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I.

ney to Rairee. Mr. Oxenden has not been curious in the geography of his journey; he only mentions the resting-places, which are only four, and, excepting Esthemy, the first stage, leaves us to guess the hours, and rate of his travelling, in order to determine the distances of the stages. Esthemy, he says, is six leagues up the river of Chaul, but does not mention the course of the river; but from combination with an improbable position, which must otherwise be given to Rairee, we have ventured to suppose that it flows from the south-west, and, according to this conjecture, have marked the stages of Mr. Oxenden's journey, and the situation of RAIREE in our map. Mr. Fryer has given this track separately, on the same plate as his map of the peninsula, but sets Esthemy E. N. E. of Chaul.

## NOTE XXXII.

Page 43, line 11. *He was publicly weighed against gold, and the sum amounting to 16,000 pagodas.*—which is equal to 112 pounds avoirdupoise, and agrees with such a make as his picture describes.

## NOTE XXXIII.

Page 43, line 18. *Admitting eighteen of twenty articles proposed.*—We have the twenty articles from the Bombay records;





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records of the time, as settled there with Sevagi's agent, and delivered to Mr. Oxenden, to procure Sevagi's ratification of them at Rairee.

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## NOTE XXXIV.

Page 44, line 25. *In the ruined town of Gallian.*]— This town, at the time of SEVAGI's revolt, belonged to the kingdom of Viziapore. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1535, who do not seem to have maintained it with a constant garrison. Mr. Fryer was there in April 1675; and we shall give his description, as it marks the ancient magnificence of a city, which no one else mentions as of considerable note. He says, "Early therefore the next morning (April the 26th) "I left the most glorious ruins the Mahomedans in Decan "ever had cause to deplore: for this city, once the chief "empory, excelled not only in trade, but the general conference, sumptuousness, if the reliques of the stately fabrics "may add credit to such a belief; which reliques, notwithstanding the fury of the Portugals, afterwards of the Mogul, since of SEVAGI, and now lately again of the Mogul " (whose flames were hardly extinguished at my being here, "and the governor and people on that score being prepared "more for flight than defence at present) are still the extant "marks of its pristine height. The remaining buildings having many stories of square facing stones, and the mosques, "which





SECT. " which are numerous, of the same, abating little of their  
I. " ancient lustre, being all watered with delicate tanks, about  
" which are costly tombs, with their distinct chapels or  
" mosques, where formerly the *mullahs* (or priests) had fat  
" pensions to pray for their departed souls, which is main-  
" tained by them as efficacious: wherefore they covet fune-  
" rals in the most conspicuous places, which the pleasant  
" summer-houses hanging over here, cause these places to be.  
" The unemployed people of the town daily wasting their  
" time in these inviting varieties, which is the only thing  
" pleads for their continuance, SEVAGI, as a Gentu, being  
" otherwise inclined to raze them; yet purposely to pervert  
" them from the use of the donors, and intention of the found-  
" ers, orders them to be converted into granaries, especially  
" those within the city. The houses the present inhabitants  
" kennel in, are mean; the people beggarly, by reason of  
" these hostile incursions."

Mr. Fryer was received with civility by Sevagi's officers in the town, and they appointed a great mosque for his lodging.

It is probable that Gallian existed early in the 14th century, as the immediate metropolis of Salcette, Bombay, Bassein, and all the adjacent country, although under a higher power. Friar Oderic of Priuli, who had returned from his travels to India, and wrote his account of them in the year 1330, says, that he arrived in twenty-eight days from

Ormus,





Ormus, at a city called Thana (on the island of Salcette) and describes particularly the martyrdom of four friars, which had happened there some time before his arrival; whose piety had led them to dispute before the Cadi, or ecclesiastical judge of the town, and to tell him that his prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil: on which the governor, whom Oderic entitles Meleck, executed them under excessive tortures: but the king of the country, DODSI, called up the Meleck, and, having examined the case, put him and all his family to death for his despotism and cruelty; on which the Cadi of Tannah fled the country. Friar Oderic collected and carried away with him the bones of the martyrs, to which he imputes several miracles.

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It is evident from this account, that Tannah was under a Mahomedan government, and most probably GALLIAN likewise: but king DODSI must have been a Gentoo, who entrusted the command of them to Mahomedans, in order to encourage the resort of their trade from Persia and Arabia.

We are aware, from Mr. D'Anville, that Tannah only is mentioned in the tables of Naffereddin, and Uleg Beg, who flourished in 1261 and 1437, and by Abulfeda, who was cotemporary with Friar Oderic. But as no vestiges of magnificence have been discovered at Tannah, and as no vessels of burthen can pass beyond it towards Gallian, Tannah might be the port of deposit; to which merchants occasionally re-

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paired





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paired to transact business with the ships, who nevertheless might consecrate the enjoyment of their fortunes to the more splendid residence of Gallian. And Mr. D'Anville himself supports us in the notion, even of an earlier antiquity, by supposing, that the famous Calliana of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, and of *Cofinas Indicopleustes*, is the island of Caranjah, in the harbour of Bombay; for we have no doubt that he would have appropriated Calliana to Gallian, if he had ever seen a map in which this place had been laid down. The *Periplus* is imputed to the second century—*Cofinas* travelled in the sixth.

## NOTE XXXV.

Page 45, line 17. *The armada which used to cruise every year from Goa, to assert the sovereignty of the Indian seas, had the year before crossed over to the gulph of Persia.*—Chardin says, that he received news of this expedition of the Arabs to Bassein, on the 4th of April 1674, he being then at Gombroon. The latter part of Chardin's account differs from ours; that the Arabs were routed by an ambuscade of sixty Portuguese near Daman, as far as which they had marched, and there abandoned all their booty in a precipitate flight back to their vessels, from which it should seem they were twenty leagues distant when defeated. We wrote from the  
Bombay





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Bombay records, which do not mention this defeat, and Chardin writes from letters which might be not authentic, and from report (on rapporte) which might be less so.

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In June 1674 a ship returning from Gombroon was abandoned in a storm in the gulph of Cambay, and the government of Surat demanded all that was saved with the people in the long-boat, in virtue of the Mogul's title to wrecks.

Chardin writes under the 15th of February 1675; he then at Ispahan.

## NOTE XXXVI.

Page 49, line 23. *In the island of Sooloo—where his tomb is shown at this day.*]—Mr. Dalrymple has seen the tomb.

## NOTE XXXVII.

Page 49, line 26. *That he continued alive in Indostan.*]—SEVAGI, when he plundered Surat in 1664, gave out, in mockery of Aurengzebe, that he had Sultan Sujah in his camp, who, as rightful emperor, had given him the town.

## NOTE XXXVIII.

Page 51, line 20. *For a cessation of hostilities until Pondah should be reduced.*]—Chardin gives an account of the dispute between the Portuguese armada in the gulph of Persia, with the government of Persia, concerning the revenues of Congue,

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and





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and thence takes occasion to speak of the general declension of their power and affairs in the East Indies. This seems to be written at Ispahan, under June the 28th 1675—the period we are now treating in the Fragments. He says, “the Portuguese, in losing the maritime countries of the Indies, have lost the former respect which used to be paid to them, inasmuch that those who were under the greatest degree of subjection to their domination, are those who afterwards insulted them the most, and who *at this present* press upon them the hardest. I mean to speak of the people of Malabar, in which the city of Goa is situated. Sevagi, that famous conqueror, who is the most powerful prince of this country (Malabar) ravages, when he pleases, to the very gates of the city, and probably will drive them out of it one time or other.”

As Pondah was taken in the end of April, the news could scarcely have arrived at Ispahan by the 23d of June 1675; but the march of Sevagi's troops to invest, which was in February or March, might.

## NOTE XXXIX.

Page 54, line 2. *A fort called Sibon, belonging to the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of Bassein.*—Mr. Anquetil du Perron, towards the end of 1760, travelled from Surat to Bassein, in order to examine the famous excavations in the island of Salcette, which he has described, as well as his journey,





ney, with his usual diligence. He returned to Surat nearly by the road he came; but the fort of Sibon did not fall in his way, either coming or going. We have inserted his route into our map. One of the Portuguese country, from Daman to Bassein, is much wanted; for we find several places of some consequence in this territory, mentioned in the records of Bombay, whose situations have not yet come to our knowledge.

