the fort of Ahmednugger could be attacked, and the monsoon compelled them to retire. The danger, however, was imminent, and Hoosein Nizam Shah begged for peace, when it was offered on the condition of giving up Kulliany to Ally Adil Shah; putting Jehángeer Khan, the Berar general, to death, and accepting a pâu, or betel, from Ramraj. These terms were accepted, and the brave Jehángeer was murdered by a band of assassins, an act which, done at the desire of 'an infidel,' produced universal execration, and the king afterwards proceeded to the camp of Ramraj. Ferishta's account of the scene which ensued is too characteristic to be omitted. 'Ramraj rose on his entering the tent, and took him by the hand. Hoosein Nizam Shah, who possessed great pride, called for a basin and ewer, and washed his hands, as if they had been polluted by the touch of Ramraj, who said in his own language, "If he were not my guest, I

Invasion of Ally Adil Shah.

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would cut off his hands, and tie them round his neck;" then calling for water, he also washed; and such were the bad feelings which prevailed, that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot.' On giving the keys of Kulliany to Ramraj, the king said, 'I give them to you as a present.' But the peace did not last.

'War with Beejapoor renewed.

In 1562 Hoosein Nizam Shah made an attempt to recover Kulliany, but failed; and was attacked in turn by Ally Adil Shah and Ramraj, when he lost all his artillery—which numbered 700 pieces—except forty. Colonel Briggs, the translator of Ferishta, supposes that the great gun of Beejapoor, the largest piece of ordnance in the world, weighing forty tons, cast at Ahmednugger by Chuleby Roomy Khan, in the reign of Boorhan Nizam Shah, was taken on this occasion; but this was not the case: the gun was first mounted on the walls of Purainda, and was removed from thence during a temporary occupation of that fort by Beejapoor. Ahmednugger was again besieged; but in the meantime the ditch had been enlarged, the bastions built of stone, and much strengthened; and the allies, whose forces had pillaged the country, were obliged by a pestilence that broke out among them, and by a sudden rise of the river Seena—which Ferishta states swept away 25,000 men at night from their crowded camp—to retire.

Battle of Dreux.

The great gun at Beejapoor.

No greater example of revulsion of feeling can well be imagined, amidst these perpetual broils, than the sudden alliance of the five Kings of the Deccan against Beejanugger, in the ensuing year, 1564. While Ally Adil Shah had called in the aid of Ramraj to avenge himself upon Hoosein Nizam Shah, the Kings of Golcondah, Beeder, and Berar had aided the latter with all their forces against the 'infidel.' Now, all alike were excited by the same religious zeal to sink their mutual differences, and the war with the Hindoos of Beejanugger became a national crusade. How it was carried out has already been related (Chapter XV. of this Book), and it is perhaps strange that no mutual jealousies prevented its fulfilment. Under their influence, however, no partition of territory took place till long afterwards. Hoosein Nizam Shah, who had had the satisfaction of witnessing his artillery win the battle, only lived till he returned to his capital, where he was taken ill, and died on June 7, 1565. He was only twenty-four years old, and had reigned fifteen years, amidst constant war and turmoil. He was succeeded by his son Moortuza, then a minor, whose mother, Khoonza Sooltana, undertook the regency, assisted by her brothers.

Confederacy against Beejanugger, 1564.

Hoosein Nizam Shah dies, 1565.

Moortuza Nizam Shah, his son, succeeds, 1565.

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The jealousy of Hoosein Nizam Shah had prevented any occupation of the territory of Beejanugger by Ally Adil Shah; and on his death, the King of Beejapoor proceeded against the southern provinces. But, true to the preceding policy of her kingdom, the queen-dowager took the field in person, and Ally Adil Shah was, for the present, forced to postpone his intentions of annexation. A desultory war continued between the kingdoms till 1569, when the king released himself from his mother's regency, and assumed charge of his own affairs, behaving with so much spirit in the continuance of the war against Beejapoor, that peace was concluded on the understanding that, while Beejapoor should not be molested in annexing the province of Beejanugger, Ahmednugger should be at liberty to conquer Berar. In 1572, therefore, Moortuza Nizam Shah marched against Toofál Khan, the minister of the Imád Shahy dynasty of Berar, who had usurped the local power, and defeated him. Toofál Khan would have been taken prisoner, but for a devotee, who stood up in the path of the king and his army, in a narrow defile, and forbade him to proceed till he had paid down to him 12,000 hoons, or 4,800*l*. The anecdote is given by Ferishta, and affords a specimen both of the extortions of religious devotees, and the strong superstition of the period. Toofál Khan afterwards took refuge in the fort of Narnalla, and wrote to the Emperor Akbur, placing himself and the Imád Shahy dominions under his protection; when the emperor issued a mandate to Moortuza Nizam Shah, forbidding him to molest Toofál Khan or the Berar territory. To this, however, the young king paid no attention. He captured Toofál Khan, with his sovereign, Boorhan Imád Shah, and confined them. Boorhan Imád Shah died soon afterwards; but meanwhile Moortuza had annexed Berar to his dominions—an act which the Emperor Akbur deeply resented. The ruler of Khandésh made an attempt to recover Berar for a relative of its deceased king, but it failed, and he was pursued to Boorhanpoor.

War with Berar.

Pope Gregory XIII.

Toofál Khan captured.

Berar annexed to Ahmednugger.

Moortuza Nizam Shah was now advised by his minister, Chungiz Khan, to reduce Beeder, as a balance against Ally Adil Shah's southern annexations; but the minister's enemies persuaded the king that this was only a ruse to draw him away from Berar, of which Chungiz Khan desired to take possession. The king, becoming impressed with the truth of the accusation, which, however, had no real foundation, sent a cup of poison to his minister, who, seeing he could not escape death, drank it and died, leaving an affecting letter to the king, quoted by Ferishta, which produced such

Chungiz Khan poisoned.

The king abdicates.

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an effect upon his mind, that he abdicated the throne, and gave up the conduct of affairs to his ministers, Sahib Khan and Salabut Khan. The former now pursued a course of unbridled profligacy and licentiousness, and eventually fled, but was pursued, and put to death by the nobles whom he had provoked. Salabut Khan, however, continued in office, and directed the affairs of State with great ability, for a long period. The king's mind had now become completely disordered; and in a moment of anger, Salabut Khan was imprisoned. After this the State affairs fell into great confusion. Mirza Khan, one of the chief nobles, marched with a force to Dowlatabad, and released the Prince Meerun Hoosein, who was confined there. The king, in his extremity, now released Salabut Khan; but it was too late: Meerun Hoosein hastened to Ahmednugger, surprised the fort, and after grossly insulting his wretched father, shut him up in a hot bath-room, where he died of suffocation. This event took place in the year 1586, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and he was succeeded by the parricide. The king's body was taken to Roza, near Dowlatabad, and interred in a fine mausoleum he had erected there; but was afterwards disinterred and sent to Kerbela.

Moortuza Nizam Shah put to death, 1586.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE NIZAM SHAHY DYNASTY OF AHMEDNUGGER (*continued*), 1586 TO 1607.

MEERUN HOOSEIN, NIZAM SHAH ascended the throne immediately on his father's death, and created Mirza Khan, who had released him from confinement, minister. The king now gave way to excess of all kinds; he was rarely sober, and one of his amusements was to ride through the city, with his drunken companions, and hunt to death any one who might cross his path. To avert the chance of rebellion, he destroyed all the male representatives of his family then present—fifteen persons—in one day. Becoming suspicious of Mirza Khan, he endeavoured to get him into his power; but the minister was wary, and succeeded, on the other hand, in seizing and imprisoning the king, on March 15, 1588. He then dispatched an escort to Lohgurh, where the sons of the king's paternal uncle, Boorhan, were confined: and brought from thence Ismail, then in his twelfth year, and placed him on the throne. This act, however, produced

Accession of Meerun Hoosein, 1586.

Who is dethroned, 1588.

Destruction of the Spanish armada.

Ismail Nizam Shah succeeds, 1588.

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a great commotion among the troops, and Jumál Khan, the leader of the Deccanies and Abyssinians, protested against it with much violence. Mirza Khan, believing the tumult would subside if the king were dead, caused him to be beheaded; and his head, stuck upon a long pole, was exhibited from one of the bastions. But this murder exasperated the mob still more; and Jumál Khan and his party set fire to the gates. During the night, Mirza Khan and his friends escaped; but Jumál Khan, at the head of the mob of soldiers and townspeople, plundered the houses of all foreigners, and slew all they could find, under circumstances of great barbarity and cruelty. On the fourth day, Mirza Khan, who had been seized in his flight, was brought to Jumál Khan, who, after having him led about the city on an ass, caused him to be hewn in pieces, and his members affixed to different public edifices. Others were blown from guns, and the Deccan party remained triumphant. Thus, too, the murder of Moortuza Nizam Shah was avenged.

Meerun Hoosein beheaded.

Mirza Khan executed.

This revolution did not, however, affect the young king's position, and Jumál Khan was prepared to support him. Ismail Nizam Shah was the son of Boorhan, who had fled from the Deccan to the court of the Emperor Akbur, and still remained there; and it was considered by many that his was the best right to succeed. But Jumál Khan was an able man, and a brave soldier, and having given his allegiance to the young king, was now prepared to do his duty by him. Salabut Khan, who was employed in Berar, was the first to take the field in the interests of Boorhan; but he was defeated by Jumál Khan, who now turned against the army of Beejapoor, which had advanced from the south. No action ensued, and its retreat was effected by the payment of 270,000 hoons, or 108,000*l.*, for the expense of the campaign.

Salabut Khan, now an aged man, was afterwards allowed to return to Ahmednugger, and died in the same year. His noble mausoleum, erected on a lofty hill south of the city, is still in perfect repair, and is used by pleasure parties from Ahmednugger. It commands a grand view over the mountains to the south and east, and over the broad valley of the Godavery river.

The Emperor Akbur, who greatly desired a pretext for interference in Deccan affairs, and who had kept himself fully advised of the political state of Ahmednugger, now offered Boorhan an army to reinstate himself; but he declined the attempt, and for the present stationed himself near the frontier, in the province of Hundia, which was allotted for his support; and thence, having made a desultory effort to

The Emperor Akbur's interference.

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invade Ahmednugger, was defeated. The war with Beejapoor, however, continued. Boorhan's cause was espoused by Ibrahim Adil Shah; and, in a general action, Jumál Khan was slain, when Boorhan, advancing from the north, deposed his son Ismail, after a nominal reign of two years.

Ismail Nizam Shah deposed, 1591.

Boorhan Nizam Shah was of somewhat advanced age when he ascended the throne. He was the brother of Moortuza Nizam Shah, and had been allotted an ample estate at Lohgurh; but, on the king's displaying symptoms of madness, had rebelled, been defeated by him, and forced to fly, first to Beeder, and thence to Beejapoor, and eventually received protection from the Emperor Akbur.

Boorhan Nizam Shah II. succeeds, 1591.

University of Dublin erected.

Boorhan Nizam Shah's espousal of the cause of Dilawur Khan, ex-regent of Beejapoor, led to a war with Ibrahim Adil Shah; and this concluded, he dispatched an army against the Portuguese, in 1592, which besieged Revadunda; but it suffered a severe reverse. The garrison, reinforced, attacked the Mahomedans, took seventy-five pieces of cannon, and killed, according to the Mahomedan historian, 12,000 men, while the Portuguese claim 10,000. 1,500 Europeans, and about the same number of native soldiers, composed the Portuguese force. The Mahomedan commander, Furhád Khan, with his family, were taken prisoners, and having become Christians, went to Portugal. In 1594, while engaged in a campaign in support of the Prince Ismail of Beejapoor against his brother Ibrahim Adil Shah, the king fell ill; and declaring his son Ibrahim to be his successor, and passing over Ismail, on account of his religious opinions, died on May 15, 1594.

Expeditio against the Portuguese defeated.

Boorhan Nizam Shah II. dies, 1594.

Immediately before the late king's death, an attempt had been made by Yekhlas Khan to create a revolution in favour of his eldest son Ismail; but it had failed, and Ibrahim ascended the throne without further opposition. He appointed Meean Munjoo Deccany to be his minister, and Yekhlas Khan was allowed to return to court; but a rivalry immediately commenced between them, which, in the end, proved disastrous. In the confusion which prevailed, the ambassador of Ibrahim Adil Shah was insulted, and left the court, and Ibrahim himself moved with an army to support him. It was in vain that the moderate Meean Munjoo urged the prospective interference of the Emperor Akbur as a reason for peace between the two States. Yekhlas Khan was for war, and the young king, under the influence of almost habitual intoxication, marched with his army. Still Meean Munjoo persisted in his endeavours to prevent bloodshed, and had influence enough with the Beejapoor commander, Humeed Khan, to prevent his being the assailant. When

Ibrahim Nizam Shah succeeds, 1594.

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armies were encamped near each other, and, after a night of debauch, the king ordered out his forces and attacked the Beejapoor troops; but, as he was leading the centre of his army, was shot in the forehead, and died instantly. His reign had only lasted four months. His body was taken to Ahmednugger, and a boy named Ahmed, supposed to be a descendant of the royal family, and who had been confined at Dowlatabad, was sent for by Meean Munjoo, and proclaimed king, while the late king's son, Bahadur, then an infant in arms, was despatched to a distant fortress.

Ibrahim Nizam Shah killed in action, 1594.

Ahmed proclaimed king, and crowned, 1594.

Ahmed was crowned with great pomp on August 6, 1594, but it was shortly afterwards discovered that he had no pretensions to royal descent; and Yekhlas Khan, with his Abyssinians, disputed the succession, raising an insurrection, and proclaiming another boy as king. In his despair, Meean Munjoo now took the desperate resolution of inviting the Prince Moorád Mirza from Guzerat, and the prince, already in possession of his father's instructions to advance into the Deccan on any reasonable pretext, marched at once for Ahmednugger. Meanwhile Meean Munjoo had retrieved his position, and had defeated Yekhlas Khan and his party; but it was too late: nothing could stay the prince's progress, and leaving the dowager-queen, Chánd Beebee, as regent, and the fort of Ahmednugger well provided for defence, Meean Munjoo departed to implore the assistance of the Kings of Golcondah and Beejapoor against the common enemy, the Moghuls. The queen had, from the first, been opposed to the election of Ahmed as king. She considered the infant Bahadur the rightful heir, as in truth he was; and collecting a strong party around her, prepared to defend the fort to the last. There were now four competitors for the throne; 1, the infant son of the late king; 2, the boy Ahmed, already crowned; 3, the boy selected by Yekhlas Khan, who was at the head of his own party for his support; and, 4, Shah Ally, the son of Boorhan Nizam Shah I., an old man, seventy years of age, who had lived in retirement at Beejapoor, and whose pretensions were supported by Nehung Khan, another powerful Abyssinian chief. Of these parties, Yekhlas Khan's was defeated near the Godavery by a Moghul detachment, and dispersed. Nehung Khan cut his way through the Moghul army, and joined the queen in the fort; but Shah Ally and his followers were cut off, and perished. On hearing of the Moghul invasion, Ibrahim Adil Shah despatched his able general, Soheil Khan, to Nuldroog, with 25,000 horse, where he was joined by Yekhlas Khan with the wreck of his force, and by

The succession disputed.

Prince Moorád Mirza invited to the Deccan.

Claimants of the throne.

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a contingent of 6,000 horse from Golcondah; and had this force marched on Ahmednugger at once, the present crisis might possibly have been averted.

Ahmednugger besieged by Prince Moorád Mirza.

Hearing of the assembling of these forces, the Prince Moorád Mirza now pressed the siege with ardour. Mines were laid under the two principal bastions, and charged ready for explosion. Respecting the bravery of the garrison, the Moghul officer in charge of the trenches made his way to the walls, and informing them of their danger, called upon them to surrender. The queen-dowager would, however, hear of no terms. She began counter-mines, herself working with the men, and by daylight two mines had been discovered and destroyed. In the act of removing the powder from a third, the train was fired, and some of the wall fell. Several of the officers now prepared for flight, and urged the queen to escape; but the heroic woman put on armour, and with a veil over her face, and a naked sword in her hand, took up her post in the breach, while her example caused the utmost enthusiasm to prevail among all ranks. In the afternoon, the Moghuls advanced to storm, but were beaten back with immense loss; the ditch was nearly filled with the dead. Again and again the attack was renewed, but the queen in person repulsed them all, and without quitting her post all night, caused the breach to be built up. But the danger was imminent; another such crisis could hardly be endured, and she therefore wrote to Soheil Khan, urging him to advance. This despatch was, however, intercepted by the Prince Moorád, who read it, and adding, 'the sooner you come the better, I am most anxious to meet you,' forwarded it to its destination. As the relieving forces advanced, they cut off the supplies of provisions to the Moghul camp, whereupon Prince Moorád made overtures to the queen, offering to quit the country if Berar were ceded to him. This, at first, she refused; but her allies were still distant, and even did they arrive, the result of an engagement between them and the Moghul veterans was very doubtful. She, therefore, signed the treaty, and Prince Moorád Mirza marched, unmolested, to take possession of Berar. Three days afterwards, the allies reached Ahmednugger, and Meean Munjoo pressed the recognition of Ahmed upon the queen. She, however, was firm in her support of the infant king, whom she sent for, and caused to be crowned, while Ahmed was provided with an estate by the King of Beejapoor, and resigned all pretensions to the kingdom.

Valour of the queen-dowager.

Repulse of the Moghuls.

Prince Moorád negotiates with the queen-dowager.

She cedes Berar.

The infant son of the king is crowned.

But the State was doomed. The queen appointed Mahomed

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Khan as minister, who soon set her at defiance, appointed his own creatures to offices of trust, and obliged her to apply to Beejapoor for aid, which was promptly given. Ibrahim Adil Shah despatched Soheil Khan with 25,000 cavalry, to remain under her orders, and he arrived in 1596; when Mahomed Khan, finding his power at an end, wrote to Khan Khanán, the Moghul commander in Berar, offering his own assistance to subdue the whole of the Ahmednugger kingdom. When this became known, the garrison of Ahmednugger seized the traitor, and made him over to the queen, who, by this step, was reinstated in her authority. Soheil Khan now set out on his return to Beejapoor; but having received intelligence of the annexation, by the Moghuls, of other districts not included in the cession of Berar, halted for instructions, and received orders to defend the northern frontier. He, therefore, advanced with his own army and the contingents of Golcondah and Ahmednugger, to Soneput or Soopa, on the Godavery, when the general action which eventually decided the fate of Ahmednugger was fought, on January 26, 1597, as described in Chapter X. of this Book. The Moghuls did not immediately advance upon Ahmednugger; but the local disputes were by no means at an end. Nehung Khan, who had been appointed minister after Mahomed Khan, resisted the queen and revolted: and affairs continued in the same distracted state until the arrival of the Emperor Akbur at Boorhanpoor, in 1599. On the Moghuls' advance from Berar, Nehung Khan made an ineffectual attempt to oppose them, and fled to Joonair, and Ahmednugger was again invested. The queen once more defended it bravely, but she had now no dependence upon the garrison, and openly gave her opinion that it would be better to accept terms, and carry the young king to Joonair. As this opinion was uttered, Humeed Khan, a eunuch, to whom it had been expressed, ran out of the palace into the parade-ground of the fort, crying that the queen was about to give up the fort to the Moghuls; and the ungrateful Deccany troops, led by him, rushed into the private apartments and put the royal lady to death. Thus perished one of the noblest characters that the Deccan had ever produced. Beautiful in person, and at an early age a widow, there is yet no stain upon her honour. The trying scenes of her early life at Beejapoor were often repeated; yet, with a devotion rarely excelled, she never hesitated to do her duty in the great political emergencies which occurred, both in Beejapoor and Ahmednugger. Her valour was unquestionable, and was put to the severest proof on many occasions; and her sad fate excited

The King of Beejapoor assists the queen-dowager.

Battle of Soopa.

Second siege of Ahmednugger by the Moghuls.

The queen-dowager is murdered.

Her character.

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a feeling of universal commiseration, which has survived to the present time—among her old people.

Capture of Ahmednugger by the Moghuls.

After the queen's death, the Moghuls pressed the siege more rapidly. Their mines were sprung, and in the storm which followed, the garrison was put to the sword, for the Moghuls gave no quarter. The infant king, with all the members of the royal family, were sent to the Emperor Akbur, and were confined in the fort of Gwalior. But there was still some vitality in the State. Moortuza, the son of Shah Ally, who was the son of Boorhan Nizam Shah I., proclaimed himself king, under the title of Moortuza Nizam Shah II., and was supported by the famous Mullik Umbur, who, as minister-in-chief, and viceroy of the province of Dowlatabad, long preserved what remained of the old kingdom, and carried out in detail those surveys of village lands, registrations of property, and revised assessments which have rendered him ever since famous throughout a large portion of the Deccan. Mullik Umbur was one of those Abyssinians who, little better than savages in their own country, displayed in the Deccan abilities as statesmen and generals which were hardly exceeded by the more civilised Persians. The king continued to reside at Owsa for some time, but was afterwards removed to Purainda, which became for a brief period the capital of the kingdom; but Mullik Umbur, in 1607, having overcome his rival, Meean Rajoo, who had held nearly half the Nizam Shahy dominions, removed the king to Joonair. The power of the Moghuls was, however, progressing rapidly, and the details of the final extinction of the Nizam Shahy dynasty belong more particularly to the general history of the succeeding period.

The infant king sent to the Emperor Akbur.

Moortuza Nizam Shah succeeds.

Mullik Umbur's administration.

His character.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE KOOTUB SHAHY DYNASTY OF GOLCONDAH (*continued from Chapter XXI., Book III.*), 1550 TO 1611.

THE principal incidents of Ibrahim Kootub Shah's reign have connection with the kingdoms of Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, into whose constant disputes he was frequently drawn; but these need not be repeated here. He formed one of the confederate allies for the reduction of Ramraj, and in the act displayed, it may be thought, a bad return for the refuge and hospitality he had experienced for many years at Beejanugger; but the events

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of the intervening years had been productive of many disagreements, and a remonstrance addressed by Ramraj to the king, on the occasion of his attack on Beejapoor in concert with the King of Ahmednugger, deserves to be quoted as a good specimen of the political correspondence of the period. 'Be it known to your Majesty,' writes Ramraj, 'that it is now many years since the two courts of Beejapoor and Ahmednugger have been in a constant state of warfare, and that the balance of power between them was so equal, that although every year each of these sovereigns had been in the habit of making a campaign on each other's frontiers, yet no advantage accrued to either. It now appears that your Majesty, whose ancestors never interfered in these disputes, has marched an army to turn the scale in favour of Hoosein Nizam Shah, without having any cause of enmity against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who has sought our alliance. As a friendship has long subsisted between our court and your Majesty, we have thought fit to lay these arguments before you, to induce you to relinquish the offensive alliance which your Majesty has formed, and by returning peaceably to your capital, show a friendly disposition to both parties, who will afterwards conclude a peace, and put an end to this long-protracted war.' This dignified letter had, for the moment, a good effect; but the subsequent conduct of Ramraj in the campaign against Ahmednugger, with other transactions and frontier disputes, seemed to have obliterated all good-feeling between them. The Golcondah historian records, that the suggestion to the Kings of the Deccan to undertake a crusade against Ramraj proceeded from Ibrahim Kootub Shah; but there is greater probability, perhaps, in Ferishta's account of the opening embassy to Golcondah from Beejapoor, by which the measure was first mooted. There is no doubt that Ibrahim cordially engaged in the war, and that by his ambassador, Moostufa Khan, the details of the confederacy were finally arranged; and the results of the great battle fought on January 25, 1565, have been elsewhere related. By this event, the king recovered all the territory which he had lost during his latter disputes with Ramraj, and was left at liberty to pursue his conquests to the south.

