



A. D. 1625. Hig. 1034.

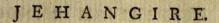
ever, evacuated the place at the approach of his brother. He fled through Bengal. Purvez was close at his heels. Shaw Jehân took the route of the Decan, by the way of Cuttack. Bengal, Behâr and Orixa fell into the hands of Purvez. That prince and Mohâbet spent some time in resettling the government of the three provinces; and when the current of regulation and law was restored to its ancient channel, they marched after Shaw Jehân into the Decan, by the northern road.

Belieges Brampour.

Though Shaw Jehan's affairs were, to all appearance, ruined, he found refources in his own active mind. During the time that Purvez and Mohâbet remained in the recovered provinces, he found means to attach to his party the Raja of Ambere. By the junction of the Raja's forces, he found himself in a condition to fit down before the city of Brampour. He had reduced it to great diffreis, when the Imperial army, under Purvez and Mohâbet, arrived on the banks of the Nirbidda. He had not a force fufficient to oppose them: he raised the siege, and took shelter in the mountains of Ballagat. In his retreat he made an attempt on the castle of Hasser. This is a strong fortress on the frontiers of Chandeish. It stands upon the top of a mountain: it has springs of water, and of good soil a sufficiency to maintain with its produce four thousand men. As all access to the fortress is impracticable, he might have waited there for the change which time might make in his fortunes. He was repulsed.

His affairs

This latter piece of bad fuccess completed the ruin of his party. His nobles first deserted him; and they were followed by the private soldiers. A thousand horse only remained. His spirits sunk within him; his misfortunes oppressed him; his guilt and folly were always present to his mind. Sickness was added to his other miseries. He was hunted, like a wild beast, from place to place.



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place. All mankind were his enemies; and he was their foe. Where he thought he could not overcome, he fled: he fpread devastation through places where he could prevail. He was, however, tired of rapine; worn down by contention and hostility. He wrote letters of compunction to his father. He enlarged on his own guilt; he even added, if possible, to his own wretchedness and misfortune. Jehangire was often full of affection; he was always weak. He was shocked at the miserable condition of a fon, whom he once had loved. His tears fell upon the part of Shaw Jehân's letter which mentioned guilt; and his crimes vanished from memory.

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In the midst of this returning foftness, Jehangire was not alto- He is pargether void of policy. He wrote to his fon, that if he would give orders to the governors of Rhotas, of Azere, and other places, which were still held out in his name, to deliver up their forts; and, fend his three fons, Dara, Aurungzebe, and Murâd, to court, and at the same time accompany them, he would be forgiven for his past crimes. Shaw Jehân embraced the offer with joy. He delivered up the forts; he fent his children to Agra. He, however, found various pretences for not appearing in person at court. He alleged that he was ashamed to see a father whom he had fo much injured; but he was actually afraid of the machinations of the favourite Sultana. He made excurfions, under a pretence of pleasure, through all parts of the empire, attended by five hundred horfe. He was fometimes heard of at Ajmere, fometimes at Tata on the Indus; and again, in the Decan.

doned.

In the rebellion of Shaw Jehan, we lost fight of the Persian Candaharlost invasion, under Shaw Abas. The sovereigns of Persia had long laid claim to the city of Candahar. They endeavoured often to

to the empire.



A. D. 1625. Hig. 1034. obtain it by negociation, and often by force. They had failed in the first; and they were not successful in the latter, till the civil distractions of India furnished them with an undisturbed opportunity of besieging the place. When the Persian invasion happened, Candahar was but slightly garrisoned. The place, however, held out with vigour, till Shaw Abbas appeared before it in person. It surrendered to that monarch; and the news of the misfortune met Rustum Susfavi at Lahore, as he was on his march to relieve the besieged. The Persians, after the capture of Candahar, retreated; and Jehangire, having occasion for all his troops to quell domestic disturbances, sat silently down with the loss.

Irruption of the Ulbecks.

Shaw Abas had scarce retreated, when the Usbeck Tartars, encouraged by his success and the civil differtions in Hindostan, invaded the province of Ghizni, and took several small forts. When the news of this invasion arrived at court, Chana-zâd, the son of Mohâbet, was sent from Cashmire, with some troops, to oppose the invaders. This young officer attacked them with vigour on all occasions, and, in general, with great success. They were, at length, after an obstinate and bloody war, which continued nine months, driven out of the empire. The conqueror pursued the fugitives, and laid waste a part of their country.

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Mohâbet in

high favour.



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CHAP. V.

Mobabet in favour—Accused of intended treason—Ordered to court— Machinations of his enemies—Indignities offered him—He resolves to seize the emperor—He takes him in his tent—Defeats the visier—Condemns the Sultana to death—But pardons her—Governs the empire—Attacked by the citizens of Cabul—He lays down his power—Obliged to sty—Sent against Shaw Jehan—Death of prince Purvez—His character—Death of Chan Chanan.

