



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

## C H A P. VI.

*Origin of the quarrel with Persia—Conduct of Shaw Abâs—Aurungzêbe endeavours to appease him—He prepares for war—Writes a letter to the visier—which is intercepted—The emperor suspects the Persian nobles—A proclamation—A massacre threatened—Consternation at Delhi—The princess Jehanâra arrives from Agra to appease the Persians—The visier exculpates himself—The Persian nobility received into favour—March of the emperor—Death and character of Shaw Abâs—Peace with Persia—Revolt of the prince Shaw Allum—He returns to his duty—War with the Afgans—Magnificent reception of the king of Bucharâ.*

A. D. 1666.  
Hig. 1076.

The origin

THE emperor having, by his address, as well as by his crimes, extricated himself from domestic hostilities, was suddenly involved in a foreign war. The Persians, who with a preposterous negligence, had remained quiet during the civil dissensions in India, shewed a disposition to attack Aurungzêbe, after his fortune and conduct had firmly established him on the throne. But various reasons had induced Shaw Abâs the Second, who, with no mean abilities, held then the scepter of Persia, to avoid coming to extremities with the house of Timur, when all its branches were in arms. The unsuccessful expeditions against the unconquered tribes along the Indian ocean, had drained his treasury; and Mohâbet, who remained in a state of neutrality in the northern





northern provinces of Hindostan, kept an army of veterans in the field. The other passions of Abâs were more violent than his ambition. He seemed more anxious to preserve his dignity at home, than to purchase fame by his arms abroad; and, had not his pride been wounded by an accident, more than from any design, on the side of Aurungzêbe, that monarch might have enjoyed in tranquillity an empire which he had acquired by blood.

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The death of Dara and the flight of Suja having given stability to the power of Aurungzêbe in the eyes of the princes of the north, he had received, in the fourth year of his reign, congratulatory embassies from Tartary and Persia. To return the compliment to Shaw Abâs, Tirbiet Chan, a man of high dignity, was sent ambassador from the court of Delhi to Isfahan. He was received with the ceremony and respect which was due to the representative of so great a prince as the emperor of Hindostan. His credentials were read, in the hall of audience, in the presence of the nobility; and the few presents, which the suddenness of his departure from his court had permitted him to bring along with him to Abâs, were accepted with condescension and expressions of satisfaction. Tirbiet wrote an account of his reception to Delhi; and the emperor ordered magnificent presents to be prepared, and sent, under an escort, to Persia.

of the

The care of furnishing the presents is vested in an office which bears some resemblance to our chancery, having the power of ingrossing patents, and of judging of their legality before they pass the seal of the empire. Some presents had been, at the same time, ordered to be prepared for the prince of the Usbees, whom it was customary to address only by the title of Wali, or Master of the Western Tartary. The same clerk in the office made out

quarrel

the





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the inventory of the presents for both the princes; and, at the head of the list for Persia, he called Shaw Abâs, Wali, or Master of Iran. The inventory, accompanied by a letter to the emperor, was sent with the presents to Tirbiet; and he, without examining either, demanded an audience of Abâs, and placed both in his hands as he sat upon his throne. Abâs, though otherwise an excellent prince, was much addicted to wine. He was intoxicated when he received Tirbiet; and with an impatience to know the particulars of the presents, he threw first his eyes on the inventory. When he read the Wali, or Master of Persia, he started, in a rage, from his throne, and drew his dagger from his side. The nobles shrunk back on either side, and Tirbiet, who stood on the steps which led up to the Imperial canopy, retreated from the wrath of Abâs. The emperor, still continuing silent, sat down. Amazement was pictured in every countenance.

with Persia.

“Approach,” said Abâs, “ye noble Persians; and hear the particulars of the presents sent by the EMPEROR OF THE WORLD;” alluding to the name of ALLUMGIRE, which Aurungzêbe had assumed, “The EMPEROR OF THE WORLD to the MASTER OF PERSIA!” A general murmur spread around; they all turned their eyes upon Tirbiet. That lord began to fear for his life; and Abâs saw his consternation. “Hence, from my presence,” said he, “though I own not the title of Aurungzêbe to the world, I admit his claim to your service. Tell the impious son, the inhuman brother, the murderer of his family, that though his crimes have rendered him master of Hindostan, there is still a lord over Persia, who detests his duplicity and despises his power. Hence with these baubles; let him purchase with them the favour of those who are not shocked at guilt like his; but Abâs, whose hands are clean, shudders at the iniquity of a prince covered with the blood of his relations.”





Tirbiet retired from the prefence, and wrote letters to Aurungzêbe. The emperor of Persia, in the mean time, ordered every necessary preparation for war. The troops stationed on the skirts of the empire were commanded to assemble; new levies were made; and a general ardour for an invasion of India, ran through all the Persian dominions. Aurungzêbe, upon receiving the letters of Tirbiet, wrote an immediate answer to that lord. He laid the whole blame on the inadvertence and ignorance of a clerk in office; declaring, in the most solemn manner, that he never meant an affront to the illustrious house of Sefi. "The title of Allumgire," said he, "is adopted from an ancient custom, prevalent among the posterity of Timur. It is only calculated to impress subjects with awe, not to insult independent princes. The presents, which I sent, are the best testimony of my respect for Shaw Abâs; but if that prince is bent on war, I am ready to meet him on my frontiers with an army. Though I love peace with my neighbours; I will not prostrate my dignity before their ungovernable passions."

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The emperor  
endeavours  
in vain

Abâs, whose choleric disposition was almost always inflamed with wine, would not admit Tirbiet into his prefence. He sent an order to that lord to depart his dominions; and his ambassador was to be the messenger of the unalterable resolves of Abâs to Aurungzêbe. That prince, when he had first received the letters of Tirbiet, called his son Shaw Allum, with twenty thousand horse, from the Decan. He ordered him immediately to the frontiers, to watch the motions of Persia. Abâs, in the mean time, having collected his army, to the number of eighty thousand, with an immense train of artillery, advanced, at their head, into Chorassan. Shaw Allum was reinforced by all the troops of the northern provinces. He, however, received strict orders from his father, not to risque the issue of a general action; but to harass the enemy in his march. He himself made preparations to take the field.

to appease  
Shaw Abâs.





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An accident, however, happened, which threw him into great perplexity, and stopt his progress.

Spies seized.

Amir Chan, the Imperial governor of the province of Cabul, having seized four Tartars who had been sent as spies by Shaw Abâs, to explore the state of the frontiers of India, sent them prisoners to Delhi. The emperor delivered them over for examination to Alimâd, one of his principal nobles. Alimâd, having carried the Tartars to his own house, began to ask them questions concerning their commission from the king of Persia. They remained silent, and he threatened them with the torture. One of them immediately snatched a sword from the side of one of Alimâd's attendants; and, with one blow, laid that lord dead at his feet. Three more, who were in the room, were slain. The Tartars arming themselves with the weapons of the dead, issued forth, dispersed themselves in the crowd, and, notwithstanding all the vigilance, activity, and promises of Aurungzêbe, they were never heard of more. The emperor, naturally suspicious, began to suppose that the Persian nobles in his service had secreted the spies. He became dark and cautious, placing his emissaries round the houses of those whom he most suspected.