Remarkable letter from the Rajah of Beejanugger.

League against Beejanugger.

In the year 1567, Ruffat Khan, an able commander, undertook a campaign against the Hindoo Prince of Rajahmundry, which was entirely successful, and the whole of his territory was annexed to the kingdom; and before the close of the king's reign, many of the Hindoo rajahs whose territories lay immediately south of the Krishna river were in succession overcome, though not without prolonged

King Henry Darnley murdered.

James VI. King of Scotland.

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resistance, and in many instances very obstinate combats. On June 2, 1580, the king died, in the thirty-first year of his reign and fifty-first of his age. During his life he had been constantly in the field, and had behaved with much personal bravery on many occasions. His civil government was also good; and, under his tolerance, Hindoos were freely employed in State affairs, attaining, in some instances, the very highest rank. Many of his great public works survive him: the fortifications of Golcondah; the almshouses, and the embankments of the great lake-reservoirs of Hoosein Ságor and Ibrahimputtun. He encouraged trade, and Golcondah became a mart for the sale of the produce and manufactures both of Europe and all parts of Asia. The king was succeeded by Mahomed Koolly, his third son, the two elder having died previously.

Ibrahim Kootub Shah dies, 1580.

His acts and character.

Mahomed Koolly Kootub Shah succeeds, 1580.

Philip II. takes Portugal.

For some years after the king's accession, a constant war was maintained with the Rajah of Penkóndah, the representative of the Beejanugger family, and with other Hindoo princes south of the Krishna; but it does not appear that the Mahomedans made much progress to the south or south-east, and their possession of the province of Condbeer, or Guntoor, was fiercely disputed. In 1589, as Golcondah had become overcrowded and unhealthy, and the supply of water was scanty, the king laid the foundation of the present city of Hyderabad, on the right bank of the Moosy river, about eight miles from the fort. He named it Bhágnugger, after his beautiful Hindoo mistress Bhágmutty (a title still used by all Hindoo bankers); but after her death it was changed to Hyderabad, after his son Hyder. The city was well laid out with broad streets, then sheltered by rows of trees, and the supply of water from a dam in the river above Golcondah was, and continues to be, abundant. The king adorned the city with many fine buildings, which are still perfect; and among them the noble Jooma mosque, and the Char Minar, or four minarets, hospitals, almshouses, and palaces, attest the splendour of his reign. Mahomed Koolly, although, during the whole or greater part of his reign, there was a perpetual frontier war in progress with the Hindoos, never appears to have taken part in it; and continued to reside at his new capital, employing himself with much ability in the civil affairs of his government, and in public works. During his reign three millions sterling had been expended by the king, and the noble irrigation works throughout the provinces were kept in perfect repair. The king's example was followed by his nobility;

Hyderabad founded, 1589.

Henry III. of France murdered.

Public edifices of Hyderabad.

Munificence of the king in public works.

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and not only at Hyderabad, but throughout the dominions of the Kootub Shahy dynasty, the number of handsome mosques, palaces, and other edifices, is not surpassed, if indeed it is equalled, in any other of the Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan. In December 1611, the king was suddenly taken ill, and died on the 17th of that month, after a reign of thirty-four years, much regretted by his subjects. During his life 24,000*l.* sterling was annually distributed to the poor, besides a munificent support and endowment of colleges, schools, hospitals, and almshouses throughout his dominions. He was succeeded by his son Abdoolla, under the title of Sooltan Abdoolla Kootub Shah; but the separate history of the dynasty ceased with his father's reign, and subsequent events, till the subversion of the Kootub Shahy kingdom by Aurungzebe, are only to be traced in the account of Moghul progress in the Deccan. It is evident from the record of the local historian of Golcondah, that little substantial impression had been made on the Hindoos of the southern States. Their armies were numerous, and though often defeated, yet resisted bravely and defiantly any annexation of territory; and beyond a portion of the present Guntoor Sircar, the Kootub Shahy dynasty made no conquests south of the Krishna river.

Mahomed Koolly Kootub Shah dies, 1611.

His private and public charities.

Abdoolla Kootub Shah succeeds, 1611.

Baronets created.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JEHÁNGEER, 1605 TO 1627.

UNDER the proud title of Jehángeer, or 'Conqueror of the World,' the Prince Selim was crowned at Agra soon after his father Akbur's death. His sullen temper, and habitual excess in drinking, afforded little prospect of a happy reign; nevertheless, his first acts gave promise of amendment. Many of his reforms exceeded those of his father in practical utility, particularly in regard to the abuses in levying customs duties, and in respect to the admission of complainants to his presence. He also affected a stricter observance of the forms of the Mahomedan faith, and issued a prohibitory edict against the use of wine or spirits, opium, and other intoxicating drugs and compounds. The breach between the emperor and his eldest son Khoosroo had however become wider: and in March 1606, the young prince left Agra in open rebellion. He was pursued by his father into

The Prince Selim, as Jehángeer, succeeds Akbur as emperor of Dehly, 1605.

Gunpowder plot.

The first acts of the emperor's reign.

Rebellion of his eldest son, who is defeated and captured.

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the Punjâb, by which time he had collected 10,000 men, was defeated, and again fled westward, in the hope of reaching Kabool; but the ferry-boat in which he was crossing the Ravee or Hydaspes, ran on a sand-bank, and the prince was taken in chains to his father. Now followed one of the most horrible scenes of cruelty ever perhaps witnessed in the world. No less than 700 of the prince's followers were impaled on stakes in a line from the gate of Lahore, and while most were still living, and writhing and shrieking in agony, the emperor directed his son, placed on an elephant, to be carried down the line. The account, as written by himself, in his Memoirs, is too revolting to be quoted; and had it not been confirmed by his own journal, it is probable such an event would have been hardly credible. The prince remained in chains, but was not sent into a distant imprisonment: he accompanied his father to Kabool, where, in 1607, a conspiracy to assassinate the emperor and raise Khoosroo to the throne was discovered and defeated.

The emperor's cruelty.

With the exception of a campaign against the Rana of Oodypoor, no great event marks the period between 1607 and 1610. The emperor had returned from Kabool to Agra, where he had been visited by Captain Hawkins, the commander of the English ship 'Hector;' and had promised him extensive privileges of trade, with the results already detailed; and by Hawkins's account of his life at court, it does not seem that the emperor's habits of drinking had been overcome, though they were in some measure regulated. In 1610, affairs in the Deccan took an unfavourable turn. Khan Khanán, the general in command, had been defeated by Mullik Umbur, the great Ahmednugger minister and general. Ahmednugger had been recaptured, and the imperial forces had been obliged to retreat on Boorhanpoor, and for the present to abandon their most southern conquests. Mullik Umbur had taken advantage of the rebellion of the Prince Khoosroo to attack the imperial forces, and to consolidate his own power. As the Moghuls held Ahmednugger, he had founded a new capital near Dowlatabad; and while the King Moortuza III. resided at Owsa, near the southern frontier of the kingdom, governed the northern portion of the dominions; nominally in his behalf, but in reality in an almost independent position, during which period he carried out his great revenue reforms. He had also rallied around him many of the Mahratta chiefs, who had gradually risen into military consequence, and were becoming a new, but powerful, element in the affairs of the Deccan. For the present the emperor contented himself with transferring the command of the southern armies from Khan Khanán to Khan

Henry IV. of France murdered, 1610.

Events in the Deccan.

Mullik Umbur's independent position.

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Jehán, and no new operations against Mullik Umbur were undertaken.

In the ensuing year, 1661, the emperor married the celebrated Noor Jehán, whose beauty and abilities rendered his reign famous. She was born of Persian parents, who had emigrated from Persia to India, under circumstances of great privation. Her father had entered the service of the Emperor Akbur, who had promoted him; and his wife, with her daughter, was in the habit of visiting the emperor's harem. Here Noor Jehán used to be seen by the Prince Selim (Jehángeer), who conceived a violent passion for her, and demanded her of his father in marriage. The Emperor Akbur did not however approve of the alliance, and caused her to be married to a young Persian nobleman, Shére Afghan Khan, whom Akbur settled on an estate in Bengal. Whether the Prince Selim had authorised the Viceroy of Bengal to propose that Shére Afghan should relinquish his wife, or whether any other reason for the act existed, can never be known; but on the occasion of a visit to the viceroy, Shére Afghan Khan stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately dispatched by the attendants. Noor Jehán was sent to Agra as an accomplice in the act, but was not prosecuted. She refused many offers of marriage from the emperor, but at last consenting, they were united. No empress of India had ever before received such high honours, or been so openly recognised as an element of the State, as was Noor Jehán. A new coinage was struck in her name, which was inscribed on it. She was supreme in the palace; her father became prime minister, and she may be said to have virtually ruled the State. The empress soon obliged her husband to comport himself with dignity, and to abstain from excess, at least in public; and the court, under her admirable management, became not only more magnificent and decorous, but its expenses were considerably reduced.

The emperor's marriage with Noor Jehán.

Her origin.

The Deccan, however, continued to be a subject of vexation. To assist the operations of Khan Jehán Lody, an army was directed to proceed to his support from Guzerat, in 1612. This movement was met by Mullik Umbur in a spirited manner, and defeated; the retreat of the Imperial forces was sorely harassed by his Mahratta cavalry, and the Prince Purviz and Khan Jehán Lody did not venture to attack him again. The campaign of the Prince Khurrám (Shah Jehán) in Oodypoor was more successful, and finally triumphant. The Rana submitted to him, and was not only restored to his dominions by the emperor, but received into the highest rank of the nobility of the empire. In the year 1613, the emperor, on the representations

Troops dispatched to the Deccan.

Matthias emperor of Germany.

Campaign in Rajpootana.

Permission to trade given to the English.

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of the authorities at Surat and Ahmedabad, had conferred privileges of trade upon the English, and had granted permission for the establishment of four factories, at Surat, Cambay, Gógo, and Ahmedabad. He had also invited an ambassador from the English court, which was an act of courtesy too valuable to be neglected; and Sir Thomas Roe, already experienced in Oriental character and manners by a residence at Constantinople, and acquainted with the Turkish language, was dispatched by King James I. to Jehángeer's court in 1615. His journal is extremely curious and interesting; and contains much valuable information upon the actual state of the country, the condition of the people, and the court life of Jehángeer, which excited the utmost astonishment in England, where the Great Moghul was probably considered little more than a painted savage, and the civilised character of his country was entirely unknown. The paltry presents brought by the ambassador, though courteously received, yet caused pain in presentation, as the offerings of a poor nation; for all the jewels of the British crown would have been of no account before those of the throne of Jehángeer, and the precious stones with which he was covered. Sir Thomas Roe resided at Jehángeer's court for nearly three years. He was admitted, as Hawkins had been, to intimate association with the emperor, and attended him in his private chamber, being present at his drinking bouts, and accompanying him in his marches, wars, and excursions. He describes the royal princes; the pity for Khoosroo; the gravity and self-esteem of Khurrám or Shah Jehán, and the glory of the empress. But it is impossible to follow any portion of these interesting details with the particularity they deserve; they should be read by the student of Indian history in their entirety, not only for the remarks upon court and political affairs, but as regards the state of government, and its effects on the people; the latter were not favourable, and it may be presumed that the strict administration of Akbur had relaxed.

Four factories are established.

Sir Thomas Roe arrives as English ambassador, 1615.

Sir Thomas Roe's narrative.

In the year 1616, the Prince Khurrám received the title of Shah Jehán, or 'King of the World,' and was nominated successor to the emperor, as well as commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan; and Jehángeer moved with his son southwards as far as Mandoo, accompanied by his court. The emperor's proximity to the scene of the Deccan campaign infused energy into the proceedings of the imperial commanders. Mullik Umbur was defeated, and obliged to relinquish Ahmednugger. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor became an ally, and the previous conquests of the

Settlement of Virginia.

Mullik Umbur defeated.

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empire were re-established. In this campaign the Prince Shah Jehán distinguished himself on many occasions, and the success of the Moghul operations may, in a great measure, be attributed to his military skill. The emperor now proceeded (1617) to Guzerat, which was added to his son's viceroyalty, and thence returned to Agra, in 1618. Peace in the Deccan was, however, of no long continuance. Mullik Umbur, in 1620, had again defeated the imperial commanders, and his army had penetrated northwards as far as Mandoo. Shah Jehán was, therefore, again dispatched to the scene of conflict, where the imperial affairs were gradually retrieved; and Mullik Umbur, defeated in a general action, submitted to the terms imposed on him. On the occasion of proceeding on this service, Shah Jehán had requested that Prince Khoosroo might be allowed to accompany him, which was granted; but he did not long survive his release, and died in the Deccan.

The emperor visits Guzerat.

Mullik Umbur's successes in 1620.

But he is defeated, and submits to Prince Shah Jehán.

Death of Prince Khoosroo.

Hitherto the empress had been the active friend and partisan of Shah Jehán; but her father's death, which happened in 1621, caused her to change her policy. She had married her daughter, by her first husband, to the Prince Shahriar, the emperor's younger son, and now determined that he should succeed the emperor, who had already declared Shah Jehán to be his successor. Meanwhile, Kandahar had been invaded and taken by the Persians, and Shah Jehán, to whom the service of recovering it had been first proposed, advanced from the Deccan northwards with a part of his army, for the purpose of proceeding into Afghanistan; but, under the appearance of affairs at court, he conceived that the service was only a pretext for removing him from India, and declined to proceed without special assurances from his father. In reply to this application, he was now ordered to send large portions of his army to be placed under Shahriar, who had been nominated in his stead. With this order Shah Jehán declined to comply, and marched upon Agra. The emperor, who had been at Lahore, now set out, in February 1623, to oppose him; and the armies met on the borders of Rajpootana, where some partial engagements took place; but Shah Jehán, having probably no desire to press his father to extremity, retreated southwards to Mandoo. He was followed by the emperor to Ajmere, and thence an army, under the joint command of the Prince Purviz and Mohubut Khan, was dispatched to reduce him. Shah Jehán was now deserted by the governor of Guzerat, and

Intrigues of the empress.

Kandahar taken by the Persians.

Shah Jehán proceeds against them.

But is superseded by Shahriar.

The emperor attacks Shah Jehán's army.

Shah Jehán withdraws.

Retires to Boorhanpoor.

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retired to Boorhanpoor; where the imperial general, Khan Khanán, also declared against him, and obliged him to retreat into Telingána, whence he proceeded by the coast route into Bengal, in 1624. Here his cause was warmly espoused by the local authorities, and he defeated the governor of Raj Mahál. He had now obtained possession of Bengal and Bahar, and further successes seemed possible; but the Prince Purviz and Mohubut Khan marched from Boorhanpoor direct upon Allahabad, and in an action which ensued with the prince, completely defeated him, and obliged him to retrace his steps into the Deccan. Here he hoped to enlist the Kings of Golcondah and Beejapoor in his cause; but they were faithful to the emperor. Mullik Umbur, however, received him gladly; but he soon found himself helpless, and wrote a humble submission to his father: who, requiring him to give up the forts in his possession, and to send his sons Dára and Aurungzebe to court, as hostages, was prepared to forgive the past.

And thence into Telingána and Bengal.

He possesses himself of Bengal and Bahar.

He is defeated by Prince Purviz,

and retires to the Deccan.

Shah Jehán submits to the emperor.

The emperor was then in progress on his annual journey to Kashmere and return to Dehly, in company with the empress. She had become jealous of Mohubut Khan, whom she herself had selected to act against Shah Jehán, and he had been summoned to court. Mohubut Khan was at that time the most eminent of the State servants; but he was charged with malpractices in Bengal, and though for a time he delayed to appear to answer them, he eventually proceeded to court under the escort of 5,000 Rajpoots, whom he had attached to himself. When he reached the emperor's camp, he understood that his disgrace had been already determined upon, and he resolved to get possession of the emperor's person, and make his own terms. With this view he occupied the bridge of boats by which the emperor was to cross the Hydaspes with a portion of his troops, and dashing into the emperor's camp with the rest, surrounded his tents, and took him prisoner. The emperor, who had been in a heavy sleep, awoke when his bed was surrounded with armed men, and recognising Mohubut Khan, reproached him with treachery; but he did not resist, and mounted upon an elephant, was conducted, with every mark of respect, to his general's tents. Meanwhile the empress was not idle. Putting on mean attire, she directed herself to be conveyed to the camp of the army on the other side of the river, where she made preparations for an attack upon Mohubut Khan's camp, and the rescue of the emperor; and early next morning she moved in

The empress's jealousy of Mohubut Khan.

His conduct.

Seizes the emperor's person.

The empress attacks Mohubut Khan's camp.

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person to the attack at the head of the whole of the royal forces. The bridge had been destroyed, and she attempted to cross by a dangerous ford below. After a fruitless struggle, in which many were carried away by the stream, and others shot by the Rajpoots, who held the opposite bank, it was found impossible to carry their position, and a furious conflict now raged round the elephant of the empress, which was the special object of capture by the Rajpoots. The driver was killed, and the infant daughter of Shahriar, sitting in the empress's lap, was wounded by an arrow, while the empress's escape was wonderful. The elephant, now beyond control, and wounded badly, rushed back into the river, and plunging into deep water, reached the bank safely. Another attack by Fidái Khan had also failed, and Noor Jehán, seeing that there was no hope of rescuing the emperor, voluntarily joined him.

Her valour and great peril.

She joins the emperor.

The army now commanded by Mohubut Khan proceeded to Kabool, and the strict confinement of the emperor was considerably relaxed. The Rajpoots, on whom Mohubut depended, were here in a foreign land, the people of which had more sympathy for the emperor than for his general; and Noor Jehán, on pretence of summoning all feudal contingents for muster, increased her own, and contrived the support of others. Finally she proposed a review of her own troops: and on this occasion they moved so as to separate the emperor from the Rajpoot guard by which he was attended, and to close around him. From that moment he was free. Noor Jehán would now have dealt severely with Mohubut Khan; but her brother was his prisoner, and he was too powerful to be attacked; so setting his pardon on the condition of her brother's release and Mohubut's immediately proceeding against Shah Jehán, he accepted the conditions, and marched to meet the prince. But Shah Jehán was in no condition for rebellion; he was, in fact, very helpless. He was residing at Ajmere with only 1,000 men, and his friend, Rajah Kishn Singh, had died. This was the crisis of his fortunes; and had he been able, he would have fled to Persia. While in this distress, he heard of his brother Purviz's death, and trusting now to recover his position in the Deccan, he proceeded thither, followed by Mohubut Khan, to whom he quickly became reconciled. Before they could decide upon any plan of future proceedings, news of the emperor's death reached them. He had found the climate of Kashmere too severe, and had died of asthma, his old complaint, as he was being taken to Lahore. Jehángeer expired

The army proceeds to Kabool.

The empress's plot to release the emperor.

Which succeeds.

She sends Mohubut Khan against Prince Shah Jehán.

Who proceeds to the Deccan, followed by Mohubut Khan, to whom he is reconciled.

Death of the Emperor Jehángeer.

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on October 28, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign, and was interred in the mausoleum he had prepared for himself at Lahore.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SHAH JEHÁN, 1627 TO 1655.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of the news of his father's death, Shah Jehán proceeded to Agra, and ascended the throne on January 26, 1628. Between that period and the death of Jehángeer there had been an attempt by Prince Shahriar to gain the throne; but it had been suppressed by Asof Khan, the prime minister, who defeated and imprisoned him. And the empress, after this event, retired into privacy, from which she never again emerged. She was allowed a pension of 250,000*l.* a year; and, according to Khafie Khan, the historian of the period, abstained from all entertainments, became profuse in her charities, and wore no colour but white, to the period of her death. The emperor's accession was the occasion of splendid rejoicings at Agra; and there being no war in progress, in any part of his dominions, he devoted himself to his favourite pursuit—architecture—and commenced those famous buildings by which his name is perpetuated. An invasion of the Uzbeks, and the insurrection of Rajah Nursing Déo of Bunkelkund, gave employment to portions of the army; but the rebellion of Khan Jehán Lody, the commander-in-chief and viceroy of the Deccan, was of more moment, and became ultimately the foundation of a greater interference in, and control over Deccan affairs, than had ever yet been exercised. It may be presumed that, from the first, Khan Jehán Lody had determined upon achieving independence. He was originally an Afghan adventurer, and had risen by his personal valour and skill to the highest rank. He declined to accompany the emperor to Agra; but was invited to court after his accession to the throne, and treated with the utmost consideration. So far, however, from receiving these attentions in a pleasant spirit, Khan Jehán viewed them with the utmost jealousy and alarm; and suddenly quitting his palace at Agra, with all his family, escorted by 2,000 of his veteran retainers, marched southwards. He was pursued and overtaken at the Chumbul river; but he checked the advancing force in a sharp skirmish,

Shah Jehán crowned at Agra, 1628.

The empress pensioned.

Rebellion of Khan Jehán Lody, 1628.

His antecedents.

Escapes from Agra to the Deccan.

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crossed the river, and plunging into the woody country of Bundelkund and Góndwana, made his way into the Deccan. As soon as his position was ascertained, a Moghul force from the army of the Deccan was sent against him; but Lody had made friends of the local Mahratta authorities, who rose in his defence, and repulsed the Moghuls with severe loss.

Defeats the Moghul troops.

The position and character of Khan Jehán Lody were now a subject of much anxiety to the emperor, whose experience of Deccan politics led him to fear the effect which a powerful character like his general's might have upon the Kings of the Deccan. If they could be brought into a confederacy, and their united armies led by Khan Jehán Lody, it would be difficult to oppose them; for the contest with Ahmednugger alone had already required all the power of the empire, and that State was still powerful, while Beejapoor and Golcondah were both in a high condition of prosperity. In this state of affairs, Shah Jehán trusted the Deccan to no one; he proceeded to that country in 1629, and dividing his army into three portions, remained himself at Boorhanpoor, to direct the general policy of the campaign. Of the three officers employed, Azim Khan proved the most efficient. He drove Khan Jehán Lody from place to place, and forced him to retreat to the south, while Lody's cause was much weakened by the defection of his hitherto friend and ally, Shahjee Bhóslay, a Mahratta chieftain of much power and influence, who had been in possession of a great portion of the western dominions of the Ahmednugger State since the death of Mullik Umbur in 1626. It was evident to Shahjee that, in the present condition of the Deccan, Khan Jehán had no chance of success; and he accordingly proceeded to Boorhanpoor, paid his respects to the emperor at the head of 2,000 of his retainers, and was taken into the service as a commander of 5,000, which involved a patent of nobility, and the confirmation of the estates he possessed. This example was followed by his cousin Kelloojee and other Mahratta chiefs, and it is evident that, by this conciliatory and practically useful policy, Shah Jehán not only materially strengthened his own position, but weakened that of his opponents.