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## NOTE XL.

Page 60, line 21. *They (SEVAGI'S army) laid siege at the same time to two strong forts, one called Billigong, near Banca-*

*pore, the other at five days journey from this, and called Rayim.]*  
—Neither of these places is mentioned in our manuscript of the Decan, either under the *subah* of VIZIAPORE or of BEDER; consequently neither have the rule over a *purgunah* or district, in either of these *subahs*: but strong forts are often separated as *feifs* or *jaghires*, from the ordinary municipal government; and we have no doubt of the existence of these, because we find them mentioned in a letter dated the 6th of October of this year 1676, from the government of Bombay to the presidency at Surat.

“ This day arrived Narranfinay; (he had been sent on business to Rairee). Sevagee is not gone down the coast,  
“ but struck up the hill, and has besieged two castles in  
“ Balgot





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“ Balgot (Balagat) one called BILLIGONG, near Bancapore,  
“ the other called RAYIM (or Vayim, for it is doubtful in the  
“ manuscript) about five days journey on this side of it. He  
“ has made great havock in the Viziapore country, and does  
“ intend to continue it, which we believe will much prejudice  
“ the company's investments at Rajapore and Carwar. We  
“ hear not of any army intended towards Surat, or that way,  
“ and suppose none will be sent, because himself is gone so  
“ far up the hill.”

## NOTE XLI.

Page 61, line 3. *Bahadar Khan—listened to proposals from Sevagi, who offered, it is said, 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permission were obtained for his passage through the territory of Golcondah, to attack that part of the Carnatic which was subject to Viziapore.*—Neither SEVAGI's intention of attacking the Carnatic, nor his stipulation for the passage of his army through the territory of Golcondah, were publicly known when he concluded the terms of peace with Bahadar Khan. At that time an agent, named Narransinay, was sent from Bombay to Morah Pundit, at Chaul, in order to settle the payment of what remained due from SEVAGI on Mr. Oxenden's agreement, and other detriments. This Narransinay writes from Chaul, in the beginning of December (1676) that “Sevagi is to pay the Mogul 400,000  
“ pagodas





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“ pagodas yearly, to affist him with five thousand horse, and that  
“ faw Morah Pundit send to Rairee for four lacks (400,000)  
“ of pagodas, to send away immediately for the first year’s pay-  
“ ment; and that the five thousand horse were gone under the  
“ command of Narangi Pundit.” Such an agreement, con-  
fented to by such a dealer as Sevagi, would have been equi-  
valent to an open avowal of his intentions not to abide by it;  
he neither parted with his money nor his troops so easily on  
any terms, much less on expectation. We have no doubt  
that Morah Pundit sent some money to Bahadar Khan, and  
intended to send more, as circumstances might require: on  
the other hand, it was natural that Morah Pundit should with  
the English at Bombay might believe that Sevagi’s country,  
during his absence, was under the immediate protection of  
the Mogul; since from this respect they would be less cau-  
tious of refusing their harbour to the Siddee, who only claimed  
it on the same pretension. Accordingly Bombay writes to  
Surat on the 20th of December, that “the peace is broken,  
“ because Sevagi would not deliver his son Sambagi as a  
“ hostage.” But again, Bombay writes to England, on the  
19th of March 1677, “We have some credible reports that  
“ there is peace concluded between Sevagi and the Mogul,  
“ but dare not absolutely affirm it, though some of our fer-  
“ vants that are now come from up the hill say that there is  
“ free egress and regress out of Sevagi’s into the Mogul’s  
“ dominions: if so, we have hopes to open a trade directly  
“ up





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“ up the country, which in time may much advance the culture, and increase the trade and splendor, of the island.”  
There was peace, and no mention of hostilities in the Bombay record during the rest of the year.

MANOUCHI, so far from supposing that Sevagi paid anything for the truce, says that Aurengzebe, from his greater apprehensions in the war of the Pitans, ordered his son Sultan Mauzum “ to make peace with Sevagi, without regard to the dignity of the empire, and to the chastisement of an adventurer who had crowned himself with his own hands.”

## NOTE XLII.

Page 61, line 14. *But the king (of Chandergherri, at the close of the 16th century) is stiled king of Bishnagar, for what reason we do not find, unless from the ancient title of a lost possession; for the city of Bishnagar is situated on the other side of the Carnatic mountains, two hundred miles to the N. W. of Chandergherri, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore.]*—Cæsar Frederic, the Venetian, set out in 1563, and continued in the East Indies until 1581. In 1567 he went from Goa to Bishnagar: the account he gives of the state of this kingdom is very obscure, nevertheless we shall endeavour to guess his meaning. The hereditary king of Bishnagar, a Gentoo, had for many years been kept in confinement.





ment by his ministers, Ramragio\*, who represented on the throne, and was called king; Timiragio†, who held the seals, and managed the revenues; Bengatre‡, who commanded the army, in which were two Moorish captains of note and influence. The three ministers became impatient of the life of the king, and the son of Timiragio put him to death in his confinement, which raised discontent, of which the two Moorish captains took advantage, and invited an invasion, which was accordingly made by the four neighbouring Mahomedan kings, who were *Dialcan* (Idal Caun) king of Viziapore; *Zamuluc* (Nizamalmuluck, king of Bêrar) who resided at Ahmednagar; *Cotamuluck* (Cuttub Shaw) king of Golcondah; *Vindy* (king of I don't know what, unless it be Candish). Ramragio and Bengatre fell in the battle against the four kings, and Timiragio fled with the loss of an eye: but the wives and children of all the three were sent away in safety. The four kings entered BISNAGAR, and remained in it four months, searching and digging for treasure; and then, says Frederic, "departed to their own kingdoms, because they " were not able to maintain such a kingdom as that was, so " far distant from their own country."

After the departure of the four kings, Timiragio returned to Bishnagar, and invited the merchants at Goa to bring horses,

\* Ram Rajah.

† Temi Rajah.

‡ Venkitrou.





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whom he afterwards cheated. Frederic went in company with two of these horse merchants, to buy diamonds, which were brought from the mine of Raolkondah, and staid seven months at Bifnagar, until the ways were cleared of thieves, but might otherwise have done his business in one.

He then says, that the king and his court, by reason of the lacking of the four kings, went to dwell in *Penigondah*, a castle eight days up in the land from Bifnagar; that this city was twenty-four miles in circumference, and had fallen to such decay, in consequence of the war and capture, that many parts of it were infested by tygers; but that the palaces of the three tyrants, and the pagodas, were remaining unimpaired: that he had seen many, but never saw such a palace as that of Bifnagar; by which we suppose he means the ancient palace of the ancient kings. By the king and his court, who went to dwell at *Penigondah*, we conclude he must mean Timiragio. There is a *Penukonda* marked by Mr. D'ANVILLE, as a fort on a rock, situated on the bank of the Penar, about midway in its course to the north, before it turns to the east: twenty miles west of this fort is a *Pakonda*, which is only marked as a common town; but from a later map of the Decan, of which we may hereafter trace the documents, we have inserted into our own a considerable fort on a rock, called *Palikondah*, which stands north of the other two, and twenty miles west of the elbow of the Paliar, not far from

Shirpi.





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Shirpi. We cannot determine whether either, or which, is the Penigondah of Frederic, but all the three stand equally convenient for the transfer of a fugitive government to CHANDERGHERRI, from which they are distant one hundred and twenty, one hundred and thirty, and one hundred and forty miles. It still remains to know, whether the king of Chandergherri, to whom the Jesuits went in 1599, was a descendant of Timiragio, or of the rightful king of Bijnagar, murdered by Timiragio's son; but we believe of Timiragio. We wish all this were enquired for in India, which may perhaps be found at once with the Bramins at Tripetti.

