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tion, the Emperor Shah-djehan, his father (102). With infinite labour and personal toil he had in a campaign which lasted full five and twenty years, wrested thirty or forty strong holds from the hands of the Marhattas, driven that restless nation from its own home, and reduced it to take shelter in skulking holes and in fastnesses. But some years after his death, intestine wars and troubles having distracted the attention of the pretenders to his Empire; and Bahadyr-shah, who at last mounted the throne, having chosen for his residence, the City of Lahor, a place remote from the center of the empire, and still farther from those troublesome frontiers, now become the scene of so much action; the Marhattas availed themselves of this oversight as well as of the general inattention, to rush out of their fastnesses; and to spread themselves over all the neighbouring provinces, where step after step, they not only recovered several of their strong holds, with most of the conquests made upon them, but committed such ravages in the Imperial territories, as obliged them to redeem themselves by submitting to pay them a yearly tribute of one full quarter of their revenues, under the appellation of *chö8t* (103); whilst those that refused to bend under so infamous a yoke, were consigned every year to all the atrocities of fire and sword. Not but that they met with a vigorous resistance in some particular spots, from whence after a blockade of some length, they retired with shame and loss; but it was in order to return again. Such a state of eternal warfare had tired the Marhattas themselves; and so early as the latter end of Äorengzib's reign, Rana-bäi, the relict of Ram-radja, had supplicated that Prince to put an end to the miseries of mankind by granting her a *Defmucki* (104), in lieu of all her pretensions, that is

(102) This Conjunction is that of Jupiter and Mars, which is always reckoned victorious; and, whoever, was born under such a conjunction, was reputed a successful Prince. History reckons but three Princes distinguished by the appellation of *Subab Kuran*, or Lord of the Conjunction, to wit, Timur, who is called Tamerlane in Europe, from Tamar-lang, i. e. Timur the Lame, although he does not bear amongst his own countrymen any other name than that of Timur Aclac, which has the same signification. The second is Shah-djehan, Emperor of India; the third is Nadyr-shah, known in Europe under the appellation of Tamas, i. e. Tahm-asf, C81-khan.

(103) The word *Chö8t* signifies quarter part.

(104) The word *Def-muki*, signifies the tenth-handful.





a tenth of the revenue of the fix provinces that composed the Viceroyalty of Decan; this proposal met with a flat refusal, whether out of avarice and parsimony, or from a principle of honor, and a delicacy upon the discredit that would fall on the Musulman religion should he comply with such a disgraceful proposal. The Prince's ambassadors however, now joined to those of Sah8 Radja were more favorably received at the court of Bahadyr-shah. But this Prince, who wished for some rest, was disappointed in his wishes, by the dissensions which soon after took place between the Prince's relict and the reigning Prince: and matters remained on that uncertain footing until the times of the famous Da8d-khan-p6ni who governed all those countries as Lieutenant of the Vezir Zolficar-khan; this Lieutenant for whose prowess and bodily strength the Marhattas entertained the highest respect, and who lived in a commerce of amity and brotherhood with them, found means to bring them to this agreement: that they would "henceforward abstain from any demands on such tracts and territories as were held in apanage by the Princes of the royal blood; but that as to any others that should belong to the grandees of the court, or any others, whether as Djaghirs or under any other title, their ch6st would be levied by Hiram6n himself, Lieutenant of Dä8d-khan's, without their interfering in it in any manner whatsoever".

The Marhattas establish a tribute all over Decan, which was the custom of the Marhattas.

THIS agreement which seemed to put an end to all broils and pretensions, gave birth to an infinity of bickerings and troubles, which always ended in some blood. Under the government of Nizam-el-mulk, which lasted no more than one year and some months (105), the Ch6st which had been hitherto levied by mutual agreement, ended in battle and blood. He chastised the Marhattas once, and took from them a vast number of mares, and two or three elephants, which last he sent to the Emperor under the care of Mirza-beg. But this Viceroy, who was a man of vigor, having

(105) The author means the first time Nizam-el-mulk went into Decan: for at the second time, he governed it as an absolute monarch, during no less than thirty-eight years.





been succeeded by Hossain-aaly-khan, whose attention was wholly engrossed by his misintelligence with the court, the times proved so unfavorable, that no agreement could take place for two years together, and no effectual opposition could be made to the Marhattas. His attention was perpetually diverted to the machinations of an insidious court, who by perpetually exciting the Sah8 Radja to his ruin, and by encouraging the Radjas and Governors of those distant parts in their refractory disposition, effectually marred every measure which he could devise. Unsupported by his master, whose designs he had every reason to dread; and solicitous to strengthen himself against his personal enemies; he thought it best to turn his attention wholly to that side, by coming to an agreement with the Marhattas on the following conditions:

“ that over and above what had been agreed to under Dä8d-qhan-péni’s administration, as to their due, they should be entitled to their Def-mucki or tenth, upon all the Revenues of the fix, and a half of the provinces of Decan; and that the Marhatta-generals, Djefvent and Chimna-ba should reside at Aorengabad at the head of a good body of veteran troops near the Vice-roy’s person, as deputies from the Sah8-Radja, in whose name they might collect their Chö8t from the Djaghir-holders, as well as their Defmucki; or tenth handful from the rayots or common husbandmen”.

The Marhattas establish a double headed tribute all over Decan.

In consequence of this definitive treaty, an end was put to the disputes, quarrels, pillages and massacres that had this long while so far desolated so great part of Decan as to be reputed customary, and matters of course; and the minds of the inhabitants commenced to enjoy the thoughts of tranquility: but hence forward, the task of collector of the Revenue or of requestor, Governor or renter, became troublesome, complicated, and pregnant with endless heart-burnings; all these men being now obliged to deal with three distinct governments: the collector of the Imperial Revenue, the collector of the Chö8t, and the collector of the Def-mucki. Hossain-aaly-khan after exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, and admitting the

Mareattas





Marhattas in all the cities of his immense government, sent notice of it to the Emperor, with a petition in which he supplicated his Majesty's approval, and his letters of Jussion to command its execution to every one. The Emperor infligated by those nearest his person, disapproved the whole treaty, as highly derogatory to the honor of the Empire, as introductory of whole bands of free-booters within the Imperial territories, and as favoring strongly that spirit of independence with which its author was so much infected. At the same time he appointed Djan-neffar-khan to be the Viceroy's Lieutenant in the province of Qhandefs: an antient nobleman, who bore a high character both for valor and prudence, and who derived a new kind of illustration from his having once exchanged turbants with the old Abdollah-khan, alias Mia-khan, father to the two Sëids. The Emperor on dismiffing him presented him with a sumptuous drefs of honor, an elephant, and a serpitch or a piece of jewel work for the forehead. This was in public: in a private audience, he charged him with some admonitions for Hoffsëin-aaly-khan, in hopes that as that antient nobleman was reputed an uncle to that Viceroy, and in fact was held as such by him and treated therefore with the utmost respect and condescendence, he might by the weight of his authority prevail on his nephew to behave with more submission to the Emperor. This happened in the sixth year of his reign, which answers to the 1130 of the Hedjrah. He at the same time appointed Mahmed-aamin-khan to the Viceroyalty of Malva, on the frontiers of which he was to receive his patent with letters of recall for Radja Djehi-fing-levaï. But the general report was that he had set out upon a very different errand, and that there was at the bottom quite another scheme; and it is this rumour which engaged Djan-neffar-khan to stop on the borders of the Nerbedda, the first boundary of Decan, with hardly any thing more than his usual retinue; being too prudent to risk rendering his person suspicious or odious, by appearing with a body of troops on the frontiers of a province, to which he had indeed been appointed.





Rumours in  
Decan.

Djan-nassar-  
qhan, appoint-  
ed Governor of  
Qhandefs.

appointed, but where it was doubtful whether he would find admittance. On the other hand Mahmed-aamin-khan after having advanced to Serondj the first great town of Malva, stopped short to take some rest; and instantly a report spread throughout Decan, that he was marching to Aorengabad at the head of fifty thousand horses, and that his vanguard of eight thousand horses and more, had pushed forwards under Djan-neffar-qhan. This piece of intelligence having been circulated in that great city by the novelists with which all capitals swarm, at last impressed the Viceroy himself with apprehensions. All these doubts however vanished on letters coming from Djan-neffar-khan himself, where he requested a small number of troops to escort him through certain narrow and difficult passages, where a free-booter of the name of Sinta, was robbing and pillaging on his own private account, without any dependence on the Radja Sah8, his master. The Escort was sent, and it brought Djan-neffar qhan, who immediately waited on the Viceroy: The latter who knew that the Qhandefs was his northern frontier against any invasion from the side of the Court, did not chuse to put such a country in the disposal of a man of the Emperor's recommendation; but as on the other hand he professed himself a high regard for his person, he made it a point to pay him every kind of honor, and to welcome his arrival with several very rich presents. Three other persons of importance arriving at this very time from court, with letters patent for two great offices in Decan, served only to shew how the Viceroy mistrusted the Emperor's designs, and how little account he made of orders sent from the capital. These were Zya-ed-din qhan; who was a Persian born, and a Sheriff of Qhorassan (106), who on the death of Dianet-qhan nephew to Emanet-qhan, had been appointed to the office of Divan, or Controller of the finances in Decan: the two others were Djelal-eddin-qhan, appointed Divan of B8rhanp8r, and Faiz-ollah-qhan,

(106) A Sheriff is he that is born of a Sèirance or Sèid Woman, be his father what he will; whereas a Sèid is he that is born of a Sèid Father, be his Mother what she will. Qhorassan, as its name implies, is the Easternmost province of Iran or Persia, and one of the six grand divisions of that Empire.

designed





designed Pay-master of the forces in those parts. Zya-eddin-qhan who was furnished with a letter of recommendation from the Vezir Abdollah-qhan, was admitted to take possession of that great charge, where he had the prudence always to act in conformity with the Viceroy's pleasure, and to keep him easy and satisfied. Djelal-eddin-qhan received for a while the superintendence of the Barar, instead of that of Qhandefs, to which the Viceroy had objections: and as to the designed Pay-master of the forces, the Viceroy did not even touchsafe to return him the salute. These pieces of intelligence having soon found their way to court, raised the Emperor's grief and resentment to a pitch; but without however occasioning any change in his manner of living, or engaging him to conceal from the public sight the infamous vices to which he was now found to be strongly addicted. It was on the following occasion: One Mahmed-morad, a Cashmirian, at all times reprobated for his vicious life, but now universally held in abomination for the unnatural practices to which he seemed so prone, was by a countryman of his presented to Sahabanisvan (107), the Empress-mother, and by her, to the Emperor her son, who gave him a private audience. The man said that he had thought of a variety of expedients to seize Abdollah-qhan's person, and to demolish his brother, without it being necessary to recur to open force, or to any violent exertion. This advice was immediately embraced by the Emperor, who being too faint hearted to betake himself to any vigorous measures, was glad to hear of any expedient to circumvent his enemies; and he increased his affection for his adviser in proportion to the importance of his advice. He changed his name into that of Yticad-khan or the the trust-worthy Lord; and as he was himself so strongly addicted to unnatural practices, he was overjoyed to find so able a partner, who hence forward became his bosom-friend, and to whom he consigned his mind as he had already consigned his body.

The Emperor  
strongly addic-  
ed to unnatural  
practices.

(107) *Sahabe-nisvan*, signifies the lady of the sex.