A letter intercepted,

Advices, in the mean time, arrived at Delhi, that Abâs, having finished his preparations, was in full march, with a well-appointed army, toward India. A letter was intercepted from that prince to Jaffier, the visier, a Persian by descent. It appeared from the letter, that a conspiracy was formed by all the Persian nobility in the service of India, to betray Aurungzêbe into the hands of the enemy, should he take the field. The emperor was thrown into the utmost perplexity. His rage, for once, got the better of his prudence. He gave immediate orders to the city-guards, to surround all the houses of the Persian nobility. He issued forth, at the same time,





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a proclamation, that none of them should stir abroad upon pain of death. He called the Mogul lords to a council; he secured their fidelity, by representing to them the urgency of the danger; and, contrary to his usual coolness and moderation, he swore, by the living God, that should he find that there was any truth in the conspiracy, he would put every one of the Persian nobility to the sword.

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The proclamation was scarce promulgated, when Tirbiet arrived from Persia. He presented himself before the emperor; and informed him, that at his departure he had been called before Shaw Abâs. That prince, after venting his rage against Aurungzêbe in very disrespectful terms, concluded with telling the ambassador, That as his master might soon be in want of swift horses to fly from his resentment, he had ordered for him three hundred out of the Imperial stables, whose speed would answer the expectations of his fears. "We shall soon have occasion to try," added Abâs, "whether this CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD can defend the dominions which he has usurped in Hindostan." Aurungzêbe was enraged beyond measure. He commanded that the horses, as a dreadful denunciation of his wrath, should be killed before the gates of the conspirators. The troops, at the same time, were ordered to stand to their arms, in the seven military stations, and to wait the signal of massacre, which was to be displayed over the gate of the palace.

which occasions  
Sept. 9.

A general consternation spread over the whole city. The people retired to their houses; and the streets were deserted. A panic seized all; they saw a dreadful tempest gathering; and they knew not where it was to fall. An awful silence, as a prelude to the storm, prevailed. The Persians were numerous and warlike; the emperor implacable and dark. The eyes and

a general  
consternation





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ears of men were turned to every quarter. The doors were all shut. There was a kind of silent commotion; a dreadful interval of suspense. Ideal sounds were taken for the signal of death; and the timorous seemed to hug themselves in the visionary security of their houses. The Persians had, in the mean time, collected their dependents. They stood armed in the courts before their respective houses, and were prepared to defend their lives, or to revenge their deaths with their valour.

at Delhi.

Things remained for two days in this awful situation. Aurangzêbe himself became, for the first time, irresolute. He was alike fearful of granting pardon and of inflicting punishment. There was danger on both sides; and his invention, fertile as it was in expedients, could point out no resource. He endeavoured, by promises and fair pretences, to get the principals into his hands. But they had taken the alarm, and no one would trust himself to the clemency of an enraged despot. Upon the first intelligence of the conspiracy, the emperor wrote to his sister Jehânâra, who resided at Agra, to come with all expedition to Delhi. The Persian nobles, he knew, had been attached to Shaw Jehân, to whose favour they had owed their promotion in the empire; and he hoped that they would listen to the advice of the favourite daughter of the prince whom they loved. He himself remained, in the mean time, fallen and dark: he spoke to none, his whole soul being involved in thought.

Advice of the  
Mogul lords

Taër and Cubâd, two of the most powerful, most popular, and respectable of the Mogul nobles, presented themselves, at length, before the emperor. They represented to him, that it would be both unjust and impolitic to sacrifice the lives of so many great men to bare suspicion; for that no proofs of their guilt had hitherto appeared, but from the hands of an enemy, who might  
have





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have devised this method to sow division and dissention in a country which he proposed to invade. That the Persian nobles had become powerful in the state from their high military commands, their great wealth, the immense number of their followers; that the common danger had united them; that the attack upon them would not prove a massacre but a civil war. That the Patan nobility, warlike, numerous, disaffected, still hankering after their ancient domination of which they had been deprived by the folly of their princes, as much as by the valour of the Moguls, would not fail to throw their weight into the scale of the Persians; and, upon the whole, they were of opinion, that peaceable measures should be adopted toward domestic traitors, at least till the danger of foreign war should be removed.

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The arguments of the two lords had their due weight with the emperor. He declared himself for lenient measures; but how to effect a reconciliation, with honour to himself, was a matter of difficulty. The princess Jehanâra arrived, in the mean time, from Agra. She had travelled from that city to Delhi, on an elephant, in less than two days, though the distance is two hundred miles. Her brother received her with joy. After a short conference, she presented herself, in her chair, at the door of the visier's house. The gates were immediately thrown open; and she was ushered into the apartments of the women. The visit was a mark of such confidence, and so great an honour in the eyes of the visier, that, leaving the princess to be entertained by the ladies, he hastened, without even seeing her himself, or waiting for her request to the emperor. When he entered the hall of audience, he prostrated himself before the throne. Aurungzêbe descended, took him in his arms, and embraced him in the most friendly manner. He then put the letter, which was the cause of the disturbance, in the visier's hand.

in favour of  
the Persian  
nobles.

Jaffier,





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who are  
reconciled

Jaffier, with a countenance expressing that serenity which accompanies innocence, ran over the letter, Aurungzêbe marking his features as he read. He gave it back, and positively denied his ever having given the least reason to Shaw Abâs for addressing him in that manner. He expatiated on his own services; upon those of his ancestors, who had resided in Hindostan ever since the time of the emperor Humaïoon. He represented the improbability of his entertaining any designs against a prince, who had raised him to the first rank among his subjects, and had left him nothing to hope or to wish for, but the continuance of his favour and the stability of his throne. He concluded with a pertinent question: "What could I expect in Persia equal to the high office of visier in Hindostan? Let my common sense be an argument of my innocence; and let not the emperor, by an opinion of my guilt, declare to the world that I am deprived of reason."

with the  
emperor.

Aurungzêbe was convinced by the speech of Jaffier; and he wondered from whence had proceeded his own fears. By way of doing him honour, he ordered him to be clothed with a magnificent dress; at the same time directing him to command all the Persian nobles to make their immediate appearance in the hall of audience. When they were all assembled, the emperor mounted the throne; and, after they had paid the usual compliments, he addressed them in a long speech. He excused his proceedings by reading the letter of Abâs; and he reproved them gently for their contumacy in not obeying his orders. He argued, that the power of a monarch ceases when his commands are disputed; and, that the indignity thrown upon him by their disobedience, touched him more than their supposed treason. "But," continued he, "a prince, though the representative of God, is liable to error and deception. To own that I have been partly





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partly in the wrong, carries in itself an excuse for you. Forget my mistake; and I promise to forgive your obstinacy. Rest satisfied of my favour, as I am determined to rely upon your gratitude and loyalty. My father, and even myself, have made you what you are; let not the hands which raised you so high, repent of the work which they have made."

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The speech of the emperor seemed to be well received by all the Persians, excepting Mahommed Amîn, the son of the famous Jumla. That lord, haughty and daring in his disposition, was dissatisfied with the conduct of the visier, hurt at the submission of his countrymen, and piqued at the emperor's latter words. He looked sternly upon Aurungzêbe; and said, in a scornful manner, "Since you have been pleased to pardon us for offences which we did not commit; we can do no less than forget the errors which you have made." The emperor, pretending that he did not hear Amîn distinctly, ordered him to repeat his words; which he did twice, in a haughty and high tone of voice. The eyes of Aurungzêbe kindled with rage. He seized a sword, which lay by his side on the throne. He looked around to see, whether any of the nobles prepared to resent the affront offered to his dignity. They stood in silent astonishment. He sat down; and his fury beginning to abate, he talked to the visier about the best manner of carrying on the Persian war.