HE valour and abilities of Mohâbet, in conducting the war against Shaw Jehan, raised sentiments of gratitude in the breast of Jehangire. His son, Channa Zad, had been lately gratified with the government of Cabul; and others, his relations and friends, were advanced to lucrative and honourable employments. The great victory near Benâris confirmed the emperor's high opinion of Mohâbet, and the news of that important event filled him with excessive joy. His grateful feelings for his general role in proportion to the decrease of his fears for his throne. These sentiments, however, did not long continue. Mohâbet had a great many enemies: his fovereign had but little firmness. The abilities of the former had raifed envy; and nature had given to the latter a disposition too easy and pliant, to be proof against misrepresentation. To explain the causes of an event which almost transferred the empire from the house of Timur to other hands, we must look back to some circumstances prior to this period.

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Chan



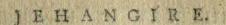
A. D. 1625. Hig. 1035. Accused of intended treason.

Chan Chanan, mentioned as the tutor of Purvez, in his government of Candeish, had, through some difgust, attached himfelf to the fortunes of Shaw Jehân, when that prince succeeded his brother in the command of the Imperial army in the Decan. It was by that lord's advice, that he cut off Chusero: by his advice he rebelled against his father. He accompanied the prince in his expedition to Agra and Delhi; and, though he took no part in the fatigues of the field, he ruled in the eabinet. When the affairs of Shaw Jehân became desperate, after his retreat to the Decan, he advised him to sue for a pardon, through his brother Purvez. He himself undertook to be his messenger to Purvez, to whose temper and character he could have been no stranger. When he arrived in the Imperial camp, he found no disposition in Mohâbet to relinquish by terms, the advantages which had been obtained by the fword. Having failed in his endeavours for the prince, he applied for himfelf. Mohabet was shocked at this reiteration of treachery; and he perfuaded Purvez to throw him and his family into prifon. The latter were fent, under an efcort, to Agra; he himfelf was detained, in close confinement, in the camp, and his estate was confiscated by an Imperial edict.

The grounds of the accu-

After the decifive battle near Benâris, the province of Bengal, which had been reduced by Shaw Jehân, fell at once into the hands of the conquerors. Purvez, who had a commission from his father to govern the eastern provinces, conferred the subaship of Bengal upon Mohâbet, who sent his son Channa Zâd, lately arrived in the army, to manage his government in his own absence. Dara the son of Chan Chanan, had been made suba of Bengal, by Shaw Jehân. That young lord was seized by the people, and delivered into the hands of Channa Zâd, as soon as he arrived at the capital of the province. He immediately sent







Dara to his father; who, having informed the emperor of that circumstance, received orders to put him to death, as an obstinate rebel. Mohâbet obeyed, and fent the unfortunate suba's head to Agra.

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Chan Chanan, though confined in the camp of Purvez, found means, by letters, to infinuate himself into the good graces of His enemies the Sultana, and her brother the visier. The two last had been long the enemies of Mohâbet; and the former imputed the death of his fon to that lord, and was refolved to revenge the injury. He wrote to the Sultana: he fent letters to Afigh. He informed them that Mohâbet was forming defigns to raife Purvez to the throne. This was carried to the emperor's ears. He ordered Chan Chanan to be released: and that Omrah, who remained with Purvez, accused Mohabet, by letters to the emperor, of intended treason.

Jehangire, naturally fuspicious, was alarmed. The spirit of The emperor realoufy and distrust took possession of his mind. He forgot the services of Mohabet in his own fears. He ordered him to court; and raifed Chan Jehan Lodi from the government of Guzerat to the command of the army under Purvez. Mohâbet, before the emperor's orders arrived, had fet out with Purvez, for Bengal. He had been guilty of a neglect, which gave colour to the accusations of his enemies. The elephants taken in battle are Imperial property. These he had retained, together with the presents which his fon Channa Zâd had received in refettling the province. A fecond peremptory order was fent to him. He was acquainted, that he was appointed to the fubathip of Punjab; but that the emperor deprived him of Lahore, which had been usually annexed to that government. He was thunderftruck at the fudden change in the emperor's mind. He refolved to obey. He went to take his leave of Purvez. The prince M 2

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A. D. 1625. prince was cold and flately; and feemed to forget his friend in the displeasure of his father.

Mohabet commanded to court.