THIS man insinuating himself deeper and deeper in the Emperor's good graces, soon became the soul of all his motions, as well as the depository of all his schemes against the Sëids: and now titles and dignities and honors commenced raining upon him: his name and titles were lengthened into those of Yücad-qhan-feroh-shahy-roc8n-ed-dö8lah, which signifies *the prop of the Empire, as well as the trust worthy of the Emperor Feroh-fyur*. These titles were followed by the military grade of seven thousand horses with the full pay and command of ten thousand; and these were followed by daily presents of an immense value, and by jewels of an exquisite beauty, to which were added the most curious and costly stuffs from the Emperor's wardrobe. All these were bestowed upon him with so unbounded a profusion, that the man himself came to be sick of them, and was at a loss what to do with such a deluge of gifts. Mean while politicks had become the topicks of the whole court, especially as the Emperor was every day holding councils with his new favorite, in one of which it was at last agreed that three persons of great importance should be sent for to court from their different stations: Ser-b8lend-qhan from his government of Azimabad; Nizam-el-mulk, from M8radabad; and Radja-adjet-sing, from G8djrät: all men of talents and military character, whom it was intended to gain over by heaping honors upon them, and by promising them the highest offices of the Empire. But hardly was Nizam-el-mulk arrived, than his Fodjdary of M8radabad together with the rich Djaghir he enjoyed in that province, were both transferred to Yücad-qhan with these further circumstances, that the name of M8radabad was changed into that of Roc8n-abad, or Roc8n-ed-dö8lah's colony; and that the whole was bestowed upon him as *Altimgba*. *Altimgba*, that is as a freehold, irrevocable. With all this thoughtlessness, the Emperor, who now and then reflected on the impolicy of discontenting powerful men so unworthily used, thought proper to make amends to the Gentoo Prince, at least by the title of Maheradja or great Prince, and by pointing out to him all the graces and dignities

Three Govern-  
ment of great  
characters sent  
to Court.





to which he would be entitled, so soon as he should compass the ruin and destruction of the two Sëids. But the Gentoo Prince, who was fully apprised of the Emperor's levity and pusillanimity, declined taking any concern in such an affair; and sensible of both the innocence and the great power of the two brothers, he went over to their side, and became Abdollah-qhan's bosom friend. As to Nizam-el-mulk and Ser-bolend-qhan, who had come from so far under the promises of being promoted to the high offices of Supreme Vezir and of Pay-master-general, they not only were disappointed in that promise, but moreover lost even the posts and emoluments they had hitherto enjoyed. Their surprise and discontent had no bounds; but yet as they had set their hearts on those offices, and as they were men of valor and execution, "they supplicated his majesty to entrust the casket of the Vezir-ship, to either  
"of his faithful servants, then present, if he wished to undermine Abdollah-qhan's over grown power and influence; after which change that noble-  
"man would meet with what chastisement he deserved, if he continued to  
"prove refractory and assuming: and that they took his point upon them-  
"selves." To this resolute proposal the Emperor made this curious answer: *I know no man fitter for a Vezir, than Yticad-qhan.* There were then at Court several great Lords of both Iranian and T8ranian extraction, all men of known characters, and all men of execution; but so soon as any of them would open his mouth, and propose to rid the Emperor of the two Sëids under the condition of having the Vezir-ship as his reward, he was immediately saluted by these ridiculous words: *I know no man fitter for a Vezir, than Yticad-qhan.* Such a song repeated at each turn, could not but disgust every one; and every one retired with indignation, no man chusing to expose his life for so childish a master, or to serve under so infamous a minister. What made all those lords so forward in offering their endeavours on that trying piece of service, was the favourable opportunity afforded by the approaching feast of

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Resolute pro-  
posal made by  
two of them.





the Corban or sacrifice (108), where the whole city would pour out and advance beyond the suburbs to pray in the open fields; and it must be observed that the retinues and troops brought by those two Lords and by the Gentoo Princes added to those always attending the Emperor's person, could not amount to less than seventy or eighty thousand effective horses: whilst it was well-known that the Vezir Abdollah-qhan had no more than four or five thousand troopers about his person: nor could it be denied but that on that very day a general report had run all over the city that Abdollah-qhan was going to be arrested or slain. And yet with all these favourable circumstances, and with so favourable an opportunity, nothing was done, and not a man raised his voice. Nay this very report served only to put Abdollah-qhan more upon his guard; and he that had hitherto admitted no man but those of Barr, whose soldiers, being all Sëids like himself, he was inclined to trust most, now ordered twenty-five thousand horses to be raised forthwith, without any distinction of country or nation. The report was of so pressing a nature, that it had already reached the other brother, Viceroy of Decan: impressed with well grounded fears for the safety of his brother, and also for that of his family and wealth, which he had left in the capital, he resolved to postpone every other object, and to quit the Decan in order to march to that city, where he intended to rid himself of all apprehensions for the future, by crushing at once all the enemies of his family and power.

The Viceroy resolved to repair to Court at the head of an army.

THIS design having taken possession of his mind, he remembered of Muëzed-din, a neglected young man, now at the Sah8 Radjah's Court, where he passed for a son of Prince Echer, youngest son of the Emperor Aorengzib; he sent an escort to bring him, and he made him enter the city of Aorengabad in the middle of a pompous retinue; but in such a manner, however, that no one

(108) That day the whole people march out of the city in the open fields, where prayers are said in the open air. Look at the note 17, section 1st.

could





could distinguish the young man's features. This event was now made a paragraph in his dispatches to the Emperor, and instructions were requested thereon: To this he added, a private supplication of his own, "where he intimated " his being forced to quit his station, and to repair to the city in order to recover a " health impaired by the air and water of Decan, as well as broken by the fatigues " of so continual and so laborious a campaign". These letters frightened the Emperor: His natural pusillanimity was deeply impressed; and to get rid of his own uneasiness at a time when one of the brothers was coming to the city with a powerful army, whilst the other was enlisting men on all hands, he resolved to make his accommodation with so powerful a family. He therefore sent the Gentoo Prince, Adjet-sing, to carry an apology to Abdolla-qhan; and as the messenger was of a sincerity of character welcome to both parties, he soon found means to lessen the distance that divided the Emperor from his Vezir, as he had attached himself to the latter for life, and had obtained many favours on his recommendation, without forfeiting, for all that, the good opinion which the Emperor entertained of him. To put a seal to this reconciliation, which took place at the end of Shevval, the Emperor set out of the citadel, accompanied by his favourite Yticad-qhan, and his Minister Qhandöbran; and with a deal of pomp and magnificence, he went in state to pay a visit to Abdollah-qhan, to whom he swore that henceforward he would be his friend in full sincerity, and without any reserve, or any remainder of rancour; and these protestations having produced a scene of excuses for past errors, and of solemn promise of future attachment, the Emperor returned satisfied to his palace; but such was the instability and fickleness of his temper, that he never continued in the same mind for any length of time; but shifted endlessly—now submitting quietly to his fate, and taking dissimulation and acquiescence for his part—and then resolving on coming to extremities with the Sēids, and making them feel all the weight of Imperial resentment: And all this alternately just as his mind chanced to be influenced by the dif-

The Emperor  
intimidated.





ferent opinions of his confidants and favourites, who being like himself narrow-minded and pusillanimous, discouraged the men of valour and resolution, who were fully able to execute the most difficult orders. The latter, of course, refused to be dictated to by such a vile set of men as had the Emperor's ear, or even to have any concern at all with them: so that they retired one after another to their lodgings, full of indignation at the enormous credit of those worthless men that approached the Emperor's person. And even the very men whom the Emperor had sent for from afar, in order to strengthen his own cause by their valour and advices, had, by this time, lost the employments they had hitherto enjoyed; and they lay neglected and unthought of, as was the case with Ser-b8lend-qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk, who had come over upon his pressing invitations and his express commands, and who had his Imperial promises under his hand-writing. Once these two Generals being joined by Mubaruz-el-mulk, and the Radjah Djehi-fing-sivai, went in a body to the Emperor, and proposed, "That Abdollah-qhan should be dismissed from his office forthwith, as the whole business depended upon dropping the veil, and acting openly, after which, himself, as well as his younger brother, might easily be crushed; and, in that case, they undertook either to prevail on the two brothers, by dint of reasoning, to behave henceforward like dutiful subjects, or to fight them as incorrigible rebels, guilty of numberless insolencies and insults." So bold a declaration did not rouse the Emperor: He continued to listen to his favorite, disappointed and disgusted the two Generals, as we have already said; and as if he had not done enough yet, he took a rich Djaghir from Ser-b8land-qhan, and to this affront added the greater one of bestowing it upon Emir-djemlah, that vile dissembler, who had already perpetrated the ruin of Affed-qhan's family, and was working hard for demolishing the empire likewise.

THE Emperor, on returning to his palace, sent for Yqlafs-qhan, a nobleman whose intimate connections with the two Seids were known, and he gave him the commission





commission of quieting Abdollah-qhan's mind, so as to reclaim him from exciting troubles, and to engage him to prevent his brother from quitting the Decan. For the report ran strong that he was already in full march; and this much is certain that he had already sent his younger brother Seif-eddin-aaly-qhan to B8rhanp8r, at the head of a body of four or five thousand horses, with orders to prepare a camp-equipage and a train of artillery. He had been roused by the troubles that were rising in the capital; and he intended to march, when he received intelligence that the Emperor had gone to visit Abdollah-qhan in order to bury all the past in oblivion, and to swear an eternal friendship to their family. This contrary intelligence could not but perplex his mind, but yet he stayed, the preparatives he was making for his departure, and resolved to wait for further advices from the capital: and he was in a suspense of mind, when to his amazement he was roused again by a pressing letter from Abdollah-qhan, who requested his hastening to his assistance without a moment's delay. At the same time the general report was at Aorengabad that his brother, the Vezir, was reduced to extremities at the capital; and that he had not a moment to lose, if he wanted to save him from destruction. What added greatly to his inquietude, was an answer returned to his supplication by the Emperor, which purported that "It might be better for him to repair to Ahmed-abad in G8djrat, if he only wanted to change his air; else, he might come to the capital, where his Majesty would see him with pleasure." This was accompanied by an order to send to Court, the pretended son of Prince Ecber.

WHILST the Viceroy was preparing every thing for his march, his brother Abdollah-khan was inlisting troops with all his might at the capital: in which operation he was greatly seconded by the wretched circumstances in which not only the train of artillery at the capital, as well as all the troops in and about that immense city laboured, but also by the distress which even the body-guards with the whole Imperial household suffered for want of pay and subsistence





subsistence. Full nine months in arrears were due to them, whether in consequence of Abdollah-qhan's neglect, or perhaps through his own contrivance. They had received nothing in that long while, and their discontents had risen to a height; but they had no one to direct it, or to lead them to action: So that Abdollah-qhan's levies amounted by this time to full twenty thousand horses; and he had besides the art of adding to his strength by a winning depôtment. Here is an instance of it:

SER-BÛLEND-QHAN was by this time reduced to an extreme necessity, not only because he had been at all times indigent, and his Djaghir had been taken from him of late, but especially because he had spent his all in supporting the troops he had brought with him, which were now persecuting him for their arrears and pay. Driven to despair by such large demands which he could not satisfy out of his own purse, without depriving himself of every thing, he had now resolved to get rid of the clamours of his troops, and of the persecution of his other creditors, by abandoning to them, his elephants, horses, equipage, furniture and jewels, as far as they would go; after which he intended to put-on a religious garb and to turn Fakir. Nor was Nizam-el-mulk better circumstanced: that General who had been sent for to court with such pressing invitations and under a solemn promise of the casket of the Vezir, not only had been disappointed, but he had besides lost a rich Djaghir which he possessed; and he had the mortification to see it bestowed on Yticad-qhan, this new favorite, on whom the Emperor seemed so far to doat, that he seemed to have no eyes and no ears but for him. He now lived retired without ever going to Court, and was pining away in discontent. The Vezir being informed of all these particulars, engaged the two Generals by dint of intreaties to come to his palace; and when they were arrived, he sent for Ser-bolend-qhan's military officers, and his other creditors, and after having adjusted all their demands, he payed them out of his own private treasury, and more over recommended him to the government of Cab81,

then





the vacant. Turning then his attention towards Nizam-el-mulk, he made him hope that he would shortly be appointed to the government of Malva: two actions that gained him entirely the hearts of those two Lords. It was just at this time that Mahmed-aamin-ghan arrived suddenly at Court from Malva without any leave and without any letters of recall. This designed governor had advanced as far as Serond where receiving no further instructions from court, and hearing also that Hossain aaly-ghan, Viceroy of Decan was upon his march for the capital, he quitted his post, and repaired to court, where the Emperor would not see him; and he moreover dismissed him from his service. Abdollah-ghan no sooner heard of this, than he sent for him, and by dint of presents and favors gained him to his party: and he was so succesful in this kind of warfare, that Qhandöbran himself, who in society with Emir-djemlah had been so instrumetal in blowing the coals of dissentions, now went over to the Vezir's side, and was admitted to all his secrets.