Infolence of  
Amîn Chan.

The minds of the people being settled from the expected disturbances, Aurungzêbe prepared to take the field. The army had already assembled in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and the Imperial tents were pitched on the road toward the north. He marched in a few days at the head of a great force; but the storm which he feared, dissipated without falling. When he was within a few miles of Lahore, expresses arrived from his son, who

Aurungzêbe  
takes the  
field.

commanded





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commanded the army of observation on the frontiers of Persia, with intelligence that Shaw Abâs, who had languished for some time under a neglected disease, expired in his camp on the twenty-fifth of September. This accident, of which a more ambitious monarch than Aurungzêbe might have taken advantage, served only to change the resolutions of that prince from war. He considered that nature seemed to have designed the two countries for separate empires, from the immense ridge of mountains which divide them from one another, by an almost impassable line.

Death and  
character of  
Shaw Abâs.

Shaw Abâs was a prince of abilities, and when roused, fond of expedition and delighting in war. He was just in his decisions, mild in his temper, and affable in his conversation. Destitute of prejudices of every kind, he made no distinction of countries, none of systems of religion. He encouraged men of worth of every nation; they had access to his person, he heard and redressed their grievances, and rewarded their merit. He was, however, jealous of his prerogative, and he was determined to be obeyed. He could forgive the guilty, upon being convinced of their contrition; but an insult on his dignity he would never forgive. His passions were naturally strong; he broke often forth like a flash of lightning; but when he was most agitated, a calm was near; and he seemed to be ashamed of the trifles which ruffled his temper. He loved justice for its own sake; and though his excesses in wine gave birth sometimes to folly, they never gave rise to an act of injustice. He was fond of the company of women; and his love of variety produced the distemper of which he died.

Peace with  
Persia.

Upon the death of Shaw Abâs, his uncle remained in the command of the Persian army. He sent a messenger to Aurungzêbe, acquainting him of the death of his nephew; and that he left him to chuse either peace or war. The emperor returned for answer,

That





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That his own empire was ample; and that all he wanted was to defend it from insult and invasion. That the disrespectful words of Abâs vanished with his life; for, conscious of his own integrity and power, that he neither feared the abuse, nor dreaded the arms of any prince. He condoled with the family of Sheick Sefi, for the loss of a monarch, whose most exceptionable action was his unprovoked attempt upon India. Aurungzêbe, however, left a powerful army on his frontiers. The Persians might be induced to derive advantage from the immense preparations which they had made; and he resolved to trust nothing to their moderation. The prince Shaw Allum was, in the mean time, recalled to Delhi. The emperor, full of circumspection and caution in all his actions, was resolved to remove temptation from his son. He feared that an army unemployed in a foreign war, might be converted into an instrument of ambition at home. Shaw Allum copied his father's moderation and self-denial upon every occasion, and he, therefore, was not to be trusted.

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During the alarm of the Persian war, the tributary sovereign of Bijapour began to shew a disrespect for the Imperial mandates; and though he did not absolutely rebel, his obedience was full of coldness and delay. Dilêre Chan, by orders from the court of Delhi, led an army against the refractory tributary. He laid waste the country, and besieged the prince in his capital. Adil Shaw was soon reduced to extremities for want of provisions; and he was upon the point of surrendering himself at discretion, when orders arrived from the emperor, in the camp of Dilêre, to break up the siege, and to return immediately with the army to Delhi. These unseasonable orders proceeded from the jealousy of Shaw Allum. He knew that Dilêre was in the interest of his younger brother; and he was afraid that a conquest of such splendor would give him too much weight in the empire. He had insinuated,

War in Bijapour.





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therefore, to his father, that Dilère had entered into a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. Aurungzêbe was deceived, and the siege was raised.

Designs of  
the prince  
Shaw Allum

Shaw Allum, who had returned to the Decan, resided in the city of Aurungabâd. To disappoint Dilère in his prospect of fame, was not the only view of the prince. He meditated a revolt, and he was afraid of Dilère. His father's orders were favourable to his wishes. He had received instructions from court to seize the person of the suspected lord, should he shew any marks of disaffection; or to subdue him by force of arms, should he appear refractory. Thus far the designs of Shaw Allum succeeded. Dilère, apprized of the prince's schemes, broke up the siege, though with regret, as the place was on the point of surrendering. He moved toward Delhi, with a disappointed army of thirty thousand Patan horse, and the like number of infantry.

to rebel;

Dilère arriving within six miles of Aurungabâd, encamped with his army in an extensive plain. The prince lay under the walls of that city with eighty thousand men. Dilère sent a messenger to Shaw Allum, excusing himself for not waiting upon him in person that evening; but he promised to present himself in the tent of audience by the dawn of next morning. The prince called a council of his principal officers, who had already sworn on the Coran to support him with their lives and fortunes. The Maraja, who was never happy but when he was hatching mischief against Aurungzêbe, was present. This prince proposed, that when Dilère came into the presence, they should lay open to him their whole design against the emperor; that in case of his appearing refractory, he should instantly be dispatched as a dangerous enemy. Though Shaw Allum did not altogether approve of the Maraja's violence, he consented that Dilère should be

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seized;





seized; and they broke up their deliberations with that resolution.

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 Aug. 10<sup>th</sup> 8.

Dilère, who was no stranger to the conspiracy, suspected the design against his person. He was also informed, by his friends in the camp, that the principal officers were shut up in council with the prince. He struck his tents in the night, and, marching on silently, took a circuit round the other side of the city, and when morning appeared, he was heard of above thirty miles from Aurungabad, on the road to Delhi. The prince, being informed of the flight of Dilère, was violently transported with rage. He marched suddenly in pursuit of the fugitive; but he was so much retarded by his numbers, which, including the followers of the camp, amounted to two hundred thousand men, that in a few days, he found that Dilère had outstripped him above fifty miles. He selected a part of his army, and leaving the heavy baggage behind, continued the pursuit with great vivacity. His officers did not, however, second the warmth of the prince. They were afraid of the veteran troops of Dilère; and threw every obstacle in the way which could retard their own march.

Pursues Dilère.

Dilère, in the mean time, apprized Aurungzebe, by repeated expresses of the revolt of his son. The Imperial standard was immediately erected without the walls; and the emperor himself took the field the very day on which he received the letters. He took the rout of Agra, with great expedition. He arrived in that city in three days; and he immediately detached a force to take possession of the important pass of Narwâr. Orders were, at the same time, sent to Dilère to march to Ugein, the capital of Malava, and there to join the troops of the province. Reinforced by these, he was directed to encamp behind the Nirbidda, which divides the Decan from the rest of India; and there

Emperor alarmed.





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to stop the progress of the prince. Dilère, with his usual activity, complied with the orders; and presented formidable lines, mounted with artillery, at the fords of the river.

Prince drops  
his designs.