Sensible of his own abilities, conscious of his honour, elevated by his reputation in war, Mohâbet was difgusted, beyond meafure, at this return for his fervices. He refolved to retire to his castle of Rintimpour: but an order arrived to deliver that fortress into the hands of one of the Sultana's creatures. This latter circumstance confirmed what his friends at court had written to him before, that his life was in danger, should he trust himself in the Imperial prefence. He wrote to Jehangire. He expressed his aftonishment at his displeasure. He declared his perfect confidence in the honour of his prince; but he expressed his wellgrounded distrust of his advisers. The letter produced nothing but an order for his immediate appearance at court. To refuse was to rebel. He wrote again to the emperor. "I will," fays he, " ferve my fovereign with my life against his enemies, but I will not expose it to the malice of his friends. Assure me of fafety, and I will clear myfelf in the presence." Jehangire, upon receiving this letter, was enraged. He dispatched a courier, with his last commands for his appearance. He at length refolved to obey. Five thousand Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, from an affection for their general, offered him their fervice to conduct him to court. Escorted by these, he took the rout of Lahore, where the emperor, at the time, refided.

He obeys.

On the eighteenth of April 1626, Jehangire fet out from Lahore toward Cabul. News was brought to the Imperial camp that Mohâbet had fent before him the elephants taken at the battle of Benâris; and that he himfelf followed, with a retinue of five thousand Rajaputs. The Sultana and the visier were struck with a double terror. They were afraid of a reconciliation:



ciliation: they were afraid of his force. They perfuaded the A.D. 1626. emperor not to admit him into the camp. When, therefore, he arrived near the tents, he was ordered to flop, till he accounted for the revenues of Bengal, and the plunder taken at the battle of Benaris. Mohabet was enraged: he dispatched his fon-inlaw to the emperor, to complain of an indignity fo unworthy of his fidelity and fervices. He could not have chosen a worse mesfenger. The emperor had been much offended with Mohabet, for giving his daughter in marriage without his confent; and he had refolved to be revenged. When, therefore, the young lord alighted from his elephant in the Imperial square, he was suddenly seized; he was fiript of his clothes, covered with rags, baffinadoed, and fent out of the camp riding backward on a forry jade, amid the fhouts of the whole army.

ger grossly

The intelligence of this groß affront came to Mohabet, before His messenthe dishonoured youth appeared. He bore it with seeming patience. He was shocked at the weakness of the emperor, which had yielded fo much to the malice of a vindictive woman. He leparated, by degrees, his retinue from the camp. He found he could not trust himself in the hands of his enemies; and he took at once a bold refolution. The emperor was on his march to Cabul, and he resolved to watch his motions. He hovered, during the night, round the fkirts of the camp; and the morning prefented a favourable opportunity for the execution of his Scheme.

When Mohâbet arrived, the Imperial army lay encamped on the banks of the Behat or Gelum, at the end of the bridge, on the high-road which led to Cabul. The advanced guard began to move over the bridge in the morning, and was gradually followed by the other troops. The emperor remained in the old camp.

He furprifes the emperor in his tent.





A.D. 1626. camp. He was not in an enemy's country, and he used no precautions. When the greatest part of the army had passed, Mohâbet fuddenly advanced with his faithful Rajaputs. He feized the bridge, and fet it on fire; leaving two thousand of his men under the command of his fon, to defend the flames, and to flop the return of the enemy. Having made this disposition, he rode with great fpeed to the Imperial square. He was first observed by the officers of the household, passing by the haram in seeming His countenance was pale, but determined. were alarmed; and he rushed forward to the emperor's tent,

takes him

The writer of the Acbal Namma, who was then lord of the wardrobe, suspecting that Mohabet meant to affassinate the emperor, drew his fword, and followed him with great speed. The Omrahs in waiting did the fame. When they had advanced to the Imperial tent, they found Mohâbet furrounded by five hundred Rajaputs on foot, standing at the door, with swords by their sides and pikes in their hands. The lords were immediately feized The emperor, hearing the noise and confuand difarmed. fion without, cut his way through the screens, and entered the bathing-tent, which was behind his fleeping apartment. Mohâbet alighted and entered; not finding the emperor, he pressed forward with forty Rajaputs, to the bathing-tent. Some of the Imperial guards stood at the door. The officer who commanded them, sternly asked Mohâbet, Why he presumed to intrude on the emperor's privacy? He answered him, by putting his hand upon his fword and frowning upon him, with a determined countenance. A panic feized the guards. They made way for him to pass. In the outer apartment of the bathingtent, flood many Omrahs of high rank. They drew their fwords; but the Rajaputs furrounding them, they thought proper to deliver up their arms.