So many defections could not but sour the Emperor's mind; and he was contriving expedients every day to chastise those deferters. One day the Emperor going out with a hunting party, had agreed with his courtiers, that at his return he would call at the Vezir's; and as Maharadja-adjet-sing's lodgings were upon the road, and close to that minister's palace, it was expected that the Gentoo Prince would stand out to make his bow and present his Nazur, in which case he might be seized easily, without the Emperor's appearing to be of the plot. Unluckily the Gentoo Prince, who was fearful of what might come to happen, being conscious how much his attachment to the Sèids had rendered him obnoxious; or who possibly had received timely intelligence of what was intended, thought proper to repair to the Vezir's palace, where he tarried. This miscarriage could not but affect the Emperor's spirits; and although part of his retinue was already rendered at the Vezir's, and that minister himself had come out and waited on the strand for the moment

of





of paying his bow, the Emperor kept his eyes fixed on the opposite side, and having ordered his bargemen to steer by the middle of the stream, he soon arrived at the citadel.

The Viceroy in full march for the capital, obliges his army to an exact discipline.

By this time Hossēin-aaly-qhan had quitted Aorengabad, and was on full march towards the capital. Although his army was numerous, and his camp-followers still more so, he made them observe so exact a discipline, that no man was bold enough to offer the least injury to any one in the many villages enclosed every night within his encampment. One day, a girl, daughter to a poor widow, that could hardly subsist, came out of one of these villages, and impelled by the pangs of hunger, she availed herself of the darkness of the night to stroll about the tents in quest of some food. A man was actually dressing some victuals; and having asked her, whether she chose to follow any one that would take care of her, She consented, and fell asleep close to the man, who overcome by the fatigues of a long march, slept soundly the whole night, without ever thinking of the girl. At day break he got her mounted upon a camel that carried his things, and sent her with the baggage. Mean while, the widow, who had in vain waited late at night for her daughter, could not obtain a moment of sleep; but at day-break, she took her post upon a rising ground, close to which she knew that the Viceroy would pass. On descrying his elephant, she screamed out, "that a virgin daughter, the only property left to his afflicted servant, having strayed last night about the camp in quest of some food, had to all appearance been enticed away by some of his people." She added with a flood of tears, "that she hoped that the Viceroy out of a tender regard for afflicted widows and all injured people, would condescend to stop, until her daughter should be found out, as she could not bear to live without her only child."

An affecting story.

THE Viceroy greatly affected by the woman's tears, stopped short, and after having sworn that he would taste neither food nor drink, until she was righted, he ordered strict search to be made throughout the whole army.

(178)

On





On this order the Pay-masters produced their rolls, and sending their officers every where, they enjoined to each commander to send a number of trusty men amidst the ranks in order to set up an exact search; and as there are angels always ready to second the intentions of virtuous men in high offices, this immense multitude, that equalled the crouds at the day of the judgment; and which moved like the waves of a sea, proved of no obstruction to the search; for after a slight inquiry, the man and the girl were both found out, and both brought before the General. The latter turning towards the girl, asked her how she came to go astray; and whether her person had been meddled with? the girl answered, that tired with suffering every day the pangs of hunger, and the thoughts of the famine, she had followed the man of her own free-will, in hopes of putting an end to her sufferings: and that as they had slept the whole night soundly, he had not touched her person. The General, on this answer, returned thanks to God Almighty, that her chastity had remained undefiled in his camp, and that he had it in his power to gratify the disconsolate mother. At the same time he sent one of his guards with her, with orders not to quit her cottage, until the whole army should be gone, and at a distance (109).

It has been mentioned, that Hossein-aaly-qhan had sent his younger brother to B8rhanp8r to prepare a camp equipage and a train of artillery. It was the fifteenth of Shevval, in the year 1131 of the Hedjrah; but that city being upon the high road to Shah-djehan-abad, he waited there for another letter from the capital, resolved to take his final resolution upon it; but on receiving intelligence of his brother's danger, he set out immediately, and having tarried only a few days in that territory to dispatch some pressing business, he commenced his march: It was in the beginning of Muharrem, in the seventh year of the Emperor's, which answers to the year 1132 of the Hedjrah. He was

(109) It is a pity that this narrative, like so many others, should disappoint the reader's expectation. The Author has said nothing about the Viceroy's having accompanied the girl's restitution by a handful of gold to the mother.





accompanied by a vast number of persons of distinction, such as a son of his own uncle, called the holy Navvab, but whose name was Affed-ollah-qhan; He had also all that Nobleman's children, together with Djan-nessar-qhan; Yqhlafs-qhan, Deputy to the Governor of Berar; Affed-aaly-qhan, the maimed, a relation to Aali-merdan-qhan; together with Dilir-qhan of Paniput, brother to Qhan-faadye; and Yqhtifas-qhan, nephew to Qhan-aalem; as well as Hadji-scif-ollah-qhan, and Zyæddin-qhan, Divan of the whole Decan, with Firoz-aaly-qhan, the Paymaster, one of the most renowned Sæids of Bar. Several Gæntoo Princes had likewise accompanied him of their own motion, such as Radja-partab-sing the Bundlah, and Radja-mohcum-sing, one of the principal Lords of the Viceroy's Court. He was also attended by all the crown-servants of Decan; some of their own accord, and some much against their own will. His army as numerous as the billows of the sea, covered the whole plain; his cavalry alone, amongst which were ten or twelve thousand Marhattas, amounting to full thirty-thousand horses; the infantry was innumerable, as numbers of Mansobdars, or Military Officers, who had never moved from their homes for either Viceroy or Prince of the Blood, had now been obliged to attend. As to the fortresses, some like Ahmed-abad, were garrisoned by himself, and some he left to be garrisoned by the Marhattas.

ALL these arrangements being taken, and some days spent in dispatching business about Bærharpær, he departed, and proceeding by continual marches, he crossed the river that flows by Acbarpær: On his arrival at Mandou, he was met by Yqhlafs-qhan, the nobleman that had been sent by the Emperor to soothe Hoffsæin-aaly-qhan's mind, and to prevail upon him to return to Decan. This nobleman in a private audience recounted, how "An accommodation had been  
" two different times agreed to, and two different times broke: How the seeds of  
" discontent and dissention seemed to shoot-up every where: How the Grandees of the Empire were flocking to the capital: How both Nizam-ul-mulk  
and





“and Mahmed-amin-qhan continued fullen in their discontent: And how  
“the Emperor was more than ever addicted to Yticad-qhan.” All these  
matters being represented in their proper colors, could not fail to render the  
Viceroy anxious about his brother's fate. He was advancing with ardor, and  
receiving on his way the homages and compliments of all the Governors and  
Commanders, on his passage; but he had the mortification to find himself  
slighted by Merhamet-qhan, an officer of character, who commanded at Man-  
dō3, whither he had been sent from Court for the purpose of bringing to  
order the refractory Zemindars of that country; a service which he had  
performed much to his honor. This officer having neglected to pay a visit  
to the Viceroy, could not fail of giving offence, and of becoming obnoxious,  
as he experienced in the sequel. Whilst the army was on full march about  
Odjein, news came, that the Emperor, intimidated by the Viceroy's march to-  
wards the capital, had payed a visit to the Vezir, Abdollah-qhan, in which he  
had entered into a fresh treaty with him, and an end had been put to all dissen-  
sions. He had sworn to his promises upon the glorious word of God, had  
solemnly promised to be henceforward a friend to his family, and had en-  
ded his visit by taking his own turbant from his head and putting it up-  
on that minister's, as a token of a brotherhood indissoluble. The Empe-  
ror not content with those protestations had turned towards Yticad-qhan and  
his other favorites, and had strongly recommended to them to bury all dis-  
contents in oblivion, to look upon this day as the last of the dissentious that  
had distracted his Court; and henceforward to live upon good terms with  
his minister. This recital having seemingly affected Houssein-aaly-qhan, he  
said aloud in the middle of his Court, that as the “Emperor was sincerely  
“reconciled to them (the two brothers) he might rest assured that they on  
“their side would henceforward behave as dutiful subjects: and I intend no-  
“thing more now” add he “than to pay my respects to the Emperor, and  
“then to return to Decan.” The greater part of the assembly being com-

New accom-  
modation with  
the Vezir.

posed.

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posed of Decaners, could not be but much pleased at these words, as every one of them expected soon to return to his own home. But the Viceroy's bosom-friends thought very differently; especially since that Viceroy being in private with them was heard to say that, all that visit of the Emperor's was but a farce, and all those protestations of his, but a tale to lull him a sleep (110) or at least to put a stop to his march: and that there was not the least truth in the monarch's promise, whom he knew too well to repose any confidence in him; and rest assured," added he, that "if the Emperor finds an opportunity to get us within his clutches, he will not miss it on any account; nor will it be possible to save either our honour or our lives: but rest assured also that if he falls within our's, we shall not use him better."

AFTER having pronounced these words with much deliberateness, he decamped and advanced into the territory of the Radja of Gohud, where some villages were plundered, and some havock committed. But on the Gentoo Prince's Vakil or Ambassador appearing with a peishcush or a sum of money, the country was spared, and suffered no further damage; so strict were the orders given on that head. This was not the case with Radja Djehi-sing-fai's dominions: the whole country was sacked and plundered, to punish its owner for his siding so warmly with the Emperor. In vain did the Prince's principal agent humble himself before the Viceroy, to whom he presented a considerable sum of money. The compliment was rejected; and every thing in his country was abandoned to the rapaciousness and fury of the soldiers. Tilled fields without number were ravaged, and young persons of both sexes, carried into captivity; nor was any inquiry made about those disorders. In a little time the army arrived at about three or four days journey from the capital; and the roads became thronged with the retinues of people of the

(101) There are in India Menial servants, whose business is to lull men a sleep by repeating certain tales or stories which they have learned by heart. In Seraglioos this office belongs to women: and these are held in much higher estimation than the men, being welcomed in the best companies.





highest distinction, who flocked to pay their Court to so powerful a Viceroy. Zaafer-ghan was of the number, as well Ratan-chund. All these together with a vast multitude of the wealthiest citizens behaved respectfully, and were received with regard; but Zaafer-ghan who had made a show of his numerous retinue, and on that account seemed somewhat assuming, had the mortification to see himself slighted, and even rendered ridiculous. This haughtiness in the Viceroy as well as in his brother the Vezir, was continually fed by numbers of tale-letters, who desirous themselves of novelties on their own account, were poisoning their minds by reports true or false; and who unawares of the fatal consequences that might ensue from such dissensions, were every day contriving expedients to widen the breach which always subsisted between the two brothers and the Emperor. The principal of these was Ratan-chund, who impelled in general by his religious zeal against Mussulmen, and in particular by his enmity to the Emperor and to so many grantees of the Empire, made such envenomed reports, and irritated the Viceroy's mind to such a degree, that it became totally incurable. Incensed beyond measure, he had advanced close to the city, and encamped under Firoz-shah's steeple. It was the first of Reby. On approaching his tent, the musick played to him, which is never done but for the Emperors themselves; and after having entered it with a retinue and a pomp truly Royal, he was heard to say, *that as he did not think himself a subject, he did not care to pay so much deference to the etiquette.*

EVEN all this did not rouse the pusillanimous Emperor: Eternally floating and undecided, he talked of the Imperial indignation, and of the chastisement which might be the consequence of it; and a day after, he spoke only of forbearance and dissimulation, and even made advances towards a reconciliation and a renewal of promises and stipulations. So much feebleness discouraged even his most zealous servants: Radjah Djehi-sing, tired with so much uncertainty, once proposed to him to come resolutely out of the castle, to put him-

The Viceroy  
does not think  
himself a sub-  
ject.

self





Generous advice of Djehi-sing's rival's rejected.

self at the head of his household and troops, and to fall suddenly upon those two rebellious brothers. "The moment," said he, "that your troops and friends, (and these after all cannot be reckoned at less than twice the number of those that follow your enemies) the moment your friends shall perceive that you are acting openly and with vigor, they will flock to you from all parts, and will put it in your power to punish your enemies. I am even inclined to believe, that at such a fight, numbers that seem to follow the standard of the two brothers, will quit it, to return to their lawful master, and will be assisting in crushing them to atoms: So that these falling at once from the height of their hopes, shall be obliged to submit to your pleasure."