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Frederic, after his return from Bijnagar to Goa, saw, in different voyages, all the ports from hence to Cape Comorin, and on the coast of Coromandel from Comorin to San Thomé. It appears from his evidence, that the kingdom of Bijnagar extended from sea to sea: on the western coast from the river of Carwar to Mangalore, one hundred and twenty miles; on the eastern, from Negapatam to San Thomé, and probably farther north to Nellore, which would be two hundred and forty; the breadth across the peninsula is nearly three hundred miles. The whole of the present kingdom of Tanjore was under the dominion of Bijnagar, and governed by a Naigue or deputy, who treated the Portuguese at Negapatam with imperiousness; and at San Thomé they submitted to whatsoever exactions were imposed. The sea-coast of the Maravars and Tinivelly was under other jurisdiction.

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## NOTE XLIII.

Page 61, line 20. *Two Portuguese Jesuits went from St. Thomé to Chandergherri in the year 1599, and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king, whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries, confirm the assertion.*—Our authorities may be found from page 726 to page 808 of the book entitled, “*De rebus Japonicis, Indicis, & Peruvianis, Epistolæ recentiores, a Joanne Hayo, Scoto, Societatis Jesu, in Librum unum coacervatæ. Antverpiæ, M,D,C,V. Octavo.*” These jesuits, one or other, were at Negapatam, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Chillambarum, Gingee, Thevenapatam, Conimeer, Trivadi, Salawauk, Sadrafs, Chingla-pett, Conjeveram, Tripetti, Pulliacat, Armegon, Cotapatam, Trivalore; likewise at Madura, but none make mention of Tritchinopoly; nor they who went to Chandergherri, of Arcot: their relations are very curious.

The Thesaurus of Jarric, printed at Cologne in 1615, not only gives all that is published by Haye, concerning this mission of Chandergherri, but a farther account of it from subsequent letters, which confirm the sovereignty of Chandergherri over the Naiques of GINGEE and TANJORE, but describe them as too powerful not to be often refractory: and in 1609 the governor of VELORE, at their instigation, refused his tribute,





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bute, and stood a severe siege, but was at length reduced by the king; who, amongst his other titles, which are very extravagant, styles himself Mahometanorum exercituum debellator; which, with other passages, prove him to have been a GENTOO.

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## NOTE XLIV.

Page 62, line 1. *About the year 1645, a descendant of this Gentoo king of Chandergherri, permitted the English to purchase the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raised Fort St. George, and the town of Madrafs.*—Madrafs, from its first establishment, became important to the company's commerce on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam: but since the year 1744, it has been the metropolis of the national war in India, although Bengal has lately attempted to have its share in this fame; of which both are at this time partaking largely. The origin of famous men and places is always an object of curiosity; and we have lately, by the help of a record, come nearer to the foundation of Madrafs than ever we could get before. In 1661 the presidency at Surat blamed the agency of Madrafs for persisting in giving protection to two or three capuchin friars, who were Frenchmen; although one of them had suffered an imprisonment of five years in the inquisition at Goa, for accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement. The agency pleaded the reasons which originally induced the permission of





SECT. I. of their residence; to which the friars were invited in order to draw the Portuguese from San Thomé, who being considered as Europeans, would add to the military reputation of Madrafs, consequently attract the resort of the natives, and with them an increase of trade; all which would go back to San Thomé, or be dispersed, if the capuchins were expelled. In the course of this argument, the agency say, "At the company's first beginning to build a fort, there were only the French padres, and about six fishermen's houses; so to entice the inhabitants to people the place, proclamation was made in the company's name, that for the term of thirty years, no custom of any thing to be eaten, drank, or worn, should be taken of any of the town-dwellers. Now twenty-one years of that time being expired," and the town become flourishing both in inhabitants, trade, and commercial customs, all will be to begin anew if the capuchins are expelled. If twenty-one years of a term of thirty were expired in the year 1661, it follows that Madrafs was founded in the year 1640.

## NOTE XLV.

Page 62, line 8. *The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which probably was their first conquest.*]

Page 62, line 17. *It is said the kingdom of Tanjore was likewise reduced by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm this position.*]





Mr. Thevenot says, p. 273, that "the king of Viziapore, after having taken what was in his neighbourhood, pushed his conquest to the cape of Negapatam." Again, p. 274, describing the extent of the kingdom of Viziapore, he says, "that it is bounded on the south by the country of the Naique of Madura, whose state extends to Cape Comorin. This Naique is tributary to the king of Viziapore, as well as THE NAIQUE OF TANJORE, to whom belonged the cities of Negapatam, Tranquebar, and some others on the coast of Coromandel, when taken by the king of Viziapore." These are positive assertions of the conquest of Tanjore, but we find nothing to confirm them in such letters as we have seen, written to and from Madras in 1661, 1668, 9, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, although they clearly point out Gingee as subject to Viziapore. Notwithstanding our respect to Mr. Thevenot's authority, we must remark his mistake in supposing the king of Bijnagar or Chandergherri, conquered by Viziapore and Golcondah, in 1652, 1656, was a Mahomedan, with the ancient title of Adil Shah, king of Narfingah; whereas the Madras records prove him undoubtedly a Gentoo. Mr. Thevenot says, VELORE was the capital of this king, which may be true.

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## NOTE XLVI.

Page 62, line 19. *The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emir Jumlah, reduced all the hilly country which stretcheth north*





ECT. *north of Velore from Gandicotah towards the sea, &c.]—*

I.

TAVERNIER went from Madrafs in 1652, to sell pearls to Emir Jumlah, besieging Gandicotah, and arrived there on the 1st of September, six days after the place had surrendered. He ascribes the success to four pieces of cannon planted on a neighbouring hill, and managed by European gunners, against two, which were all the garrison had to oppose: but Thevenot says, that Jumlah invited the governor to a conference, on assurance of free return to his fortrefs, and kept him prisoner, until he gave orders for the surrender.

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Page 63, line 5. *They (Aurengzebe and Emir Jumlah) besieged the king of Golcondah in his capital; who, to preserve his diadem, submitted his government to the controul of the Mogul, which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadar Khan to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested.]—*Mr. Bernier says, that Aurengzebe, on making the peace, “fit consentir le roy (de Golconde) que toute la monnoye d’argent qui se fairoit deormais porteroit d’un coté la marque de Cha Jehan.” We have read somewhere else, that the king obliged himself to give the Mogul’s embaffador at his court, information of all the material refo- lutions of his government. Manouchi, speaking of the per- mission which SEVAGI requested, says, that “l’autorité d’Au-  
“ rengzebe





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“ rengzebe fit consentir aisement le roi de Golconde aux  
“ demandes du CEVAGI.”

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## NOTE XLVIII.

Page 63, line 10. *The want of cotemporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic.*]—This expedition, the most important of SEVAGI's life, had important consequences, which will appear hereafter, as well as we have been able to collect them. It is therefore more especially our wish, that enquiries may be made in India concerning the whole of this portion of the history of Coromandel, which operates even at this day in the events of that country. We have reason to believe, that no cotemporary records of the company will be found either at Madrafs, Bombay, or Surat, which we have not discussed in England; but the informations they afford on this subject are very scanty.

Bombay writes to Surat, June 27th, 1677. “ \* Mr. Child  
“ (from Carwar, where he was chief of the factory,) writes,  
“ that SEVAGI is in a castle of the king of Golcondah, where  
“ he intends to winter; and after the rains, it is thought,  
“ intends against the Carnatic. Several of the Decan Om-  
“ rahs are joined with him, and its believed that Bullul  
“ Cawn and he have agreed to share all between them. The

\* He was afterwards Sir John Child, governor of Bombay.

H h

“ Decan





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“ Decan country is so miserably harassed, that Mr. Child  
“ does not expect to provide \* a piece of goods this year,  
“ and we believe Carwar to be in little better state. Morah  
“ Pundit has lately been to visit the northern garrison of  
“ Salere, and is now past by and gone to Rairee, where we  
“ shall be sure to find him.”

July 11, 1677. Again, “ Sevagi at present is a great way  
“ off in the Carnatic country, *where he wintered*. In his  
“ absence, Morah Pundit and Anagi Pundit, and another  
“ Bramin, are left to govern affairs, to whom we have  
“ sent to procure their cowl (pass) to all generals of armies  
“ that shall come towards Surat, that they molest not the  
“ English in any part where they come, nor plunder any  
“ of their goods.”