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The news of this infult was carried to the emperor by fome of A. D. 1626. the women who attended him in the inner tent. He feized his fword, and was about to affault Mohâbet, when he faw his guards and nobles difarmed. He dropt his point; and faid, "What dost thou mean, Mohâbet Chan?" Mohâbet touching the ground and then his forehead with his hand, thus replied: " Forced by the machinations of my enemies, who plot against my life. I throw myfelf under the protection of my fovereign."-" You are fafe,"-answered the emperor; " but what would these, who sland armed behind you?"-" They want full fecurity," rejoined Mohâbet, "for meand my family; and without it, they will not retire." " _I understand you," faid Jehangire: " name your terms, and they shall be granted. But you do me an injustice, Mohabet; I did not plot against your life. I knew your services, though I wasoffended at your feeming disobedience to my commands. Be affured of my protection: I shall forget the conduct which necesfity has imposed upon you."

prifoner,

Mohabet, without naming his conditions, observed to the em- and carries peror, that it was now time to take his daily amusement of hunting. Without waiting for a reply, he ordered his own horse to be brought. Jehangire declined mounting him: Mohabet feemed not to listen. "Then, Mohabet Chan," faid the emperor, " if still I have a horse of my own, I will mount him." One was brought him. They rode flowly away together, furrounded by the Rajaputs. When they had advanced beyond the skirts of the camp, Mehâbet observed to the emperor, That it would be prudent for him to mount an elephant, to avoid any accident that might happen in the confusion which was likely to ensue. Jehangire had now no will of his own. He mounted the elephant; and three Rajaputs, under a pretence of defending him, mounted by his fide. The



A. D. 1626. Hig. 1035. to his own camp. The emperor had scarce placed himself on the elephant, when Muckirrib Chan, one of the officers of state, pressing through the Rajaputs, climbed up the elephant's side, and sat down by his sovereign. He was threatened by the Rajaputs. He was obstinate, and would not stir. One slightly cut him on the fore-head with his sabre; but he was not to be moved. They had now proceeded near a mile from the camp, when some of the officers of the household, mounted upon elephants, came up, and placed themselves on the road before the emperor. Mohâbet ordered them to clear the way: they refused, and were cut to pieces. He then continued his rout, without surther obstruction, to his own camp. The emperor was brought to his tent: and all spectators being removed, Mohâbet explained himself to him, protesting, that he had formed no designs neither against his life nor his power. "But," concluded he sternly, "I am determined to be safe."

Cuts off Sujait Chan. Afiph, the visier, had crossed the bridge in the morning with the Imperial army. The Sultana, when Mohâbet was busy in securing the person of the emperor, made her escape to her brother. He considered, that nothing was done, so long as that haughty woman remained out of his power. He resolved to prosecute his plan, with the same resolute boldness with which it was begun. He returned with the emperor to his former camp, on the bank of the Gelum. Sujait Chan, an Omrah of high reputation, had arrived that instant to join the Imperial army. He knew the situation of affairs; and loudly inveighed, in the presence of the Rajaputs, against Mohâbet. That lord was at once enraged and alarmed. He ordered his troops to fall upon Sujait and his retinue, and every man of them was put to the sword. The other Omrahs, who had hitherto hovered round.



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round, flruck with the fate of Sujait, fled across the river, and joined the Imperial army.

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Noor-Jehân was the meffenger of the disaster, which besel the emperor, to her brother Asiph. He immediately called the Omrahs together: and the Sultana vehemently accused those who had been lest with Jehangire, of negligence and cowardice. A debate arose about the best method of rescuing their sovereign out of the hands of Mohâbet. The measure was full of peril; but it must be taken. They agreed to assemble their forces by the dawn of next morning; and to endeavour to repass the river against the rebel. The emperor was apprized of their intentions. He began to fear for his life. Repeated messages were sent to the visier to desist from his purpose; but that minister did not think himself obliged to obey the commands of an imprisoned monarch, who was under the influence of the man who had seized his person.

The vifier determines to refcue the emperor;

Afiph begun his march with day. When he came to the bridge, he found it burnt down. He refolved to ford the river; but the water was fo deep, that many were drowned. who gained the further shore, had to fight the enemy at a mani-They were cut off as fast as they ascended the fest disadvantage. bank. A fuccession of victims came to the swords of the Raja-The action continued for fome hours. The rear of the Imperialifts preffing into the river, prevented the front from retreating. The Sultana was not a tame spectator on the occasion. Mounted on an elephant, the plunged into the fiream with her daughter by her fide. The young lady was wounded in the arm : but her mother pressed forward. Three of her elephantdrivers were fucceffively killed; and the elephant received three wounds on the trunk. Noor-Jehan, in the mean time, emptied VOL. III.