THIS generous advice did not produce any effect: So that none of the Lords of the Court, who saw the Emperor's levity of temper and his infatuation for his unworthy favorites, thought it expedient to declare themselves, or to take the lead in an affair in which himself seemed quite passive. And what is singular, whilst Djehi-sing's advice lay unminded, no firm resolution was taken to come at least to some sincere accommodation. The sober advices of so many Grandees zealous for the honor of the crown, were disregarded; and the Emperor approving nothing but what was suggested by his own mind, or by his thoughtless favourites, spread the discouragement every where, and was ruining his own affairs. No wonder then if at last he saw what came to pass: For numbers of Grandees, equally wise and brave, on beholding such a deplorable state of things, were broiling on the fire of impatience and indignation; and they groaned at having their hands tied-up, and at finding themselves condemned to inaction. Nay, some that had heretofore been put under the Vezir's command, now quitted his party of their own motion, on discovering to what lengths his ambition and arrogance might proceed, and matters might have taken another turn; when the Vezir, aware of his danger, and obliged to hasten a crisis, sent the following message to the Emperor: "Should your Majesty vouchsafe to dismiss Djehi-sing, that known enemy of our family,

" from





“ from your Court, and to fend him back to his own country; and should you  
 “ condescend to add to that favor the two others of bestowing on our friends  
 “ the two offices of Grand Master of the Artillery, and of Superintendant of  
 “ the two Halls of Audience (111), with full leave to us to take our own pre-  
 “ cations in the Imperial Castle, we, the two brothers, your faithful servants,  
 “ being henceforward free from our apprehensions, would attend your Majesty’s  
 “ person, as we did heretofore.” The Emperor, without betraying his real  
 sentiments at such a message, answered calmly, that “ In fact, those two offi-  
 “ ces were in the Vezir’s possession, or in that of his friends; and that nothing  
 “ had been with-held from them but the execution of the laborious part,  
 “ which of course devolved on Yricad-ghan, as Deputy to the Vezir; but  
 “ that at any rate, his Deputyship would cease of itself on the New Year’s Day:  
 “ That as to Djchi-sing, that Prince had already received, so early as the 3d  
 “ of Reby, an order to repair forthwith to his own country, and had quitted  
 “ the Court accordingly.”

The Vezir’s  
 artful message  
 to the Emperor.

So moderate an answer served only to embolden the two brothers; the more  
 so as it became glaring every day, that Feroh-syur had not a grain of courage  
 in his constitution; and although he detested the Sēids, and wished their de-  
 struction; and he was eternally exhorted by the boldest of his servants to put  
 himself at their head and to fall at once upon those rebels, nevertheless,  
 such was his pusillanimity, that he did not dare to put himself upon his  
 defence, and still less to sally forth and attack his enemies. Against his own  
 conviction and inclination, he sent the consent requested by the Vezir;  
 and on the 5th of the 2d Rebi, that Minister repaired to the Castle in the  
 middle of a crowd of persons of distinction, devoted to his interest,  
 amongst which Adjet-sing was the foremost: He dismissed the Emperor’s  
 troops and officers from all their posts and offices, and placed his own in

(111) There are two Halls of Audience, the Public and Private; the latter is in the Gh8fi-qhana, or bath-  
 ing place; that is, the private apartments. The Grand Master, an important office, sometimes but not al-  
 ways designated by the expression of Mir ateshi, or Lord of Fire. He has the right to post guards all round in  
 the citadel of Delhi, in which is seated the Imperial Palace.

their





The Vezir in possession of the Imperial citadel and palace.

their stead; so that of all that multitude of men of distinction, who attended daily on the Emperor's person, there remained no one but Yticad-khan his favorite, Imiaz-qhan, the Comptroller of the household, and Zafer-qhan the introducer, with a few others of which the Vezir used to make no account at all, together with a few menial servants and eunuchs. A few hours after, the Viceroy surrounded by a pomp truly Imperial, put himself at the head of his troops, marched through the city in battle array, and having taken possession of the gates and ramparts about which his troops spread so as to fill several streets, he continued his march to the castle, where having alighted he paid a very short visit to the Emperor. It was remarked that very few words were exchanged between them: and although the Emperor presented him with a quantity of elephants, horses and jewels, he vouchsafed his acceptance only for a few, excused himself as to the rest, and on his departure made so careless a bow, that it gave general offence. Even such a scene did not rouse Feroz iyyur: he continued motionless, and passively saw himself divested of his dignity and patrimony in the middle of his palace. Two days after, the Vezir returned to the castle, dismissed the few persons that remained attached to the Emperor, placed his own creatures every where; and giving the charge of the gates to a trusty friend of his, he sent for the keys of the private stairs, the dormitory, and of all the courts of justice. As soon as the Viceroy was informed that all was quiet within the citadel, he set out in as much state and pomp as before, and taking his march along several streets which had been filling these two whole days with his troops, he repaired to his own palace, called Shahistah-qhan's Bara-dery (112), which was close to the citadel. What is singular, he had with him the pretended son of Prince Echer, but mounted upon an elephant in such a manner that his face could not be distinguished. The next morning the Vezir went to the castle,

(112) This Palace took its name from a Pavillion, common in India, being built upon twelve columns, or being open by twelve Porticoes, as the words import, for the purpose of receiving a fresh gale from wherefoever it might blow.





and after having again requested the offices he had once mentioned, he went on enumerating the many grievances which he as well as his brother, had been suffering these many years : and history has conserved his very words : It was in these terms : “ In return for the important services we have rendered you in your times of impotence and distress ; In return for the blood we have shed in your service, as we had already done in that of your father and grandfather, such faithful servants as we, have met with nothing but mistrust, suspicions, and a variety of schemes against our lives and honor. For proof of which assertion we want no more than this letter which you wrote to that savage of Dääd-qhan-péni, to exhort him to arm himself for the destruction of so meritorious and so innocent a servant as my brother ; Nor do we need any other vouchers than these repeated and pressing orders which you were continually sending to all the great men of Decan, for the purpose of exciting them to our ruin and destruction. Now, there remains but one expedient capable of quieting the minds of us, your faithful servants ; and that is, to put us in possession of the two offices which we have already requested, instead of leaving them still in the hands of strangers ; who make it a point to mislead your mind : For unless we obtain those two favors, it will be unsafe for us to come as subjects to the castle ; and as servants, impossible to serve our master with any peace of mind.”

To this speech the Emperor, as uncautious and as thoughtless as ever, answered only by promising that shortly he would comply with all their requests, although he saw full enough that matters had come to such a crisis, that he had no other party left but that of acknowledging the Sëids for his masters. The conversation mean while being protracted to an unexpected length, degenerated into an altercation in which high words and harsh expressions were exchanged. The Emperor unable to contain himself called both the Vezir and Yticad-qhan names, and made use of unbecoming lan-

A a

guage ;

Altercation  
between the  
Emperor and  
the Vezir.





guage: and the latter foolishly endeavouring to pacify them, the Vezir stopped him short, by giving him the most opprobrious abuse, and commanding his being taken out of the castle immediately. Yticad-qhan, thunderstruck by so unexpected a command, lost all presence of mind; and hardly able to distinguish his feet from his head, he thought it high time to save his life: he retreated, and meeting his Mushreff or head-accomptant's Paleky, he got into it, and fled as fast as his chairmen could fly. That very moment every part of the city was in an uproar; and this uproar which was occasioned by multitudes of people running to and fro through every street and every lane, gave the Emperor an insight into his real situation. He submitted to his fate, and retired into the sanctuary or women's apartment, where he took-up his abode, unmindful all the while of the sentence of the word of God: *Death shall find ye out be ye shut up even in iron towers*: a dreadful sentence which then did not occur to his mind.

The Emperor  
gives up the  
Empire.

AMIDST all this uproar and this sudden reverse of fortune, all enlightening Sol, putting dust upon his head, had descended like Feroh-syur's sta below the horizon; and frightful night in her sable veil sliding gradually down from the battlements of heaven, had covered every thing with darkness and horror: shut were the gates of the Citadel, those once doors of security and peace of mind; shut were they, and barred forever! The Vezir with Adjet-sing slept that night within the castle, whilst the Emperor's zealous servants were obliged to take their abodes without.

"Every one, confounded, remained motionless, anxious to see

"What further scenes would bring forth the pregnant womb of time."

IN that night of screams and confusion, which like that darkness which is to precede the day of judgment, covered with its sable veil the whole extent of the city, nothing was heard but confused noises; nor did any one know what might actually be doing within the castle: for the Vezir's troops having taken possession of every great street and market, as well as of every gate of

the





the city, passed the whole night under arms, whilst the Marhatta officers with their whole Cavalry remained on horse-back, in expectation of being instantly called to action. But the moment the day commenced dawning, every one of the citizens rose in a state of incertitude, and with a mind that floated betwixt hope and fear; and whilst Sol was shedding his first rays on the golden standard of the Vezir's fortune, a report ran that he had been killed; and nothing was heard in the streets and markets but cries and screams. Just in that moment of suspense, some considerable Lords, incensed at the reverse of fortune of which they heard only from common report, thought it incumbent upon themselves to run to the Emperor's assistance, and as they thought, to support his defenders: these were Saadet-qhan his father-in-law, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, the goat's beard; and the brave Aghyr-qhan, the Turk: these three mounted, and advanced towards the castle, with what troops they could collect. But Nizam-el-mulk and Qhandöšran, thought it would be prudent to stay at home. On the other hand Mahmedaamin-qhan mounted likewise, but it was to go to the Vezir's assistance. But as a body called the Cammul-poshes or blanket-wearers (105), were going to join Qhandöšran, their commander, they fell-in with a body of troops of Marhatta horses, who forbade their passing farther; and this threat having been received by the others with a shower of arrows whilst Mahmedaamin-qhan's standards were making their appearance on the opposite side, the Marhattas who took them all for so many enemies, and did not relish their finding themselves cooped within a city's walls, where they could not fight but in streets and lanes, took fright, and putting spur to their horses, they fled on all sides without further inquiry, to the unspeakable satisfaction of those idlers and sharpers who thronged the streets, and especially to the great joy of the Mogols and other disbanded soldiers of the Emperor's, who already in-

Comotions  
all over the ci-  
ty.

(105) The word *Cammull*, which signifies a coarse woollen blanket, imports also a Cuirass; and there are in India, Cuirasses of quilted cotton as well as wool, that will stand the stroke of a sabre. There are some ones stuffed with the refuse of raw silk, and these resist not only the sabre and lance, but also the bullet.





A body of Marhatta horse destroyed within the city by the mob.

ceased at the haughtiness of those infidels, rushed amongst them pell-mell, and commenced killing and stripping the runaways. The Marhattas confounded to find nothing but foes in every street and at every door, dispersed and fled farther, as far as the camp, but not without leaving fifteen hundred of their's upon the spot, who as well as the whole corps of one Sinta and of two or three officers more, were hacked to pieces: They had also numbers of wounded. The horses of all these slain were laid hold of by the victors and by the mob, who on breaking some saddles by accident, were surprised to find the stuffing full of pieces of gold.

It was at this very time that Mahmed-aamin-qhan arrived with his troops in the Viceroy's camp, where he was received with the highest applause for his readiness. Whilst all this was passing in the streets, Sadat-qhan with his five sons, was arriving near the castle at the head of a body of troops, as did Ghazi-eddin-qhan with another; and the opposite streets were filling by those brought by the favorite Yticad-qhan, and the late grand-master of artillery, Sēyd-qhan: these were followed by three thousand Hind8s in the Emperor's pay, under the command of Manhar, an officer of trust: all these were taking possession of posts in and about Saad-ollah-qhan's market, and preparing for an attack. These movements, being rumoured in the Viceroy's camp, as well as the Vezir's pretended death; and the Marhattas confirming the account by their disorderly flight and their wounds, the whole of the Viceroy's army was in an uproar; and one rumour more, and it dispersed: luckily for him that certain intelligence arrived at this critical moment of the Vezir's being alive and safe. This having revived the Viceroy's spirit, he dispatched a choice body of his best troops to drive those that had assembled in Saad-ollah-qhan's market. These troops pushing forwards with ardor, fell upon the enemy, and commenced a sharp engagement. In the midst of a hot fire, Ghazy eddin-qhan's elephant being wounded in the trunk by a rocket, turned about, and ran away with his master, who was immediately

Several skirmishes in the streets between the two parties.





immediately followed by his whole corps. Sadat-qhan was wounded at the same time together with his five sons, and he quitted the field; and Yticad-qhan, after having given himself some motions, without any inclination to come to blows, retired to his house, and intrenched his quarter. His person was but of small moment; but here by his trepidation and flight it became a signal for falling upon several shops and streets about Saad-ollah-qhan's market, which were all plundered and sacked: And as if no effort made in favour of Feroh-syur was to meet with success, the brave Aghyr-qhan who now appeared from the suburbs at the head of a body of Moguls and other foreigners, found the Lahor-gate shut up, and the walls lined with troops. Mortified at such a disappointment, he was obliged to return. Some firing and some fighting was still kept-up in the streets and lanes, when proclamation was made by a number of public cryers that Feroh-syur was confined, and that the Prince Refi-ed-derjat had ascended the throne. The Imperial musick striking-up at the same time, and quarter being proclaimed every where, with injunctions to every one to retire to his home, the vanquished recovered from their despair, the citizens retired to their homes, and the tumult seemed to subside.