The emperor's anxiety.

The emperor proceeds to the Deccan, 1629.

Campaign against Khan Jehán Lody.

Shahjee Bhóslay joins the emperor.

Khan Jehán, driven southwards, took refuge at Beejapoor, where he endeavoured to incite the king, Mahmood Adil Shah, on pretence of checking the Moghul progress, to assist him. But Mahmood could not be induced to do so. He was a peaceful monarch, who devoted himself to civil affairs, and to architecture, in

Khan Jehán proceeds to Beejapoor.

King Mahmood Shah declines to interfere.

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which he was a scientific proficient; and all that he could hope for was to preserve what he already possessed, which he considered would be impossible under a Moghul attack. This was perhaps a shortsighted policy, and indeed proved to be so in the end; but Khan Jehán Lody had nothing to offer to induce Mahmood Adil Shah to break his already existing engagements with the emperor based upon the previous treaties, and Lody was dismissed. He returned to Moortuza Nizam Shah III., then defending himself against the emperor's attacks; and finding no chance of assistance, endeavoured to break through the imperial posts and reach Bundelkund, and incite its ever lawless chiefs to rebellion. Here, however, he was disappointed; so far from assisting him, the local chiefs opposed his progress, and he was finally slain, fighting bravely to the last, near the fort of Kalinjer. The imperial operations were delayed for nearly a year, owing to famine, which followed a scarcity of rain; but in 1630, when forage was once more available to some extent, Azim Khan marched upon Dowlatabad. Here he was encountered by Moortuza Nizam Shah III. and his army: but the king was defeated in a general action fought near the fort, and the Moghuls following up their advantage, took possession of the country as far as Dharoor. Moortuza III. now dismissed his minister, Tukurrib Khan, who immediately joined Azim Khan, and released Futteh Khan, the son of Mullik Umbur, who had been confined. The defeat of Moortuza III. by the Moghuls, and their occupation of Dharoor, now alarmed Mahmood Adil Shah, and an alliance between him and Moortuza followed, Moortuza ceding to him the fort of Sholapoor and its dependencies, with some districts in the Koncan. This alliance, however, came too late. Moortuza Nizam Shah was put to death by his minister, who then proffered his allegiance to the emperor; and the army of Beejapoor, before it could effect a junction with that of Ahmednugger, was defeated by Azim Khan.

Lody is dismissed.

Khan Jehán Lody killed, 1630.

The Moghul forces advance on Dowlatabad, and defeat Moortuza Nizam Shah III.

They occupy Dharoor.

Alliance between Beejapoor and Ahmednugger, 1632.

The Beejapoor army defeated.

His open defiance of the Moghuls now drew upon Mahmood Adil Shah the whole brunt of their power; and he was besieged in his capital by Asof Khan. Beejapoor was bravely defended, and the light troops of the State cut off all the supplies of grain and forage from the Moghul army, which was eventually obliged to abandon the siege. These operations had prolonged the emperor's residence in the Deccan, and he was now (1632) obliged to return to Agra. Mohubut Khan was left as viceroy and

Beejapoor besieged, 1632.

But without result.

The emperor returns to Agra, 1632.

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commander of the forces, and the war was prosecuted with vigour. When Futteh Khan of Ahmednugger made overtures to the emperor, he had been required to give up the State elephants and jewels of the Nizam Shahy kingdom. This, however, he had evaded, and shut himself up in the fort of Dowlatabad. Here he was eventually confirmed as regent of the State; a proceeding which disgusted Shahjee Bhóslay, who made overtures to Beejapoor through Morar Punt, a Mahratta Brahmin, who was the chief minister, and he joined the Beejapoor army in an advance upon Dowlatabad, while Mohubut Khan proceeded to its relief. Meanwhile, Futteh Khan had again changed sides, and refused to give up the fortress. Mohubut Khan now invested it, and the place was surrendered after a siege of fifty-eight days. He also defeated the Beejapoor army, which was weak, and followed it for some distance; but it eluded him. After this, Futteh Khan entered the Moghul service; and the boy whom he had created king was sent as a State prisoner to Gwalior, in February 1633. Thus ended the Ahmednugger kingdom; but the Deccan was by no means pacified. The King of Beejapoor could not be subdued. Mohubut Khan failed in the siege of Purainda, which he had undertaken with the Prince Shujah, who had been sent as his coadjutor; and the Moghul army having retired to Boorhanpoor, both were superseded in their command, and returned to court. Taking advantage of their discomfiture, Shahjee Bhóslay now set up another prince of the Ahmednugger house, and in his name re-occupied the whole of the western portion of the old dominions, as far as the sea.

Mohubut Khan viceroy of the Deccan.

Dowlatabad taken by the Moghuls.

End of the Nizam Shahy kingdom.

These events necessitated the return of the emperor to the Deccan in 1635. He now divided the army into two portions; one to act against Shahjee—the other, under the command of Khan Dowrán, was directed against Beejapoor, which was again besieged; but the mode of defence which had been successful before was again resorted to: the districts around the capital were deserted, the reservoirs of water beyond the fort emptied, and the wells poisoned; while Rendoolla Khan, at the head of the cavalry, harassed the imperial army. He could not, however, save the country, which was mercilessly plundered; and in 1636, Mahmood Adil Shah sued for peace. By the treaty which ensued, he received a considerable portion of the Ahmednugger dominions, including Sholapoor, Purainda, part of the Koncan, and the country on the banks of the Bheema and Neera; and in return engaged

The emperor returns to the Deccan, 1635.

Second siege of Beejapoor fails.

Peace with Beejapoor, 1636.

And its provisions.

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to pay twenty lacs of pagodas, or 800,000*l.*, per annum. Shahjee was also to be reduced; but seeing the futility of resistance, he submitted to the emperor, and in 1637 was pardoned, and re-admitted into the imperial service.

The emperor returns to Agra, 1637.

The Deccan being thus pacified for the time, the emperor returned to Agra in 1637. Several minor affairs had occurred during his absence, in which his troops had been successful; but the most important news he received was the recovery of Kandahar, which had been given up to him by Ally Merdan Khan, its governor, who, having come to court, was taken into the imperial employ, and rendered excellent service in many capacities. A canal which supplies Dehly with water still bears his name. In 1644, in concert with Rajah Jugut Singh, who brought 14,000 Rajpoots of his own clan, Ally Merdan Khan invaded Balkh; and despite of the severe climate, and stupendous mountain-passes, these brave Indian warriors achieved splendid successes. The service was, however, so arduous, that the emperor moved to Kabool in support, and despatched his son Moorád to operate with his general. The campaign was crowned with success, but tranquillity did not ensue. The Prince Moorád returned without leave, and was disgraced, and his brother Aurungzebe sent to replace him; the emperor, who had returned to India, again proceeding to Kabool. Aurungzebe was at first triumphant; but reverses ensued, and he was obliged to take up his position in Balkh. The emperor, perceiving the waste of life and means which these campaigns involved, made over the province to Nuzzur Mahomed, who had originally tempted him to undertake the war, and Aurungzebe was directed to withdraw from Balkh; but his retreat was very disastrous: many of his troops perished in the snow, and by the unceasing attacks of the mountaineers, and the remnant of the army reached Kabool about the end of 1647, in a pitiable condition.

Ferdinand III. emperor of Germany.

Kandahar regained.

Expedition against Balkh, 1644.

Prince Moorád's bad conduct.

Aurungzebe replaces him.

The emperor transfers Balkh to Nuzzur Mahomed.

Disastrous retreat of Aurungzebe.

In the year 1648, Kandahar was retaken by the Persians. Aurungzebe had been dispatched to relieve it, but arrived too late; and the siege of the place was undertaken in 1649. The Persian king sent a force for its relief, and the prince was ultimately obliged to raise the siege; but it was renewed in 1652, with a similar result. The artillery employed was in fact insufficient, and Aurungzebe returned to Kabool, to be sent as viceroy to the Deccan. The Prince Dára Shekoh, the emperor's eldest son, now besought his father to allow him to attempt what had resulted in such signal failures, and a splendid army was

Kandahar retaken by the Persians.

Is besieged by Aurungzebe without effect.

Prince Dára's attempt.

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placed under his command. With this, in 1653, he invested the fort, and the siege was prosecuted with great vigour; but the result was in nowise more fortunate than the former. Kandahar was bravely and desperately defended by the Persians; and, after losing the best of his troops in ineffectual assaults, Dára was obliged to raise the siege and return. This proved to be the last effort of the Moghul dynasty to repossess Kandahar, and the imperial dominions in Afghanistan were confined to Kabool and its dependencies. The years 1654-55 were an interval of peace, during which the revenue system of Toder Mul was introduced into Berar and other possessions in the Deccan; but the emperor had the misfortune to lose his great and able minister, Sáád Ullah Khan, who, had he lived, might probably have averted the further entanglement in Deccan affairs which, in the sequel, proved so disastrous to the empire, and those contentions among the emperor's sons which resulted in rebellion and usurpation.

The Dutch fleet defeated by Monk.

The siege of Kandahar is raised.

Death of the minister Sáád Ullah Khan, 1655.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SHAH JEHÁN (*concluded*), 1655 TO 1658.

ALTHOUGH Shahjee Bhóslay had been pardoned, and nominally re-admitted into the imperial service in 1637, it did not prevent his being employed by Beejapoor; and for a time he was placed in charge of the greater part of the new cessions. But he was afterwards appointed to a command on the southern frontier; and a large territory, which included part of Mysore, was conferred on him as an estate. It will be observed by this, that the conquests of the Beejapoor State had now extended materially to the southward; and by this time, that the descendants of the Beejanugger family had been deprived of all the northern portions of their already reduced dominions. In 1630, Shahjee had married a second wife of the family of Mohitcy, which gave offence to his first wife, who belonged to the higher family of Jadow, and she separated from him. She had borne him two sons: Sumbhajee, the eldest, who remained with his father; and Sivajee, the youngest, who was afterwards destined to take so great a part in the political affairs of the Deccan and of India.

Shahjee Bhóslay employed by Beejapoor.

His second marriage.

Sivajee was born at Joonair in May 1627; and after his father's departure for the Carnatic, in 1636, remained with his mother at Poona, under the protection of his

Birth of Sivajee, 1627.

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father's agent, Dadajee Konedeo, who managed his patron's estates with much skill. Many of them lay among the wild valleys of the western Ghauts; and as he grew up, Sivajee made friends of the sons of several of the smaller proprietors, who, for the most part, led lawless lives, resisting the Mahomedans, and occasionally plundering the open country. He became skilled in all martial exercises, but would never learn to read or write, considering such acquisitions as beneath notice; and, with his companions, conceived the project of becoming independent of Mahomedan control. In 1646 he obtained possession of the strong hill-fort of Torna; and as this act might be resented by the government of Beejapoor, he dispatched agents to the capital to negotiate possession of the district in which it was situated, on payment of a high rent. The discovery of a large amount of gold among the ruins of the fort, which was attributed to a miracle, enabled him not only to put it in complete repair, but, in 1647, to fortify another mountain-top near it, which he named Rajgurh. These proceedings seem to have excited some uneasiness at Beejapoor; but, beyond a remonstrance to his father, and warnings to himself, which were received with apparent submission, no further proceedings were taken against him. For a time Dadajee endeavoured to turn Sivajee from his designs; but, failing in this, he seems to have acquired faith in them, and on his death-bed encouraged him to persevere.

His education.

Torna taken.

Rajgurh fortified.

The main spring of Sivajee's actions from the first, however, appears to have been his mother, to whom he confided his plans. She was an enthusiast in religion, and, as is not uncommon among Mahratta women, conceived that divine revelations were made to her by the Goddess Bhowanee, the tutelary divinity of her family, shadowing forth the future greatness of her son, and the delivery of the Hindoo faith from its subjection by the Mahomedans. There is no doubt that in these visions and declarations of his mother's, Sivajee implicitly believed; and the death of Dadajee, and the management of the family estates by himself, gave him local means and authority, which he used in the prosecution of his designs. Gradually, too, the rude but warlike population of the mountain glens grew to have faith in him, they were at his call on every occasion on which he required them, and by their assistance, Sivajee became possessed of other hill-forts, and thus gradually acquired a position of immense natural strength; while, by avoiding collisions with the Mahomedan agents and commanders, his proceedings up to 1648 attracted no notice. In that year, however, his actions grew bolder; he intercepted a

Influence of his mother.

Her character.

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large remittance of treasures by the governor of Kullian, in the Koncan, and the place itself was surprised, and taken with its governor, who, on being courteously released by Sivajee, proceeded to Beejapoor, where his accounts of the young rebel's position at last excited alarm. In 1649, Shahjee was arrested and brought to court, and charged with complicity in his son's designs. It was in vain that he denied them; he was placed in a cell, the door of which was nearly built up, and he was threatened with its being closed, and a horrible death by starvation, if he did not procure his son's submission. Sivajee, now in extremity, applied to the Emperor Shah Jehán, on his own and his father's behalf. His application was favourably received, and he was admitted to the imperial service as a commander of 5,000. His father's desertion of the emperor's service also was overlooked; and, probably under an order from the emperor, he was released from his horrible dungeon, but retained at Beejapoor for four years—that is, till 1653—when, in the repression of disorders on his estate, his son Sumbhajee was killed, and Sivajee became heir to the family property. By his father's release and re-employment, and his own admission to the imperial service, Sivajee's position had been much strengthened, and his actions assumed a bolder character. Fort after fort among the mountains fell into his hands, and in 1656 he selected an almost impregnable position on a mountain near the source of the Krishna river, which he fortified, and, under the name of Pertábgurh, it became the capital of his possessions.

Shahjee's arrest, 1649.

And cruel imprisonment at Beejapoor.

Is released.

Death of Sumbhajee.

Pertábgurh fortified.

It has been already related in the last chapter, that the Prince Aurungzebe, after his failure at Kandahar, in 1653, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. He took up his abode at Kirkee, the city near Dowlatabad, founded by Mullik Umbur, and changed its name to Aurungabad. Here, until 1656, he remained in peace, carrying out the settlement of the imperial provinces of the Deccan under the system of Toder Mul, according to the emperor's design, with great assiduity and success. With Golcondah and Beejapoor the relations continued friendly, both States paying their quotas of tribute, and to all appearance avoiding any cause of quarrel. At this period, the minister at Golcondah was the celebrated Meer Joomla, formerly a diamond merchant, who had raised himself to his present office by his great abilities. He had cultivated the friendship of Aurungzebe, and was much respected by him, as well as by the emperor. While he was absent on a local campaign in eastern Telingána, his son, Mahomed Ameen, had given offence to Sooltan

Aurungzebe viceroy of the Deccan, 1653.

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Abdoolla Kootub Shah, and was imprisoned by him. Failing to obtain his son's release, Meer Joomla appealed to Aurungzebe, who forwarded the application to his father with his support; and an order was issued by the emperor for the young man's release. This mandate was, however, resented by Sooltan Abdoolla, who now confined Mahomed Ameen with more strictness, and attached the property of his father, the minister. Shah Jehán now ordered Aurungzebe to carry out his instructions by force; and, under pretence of visiting his brother in Bengal, the prince proceeded with an army towards Masulipatam; but, turning suddenly upon Hyderabad, surprised the city, which was mercilessly plundered, while the king had only time to escape to the fort of Golcondah. Here he was besieged by Aurungzebe, to whom large reinforcements had arrived. The minister's son and all his property were released; but this did not satisfy Aurungzebe, who obliged the king to agree to pay a fine of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, and to give his daughter in marriage to his son Mahomed, with an appropriate dowry. These heavy impositions were relaxed by the emperor; but Meer Joomla had now joined Aurungzebe, and his counsels, there is little doubt, led to further aggressions upon the Deccan kingdoms.

Interference at Golcondah.

Hyderabad sacked by Aurungzebe.

At this crisis, Mahmood Adil Shah, king of Beejapoor, died, on November 4, 1656, and was succeeded by his son, Ally Adil Shah II., then in his nineteenth year. Many noble monuments of Mahmood's reign survive him. His palaces are in ruins; but his mausoleum has the grandest dome in the world, and the scientific principles upon which it was constructed, according to Mr. Fergusson, are superior to any practised in Europe. During the period of his reign, Beejapoor was probably the finest and most populous city of India. Ally Adil Shah II. had scarcely ascended the throne, when his right to it was questioned by Aurungzebe, on the ground that he was not a son of the late king, and the right of selection lay with the emperor. There was no pretext, whatever, for the statement; but it afforded an excuse for war, which in this case was utterly unprovoked and unjustifiable. The Moghul army advanced from Aurungabad, under the nominal command of Meer Joomla, who had been sent from court, but in reality of Aurungzebe himself, by way of Beeder, which was captured from a descendant of Ameer Bereed, who still held it; and on this occasion the magnificent college, erected by Mahmood Gáwan in 1478, which was used for a powder-magazine, was blown up. The young King of Beejapoor could assemble no troops to check the Moghuls, as the bulk of his army was employed in

Death of Mahmood Adil Shah, 1656.

Ally Adil Shah II. succeeds.

War with Beejapoor.

Beeder captured.

The college destroyed by an explosion.

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the Carnatic; and in February, 1657, the city was invested. The king offered to pay 1,000,000*l.* sterling, and to accede to any other terms demanded; but Aurungzebe had determined to reduce and annex the kingdom; and the capture of the city was only a question of time, when news of the supposed mortal illness of the emperor reached him from his sister; and accepting the overtures of Ally Adil Shah II., he concluded a hasty peace, and marched northwards, to contend with his brother Dára Shekoh, for the throne. Sooltan Mauzum, his second son, was left in charge of the Deccan provinces, and his family, and Meer Joomla, who had affected loyalty to Dára, though secretly favouring Aurungzebe, were confined in Dowlatabad.

Beejapoor besieged.

Illness of the emperor.

Peace with Beejapoor.

Aurungzebe proceeds to Hindostan.

For some time past, owing to his father's infirm state of health, the government of the empire had been carried on by Dára. He was a high-spirited, liberal prince, but lax, according to Mahomedan estimation, in his religious opinions, leaning more to those of the Emperor Akbur than to the rigid fanaticism professed and practised by Aurungzebe, who was looked to by the Mahomedans of the period as the ultimate regenerator of the faith in India. In this respect, Aurungzebe held a great advantage over his brother; and his unscrupulous ambition, and implacable policy, combined with unfailing daring and resolution, completed his remarkable character. The Prince Shujah, viceroy of Bengal, an habitual drunkard, professed the Sheea faith, and was even more unpopular among the orthodox than Dára. Moorád, viceroy of Guzerat, was a man of no ability, and also addicted to drinking; but he was brave and generous. He was the youngest of the four, and had least influence. Shujah and Moorád forthwith assumed royal titles, and marched from their respective governments at the head of their forces; and Aurungzebe, advancing from Boorhanpoor into Malwah, addressed himself to Moorád, professing himself ready to act in his interest, to place him on the throne, and then to return to Mecca. It is difficult to conceive how Moorád could have been cajoled by such hollow and hypocritical professions; but they succeeded, and the armies of the two brothers made a junction in Malwah.

Character of Prince Dára Shekoh and his brothers.

Aurungzebe joins his brother Moorád.

Meanwhile Dára was not indifferent to the progress of events: he dispatched an army under his son Soliman against Shujah, who was defeated near Benares, and returned to Bengal; and Rajah Jey Singh, who was nominated to the command of another to oppose Aurungzebe and Moorád, took up a position near Oojeyn, and was defeated in the month of April, 1658. The princes now advanced to

Prince Shujah defeated.

Rajah Jey Singh defeated.

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the Chumbul; and the emperor, who was proceeding to Dehly, would have turned to meet them; but he was prevented by his brother-in-law, and Dára, who would not wait the arrival of the army he had sent against Shujah, could not be restrained by his father. His army, at the least computation, was treble in number to the combined forces of Aurungzebe and Moorád; but its sympathies were perhaps more with Aurungzebe than himself, and in the battle which ensued, he was totally defeated and fled. On the third day after the battle, Aurungzebe arrived at Agra, and endeavoured to conciliate his father; but his efforts were fruitless, and the emperor was confined to the palace and deposed. Shah Jehán lived till December 1666, in the strict seclusion imposed upon him; but his reign virtually ceased after the victory over Dára. Aurungzebe now usurped the government, though he was not formally crowned till a year afterwards; and Moorád was seized, while intoxicated, after a supper with his brother, and imprisoned, first in the citadel of Dehly, and afterwards in the fort of Gwalior.

Prince Dára defeated.

The emperor deposed by Aurungzebe.

Aurungzebe usurps the government, and imprisons Moorád.

The character of the Emperor Shah Jehán and of his government are freely given by Bernier, who resided at his court, and frequently accompanied him in his excursions; by Tavernier, by Mandelsloe, and other European travellers in India, whose accounts are beyond suspicion of correctness or of adulation. He was magnificent beyond all former emperors of India, not only in his court, but in the noble works which have survived him in the city of Dehly, and the most beautiful of Indian buildings, the Táj Mahál of Agra. If he was expensive in his tastes, he had at least a noble revenue, and supported well-paid civil establishments and a numerous army; and when he was dethroned by his ungrateful son, the treasury of the State, containing 24,000,000*l.* sterling, besides bullion and jewels, was rich beyond precedent. Throughout his reign of thirty years, there had been no public calamity, and he had governed his immense dominions—for it must be remembered that they extended from Bengal to the borders of Persia—with the ability of a great statesman, and with humanity and consideration rare among Oriental monarchs.

Character of Shah Jehán and of his government.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AURUNGZEBE, 1658 TO 1672.

For some time before Aurungzebe's attack upon Beejapoor, he had kept up a constant correspondence with Sivajee. He had approved of his retaining all he could wrest from Beejapoor, and even desired a personal interview with him, to arrange, as he wrote, plans of mutual aggrandisement; but Sivajee was too wary: and while he forwarded submissive letters, continued to act boldly on his own behalf. In May 1657, he even attacked Joonair, and carried off specie belonging to the revenue collections of the Moghul provinces, to the value of 120,000*l.*, which was sent to Rajgurh: and next assaulted Ahmednugger; but was less successful, though he secured 700 horses and four elephants. The sudden war with Beejapoor, however, alarmed him. When the fort of Beeder was captured, Aurungzebe wrote to him the following characteristic letter, which is quoted by Grant Duff, in his 'History of the Mahrattas':—'The fort of Beeder, which is accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and Carnatic, has been captured by me in one day—both fort and town—which was hardly to be expected without one year's fighting.' Sivajee, perhaps, considered that Beejapoor would also fall; but its escape, under the circumstances already detailed, was a relief to him. Considering, therefore, that Aurungzebe was fully occupied with the public affairs in Hindostan, he now pressed demands upon various counts, with which Aurungzebe for the present complied, rather than risk collision with him during his own absence. Meanwhile Sivajee continued his aggressions upon the Beejapoor territory in the Koncan; and it was impossible for that State to delay proceedings against him.