The prince, apprized of the strong position of Dilère, and the rapid preparations of Aurungzêbe, returned toward Aurungabâd. He wrote, from that city, letters to his father. He pretended that he had only executed the orders of the emperor, in pursuing Dilère. Aurungzêbe seemed satisfied with this excuse. His son was formidable, and he resolved by degrees to divest him of his dangerous power. A rebellion was thus begun and ended without shedding blood. The art of the father was conspicuous in the son. They looked upon one another with jealousy and fear; and it was remarkable, that when both were in the field, and ready to engage, they had carried their politeness so far as not to utter, on either side, a single word of reproach. The emperor himself, notwithstanding his preparations, affected to say to his nobles, that he was perfectly convinced of the loyalty of his son.

Dilère re-  
warded.

The true sentiments of Aurungzêbe, however, appeared in the distinguishing honours which he bestowed on Dilère. That lord had rendered eminent services to the empire. In his march to the Decan against Adil Shaw, he had reduced some refractory Rajas in the mountains, who having joined in a confederacy, refused to pay their tribute. He deviated from his rout into the country of Bundela, and attacked, in his territory, the Raja of Hoda. The spoils of the enemy made ample amends for the tribute which had been withheld. Near two millions, in jewels and coin, were remitted by Dilère to the Imperial treasury. The tribute of the reduced princes was increased; and the successful general himself became rich at the expence of his foes. Aurungzêbe added honours to his wealth; and, without throwing any reflections on his





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his son, he publicly thanked the man who had so gallantly opposed his designs.

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The general peace which had been established in the empire by the return of Shaw Allum to his duty, was, in some degree, disturbed by an insurrection of the wild barbarians of the north. The Afghan tribe of Eusoph Zehi, who possess the heads of the Attoc and the Nilâb, rushed down from their mountains like a torrent, with thirty thousand men. They spread terror and devastation over all the plains of Punjâb; having invested their chief with the ensigns of royalty under the name of Mahommed Shaw. This prince, in the manifestoes which he dispersed in his march, averred his own descent from Alexander the Great, and a daughter of the king of Tranfoxiana. This genealogy was probably fabulous; but the Afgans have high claims on antiquity. A literary people, like the Arabs, and, by their mountains, their poverty, and the peculiar ferocity of their manners, secured from conquest, they have preserved among them many records of ancient authority, and undoubted credit.

Rebellion

Mahommed Shaw's power of doing mischief was less problematical than his high descent. The news of his ruinous progress was carried to Auringzêbe. He ordered the governor of the adjoining districts to harass the enemy till troops should march to his aid. The name of this officer was Camil. Impatient of the insults of the enemy, he resolved to attack them with ten thousand Geikers, whom he had collected from their hills round his standard. He directed his march toward the ferry of Haran on the Nilâb, with a determined resolution to give battle to the rebels. The Afgans, equally desirous of engaging, crossed the river with ten thousand of their best troops, and advanced impetuously against Camil. Morad, who commanded the van of the Imperial militia, fell in, sword

of the Afgans





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sword in hand, with the enemy before they had formed. They were thrown into confusion; but they obstinately kept their ground, and began to surround Morâd. Camil, in the mean time, advanced with the main body. The battle became obstinate and doubtful. Mahommed behaved with a spirit worthy of his new dignity. The rest of his army hastened to his relief; but before their arrival he was defeated, and he involved the whole in his own flight. The Nilâb, unfortunately for the fugitives, was four miles in their rear. They were pursued by Camil to the banks. They plunged into the river. More were drowned than fell by the sword. The rest were dissipated; and the insurrection seemed to be entirely quashed.

Camil, after this signal victory, entered the country of the rebels with his army. The governor of Cabul had, in the mean time, detached five thousand men, under his lieutenant Shumshîr, to oppose the Afgans. Camil sat down before their strong holds. They collected an army at the heads of their valleys, and marched down upon the Imperialists. Their troops were now more numerous than before, but not less unfortunate. They fell in, upon their march, with Shumshîr, whose army had been augmented to fifteen thousand. The battle was obstinate; and the Afgans derived their own defeat from their impetuous valour. Strangers to regularity and command, they rushed, without any form, into the heart of the enemy, and being singly overcome, all at last took to flight. They left some thousands dead on the spot: the survivors dissipated themselves in their mountains.

quashed.

The inhabitants of the plain country, who dreaded the incursions of these rude mountaineers, sent deputations to the emperor to request a force sufficient to extirpate the rebels. In consequence of this application, ten thousand chosen troops were ordered into the





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the mountains, under the conduct of Mahommed Amîn, the paymaster-general of the forces. Camil and Shumlaïr, before his arrival, had joined their forces. They marched up, through the principal valley, and were met by a third army of Afgans. The rebels, averse to the delays of war, offered battle upon their first appearance before the Imperialists. The action was bloody. Mahommed Shaw, the pretended descendant of Alexander, behaved with a bravery not unworthy of his ancestor. He led his mountaineers repeatedly to the charge. Fired with the gallant behaviour of their prince, they were not to be driven from the field. The Imperialists, having suffered much, were upon the point of giving way, when a report that the prince was slain induced the common soldiers among the rebels to fly. The officers were left in their posts alone. They formed themselves in squadrons; but they were surrounded, and three hundred chiefs came into the hands of the enemy. The flower of the rebel army fell in this action. Amîn, in the mean time arriving, pursued the fugitives through all their almost inaccessible vallies; and levelled every thing with the ground but the rocks, into which a few unfortunate Afgans found a refuge from the swords of the victors.

A. D. 1669.  
Hig. 1079.

A general peace was now established over all the empire. Aurungzêbe, to whom business was amusement, employed himself in making salutary regulations for the benefit of his subjects. He loved money, because it was the foundation of power; and he encouraged industry and commerce, as they encreased his revenue. He himself, in the mean time, led the life of a hermit, in the midst of a court, unequalled in its splendour. The pomp of state, he found, from experience, was not necessary to establish the power of a prince of abilities, and he avoided its trouble, as he liked not its vanity. He however encouraged magnificence among his officers at court, and his deputies in the provinces. The ample allowance

A general  
peace.





A. D. 1669.  
Hig. 1079.

lowance granted to them from the revenue, was not, they were made to understand, to be hoarded up for their private use. "The money is the property of the empire," said Aurungzêbe; "and it must be employed in giving weight to those who execute its laws."

Magnificent  
reception of  
the king of  
Bucharia.

An opportunity offered itself to his magnificence and generosity in the beginning of the eleventh year of his reign. Abdalla, king of the Lesser Bucharia, lineally descended from the great Zingis, having abdicated the throne to his son Aliris, advanced into Tibet in his way to Mecca. He sent a message to Aurungzêbe, requesting a permission for himself and his retinue to pass through India. The emperor ordered the governor of Cashmire to receive the royal pilgrim with all imaginable pomp, and to supply him with every article of luxury and convenience at the public expence. The governors of districts were commanded to attend Abdalla from province to province, with all their followers. The troops, in every place through which he was to pass, were directed to pay him all military honours; and, in this manner, he advanced to Delhi, and was received by the emperor at the gates of the city. Having remained seven months in the capital, he was conducted with the same pomp and magnificence to Surât, where he embarked for Arabia.