August 24th, 1677. “ SEVAGI is at present in the Upper  
“ Carnatic, where he has taken the strong castle of Chingy  
“ (Gingee) Chingavore†, Pilcundah‡, and several others, and  
“ shamefully routed the Moors§, and 'tis believed has robbed  
“ Seringapatam||, and carried away great riches from thence;  
“ and they say he designs, on his return back, to take Brid-  
“ roor¶, and so join Canara to his own conquests.”

\* See Note xxviii. page 208.

† Chingavore is the Moor's name (or rather pronunciation) of Tanjore.

‡ Pilcundah, perhaps Volcondah.

§ The troops of Viziapore.

|| Capital of Myfore.

¶ Bidnoor.

Madras,





Madrafs, in a letter dated September 1, 1677, which is not to be found, advise the company, that the nearness of SEVAGI engageth all their attention to fortify; they describe *his force and success*, and had received three messengers from him with letters. July 9, 1678, they say that little action hath passed between the armies of the king of GOLCONDAH and SEVAGI.

SECT.

I.

It is from a subsequent record nine years later, in 1687, that we find SEVAGI passed by Trivadi, where we suppose he paid his devotions, as all the Morattoe generals have done ever since, who have been near it. We have ventured to ascertain the outline of SEVAGI's conquests in the Carnatic, by the indication of subsequent occurrences, of which none suggest that he entered the kingdom of TANJORE. It appears by Manouchi, that Sambagi accompanied his father into the Carnatic.

In our history of the national wars in India, we have supposed Velore to have been built by the Morattoes, having understood so when there;\* probably mistaking possession for foundation, from our ignorance of SEVAGI's conquest; which must intirely overfet that assertion, unless we should hereafter find that the Carnatic had been in more ancient times a Morattoe sovereignty; of which we have hitherto discovered no traces, excepting in the inaccurate talk of the people of the country.

\* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. i. page 45.





## NOTE XLIX.

Page 67, line 1. *We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675.*] We have taken all we say, both before and now, concerning this war of the Pitans, from Manouchi: but have adjusted the few dates we give (for he gives none) from the records of Surat and Bombay, which often received intelligence of the distant affairs of the empire, and sometimes mention them, but abstractedly, referring to the original letters in Persic, which we suppose are all lost now, as well as the translations, if any were made; even the dates of the intelligence are not recorded, but the mention ascertains the time of receipt, and we have allowed for the journey.

We can have no expectation that an account of this war will ever be collected by any of our own nation, or other Europeans in India, all being, luckily for themselves, at too great a distance from the country of the Pitans; but it may have been compiled by some writer at Delhi, and it is not improbable that an account of it, either more or less explicit than Manouchi's, is at present in Europe. Mr. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his *Legislation Orientale*, gives an extraordinary instance of the benevolent justice of Aurengzebe to an old woman, who maintained her family by a mill, of which  
his.





his foldiers had turned off the water: this happened in 1674, at Affanabad; which we suppose the Affenabdal of Manouchi on the Indus, when Aurengzebe was marching to this war of the Pitans. Mr. Anquetil du Perron cites the incident from a manuscript history of Indoſtan, compoſed by Mr. Gentil,\* who ſerved long with reputation in the French army in India; and, with the languages, acquired much knowledge of the country. We flatter ourſelves that this work will be publiſhed. Every information concerning the Pitans and their country, will affiſt the hiſtory of the Sikes, the invaſion of Nadir Shah, and the later invaſions of the Afghans under their prince Abdalla.

SECT.

I.

## N O T E L.

Page 70, line 22. *Panwell, a large town on the river Penn.*—Panwell is *not* on the river Penn; but on another to the north of it, which opens due EAST from the middle of the iſland of Bombay; whereas the entrance of the river Penn is in the angle of the harbour, SOUTH-EAST of the iſland. The authority we followed is entitled to more than half the error; and this ſection of the Fragments was printed before we were ſet to rights by a plan of the march of the Engliſh army, in January 1778, from Bombay, to attack POONAH, the capital of the Morattoes. This plan, beſides the inland march, comprizes the harbour of Bombay, and the iſland of Salcette.

\* See Note in page 171.

The





SECT.

I.

The army landed, and commenced their first march from Panwell, which continued the deposit of their stores and provisions sent from Bombay. The plan was sent by Mr. R. H. Boddam, the chief of Surat, to his brother Mr. Charles Boddam, the director, and we were favoured with a copy of it by Mr. Dalrymple. It not only ascertains the real situation of PANWELL, but likewise of ABITA, which soon occurs in our narrative; but it gives no indication concerning the river of *Negotan*, which is often mentioned in the ancient records we have considered, and in the first conquest of the Portuguese, in 1536, when they took Bassein and Tannah. Mr. D'Anville has inserted the river *Negotan* in a situation where we do not see how it can exist; nevertheless we have given his position in our map, as a help to combinations which may tend to remove the obscurity.

## NOTE II.

Page 73, line 6. *Of his (Aurengzebe's) brothers, Darah had written a treatise, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran.*—This treatise was brought to England by Mr. FRAZER, and is in the Radcliffe library, under the following title, as given by Mr. Frazer. “ MUJMAH AL BARHAIN (*i. e.* the uniting of both feas). A treatise wrote by Sultan Darah Shekowh, eldest brother to Auring-zebe; in which he endeavours to reconcile the Brahmins religion with the Mahommedan; citing passages “ from





“ from the *Koran* to prove the several points. It was his  
 “ writing this book, and conversing so much with the *Brahmins*,  
 “ that chiefly lost him the empire; for Aurengzebe made a  
 “ pretence of that, and consequently had all the bigoted  
 “ Mahomedans to join him.”

SECT.

I.

We learn from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, that “ Sultan  
 “ Darah, in 1656, likewise caused a Persian translation to be  
 “ made by the Brahmins of Benaras, of the OUPNEKHAT\*,  
 “ a work in the Sanscrit language, of which the title sig-  
 “ nifies, “ the word that is not to be said;” meaning, the  
 “ secret that is not to be revealed. This work is an extract  
 “ of the FOUR VEDES (Bedes) and gives, in fifty-one sections,  
 “ the complete system of the Hindoo theology; which esta-  
 “ blisheth the unity of the First Being; whose perfections and  
 “ operations personified, become the names of the principal  
 “ divinities of the Hindoos; and demonstrates the re-union  
 “ of all nature to this FIRST CAUSE, the DEITY.” Of this  
 curious work, Mr. Anquetil has promised to publish a  
 translation†.

\* There is a copy of the Persian version of this work in the British Museum, with a MS. translation, which we understand was made by N. B. Halhed, Esq. — This title, as written and pronounced by the Brahmans of Banaras, is according to the English orthography OUPANEESHAT, and of the French OUPANICHAT. The Sanskrit character answering to the English *sh* and the French *ch*, is, by the vulgar of India, often pronounced like *kh*, or *k* aspirated.

† This work has since been published at Paris, by M. Anquetil du Perron, in two large volumes in quarto, in which, at page 755 of the second volume, is the following compliment to Mr. Orme: In alio ejusdem historiae exemplari MS. (fol. 6 recto) quod ad me misit amicus meus eruditissimus et veritatis aman- tissimus Indiae historiographus, D. ORMES (terrenasne an coelestes auras spirat?) eadem praecise: verum *hafcht*, octo post *bist* (28) in *fatdjog* addito; quod rectius.

Mr. Bernier





SECT.

I.

Mr. Bernier says, that in the last council held by Aurengzebe concerning the fate of Darah, an Omrah insisted on the necessity of his death, because he had long quitted the religion of Mahomed, and was become a coffee, a pagan, and an idolater. He was accordingly put to death; for which Aurengzebe made the same apology to Sultan Shekowh, the son of Darah, whom he assured of safety, but destroyed by the poppy draught at Gualior.

*Mr. Halhed's translation of Darah's Preface to the Oupaneeshat.*

“ Dàrà Shěkhòh's Preface.