The Prince  
Refi-ed-derjat  
proclaimed Em-  
peror.

We have left Feroh-syur within the apartment of the ladies; and the Vezir with the Gentoo Prince was waiting in expectation of his coming out to hear what further they had to say, and of his furnishing them with an opportunity to seize his person, as the tumults, that had apparently subsided, had commenced a fresh, and pillage and slaughter were going-on. But Feroh-syur did not come out; and the Viceroy sensible of the consequence of a moment's delay, was sending message after message, representing to his brother "that the tumults were increasing; that the throngs of armed  
" men were becoming more numerous; that a general revolt was going to  
" take place, and would not fail to raise a great blaze: and that therefore  
" the business was to be put an end to some way or other, as a moment of  
" delay,

Terrible mes-  
sage of the Vice  
roy to his bro-  
ther.





Feroḥ-syūr  
dragged out of  
the Seraglio with  
enormous indigni-  
ties and confined.

“delay, might prove irrecoverable.” Whilst the last message was delivering, a body of Afghan foldiers mixed with some of the Vezir’s slaves, had found means from the top of the house of Nedjm-eddin-aaly-qhan, younger brother to the Vezir, to descend within the yard of the Imperial women’s apartment, which was close to it, and which proved guarded by a number of Habeshinian, Georgian, and Calmuc women (106). These being driven away, the foldiers penetrated within the gate, and fell a rumaging every apartment in search of Feroḥ-syūr. At last some women too delicate to bear the tortures to which they were exposed, pointed to the place of his confinement, and the foldiers ran to him. At this sight the Emperor’s mother with his consort and daughter, unable to endure such a spectacle, ran to his assistance with a number of Princesses and ladies of the first rank, who having enclosed him within a circle which they formed round his person, fell to prayers and intreaties. But of what avail could be those tears with a troop of Soldiers? and in such a moment whose pity could they move? At last after a deal of struggle, he was disengaged from those women, dragged upon the ground, and confined in a dark small room on the top of the Tirpösliah (107), and all this with such outrages and such indignities as had never been afforded to the Imperial person.

His reign, without reckoning the time elapsed from Muëzzendingje-hander-shahs exaltation, lasted six years and four months. All the foregoing events have been collected from memoirs or memorandums written at that very time by persons of credit and distinction, who wrote either as witnes-

(106) This guard amounted to some hundreds of women, mostly armed with the sabre and the target, but several were so likewise with the spear or the musquet. As to the Georgian women, whose charms make so much noise all over Turkey and Persia, they are deemed in India too stout and too fleshy for beauties. Small delicate women, with a beginning plumpness, being the peculiar taste of the Indians. This guard was composed partly of Calmuck or Tartar women and of Gordjenies or Georgians, and partly of Negroe and Habeshinian women, who promiscuously bear in India the appellation of Habeshies. Seradj-ed-döslia had in Bengal such a female guard in his Seraglio.

(107) This is a lofty building raised either in the middle of a market, or on the gate of a fortress or a palace. It is called Tirpösliah, because always raised upon five bodies of masonry, making three porticoes, but the vulgar pronounces Tirpösliah. That building looks exactly like a triumphal arch.





self or as transactors: and some of these being men of letters and ingenious, have found in this sentence of the holy writ, *take warning ye that have eyes*, the chronogramme of this event

The Vezir having disposed of Feroh-lyur in this manner, thought that as the whole city was yet in an uproar, it was incumbent upon him to proclaim another Emperor; and he got him proclaimed accordingly under the names and titles of Shems-eddin-ab8-al-berecat-refi-ad-derdjat(108), younger son to Refi-al-cadr, nephew to Bahadyr-shah, from a daughter of Prince Ecber, younger son of Aorengzib. It was on a Wednesday about nine o'clock in the morning of the second Reby, in the year 1132 of the hedjah. The young Prince was then twenty years old; and as the screams all over the city did not allow any time sufficient to send him to the bath, or even to make him shift his clothes, he was drawn in all haste from the place of his confinement, and in all haste placed upon the throne, with only a chaplet of large pearl which the Vezir had just time to throw over his apparel, such as it was. The Imperial musick having struck up immediately to announce this event to the people, the screams and uproars ceased at once, and in a little time more the tumults subsided every where.

THE Vezir after so critical and so perilous a day, thought proper to pass that night in the citadel, surrounded by a numerous body of his bravest and trustiest friends; having previously placed at the only gate left open, a guard on which he could depend. Not satisfied with all those precautions, when it became necessary to form a household to the young Emperor, he appointed the whole of it from his household and dependants down to the Eunuchs, Chamberlains, Menial Servants, Cooks, and Water-carriers. As a further precaution he placed his own guards every where, and filled all the avenues of the palace and even of the private apartments, with his own dependants. The next day

(108) These words signify Refi-ad-derdjat, the son of religion and the father of blessings, and likewise the bringer of cheapness. Refi-ad-derdjat signifies of a sublime degree or dignity.





The Palace  
of Yucad-qhan  
ransacked.

Great changes  
and resump-  
tions.

the new Emperor having according to the custom given a public general audience, Adjet-sing and Ratur-chund supplicated that the Hindoos all over the Empire might be released from the opprobrium of the capitation (109): this favor was granted, and orders were at the same time dispatched every where for confirming all Governors, Commanders, Viceroys, and Crown-officers, in their respective commands. In the mean time the famous Yucad-qhan was confined with a deal of contumely, his Djaghir resumed; and his Palace, where he had amassed an immense treasure in gold and silver, costly jewels, and exquisite stuffs, was taken possession of: But what is singular, on rumaging for treasure, there was discovered another secret hoard of his, which consisted only of gems and jewels of an amazing value: all presents from Feroh-syur, but which now served only to enhance his disgrace, and the many affronts put upon him. The whole was seized for the Vezir's use, without his taking the least notice of the outrages and contumelies, that had been offered to their late owner. At the same time were resumed all the Djaghirs and lands which Feroh-syur had bestowed on his sycophants, and none was spared but that which was enjoyed by the Rani, late consort of that dethroned Prince; and this was rather out of regard to Adjet-sing, her father. The Mansobdars and officers of the body-guards, called Vala-shahies, who enjoyed lands and Djaghirs, until they might be payed in ready money, were stripped in the same manner; and as to the common troopers they were given to understand that if they wanted service, they must repair to the Viceroy's camp, where they would be enlisted at the rate of fifty rupees per month, ready money one with another. Mahmed-aamin-qhan, already Second Paymaster, was

(109) The capitation which rises in France from twenty Sols to two thousand Livres, this being what the Dauphin himself is taxed at, and which the clergy itself pays under the name of *conviction*: the Capitation, which cuts so great a figure in Russia, and rises in Turkey from three half crowns to eleven, is but a small object in India, where it is called *Djeziat*, and has never been of more than three half crowns per head: it is now fallen in disuse all over India, where Hindoos or Gentoos continue still to be distinguished only by their Djama or coat folding upon the breast from right to left, whereas that of the Mussulmen folds from right to left.

confirmed

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confirmed in his office; and Zaafer-qhan was substituted to Sëif-ollah-qhan, third Paymaster. Nizam-ul-mulk was appointed to the Viceroyalty of Malva, although he was so far from liking the complexion of the times, that he had repeatedly refused that office. Ser-b8lend-qhan, who had been appointed Governor of Cab8l some-time before the Revolution, and on that account had stopped at fifteen cofes from the capital to see what would be the fate of the Empire, was sent for, and he received a new the patent and investiture of that Government; after which ceremony he was dismissed with honor and distinction. The rich Fodjdary of M8radabad was given to Sëif-eddin-qhan, one of the Vezir's younger brothers. One Mahmed-reza, a new man, was appointed Supreme Judge and Casuist of the Court; and Emir-qhan-aalemghiry, who had enjoyed the Government of Echer-abad, was made Sadr-el-88d8r (110). Dianet-qhan was made Divan or Superintendant of the Revenue Office, as was Radja-baqht-mul of the Military Chest; but all these, together with every one of the Officers of Finance and Administration, were held to be no more than so many Lieutenants of Ratan-chund's. Himmet-qhan one of the Vezir's best friends was made Comptroller of the Privy Purse, and moreover Tutor to the young Prince; and over and above all that, several lucrative offices were bestowed upon him. As to the Offices and Governments that proved at a distance from the capital, no change at all was attempted in them, for fear of losing all command over those distant parts. Only the Government of Mand88 was taken from Merhamet-qhan, that Officer of merit, who had slighted the Viceroy, when he passed by his district; and it was given to Qhad-jem-c8li-qhan, a T8ranian or Tartar; but Radja-adjet-fing (111), who to get rid of the eternal curses and hootings of the populace, wanted to be gone

110) The office of Sadr of Sedres answers to that of grand almoner in France, and more properly to that of the King's Confessor, inasmuch as he has the disposal of the Ecclesiastical benefices and lands. The Sadr-el-88d8r in India, is the Superintendant of the charity-lands, that is, lands set apart for decayed families; and these lands cannot amount to less than several Corors a year all over the Empire.

(111) He was father to the Rani or Gentoo Princess, consort of Feroh-fyur, and the more odious on account of the part he had taken against his Son-in-law.





to his Government of G8djrāt, could not obtain leave, and was requested to remain in the city.

Manner of  
Feroḥ-fyūr's  
exit, related by  
contemporaries  
in two different  
ways.

As to the dethroned Emperor, his exit being related in two different manners by two different men of distinction and credit, then upon the scene of action, we shall insert them both, resting the truth or the falsehood of either narrative on the respective merits of either author: For it has been reported to me by men of honor and veracity, that the two brothers had never entertained thoughts of attempting Feroḥ-fyūr's life (112), or had ever intended to offer him any ill-usage; their only view being to make sure of his person; and for that purpose they had put him under the care of a trusty Afghan-officer, who was to have him under his care night and day. Nevertheless it happened that Feroḥ-fyūr availed himself so well of a moment of absence, that he stole away unperceived in the dusk of the evening, and going from terrace to terrace, he wanted to jump down, being already at a distance from the place of his confinement; when the Afghan returned. On not finding his prisoner, and knowing that his life was at stake, he looked narrowly every where, and spying at a distance some one that was lurking under the shadow of a wall, he ran thither, and finding it was his prisoner, he threw himself upon him, and brought him back. That vile fellow had no sooner seen him in the place of confinement again, than making him sit on the floor, he, with that hardness of heart and that brutality which seem to make the basis of the character of an Afghan, fell a beating and a cuffing him unmercifully. Feroḥ-fyūr, unable to bear such vile usage, ran to the wall with all his might, and dashed his head with so much violence against it, that his skull was broke to pieces, and that very moment he departed to the mansions of eternity.

(112) This is what says a Seïd for another Seïd, and a Shyāh for another Shyāh. But we have just seen a few pages above, that Hoṣṣeïn-aaly-qhan, the younger brother, had said the very reverse of that assertion; and we have seen that he had acted constantly up to that notion of his; nor had they ordered Feroḥ-fyūr to be dragged and beaten so outrageously, and then confined so unworthily, had they intended no more than to secure his person.

(113) That Nobleman, who enjoyed the highest offices in Aorengzib's court, and lived with that Emperor on the footing of a friend, took the title of *Qhaṇṣi*, or timid and circumspect, or concealed, to design the style of his history.