But is defeated



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A. D. 1625. Hig. 1035. four quivers of arrows on the enemy. The Rajaputs prefied into the fiream to feize her; but the mafter of her household, mounting the elephant, turned him away, and carried her out of the river, notwithstanding her threats and commands.

with great flaughter,

Whilst these things happen in the river, Fidai Chan and Abul Haffen, with fome other gallant nobles, forming a fquadron of gentlemen in the rear of the Imperialifts, plunged into the river and gained the opposite shore. The shock between them and the Rajaputs was violent. The latter gave way, and fled toward the tents of the prince Shariar, where the emperor remained under a guard. They flopt, and the action became bloody. The arrows and shot piercing through the tents, the emperor was in imminent danger: but Muchlis Chan, who stood near him, covered him with shields. In the mean time, Mohâbet re-established the ranks of the fugitives behind the tents. He turned them, and fell upon the flank of the Imperialifts. Vifier Bee, Attalla, and feveral gallant lords were killed: Fidai was covered with wounds. The spirit of his followers began to fink. Mohabet pressed hard upon them; and at length they sled. The field was covered with dead bodies; and a complete victory remained to the Rajaputs.

and taken prifoner. The runaways, gaining the opposite side of the river, found their troops diminished and completely ruined. They gave up all thoughts of surther resistance: each sled to his own home. The army, in the space of a few hours, was dissipated. Asiph sled to his estate; and shut himself up, with sive hundred men, in the castle of New Rhotas, on the Attoc. The Sultana found means to escape to Lahore. Mohâbet dispatched a messenger to Asiph, with assurances of safety, should he return to the camp. The visier would not trust himself in his hands. Meer Berwir,

the



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the fon of Mohabet, with a detachment belieged the fort of Rho- A. D. 1626. Afiph was foon reduced to diffress; and, on the arrival of Mohâbet before the place, that lord, with his fon Abu Talib, furrendered at discretion. Noor-Jehan had scarce returned to Lahore, when she received letters from the emperor. He acquainted her, that he was treated with respect by Mohâbet; and that matters were amicably fettled between them. He conjured her, therefore, as she regarded his peace and safety, to lay aside all thoughts of hostile preparations. He concluded, with commanding her to follow him to Cabul, whither, of his own free choice, he then directed his march. Noor-Jehân did not long hesitate. She fet out from Lahore, and foon came up with her lord. When the arrived, troops were fent out by Mohabet, by way of doing her honour. But they were her keepers, and not her guards. They furrounded her tent, and watched all her motions.

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Mohâbet, who carried every thing before him in the presence. accused her publicly of treason. He assimed, that she had confpired against the emperor, by estranging from him the hearts of his fubjects: that the most cruel and unwarrantable actions had been done, by her capricious orders, in every corner of the empire: that her haughtiness was the source of public calamities, her malignity the ruin of many individuals: that the had even extended her views to the empire, by favouring the fuccession of Shariar to the throne, under whose feeble administration she hoped to govern India at pleasure. He therefore insisted that a public example should be made of so wicked a woman; as a sign to mankind, that crimes in the most exalted persons ought to meet with no more favour, than iniquities in the mean and low. "You, who are emperor of the Moguls!" faid Mohâbet, addressing himfelf to Jehangire, " whom we look upon as fomething more than . N a human.

Condemned to death.



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human, ought to follow the example of God, who has no respect for persons."

Saved at the request of the amperor.

Jehangire was too well acquainted with his fituation to contradict Mohâbet. He owned the justice of the accusation, and he figured a warrant for her death. Being excluded from his prefence, her charms had loft their irrefiftible influence over him ; and when his passions did not thwart the natural bias of his mind, he was always just. The dreadful message was delivered to the She heard it without emotion. "Imprisoned fovereigns," faid the, " lofe their right to life with their freedom; but permit me for once to fee the emperor, and to bathe with my tears the hand that has fixed the feal to the warrant of death." She was brought before her hufband, in the prefence of Mohâbet. Her beauty shone with additional lustre through her forrow. She uttered not one word. Jehangire burst into tears. "Will you not fpare this woman, Mohâbet ?" faid the emperor; " you fee how the weeps."-" The emperor of the Moguls," replied Mohâbet, " fhould never ask in vain." The guards retired from her, at a wave of his hand; and the was reftored that inflant to her former attendants.

March to

The friends of Mohâbet disapproved of his generosity, and he had cause to repent of it himself. The Sultana lived not to thank her forgiver, but to revenge herself. The Imperial camp moved to Cabul. Mohâbet, without appearing to command, directed every thing at court. The emperor implicitly followed his advice; and he even seemed to harbour no resentment against him for the past. He had long known his abilities; he was now convinced of his integrity and generosity. Naturally fond of indolence and pleasure himself, he could not wish to have left the affairs of the state in better hands. The attention paid him by



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Mohâbet, eradicated every idea of bondage: and the weight which his edicts carried, from their precision and wisdom, reconciled his fituation to his pride, by the obedience which was paid to them over all the empire.