Aurungzebe's intercourse with Sivajee.

Sivajee's exploits.

Letter from Aurungzebe to Sivajee.

Sivajee's aggressions on Beejapoor.

Afzool Khan, an experienced officer, volunteered for the service, and was placed in command of an army of 12,000 horse and foot, with a train of artillery. Sivajee had no means by which such a force could be encountered in the field, and his object was to draw it into the narrow mountain-defiles, where it could be attacked at a disadvantage; and, if Afzool Khan could be induced to come to a conference, to destroy him. In these projects Sivajee was perfectly successful. Receiving con-

Afzool Khan volunteers to act against him.

Sivajee's plot to destroy Afzool Khan

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tinuous messages of the most profound humility and submission, the Beejapoor general advanced nearly to Pertábgurh, and having encamped his army in a defile, proceeded with a slight escort to Sivajee's capital. A small pavilion or shed had been erected on the mountain-side for the conference, and Afzool Khan here awaited the arrival of Sivajee, who, having received his mother's blessing, descended from the fort, accompanied by his friend, Tannajee Maloosray. As he embraced Afzool Khan, he struck him in the bowels with a crooked dagger, concealed in his hand, and his blow was immediately followed up by Tannajee. By a preconcerted signal, the Beejapoor army in camp, completely off its guard, was attacked on all sides by parties which had been stationed in ambuscade in the woods, and very few escaped the massacre; while four thousand horses, with all the elephants and field-train, fell into Sivajee's hands. He now pressed Beejapoor severely, and plundered up to the gates of the capital. Several districts bordering upon his own possessions were annexed, and it became necessary for the king, Ally Adil Shah II., to take the field in person. He recovered most of the lost territory; but at the close of the struggle, in 1662, Sivajee retained nearly 300 miles of the coast territory, with a breadth of 100 miles, and his army consisted of 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse.

Murder of Afzool Khan.

Destruction of the Beejapoor force.

Final results of Sivajee's plans.

Meanwhile Aurungzebe, now emperor, had assumed the title of Alumgeer, on April 6, 1659, had consolidated his government, and overcome all opposition on the part of his brothers. The melancholy fate of Dára forms part of the graphic narrations of Bernier and Dow, where, and in Mr. Elphinstone's admirable history of the period, it will be read with the highest interest. Defeated near Jeypoor, and afterwards pursued from place to place, Dára was at last arrested by the Prince of Ján, in Sinde, when on his way to Kandahar. Here his wife died of fatigue, and the prince was sent to the emperor, who, fearing the sympathy of the people, which was unequivocally exhibited on his behalf at Dehly, had him tried, by a mock tribunal, as an apostate from the faith—the only charge against him. He was condemned to death, and was beheaded in prison, in August 1659, though not without making a stout resistance. The Prince Shujah had previously advanced from Bengal, and was defeated at Cujwa, on January 3, 1659. He was followed by the emperor's son, Prince Sooltan, and Meer Joomla, at the head of a large army; and though Sooltan deserted to him, and his cause was thereby sustained for a brief period, he

The fate of Prince Dára Shekoh.

Dára beheaded in prison.

Prince Shujah defeated.

Disappears in Arracan.

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was again abandoned by the prince; and, after an ineffectual resistance, fled to Arracan, where he is supposed to have perished. Soliman and Sepéhr Shekoh, the sons of Dára, were successively imprisoned in Gwalior, and, with a son of Moorád, died, as was believed, of poison in a short period; and the unfortunate Moorád, detected in an attempt at escape, was, with a detestable hypocrisy, tried on a charge of having arbitrarily put to death a person in Guzerat, condemned to death, and executed in his prison. None of his brothers, or their offspring, now remained alive, and in 1661 the emperor at last believed himself secure. He had employed Meer Joomla, his great minister and general, first in the government of Bengal, and afterwards in the reduction of Assam; but, worn out by the effects of climate and privation, he too died, on March 31, 1653. The emperor's own serious illness followed, and for some days his life was despaired of; but he recovered, and proceeded to Kashmere for the re-establishment of his health.

Fate of other members of the family.

Death of Meer Joomla, 1653.

This success in the murder of Afzool Khan, and the destruction of his army, established Sivajee's fame among the Mahrattas on a firmer basis than ever. No one doubted but that his mother's dreams and visions, which became current among the people, were in reality divine revelations; and Sivajee made use of his great popularity, his reputed assistance by the gods, and the means he had obtained, in now attacking the Moghul possessions in the Deccan. At this period, Shaisteh Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor, was acting as viceroy, and did his utmost to check the Mahratta incursions; but he could make no impression on their strongholds, and the emperor becoming alarmed, recalled his uncle, and dispatched his son, the Sooltan Mauzum, to the Deccan, with Rajah Jey Singh, as his military commander. Meanwhile Sivajee had plundered Surat, made exactions from the English and Dutch factories, and was prosecuting his predatory excursions with great rapidity and effect. In the year 1664, his father Shahjee died. He had extended the Beejapoor conquests considerably to the south, and had become possessed of the territory of Tanjore, which the King of Beejapoor allowed him to retain. Sivajee did not, for the present, press his claim on the Tanjore estate; but he now assumed the title of rajah, and struck coins in his own name. In this year his exertions almost exceed belief, and by sea as far as Barcelore, 150 miles south of Goa, he had levied contributions with his fleet from every port; he had defeated the Beejapoor troops by land, and again plundered the Moghul districts as far Dowlatabad.

Sivajee's proceedings.

Surat plundered.

Sivajee assumes the title of rajah.

His predatory warfare.

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If the emperor had put forth his strength at this period, it is probable he would have crushed Sivajee; but he seems to have considered it advisable to allow him to weaken Beejapoor, and perhaps Golcondah also, so that they could be overwhelmed by him at any time. The plunder of some pilgrim ships by Sivajee's fleet was not, however, to be borne; and Rajah Jey Singh and Dilére Khan, two of the most efficient of the imperial generals, were sent to the Deccan. Their combined efforts evinced more vigour than the Moghuls had lately shown; and several strong forts having fallen, Sivajee—partly, it is believed, from a superstitious objection to fighting against a Hindoo prince, as Rajah Jey Singh was, but more probably to secure a position for acting with more effect against Beejapoor (for the conquest of which Jey Singh had received the emperor's commission)—joined the rajah with 2,000 horse and 8,000 infantry, and was confirmed in his acquisitions, except those portions which he had taken from the Moghuls. Rajah Jey Singh now marched upon Beejapoor; but there does not appear to have been the smallest pretext for the invasion, and as the Beejapoor State had had ample time for preparation, and its troops fought bravely, the Moghul army was obliged to retreat. Sivajee had, however, behaved with much valour in several actions, and was invited to court; and he set out for Dehly, accompanied by his eldest son Sumbhajee, in March 1666, under the assurance of Rajah Jey Singh as to his honourable reception. In this, however, he was disappointed. The emperor took little notice of him, and by the proud nobility he was probably accounted little more than an infidel barbarian. His miserable reception caused him to faint in the emperor's court, and he soon after confined himself to his residence, on plea of serious illness. He now obtained passports for his escort, and sent them away, retaining only a few personal attendants; and finally, and after the emperor had shown his ultimate design by subjecting his guest to a strict surveillance, Sivajee and his son escaped, being carried out in large baskets to a place where a horse had been posted for them, when, taking up his son before him, he proceeded southwards, by unfrequented routes, and in various disguises, to the Deccan, and finally reached Rajgurh in December 1666, after an absence of nine months.

The emperor's motive in regard to Sivajee.

Sivajee joins the Moghul general.

Beejapoor attacked.

Sivajee invited to Dehly.

He is slighted there.

And escapes to the Deccan in disguise.

Meanwhile Rajah Jey Singh had renewed the war against Beejapoor, and even invested the city; but the army of the State, assisted from Golcondah, cut off his supplies, and he was obliged to retreat, with serious loss, to

Beejapoor again attacked, but is relieved.

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Aurungabad. Sivajee's officers were not slow to avail themselves of this opportunity. They had already recovered several of the relinquished forts, and on Sivajee's return he repossessed himself of the northern Koncan. Jey Singh was recalled, but died on the road, and was replaced by Sooltan Mauzum, with Jeswunt Singh as his coadjutor. Treaties were soon afterwards concluded between the emperor and the courts of Beejapoor and Golcondah, and Sivajee also obtained payment of tribute from both, on condition of abstaining from the forcible collection of the demands which he had threatened to enforce. The Deccan, therefore, was at peace; and Sivajee employed the years 1668 and 1669 in perfecting the arrangements for his civil government, and the regulation of his army, which were not only admirably conceived, but carried out to the minutest details, with wonderful ability and regularity. They are given in full in Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas,' and will amply repay the perusal of all students of Sivajee's strangely eventful and successful career.

Rajah Jey Singh recalled.

Treaties with Beejapoor and Golcondah.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Civil administration of Sivajee.

The emperor, who had viewed Sivajee's escape with alarm, and his subsequent progress, as well as the well-founded reports that his son and Jeswunt Singh were receiving large sums of money from him, with real uneasiness, now ordered them to effect his apprehension. Of this design Sivajee was privately informed by the prince; and, with his wonted energy, he recommenced the war by capturing the strong fort of Singurh, held by a picked garrison of Rajpoots. On this occasion, Tannajee Maloosray, his tried friend and commander, was slain; but the success was great, and covered Maloosray's name with a glory which has never diminished among his countrymen. Sivajee then again plundered Surat, and sent his general, Pertáb Rao, into Khandésh, who imposed on that province, for the first time, a demand for chouth, or one-fourth of the revenues. Jinjeera was also besieged, but without effect, and after a revolution in the place, the successful party threw themselves on the protection of the Moghuls. The emperor now sent an army of 40,000 men to the Deccan, under the command of Mohubut Khan, which arrived in 1672; but a large portion of it was totally defeated by Sivajee's general, Pertáb Rao Goozur, in a general action, and the rest, after forming a junction with the imperial troops at Aurungabad, remained inactive. The emperor shortly afterwards recalled his son Muázzim, of whom he had long been suspicious, and also Mohubut Khan,

The emperor's anxiety in regard to Sivajee.

Orders him to be apprehended.

Singurh taken by Sivajee.

Death of Tannajee Maloosray.

Surat plundered.

The demand for chouth established.

The Deccan reinforced by the emperor.

The troops are defeated by Sivajee.

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and replaced them by the viceroy of Guzerat, Khan Jehán; but the struggle in the Deccan was not renewed for several years, nor until undertaken by himself.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AURUNGZEBE (*continued*), 1672 TO 1680.

THE circumstances which prevented the emperor's further interference in the affairs of the Deccan in 1672 were connected with the government of Kabool. The Afghans who held the passes had rebelled, and defeated Ameer Khan, the son of Meer Joomla, who was viceroy of the province, and had even set up a king of their own. In 1673, therefore, the emperor proceeded to the seat of war, and some successes were obtained by his son, the Prince Sooltan; but they were of small moment, as the mountain tribes were never thoroughly reduced or otherwise pacified. While engaged in directing operations against them, disturbances of a serious nature occurred near Dehly, which obliged the emperor to return. A sect of Hindoo devotees, who styled themselves Sátnaramiés, had risen in rebellion, and committed many excesses. Several detachments sent against them had been successively defeated, and a belief ensued that they were magicians, upon whom weapons or bullets had no effect. To restore confidence, therefore, the emperor took the field in person, and even wrote sentences of the Korán with his own hand, to be tied upon the standards to avert malign influences. The result was the complete dispersion of these rebels; but the manner in which their cause had been aided by the Hindoos of the localities of the insurrection, so irritated the emperor, that, yielding to his own bigoted and fanatical feelings, he encouraged the massacre of the male inhabitants by his troops, while women and children were seized and sold as slaves. Above all, he reimposed the detested jezia or capitation-tax upon Hindoos, which had been abolished twice before the establishment of the Moghul dynasty—an act which excited the utmost unpopularity and discontent in all portions of the empire, and proved the means of detaching from him not only many friends, but the goodwill of the entire Hindoo population of his dominions, which

Louis XIV.'s conquests in Holland.

Rebellion of the Afghans.

Aurungzebe proceeds to the frontier.

Disturbances at Dehly.

Massacre of Hindoos.

Capitation-tax reimposed.

Its bad effect.

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the tolerance of preceding reigns had so satisfactorily secured. On the promulgation of the imperial edict, his palace was besieged by masses of clamorous petitioners; and on the occasion of a State visit to the great mosque, many of the people, who had blocked up the streets in crowds in order to beg remission of the tax, were trampled to death by his elephants.

Development of the emperor's austere character.

The innate austerity and fanaticism of the emperor's character were beginning to develope themselves in other strange forms. Poets and authors, with all the musicians, singers, and dancers, were forbidden the court, and discharged. Public edicts were issued against the practice of their professions; and the record of the history of his reign, which had been hitherto an official transaction, by a specially appointed officer, was discontinued. Half the customs dues were remitted to Mahomedans, while their collection from Hindoos was rendered vexatious and oppressive; and whereas Hindoos and Mahomedans, since the reigns of Shére Shah Soor and Akbur, or for a century, had shared in government employment and offices, it was now directed that no more of that religion were to be allowed to hold them. The wise measures of his predecessors had been specially directed to an amalgamation of the people; and the imperial marriages with Rajpoot princesses had been means to this end. The emperor himself was a descendant of one of these marriages; but he now repudiated all connection with Hindoos, and throughout Rajpootana and the Deccan his policy created undisguised discontent. In Orme's 'Fragments,' page 252, a translation of an anonymous letter of the period is given, the authorship of which has been attributed to many distinguished persons, and should be consulted in order to understand the tone of popular feeling at the time.

Discontent of the Rajpoots. They rebel.

In 1677, Rajah Jeswunt Singh died at Kabool, and on their return home, the emperor was desirous of securing his widow and children. They escaped, however, owing to the bravery and fidelity of Doorga Das, the commander of the late rajah's troops, and reached Jondhpoor in safety. Several of the Rajpoot chieftains now combined to obtain satisfaction for the wanton and unprovoked insult to the widow of Jeswunt Singh; and also to oppose the exaction of the poll-tax. Over this combination the emperor obtained some success, and returned to Dehly in 1679; but the truce with the Rajpoots was soon broken, and the new operations were carried on with all the bitter animosity, savagery, and fanaticism of the old Mahomedan wars. Whole districts were desolated, and the women and children sold into slavery.

Cruel character of the war.

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Doorga Das, who continued the defence of Rajpootana, now offered the crown to the emperor's son, the Prince Muázzim; but he rejected the overtures. They were, however, accepted by the Prince Akbur, his father's favourite, who joined Doorga Das, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and, with a force of no less than 70,000 men, seemed likely to effect a revolution. One of the Mahomedan leaders, however, rejoined the emperor with his forces, and the whole confederacy shortly afterwards fell to pieces. The Prince Akbur, with Doorga Das, retreated to the Deccan, and received protection from the Mahrattas. These proceedings had the effect of aggravating the animosity between the Moghuls and the Rajpoots; and though the emperor concluded an inconsequent peace with the Rana of Jondhpoor, the former good understanding was never restored, and reprisals on either side were still continued; but the emperor was left at liberty to draw off his forces to the Deccan, where his presence had now become an urgent necessity.

Rebellion of Prince Akbur.

Rajpoot confederacy dissolved.

On December 15, 1672, Ally Adil Shah II., of Beejapoor, was attacked by paralysis, and died a few days afterwards. He had one son, the Prince Sikunder, who was five years old, and a daughter, Padshah Beebee, unmarried. Abdool Mahomed, the chief minister, was a timid character, unfit to meet the emergency, and before the king's death, he obtained his unwilling consent to an arrangement by which Khowas Khan, one of the chief nobles, was constituted regent, while he, with other officers, should undertake the government of the provinces. But the State was distracted by factions, and had now little chance of surviving the encroachments of Sivajee on the one hand, and the power of the Moghul empire on the other. The first attack upon it was made by Sivajee, in 1673, who rapidly gained possession of many important places in the Koncan; while his general, Pertáb Rao, plundered the open country up to the gates of Beejapoor. A truce made with him enabled the regent of Beejapoor to refit his army; but the engagement was repudiated by Sivajee, who, in 1674, reproaching Pertáb Rao with his conduct, sent him again against the Beejapoor army, which had advanced as far as Panalla. Here a general action ensued, in which Pertáb Rao was killed: and for a time the Beejapoor troops were successful; but on the arrival of reinforcements to the Mahrattas, the brief victory was changed to defeat. Soon after this, Sivajee was enthroned for the second time, on June 3, 1674, with great formality and splendour. On this occasion, he openly declared his independence; the designations of his officials were

Death of Ally Adil Shah II., 1672.

Sikunder Adil Shah, a minor, succeeds.

Danger of the State.

Sivajee's attack.

Sivajee, enthroned a second time, declares independence.

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changed from Persian to Sanscrit, and the establishment of the Mahratta, as a Hindoo nationality, may be said to have commenced. Mr. Oxenden was present at the enthronement as an ambassador from the English, and received permission to trade throughout Sivajee's dominions: import duties were fixed at 2½ per cent., *ad valorem*, and all wrecks were to be restored.

The Moghuls could not be indifferent to these proceedings; and in 1675, Dilére Khan, the imperial commander in the Deccan, resumed the war against Sivajee. This was what Sivajee no doubt desired, as it cancelled former obligations; and contriving to occupy the imperial forces in attacks upon petty hill-forts, his cavalry, under Humbeer Rao, crossed the Nerbudda, plundered Khandésh and Berar, and though now pursued by Dilére Khan, reached home safe with a large booty. In this year, also, Khowas Khan, the regent of Beejapoor, was assassinated. He had opened negotiations with the Moghul viceroy, by which he had agreed to hold Beejapoor as a province of the empire, and to give the king's sister in marriage to one of the emperor's sons; these overtures were considered traitorous, and brought on the conspiracy which ended in his death. He was succeeded by Abdool Kurreem Khan, who was popular and faithful.

The Moghuls make war on Sivajee.

Carolina planted.

Sivajee's operations.

Regent of Beejapoor assassinated.

Sivajee had little fear of the Moghuls in the Deccan. Their forces were comparatively small, and could be effectually checked by his own. The viceroy was accessible to flattery and to the receipt of money; and the emperor was as yet far distant, and professing, if no more, a contempt for Sivajee and his proceedings. The opportunity for a southern expedition, long meditated by Sivajee, was not now to be neglected, and at the head of 30,000 horse, and 40,000 lightly-equipped infantry, he marched direct upon Golcondah, respecting the territories both of Golcondah and Beejapoor as he moved. At Golcondah he halted for a month, obtaining a train of artillery, with a considerable sum of money; and having engaged, as is believed, to divide the southern provinces of Beejapoor with that State. By the end of September he had reduced the fortress of Vellore, and though he did not then succeed in inducing his half-brother, Venkajee, to give up half of Tanjore, he nevertheless possessed himself of Bangalore and other portions of his father's conquests; while the districts of the Carnatic, which belonged to Beejapoor, were overrun and plundered under pretence of collection of his hereditary claims of chouth, and a foundation laid for their further enforcement.

Reasons for Sivajee's confidence.

His expedition southwards.

His proceedings in the Carnatic.

During his absence, Khan Jehán, the viceroy, was removed

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from office by the emperor, and Dilére Khan appointed in his room. Dilére Khan was by no means disposed to weaken his strength in attacks upon Sivajee officers, and considering that Sivajee's reception at, and treaty with, Golcondah was an offence to the emperor and Beejapoor, and afforded pretext for a war with that State, he induced Abdool Kurreem, the regent of Beejapoor, to join him in an expedition against Golcondah. The invasion was, however, resisted and defeated by Mahdana Punt, the Brahmin minister of the kingdom; and Abdool Kurreem dying soon afterwards, in January 1675, the regency of Beejapoor was conferred upon Musaood Khan, a wealthy Abyssinian, who undertook to pay the arrears of the army, and to reform the financial affairs of the State, which had fallen into great disorder. Sivajee now returned to the Deccan, by way of Bellary, of which he took possession, and also of Kopál Bundur, both very important forts; and while thus employed, came to an understanding, through the officer he had left in the south, with his brother Venkajee, by which he obtained his half share of the southern estates. The regent of Beejapoor was unable to check Sivajee in his annexation of the territory west and south of the Krishna, and the Moghuls viewed his proceedings with undisguised alarm. The emperor had disapproved of the appointment of Musaood Khan as regent, and had censured Dilére Khan for not having made a better use of his opportunity to get possession of the administration of the kingdom of Beejapoor. Sooltan Mauzum was, therefore, appointed viceroy; but Dilére Khan was allowed to retain his command, and seeking for occasion of war with Beejapoor, now demanded the young princess, in virtue of the former agreement. This, however, Musaood Khan refused, and serious contentions were about to ensue at the capital between the parties for and against the marriage, when the princess herself, mounting an elephant, proceeded to the scene, and declared her intention, in order to save her brother and the State, of proceeding to the Moghul camp. She was allowed to do so, and the devotion of the last princess of the royal race is still fondly remembered.

Golcondah invaded by the Moghuls, who are defeated.

Sivajee returns.

Annexes the southern districts of Beejapoor.

Dispute in regard to the Princess of Beejapoor.

Her noble conduct: she proceeds to the Moghul camp.

This act did not, however, prevent war. In his extremity—for the Moghuls had invested Beejapoor—Musaood Khan applied to Sivajee, who advanced to raise the siege; but finding the besiegers too strong for him, turned northwards, plundering the Moghul districts without mercy, up to Aurungabad. He was, however, attacked by a superior force of cavalry, and escaped with difficulty. Meanwhile Dilére Khan was

Beejapoor besieged.

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pressing his attack upon Beejapoor with vigour; and Musaood Khan besought Sivajee to turn southwards and raise the siege; but at this crisis Sumbhajee, the eldest son of Sivajee, who had been for some time at variance with his father, suddenly joined Dilére Khan. Great expectations had been formed by the Moghuls that the Mahrattas would be divided and weakened by this act of rebellion; but nothing of moment occurred. Beejapoor still held out resolutely, and Sivajee's troops, now acting in the open country, cut off the supplies to Dilére Khan's camp, and obliged him to raise the siege and retreat. In this movement he was severely defeated by Jenardin Punt, one of Sivajee's generals.

Sivajee's son joins the Moghuls.

The siege of Beejapoor is raised.

The events of the year 1679 in the Deccan were, as may be imagined, very unsatisfactory to the emperor, who recalled his son Sooltan Mauzum and Dilére Khan, and re-appointed Khan Jehán. Sumbhajee was directed to be sent to Dehly; but escaped, as was believed, under the connivance of Dilére Khan. Before any new combination on the part of the Moghuls could be made, Sivajee had proceeded to Beejapoor in the beginning of 1680, where he concluded a treaty with Musaood Khan, obtaining a formal cession of the recently annexed districts, and relinquishment of all claims to sovereignty over the family estate in the south. He then returned to Rajgurh, where he was attacked by a white swelling in his knee, and died on April 5, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his reign.

The emperor recalls his son, Sooltan Mauzum.

Sivajee's treaty with Beejapoor.

Sivajee's death.