BUT Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, the historian, son to Qhadja-mir, the historian, refers Feroz-fyur's death to an express order from the two brothers, betraying at the same time throughout his history the utmost detestation and enmity against them, as well as against their family. As on the other hand it is possible that I, the poor man, should incur the imputation of some partiality for them, I have thought it best to refer his very text, without taking any liberties with it, save that of correcting some false constructions which had crept in it, either through the writer's inaccuracy or the copyist's ignorance. Let then the credibility of the following narrative rest entirely with the author. It is as follows:

“ Two months had already elapsed since that unfortunate Prince had been  
“ confined in that narrow dark place, where he experienced a variety of hard-  
“ ships, when a red-hot needle was passed over his eyes; a cruel operation,  
“ which however, did not deprive him entirely of the light of the day. Tired  
“ of such repeated scenes of barbarity, that ill-fated Prince, in the simpli-  
“ city of heart, natural to a man in distress, and in that love of command,  
“ so capable of putting a man off his guard, and of setting at nought every  
“ other principle, betook himself to several expedients for putting an end to  
“ his sufferings : At one time he would send to his enemies excuses for his  
“ former conduct, promising to let them dispose of the Empire, if they would but  
“ place him on the throne as before : At another, that unfortunate man, bu-  
“ ried alive, would turn towards the Afghan, Abdollah-qhan, (for such was  
“ his keeper's name) and would tempt him with an immense sum of money,  
“ if he could but carry him as far as the dominions of Radja-djehi-sing-fiväl.  
“ All this did not fail to be exactly reported to the two brothers, who being  
“ endlessly instigated by their adulators, as well as prompted by their own  
“ fears, thought it high time to put an end to so dangerous a life. To effect  
“ their purpose, they got poison to be mixed at two different times in his victu-  
“ als, and this had no effect or very little ; but the third time, the dose operated

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“ and

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“ and as they went to see how the unfortunate man’s soul was wrung out of  
“ his body, he lost all patience, and after having reproached them in severe  
“ terms for their atrocious ingratitude, and that faithlessness of their’s that had  
“ so often taken the sacred word of God to witness, and had so often pledged  
“ the holy writ for their fidelity; he apostrophized that sacred volume itself,  
“ and wondered how it had not worked a miracle instantly for the punishment  
“ of so much perfidy; He even vented reproaches against the Majesty of  
“ Divine Justice, which had supinely suffered, as he said, such faithless men  
“ to be still alive; and as he continued to exhal his feelings in that reproach-  
“ ful strain, the Vezir impatient, ordered a leathern thong to be strained  
“ round his neck so as to put an end to his talking; but the unfortu-  
“ nate Prince having layed hold of it with both hands, so as to keep it afun-  
“ der from his neck, and having struggled hard with both hands and feet;  
“ the two Barbarians tired with so much resistance, ordered his hands to be  
“ parted by dint of blows; and the Prince having suffered for a length of  
“ time all the agonies of a lingering death, at last departed this fragile world.

“ Beware of stretching so easily thine hands towards that table spread by time,

“ For every morsel upon it is tainted with deadly poison.

“ It is true that a report ran then, and it runs so to this very day, that the  
“ dying Prince proving too tardy, the two brothers finished him with plung-  
“ ing their Qhandjars (144) in his bowels; but nevertheless this report is con-  
“ tradicted by the very man who superintended the execution, and who ne-  
“ ver could relate that mournful event, without shedding abundance of tears,  
“ and without bitterly lamenting the necessities of his situation. He has been  
“ heard positively to say, that there had been no stabbing at all. Be it as it  
“ may, the body remained for fix and thirty hours unattended to and unbu-  
“ ried; and it was only after such an interval of time, that it was thought of:  
“ then only it was purified according to the rites of religion, put upon a bier,

(144) The Ghandjar is a poignard with a bent blade, peculiar to the Turks, who carry it upright and on the right side; but it is occasionally worn by both Persian and Indians, the latter on the left side and inclined.





“ and carryed to the Emperor H8maï8n's Sepulchre. On its being brought  
“ out, two or three thousand needy men and women, who used to find a re-  
“ source in his liberality, tore their cloaths, covered their heads and faces with  
“ dust, and having furrounded the bier, they accompanied it the whole way,  
“ shedding abundance of tears, and pouring forth all kinds of curses and ex-  
“ ecration upon his enemies, whom they loaded with opprobrious language.  
“ Two persons of distinction, to wit, Dilaver-aaly-qhan, and Sëyd-aaly-qhan,  
“ both Paymasters to the brothers, had been sent to attend the body as Chief  
“ Mourners; and they were followed by a multitude of the principal citizens,  
“ all melted in tears; but no sooner had the procession quitted the suburbs,  
“ than the Chief Mourners were hooted several times, and several times af-  
“ faulted with stones, brick-bats, and clods of earth: Nor would any one  
“ out of that multitude of needy people stoop to accept of the money they had  
“ brought for distribution, or partake of that quantity of victuals which they had  
“ prepared in conformity to the custom; but on the third day after, a vast  
“ number of poor people and beggars having assembled in an orderly man-  
“ ner at the place where Feroh-fyurs body had been washed and perfumed,  
“ made a collection amongst themselves, and prepared with it a large quanti-  
“ ty of victuals which they distributed to others; they sent likewise for several  
“ readers of the Coran, passed the whole night with them in prayers, and  
“ lamentations, and departed in an orderly manner.”

“ WONDERFUL GOD! how thy divine justice did manifest itself in the  
“ several events of this revolution! his enemies had so many reasons for  
“ being expeditious with him, and so many motives of hatred besides, that  
“ one would think it was incumbent upon them to make him pass rapidly  
“ and at once from this little fragile habitation into the other world. But  
“ no: Feroh-fyur in his days of power had strangled his brothers, yet in  
“ their tender years, murdered numbers of innocent persons, and blinded  
“ some others: and he must therefore favour the flavour of all these cruel-

“ ties





"ties, before he is permitted to make his exit: he must from the hands  
"of others experience all those agonies which others had suffered at his hands.  
"Nor did the two brothers escape the day of retribution, or go themselves  
"unpunished. In a little time they met with that same usage which they  
"had offered to others." Thus far Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi.

The two brothers take possession of the riches in the palace.

To return to our own narrative, the two brothers after having disposed of Feroh-fyur, took possession of the Imperial stores and treasure: Elephants, horses, rich furniture, ready money, exquisite jewels; in a word whatever they shewed a mind to, was carried away and mixed with their own stores, in what manner they thought proper, sharing the whole amongst themselves. It is even reported that Abdollah-qhan, who was exceedingly addicted to the sex, carried away some women of incomparable beauty from the Imperial Seraglio: But this God only knows.

Soon after this fatal event, it was remarked that all cordiality had ceased between the two brothers; and although that coolness did not appear in public, it was soon perceived by those friends of theirs who knew their respective tempers; and several matters tending that way were successively, but silently taken notice of by the bystanders. There was likewise some inequality in merit between the two brothers; and indeed it was universally acknowledged, that Hossien-aaly-khan, the younger brother, was far superior to his elder in discernment, bravery, and many other valuable qualifications which a bountiful heaven had implanted in his constitution. In power he seemed superior to all the Princes of his time, nay to several that bore a character in history for having bestowed kingdoms and crowns, and conquered Empires. Unfortunately neither his power nor his life lasted any length of time: If they had, it is highly probable that the times which we have the mortification to behold, would not prove so humiliating and so deplorable, as they are; nor had the honor of Hindostan been thrown to the winds; nor had the Indian nobility and gentry been reduced to that de-

Elogium of Hossien-aaly-qhan the youngest brother.

plorable





plorable condition to which we see it reduced. But as the morals of the whole nation required the iron hand of correction, it is not surprising that the person and power of that hero, should have been only shewn to the

Let us therefore submit to our fate: *for God ordains what he pleases, and acts as he pleases.*

UNFORTUNATELY for the two brothers, and for the dispositions they had made, the young Emperor, Refi-ed-derdjat, laboured under a consumption, and was subject to a spitting of blood, which soon put an end to his reign; in so much that three months and some days after he had submitted to the odium of ascending the throne, he departed his life on a Saturday, being the twenty-first of Redjeb. His younger brother Refi-ed-dö8la, was brought forth and seated in his stead; whilst the two Sëids continued to dispose of every thing in the Empire, and with as great a sway as ever. As these two sickly young Princes may be said to have just made their appearance upon the theatre of the world with the bare title of Emperors, in order to be immediately withdrawn; and they may be compared to two travellers who just made a short pause on the throne, in order to continue their journey towards the regions of eternity; We hardly knew any thing of them: and the rise of Nico-fyur, son to Prince Ecber, and Grandson to Aöreng-zib, a young Prince, then confined at Ecber-abad, having taken place in Refi-ed-dö8lah's life-time; we have thought it expedient to bring into one point of view whatever we have been able to collect about those three persons of the Timurian family, in order to connect it with the body of our history, and to give to the whole an orderly appearance; for the reader may rest assured that what little the younger Princes afford to this history, has been carefully ascertained, although their lives have been so obscure and so little an object of talk, that their very names are hardly known to this day: in short it amounts only to this little:

The young Emperor dies of a consumption, and is succeeded by his younger brother.





A SHORT time after Refi-ed-dö8lah had been brought from his prison to a throne, another young Prince of the Imperial family, but who was confined in the citadel of Ecber-abad, the second capital of the Empire, was proclaimed by the Governor and Officers of the place, as well as by the Militia of the villages dependent on that fortress, and the Mansobdars and Cavalry dependent on the Governor of the province : all which soon formed a court about his person. His name was Nico-fyur(114), a younger son of Prince Ecber's. They were assisted by the inhabitants of the city of Ecber-abad, who seeing the convulsions that desolated the Imperial family, willingly embraced his party. Such an event being likely to prove of a dangerous consequence, the two brothers resolved to stifle it in it's very beginning. They quitted the capital, and taking with them both the young Prince Refi-ed-dö8lah, and the principal persons of the city and court, they marched to Ecber-abad, and layed siege to it's castle. And although Nico-fyur did not betray any want of valor or capacity, in defending the place; nevertheless the gates were soon layed open, and he was seized and confined. The Garrison was changed, and a proper punishment inflicted on the officers of the castle, and the commanders of the Militia, who had planned the whole revolution. But this little success did not much tranquilize the minds of the two brothers. A flux and a consumption were preying on the young Emperor Refi-ed-dö8lah; and although the Vezir spared no pains in bringing together the ablest Physicians of the Empire, his care and anxiety proved of no avail; and the Prince after a nominal reign still shorter than that of his Predecessors, gave evident signs of his drawing to his end, and of his being on the point of quitting the borrowed hospice of this world. In a short time his life was despaired of; and the two brothers, who needed a pageant upon the throne, sent two persons of note, to fetch another Prince from the castle of Selimgur which is a part of the citadel of Shah-djehan-abad. These were Nedjm-eddin-qhan,

(114) Nico-fyur, a name of the same import as Feroh-fyur, signifies of a virtuous disposition.





their younger brother, and Gholam-aaly-qhan; although others say that the first, as Governor of the province of Dehli, was alone entrusted with that commission, and that the other only did accompany that nobleman. The orders were to bring forth Roshen-aqhter (115), son to Qhodje'tah-aqhter, alias Djehan-shah, who was son to Bahadyr-shah. This young Prince was then in his eighteenth year; and so early as Muëzzeddin's accession to the throne under the name of Djehander-shah, he had always lived in obscurity and confinement, in an apartment of Selingur-castle (116). He was a youth of a charming aspect, a beard just budding, and a beautiful face, in which shone so much acuteness of mind both in his air and forehead, as seemed to prognosticate all his future elevation. He was not yet arrived at Echer-abad, nay, he was yet in the environs of the capital, when news arrived that Refied-döslah was departing this fugitive world, and had already put off the garment of consciousness. His death was kept a secret for a whole week, others say for ten days, until his successor could be at hand. On his arrival, the coffin of the deceased Prince was carried to the Mausoleum of Qhadja-C8t8bed-din and buried there in the same manner as had been his brother. This death left the throne open for Roshen-aqhter.

This young Prince conducted by his rising fortune arrived at Fatehpur (117), and on the fifteenth of the same month, in the year 1131, of the messenger's retreat, at about four astronomical hours of the morning, he availed himself of a victorious hour and of the luckiest moment, to step forth on the theatre of the world, and to grace the throne with all the attractions of his beauteous person. It was then that the steps of that sublime place were dignified by the mention of his name; and then that the silver and gold coin distributed on the occasion, received an accession of value from the honor of

Roshen-aqhter ascends the throne under the name of Mah-med-shah.