AURUNG-





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

## C H A P. VII.

*Observations—Education of Eastern princes—Genius of Aurungzébe—His attention to justice—Contempt of pomp—Austerity—Clemency—Knowledge—Public buildings—Encouragement to letters—Charity—Skill in war—Learning—Manly exercises—Continence—Accessibleness—Amusements—Ceremonies of reception—Creation of nobles—Business of the morning—noon—and evening—Observations.*

**T**HOUGH History loses half her dignity in descending to unimportant particulars, when she brings information, she cannot fail, even in her most negligent dress, to please. The singular good fortune and abilities of Aurungzébe stamp a kind of consequence on every circumstance, which contributed to raise him to a throne, which his merit deserved to possess without a crime. The line of his public conduct, in rising to the summit of ambition, has already been followed with some precision; but his private life, which prepared him for the greatness at which he had now arrived, remains still in the shade. To bring forward the objects which have hitherto lain distant and dim behind, will heighten the features of the picture, and perhaps recommend it to those who wish to see the glare of great transactions tempered with anecdote.





Unfavourable education.

The education of the natives of Asia is confined; that of young men of distinction always private. They are shut up in the haram from infancy till their seventh or eighth year; or, if they are permitted to come abroad, it is only under the care of eunuchs, a race of men more effeminate than the women whom they guard. Children, therefore, imbibe in early youth little female cunning and dissimulation, with a tincture of all those inferior passions and prejudices which are improper for public life. The indolence natural to the climate, is encouraged by example. They loll whole days on silken sofas; they learn to make nosegays of false flowers with taste, to bathe in rose-water, to anoint themselves with perfumes, whilst the nobler faculties of the soul lose their vigour, through want of cultivation.

of eastern princes.

Princes are permitted, at ten years of age, to appear in the hall of audience. A tutor attends them, who imposes upon them no restraint. They receive little benefit from his instructions, and they advance frequently into life without having their minds imbued with any considerable knowledge of letters. They are married to some beautiful woman at twelve, and it cannot be supposed that a boy, in possession of such an enchanting play-thing as a young wife, will give much attention to the dry study of grammar. The abilities of the princes of the house of Timur, it must be confessed, extricated, when they advanced in life, their minds from the effects of this ruinous mode of passing youth. The most of them were men of letters, and given to inquiry; but their attention to the education of their children, could not altogether supercede the inherent prejudices of their country.

Early genius of Aurangzeb.

Shaw Jehan was extremely anxious in training up his sons in all the literature and knowledge of the East. He delivered each of them into the hands of men of virtue as well as of letters; he raised





fed the tutors to dignities in the state, to impress awe upon their pupils, and to induce them to listen to their precepts. Aurungzêbe, however, was not fortunate in his master. His genius flew before the abilities of the teacher; and the latter, to cover his own ignorance, employed the active mind of the prince in difficult and unprofitable studies. Being naturally remarkably serious, he gave up his whole time to application. The common amusements of children gave him no pleasure. He was frequently known, whilst yet he was very young, to retire from the puerile buffoonery of his attendants, to the dry and difficult study of the Persian and Arabic languages. His assiduity prevailed over the dulness of his tutor, and he made a progress far beyond his years.

Time had established into an almost indispensable duty, that the emperor, with his assessors, the principal judges, was to sit for two hours every day in the hall of justice, to hear and decide causes. Shaw Jehân, who took great delight in promoting justice, frequently exceeded the usual time. Aurungzêbe, while yet but twelve years of age, stood constantly near the throne; and he made remarks, with uncommon sagacity, upon the merits of the causes which were agitated before his father. The emperor seemed highly pleased at abilities which afterwards ruined his own power. He often asked the opinion of his son, for amusement, upon points of equity, and he frequently pronounced sentence in the very terms of Aurungzêbe's decision.

His attention  
to justice;

When he was, in his early youth, appointed to the government of a province, he was obliged, by his office, to imitate, though in miniature, the mode of the court. He had his hall of audience, he presided in his court of justice; he represented royalty in all its forms, except in its pomp and magnificence, to which the natural austerity of his manners had rendered him an enemy. He exhibited,

contempt of  
pomp and  
flattery.





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hibited, upon every occasion, an utter aversion to flatterers: he admitted not, into his presence, men of dissolute manners. The first he thought insulted his judgment, the latter disgraced him as the guardian of the morality, as well as of the property, of the people. Musicians, dancers, and singers, he banished from his court, as foes to gravity and virtue. Mimics, actors, and buffoons, he drove from his palace, as an useless race of men.

Affects plain-  
ness in dress.

His dress was always plain and simple. He wore, upon festival days only, cloth of gold, adorned with jewels. He, however, changed his dress twice a-day, being remarkably cleanly in his person. When he rose in the morning, he plunged into the bath, and then retired for a short time to prayers. Religion suited the serious turn of his mind; and he at last became an enthusiast through habit. In his youth he never stirred abroad on Friday; and should he happen to be in the field, or on a hunting party, he suspended all business and diversions. Zealous for the faith of Mahommed, he rewarded profelytes with a liberal hand, though he did not chuse to persecute those of different persuasions in matters of religion.

His austeri-  
ty, and love

He carried his austerity and regard for morality into the throne. He made strict laws against vices of every kind. He was severe against adultery and fornication; and against a certain unnatural crime, he issued various edicts. In the administration of justice, he was indefatigable, vigilant, and exact. He sat almost every day in judgment, and he chose men of virtue, as well as remarkable for their knowledge in the law, for his assessors. When the cause appeared intricate, it was left to the examination of the bench of judges, in their common and usual court. They were to report upon such causes as had originated before the throne; and the emperor,





peror, after weighing their reasons with caution, pronounced judgment, and determined the suit.

In the courts of the governors of provinces, and even often on the benches on which his deputies sat in judgment, he kept spies upon their conduct. Though these were known to exist, their persons were not known. The princes, his sons, as well as the other viceroys, were in constant terror; nor durst they exercise the least degree of oppression against the subject, as every thing found its way to the ears of the emperor. They were turned out of their office upon the least well-founded complaint; and when they appeared in the presence, the nature of their crime was put in writing into their hands. Stript of their estates and honours, they were obliged to appear every day at court, as an example to others; and after being punished for some time in this manner, according to the degree of their crime, they were restored to favour; the most guilty were banished for life. of justice.

Capital punishments were almost totally unknown under Aurungzêbe. The adherents of his brothers, who contended with him for the empire, were freely pardoned when they laid down their arms. When they appeared in his presence, they were received as new subjects, not as inveterate rebels. Naturally mild and moderate through policy, he seemed to forget that they had not been always his friends. When he appeared in public, he clothed his features with a complacent benignity, which pleased all. Those who had trembled at his name, from the fame of his rigid justice, when they saw him, found themselves at ease. They could express themselves, in his presence, with the greatest freedom and composure. His affability gave to them confidence; and he secured to himself their esteem by the strict impartiality of his decisions. His clemency;

His





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Knowledge  
of affairs.

His long experience in business, together with the acuteness and retentiveness of his mind, rendered him master even of the detail of the affairs of the empire. He remembered the rents, he was thoroughly acquainted with the usages of every particular district. He was wont to write down in his pocket-book, every thing that occurred to him through the day. He formed a systematical knowledge of every thing concerning the revenue, from his notes, to which, upon every necessary occasion, he resorted. The governors of the provinces, and even the collectors in the districts, when he examined either, on the state of their respective departments, were afraid of misrepresentation or ignorance. The first ruined them for ever; the latter turned them out of their offices.

Public build-  
ings.

His public buildings partook of the temper of his own mind. They were rather useful than splendid. At every stage, from Cabul to Aurungabâd, from Guzerat to Bengal, through the city of Agra, he built houses for the accommodation of travellers. These were maintained at the public expence. They were supplied with wood, with utensils of cookery, with a certain portion of rice and other provisions. The houses which his predecessors had erected on by-roads, were repaired; bridges were built on the small rivers; and boats furnished for passing the large.