For an admirable summary of the character and acts of this remarkable man, the student should consult Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas,' vol. i. pp. 296–300. 'His own nation considered him an incarnation of the Divinity, setting an example of wisdom, fortitude and piety.' From an unknown petty chieftain he had become sovereign of a great portion of Western India, besides his possessions in the south. He had successfully braved the whole power of the Moghul empire, and had taught his countrymen the secret of success in those sudden predatory movements which, from the first blow struck against Mahomedan power in the destruction of Afzool Khan and the army of Beejapoor, were, in a hundred years, to effect the total subversion of their empire.

His character.

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CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AURUNGZEBE (*continued*), 1680 TO 1698.

SIVAJEE'S death was kept secret for a while, when a plot was formed to imprison Sumbhajee, and place Rajah Rám, his half-brother, by Soyéra Bye, the second wife of Sivajee, on the throne, which was for a time successful. Rajah Rám was actually invested in May 1680; but in June Sumbhajee gained possession of the capital, Rajgurh, and received the submission of all the State authorities. He now commenced a series of barbarous executions. Among the first was that of Soyéra Bye, who suffered a cruel and lingering death; and the savage temper displayed by the new sovereign gave but little hope of a peaceful reign. After some desultory affairs with the Seedees of Jinjeera, who had defied his father, Sumbhajee's attention was occupied by the arrival of the Prince Akbur, who sought refuge with him, against his father the emperor; and by a new conspiracy in favour of Rajah Rám, the detection of which was followed by other executions. Against these proceedings, and the destruction of several Brahmin officers of high rank, his Péshwah, or chief minister, Moro Pingley, protested; and at the suggestion of an unworthy favourite, Kuloosha, a northern Brahmin, was imprisoned. Henceforward Kuloosha's influence became paramount, and the source of much eventual mischief and misery.

Rajah Rám succeeds, but is deposed by Sumbhajee.

In 1682, the attack upon Jinjeera was renewed; the place was besieged, but without effect; and Sumbhajee's fleet was defeated by the Seedees in the harbour of Bombay. His movements and threats against the English produced much uneasiness in Bombay; but his operations were confined to attacks on the Portuguese, over whom he obtained considerable advantages, especially on one occasion, in which he behaved with distinguished bravery. Propositions for peace ensued from the viceroy of Goa, but the demands of Sumbhajee were so exorbitant, that they were rejected. These operations were, however, brought to a close by the arrival of the emperor in the Deccan, in 1683.

Jinjeera attacked.

War with the Portuguese.

Siege of Vienna.

Aurungzebe's policy is sufficiently intelligible from his subsequent operations. He believed that if Sumbhajee could be first checked, or driven from his strongholds, the conquest of Beejapoor and Golcondah was only a question of

Policy of the emperor.

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time; and he considered, with reason, that neither kingdom would move in defence of a common predatory enemy. When, therefore, he reached Boorhanpoor, he detached Prince Azim to reduce the Mahratta forts in the northern range of mountains, and Prince Muázzim to invade the Koncan. Both failed in their object. Sumbhajee well knew the impossibility of anything being effected by the Moghul cavalry in the Koncan, or against the northern line of forts; and after losing most of his horses and many men in the Koncan, the Prince Muázzim ascended the Ghauts at the close of the hot season, and encamped in the open country, near Meerich, on the Krishna. The Prince Azim, on the other hand, being equally unsuccessful, marched into the Deccan, and having taken Sholapoor, would have advanced upon Beejapoor; but, being opposed by a superior force, was obliged to retreat. The emperor, with a powerful reserve, took up a position at Ahmednugger, prepared to support either or both his sons, as might be necessary. Sumbhajee did not attempt to meet the regular armies of the Moghuls in the open field; but, relying upon the predatory system of warfare organised by his father, he now despatched a force under Humbeer Rao, which rapidly traversed the provinces in the Moghul rear, plundered Boorhanpoor and Khandésh, and threatened Berar. Khan Jehán, who had been stationed at Aurungabad, moved in pursuit; but was unable to bring the Mahrattas to action. As soon as the season permitted, the army of the Prince Muázzim was put in motion against the districts which had been taken from Beejapoor by Sivajee, and Dharwar, with several other forts, was captured; but his army had already suffered so terribly from sickness and privation, that it was unable to resist a small army from Beejapoor, and the wreck of the whole finally retreated to Ahmednugger, covered by a Moghul force, specially dispatched by the emperor for the purpose.

His campaign.

Its failure.

Position of the emperor.

Sumbhajee's measures.

The Moghuls renew the campaign.

They retreat.

Meanwhile the emperor, with the flower of his army, composed of men of all the northern nations of the empire, a magnificent train of artillery, and the most gorgeous camp-equipage that had ever been seen in the Deccan, advanced southwards from Ahmednugger, and having formed a junction with his son Azim, proceeded in person to invest Beejapoor. Sumbhajee having meanwhile made a treaty with Golcondah, now attacked Guzerat, and plundered its cities without check; but these proceedings do not appear to have altered the emperor's plans in any degree, except that instead of deferring operations against Golcondah, he resented the treaty with Sumbhajee, which had come to his knowledge, and sent an army against it, under Khan Jehán, continuing his march to Beejapoor. There was no army at the

The emperor invades Beejapoor.

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disposal of the Beejapoor State to contend with the Moghuls in the field, or to check the investment of the city; batteries were erected by them near the south-west angle of the outer fortifications, and a practicable breach was soon effected. The garrison fought bravely, and the defence of the citadel might have been protracted; but, falling short of provisions, the city capitulated on October 15, 1686, when the emperor was carried in triumph through the breach, and conducted into the citadel, where the young king, Sikunder Adil Shah, and the officers of State mournfully submitted themselves to him, amid the wailings of their people. Sikunder Adil Shah was at once transferred to the Moghul camp as a prisoner, and lived for three years afterwards, when he died suddenly, as was believed of poison, administered by the emperor's orders, owing to some popular demonstration on his behalf. Thus closed the illustrious dynasty of the Adil Shahy kings, which had reigned, for the most part in great splendour and prosperity, for 197 years.

The city is besieged.

The garrison capitulates.

League of Augsburg.

The King of Beejapoor submits to the emperor.

And subsequently dies.

End of the Adil Shahy dynasty.

The emperor would probably have turned his arms at once against Golcondah, but was prevented by a convention made by the Prince Muázzim. When Khan Jehán was detached against that State, he had been met by the Golcondah army under Ibrahim Khan, and being unable to oppose it, intrenched himself and wrote urgently for reinforcements. The Prince Muázzim was, therefore, dispatched to his assistance; but had Ibrahim Khan been faithful to his State, Khan Jehán's army might have been destroyed before the prince's arrival. Instead of this, he kept aloof, and allowed the united forces to proceed to Hyderabad unmolested, where he joined the Moghuls with the greater part of his troops. The king, Aboo Hussun Kootub Shah, shut himself up in the fort of Golcondah, and Hyderabad was left open to plunder. His minister, Mahdhana Punt, was killed in a popular tumult, and having now neither army nor adviser, the king accepted such terms as he could obtain. These were the payment of two millions sterling in money and jewels, and Sooltan Muázzim was left to collect the tribute.

Prince Muázzim's convention with Golcondah.

The Moghuls under Prince Muázzim reach Golcondah.

Terms obtained by the king.

By this treaty, however, Golcondah obtained only a very brief respite. In 1687, the emperor proceeded to Goolburgah, to pay his devotions at the tomb of Syed Geesoo Duráz, a celebrated Deccan saint, detailing at the same time a heavy force of cavalry to the south of Golcondah, to cut off any succour from that quarter. From

Soliman emperor of the Turks.

The emperor declares war against Golcondah.

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Goolburgah he despatched a formal declaration of war against the king, the principal articles of which were accusations of perpetual profligacy, the employment of a Brahmin minister, and alliance with an 'infidel'—Sumbhajee. The provisions of Sooltan Muázzim's treaty of the previous year were altogether ignored, and the unprovoked attack sought to be rendered justifiable by the detestable hypocrisy and religious bigotry under which Aurungzebe endeavoured to cover and justify the worst events of his life. While he was proceeding to Golcondah, his emissaries were corrupting the troops and officers of the State; but the king bravely defended the fort for seven months, and lost it at last by treachery. Aboo Hussun had been a popular monarch. A minstrel himself, his ballads and amatory poems have survived him, and the regret at his deposition was deeply and universally felt by his subjects. But for treachery within, Golcondah would have been more defensible than Beejapoor; but its reduction could not have been long delayed. Golcondah fell in September 1687, hardly a year after Beejapoor, and the king was sent a prisoner to the fort of Dowlatabad, where he resided till his death, and where, as in the Deccan generally, many anecdotes of him, as the good and brave King Tanah Shah, are still current. The Kootub Shahy dynasty had lasted from 1512 to 1687, or 175 years, and left more memorials of its greatness in works of public utility than any other of the Deccan kingdoms.

Prince Muázzim's treaty ignored.

Golcondah taken by treachery.

Character of the king.

The king imprisoned for life.

The Kootub Shahy dynasty ends.

Although the emperor had destroyed two great monarchies within a year, he had by no means obtained possession of the country. The people had been attached to their respective dynasties, and were not disposed to welcome foreign conquerors. The subjugation of the Deccan and Carnatic had therefore to commence. For a short period, all appeared stunned by the emperor's unscrupulous proceedings and rapid successes; but gradually on every side rebellions sprang up, headed by disbanded officers and troops, and encouraged by local Hindoo authorities; while the attempt to collect the poll-tax only caused greater exasperation. And while the country, even to the most southern possessions of Golcondah, including Sumbhajee's estates in Tanjore, was held by large forces, the details of these large provinces were, in many places, unaffected by the change, and were occupied by a lawless population.

The subjugation of the Deccan commences.

If, during this period, Sumbhajee had continued in the field, he might have saved Beejapoor or Golcondah, or both. But he was entirely inactive; he had wasted his father's

Sumbhajee's inaction.

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treasures, and given himself up to perpetual debauchery and profligacy; and his people, who could not understand his want of enterprise, attributed his condition to the effects of spells cast upon him by his favourite Kuloosha. While in this condition, and residing at the town of Sungméshwur, he was surprised by Ikhlas Khan, an active Moghul officer, and taken direct to the emperor, then at Tolapoor, near Beejapoor. Mounted upon camels, and attended by jeering crowds of the Moghul soldiery, he and his favourite Kuloosha were led through the imperial camp, and confined. Sumbhajee was promised his life by the emperor if he would become a Mahomedan; but spurning the offer by a message as brutal and violent as it was indecent, he was executed with barbarous torture, in company with his friend. This event occurred in August 1689. Sumbhajee had left one son, Sivajee, six years of age, who, with his mother, were at Rajgurh. He was recognised as successor, and his uncle, Rajah Rám, declared regent; but shortly afterwards, Rajgurh was besieged by the Moghuls, and upon its capture, in 1690, though Rajah Rám escaped, the young rajah and his mother were made prisoners and dispatched to the emperor's camp. The capture of other forts followed, and such was then the weakness and poverty of the Mahratta State, that it was unable to make any effort to check the Moghuls.

He is captured and taken to the emperor.

And is executed.

William and Mary king and queen of England.

Sumbhajee is succeeded by his son.

He is taken prisoner.

Weakness of the Mahrattas.

Under these circumstances, Rajah Rám strengthened every retainable fort as much as possible, and committing the charge of local affairs to the best men he could select, proceeded in disguise with a few followers to Ginjee, in the southern province of Tanjore, and there publicly established his court. The emperor no sooner heard of this proceeding, than he dispatched Zoolficar Khan, in 1691, with an army for its reduction; but Ginjee was one of the strongest forts in Southern India, and defied his efforts. He applied for reinforcements, but the emperor was in no condition to grant any; his large army was split up into small portions, and for these the localities in which they were stationed found ample occupation. In particular, the Näik of Wakingérah, a Beydur chieftain of the Beejapoor kingdom, defied the Moghuls, and an army under the Prince Kámbuksh was sent against him, in 1692. His fort, Wakingérah, was in reality an insignificant place; but the Beydurs defended it valiantly, and the prince was obliged to retreat with heavy loss.

Rajah Rám proceeds to Ginjee.

Which is besieged ineffectually.

The Beydur Näik of Wakingérah rebels.

An attack upon it repulsed.

Meanwhile Rajah Rám was not idle. Dispatching Suntajee Gorepuray and Dunnajee Jadow, two of the companions of his

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flight, and excellent partisan officers, in 1692, to the Deccan, they at once engaged in the predatory warfare peculiar to the Mahrattas, and occupied themselves very successfully in cutting off the Moghul convoys from the north, plundering and devastating their districts, and spreading terror and confusion everywhere. It was in vain that the emperor sent or led unwieldly hosts against them: as he advanced, they retired, again following him and acting against his convoys. The siege of Ginjee had not been concluded, for the emperor would not hear of its being abandoned, and had recalled Zoolficar Khan, sending (in 1694) the Prince Kámbuksh, with Assud Khan, in his stead, who, however, fared no better. In 1696, Suntajee and Dunnajee, in order to relieve Ginjee, changed their field of operations to the south, ravaged the Moghul districts, and on several occasions defeated the imperial troops in the field. It was impossible that the siege of Ginjee could progress, and finally Prince Kámbuksh blew up his cannon, and abandoned the attack, being permitted, under a convention, to withdraw his troops to Wandiwash, in Tanjore. Nor did Kassim Khan, the governor of the districts west of the Krishna, fare better. He was attacked in turn, and defeated by Suntajee Gorepuray; being pursued with such pertinacity, that the survivors surrendered, were stripped of their arms and clothes, and in this condition sent in derision to the emperor. Kassim Khan, a gallant officer, unable to support the disgrace, took poison and died. Zoolficar Khan, the only general upon whom the emperor could rely, was now again dispatched to Ginjee in 1697: the siege was resumed, and the place was finally taken by escalade in January 1698. Rajah Rám, however, escaped, with all his family and chief officers, under the connivance, of which there was little doubt, of Zoolficar Khan; and the prolonged defence of Ginjee may be attributed to his secret sympathy with the Mahrattas.

Rajah Rám's measures.

The emperor is foiled.

Siege of Ginjee raised.

Siege of Ginjee renewed, and it is captured.

Rajah Rám escapes.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AURUNGZEBE (*concluded*), 1698 TO 1707.

AFTER the capture of Ginjee, and the withdrawal of the Mahratta court from the south, as well as the absence of any local authority from which any material resistance was to be apprehended, the emperor was enabled to concentrate his forces in the Northern

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Deccan, and resume the war with the Mahrattas. Rajah Rám had now settled at Sattara, and assembled a considerable army. He had lost, however, one of his best officers, Suntajee Gorepuray, who, in consequence of a quarrel with Dunnajee Jadow, had been deserted by his adherents, and was hunted down and murdered by a man whom he had offended. Dunnajee had been unable to oppose Zoolficar Khan in the field, and it did not appear probable that the Mahrattas could resist the now overwhelming force of the emperor. In the year 1699, Aurungzebe, who had established a cantonment at Brumhapooree, on the Bheema, a very central position, made his disposals for a new campaign. He proposed to lead a part of the army against the fortified strongholds of the Mahrattas, while the other, under Zoolficar Khan, should act in the open country against Rajah Rám, Dunnajee, and other leaders. In April 1699, the fort of Sattara capitulated, after a resolute defence. Previous to its fall, Rajah Rám, who had been occupied to the northward, had been beaten by Zoolficar Khan, who pursued him to Singurh, where he died of exhaustion and inflammation of the lungs, in the month of March. This did not, however, affect the Mahratta State. Rajah Rám had left two sons, Sivajee, who was ten years old, and Sumbhajee, who was three years old; and Tara Bye, the mother of the former, undertook the regency.

War with the Mahrattas resumed.

The emperor's plans of campaign.

Sattara capitulates.

Death of Rajah Rám.

Regency of Tara Bye.

As the emperor continued his operations against the fortresses, and the establishment of a court would have at once invited his attack, Tara Bye, with the principal chiefs and officers of the State, led a wandering life; while the various leaders were occupied by the levy of the national demands of chouth, or one-fourth the revenue of all foreign provinces; ghás-dána, or grass and corn dues, and sur-déshmookhee, a claim difficult to define, but which rested upon assumed rights over the collections of revenue. Wherever these claims were paid to the revenue officers, the people were not plundered; when they were resisted or evaded, towns or villages were laid under contribution or openly plundered, and often burned. No Moghul force could overtake or intercept the lightly equipped Mahratta horsemen, and they became daily more persevering and more dangerous. It must be remembered, too, that much of the Golcondah and Beejapoor cavalry had joined the Mahrattas, or supported themselves by independent plunder. Thus, during the years 1700 to 1702, little variation occurred in the position of the contending parties. The emperor had succeeded in capturing six of the main forts of the outer line of the Mahratta defences; but behind them lay many others, equally strong and more inaccessible.

Claims for chouth and ghás dána, &c. levied.

Activity of the Mahratta horse.

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In 1702, the Mahrattas had again plundered portions of Guzerat and Khandésh; and by 1705 they had crossed the Nerbudda into Malwah, routed the imperial troops, and devastated the country. No armies could check these predatory movements; none could follow the Mahrattas when they retreated. They assembled on particular points with secrecy and celerity, made long and rapid forays, and again dispersed to form a fresh combination and attack.

Mahrattas plunder Guzerat, Khandésh, and Malwah.

In his history of this period, Grant Duff is of opinion that though the Mahrattas were excited, the war had not created patriotism. This, however, may be doubted. The success of Sivajee can only be attributed to the creation of a national spirit before unknown, and to his constant and passionate appeals to all classes and grades, to throw off the hated Mahomedan yoke, and to establish a pure Hindoo rule, when the Hindoo faith could be professed without check or oppression, and its sacred kine and temples preserved from outrage. These were his messages to the people; and, as he had established a belief in his Divine mission, was the surest method of exciting them. He and his mother had passed away, but their dreams and visions were not forgotten; they had rested in the hearts of the nation, and were bearing fruit. From a rude unwarlike peasantry, the Mahrattas had become warriors; in many instances their best generals were Brahmins, and the experience of thirty years had only proved the more distinctly, by what manner of warfare the Moghuls could alone be defied, and eventually wearied out. When, therefore, to national religious excitement that of plunder was added, it is not surprising that the war became more than ever popular and successful. From Aurungzebe's entry into the Deccan, up to the period of his commencing his last struggle with the Mahrattas, sixteen years had passed of almost constant strife. They had bowed to the storm, but were never broken, and in the now declining years of the emperor's life, they met his greatest efforts with renewed vitality.

National spirit of the Mahrattas.

Popularity of the war with the Moghuls.

Meanwhile, disorders progressed in other quarters. The Rajpoots had grown bolder; the Játs were in rebellion about Agra, Mooltan was disturbed, and all required the employment of heavy masses of troops. The real weakness of the emperor in the Deccan may be estimated by the second rebellion of the Beydur chief, Pám Näik of Wakingérah. The Prince Kámbuksh and the emperor had invited him to court, and he had been admitted to the rank of a commander of 5,000; the Order of the Fish had been conferred upon him, and his dues of black-mail had been

Rebellion of the Rajpoots and Játs.

Second Beydur rebellion.

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confirmed by royal decrees. But the rude Beydur baron felt himself jeered at and insulted by the imperial courtiers; and, in 1705, he suddenly broke all his engagements, and took to his old courses. It was in vain that the emperor addressed cajoling letters to him, impressed with the mark of his own hand, dipped in ground sandal-wood. In vain that in one of these he wrote, 'Alas! that you are not a Mahomedan, you would then be to me as a brother.' Pám Náik was at the head of 20,000 militia of his own clan—incorrigible banditti, but brave and resolute soldiers, and was assisted by Dunnajee Jadow; and when the emperor in person besieged Wakingérah, they plundered his camp, and vexed him by night attacks, while all attempts to storm the defile of Wakingérah proved fruitless. After seven months of constant attacks and repulses, and the efforts of the emperor, the Prince Kámbuksh, Zoolficar Khan, and Dáood Khan Punnee, had alike failed on many occasions, the position was stormed by the two latter generals, with heavy loss on both sides—a fruitless result, for the Beydur chief retreated to a stronger position in the hills, which, under the name of Soorpoor, or Shorapoor, is still the capital of the district.[1] The case of Wakingérah is merely an example of the times. Nor was it long before the Mahrattas began to recover the forts they had lost. Their cavalry, emboldened as well by success as by the real weakness of the emperor's army, gradually drew a cordon around it, and plundered convoys and detachments up to the skirts of the camp. The young Mahratta Prince Shao was still under detention, and in 1706, the emperor, in his distress, opened a negotiation for his release; but the exorbitant demands of the Mahratta chiefs prevented any conclusion. Soon afterwards, the imperial forces, no longer able to keep the field, retreated upon Ahmednugger, where, on account of the strength of its fort, the emperor proposed to establish his principal camp. On its way thither, the army was attacked by Dunnajee Jadow and other chiefs, and very sorely handled, the whole narrowly escaping a complete defeat. The emperor did not long survive this event; and died at Ahmednugger on February 13, 1707, in the

The emperor besieges Wakingérah.

But without success.

Mahratta successes.

Battle of Ramillies.

The emperor opens negotiations.

But is obliged to retreat with loss.

Death of the Emperor Aurungzebe.

Battle of Almanza.

[1] The records of Shorapoor were very valuable and interesting, as containing original correspondence between the Beydur chiefs in succession, the Rajahs of Beejanugger, the Kings of Beejapoor, the Emperor Aurungzebe, and the Mahratta leaders. They had been classed and arranged by me when in political charge of the State, with a view to complete translation; but on the capture of Shorapoor, after the rajah's rebellion in 1858, they were destroyed by the English troops in possession of the place.—*M.T.*

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fiftieth year of his reign, and eighty-ninth or ninetieth year of his age.

The public acts of his reign are the best index to his character. To an insatiable ambition, and unscrupulous employment of means to attain his ends, he added a detestable hypocrisy, and indulgence in the worst characteristics of the gloomy bigotry and fanaticism of his faith. Of all about him, and most perhaps of his sons, he was habitually suspicious; and it is difficult to conceive how those employed by him, knowing themselves to be surrounded by unscrupulous spies and informers, could serve him faithfully or freely. The mistakes of his political conduct are sufficiently evident by the sequel. Strengthened by him, Beejapoor and Golcondah might have circumscribed, and perhaps destroyed, the Mahratta power, which, freed from these checks, now rose superior to all; while the delusion of universal authority in India, and the alienation of the affections of the Hindoos, carried with them their own elements of destruction. But with all his hideous defects of character, it is impossible not to admire the vast ability, the patience, the courage and energy with which, to the very last, Aurungzebe conducted the affairs of his government, in person. No detail, however insignificant, in all his widely-extended dominions ever escaped him, and all the great measures of his reign were exclusively his own. It is questionable whether he ever sought or accepted advice, and equally whether he ever admitted anyone to his perfect confidence; yet, in spite of his suspicions, his natural love for his children was great, and the beautiful mausoleum erected over his daughter at Aurungabad remains a memorial alike of his affection for her and his munificence. His remains were carried to Roza, near Dowlatabad, and interred in the precincts of the tomb of the celebrated saint, Boorhan-ood-deen. His grave is an open one, covered with a trellis-work of wood, over which a jessamine has been trained. He desired in his will that his funeral expenses should be defrayed from the proceeds of caps which he had quilted and sold, and this amount did not exceed ten shillings, while the sale of his copies of the Kóran—eight hundred and five rupees—were distributed to the poor. By another will he left the northern and eastern provinces to be divided between his sons, Muázzim and Azim, and Golcondah and Beejapoor to Kámbuksh; an arrangement which, virtually impossible of execution, laid the foundation of civil war.