(115) Roshen-aqhter, signifies of a shining star, that is, of a bright destiny.

(116) Selingur is a real castle and fortification at one corner of, and within the citadel of Delhi.

(117) The author alludes to the name of that town, which imports as much as *Success-town* would in English.





his stamp. He assumed the auspicious titles of the Succourer of Religion and the Father of victory (118). From that moment provisions that had risen to an immoderate price, commenced becoming cheaper, and once more plenty shewed it's face in every market. It was remarked that the Navvab (1. Cadeffiah, his mother, a Princess of great keenness of mind and great wisdom, had taken care to nurse in the shade of obscurity and silence that fondling of the sun of glory. Fully sensible of the complexion of the times and of the necessities of her situation, she made it a point to conform herself to the pleasure of the two brothers, who were now become the omnipotent disposers of the Empire; and her precaution went so far, that when she quitted the capital to pay a visit to her son, gone to Echer-abad, she set out with so modest a retinue, and she appeared with so much reserve, that she declined the voluntary attendance of numbers of people of distinction, that had been in her husband, the late Djehan-shah's service. On hearing that they were preparing to follow her, and to augment her cortege, she requested them to forbear, and even forbid their coming to the gate of her apartment and sending in their Nuzurs and offerings.

It being observed on her son's ascending the throne, that the three preceding reigns had being so momentary and so confused, as to serve only to confound history, it was enacted that to prevent all confusion in the records, the seven or eight months that had elapsed under the short lived reigns of those three Princes, should be omitted intirely; and that they should be comprehended within Mahmed-shah's reign, which of course was made to commence immediately on Feroh-lyur's demise. At the same time to provide for some of the most urgent expences of his mother's female household,

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(118) Abol-fetah-nassyr-eddin-mahmed-shah.

(119) The word *Cadeffiah* signifies *Saint*; and it appears by these words (Navvab Cadeffiah) that the word *Navvab*, which is no more than an Arabic plural of the word *Nāib*. Deputy, after having signified a Governor, has come to signify a King, so soon as these Governors came to assert or even to assume an independence from court. Some English have then rightly translated it by the word *King*; and we see here that it signifies also a Queen.





a sum of fifteen thousand rupees was allotted for that purpose. But the command of the G8lal-para (120), and the office of Nazur, or superintendent of that household, were conferred on trusty Eunuchs of the Vezir's residence, as it had been practiced with the three preceding Princes; (on whom be mercy for ever!) and the minister in providing eunuchs, guards, upholsterer's, elephant-drivers, menial servants, cooks and even water-carriers, took care to place none in that number, but his own servants. It was on the same principle, that Himmet-qhan, one of the Vezir's intimates, a man who enjoyed already five or six offices, was prepotent over the new monarch's person, as his Tutor; and more over entrusted with the privy purse, as well as with the treasury of the palace. All this was patiently submitted to by the young Emperor, who sensible of the criticalness of his situation, formed no opposition to any of the Vezir's pleasures, and had besides the good sense to shew him every demonstration of deference and regard. But this did not produce the least abatement in the jealousy, with which he was watched: for whenever he went abroad, which happened once or twice a month, for the purpose of taking an airing, he was encircled by a body of Sëids who did not lose sight of him, nor ever carried him farther than the seats and gardens in the suburbs, which at most are at once or two coffes from the castle; and then it was always in order to come back before the dusk of the evening. But whilst the Vezir was busy in quieting the capital, troubles were rising in the neighbouring provinces.

CHEBILRAM-NAAGUR, Governor of the province of Allahabad, refused to acknowledge his authority, and even thought it unsafe, on account of some improper behaviour of his to the two brothers. These in return took a resolution to make an example of him; and Houssein-aaly-qhan had already sent his camp-equipage forwards: when news came that the obnoxious Governor

The young Emperor is encircled day and night by the Vezir's dependants.

(120) Golal-para is the name of that paling that surrounds the Imperial quarters in a camp; it is always at fifty yards from the canats, that is the enclosure or wall cloth, seven feet high, that forms a common enclosure to all the Emperor's tents.





The Governor of Ilahabad refuses to acknowledge his authority.

had died suddenly. This piece of news could not but please the Viceroy; but however as it deprived him of an opportunity of signalling himself, he was heard to sob and to say: *Is it not a pity that we should be deprived of the pleasure of seeing that proud man's head on the point of a spear?* Immediately after that piece of intelligence, news came that Gurd-hur-bahadyr, son to Dia-bahadyr, Cousin to Chebilram, whose Sword-bearer he had been, had seized on the Government after his uncle's demise, and was raising troops, as well as repairing the towers and fortifications of Ilahabad. The Viceroy on this intelligence ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown on the Djumnah; and sending for Mahmed-shah to Ecber-abad, he published that he was going to take Ilahabad; ordering at the same time his vanguard to march instantly. It was at this conjuncture that Emir-djemlan thought proper to make again his appearance upon the stage of the world, in order to be invested with the office of Grand almoner; but this did not hinder Ratan-chund from continuing to act in all matters relative to finance and government, and even in those relative to distributive justice and to Ecclesiastical matters with so unbounded a sway, that the Motefeddies and Crown-officers were like so many cyphers in his presence: Nor did they give any sign of life, but when any paper was to pass in their custody. At last even matters of distributive justice came to be of his resort; and it was impossible to become a Cazy of some city, or to have any Judicial or Ecclesiastical preferment, without his good-will being previously secured. One day he brought to the Vezir a person of whom he had made Cazy or judge of a certain city: the minister at such a sight turned towards a nobleman over against him, and said with a smile "Our Ratan-chund, do you see, can manufacture Cazies also; and he recommends likewise to Ecclesiastical preferments." The other answered: "true, my Lord, the Lord Radja after having finished his worldly affairs, is turning his attention to religious matters."

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ALL this while the preparatives for the siege were going on with so much vigor, that Gurd-hur's Vekil or Agent, thought it high time to come to camp and to entreat the Viceroy's forgiveness for his master's misdeeds. He offered to submit on condition of being suffered to remain in his Government, or of having it exchanged for some other with the addition of some title of honor, as an atonement for his loss. The conditions having being accepted, Gurd-hur was to come out of the castle of Ilahabad, to surrender his Government with the place, and to be transferred to that of A8d, with the title of Bahadyr or Valiant. But whilst this agreement was discussing, commotions and broils were rising in the country of Bundi in consequence of certain disputes about an hereditary principality from which Radja Bihim-sing one of the heirs, had been ejected by Bedha-sing the other heir. The dispossessed Prince retired to the Viceroy's camp, to whom he payed his Court assiduously in hopes of being re-instated in his right; and at last, he obtained a body of six-thousand horses, all veteran troops, and all Sēids of Bar, who reckoned themselves to be so many countrymen, and so many kinsmen of the two brothers. They were commanded by his Paymaster General, Sēid-Haver-aaly-qhan, who had orders to reinstate the Gentoo Prince, and then to repair with him and with another Gentoo Prince, called Gudj-sing, as far as the frontiers of Malva, where he was to wait for further orders. On the other hand, as little reliance was reposed on all the promises made by Gurd-hur, a large body of good troops was sent under Haider-c8li-qhan, towards Ilahabad, to enforce the execution of the treaty. Haider-c8li-qhan, who was a man of character and abilities, layed siege to that fortress, and pushed his works forward; but as he did not command alone, little progress was made in the siege, the Governor making it a practice to enter into a negotiation for surrendering the place, and then to stand again upon his defence, and to drive the besiegers from their works. The siege drawing to a length, Hossien-aaly khan crossed the Djumnah, and marched towards Ilahabad; and the report of his march having intimidated the besieged.

Gurd-hur





Gurd-hur, who now found no safety for himself in the plain, retired within his fortrels, to which he conducted himself a great quantity of amunition, and a variety of provisions. His family, at the same time, gave countenance to the refractory spirits of that province; and the holders of Djaghir-lands in particular, lay hold of that opportunity to with-hold their rents. Such a state of things having engaged the Viceroy's attention, he reflected on the natural strength of the place, which was at the confluence of two mighty rivers (121); on the courage and personal abilities of Gurd-hur; and on the difficulties he would to all appearance have to encounter in a siege likely to be protracted to a length; and which would consume in that single operation a precious time, which was required in other parts of the Empire, where the enemies of his family might avail themselves of his absence to excite commotions, susceptible of blazing into a mighty flame. Sensible of all the difficulties of his situation, he was likewise discouraged by some sparks of disunion which then broke out between himself and his elder brother, the Vezir Abdollah-qhan. It was about the division of the jewels and treasure found at the castle of Ecberabad; and messages full of discontent and peevishness were passing and repassing between them; but only in secret, Ratan-chund doing every thing in his power to conceal these dissensions from the Public eye. Whilst the Viceroy was revolving in his mind how he might act, letters came from the Governor Gurd-hur, which promised that he would submit, if Ratan-chund were sent to him with full power to grant what concerned his former demands, as well as the safety of his person. The two brothers, pleased with so fair an opportunity of smothering a flame which might have risen to a great height, dismissed Ratan-chund; who, setting out with a good body of troops about the end of the second Rebi, soon arrived at the city of Illahabad, where the

(121) The Ganga and Djumna. Nor must an European Reader make cheap of the Rivers of India. The Ganga, in particular, has a course of more than fourteen hundred miles within the limits of India alone; and it runs, especially in the rains, at the rate of ten miles per hour, upon six, seven, or ten fathoms in depth, and in numberless places, of several miles in breadth.





Governor of the fortrefs payed him a vifit, and a treaty was foon concluded between thefe two Gentoos, to which they both fware upon the waters of the Sangga, this being the moft facred oath amongst them. By this treaty, the Government of the Province of A8d was given to Gurd-hur, with all the Fodjdaries contained in it, as an atonement for his parting with the fortrefs of Ilahabad; and this being evacuated accordingly, it received a new garrifon, and came again within the power of the two brothers. It was the fecond year of Mahmed-shah's reign. Ratan-chund, after putting the finifhing hand to this treaty, returned to his two mafters, who received him with every demonftration of regard and honor.

The Governor of Ilahabad fubmits.

WHILST they were fhutting up a breach in the northern parts of the Empire, difcontents and broils of a very threatening afpect were rifing in the fouthern ones. We have already mentioned that Nizam-el-mulk had reluctantly accepted the Government of Malva. He found the Province infefed with whole troops of Banditties, and its tranquillity difturbed by a number of refractory Zemindars; nor were all thefe brought to a thorough fubjection, without a deal of trouble and perfeverance: But the fubject which ftruck out a fpark and filently fet on fire all that combuftible matter heaped every where, was Merhamet-qhan, that Fodjdar and Governor of the fortrefs of Mandö8, who had been offended by Hofferin-aaly-qhan for having fo far flighted him when he paffed clofe to the walls, as not even to pay him a vifit. This neglect coft him his poft; and Qhadjem-c8li-qhan, a T8ranian, had been appointed in his ftead; but without being able to take poffeffion, as Merhamet-qhan delayed the delivery of the fortrefs under a variety of pretences: he therefore wrote to court to complain of the affected delay, from whence he obtained an order to Nizam-el-mulk, Governor General of the province, to fee him righted. The General who entertained an advantageous opinion of Merhamet-qhan, fent for him, and perfuaded him to furrender the fortrefs quietly; and as he had obferved talents, with a deal of valor in that officer, he took him in his

Troubles in Decan followed by open rebellion.

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own service, where he always expressed for his person a sincere regard, finding every opportunity to employ his abilities. And as in the confusions that had prevailed in the province in consequence of the inattention of the court, the fortrefs of Rat-gar had been seized by a certain refractory Zemindar of the neighbourhood, whom Nizam-el-mulk, now honored with the title of Fatch-djung, received orders to expel; he dispatched Merhamet-qhan thither at the head of a good body of troops. This service was performed by that officer with his usual vigor and dispatch; and he flattered himself that it would soften the minds of the two brothers in his favor: But they were irreconcilable; and Nizam-el-mulk to make him some amends, gave him the office of clearing the whole province of the Panditties that lurked in it, and of bringing its Zemindars to a thorough submission. This service also was successfully performed by that officer, who took care besides to bring under subjection certain difficult passes, and certain strong holds of the district of Chandiry, which served for a retreat to a number of free-booters.