Encourage-  
ment to let-  
ters.

In all the principal cities of India, the emperor founded universities; in every inferior town he erected schools. Masters, paid from the treasury, were appointed for the instruction of youth. Men of known abilities, honour, and learning, were appointed to examine into the progress which the learners made, and to prevent indolence and inattention in the masters. Many houses for the reception of the poor and maimed were erected; which were endowed with a revenue from the crown. The emperor, in the mean time, collected all the books which could





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be found on every subject; and, after ordering many copies of each to be made, public libraries were formed, for the convenience of learned men, who had access to them at pleasure. He wrote often to the learned in every corner of his dominions, with his own hand. He called them to court; and placed them, according to their abilities, in offices in the state; those, who were versed in the commentaries on the Coran, were raised to the dignity of judges, in the different courts of justice.

Aurungzêbe was as experienced in war, as he was in the arts of peace. Though his personal courage was almost unparalleled, he always endeavoured to conquer more by stratagem than by force. To succeed by art threw honour upon himself; to subdue by power acquired to others fame. Such was his coolness in action, that, at the rising and setting sun, the times appointed for prayer, he never neglected to attend to that duty, though in the midst of battle. Devout to excess, he never engaged in action without prayer; and for every victory, he ordered a day of thanksgiving, and one of festivity and joy.

Skill and  
courage in  
war.

In the art of writing, Aurungzêbe excelled in an eminent degree. He wrote many letters with his own hand; he corrected always the diction of his secretaries. He never permitted a letter of business to be dispatched, without critically examining it himself. He was versed in the Persian and Arabic; he wrote the language of his ancestors the Moguls, and all the various dialects of India. In his diction he was concise and nervous; and he reduced all dispatches to a brevity and precision, which prevented all misconstruction and perplexity.

Learning.

Though not remarkable for his strength of body, he was extremely active in the exercises of the field. He was an excellent  
archer,

Skill in the  
manly exer-  
cises.





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archer, he threw the lance with grace; and he was so good a horseman, that few men durst follow him in the chace. He understood the use of fire-arms so well, that he shot deer on full speed from his horse. When he wandered over the country in pursuit of game, he did not forget the concerns of the state. He examined the nature of the soil, he enquired even of common labourers concerning its produce. He understood, and, therefore, encouraged agriculture. He issued an edict, that the rents should not be raised on those who, by their industry, had improved their farms. He mentioned, in the edict, that such practice was at once unjust and impolitic; that it checked the spirit of improvement, and impoverished the state: "And what joy," said he, "can Aurungzêbe have in possessing wealth in the midst of public distress?"

Chastity.

Though he entertained many women, according to the custom of his country, it was only for state. He contented himself with his lawful wives, and these only in succession; when one either died or became old. He spent very little time in the apartments of his women. He rose every morning at the dawn of day, and went into the bathing-chamber; which communicated with a private chapel, to which he retired for half an hour, to prayers. Returning into his apartments from chapel, he spent half an hour in reading some book of devotion; and then went into the haram to dress. He entered the chamber of justice generally about seven o'clock; and there sat with the judges, read petitions, and decided causes till nine. Justice was dispensed in a summary manner; and rewards and punishments were immediate; the disputes, which were not clear, having been already weighed by the judges in their own court.

The





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The people in general had access into the chamber of justice; and there they had an opportunity of laying their grievances and distresses before their sovereign. Aurungzêbe ordered always a sum of money to be placed by his side on the bench; and he relieved the necessitous with his own hand. Large sums were in this manner expended every day; and, as the court was open to all, the unfortunate found, invariably, a resource in the Imperial bounty.

Accessi-  
bilities to all.

The emperor retired at nine to breakfast; and continued for an hour with his family. He then came forth into a balcony, which faced the great square. He sat there to review his elephants, which passed before him in gorgeous caparisons. He sometimes amused himself with the battles of tygers and leopards, sometimes with those of gazelles, elks, and a variety of ferocious animals. On particular days, squadrons of horse passed in review. The fine horses of his own stables were also brought, at times, before him, with all their magnificent trappings, mounted by his grooms, who exhibited various feats of horsemanship. The balcony in which he sat was called *THE PLACE OF PRIVACY*, as it looked from the haram, and the ladies saw every thing from behind their screens of gauze.

Amusements.

An hour being spent at this amusement, the emperor, generally about eleven o'clock, made his appearance in the great hall of audience. There all the nobles were ranged before the throne, in two lines, according to their dignity. Ambassadors, viceroys, commanders of armies, Indian princes, and officers, who had returned from various services, were introduced in the following form: The Meer Hajib, or the lord in waiting, ushers each into the presence. At the distance of twenty yards from the throne, the person to be presented is commanded by one of the mace-

His mode of  
receiving





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bearers to bow three times very low ; raising his hand each time from the ground to his forehead. The mace-bearer, at each bow, calls out aloud, that such a person salutes the EMPEROR OF THE WORLD. He is then led up, between the two lines of the nobles, to the foot of the steps which ascend to the throne ; and there the same ceremony is again performed. He then moves slowly up along the steps, and, if he is a man of high quality, or much in favour, he is permitted to make his offering to the emperor himself, who touches one of the gold roupees ; and it being laid down, the lord of the privy-purse receives the whole. The emperor sometimes speaks to the person introduced : when he does not, the person retires, keeping his face toward the sovereign, and performs the same ceremonies at the same places as before.

and creating  
the nobles.

The introduction of an officer, when he is raised into the rank of Omrahs, is the same with that already described. When he retires from the steps of the throne, the emperor gives his commands aloud to clothe him with a rich dress, ordering a sum of money, not exceeding a lack of roupees, to be laid before him. He is, at the same time, presented with two elephants, one male and one female, caparisoned, two horses with rich furniture, a travelling bed elegantly decorated, a complete dress, if once worn by his Imperial majesty the more honourable, a sword studded with diamonds, a jewel for the front of his turban. The ensigns of his rank are also laid before him ; fifes, drums, colours, silver maces, silver bludgeons, spears, the tails of peacocks, silver fish, silver dragons, with his titles engraved, with a parchment containing his patent of dignity, and the Imperial grant of an estate.

The business  
of the morning,

The hall of audience in the city of Delhi, was called Chelfitoon, or Hall of Forty Pillars, as the name imports. In the square





square which opened to the hall, the cavaliers, or soldiers of fortune, who wanted to be employed in the Imperial service, presented themselves completely armed on horseback, with their troop of dependents. The emperor sometimes reviewed them; and, after they had exhibited their feats of military dexterity before him, they were received into pay. The *Mansebdârs*, or the lower rank of nobility, presented themselves in another square; artizans, with their most curious inventions, occupied a third, and they were encouraged according to the utility and elegance of their work. The huntsmen filled a fourth court. They presented their game, consisting of every species of animals and beasts common in the empire.