His character.

The bad effects of his policy.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR BAHADUR SHAH, 1707 TO 1712.

AURUNGZEBE had provided by will for the division of India among his sons, but it proved to be an arrangement, though just in the abstract, impossible of execution. At the period of his death, Muázzim, the eldest, was viceroy of Kabool. Azim was encamped near his father, and Kámbuksh had been dispatched to his government of Beejapoor. Under the support of the forces present, Azim, in defiance of his father's will, proclaimed himself emperor of all India, and proceeded at once to the northward. Muázzim, who was advancing from the north-westward, had called up his eldest son Moiz-ood-deen from Mooltan, and his second son Azim-ush Shán from Bengal; and they joined him with their respective quotas of troops, before the arrival of Prince Azim from the Deccan. The prince had hurried on by forced marches, and when he reached Gwalior, nearly all his artillery, and most of his infantry, were in the rear; but, hearing that his brother had taken up a position near Agra, he could not be restrained, and proceeded at once to attack him. The armies met on May 31, 1707, and at the outset of the engagement, Azim's impetuosity gained him some advantage, for Muázzim was absent hunting, and the attack was evidently a surprise. He returned, however, immediately, and his veteran troops were soon able to redeem their loss and to attack in turn. When the battle was thus raging, a violent storm of wind and dust arose, which darkened the air, and blowing furiously in the faces of Azim's troops, threw them into confusion. It was in vain that the experienced Zoolficar Khan now besought Prince Azim to draw off his army and await the arrival of troops from Gwalior; but this advice was disregarded, and Zoolficar left the field. At this juncture, news was brought to Azim that his sons, Bedár Bukht and Wallajah, whom he had placed in command of the right and left wings, had been slain, and that most of his best officers had also fallen; he then caused his elephant to be urged into the thickest of the fight, where he was wounded by several musket-shots, and was finally beheaded by a soldier, who climbed up into his howdah. His youngest son, Ally Tebár, had accompanied him, and being found unhurt, was taken to his uncle, who received him with the utmost affection

Contention of the emperor's sons.

Action between the Princes Muázzim and Azim.

Azim is defeated and slain.

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and adopted him as his own. After this battle the Prince Muázzim was formally crowned emperor, under the title of Bahadur Shah, and the whole of the Prince Azim's adherents, including Zoolficar Khan and his father, Asud Khan, submitted to him, and were pardoned.

Prince Muázzim crowned emperor.

The Prince Kámbuksh, who had taken charge of Beejapoor, had acknowledged the superiority of Prince Azim, but he refused to recognise that of the emperor: and after a fruitless negotiation with him, Bahadur Shah, as soon as the season permitted, marched, on October 5, to the Deccan, and encountered his brother's army on February 14, 1708, near Hyderabad. On this occasion, Kámbuksh died of wounds received in the action, and the submission of all the provinces of the Deccan and Southern India to the emperor followed.

Prince Kámbuksh resists, and is killed in action.

Battle of Oudenarde.

It will be remembered, that Shao, son of Sumbhajee, the real Rajah of the Mahrattas, had remained a nominal prisoner in the hands of the Emperor Aurungzebe. He had been kindly treated; his mother had become a personal friend of the emperor's daughter, and the boy a favourite of the emperor himself, who had given him the familiar appellation of Shao, by which, instead of his proper name of Sivajee, he was afterwards known. After the emperor's death Shao accompanied Prince Azim for a considerable distance on the way to Agra: and would probably have been carried on, but for the advice of Zoolficar Khan, who recommended his release. The Mahrattas of Tara Bye's party had immediately taken advantage of the withdrawal of the greater part of the Moghul army from the Deccan, and had already retaken several forts, and were plundering the Moghul districts. Zoolficar Khan, who was thoroughly acquainted with the state of parties among them, considered that Tara Bye would oppose Shao, and that a contest for superiority would ensue between them, which, for the present, at least would prevent further aggressions. At his release, Shao agreed to preserve his allegiance to the throne of Dehly, and in return was promised the districts conquered from Beejapoor by Sivajee, should he prove successful. Among the Mahratta chiefs there were many who were discontented with Tara Bye's administration, and Shao found himself in a short time at the head of 15,000 men. By Tara Bye he was denounced as an impostor; but this had little effect, in the face of his well-known identity. As he advanced upon Poonah, he was joined by Dunnajee Jadow, and Tara Bye's forces were defeated in an action at the village of Kheir. Thence he

Aurungzebe's kind treatment of Rajah Shao.

He is released by Prince Azim.

He is joined by several chiefs.

And defeats Tara Bye.

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pressed on to Sattara, which was given up to him, and he was enthroned there in March 1708. He had sent a contingent of Mahratta cavalry to the emperor, which did good service against Kámbuksh in the action near Hyderabad, and had therefore fulfilled his promises of allegiance.

Then enthroned at Sattara.

The emperor did not remain in the Deccan, but marched northwards to Dehly. He had created Zoolficar Khan viceroy of the Deccan; but as he could not be spared from court, Dáood Khan Punnee, an officer of great distinction, ability, and bravery, intimately acquainted with Mahratta politics, was left as his substitute. With him Shao opened negotiations for the payment of the national claims of chouth and sur-déshmookhee; but, while these were fully admitted, Dáood Khan reserved the right of paying them himself, as a check, not only on the habitual plunder of the Mahrattas, but as security for their allegiance. This system proved perfectly successful; and while Dáood Khan remained in the Deccan, was observed with scrupulous good faith by both parties. Tara Bye continued a fruitless and desultory struggle till 1712, when her son, on whose behalf her claims as regent existed, and who was, in fact, an idiot, died. She was soon afterwards placed under restraint, and her party ceased to exist.

The emperor leaves the Deccan.

Dáood Khan becomes viceroy.

Tara Bye confined.

Meanwhile the emperor, freed from apprehension in regard to the Deccan, proceeded towards Rajpootana, in order to adjust existing differences with the several States. It is possible that these arrangements might have been protracted; but the Sikhs had risen in the Punjâb, and had captured Sirhind: and the alarm which they had created required the presence of the emperor for their suppression. As he passed through Rajpootana, therefore, in 1709, the several chieftains met the emperor in turn, and the existing differences seem to have been amicably adjusted. The Sikhs were as easily disposed of. They had suffered bitter persecutions from the Mahomedans for nearly a hundred years; but their numbers, so far from diminishing, had materially increased; and from a sect of harmless religious devotees, they had become an association of warriors, stimulated as well by the memories of former persecution, as by revenge and plunder. Gooroo Govind, the tenth high-priest in succession from their founder, had first led them in force against the Mahomedans, in 1675; but he was beaten back, his forces dispersed, his mother and children put to death, and he wandered, at times bereft of reason, to Nandair, in the Deccan, where he founded a Sikh monastery, and was after-

The emperor proceeds to Rajpootana.

Insurrection of the Sikhs.

Condition of the Sikhs.

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wards assassinated. In the Punjâb, however, the Sikhs still continued their resistance, and their reprisals upon the Mahomedans were accompanied by the most shocking cruelties. Their present chief-priest, Bandoo, was a furious fanatic, but an enterprising leader, and he carried fire and sword into the Moghul territories, even as far as Dehly.

By the end of the year 1711, the Sikhs had been driven into the hills north of the Punjâb, and were, for the present, in some degree restrained; but the campaign against them was the last act of the emperor's brief reign. On February 16, 1712, he died suddenly at Lahore, in the fifth year of his reign, and the seventieth of his age, leaving his dominions, except from occasional disturbances by the Sikhs, in perfect peace. He was a merciful and considerate monarch, and though his brothers had wantonly rebelled and perished in arms against him, he had adopted their children and provided for them. These acts form a key to his whole character, which, if somewhat deficient in energy, was yet unstained by crime. As he had made no will, a contest at once ensued between his sons. Azim-ush-Shán, the second, who had been most in his father's confidence, and had the royal treasures in his power, assumed the title of emperor, and intrenched his camp. Zoolficar Khan, who was present, now incited the three other brothers to action, and the camp of Azim-ush-Shán was cannonaded for several days, when, abandoned by most of his adherents, he attempted a sally, and perished in the river Ravee. During a division of the treasure in camp, a contest followed between the three surviving brothers. Khujista Akhir was killed in the first battle, when Moiz-ood-deen ascended the throne, under the title of Jehándár Shah. No sooner had this event taken place, than on the day following Rufy-ool-Kudr, the youngest, suddenly rebelled and attacked his brother, but was defeated and killed in action. Jehándár Shah, therefore, remained emperor without a rival, and marching at once on Dehly, made a triumphant entry into the city on June 9, 1712.

Charles VI. emperor of Germany.

Death of the Emperor Bahadur Shah.

His character.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE REIGNS OF THE EMPEROR JEHÁNDÁR SHAH AND FEROKSIÁR, RUFY-OOD-DERJÁT AND RUFY-OOD-DOWLAH, 1712 TO 1720.

THE new emperor was little fitted for his position, and soon gave evidences of cruelty and weakness of character which have hardly a parallel in the histories of the older dynasties of Dehly. He put to death, in cold blood, all the male children of his brothers and of his uncles whom his father had spared, an act which caused the utmost indignation and horror among all classes of the people. Assud Khan and Zoolficar Khan were promoted to the highest offices of the State; and upon the relations of his mistress, Lall Koor, were showered honours and employments for which they were not only notoriously unfit as they were only professional singers and musicians, but which exasperated the nobility and courtiers, who were obliged to acknowledge them. An anecdote is related by the author of the 'Syr-ool-Mutakherin,' of Zoolficar Khan, who, as vizier, had to affix his seal to, and settle the fees of, all deeds of appointment to office; that, in fixing the dues of the patent of the brother of Lall Koor, he had written them as 5,000 guitars and 7,000 timbrels. Lall Koor complained bitterly to the emperor of this insult; and Zoolficar Khan was called to answer for his conduct. 'It is no joke at all,' he said seriously. 'If the dancers and singers take to the professions of the nobility, *they* at least must live. When, therefore, I asked so many thousands of guitars and timbrels from this gentleman, it was with a view of distributing them to your Majesty's dispossessed governors and generals, who certainly have a right to earn their bread as well as others.' Zoolficar Khan, indeed, does not appear to have spared either the emperor or his unworthy favourites on any occasion, and the estrangement between them was increasing, when news arrived from Bengal which caused great consternation.

Murder of members of the royal family.

Unworthy favourites of the emperor.

Anecdote of Zoolficar Khan.

Before he had joined his father, Bahadur Shah, Prince Azim-ush-Shán had been viceroy of Bengal, and had left his family at Ráj Mahál. He had only one son, Feroksiár, who was in some danger after the destruction of the other princes of the blood; but his cause was espoused by the

Rebellion of Prince Feroksiár.

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governor of Behar, Syed Hoosein Ally, who, with his brother, Syed Abdoolla, governor of Allahabad, assembled a considerable force, and defeated the first army sent by the emperor against them, under the command of his son, capturing not only their field-artillery, but their treasure in camp. The emperor now left Dehly on November 30, 1712, with an immense army, under the command of Zoolficar Khan; and the rivals met in the neighbourhood of Agra, on December 28. After a desperately fought battle, the imperial troops retreated in confusion; and though Zoolficar Khan, at the head of his veterans, tried to retrieve the day, it was impossible to do so. The emperor, with his mistress, Lall Koor, had fled from the field; and covering the retreat of the disorganised army, Zoolficar Khan returned to Dehly. He found the king had preceded him in disguise, and was under the protection of his father, Assud Khan. He would have preferred making cause with him, or at least carrying him off to the Deccan; but the timid counsels of his father, and the fact that the principal members of the nobility had already done homage to Feroksiár, prevented any movement.

The emperor's forces defeated.

The emperor's campaign.

He is defeated.

The emperor deposed.

On January 1, 1713, Feroksiár ascended the throne, and conferred dignities upon all who had joined him. Among others was Chin-Khilich Khan, a noble of high rank, already much distinguished as a statesman and a general, to whom the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk Asof Jáh was allotted, under which he became afterwards one of the most celebrated characters of the time. The emperor then marched leisurely towards the capital, and was met, on January 30, at Bara Palla, by Assud Khan and his son Zoolficar, who were presented to him, and received honorary dresses and assurances of favour and protection. A party at court was, however, inimical to them. The new vizier, Meer Joomla, an obscure person, had no tolerance for the old nobility; and as the father and son withdrew from the emperor's presence, they were separated. Zoolficar Khan was shown into an adjoining tent, where he was immediately surrounded with persons who taunted him with the death of the emperor's father, Azim-ush-Shán, and he was partly strangled and then dispatched by their daggers. A similar fate awaited the ex-emperor, Jehándár Shah; while a few days afterwards, on February 4, as the emperor entered Dehly, the venerable Assud Khan was forced to behold the two bodies dragged by an elephant about the city, and denied burial. Other cruel executions and mutilations followed, and the new reign, like the preceding, commenced with blood-

Feroksiár succeeds.

Peace of Utrecht.

Zoolficar Khan is put to death.

Jehándár Shah strangled.

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The ex-emperor could not be regretted; but the fate of Zoolficar Khan, the bravest and the noblest of the great generals of Aurungzebe, excited universal pity.

Syed Abdoolla created vizier.

Feroksiár had owed his elevation entirely to the bravery and devotion of the brother Syeds, Hoosein Ally and Abdoolla, and had advanced the latter to the office of vizier, the former to be commander of the forces. But he had already become jealous of them, and sought their ruin; and to this he was urged by the insidious counsels of his favourite, the Meer Joomla, who felt in them an opposition to his designs which he could not overcome. Hoosein Ally was, therefore, dispatched with an army against Ajeet Singh, the rana of Jondhpoor; but, receiving intelligence of the intrigues in progress at the capital, concluded a peace, by which the rana sent his son to make submission to the emperor, and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to him. On his return to Dehly, it was

Measures of the Syed brothers.

evident to the brothers that nothing could be effected without the separation of Meer Joomla from the emperor; and under pretence of apprehensions for their own safety, they fortified their palaces and filled them with troops. These proceedings excited the utmost alarm in the emperor's mind, and after an interview with them, Meer Joomla was created viceroy of Behar, and despatched to his seat of government. Abdoolla Khan was now reappointed vizier, and his brother Hoosein Ally nominated to the viceroyalty of the Deccan.

Syed Abdoolla Khan re-appointed vizier.

Arrival of an English embassy.

Louis XV. king of France.

The emperor had been long ill, and in the year 1715 an embassy arrived from the English of Calcutta, with complaints against Meer Jaffier, the governor of Bengal. In so corrupt a court as the emperor's, it was probable they would have received little notice; but the emperor's physician having failed to relieve him, Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the embassy, was applied to, and was fortunate enough to effect a cure in a short period. Feroksiár was grateful, and would have bestowed high rewards for the service done him; but Mr. Hamilton declined all personal remuneration, and, as Mr. Boughton had done on a former occasion, begged as his recompense that the justice sought by his countrymen might be granted. The terms demanded were important; but they were conceded, and secured by imperial patent. The English were allowed to purchase the proprietary rights over thirty-eight villages near Calcutta, and the President was to have the power of granting passes which would exempt goods from examination by the customs officers. Money was

The emperor is cured by Mr. Hamilton.

Whose noble conduct secures a patent for the English.

Particulars of the patent.

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to be coined for them in the mint; and all persons indebted to the company were to be made over to them. These terms were opposed by the viceroy; but they nevertheless formed the basis of a far higher authority in Bengal than the East India Company had ever before possessed. The marriage of the emperor to the Rajpoot princess followed his recovery, and was performed with unusual splendour at Dehly.

On the conclusion of the nuptial festivities at Dehly, Hoosein Ally set out with his forces to assume charge of his government of the Deccan. On taking leave of the emperor, he gave him distinctly to understand that if his brother's position were in any way affected or threatened, he would return instantly at the head of his army; and this haughty communication probably increased the emperor's desire to rid himself of his powerful subject. He, therefore, wrote to Dáood Khan Punnee, promising him the viceroyalty if he would attack Hoosein Ally on his arrival in the Deccan, and destroy him. It will be remembered that Dáood Khan had been left by Zoolficar Khan in charge of his government. He was a brave and skilful officer, and through his exertions the Mahrattas had been hitherto restrained from their accustomed predatory excursions and violence. No more acceptable commission could have been offered to him than to revenge the death of his earliest friend and patron; and taking up a position at Boorhanpoor, he proclaimed himself viceroy, and awaited Hoosein Ally's arrival. On August 25, 1715, the rivals met; when a severe battle was fought near the city of Boorhanpoor, in which Dáood Khan was on the point of victory, when he received a matchlock ball in his forehead, and died instantly. Upon this becoming known, his troops scattered and fled, except some bodies of Mahratta horse, which had hovered around the combatants, without taking any decided part in the action, and now tendered their allegiance to the viceroy. Dáood Khan's wife, who had been a Hindoo lady, on receiving news of his death, put an end to her existence.

The emperor's plot against Hoosein Ally.

Action between Hoosein Ally and Dáood Khan.

Dáood Khan is killed.

Some time previous to his encounter with Hoosein Ally, Dáood Khan had been removed from the Deccan to the viceroyalty of Guzerat; and the affairs of the Deccan had been conducted by Asof Jáh Nizam-ool-Moolk, who had formerly been employed by the Emperor Aurungzebe as governor of Beejapoor and its dependencies. His part in the revolution by which Feroksiár was placed on the throne has already been detailed; and it was shortly after that event that he had proceeded to the Deccan. During his incumbency, the southern provinces had been governed with skill: and although the Mahrattas

Government of Nizam-ool-Moolk.

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affected to consider that the arrangements with Dáood Khan had ceased with his transfer to Guzerat, they were, nevertheless, kept under a general control. But their internal distractions had not ceased; and though Tara Bye was under restraint, the members of her party continued to oppose Shao, with varying success, acting on behalf of Sumbhajee, the son of Rajah Rám by his youngest wife, who had been elected to succeed Sivajee, the son of Tara Bye. Thus two parties had arisen in the Mahratta States; one that of Shao, who resided at Sattara; the other of Sumbhajee. The latter was called the Kolapoor faction, and each had the support of numerous partisan chieftains and officers. During Dáood Khan's administration, he had maintained the supremacy of Shao; but Nizam-ool-Moolk, who had been joined by some disaffected chiefs, was led to favour the party of Kolapoor. His policy was evidently directed to perpetuating the existing strife, hoping that the contending factions might exhaust each other; but he did not remain long enough to watch its progress, for he was removed to the government of Moorádabad, when Hoosein Ally was appointed viceroy of the Deccan.

Condition of the Mahrattas.

Mahratta factions.

Nizam-ool-Moolk transferred to Moorádabad.

The new viceroy found both parties of Mahrattas sufficiently powerful to protect their own interests, and equally disposed to plunder the Moghul districts for the nominal collection of the national demands. The emperor, too, with a singular refinement of treachery, had secretly instigated the Mahratta chieftains to oppose the viceroy; and in an attempt to suppress the forays of Dhabáry, a semi-independent chieftain, who occupied part of the country between Khandésh and Guzerat, his troops met with a severe defeat. After weighing the comparative advantages to be derived from each party, the viceroy was induced to support Shao, who had at least displayed a consistent attachment to the Moghuls, and opened negotiations with him. The Péshwah, or chief minister of Shao, was now Ballajee Wishwanáth, a Brahmin of humble origin, but who had risen by his character and great ability to the rank he now occupied. Under his advice, Shao demanded all the territory which had belonged to Sivajee, both in the Deccan and Southern India; and the collection of the national demands. The pretensions of Sumbhajee as rajah of the Mahrattas were to be ignored altogether; and his recognition as Rajah of Kolapoor only to be admitted. For these privileges, Shao promised to pay a tribute of 100,000*l.* a year, to maintain a body of 15,000 horse for the emperor's service, and to clear the country of all depredators, making good to the people any losses they might sustain. These terms were at once accepted by the vice-[illegible]d although the considerations granted were enormous, yet

Treachery of the emperor.

Demands of Shao.

His terms accepted.

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they had the effect of consolidating the power which had shown most desire to aid the imperial interests, and possessed the greatest amount of means to maintain them.

The emperor's intrigues.

Meanwhile the emperor, whose schemes for the destruction of Hoosein Ally had been abortive, chafed under the restraint of his brother Abdoolla; and having reopened communications with the Ameer Joomla, commenced other intrigues with nobles of the court, who were jealous of the influence possessed by the Syed brothers. These proceedings alarmed the vizier, who increased his own forces to 25,000 men, and wrote to his brother to return with the least possible delay. Accordingly, Hoosein Ally, having completed his arrangements with Shao, left Boorhanpoor in November 1719, at the head of his forces, which were materially increased by a contingent of Mahratta cavalry, under the charge of Ballajee Wishwanáth, and reached Dehly on December 31, with an immense retinue, and the pomp of an emperor. The brothers, now united, had forces at their command which probably exceeded those of the emperor in number, and were infinitely more united and efficient. It was in vain that Rajah Jey Singh besought the emperor to put himself at the head of his troops, to denounce the brother Syeds as rebels, and to appeal to the loyalty of the army at large; but he was not to be moved to action. Either from cowardice, or from an impression that resistance was useless, he submitted to the demands of the brothers, which increased in exorbitancy from day to day, and ended in their obtaining possession of the royal citadel and palace, which were occupied by their troops. This having been accomplished, Hoosein Ally marched in battle array with all his forces to the palace on February 3, 1720, and paid a short visit to the emperor, who made no remonstrance, and appeared to submit. A few days afterwards, the vizier, having obtained the keys of all the private apartments, repaired to the emperor, and producing the letter he had written to Dáood Khan Punnee, in regard to the destruction of his brother the viceroy, upbraided him with his treachery, at the same time demanding that other high offices should be conferred upon them both. These arrogant demands seem to have driven the emperor to despair. He retorted in violent language, and rising suddenly, retired unceremoniously to the women's apartments. Meanwhile the city was filled with tumult. A body of Mahratta cavalry, 1,500 in number, under Suntajee Kudum, proceeding to the viceroy's camp, were attacked by troops in the interest of the emperor and the populace, and, cut off in the streets from all aid, perished to a man. Other

The vizier is alarmed.

Hoosein Ally returns to Dehly.

The emperor submits to the Syeds' demands.

He is confined by the vizier.

Tumults in Dehly.

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desultory combats were in progress, with much bloodshed, when a proclamation was suddenly made that the emperor had ceased to reign, and that the Prince Rufy-ood-Derját had been called to the throne in his stead.

The emperor deposed.