“ Praised be the Being among the eternal secrets of whom is the dot of *B* of the bismillah in all the heavenly books, and glorified be the *Alm* of the mother of books, which in the Holy Koran is a token of his glorious name: and the angels, and the heavenly books, and the prophets and saints, are all comprehended in this name. And be the blessing of God upon the best of his creatures, Mahomed, and upon his children, and upon his friends universally. —To proceed: Whereas the unfolicitous Fakeer *Mahommed Dàrà Shěkhòh*, in the 1050th year of the Hejrà, went to *Cashmēer*, the resemblance of Paradise, by the attraction of the favour of God, and the blessing of the Infinite. He there obtained the auspicious intercourse of that most Perfect of the Perfect, of that Flower of Gnostics, of that Tutor of Tutors, of that Sage of Sages, of that Guide of Guides, of that Unitarian skilled in Truths, *Mōlànà Shàh*, on whom be the peace of God! And  
whereas





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SECT.

I.

whereas he was impressed with a longing to behold the gnostics of every sect, and to hear the lofty expressions of Monotheism, and had cast his eye on very many theological books, and been a follower of them for years; and as the thirst for investigation, which is a boundless ocean, became every moment increased, subtle doubts came into his mind, for which he had no possibility of solution, except by the words of God, and the direction of the Infinite Being. And whereas the holy Koran is almost totally mysterious, and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, he was desirous to collect into view all the heavenly books, that the very word of God itself might be its own commentary; and if in one book it be compendious, in another book it might be found diffusive; and from the detail of one, the conciseness of the other might become comprehensible: he had therefore cast his eyes on the books of Moses, and the Gospels, and the Psalms, and other holy pages; but the explanation of Monotheism in them also was compendious and mysterious; and from the slovenly translations which prejudiced persons had set forth, their purport was not intelligible. Thereafter he considered, on what account is Hindostan conspicuous for Monotheism, is there so much discourse of the Divine Unity, and wherefore, both in the exterior and interior practices of the most ancient sect of Hind, is there no disavowal of the Divine Unity, and no apostacy against Unitarians; but there is even a stock of faith in opposition to the blockheads of the

I i

present





SECT.

I.

present time, who have established themselves for erudite, and who, falling into the traces of murder and molestation, and apostatizing from, and disavowing the true proficients in God, and Unitarians, display resistance against all the words of Monotheism, which is most evident from the glorious Koran, and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy; and are highwaymen in the path of God. After verification of these circumstances it appeared, that among this most ancient tribe, out of all their heavenly books there are four principal holy books, which are, the *Rik Vèd*<sup>(a)</sup>, the *Yējūr Vèd*<sup>(b)</sup>, the *Sām Vèd*<sup>(c)</sup>, and the *Athērbēn Vèd*<sup>(d)</sup>, together with a number of ordinances descended upon the prophets of those times, the most eminent of whom was Adam, on whom be the peace of God! and this purport is manifest from those same books. And it is also known out of the holy Koran, that there is no tribe without a Prophet, and without a Bible; and from sundry passages therein it is proved, that God inflicts not punishment on any tribe, until a Prophet hath been sent to them; and that there is no country wherein a religion accompanied with prophecy hath not been placed: and of a

(a) *Rik Vèd*—The word of God, in which the rythms of the letters of each Hemyfych are equal in number.

(b) *Yējūr Vèd*—The word of God, in which the letters of the fourth Hemyfych are unequal in number.

(c) *Sām Vèd*—The word of God, which is chanted with music.

(d) *Athērbēn Vèd*—The fourth book of God.

certainty,





certainly, Prophets with conspicuous miracles have been sent, and holy books with them. And the principal parts of those four books, wherein are contained all the secrets of the *Shlōks*,\* and of the contemplative exercises of pure Monotheism, are called *ōpnēkhēts* (°): and the Prophets of that time having extracted them, have written commentaries, with complete and diffusive interpretations thereon; and being even still understood as the best part of their religious worship, they are always studied. And whereas the views of this Seeker of plain truth were directed to the origin of the unity of the Being, in the Arabic language, and the Syriac, and the Chaldaic, and the Sanscrit, he was desirous to comprehend these *ōpnēkhēts*, which are a treasury of Monotheism, and in which the proficients, even among that tribe, were become very rare, by translating, and without any worldly motives, in a clear style, word for word. Since as this sect hath kept them so exceedingly hidden and concealed from the professors of Islām, what are the secrets contained therein? And as at this period the city of *Bēnārēs*, which is the metropolis of the sciences of this tribe, was in certain relations with this Seeker of truth, having assembled together the *Pūndits* and *Sēnyāsees*, who were the most learned of their time, and proficients in

\* Or *Shlōks*, Verses.

(°) *Opnēkhēt*, *Oopanēshat*, or *Upanishat*—A sentence of Monotheism, which is a Secret to be concealed, according to the *Sanskrit*.





SECT.

I.

the *öpnëkhëts*, himself free from prejudices translated these essential parts of Monotheism, which are the *öpnëkhëts*, i. e. Secrets to be concealed, and the end of the purport of all the faints of God, in the 1067th year of the Hejrà. And every difficulty, and every sublime topic, which he had desired and sought, and had looked for and not found, he obtained from these essences of those most antient books, which without doubt or suspicion are the first of all heavenly books in point of time, and the source of the fountain of verity, and an ocean of Monotheism, and are in conformity with the holy Koran, and even a commentary thereon. And it becomes clearly manifest, that this sentence is literally applicable to these ancient books, *viz.* the venerable Koran is in a book, which book is hidden, and which cannot be discovered except by the heart which is become purified, and which hath descended from Providence. It is evident to any person, that this sentence is not applicable to the Psalms, or to the books of Moses, or to the Gospel; and by the word '*descended*,' it is clear that it is not applicable to the reserved tables of destiny. And whereas the *öpnëkhëts*, which are *Secrets to be concealed*, are the essence of this book, and the sentences of the holy Koran are literally found therein, of a certainty therefore the '*hidden book*' is this most ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known, and things incomprehensible became comprehended by this Fakeer. In beginning this translation





translation he opened the holy pages as an omen, and the chapter of Arâf \* came up, of which the first sentence is thus: "A. L. M. S. a book hath been sent down unto thee, " and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concern- " ing it; that thou mayest preach the same, and that it may " be an admonition to the faithful:" and he had no intention, and no purport, except for the religious advancement of his children, and his friends, and the seekers of truth. Happy is he, who having abandoned the prejudices of vile selfishness, sincerely and with the grace of God renouncing all partiality, shall study and comprehend this translation, which is to be denominated '*mighty secrets*,' knowing it to be a translation of the words of God: he shall become unperishable, and without dread, and without solicitude, and eternally liberated."

SECT.

I.

## Sultan Darah's Prayer to RUDER.

A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the SHANSCRIT language, and translated by C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esquire, from a Persian version of DARAH SHEKO, a son of SHAH JEHAN, Emperor of Hindostan.

"O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy majesty, and in thy displeasure. I reverence thy arrows, which convey destruc-

\* Al Arâf is the 7th Chapter of the Koran, and this sentence is borrowed from Sale's translation, p. 117.

tion;





SECT.

I.

tion; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou bestowest joy, and doest away all sins.

“O thou, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, dispel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful, and defend them from harm; and grant that I may remain secure under thy guardianship and protection. Thou art the great Physician of Physicians! heal thou my infirmities; disperse my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

“I reverence thee in the sun, which is thy image, whilst it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe; whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness: nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me.—I reverence him who is the source of joy to living creatures, whose nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of age. To him and all that springs from him I owe reverence and honour.

“O RUDER, firing thy bow to defend me from all my open or secret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to destroy them. When thou hast destroyed my enemies, and unstrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced, then grant that I likewise may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needest not to string the bow, nor to sharpen the points of  
arrows.





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arrows. Thou needest not the sword like other swords, to accomplish thy purposes. O thou who canst fulfil desires, whose designs no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every side, and drive my enemies far from me.

SECT.

I.

“ O RUDER, thy arm is like shining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All causes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cause of causes. Thou art space. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beasts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the guide: every light that shines is thy light. Thou interestest into all: thou sustaineest all.