Aurungzêbe, about one o'clock, retired into the *Guffel Châna*, or bathing-chamber, into which the great officers of state were only admitted. There affairs of inferior concern, such as the disposal of offices, were transacted. At half past two o'clock, he retired into the haram to dine. He spent an hour at table, and then, in the hot season, slumbered on a sofa for half an hour. He generally appeared at four, in the balcony above the great gate of the palace. A mob of all kinds of people assembled there before him; some to claim his bounty, others to prefer complaints against the officers of the crown. He retired at six, into the chapel to prayers; and, in half an hour, he entered the *Guffel Châna*, into which, at that hour, the members of the cabinet were only admitted. He there took their advice upon all the important and secret affairs of government; and from thence orders were issued to the various departments of the state. He was often detained till it was very late in this council, as conversation was mixed with business; but about nine, he generally retired into the haram.

noon, and evening.

Such is the manner in which Aurungzêbe commonly passed his time; but he was not always regular. He appeared not

Observation.





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some days in the chamber of justice; and other days there was no public audience. When the particular business of any department required extraordinary attention, that of others was from necessity postponed. Particular days were set apart for auditing the accounts of the officers of the revenue, some for reviewing the troops; and some were dedicated to festivity. Though Aurungzêbe bore all the marks of an enthusiast in his private behaviour, he did not stop the progress of business by many days of thanksgiving; for he often declared, that, without using the means, it were presumptuous to hope for any benefit from prayer.

APPEN-





# A P P E N D I X.





## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE nature of a government is best understood from the power which it communicates to its officers. The Author of the preceding History has thought proper to subjoin to his Work the forms of commissions granted by the emperor to his servants in the provinces. They will serve to justify his observations on the policy of the Imperial house of Timur, who were too jealous of their own authority to commit their power, without reservation, to the hands of their deputies. The Despot derived the stability of his throne from the opinion which the people formed of his paternal care of their happiness and prosperity. Wanton oppression is an act of folly, not of true despotism, which leaves to mankind a few rights, which render them worthy of being commanded.





## A P P E N D I X.

## N U M B E R I.

## Tenor of a NABOB'S FIRMAN.

THE mandate of the emperor, the shadow of God, from the source of his bounty and favour, issues forth like the world enlightening sun; conferring upon the most respected of nobles, the pillar of the empire, the strength of fortune, the pattern of true greatness, Mubariz-ul-dien Chan Bahadur the high office of Lord of the Subadary, commander and governor of the province of Allahabâd, giving into his hands the full power of contracting, dissolving, appointing and dismissing, as he shall think proper and necessary in that province. But notwithstanding we have many proofs of his justice, humanity, experience and valour, he must conform to the scope and meaning of the following directions, nor permit the minutest article of them to pass unobserved.

He must watch over the safety and happiness of that country, taking particular care that the weak shall not be oppressed by the strong, nor in any manner dispossessed of those tenements which have been long occupied by themselves and their progenitors.

He shall make the usages of the country, and the rights of the subject his study, and shall be accountable for the revenues to commissaries of the royal exchequer, after a deduction of the necessary



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cessary expences of the province, and what shall be received by the agents of Jagueerdars.

He shall punish such as refuse to pay the usual duties and stipulated rents, as an example to others; and he shall, from time to time, and repeatedly, transmit an account of all his transactions to the presence.

Be it known unto all Mutafeddys, Corries, Jagueerdars, Zimindars, Caningoes, Choudries, Mukuddums and Ryots; that this most respected of nobles is created Lord of the Subadary, that they may not on any account dispute his just commands, and that they shall subject themselves to his authority. And should any Jagueerdar, Zimindar, or others, refuse to comply with his just orders or demands, he shall dispossess them of their lands, and send a particular account of their behaviour to court, that we may judge of the same, and, if thought proper, send others from the presence to supply their places. In this proceed according to order, nor deviate from it.

## N U M B E R II.

## A DEWAN's Commission.

**A**S it is some time since the particular accounts of the collections and disbursements of the province of Multân, have been transmitted to the Imperial presence, we have reason to suspect that it is owing to the negligence of the present Dewan. On that account, we have thought proper to appoint the most economical and exact of our servants, the experienced in business Chaja Abdul Aftâr to the office of Dewan, from the commencement of the ensuing term. He is therefore commanded to proceed in





## A P P E N D I X.

that business, according to the established rules and customs; to inspect the collections of the Malajât and Sairjât of the royal lands, and to look after the Jagieerdars, and in general all that belongs to the royal revenues, the amount of which he is to send to the public treasury, after the gross expences of the province are discharged according to the usual establishment; the particular account of which, he is at the same time to forward to the presence, as well as the accounts of the former Dewan. He is commanded to treat the Riots with mildness and humanity, that they may employ themselves without disturbance in their buildings, cultivation, and other occupations; that the province may flourish and increase in wealth from year to year, under our happy government. Let all officers of the revenues, Cories, Canongoes, and Jagieerdars of the above-mentioned province, acknowledge the aforesaid as Dewan by our royal appointment, and they are commanded to be accountable to him for all that appertains to the Dewanny, and to conceal nothing from him; to subject themselves to his just commands, in every thing that is agreeable to the laws, and tending to the prosperity and happiness of our realms. In this proceed according to the tenor, nor deviate from it.

## N U M B E R III.

## Tenor of a JAGIEER.

**T**HE illustrious mandate, necessary to be obeyed, issues forth commanding, That the sum of thirty lacks of Dâms, arising from different lands in the Pergunna of Chizer-abâd, possessed by the flower of nobility Mirza Feridon Beg, is from the commencement of the first harvest of the present year, confirmed and settled in Jagieer upon the most favoured of servants at-





## A P P E N D I X.

tending the royal presence, Muckirrib Chan Bahadur. Let all Chowdries, Canongoes and tenants who have any concern with, or who occupy the above-mentioned lands acknowledge him as Jagurdâr, and pay unto him or his agents, the usual rents belonging to the Dewanny without delay or refusal; and let the balances that may be due at that term be discharged to the former incumbent. In this matter let there be no obstruction, and let it proceed according to the order.

## N U M B E R IV.

## A FIRMAN granting lands to a ZIMINDAR.

ON this auspicious day, the Firmân that communicates joy and happiness is issued forth. We have of our royal grace and favour conferred upon the learned, devout and experienced Shech Sadi and his children, the extent of two thousand bigahs of arable land, in the Pergunna of Byram-poor, in the Sircar of Kinnoge, for his benefit and subsistence, free of collection, to commence from the beginning of the autumnal season of the current year; that he may appropriate the produce of that estate to his own use, and exigences from season to season, and from year to year, and continue to pray for the happiness and permanence of our reign. Let the lords and public officers of that country, assign the above-mentioned quantity of land, in a good soil, well measured, and properly terminated, nor afterwards upon any account whatever, make any encroachments upon him; nor charge him with rents, customs, entrance money, yearly present, measurement, &c. charges and imposts of the Dewanny, nor for the dues of the empire. For it is our pleasure that he shall enjoy our bounty free and unmolested, nor be troubled from





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time to time for confirmations of this Firmân. Proceed according to the order, nor depart from it.

## N U M B E R V.

## The Tenor of a CAZI'S FIRMAN.

The Order that issues forth like Fate.

AS in the number of our auspicious designs, it is proper that the people of God should be conducted from the dark and narrow paths of error into the direct road of truth and reason, which intention can only be accomplished, when an upright and devout judge vested with his powers, shall be established in every city and country, to unfold the doors of virtue and justice, before the faces of wicked and designing men.