As soon as Nizam-el-mulk saw every thing settled in his Government, he turned his attention towards encreasing the number of his troops, filling his magazines, exercising his officers and foldiers, and in making continually new acquisitions from the rebellious province of Chandiry.

SUCH warlike preparatives could not be concealed from Abdollah-qhan, who received dayly intelligence from the Imperial intelligencers, and the crown-officers; but he had a nearer subject of inquietude: he was informed that Mahmed-aamin-qhan now and then made use of the Turkish language<sup>(122)</sup>, to enter into a close conversation with the Emperor, and he

(122) The Turkish language having been the maternal language of Timur or Tamer lang (Timur the lame) there is nothing extraordinary in its being understood by the Hindostany Emperors, his successors and descendants. As to Mahmed-aamin-qhan, it was his vernacular language, he being born a Turk, that is, an Eusbeg-Tarar, or Tartar. The Bizarery is, that to day the Persian, and not the Turkish, should be the language of government in Hindostan, whilst the Turkish, and not the Persian, has been for these several hundred years past the language of government all over Iran or Persia, where likewise the Turkish is the vernacular of some northern provinces.





knew that he held a secret correspondence with Nizam-el-mulk, about whose person, people could observe any more troops than he had occasion for, whilst he entertained a still more numerous body with the discontented officer Mirdanet-qhan. All these intelligences having given some inquietude to the two brothers, Houssein-aaly-qhan, the younger, who was Viceroy of Decan, wrote to Nizam-el-mulk, that as both himself and his brother, with a view to put an end to the eternal troubles of Decan, wished to establish their residence in the province of Malva, which was midway betwixt the Decan and the capital, they both hoped that to accommodate them he would take his choice of the the four governments of M8ltan, Qhandefs, Ecber-abad and Ilahabad. This letter chanced to produce the very breach it was intended to prevent. Nizam-el-mulk already discontented at Dilaver-aaly-qhan's being encamped upon the limits of his government with an army; and suspicious of his motives in effecting a junction with the Gentoo Princes, Radja Bihim-sing and Radja Gudj-sing, whose neighbourhood to a province but very lately quieted, had already excited commotions amongst the Zemindars of his frontier; answered the moderate letter of Houssein-aaly-qhan's in a haughty taunting style; and to shew how little he was inclined to conceal his designs, he added with his own hand these two verses of his at the bottom of the letter:

"I am not then a faithless false man as to swear to you—

"But as I am not like you, neither,—I now swear to you—

the two brothers having soon comprehended the meaning of these two verses, sent for his principal agent at court, and they had a very brisk conversation with him, which ended in threats against his master; and Nizam-el-mulk, having soon received intelligence of it, and knowing at the same time that Mah-med-aamin-qhan was endeavouring to kindle a spark of indignation in the young Emperor's breast, he concluded that the conservation of his honour, power and life, as well as that of all the Mogul Lords, and of an infinity of

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persons of distinction, depended on the downfall of the two brothers, whose pride wounded his feelings, and whose enormous power and pretensions left no safety for any one, but for their creatures. He was also excessively shocked at the insolence and overbearing behaviour of Ratan-chund and of Adjer-fing. Full of these ideas, he held a consultation with his most discerning friends, and with the best of his Generals; and, on dismissing the assembly, he declared that he was resolved to commit his case to his own fortune, and to display full open the standard of resistance and opposition. His resolution being now taken, he wrote a short letter to the two brothers; and coming out of his palace with Abdol-rahim-qhan, Merhamet-qhan and Rahim-qhan, he put himself at the head of his army, which by comprising both his old troops and his new levies, amounted to twelve thousand horses. It was about the middle of the second Djemady (123), in the year 1132 of the Hedjrah, which answers to the second of Mahmed-shah's. He was then about the town of Seronj, where he had been encamped all this while to over awe into submission a number of refractory districts on that frontier. His purpose being now accomplished, he decamped on a sudden, and marched to the south.

Nizam-el-mulk revolt openly.

THIS intelligence arrived at Echer-abad in a few days, and became public in a moment. The Vezir wrote immediately to Dilaver-aaly-qhan, and to the two Gentoo Princes to follow Nizam-el-mulk step by step, recommending to them at the same time to omit nothing that could gain to their cause the numerous clans of Afghans settled throughout the Decan: after which their business would be to crush Nizam-el-mulk before he should have time to make any further progress.

THE confusion and disorders in the Empire being of such a nature, as to set open a bad example, it was very natural that the meanest men should

(123) There are two Djemadys, and two Rehs in the Mahomedan year. These, as well as all the others, are Lunar months from twenty-nine to thirty days, each.





avail themselves of their very distance and obscurity to aspire at an independence.

ONE Hossain-qhan, an Afghan Qhoishky, who was head man of the town of Cossor in Pendjab, had these many years taken possession of the best districts about Cossor and Lahor, where he acted as an hereditary Lord of those territories. These troubles commenced, whilst Abdol-femed-qhan, the Viceroy, was occupied against the Syks; and the Afghan had commenced by turning away both the collectors and crown-officers from his town. After this exertion he assembled troops; and hearing that C8t8beddin, an officer of character was marching against him with a body of horses, he met him half-way, killed that commander, destroyed or dispersed his Cavalry, and took possession of his baggage. This victory having raised his character as well as enlarged his views, he soon found himself at the head of eight or nine thousand horses, with which he established his contributions far and near: So that the Viceroy himself, although with only seven or eight thousand horses about his person, found it worth his while to march against him; and the two armies met at Chäony, about thirty cosses from Lahor. Abdol-femed-qhan gave the command of his center to Kerim-c8ly-qhan, his pay-master; and at his right he placed Djany-qhan and Qhoadja-rahmet-ollah, two relations of his, and both men of tried valor, whom he put under the command of Hafyz-aaly-qhan, brother to Qhan-mirza, after having advanced before them a body of a thousand Rohilla Afghans, whom he knew to be personal enemies to the Rebel. At his left he placed Aref-qhan his own Lieutenant, with Aghyr-qhan, and took his own post in their front. On the opposite side Hossain-qhan placed his own nephew Mustepha-qhan in his first line, together with Rahmet-qhan, Behlol-qhan, Sëid-qhan and some other Afghan commanders, all resolute men, all mounted upon elephants, and all men of tried valor. But no sooner had the combat commenced by a fire of musquetry, than Hossain-qhan having advanced on a full gallop on the

Troubles in  
Pandjab appeared  
with a great  
deal of difficulty.





enemy's artillery, which he left behind, pushed-on to Kerim-c8ly-qhan, whom he unhorsed at the first onset, making a great slaughter of his men. Continuing his blow, he fell on Aghyr-qhan, whose troops being mostly new levies, could not stand so furious an attack, and fled on all sides; so that Aghyr-qhan remained only with five or six hundred men of old troops, who were all T8ranians or Tartars, armed with bows; and these unwilling to forsake their commander, let fly such showers of arrows, as disordered the Afghans, and slackened their ardor. This was no sooner observed by Aghyr-qhan, than he rushed upon the enemy, bringing down a man, at each time he shot an arrow; and encouraging his men with both his voice and example, he soon made so much havock amongst the Afghans, that Mustepha-qhan was slain, with the best part of the three thousand men that had followed him. Hoss8in-aaly-qhan without minding this loss, was pushing with ardor to Abdol-femed-qhan himself; and he fell upon him with so much vigor, that the Mogol-general was upon the point of being borne down, having none but men wounded or slain round his elephant. At this critical moment, arrived Aghyr-qhan with his body of victorious Mogols, and here again he changed the face of the day. Just at this moment the driver of Hoss8in-aaly-qhan's elephant fell dead from his seat; and one Shah-bohshec, spiritual director to that General, who used always to carry him seated on his right hand, being also killed, that brave rebel himself was struck in the forehead by a musquet-ball shot by Hafyz-aaly-qhan, and fell down likewise; and from this moment a panick seized his troops, and the trappings and cushions of the elephant having taken fire at the same time, the Afghans who had lost almost all their officers, fell off their ranks, and at last fled openly on all sides. This flight having left a full victory to Abdol-femed-qhan, he rewarded his commanders upon the field of battle; and as Aghyr-qhan had so much contributed to the success of the day, he raised his military grade by five hundred horses, added two hundred more to the six hundred he commanded already, and made him a present of

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an elephant, a poinard and a sabre. The report of this victory having reached the court, the two brothers wrote letters of encomiums to the Viceroy, and added the title of Seif-ed-dö8lah, or sword of the Empire, to all those with which he was already decorated.

WHILST these events were taking place in Pendjab, the Decan was becoming a scene of most serious commotions. Nizam-el-mulk, resolved not to submit to the Sëids, had passed the Nerbedda, which is the northern boundary of that extensive Viceroyalty. His fortune to which he had entirely committed himself, had favored him so early, that on his fording that river at Ac-bar-p8r, the fortress of Afsir, that had cost years of siege and labour to the victorious Soltan Eber, surrendered to him without a blow. The officers and troops of the Garrison, assembled at the instigation of their commander, Taalub-qhan, who owed both his appointment and fortune to the younger of the two brothers; and they delivered the keys to Nizam-el-mulk, who payed them instantly the twenty-four months arrears which were their due, and besides that, conferred many favors on them. The citadel of B8rhanp8r fell in his hands in much the same manner; and to crown so happy a beginning, Gho8fs-qhan, Governor of the province of Barar, who bore the character of a man of valor and talents, came to join Nizam-el-mulk, to whom he was nearly allied, and brought with him a good body of old troops and a train of artillery. Hardly was he in camp, when Simbha, a Marhatta officer, who was discontented with the Sah8 Radja, his master, quitted his service; and with two thousand horses, which he commanded, he joined Nizam-el-mulk. This example was followed by some Zemindars of those parts, and by some Afghan chieftains, settled this long while in that country. The defection becoming contagious, even Anver-qhan, Governor of the province of Qhandefs, or B8rhanp8r, who owed every thing to Abdollah-qhan, one of the two brothers, came over likewise. What looks pretty singular is, that he was actually in Aalem-aaly-qhan's camp, who being a nephew to the two Sëids, had been appointed their Deputy all over the Decan: there hearing of the progresses and motives

The strong  
fortress of Afsir  
surrenders to  
Nizam-el-mulk  
without a blow.

As does the  
citadel of B8r-  
hanp8r.

Fortune sides  
with Nizam-el-  
mulk.





of Nizam el-mulk's; he at once forgot all the obligations he owed to the two brothers; and under pretence of providing for the city of B8rhanp8r, he went over to his benefactor's enemy. The approach of so successful a General as Nizam-el-mulk (and he was now called Affef-dja) (124), struck a terror throughout all that tract of ground; in so much that numbers of Marhatta commanders, who at the head of their troops, were collecting the Chõ8r every where for their master, the Sah8 Radja, fell off from their stations, and gradually retired to Satara. Whilst Nizam-el-mulk was advancing southward, an adventure happened that set that man's character in a very advantageous light. A Lady of the highest distinction, who knew nothing of the revolution which was actually taking place, was advancing towards the north. It was the mother of Seif-eddin-aaly-qhan, and of course a sister of the two Seids; she was going to the capital to pay a visit to her son, and she carried with her his confort and several small children. On reaching B8rhanp8r she was amazed to hear of her being upon an enemy's ground, and that Nizam-el-mulk was advancing that way: struck with the difficulties of her situation, she sent him a man of distinction, with an offer of whatever money and jewels she might have at her disposal, in humble hopes, that he would be contented with such a sacrifice, and would suffer her to proceed on her voyage with honor and safety. Nizam-ul-mulk smiled on perusing the letter; and sending for a drefs of honor, he ordered his introducer to put it on the Lady's Agent, whom he requested to take care of some fruit which he was sending for the children; and calling at the same time for one of his officers who commanded two hundred horses, he bid him wait on the Lady with his corps, and gave him strict instructions not to lose sight of her, until he had seen her safe in the camp of Dilaver-aaly-qhan, who commanded the Vezir's army which was marching to attack him. This General, who was provided with every thing necessary, had orders to fight and demolish Nizam-

(124) Like Affef minister to Solomon.