The vizier had not quitted the palace. He had sent message after message to his brother to enter the city in force, and put an end to the increasing riot; but before any movement could be made, some Afghan soldiers in his service contrived to enter the private court of the palace from the terrace of an adjoining house, and the terrified women, under threats and tortures, disclosed the place where the emperor had concealed himself. His mother, and the ladies of his seraglio, endeavoured to defend him; but he was dragged away from them, and placed in strict confinement. Thus ended the revolution. The prince selected to be emperor, was the nephew of the late Bahadur Shah, and was twenty years old. Next day he ascended the throne in public, and on the petition of the Hindoo officers, issued an edict for the abolition of the poll-tax. Two months afterwards, the wretched Feroksiár, who had resorted to every possible contrivance to procure his escape, or liberty on any terms, was first blinded by order of the brother Syeds, and had then poison administered to him. While he lay in his last agony, he was visited by them, and as he bitterly reviled them for their treachery, they ordered him to be strangled, and stood by till he was dead. Guilty and treacherous as he had been during his life, his murder excited public horror; and as his body was carried to the grave, it was followed by thousands of the people, invoking curses on his destroyers.

The emperor is confined.

Rufy-ood-Derját succeeds

The poll-tax abolished.

Feroksiár is blinded, poisoned, and then strangled.

The selection of the new emperor was in one sense unfortunate. He was then ill, and died of consumption on June 16, 1720. His younger brother, Rufy-ood-Dowlah, was then placed on the throne; but his elevation was contested by the officers in charge of Agra, who declared in favour of Nikosiár, the younger son of the late Prince Akbur. This rebellion was quickly suppressed; but the young emperor, who, like his brother, was consumptive, died soon afterwards. The choice of the Syed brothers now fell upon Roshun Akhter, a grandson of the Emperor Bahadur Shah, who had hitherto lived in retirement at Dehly. He had, however, been well educated, and his mother, a woman of great strength of character and ability, was much respected. Roshun Akhter was in his eighteenth year, and ascended the throne under the title of [illegible]med Shah. The date of his accession was, however, fixed [illegible]e deposition of Feroksiár, or September 1719.

The young emperor dies.

Is succeeded by his brother Rufy-ood-Dowlah.

Who also dies.

Roshun Akhter succeeds as Mahomed Shah.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR MAHOMED SHAH, 1720 TO 1723.

After his accession, the young emperor continued under the strict control of the brother Syeds, who carried on the government of the empire in his name. His mother enjoined upon him the most careful observance of their wishes, at least for the present; for it was evident that any attempt on his part to attain independence, would be attended with nothing short of destruction. One of the first acts of his reign was the dismissal of Ballajee Wishwanáth, and the Mahratta forces which had accompanied the viceroy, Hoosein Ally, to Dehly. It was by no means consonant with the policy of the viceroy to behave to them with ill-faith. He had not only been assisted very materially by them, but without the fulfilment of his engagements, he well knew that the Deccan would relapse into the disorder in which he had found it. The Mahratta forces were, therefore, fully paid. Shao's mother and family, who had been hitherto detained at Dehly, were given over to the care of Ballajee Wishwanáth; and imperial patents for the collection of the chouth and sur-déshmookhee dues, in confirmation of the engagements between the viceroy and Shao, were duly executed and delivered during the year 1719–20. Nothing so formal or complete in character had ever before been obtained by the Mahrattas; and their hitherto desultory claims, enforced at the point of the sword, were now placed upon a national footing, acknowledged and confirmed by the imperial government. The student will find them detailed with great precision, from the original documents, in chapter 13, vol. i. of Grant Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas,' pp. 445–462.

The Syeds' position.

Settlement of the Mahratta claims.

So far, therefore, the Mahrattas were safe for the present; but elements of trouble were thickly strewn in the empire, which were not long in assuming decided forms. Several formidable insurrections broke out in different quarters; that in Kashmere, assuming the aspect of a religious war, was with difficulty suppressed. These, however, were minor occurrences in comparison with the proceedings of Nizam-ool-Moolk. He had been relieved from his government of Moorádabad, and sent for to the capital, where the Syeds had hoped to make him subservient to their

Insurrections

Nizam-ool-Moolk appointed governor of Malwah.

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views; but, finding him impracticable, appointed him governor of Malwah. Under his vigorous administration, the local disorders were soon suppressed, and he began to turn his attention to the Deccan, then scantily garrisoned by imperial troops. Among these he had many friends; the people were favourable to him, and the position of the brother Syeds at Dehly rendered it improbable that they could dispatch any considerable force against him. They were not, however, without apprehension; and after remonstrances, which proved to be of no avail whatever, an army of observation was stationed by them on the northern frontier of Malwah.

His vigour in regard to the Deccan.

The latter measure seems to have decided Nizam-ool-Moolk as to his course of action. He marched suddenly southwards from Seronje in the month of April 1721, and after passing the Nerbudda, the great fortress of Aseergurh was given up to him by its commander. Boorhanpoor followed; and Ghous Khan, the governor of Berar, joined him with all his troops and a train of artillery, as did also several Mahratta chiefs, who were at variance with Shao, with their forces. Dilawur Ally Khan, the general who was in command of the army to the north of Malwah, saw that no time was to be lost; and following Nizam-ool-Moolk across the Nerbudda, found him in a position near Boorhanpoor, and attacked him furiously on June 20; but he was killed in the action, and the whole of his artillery, camp-equipage and treasure captured. This victory secured Nizam-ool-Moolk in his position, and the news of it gave secret satisfaction to the emperor and his party, while to the Syeds it was a subject of profound disquiet; and after much consultation, it was determined that Hoosein Ally should take the field against the conqueror.

Nizam-ool-Moolk advances into that province.

Pope Innocent XIII.

Nizam-ool-Moolk attacked by the imperial forces, which are defeated.

Meanwhile the defeated troops of Dilawur Ally Khan had formed a junction with Alum Ally, the imperial commander-in-chief in the Deccan, who advanced into Berar at the head of a very powerful army. On the other hand, Nizam-ool-Moolk had been able to equip his artillery from the imperial magazines in Boorhanpoor and Aseergurh, and his forces were now little, if at all, inferior to those of the imperialists. The armies met near the town of Balapoor, in Berar, on August 8, 1721. Nizam-ool-Moolk had posted his artillery under cover of some brushwood, and Alum Ally, believing that the troops opposed to him were flying from the field, pressed ardently in pursuit, when the masked guns opened upon him with deadly effect in showers of grape. It was impossible to withdraw, and, fighting

The imperial troops again attack Nizam-ool-Moolk.

By whom they are again defeated.

Alum Ally is killed.

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bravely to the last, he perished on the field with several of his best officers. This victory was as complete as that over Dilawur Ally Khan; and Nizam-ool-Moolk was afterwards joined by several of the commanders who had been opposed to him.

Effects of the victory.

No troops in the imperial interest now remained in the Deccan by whom the progress of Nizam-ool-Moolk could be opposed; and, on the news of the defeat of Alum Ally reaching the capital, Hoosein Ally prepared to march to the Deccan and to take the emperor with him, leaving his brother, the vizier, in charge of the government. For some time past, a private understanding had existed between the emperor and Mahomed Ameen Khan, a noble of the court attached to his person, in opposition to the Syeds; but it does not seem to have taken any definitive form till the march to the Deccan was commenced. On August 24, the emperor joined the camp, and by September 14, it had reached a point about 100 miles to the south of Agra. Meanwhile the conspirators had decided on putting Hoosein Ally to death, and drew lots for the purpose. The execution of the act fell upon a Kalmuk Tartar, named Meer Hyder, a savage fanatic, who, as the minister entered camp, approached his palankeen with a petition, and as he was reading it, stabbed him to the heart. The assassin was instantly cut to pieces; but the camp was filled with tumult and bloodshed, and it is probable the emperor would have perished in his tent but for the presence of mind of some of the officers of his guards, who seated him on an elephant and rallied the guards around him. Mahomed Shah seems to have been by no means deficient in the courage of his race, for he took an active part in the furious conflict which followed, exposing himself freely in the thickest of the fight. The attack on the emperor's camp had been made by the nephew of Hoosein Ally, who was killed; and upon the event becoming known, the rest of the troops submitted.

The emperor and Hoosein Ally march for the Deccan.

Conspiracy against Hoosein Ally, who is assassinated.

A great tumult and conflict follows.

The news of Hoosein Ally's death, and the revolution in camp, reached the vizier on September 16, who at once prepared to resist; and on the 19th Rufy-ool-Kudr, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, was brought out of the palace and placed on the throne. The vizier also attempted to conciliate the troops by largesses and increased rates of pay, and to attach the old nobility to him by grants of offices and estates. On October 1, the new emperor and the vizier took the field; and their army moved in the direction of Mahomed Shah's camp, being much strengthened by the junction of many of Hoosein Ally's veterans. After some changes of position on

Rufy-ool-Kudr placed on the throne by the vizier.

The rival forces meet.

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both sides, the armies met in battle on October 20. Partial contests ensued, with varying advantage, from that day till the 24th, when, in a charge on foot at the head of a body of Syeds of his own clan, the vizier was severely wounded, and with his younger brother taken prisoner and carried to the emperor, whose victory was now complete; and on November 2 he entered Dehly in triumph. Mahomed Ameen Khan had been created vizier, and his predecessor, though kindly treated, was for the present confined to his palace. The power of the family, so long dominant in the State, was, however, completely broken, and was never afterwards restored. The emperor received letters of congratulation from all the viceroys of the empire, including Nizam-ool-Moolk, and from all the inferior officers, as well as from the chiefs of the European factories, and for a time it appeared that the revolution had been the precursor of a long and peaceful reign; nor at this period of profound tranquillity did it seem as if any element of serious danger or apprehension existed.

The vizier wounded and taken prisoner.

Victory of the Emperor Mahomed Shah.

He receives public congratulations.

On January 10, 1721, Mahomed Ameen Khan died; and Nizam ool-Moolk, whose resistance to the Syed brothers had laid the foundation of the successful revolution, was created vizier in his stead. He was not for the present, however, able to leave the Deccan in order to assume office; and it soon became evident that the appearances of peace in the empire were delusive. Ajeet Singh, rana of Jondhpoor, had been a partisan of the Syeds, and watching his opportunity, possessed himself of Ajmere. No offensive movement against him was undertaken, and he was pacified or restrained by being allowed to retain it, and being made governor of Agra.

Nizam-ool-Moolk becomes vizier.

Rebellion of Ajeet Singh.

This weakness in the executive power was temporarily redeemed by the arrival of Nizam-ool-Moolk at Dehly, on January 18, 1722. He found the emperor given up to sensual pleasures, surrounded by favourites, whose only care was to gratify him; and, as might be supposed, little attention being paid to the affairs of State. Nizam-ool-Moolk was of too proud a disposition to conciliate the emperor, and was probably meditating his final proceedings; for the emperor and his courtiers were already supporting a rival against him in Hyder Kooly Khan, the late governor of Guzerat. The vizier was too astute a statesman to hesitate between preserving a difficult and distasteful office at court, and taking up an entirely independent position. On October 9, 1722, having been appointed to the viceroyalty of

Nizam-ool-Moolk arrives at Dehly.

Intrigues.

Nizam-ool-Moolk marches to Guzerat.

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Guzerat, in addition to that of the Deccan, he marched southwards. In Guzerat he encountered a show of opposition from the troops of Hyder Kooly Khan, the late viceroy; but this having been overcome, he left his maternal uncle in charge of the province, and returned to Dehly, after a comparatively brief absence, in July 1723.

And returns to Dehly.

At the court of Shao some important changes had taken place. Ballajee Wishwanáth had died soon after his return from Dehly, and had been succeeded as Péshwah by his son, Bajee Ráo, who, possessing all his father's qualities as a statesman, was superior to him in ambitious design, and efficiency as a predatory commander in the field. Bajee Ráo at once appreciated the profound sagacity of his father's arrangements with Nizam-ool-Moolk, and the value of the confirmation by the emperor of the Mahratta national rights, and he soon succeeded in animating Shao, and with him the chief leaders of the Mahratta State, to a prosecution of similar demands upon the whole of the imperial provinces. He did not fail to see in Nizam-ool-Moolk's return to the Deccan, the future, and perhaps speedy, dismemberment of the Moghul empire. The Mahratta rights over the Deccan and Carnatic were secured; why should they not be spread to Hindostan? 'Let us strike,' he said to Shao, 'at the trunk of the withering tree; the branches must fall of themselves.' This policy was adopted with enthusiasm by Shao and by the Mahratta leaders, and the attempt was only delayed till a fitting opportunity should present itself.

Mahratta court: death of Ballajee Wishwanáth.

His son, Bajee Ráo, succeeds as Péshwah.

His measures.

The speedy success of Nizam-ool-Moolk in securing the government of Guzerat, surprised and mortified the emperor and his party at Dehly. It was an undertaking which they had supposed would have occupied much time, and might, as they hoped, have procured the vizier's destruction. His return to Dehly and resumption of office were least of all contemplated, and his presence became more than ever insupportable. His austere manners and habits, his attempts to wean the emperor from the debasing influences by which he was surrounded, were passively resisted; but the demeanour of the courtiers, and indeed of the emperor himself, was so unmistakably adverse, that, finding his situation daily more difficult to endure, he feigned sickness, and shortly afterwards tendered his resignation of the ministry. This was accepted with seeming regret, and he was permitted to depart to his viceroyalty of the Deccan on October 21, 1723, having received the new title of Asof Jáh, and a patent as lieutenant of the empire.

Effects of Nizam-ool-Moolk's return to Dehly.

He resigns office as vizier, and returns to the Deccan.

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CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR MAHOMED SHAH (*continued*), 1723 TO 1738.

NIZAM-OOL-MOOLK had no sooner departed from Dehly, than a plot was formed against him by the emperor and his courtiers, which was of serious import; and the leisurely manner in which he moved through Malwah, allowed ample time for its preparation. Moobariz Khan, a brave and ambitious officer, well known to be inimical to Nizam-ool-Moolk, was the governor of Hyderabad and the Carnatic, with a fine army at his disposal; and the emperor wrote to him with his own hand, denouncing Nizam-ool-Moolk as a traitor who contemplated establishing his own independence, and urging him to attack and kill the viceroy by any means in his power, transmitting at the same time a new patent as viceroy of the Deccan for himself, to be used in case of success. Nizam-ool-Moolk did not reach Aurungabad till July 1724, by which time Moobariz Khan had made his preparations. Some correspondence passed between the parties, which led to no result, and finally he marched upon Aurungabad, near which, at the village of Shukur Khéra, between the city and the fort of Dowlatabad, a bloody battle was fought on October 2. In this action Moobariz Khan was slain with two of his sons, and his troops, for the most part, submitted to the conqueror. The victory was duly reported to the emperor by Nizam-ool-Moolk, who sent his adversary's head as that of a rebel who had conspired against the State, and had suffered a rebel's death; but there can be little doubt that Nizam-ool-Moolk was, at the time, fully aware of the emperor's treachery, and held himself virtually absolved from his allegiance. Marching southwards, he gained possession of Golcondah and Hyderabad, and the whole of the southern provinces submitted without a blow.

Plot against Nizam-ool-Moolk.

Moobariz Khan advances to attack Nizam-ool-Moolk.

Battle of Shukur Khéra.

Moobariz Khan is killed in action.

Submission of the southern provinces.

On receiving news of his success against Moobariz Khan, the emperor had deprived Nizam-ool-Moolk of the viceroyalty of Guzerat and Malwah, to which other officers were appointed; but Hamed Khan, the uncle of the viceroy, who had been left in charge of the province, although recommended by his nephew to give up his office, declined to do so, and was for a while successful, being aided by two Mahratta chieftains, at the

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head of a large body of cavalry. Sur Boolund Khan, however, who had been viceroy of Kabool, and was now transferred to Guzerat, was a skilful general, and Hamed Khan and his Mahratta allies were ultimately defeated, and driven out of the province; but, as the price of the Mahratta assistance, Hamed Khan had assigned to his allies the chouth and sur-déshmookhee of Guzerat, which had been only partially levied by marauding parties before. This became a new charge upon the revenue, and one which Sur Boolund Khan, his successor, was ultimately obliged to admit. The grants of chouth, &c. obtained by the Péshwah from Sur Boolund Khan, were made over to Peelajee Gáikwar, one of the Mahratta commanders, for collection as an hereditary right, and hence acquired a power unknown before. It was thus that the national Mahratta rights, the collection of which was confided to different chieftains, as they progressed, became, as it were, private as well as national property; for a portion of the collections was assigned to them for the maintenance of their troops, and a means of collection ensured which was never relaxed. These parties, instead of visiting the provinces over which their rights extended, at particular periods only, now settled in them; spread their agents over them, and thus gradually and insidiously extended the Mahratta influence far beyond its original bounds.

Hamed Khan defeated in Guzerat.

Peelajee Gáikwar obtains the grant of chouth of Guzerat.

Extension of Mahratta power.

Meantime Nizam-ool-Moolk endeavoured to pursue his old policy of sowing dissension among the Mahrattas, and securing himself thereby; but in Bajee Ráo, the Péshwah or chief minister of Shao, he had found a wily and successful opponent. Nizam-ool-Moolk's intrigues for the payment of a fixed sum, instead of the indefinite claims of chouth, which had been almost successful at the court of Shao, during the Péshwah's absence, were completely foiled on his return; and as Nizam-ool-Moolk had accepted the aid of the Kolapoor party, the Péshwah retaliated by pressing the claims on Guzerat, and distressing Nizam-ool-Moolk so effectively in the field in 1729, that he was able to make his own terms. While engaged in these operations, the forces of Sumbhajee, of Kolapoor, were defeated by those of Shao, and he was obliged to resign his pretensions to the Mahratta throne, and content himself with Kolapoor and the territory assigned to it. In 1730, Dhabáry, a Mahratta chieftain of much power, had been excited by Nizam-ool-Moolk to oppose the Péshwah in Malwah and Guzerat; but Bajee Ráo did not give him time to advance into the Deccan, or to effect a junction with Nizam-ool-Moolk: he met him near Baroda, and in the action fought on April 1,

Nizam-ool-Moolk's intrigues are unsuccessful.

Dhabáry defeated by the Péshwah, and killed in action.

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1731, completely defeated him; Dhabáry was killed in the action. By this victory not only were the plans of Nizam-ool-Moolk completely overthrown, but Bajee Ráo became, without a rival, the supreme minister of the Mahratta State. At this juncture, Nizam-ool-Moolk probably expected that the arms of Rajah Ráo would have been directed against himself; but the Péshwah's policy was not so much directed to the humiliation of his rival, as to the extension of the Mahratta predatory system; and at an interview which was brought about between them, Nizam-ool-Moolk received assurances of good-will on the part of the Péshwah while he did not interrupt the Mahratta designs on Northern India. It is questionable whether this nefarious agreement was ever committed to writing, in the form of a treaty; but the historians of the period are unanimous in declaring it was made, and the conduct of Nizam-ool-Moolk justifies the belief. Up to 1732, many portions of Malwah had been laid under contribution by the Mahratta leaders, and the families of Powár, Sindia and Holkar had, like that of the Gáikwar, received allotments of the national rights of collection. The son of Dhabáry was confirmed in the rights of Guzerat, having Peelajee Gáikwar as his hereditary deputy; and thus four powerful Mahratta chieftains were established on the southern frontier of the imperial dominions north of the Nerbudda, prepared to extend their claims even to the capital.

Agreement between Nizam-ool-Moolk and the Péshwah.

After the agreement with Nizam-ool-Moolk, the Péshwah did not long delay the commencement of his movements. Sur Boolund Khan, in consequence of his assignment of the chouth, had been superseded in Guzerat by Rajah Abhy Singh; but this person—a mere court-favourite—proved less able to check the Mahrattas than his predecessor; and his having procured the assassination of Peelajee Gáikwar only served to exasperate the rest of the Mahrattas in the province more strongly against him. They not only aroused the predatory tribes of the province to rebellion, but invaded Rajah Abhy Singh's own territory, obliging him to return to it, and abandon Guzerat to themselves. In Malwah, Mahomed Khan Bungush was the imperial viceroy, and the Péshwah's first movement was against him. Bungush was then conducting a campaign against the Rajah of Bundelkund; and was surprised and driven into a small fort by the Péshwah, whence he was only rescued by the bravery of a body of his own Rohilla clansmen. For the service rendered to him by the Péshwah, the rajah conferred upon him the territory of Jhansee and some estates in Kalpee, which are memorable as the first possessions obtained by the Mahrattas in Hindostan.

The Péshwah's measures.

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The court at Dehly was too weak to offer any resistance, and Bajee Ráo's claims grew in proportion. They would probably have been pressed in force, but for the appointment of Rajah Jey Singh as viceroy of Malwah, who induced the Péshwah to agree to be content with the executive government of Malwah—an arrangement which was confirmed by the emperor. This, however, was a material step gained in Bajee Ráo's policy; he had not only established the national claims over Malwah, and left four powerful chiefs to collect them, but had obtained the actual administration of the province. Contented with this arrangement for the present, Bajee Ráo returned to the Deccan, having directed Holkar to continue the predatory invasion of the imperial territory during his absence. This service was performed with alacrity. Not only did the Mahratta horse penetrate as far as Agra, but levied contributions in Northern Guzerat, which had been hitherto exempt from their presence. A great expedition under Mozuffer Khan was sent from Dehly against him, but eluding, yet constantly harassing, the Moghul army, Holkar pursued his own course, and Mozuffer Khan eventually returned to the capital.

Weakness of the Dehly court.

The Péshwah obtains the government of Malwah.

Mahratta predatory operations.

Bajee Ráo, having completed his arrangements in the Deccan, recommenced his proceedings against the imperial government in 1736, by pressing his demands for patents confirming the Mahratta dues on Malwah and Guzerat. It is probable the emperor would have granted them; but the Moghul nobility at court protested against the humiliation, and the measure was delayed. This, as might have been foreseen—if the Mahratta character had been understood—only produced higher demands, and they assumed very formidable dimensions. Malwah was to be given up, with many other forts and cities, and the chouth, &c. of the north-west provinces. With these terms it was impossible to comply: and a compromise was made by which Bajee Ráo obtained an additional right of two per cent. on the revenues of the Deccan, with some other minor privileges. This new grant might, it was supposed, and perhaps hoped at court, either lead Bajee Ráo into war with Nizam-ool-Moolk, on whose territory the new tax was imposed, or become the means of the viceroy's reconciliation with the emperor. Bajee Ráo, however, made no attempt to carry out the collection of the new grants, and still preserved his original claims. Holkar was levying contributions in Bundelkund, and as far as the borders of Oude; and the court of Dehly, finding Bajee Ráo impracticable, determined, if possible, to expel him from Malwah by force, and drive the Mahrattas across the

Mahratta demands on Malwah and Guzerat.

The imperial forces attack the Péshwah and Holkar.