“ O punisher of those who go astray, O Lord of life, O punisher of beings! terrify not thy creatures, strike them not, destroy them not; nor let even one of them suffer pain from thee. O thou, who givest strength to the feeble, and medicines to the sick; grant me thy support, that I may enjoy health, and live. O RUDER, turn my understanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beseech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beast, in quiet and security. Preserve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with sickness: do thou, RUDER, give them health, and drive diseases far from them. We all come before thee in supplication: grant unto us all those blessings which our fathers asked of thee for us, when they were desirous of bringing us into existence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in sacrifice and prayer unto thee.





SECT.

I.

thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou source of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wantest nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employest thy arms for my security, who hast thousands of thousands of weapons, scatter my enemies, and destroy them; for thou, RUDER, art supreme in every part of nature. Exert, for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth; which show themselves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various species of living creatures, in the waters, and in food, provided for the support of life. Thou, who destroyest all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidst the guardians of the highways, and in the places of worship: in all thou art the infinite RUDER; in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to disarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the east, ten times toward the south, ten times toward the west, and ten times toward the north, I bow myself before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the east, ten times toward the south, ten times toward the west, ten times toward the north, and ten times with my eyes on heaven above, I bow myself before thy aërial and heavenly powers, whose arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Every one of these





these is RUDER, whose infinite power I reverence: RUDER, SECT. I.  
whose fulness is in all. All that has been, it is he. All that  
is, it is he. All that shall be, it is he."

*The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the JUDGER BEDE:  
to which it may be curious to subjoin a Description of RUDER,  
to whom it is addressed, as contained in another sacred book,  
intituled, the ATHERBUN BEDE.*

"The angels, having assembled themselves in heaven before RUDER, made obeisance, and asked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would describe myself by similitude. I always was, I always am, and always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like him. In this ME is the inward essence, and the exterior substance, of all things. I am the primitive cause of all. All things that exist in the east, or west, or north, or south, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are transcendent. I am truth. I am the spirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES\*. I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the first, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpose do I exist, that whosoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all

\* The Sacred Writings of the Hindoos, in the *Sanscrit* language.





SECT. I. books, and all their ordinances. And whosoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will understand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to those who practise virtue will I give fulness and tranquillity."

RUDER having pronounced these words to the angels, was absorbed in his own brightness.

## NOTE III.

Page 73, line 15. *He (Aurengzebe) determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout the empire, by the severest penalties.*]—DE GRAAF, when at Hugly in Bengal, in the year 1670, says, "Au mois de Janvier tous les gouverneurs & officiers maures reçurent ordre du Grand Mogul d'empêcher l'exercice de la religion payenne dans tout le pays, & de faire murer tous les temples ou pagodes des idolâtres. On diminua en même temps les taxes des marchands Mahomédans & on augmenta celles des idolâtres dans l'espérance que quelques Payens embrasseroient la religion Mahomédanne. Et pour mieux faire paroître sa piété, l'empereur envoya à la Mecque une très grosse somme d'argent à l'honneur de son grand prophète Mahomed. Il dépêcha aussi des ordres pour défendre tous les lieux publics de débauche; mais pour lui il n'observoit pas ces ordres dans son palais."

In





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In 1674 he forbade the use of cochineal in the dyeing of garments, as too splendid a colour for the sanctity of a Mahomedan.

SECT.

I.

## NOTE LIII.

Page 73, line 23. *An old woman led a multitude in arms.*—This story is told by Manouchi, as well as by Dow, but with different circumstances.

## NOTE LIV.

Page 74, line 9. *Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahships of Indostan.*—The standing force and revenue of these princes in 1770, were reputed,

Of ABNIR, twenty thousand horse and eighteen thousand foot; revenue fourteen millions of rupees.

Of JOUDPORE, which is more commonly called the Rajah of MARVAR, thirty thousand horse; his revenues above ten millions of rupees.

Of CHITORE, twenty thousand horse and ten thousand foot; his revenues likewise are computed at ten millions of rupees.

We have this note from Mr. C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE; and hope that the late expedition from Bengal into the province of Malva, will have acquired ample information concerning the language, geography, and ancient history of these

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countries;





SECT.

I.

countries; for such an opportunity will not soon occur again.

## NOTE LV.

Page 75, line 22. *The Rajah Jeffwont Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678.*—He had written the following letter to Aurengzebe.

“ All due praise be rendered to the glory of the Almighty,  
“ and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous  
“ as the sun and moon. Although I, your well-wisher, have  
“ separated myself from your sublime presence, I am never-  
“ theless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of  
“ obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous  
“ services are employed to promote the prosperity of the  
“ Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajahs, and Roys, of the provinces  
“ of Hindostan, and the chiefs of Aeraun, Turaun, Room, and  
“ Shawn, the inhabitants of the seven climates, and all per-  
“ sons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination  
“ is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt  
“ thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and  
“ your majesty’s condescension, I presume to solicit the royal  
“ attention to some circumstances, in which the public as  
“ well as private welfare is greatly interested.

“ I have been informed, that enormous sums have been  
“ dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against  
“ me, your well-wisher; and that you have ordered a tri-  
“ bute





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“bute to be levied to satisfy the exigences of your ex-  
“hausted treasury. SECT.  
I.

“May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor Maho-  
“med Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven,  
“conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm  
“security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every  
“tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were fol-  
“lowers of Jesus, or of Moses, or David, or Mahomed; were  
“they Bramins, were they of the sect of DHARIANS, which  
“denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the  
“existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed  
“his countenance and favour; inasmuch that his people, in  
“gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded  
“them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut  
“Grow (Guardian of Mankind).

“His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangheer, like-  
“wife, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a  
“period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection  
“over the heads of his people; successful by a constant  
“fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm  
“in business.

“Nor less did the illustrious Shâh Jehân, by a propitious  
“reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal repu-  
“tation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

“Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors.  
“Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles,  
“wherefoever





SECT. " wheresoever they directed their steps, conquest and prof-  
I. " perity went before them; and then they reduced many  
" countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your  
" majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the em-  
" pire, and farther loss of territory must necessarily follow;  
" since devastation and rapine now universally prevail with-  
" out restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and  
" every province of your empire is impoverished; depopu-  
" lation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indi-  
" gence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his  
" princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to  
" the soldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants com-  
" plaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindoos def-  
" titute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the  
" want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads through-  
" out the day in rage and desperation.

" How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who  
" employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people  
" thus miserably reduced? At this juncture it is told from  
" east to west, that the emperor of Hindostan, jealous of the  
" poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Bramins,  
" Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sonaffees; that, regardless  
" of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he conde-  
" scends to exercise his power over the solitary inoffensive  
" anchoret. If your majesty places any faith in those books,  
" by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed,  
" that





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“ that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of  
“ Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are  
“ equally in his presence. Distinctions of colour are of his  
“ ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples,  
“ to his name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of  
“ images, where the bell is shaken, still he is the object of  
“ adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other  
“ men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty.  
“ When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resent-  
“ ment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, Presume  
“ not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power  
“ divine.

SECT.

I.

“ In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is  
“ repugnant to justice: it is equally foreign from good po-  
“ licy, as it must impoverish the country: moreover, it is an  
“ innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan.  
“ But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to deter-  
“ mine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the rules of  
“ equity, to have been made first upon RAMSING, who is  
“ esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let  
“ your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will have  
“ less difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies  
“ is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind. It is wonder-  
“ ful that the ministers of your government should have  
“ neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of rectitude  
“ and honour.”

+ +

K K 4

The





SECT.

I.

The elegant translation of this letter was made and given to us by Mr. C. W. Boughton Rouse.

## NOTE LVI.

Page 79, line 2. *The island of Kenary.*—We have extracted all we say of the dispute, which ensued for this and the adjacent island of Kenary, from the daily correspondence between the council of Bombay, and their cruizers on this service.