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Six months had passed in Cabul in an apparent harmony between the monarch and his minister. The bufy spirit of Noor-Jehân was, in the mean time, hatching mischief. She concealed her schemes so effectually, that they escaped the penetrating eyes of Mohâbet. The emperor refided in his palace at Cabul: the minister lay every night in the camp of his Rajaputs, without the walls. When he came one morning to pay his respects at court with his retinue, the citizens, at the infligation of the Sultana, attacked him from both ends of a narrow street. Some, posted in windows on either fide, fired upon him with musquets. He turned back, and forced his way to his camp. He arrived among the Rajaputs unhurt: his followers were all either wounded or flain. The citizens did not rest here. They fell upon the guards, which he had placed round the emperor; and put five hundred to the fword.

Deligns of against Mo-

Mohâbet, enraged at the perfidy of the Cabulians, prepared to defeated. take ample revenge. He blocked up the city, with his army. The maffacre within was discontinued. Fear succeeded to rage. The principal inhabitants, laying the whole blame upon the rabble, came out in the most suppliant manner to Mohâbet. Jehangire, who disclaimed all knowledge of the tumult, interceded for them; and the enraged minister spared the city, after having punished the most notorious ringleaders of the infurgents. He, however, declared, that he would never enter the perfidious city of Cabul: he gave directions to the emperor to quit it the next day,



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day, and, having made the necessary preparations, the Imperial camp moved in a few days toward Lahore.

Mohâbet refigns his power.

On the way to Lahore, Mohâbet took a fudden resolution to throw up his power. He had no intentions himself upon the empire; and he had triumphed over his enemies, and ferved his friends. He exacted, and obtained from Jehangire, the most folemn promifes of oblivion for the past; and he restored that prince to all his former confequence and power. He promifed to affift him with his advice; and to shew his sincerity, he dilmiffed the greatest part of his guards and attendants. This conduct was noble; but he had gone too far to retreat. Gratitude is not fo firong a passion as revenge. The weak forget favours; but the haughty never forgive indignities. The Sultana kept fresh in her memory her difgrace; the remembered her danger from Mohâbet. She applied to Jehangire for his immediate death. She urged specious arguments to strengthen her request. " A man," faid she, " who is so daring as to seize the person of his sovereign, is a dangerous subject. The lustre of royalty must be diminished, continued the Sultana, in the eyes of the people, whilst he who pulled his prince from the throne, is permitted to kneel before it with feigned allegiance." Jehangire was shocked at her proposal. He commanded her to be filent.

He is obliged to fly.

She was filent, but she did not drop her design. She resolved to take off by private treachery the man whom she failed to bring to a public death. She contrived to place one of her eunuchs behind the curtain, with orders to shoot Mohâbet, when he should next come to pay his respects in the presence. Jehangire overheard her commands to the slave. He acquainted Mohâbet with the snare laid for his life; insinuating that his power was not sufficient to protect him from private treachery, though he was resolved

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refolved to fave him from public difgrace. Mohâbet was alarm- A. D. 1626. ed. He escaped from the camp. The army lay that day on the banks of the Gelum, in the very fpot where the emperor had feven months before been feized. Mohâbet, after having the whole power of the empire in his hands, was obliged to fly from that very place, without a fingle attendant. He carried nothing with him but his life: his wealth was left in the Imperial camp, and became the property of Noor-Jehân. flight had scarce become public, when an edict was issued by the Sultana's procurement, to all the governors of provinces to make diligent fearch for him. He was declared a rebel, and a reward was put upon his head.

of Mohâbet: he was not forgetful of his kindness to himself, when under his power. He was tired, besides, of the weakness of Jehangire, and of the Sultana's tyranny. He, however, obferved a cautious filence. His power depended upon his fifter; and she was haughty as well as vindictive. Mohâbet flew from place to place. He took, at first, the route of Tatta; but the unfortunate have enemies every where. The boldness, which had lately raised him to the summit of power, forfook him not in his diffress. He mounted his horse; and rode solitary near four hundred miles, to throw himself into the conversation of Asiph. That minister, at the time, was in the Imperial camp at Karnal, on the road between Lahore and Delhi. Mohâbet, in a mean habit, entered the camp when it was dark; and about nine o'clock placed himself in the passage, which led from the apartments of Afiph to the Haram. The cunuch, who flood at the door,

Afiph disapproved of his fifter's violence. He knew the merit His confer-

to

questioned Mohâbet. He knew that lord by his voice; but he affured him of his fidelity. Mohâbet told him, that he wished



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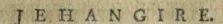
THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1626. to speak to his lord on affairs of the last moment. The visier came.