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Nerbudda. With this view, Khan Dowrán, and Kummur-oodeen Khan, two of the best imperial generals, marched against Bajee Ráo from Dehly. Just at this juncture, Holkar, who had been plundering on the Jumna, was sharply attacked by Saadut Khan, the viceroy of Oude, and forced to retreat, and the viceroy moved on to Agra, writing a magniloquent despatch to the emperor of his successes. He then effected a junction with Khan Dowrán's army, which was near Muttra. Bajee Ráo, in no degree dismayed by these events, eluded the grand armies before their junction, and marching directly upon Dehly, at the rate of forty miles a day, pitched his camp near the suburbs. The emperor and his court, in the absence of the army, were naturally alarmed; but a force of 8,000 horse was sent out under Mozuffer Khan, which was defeated by the Mahrattas with heavy loss. The main army had meanwhile advanced; and after a brief and unimportant skirmish with a portion of it, Bajee Ráo drew off his forces to the southward, obtaining, however, from Khan Dowrán, a renewal of the promise of the government of Malwah, and of the payment of thirteen lacs of rupees, or 130,000*l.*, for his expenses.

Bajee Ráo Péshwah reaches Dehly.

The imperial cavalry defeated.

Bajee Ráo retires on payment of his expenses.

During this campaign the emperor had made profuse promises to Nizam-ool-Moolk, in order to induce him to come to court, and to secure his assistance; for it was more than ever apparent that the empire was seriously menaced by the Mahrattas; and leaving his son in charge of the Deccan, Nizam-ool-Moolk arrived at Dehly on June 22, 1737. His great age and some consequent infirmity, induced him to request that other commanders should be employed against the Mahrattas, whose operations he could direct; but the faction of Khan Dowrán was inimical to his remaining in authority at the capital: and an army having been assembled, he assumed the command, and towards the end of 1737, advanced into Malwah at the head of the imperial forces, and numerous contingents of feudatories. No sooner was the news of this movement known at Sattara, than Bajee Ráo prepared to meet it. He assembled an army of 80,000 men, chiefly cavalry: and rapidly crossing the Nerbudda, found his adversary in a strong position near Bhopál. A partial action ensued, with little advantage to either side; but Bajee Ráo, perceiving no indication of active movement on the part of the Moghuls, now succeeded in surrounding and establishing a complete blockade of their camp. If the Péshwah's earnest call upon other officers of the Mahratta State had been responded to in

The emperor negotiates with Nizam-ool-Moolk,

who returns to Dehly.

War between the emperor of Germany and the Turks

Nizam-ool-Moolk takes command of the army.

Bajee Ráo advances to meet him.

The Moghul camp at Bhopál is surrounded.

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the spirit he made them—'that now was the time for all to unite and to deliver one effectual blow for the mastery of the Deccan'—there can be little doubt that Nizam-ool-Moolk's army must have been annihilated, or have surrendered at discretion; for there was no hope of relief either from Dehly or the south. As it was, Nizam-ool-Moolk made an attempt to retreat; but he could only move three miles a day, and having endured constant harassing attacks for twenty-four days, he halted at Duraee Suraee, near Seronje, and on February 11, 1738, entered into a convention with the Péshwah, by which the whole of Malwah and the territory between the Nerbudda and the Chumbul rivers were to be ceded to the Mahratta State in perpetual sovereignty; and a sum of fifty lacs of rupees—500,000*l.*—paid as the expenses of the war from the imperial treasury. At this price Nizam-ool-Moolk purchased exemption from further molestation, and was suffered to return to Dehly, where another danger, more imminent and more terrible than the Mahrattas, was to be endured.

Nizam-ool-Moolk retreats.

Convention of Seronje.

The Russians invade the Crimea.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR MAHOMED SHAH (*concluded*), 1738 TO 1748.

THE new danger which threatened the empire at this crisis was the invasion of Nadir Shah, king of Persia. It is beyond the province of this work to detail the origin or the progress of this most remarkable man; but at the period under illustration—1737-38—he had been engaged in a campaign against Kandahar and Kabool. The latter city had fallen easily before the conqueror of Kandahar; and occupied by the affairs of the Mahrattas, the emperor had paid no attention to those of his Afghan provinces—a distant, and perhaps then considered an unimportant, dependency. Suddenly, however, news reached Dehly that the Persian army had descended the passes, had thrown a bridge of boats across the Indus, and was in full march upon the capital. Various reasons are given by the native historians of the period for this invasion by Nadir Shah. He had written letters to the emperor, which were not noticed; his messengers had been put to death, and the like: but the true cause, there can be little doubt, was the condition of India at that period. Even before the Mahrattas, the spirit of the old Moghul chivalry had declined; the court was corrupt and

Invasion of Nadir Shah.

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effeminate; and to a successful general like Nadir Shah, there would have appeared no obstacle which could weigh in comparison with the chances of success. There was little resistance offered in the Punjâb: some of the troops stationed there fell back upon the capital, where the emperor assembled an army, to which Nizam-ool-Moolk contributed his forces; Saadut Khan was called up from Oude, and a camp was formed at Kurnaul, which was intrenched.

Preparations to oppose him.

Nadir Shah advanced leisurely. He had crossed the Indus in November 1738, and did not reach Kurnaul till February 1739, when he immediately attacked the imperial army, and easily defeated it, with the loss of a mere handful of men. The emperor immediately submitted, and through the instrumentality of Nizam-ool-Moolk, was conducted to the tent of the conqueror, and received with courtesy. Negotiations ensued, and Nadir was apparently content with the promise of two millions sterling, when Saadut Khan, jealous of Nizam-ool-Moolk, declared he could pay more himself, and that the treasures of the kingdom were beyond computation. Nadir Shah marched with the emperor very leisurely to Dehly, where they arrived in March, and occupied the city with a portion of his troops. Two days afterwards, a report was circulated that Nadir Shah was dead, whereupon the people attacked the Persians furiously, and many of them were killed. As he could not stop the tumult, Nadir Shah, enraged by the continued slaughter of his men, gave orders for a general massacre, which continued for some time, and was attended by a lamentable and indiscriminate destruction of all classes of the people. Quiet being at length restored, the work of plunder was deliberately commenced, and was continued for fifty-eight days. It extended from the emperor's palace and the nobility, to the lowest ranks of the people. The amount of booty carried off by the Persians is variously estimated at from 9,000,000*l.* to 30,000,000*l.* sterling, besides the celebrated peacock-throne, which Tavernier valued at 6,000,000*l.*, but which, according to the 'Life of Nadir Shah,' does not appear to have been worth more than 2,000,000*l.* The king's share, according to the author of his Memoirs, was 15,000,000*l.* sterling, and perhaps a similar sum was secured by his officers and men. On leaving Dehly, Nadir Shah presented Mahomed Shah with his crown as emperor of India, and seated him on his throne; but he annexed to his own dominions all the western provinces of the empire beyond the passes, with Mooltan and Sinde. Nadir Shah did not forget the assertion of

Nadir Shah defeats the imperial forces.

Submission of the emperor.

Nadir Shah proceeds to Dehly.

The Persians are attacked.

Massacre by Nadir Shah, and subsequent plunder.

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Saadut Khan, that it would be a trifle to him to pay 2,000,000*l.* sterling. He was obliged to send for it, and shortly afterwards, in dread, as was reported, of torture and indignity, took poison and died. On May 15, 1739, Nadir Shah left Dehly by the route he had come: but it was long before the city recovered from the desolation he had caused.

If Bajee Ráo had been near Dehly when Nadir Shah arrived, it is not improbable that he would have joined the emperor in the defence of the empire; and could he have done so, or the Mahratta troops have been employed as auxiliaries, Nadir Shah's invasion would probably have had a very different conclusion. Bajee Ráo was very sensible of a common danger to all; but as soon as he felt assured that the Persians were really departed, he again commenced his demands, and although he had not received the imperial patent for Malwah, he strengthened himself, by making alliances with all the Hindoo princes, both in Rajpootana and Bundelkund. Nizam-ool-Moolk, finding his position irksome at Dehly, left his son, Gheias-ood-deen, in charge of his offices, and returned to the Deccan, where the conduct of his second son, Nasir Jung, had been for some time of a suspicious nature. Before his arrival, Bajee Ráo had had to encounter opposition from two of his own officers—Bhóslay, who held Berar, and Dhabáry of Guzerat. Bhóslay had demanded as his right the collections of chouth, or, in other words, the plunder, of Allahabad and Oudh; but this Bajee Ráo reserved for himself, and induced Bhóslay to undertake an expedition to the Carnatic. When he was gone, the Péshwah attacked Nasir Jung, the son of Nizam-ool-Moolk; but he gained no advantage, and a peace was ultimately concluded between them. Bajee Ráo was now discontented; he had powerful enemies at Shao's court, he was deeply in debt, and looked to plunder to reimburse himself. Under these circumstances he had contemplated a new campaign in Hindostan, and was proceeding thither, when he died in his camp, on the Nerbudda, on April 28, 1740. If his father had thoroughly comprehended and laid the foundation of the Mahratta predatory power, Bajee Ráo had carefully worked out his policy. He would accept of no commutations in money or in territory for the national demands, and he had enormously increased them; while on all sides the predatory system had spread from province to province, till it already included the greater part of the empire. Ballajee Ráo, his eldest son, succeeded to his office as Péshwah, in August 1740; his second son, Rugonath Ráo, afterwards

Bajee Ráo renews his demands.

Nizam-ool-Moolk returns to the Deccan.

Mahratta parties.

Bajee Ráo's position.

His death.

Frederick III. king of Prussia.

Character and acts of Bajee Ráo.

Ballajee Ráo succeeds as Péshwah.

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received the support of the English, and an illegitimate son, Shumshére Bahadur, who was brought up as a Mahomedan, was provided for by the estates in Bundelkund.

Proceedings of Rughoojee Bhóslay.

Rughoojee Bhóslay, who had been diverted from his purpose of a campaign against Bengal by the late Péshwah, had proceeded to the south, and was besieging Trichinopoly when he heard the news of Bajee Ráo's death. As it was his object to oppose the election of Ballajee, he proceeded to Sattara; but the appointment took place notwithstanding, and he returned to Trichinopoly, which surrendered on March 26, 1741; and Chunda Sahib, in whose possession it had been, was sent as a prisoner to Sattara. But Rughoojee was by no means disposed to forego his designs upon Bengal and Bahar, and directed his minister, Bhaskur Punt, to attack those provinces from Berar. On the other hand, Bhaskur Punt had been invited by Meer Hubeeb, the minister of Moorshid Kooly Khan, who had been defeated in Bengal by Aliverdy Khan, to attack the province in his master's interests: and taking advantage of the Péshwah's absence from Malwah, he invaded Bahar in 1742, defeated Aliverdy Khan, whom he reduced to sore straits, and would have retreated, satisfied with the plunder he had obtained, but for the representations of Meer Hubeeb, who had escaped from Aliverdy's camp and joined him. As a proof of what might be obtained by plunder in Bengal, Meer Hubeeb, taking with him a detachment of Mahratta horse, marched rapidly upon the city of Moorshidabad, extorted two millions and a half sterling from the banking-house of Juggut Sett, and returned with his booty to the Mahratta camp. Thus stimulated, Bhaskur Punt remained during the monsoon at Cutwah and Hooghly, levying contributions, though unable to cross the Ganges. But Aliverdy Khan was not idle. Collecting all the troops he could obtain, he crossed the Hooghly, and attacking the Mahrattas with vigour, drove them out of the province into the forests of Orissa, whence they returned to Berar. Rughoojee Bhóslay had by this time returned from the Carnatic with his army, and at once proceeded to the succour of his minister; and a second Mahratta invasion of Bahar and Bengal was thus imminent.

He attacks Bengal.

Charles VII. emperor of Germany.

Bhaskur Punt invades Bahar.

Plunder of Moorshidabad.

Aliverdy Khan attacks the Mahrattas.

In 1741 Ballajee Ráo renewed his father's demands upon Malwah, claiming the execution of the emperor's promises, made upon the treaty with Nizam-ool-Moolk; and as soon as he could be spared from his civil duties at Sattara, proceeded into Malwah, and encamped near the Nerbudda. Before his arrival, Dunnajee Gáikwar, instigated by

Ballajee Ráo advances into Malwah.

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Rughoojee Bhóslay, had entered Malwah from Guzerat, in order to divert the Péshwah's attention from his proposed expedition to the eastward; but, being unable to effect anything, retired into his own province. The Péshwah, now at liberty, renewed his negotiations at court, supported by Nizam-ool-Moolk and Rajah Jey Singh; but beyond doubtful promises in regard to Malwah, and an honorary present of a magnificent character from the emperor, the settlement of his claims made no progress. It was at this juncture that Bhaskur Punt, on behalf of Rughoojee Bhóslay, made his irruption into Bengal, and the emperor and his councillors turned to the Péshwah to assist them in the emergency. He promptly accepted the commission, and marched for Bahar, where he joined Aliverdy Khan in time to oppose Rughoojee, who had advanced from Orissa, and was already in Bengal. Rughoojee at once retreated before the Péshwah, but was pursued and severely defeated. There could be no question that the Péshwah had saved Bengal; and having returned to Malwah, he received the long-desired patent of appointment—not, however, as an independent ruler, but as the deputy of the prince imperial. This point having been gained, the Péshwah returned to Sattara, where a new difficulty awaited him. Rughoojee Bhóslay's party at court was strong; and it became a question whether it should be reduced by force, or attached by conciliatory measures. Rughoojee professed humble submission to Shao; but it was clear that he aimed at possessing the national rights, as claimed and levied in Bengal, and would be content with nothing less. The Péshwah therefore submitted, reserving to himself the rights of collection over the territories north of the Nerbudda and Mahanuddee rivers. It will be understood, therefore, that the collections of the national chouth and other dues were now divided as follows: the Péshwah held Malwah and the central and northern provinces; the Gáikwar, Guzerat; Bhóslay, Berar and Bengal. No change was made in the southern provinces, which had already been portioned out to other officers.

And renews his negotiations at court.

Ballajee Ráo opposes Rughoojee Bhóslay.

who is defeated.

The Péshwah's reward.

The right of chouth in Bengal assigned to Rughoojee.

Distribution of the right of collection of chouth.

It has already been stated that Nizam-ool-Moolk had left his son, Nasir Jung, in charge of his government of the Deccan; and for some time his conduct was all that could be desired. He had exchanged a sharp passage of arms with the redoubtable Bajee Ráo Péshwah with credit, and had preserved his father's dominions from Mahratta encroachments; but he was not superior to temptation, and his father's great age induced his companions to reckon upon his speedy demise

Rebellion of Nasir Jung in the Deccan.

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and to advise him to secure his own position. Nizam-ool-Moolk, however, though aged, was yet vigorous in body and mind, and when written remonstrances had ceased to have effect, repaired to the Deccan. He arrived in 1741, and received his son's submission, to all appearances sincerely given; but the stern character of the old statesman induced his son to keep apart from him, and he was persuaded by Futteh Yáb Khan, one of his companions, to resort to arms, in order to extort from his father what could not apparently be won by moderation. Having surprised the fort of Malkhair, Futteh Yáb Khan was joined by Nasir Jung, and they proceeded to Aurungabad, where Nizam-ool-Moolk, though in some degree taken at disadvantage, was yet able to oppose them. Nasir Jung's troops were defeated on July 23, 1742, and he himself taken prisoner, and the scene, as characteristic of the times, and the persons engaged, is thus described by the Mahratta historian:—'Finding his troops give way, Nasir Jung impetuously charged his father's standard, pushed onwards towards his elephant, and slew three of his bravest attendants one after the other. The driver of his own elephant being killed, Nasir Jung sprang into his place; when his brother-in-law, Mutawussil Khan, approaching him, drew an arrow to the head, which must have transfixed him, had not his son, who sat on the same elephant, stayed his hand and saved his uncle's life. At that moment, Syed Lushkur Khan, an officer of experience, who knew Nasir Jung, and the pride as well as the generosity of his disposition, pushed his elephant close by the side of his, saluted him, and respectfully made room for him; when, overcome by the act of courtesy, Nasir Jung took the place, and was thus carried prisoner into Aurungabad.' But he was received affectionately by his father, who, as a precautionary measure, kept him confined to the fort of Kandhar, near Beeder, for some time afterwards. Having restored tranquillity, Nizam-ool-Moolk proceeded to Hyderabad, and thence to the Carnatic, the affairs of which had become much disordered; and in August 1743 Moorary Ráo, who had occupied the greater part of the territory on the part of the Mahrattas, was confirmed as chief of Gooty, and withdrew his troops from other districts. Anwur-ood-deen was established as governor of the southern provinces at Arcot, and Mozuffer Jung, Nizam-ool-Moolk's grandson, was appointed to the charge of the northern Carnatic, with his head-quarters at Adony and Beejapoor.

Arrangements in the Carnatic.

Freed from apprehension from Nizam-ool-Moolk, the Mahrattas were soon in active movement. Rughoojee Bhóslay dispatched Bhaskur Punt with 20,000 horse, in the close of 1744, again to Bengal, where, soon after his arrival he was,

Mahratta movements.

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invited to an entertainment by Aliverdy Khan, and, with a number of his officers, basely and treacherously murdered; one only, Rughoojee Gáikwar, escaped; who, assuming command, led the remainder of the army back to Berar. Rughoojee himself, encouraged by the intelligence of a serious revolt against Aliverdy Khan, now invaded Bengal, and demanded 30,000,000 rupees, or 3,000,000*l.* sterling, as compensation for the murder of Bhaskur Punt, and as his price for sparing the country; but when the rains had ceased, Aliverdy Khan resumed the offensive, defeated the Mahratta army, and obliged them to retire. While these transactions were in progress, the Péshwah visited Malwah, and renewed his communications with the emperor; but was met with censure for not having interfered to check Rughoojee; and finding nothing was to be gained for the present, he returned to Sattara, and continued those reforms in the civil administration of the country, which, most urgently needed, were the measures on which his best fame rests.

Murder of Bhaskur Punt.

Rughoojee Bhósláy invades Bengal.

Is defeated by Aliverdy Khan.

A new danger was now threatening India from the west. After the death of Nadir Shah, the Afghan States had been united as a monarchy by Ahmed Khan, the chief of the Abdallies, who, young, ambitious, and fond of war, at once turned his attention to India as the best field for plunder and conquest. In 1747 he advanced into the Punjáb, and laid it under contribution; and, assisted by the Moghul viceroy in charge of the province, who had rebelled against the emperor, gained possession of Lahore and Mooltan. In this emergency, the emperor despatched his eldest son, the Prince Ahmed, with all the troops that could be collected, about 12,000 men: and, unable to oppose the Afghans in the field, he entrenched himself near Sirhind. Here he was attacked by the invaders in March 1748, who, repulsed in several desperate attempts to storm the camp, were finally defeated and pursued with heavy slaughter on their way back to the passes. The emperor, meanwhile, had been taken seriously ill, and expired at Dehly about a month after the victory of Sirhind, that is, in April 1748. He had reigned twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed, under the title of Ahmed Shah. Taking advantage of the confusion inseparable from the event, Ahmed Shah Abdallee had meanwhile returned, and exacted from the Moghul viceroy of the Punjâb an engagement to pay him tribute for the future. Very shortly after the emperor's death, that is, on June

Danger of an Afghan invasion.

Ahmed Shah Abdalee advances into the Punjâb.

Admiral Hawke's victory.

The Afghans are defeated by the Imperial troops.

Death of the Emperor Mahomed Shah.

His son Ahmed succeeds.

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19, the great Nizam-ool-Moolk, Asof Jáh, died at Boorhanpoor, on his way, as he purposed, to Dehly, having attained the wonderful age of 104 years. He had been nominated to the office of vizier by the new emperor, but his age and his distance from Dehly, induced him to decline the offer.

Death of Nizam-ool-Moolk.

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BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH (*continued from Chapter XIII., Book IV.*), 1613 TO 1674.

THE permission to trade at Surat, given to Captain Best in 1613, was followed up by the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, sent by James I. in 1615 to the Emperor Jehángeer, by whom the first permission was extended to all India. Not long before his arrival at Surat, another naval engagement had occurred with the Portuguese, in which they had been defeated; and they had declared war against the emperor, which rendered an alliance with the English of more account. While Sir Thomas was at the Moghul court, a new joint-stock capital was subscribed for in England, the largest which had been collected. It amounted to 1,600,000*l.*, with thirty-six ships. This armament, as well as the wealth of the company, excited much apprehension among the Dutch, both in Holland and in the eastern settlements, and was productive of many jealousies and negotiations between the governments. They were, however, smoothed over, and arrangements were made by which the English were to receive at Bantam a certain portion of the local produce of spices. The convention, however promising it might be in Europe, and upon paper, did not act well in practical application. On the contrary, matters grew worse, till they came to a climax at Amboyna, in 1623, when, on February 27, twelve Englishmen were executed for an alleged conspiracy to take possession of the castle. The indignation with which the news was received in England was immense; but James I. did little to repair the mischief or obtain satisfaction, and the trade of the company with the eastern settlements was much interrupted. In India, however, they were more successful. In 1628, a factory was established at

Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Moghul court.

New capital subscribed in England.

Apprehensions of the Dutch.

Execution of English at Amboyna.

Factory established at Armegoor, near Madras.

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Armegoor, about seventy miles north of Madras, but it was not well suited for trade, and Masulipatam was preferred, as more immediately adjacent to the seat of native manufacture. The establishment of Armegoor is, however, memorable as the first place fortified by the English in India.

Opposition of Charles I. to the company.

King Charles I. proved inimical to the affairs of the company. He was not only indifferent to any settlements with the Dutch, but he questioned the charter privileges of the company to such an extent, that they were compelled to bring their case under the immediate notice of Parliament.

Accusations.

The accusations of the king against the company were not, however, without foundation. It was notorious that their payment of their servants was insufficient; and that the amount of illicit private trade, at which it was believed the company connived, was enormous; and it is questionable whether the permission to increase the amount of tonnage granted for lawful private trade, was not in effect a direct increase of the evil. Nor were other elements of loss without effect. The Dutch had entered into a spirited competition at Surat, and they had nearly extinguished the eastern trade of the English.

The company's trade with Persia established.

In 1632, however, the company obtained important privileges from the King of Persia, Shah Sofy, for trade at Gambroon in the Persian Gulf, and the factory at Masulipatam was re-established under a treaty with the King of Golcondah.

Treaty with Golcondah.

In 1634, the Emperor Shah Jehán granted a firman, by which the trade of the whole of Bengal was opened to the English, and a factory was founded at Piply, near the mouth of the Hooghly.

Trade of Bengal opened.

Under these successes, the factory at Bantam was once more established as a presidency. Charles I. had, however, by no means forgiven the company for its attempt at independence of royal control; and in 1634, just as the Portuguese and the Dutch had come to terms, he granted a new charter to a new company. Many charges were brought against the old; the most material of which perhaps, was, that in all their trade they had never established permanent stations or forts, and could not be depended upon for augmenting the glory of the kingdom, or extending its trade. This shallow accusation proved, however, sufficiently transparent; the truth was, that the king, in the midst of his difficulties, needed money; that a new company was willing to supply it; and that he had obtained funds from Sir Thomas Courten, the projector of the new association. No time was lost by the new company, and before the factory of Surat could be informed of the transaction that had taken place in England, they found their rivals at their doors.

A new company obtains a charter from Charles I.

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