## NOTE LVII.

Page 84, line 23. *Dongong, where the English had factors, Chupra, and other great marts, were again plundered, and Brampore shut its gates.*—*Dongong* is likewise spelt in the records, *Dorongom*, and *Drongom*. *Gong* means a town, and occurs frequently in the geography of Candish and Aurengabad, and still more in the Morattoe country. We find that the English presidency at Surat, established a factory at *Drongom*, in April 1674; but their correspondence does not ascertain the situation of the place, which appears to have been under the jurisdiction of *Aurengabad*; for on some injury which the factory had received from the Phoufdar of the district (it was towards the end of 1682) the presidency procured a letter from the governor of  
Surat





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Surat to the Duan at Aurengabad, to redress the grievance. The factors say, that *Drongom* is 130 cofs from *Surat*: the road was by *Sqler Moler* and *Neurdabar*, whereabouts a caphila of the company's goods, coming from *Drongom*, was plundered in January 1681, by a troop of banditti, who were not Morattoes.

SECT.

I.

Mr. D'Anville, following Thevenot, in his route from Brampore to Bider and Golcondah, gives a *Deulgong*, to the east of Brampore and Aurengabad, nearly equally distant from both. And its distance from Surat agrees nearly with the 130 cofs given by the factors. We find this place in our mss. of the Decan, under the province of BERAR, as the head of a purgunnah or district, in the government or circar of *Mekker*.

A *Dongom* arises in the marches of Mr. Buffy, between Aurengabad and Golcondah; but its distance from Surat is too great, not to prefer the other: this *Dongom* is not mentioned in our mss. of the Decan, under the subahs either of Aurengabad, Bider, or Golcondah; to one of which it must belong.

The investment provided for the company at *Drongom* in 1683, was,

10,000 pieces of broad baftaes.

10,000 pieces of sevaguzzies.

2,500 maunds (100,000 lbs.) of turmerick.





## NOTE LVIII.

Page 86, line 23. *Amongst others, they sacked Huttany, a very considerable mart.*—Huttany is mentioned as such, not only by Fryer, but likewise in the records of the English factory at Carwar, which had continual dealings there; nevertheless, if at that time, it has not of late years been the head of a purgunnah or district, because the name does not occur in our MSS. of the Decan. Mr. D'ANVILLE has placed a town called *Atteni*, forty miles west of Viziapore, and twenty east of Raibaug; but this is too near the capital to have been maintained for any time, although it might have formerly been plundered by Sevagi. We have inserted the *Atteni* of Mr. D'Anville into our map.

## NOTE LIX.

Page 89, line 14. *His (Sevagi's) disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Rairce; and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was setting out on some signal excursion.*]

Page 90, line 2. *He expired on the 5th of April 1680, and in the fifty-second year of his age.*—BOMBAY, on the 28th of April 1680, write to the presidency of Surat; "We have certainly





tain news that SEVAGEE RAJAH is dead; it is now twenty-  
three days since he deceased, 'tis said of a bloody flux,  
being sick twelve days. How affairs go in his country, we  
shall advise as comes to our knowledge; at present all is  
quiet, and Sambagee Rajah is at Parnella." The purport  
of another letter from Bombay to Surat, which is dated the  
3d of May 1680, likewise confirms the death of Sevagi.

SECT.

I.

SURAT, answering, on the 7th of May, to the letter from  
Bombay of the 28th April, say, "SEVAGEE'S death is con-  
firmed from all places; yet some are still under a doubt of  
the truth, *such reports having been used to run of him before*  
*some considerable attempt*; therefore shall not be too confi-  
dent until better assured." The next letter from Surat is of  
the 18th of May, in which they express no farther doubt of  
his death; and two English factors, who had been sent to  
Rajapore in order to receive the balance of account allowed  
by Sevagi to the company, write on the 22d of June to  
Bombay, that they were disappointed by the arrival of a new  
subadar or governor, who declared that he should pay nothing  
without the express orders of SAMBAGEE; on which the fac-  
tors sent a messenger to Sambagee, who was certainly at  
Pannella, and answered, that he should examine the accounts,  
but was at that time employed in other affairs.

The agency of *Bengal*, in answer to the advices they had  
received from Bombay of SEVAGI'S death, write on the 13th  
of December 1680, "SEVAGI *has died so often*, that some





SECT.

I.

“ begin to think him immortal. 'Tis certain, little belief can  
“ be given to any report of his death, until experience tell  
“ the waning of his hitherto prosperous affairs; since when  
“ he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none to leave behind  
“ him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and  
“ fortune he has all along done.”

The dates we have quoted from Bombay, Surat, and Rajapore, incontestably prove, that Mr. Fryer is mistaken in saying, SEVAGI died on the first of June 1680; but as Mr. Fryer did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum. But Catrou, although guided by MANOUCHI (who says more of Sevagi than all the other writers, and particularizes the cause of his death) simply says, that he died in 1679: from which we conclude, that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manouchi's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own.

## NOTE LX.

Page 90, line 6. *Attendants, animals, and wives, were burnt with his corpse.*—We have these circumstances of Sevagi's funeral from Mr. Fryer; from whom we likewise learn, that Sevagi, during Mr. Oxenden's embassy in 1674, married his fourth wife; but the mother of his son Ramrajah was ex-

empted.





empted from his funeral pile; and so would Sambagi's, if she had been alive, as having both passed the term of beauty, which seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty, and almost revokes the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindoos in all other observances.

SECT.

I.

The Bramins always preside and officiate in these sacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion.

The Jesuits in JARRIC say, that three hundred and seventy-five women burnt with the NAIGUE of Tanjore, who died in 1602; which we suppose to be the honest but enthusiastic credulity of missionaries lamenting the infernal state of the heathens they wished to convert.

If the princes of the Hindoos, who alone could have suppressed, have encouraged these deathful rites, by suffering the profusion devoted to their own obsequies; they themselves are obliged to surrender even an infant daughter, if betrothed, to the immolation, when called for by the manes of a husband.

## NOTE LXI.

Page 91, line 20. *Broods were raised from the most approved.*—The horses bred in India, although naturally more vicious





SECT.

I.

vicious than those of Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, are, like them, preserved intire. It is rare that any of race or value have been seen by the European travellers at open pasture; which in Coromandel is too arid, and in Bengal too rank, to give them size and vigour; nevertheless a few are seen straggling in every part of these countries, but so diminutive and naught, that no one owns them, and they may be taken up for the fee of a few pence to the Zemindar: and there is a breed at COLAR, west of VELORE, which, although restive, and not hardy, serve for the wretched cavalry of the neighbouring polygars. Sevagi, at the time of his death, had 60,000 horses, and as many foot, always ready for the field, besides his stationary guards and garrisons. The Morattoo horses are of all sorts and sizes, but always lean, active, and hardy, the effect of continual exercise and fatigue, so that it is probable fewer survive than perish under the experiment of service. In detachments of ambuscade they rode mares, not to be discovered by neighing. It is worth the inquiry to know in what parts of India the good horses are bred, together with the properties of the soil, and the care of the breeder.

A race which have height and agility are bred on the river KUTCH; another, stronger, on the INDUS, but in what part we have not yet discovered.

Mr. Fryer says, that SEVAGI stabled his choicest horses at DECIR, at the foot of the gaut going to Jenneah, "for the  
"conveniency





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“conveniency of this plain to supply them with hay and  
“corn, which causeth them to have the greater force.” By  
corn we suppose he means rice. M. Anquetil du Perron, in  
his journey from Surat to Bassaïn, saw near Naucari “des  
“paturages garnies de chevaux.” We have found no other  
mentions of *stables* or horse pastures in the Morattoe country.  
Where are the rest?

SECT.  
I.

## NOTE LXII.

Page 94, line 3. *In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record.*]—Mr. FRYER says, that he even wished to command his fleet in person, and tried the element; but his constitution could not overcome the nausea.

## NOTE LXIII.

Page 95, line 5. *His state has been always increasing.*]—It is said that Aurengzebe used to call Sevagi, the Mountain Rat; and we have often wondered what affinity there could be, to give occasion for this epithet. One says, that Seva means a rat, in one of the Indian languages. We thought it might be in derision of his figure, which was short, thick, and black: but we have now found (Jan. 1785) in Brett's Feyjoo, vol. 1, page 58, a description of the properties of an animal which Feyjoo calls the Rat of India, that makes the appellation





SECT. I. lation applied to Sevagi a compliment, and very characteristic of his military policy.