with Aliph

When Afigh faw the low condition into which he, who lately commanded the empire, was fallen, he could scarce refrain from tears. He took him in his arms: they retired in filence to a fecret place. Mohâbet, after mentioning the ingratitude of Noor-Jehân, complained of the imbecillity of the emperor, and plainly told the vifier, that, low as he was reduced, he was determined to raise up another sovereign in India. "Purvez," continued Mohâbet, " is a virtuous man, and my friend. But he is eafy and pliant; and we must not change one weak prince for another. I know the merit of Shaw Jehan; I have fought against him; and when I conquered, I gained not a victory but my own life. He fuits the times. He is ambitious, and fometimes fevere; but he will aggrandize the empire abroad, and add vigour and precision to the laws at home."-Asiph was overjoyed at this declaration. He was connected in friendship as well as in affinity with Shaw Jehan. "You must go hence with fpeed," faid Afiph; " and I will endeavour to procure your pardon. The emperor, who is not averse to you, will listen to my request; especially as Shaw Jehân, with whom you alone are able to cope in the field, is in arms. I shall procure for you an army, which you shall use as the circumstances of the time will demand."

in favour of Snew Johan, The two Omrahs, having fworn fidelity to one another, parted. Mohâbet, mounting his horfe, dived into the night: Afiph went into the presence. The emperor was much alarmed at the news from the Decan, that his rebellious son had collected an army. He regretted the loss of Mohâbet, and Asiph took that opportunity of suing for his pardon. The emperor, in the warmth



of his zeal against his son, ordered an edict of indemnity to be A.D. 1626. forthwith issued, which restored Mohâbet to his honours and estates. A commission was given him to command the army against Shaw Jehan; and the ceremony of giving thanks in the prefence, was dispensed with in his favour, as he could not trust his life to the mercy of Noor-Jehân.

An event, however, happened, which rendered these preparations Death of against Shaw Jehân unnecessary. That prince desisted from his new enterprize without the interpolition of force. When Mohabet carried all before him at court, his friend and pupil, the prince Purvez, remained at the head of the army, and commanded all the eaftern and fouthern provinces in great tranquillity. He took no notice of his father's confinement; and he used no means for his releasement. He knew that Mohabet had no defigns upon the empire; and he was rather pleafed, with a check upon the emperor, which might prove an excuse to himself, from being bound by his commands. In the midft of the infenfibility and tranquillity of Purvez, he was feized by an apoplexy, which carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Sultan Purvez was one of those harmless men that pass with- His characout either envy or fame through life. Destitute of those violent passions which agitate the animated and ambitious, he was never completely happy, nor thoroughly miferable. Eafe was his only comfort; toil his fole aversion. Though battles were gained in his name, he was rather an incumbrance to an army, than the spring which should move the whole. Without ambition to command, he thought it no indignity to obey. He approved of the counsel of others, without ever proposing his own. He was in thort an ufeful engine in the hands of an able general. There was a kind of comity in his manner, which com-Vol. III. manded



A D. 1526. Hig: 1037. manded respect, where he impressed no awe; and even men who knew his weakness, listened with attention to his commands. His constitution was feeble and lethargic; his life a perpetual slumber. Had he lived, he was destined for the throne; and, as he had no passens to gratify, the happiness or misery of his reign would depend on those whom chance might place around him. His death was regretted, more, perhaps, than that of an abler man might have been. He never committed injuries, and mankind gave him credit for benevolence. Mohâbet mourned him as a good-natured friend; Jehangire as a dutiful son. The contrast which the character of his brother presented, justified the sentiments of both.

Affairs at Court, and in the Decan. When Mohâbet fled, Noor-Jehân governed the empire without controul. While yet he held the reins of government, he had fent orders to his fon Channa-Zâd, Suba of Bengal, to fend him the furplus of the revenues of that country. Twenty-two lacks, under an efcort, were advanced as far as Delhi, when the flight of Mohâbet happened; and the fame messenger, who brought the news of the treasure to the emperor, brought him also intelligence of the death of Purvez. Jehangire was affected, beyond measure, at the loss of his fon: he never had disobeyed his commands, and his manner was naturally engaging and pleasing.—The command of the army devolved upon Chan Jehân Lodi. He was ordered to fend his family to court as hostages for his faith.—An unexpected war furnished a field for the abilities of Lodi. The Nizam raised disturbances; but he was reduced, without battle, to terms.

Death of Chan Chanan, Chan Chanan, who, after his release from confinement, had remained with Purvez in the camp, did not long survive that prince. He attained to the seventy-second year of his age; and, though in his latter days he was accused of treachery, he had covered



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covered the former part of his life with renown. He performed A. D. 16262 many memorable actions, under the emperor Akbar. He reduced the kingdom of Guzerat; he defeated with twenty thousand horse, an army of seventy thousand, under the confederate princes of the Decan. He was a scholar, as well as a soldier. He was the most learned man of his time: shrewd in politics, eloquent to a proverb. He translated the commentaries of the emperor Baber into the Perfic, from the Mogul language. He understood the Arabic, the Pehlvi, and all the dialects of India. He was also a good poet, and many of his pieces have come down to our time. In abilities he yielded not to his father, the famous Byram; though he possessed not his integrity and unfullied virtue.

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JEHANGIRE.

C H A P. VI.