The laudable qualifications being found in the disposition of the learned in the laws, the extensive in knowledge, Eas-ul-dien-Mahommed; we have, on that account, favoured him with the high and respectable office of Cazi of the city of Cabul, commanding him—To give the necessary application to that duty—To observe the established course of the noble law in his enquiries—To pass judgment in all disputes, and arbitrations according to the same noble law, nor permit the smallest differences in the case to pass unobserved—To regulate his proceedings in such a clear and distinct manner, as if to-morrow were the day of examination on which every action must answer for itself.

Be it known to all rulers, and officers, and people, public and private, that the aforefaid learned in the law, is confirmed Cazi of the above-menioned city of Cabul; that they shall pay him





## APPENDIX.

all due respect, and revere his decisions totally and particularly, paying all due obedience to his orders, by such officers as he shall appoint for executing the laws: receiving such of his words as are agreeable to the noble law into the ears of their understanding. In this business proceed according to order, and let none oppose it.

## NUMBER VI.

## Tenor of a CUTWAL'S FIRMAN.

AS a particular account of the capacity, experience and bravery of Mahommed Bakar, hath reached our high and sacred presence, We have of our royal favour confirmed and appointed him Cutwâl of the city of Dowlatâbâd. He is commanded to make the practice of fidelity and truth his study, that he may be enabled to execute the duties of his office with propriety. He is to take care that the guards and watches of that city be strictly kept, that the inhabitants may be secured and protected in their persons and property, that they may bless our happy reign, and pray for its duration.

He is to use his utmost endeavours that no thieves, gamblers, or other miscreants shall make their appearance, and that no nuisances shall be permitted to remain in the streets, or before the door of any person. That no insidious old women, pimps or jugglers, who lead the wives and daughters of honest men into the ways of evil be tolerated, but have their hands shortened from such iniquitous practices. That he will as much as possible prevent forestalling of grain, provisions, and other things, that the markets may be kept low, nor the people suffer from any combinations amongst the Bunias. What events may arise of a particular





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particular nature, he is to send a true and faithful account of them to the presence.

Be it known unto all Mutasiddies, and officers, and all men public and private of the above-mentioned city, that the afore-said Mahommed Bakar, is confirmed and appointed Cutwâl, and that all quarrels and vexatious disputes which may arise in that city, shall be referred to his decision, and that they shall submit to his arbitration according to the established customs of the empire. Let this business be proceeded on according to order, and let none oppose it.

## N U M B E R VII.

Commission or Perwanna for a CARKUN or CHIEF  
of a District.

**T**O all Chowdries, Canongoes, Muckuddums and others of the Pergunna of Noor-poor be it known, That we have appointed the chosen in office, the servant of the faithful, Kinwir Râm to the office of Carkun of the above-mentioned Pergunna. They are therefore to acknowledge him as such, and to make him acquainted with every general and particular transaction in settling or collecting of which, he is to keep an exact and faithful daily register, which must be attested by the Shackdar, Chowdries and Canongoes of the Pergunna, and transmitted regularly every quarter to the royal exchequer. He is to take care that the ancient usages and customs of the Pergunna shall not be violated, nor any new imposts or other innovations be permitted, and to examine the books of the above-mentioned Shackdars, Chowdries and Canongoes from time to time, that they





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they are regularly kept. He is to receive his own pay from the Fotadâr of the Pergunna. He is to demean himself with moderation, justice and integrity, that he may be beloved and respected. In this business proceed according to order, without variation.

## N U M B E R VIII.

## Commission or Purwanna for a C R O R I E.

**T**O all Chowdries, Canongoes, Muckuddums and Riôts of the Pergunna of Rehimbâd be it known. Since by the mandate that subjects the world, and is refulgent as the sun, the office of Crorie of the said Pergunna is conferred upon Chaja Mahommed Mauzum, from the commencement of next term, they are commanded to acknowledge him as such, and to be accountable to him for the usual rents and established rights of the Dewanny from term to term, and from year to year, without scruple or refusal, nor in any manner oppose his authority in the just execution of his duty in all that respects the royal revenues; nor conceal any thing general or particular from him, that properly ought to come under his cognizance.

The above-mentioned is ordered to study œconomy in his department, and to apply with diligence to his duty, without permitting the minutest transaction in that district to pass unobserved. To behave with justice and humanity to the Riôts, that they may have no cause of complaint, but be encouraged to apply themselves diligently to their various occupations, and that the annual collections may increase yearly, as well as the happiness of the inhabitants. He is from time to time to lodge his collections in the provincial treasury. In this proceed according to the tenor, without deviation.

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## N U M B E R IX.

## Commission of a FOTADAR or TREASURER of a District.

**T**O our honoured and faithful Mirza Abrahîm Crorie of the Pergunna of Mahommed-abâd be it known: That as the office of Fotadâr of the above-mentioned Pergunna hath become vacant, We have been pleased to appoint our trusty and diligent servant Jaffier Beg to that office. You are therefore commanded to give into his custody all the rents and customs of the Dewanny in that district, and he shall lodge it with care in his treasury; and you are to take his receipts, which you are to send monthly to the royal exchequer, nor are you permitted to keep one Dâm of the revenues in your own hands after the stated periods, and you must beware of treating any of his agents ill, which he may send to demand the collections. And should there be any deficiencies in his accounts, you are to be answerable for the same. Know this to be confirmed, nor deviate from the order.





## GLOSSARY TO THE APPENDIX.

<i>Canongoes.</i>	Literally, speakers of the law : Registers of a district.
<i>Carhun.</i>	The chief officer of a district, who lets the lands, audited the accounts, and preserved the ancient usages.
<i>Cazi.</i>	A judge.
<i>Cheowdrie.</i>	The constable of a small district.
<i>Cutwal.</i>	A mayor of a town.
<i>Crorie.</i>	The collector of the revenues of a district.
<i>Dām.</i>	An imaginary coin, the fortieth part of a rupee.
<i>Dewan.</i>	The receiver-general of the revenues of a province.
<i>Dewanay.</i>	The imperial revenues of the Dewan's department.
<i>Firmān.</i>	A royal commission or mandate.
<i>Foradār.</i>	The treasurer of a district.
<i>Jagieer.</i>	An estate generally granted during pleasure ; as also the imperial grant itself.
<i>Jagieerdār.</i>	The possessor of the crown rents of a certain tract of land.
<i>Malajāt.</i>	The land rent.
<i>Muckudum.</i>	The principal clerk of a small department, or the chief of a village.
<i>Mutafiddy.</i>	A clerk of the cheque, or any writer employed about the revenues.
<i>Nabob, or</i> <i>Nawāb.</i>	{ The King's lieutenant or viceroy of a province, properly Naib; but changed to the plural number by the natives, who address all great men in that manner.
<i>Pergunna.</i>	
<i>Perwanna.</i>	A commission of an inferior nature to a Firmān.
<i>Riots.</i>	Tenants, husbandmen.
<i>Sairjāt.</i>	All kinds of taxation, besides the land rent.
<i>Sircār.</i>	A district, sometimes comprehending several pergunnas ; as also the principal man of any business.
<i>Sheekhda, or</i> <i>Shackda.</i>	{ A kind of justice of the peace, or the most venerable man in a town or district of the Mahomedan faith.
<i>Zemindar.</i>	
<i>Zemindary.</i>	A possessor or farmer of lands.
	The country farmed by a Zemindar, which was sometimes of a great extent, and formed into a kind of county, having its own courts and particular jurisdictions.





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