However we must not be sure that Aurengezebe had this animal in his idea, until we know whether it exists in India Proper; for if it does not, but in other parts of the East Indies, and if not there, in America, which the Spaniards call India, it may be that Aurengzebe never had any idea of the animal, unless he read it in some Arabic, Turkish, or Persian history, in all which languages he was completely skilled.—This must be inquired into, for the allusion is most apposite.

#### NOTE LXIV.

Page 95, line 6. *This state comprised, on the western side of India, all the coast, with the back country of the hills from Mirzeou to Versal; excepting the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portuguese country between Bassein and Daman to the north.*]—Thus SEVAGI had reduced the whole tract of the sea-coast, which had been subject to the kingdom of Viziapore; and, according to BALDEUS, who was in India from 1655 to 1666, extended from the river Mirzeou to Dando. Dando lies between Agacim and Daman; from whence to Versal, thirty miles, we suppose belonged either to the Moguls, or to independent Rajahs.

NOTE





## NOTE LXV.

Page 95, line 12. *The whole* (of SEVAGI's dominion to the west) *may be esteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth.*—To save doubt, and the trouble of comparison, we shall observe, that this extent differs from what is given in Note xxix; because there we are computing what we suppose to have been the original country of the Morattoes, but here, the territory which SEVAGI had reduced under his own sovereignty.

## NOTE LXVI.

Page 100, line 16. ACBAR]—BERNIER says, that Aurengzebe (in the year 1664) “summoned his privy council, and “the most learned persons of his court, to decide on the new “preceptor he should give to his third son ACBAR, whom he “intends to be his successor.” Acbar was at this time about seven years of age; and we find by other accounts, that this preference arose from Acbar being the son of a Mahomedan mother, the daughter of Shânâvaze Khan, who, as one of the Sophy family, was descended from Mahomed, by his daughter married to Ali; whereas the Sultans Mauzum and Azim were born of the daughters of Rajpoot princes. We are ignorant how long the preference of Acbar continued; but it had ceased some time before the commencement of the war

M M

against





SECT.

I.

against the Rajpoot Rajahs; and probably from the concurrence of several causes. Sultan Mauzum had manifested abilities, courage, and on all occasions implicit obedience; and in these qualities even Sultan Azim exceeded Acbar; who, naturally wayward and arrogant, assumed the succession to the throne as a right, instead of an undue predilection in his favour; which diminished still more after the birth of Cawn Buksh, whom Aurengzebe cherished with the utmost tenderness, as the son of his old age, and of his favourite wife Udeperri, who governed him in all concerns relating to his family; and from this time Aurengzebe no longer held out Sultan Acbar as the general heir of the empire; whom this change in his expectations exasperated to the revolt we are relating.

## NOTE LXVII.

Page 101, line 14. *This day was the 11th (read the 9th) of January 1681.*—We have taken this date from Manouchi, one of the very few he gives; although it barely allows time for what passed within the limit of another date, of which there can be no doubt.

## NOTE LXVIII.

Page 102, line 15. *The pavilions of Aurengzebe.*—Which are described by MANOUCHI as compartments of wood; but

Bernier,





Bernier, who went on the journey to Cashmire in 1664, describes the field equipage of Aurengzebe at that time, as consisting of tents. SECT.  
I.

## NOTE LXIX.

Page 103, line 3. *Acbar put his treasure, with his infant son and daughter, and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels.]*

\* Page 103, line 10. *But Acbar only accepted the service of 500 Rajpoots, and the protection of the state to his children and family.]*

Neither Manouchi, who we believe was at this time in the army of Sultan Mauzum, nor OVINGTON and HAMILTON, who were at Surat in 1690, and speak of this revolt, make any mention of Sultan Acbar's children: they appear in the Surat records of the year 1693, and explain a point of history, left in great obscurity by all the accounts we have seen of the accession of the emperor Mahomed Shah, in 1718.

## NOTE LXX.

Page 104, line 15 and 16. *Acbar—arrived on the first of June (1681) at Pawlee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the Gauts, a day's journey from the shore opposite to Bombay.]—BOMBAY writes to Surat on the 10th of June 1681, "There*





SECT.

I.

“ has been a flying report here for some days, that SULTAN  
“ ECBAR is come down into Sambagee's country; and two  
“ days ago came over hither from the main a Moor inhabi-  
“ tant of our island, who says he saw him at a place called  
“ *Pawlee*, about a day's journey from *Negotan*, where he is  
“ with about four hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty  
“ camels, and some small number of foot, being all that is  
“ with him; that he is saluted as KING; at his entrance into  
“ the Rajah's dominions was met by several of his grandees,  
“ by his order, and conducted to the aforesaid place, where  
“ it is said the Rajah is daily expected to wait on him. We  
“ intend a man over to the main, who shall go where he is,  
“ and learn what he can, and then shall give you a full ac-  
“ count of all. It's said that the RANAH\* and SAMBAGEE  
“ RAJAH intend to join their forces, and endeavour to set  
“ SULTAN ECBAR in his father's kingdom†.”

Again, Bombay, on the twenty-first of June, writes to  
Surat; “ Our last was of the tenth instant, sent by the Carwar  
“ express. We then wrote you of SULTAN ECBAR's being  
“ at a place called *Pawlee*, near *Negotan*, and of our inten-  
“ tions to send a man thither to enquire into the truth of it,  
“ and learn what might be farther worthy your knowledge.  
“ The man we sent returned to us last night, and brings us  
“ this account: The SULTAN is really there; he is a white

\* We suppose, of Chitore.

† A mistake, we suppose, for throne.

“ man





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“ man of middle stature, of about 25 years\* of age: he is  
“ lodged in a large house covered with straw, at the foot of  
“ Pawlee Gur: it has tallah walls; but since his being there,  
“ are pulled down; it is lined within with white calico, and  
“ spread with ordinary carpets: he sits open: with him of  
“ any note is but one man, called Drugdas, a *Rashpoot* of the  
“ RANAH's, in great esteem with his master; about five hun-  
“ dred horse, and but fifty camels; a small parcel of foot:  
“ they are all lodged near about the SULTAN, and are most  
“ *Rashpoots*, very few *Moors*. Without them is quite round  
“ placed about three hundred foot, Sambagee Rajah's men,  
“ who keep guard: all the Subadars near about are there to  
“ wait on him; and about four days ago came from Sambagee  
“ Rajah to him, one Harji Pharsang, a person of great  
“ quality and esteem: he brought with him a letter from his  
“ master, and a present that was laid down at the SULTAN's  
“ feet; 1000 pagodas, a large string of great pearl, hanging  
“ to it a rich jewel set with a very large diamond, and a large  
“ jewel of diamonds for the head, with many pieces of rich  
“ India and Persia stuffs: the 1000 pagodas the next day he  
“ divided amongst his men. All the respect imaginable is  
“ paid him; and provisions for himself, horse, and men, is  
“ daily brought in by the several Subadars, being SAMBAGEE  
“ RAJAH's orders; who himself waits for a good day to set

SECT.

I.

\* See Note LXVI. concerning Acbar's age.

“ out





CSL

SECT.

I.

“ out of *Pernella*\* towards the Sultan, which, it is talked,  
“ will be in a few days more; and that he will wait on the  
“ Sultan standing, and not sit in his presence; for the Sultan  
“ permits none to sit in his presence, and all that come to  
“ him salute him as KING. He is in want of money, but  
“ hath with him jewels of great value. It is in every body’s  
“ mouth on the main, that the RANAH and SAMBAGEE  
“ RAJAH, &c. Rajahs, do resolve to join all their forces, and  
“ endeavour to make him KING: and this is all we have  
“ concerning him.”

## NOTE LXXI.

Page 105, line 21. RAMRAJAH *was sent to reside in one of the forts of the Carnatic.*]—We have not yet been able to discover in what fort: but suppose the knowledge might easily be obtained at Madras, although with more difficulty, what is of more concern, the circumstances of his life, during the nine ensuing years.

## NOTE LXXII.

Page 118, line 5. *In this year, 1682, the English company’s factors were expelled from Bantam, in the island of Java.*]—The

\* Pannela.

murderous