Schemes of Mohâbet and Asiph—Death of the emperor—His character—Anecdotes of his private life—His religion—His violence— Severe justice—and humanity—The son of prince Chusero raised to the throne—Deseat of Shariar—Shaw Jehân marches from the Decan—Young emperor deposed, and murdered—Children of Jehangire—State of Persia.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037-Schemes of Mohabet, of his way to the dominions of the Rana. He had been recommended by letters from the visier, to that prince; and he was received with extraordinary marks of distinction. A circumstance, omitted in its place, will contribute to throw light on the sequel. A correspondence, by writing, between Mohabet and Asiph would be a measure full of peril to both. They had resolved to seize upon the accidents that might arise in the course of time, for the service of Shaw Jehân. The visier was to be the judge, as having the best access to know the period sit for their purpose, from his residence at court and intimate knowledge of its affairs. Mohabet left a ring in his hands, which, when it should be sent, was the signal for him to espouse openly the interests of the prince.

Death of the

The edict of indemnity to Mohâbet had scarce been promulgated, when that lord understood from court, that the emperor began



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began to decline visibly in his health. The prospect of his ap- A. D. 1627proaching diffolution rendered it unnecessary to wrest from him by force a scepter which he was soon to refign to death. Mohabet remained quiet with the Rana; who, holding a friendly correspondence with Shaw Jehân, took an opportunity of informing that prince, that his noble guest was no enemy to his cause.- Jehangire had, for feven years, been troubled with a flight afthma. His disorder increased toward the end of the preceding year; and he resolved to make a progress to Cashmire, for the benefit of the air. The autumn proved very fevere in that elevated country. He was feized with a violent cold, which fell upon his lungs. The sharpness and purity of the air rendered his breathing difficult. He complained of a kind of suffocation; and became impa- oa. 27th. tient under his disorder. He commanded the camp to move, with flow marches, toward Lahore. He was carried in a litter as far as the town of Mutti, which stands about half way on the road from Cashmire. At Mutti his difficulty of breathing increafed. He was growing worse every day, and the army halted. On the ninth of November of the year 1627 he expired; having lived fifty-eight and reigned twenty-two lunar years and eight months.

Jehangire was neither vicious nor virtuous in the extreme. His charac-His bad actions proceeded from passion; and his good frequently from whim. Violent in his measures without cruelty, merciful without feeling, proud without dignity, and generous without acquiring friends. A flave to his pleatures, yet a lover of bufineis; destitute of all religion, yet full of superstition and vain fears. Firm in nothing but in the invariable rigour of his juffice, he was changeable in his opinions, and often the dupe of those whom he despiled. Sometimes calm, winning, and benevolent, he gained the affections of these who knew him not; at other times.



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times, morofe, captious, referved, he became terrible to those in whom he most confided. In public, he was familiar, complaifant, and eafy to all; he made no distinction between high and low; he heard, with patience, the complaints of the meanest of his subjects: and greatness was never a security against his justice: in private, he was thoughtful, cold, and filent; and he often clothed his countenance with fuch terror, that Afiph Jah frequently fled from his presence, and the Sultana, in the plenitude of her influence over him, was known to approach him on trembling knees. His affection for his children bordered on weakness. He was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours. In war he had no abilities; he was fond of peace and tranquillity; and rather a lover than an encourager of the arts of civil life. Naturally averse to tyranny and oppression, property was secure under his administration: he had no avarice himself to render him unjust, and he was the determined and implacable enemy of extortion in others. He was a man of science and of literary abilities; and the memoirs of his life, which he penned himfelf, do him more honour as a good writer, than the matter, as a great monarch. Upon the whole, Jehangire, though not a faultless man, was far from being a bad prince: he had an inclination to be virtuous, and his errors proceeded from a defect more than from a depravity of foul: His mother was thought to have introduced a tincture of madness into his blood; and an immoderate use of wine and opium rendered fometimes frantic a mind naturally inflamed.

His private his and opiaions. Though Jehangire was often ferious and distant among his domestics, he was fond of throwing off the character of the emperor, and of enjoying freely the conversation of his subjects. He often disappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obscure punch-houses, to pass some hours in drinking and talking with the lower fort. He had no enemies, and he was under no apprehensions.



JEHANGIRE.

anorthenfions concerning the fafety of his person. Being in the half of audience, accessible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the usual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excursions. But the people loved his familiar openness. and did not by rudeness abuse the trust reposed in them by their prince. He often defired his companions at the bowl to alk no favours of him, left SELIM, in his cups, might promife what TEHANGIRE, in his fober fenfes, would not chufe to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated. He flew from one extreme of paffion to another; this moment joyful, the next melancholy and drowned in tears. When in this fituation, he was fond of arguing upon abstruce fubiects. Religion was his favourite topic. He fometimes praifed the Mahommedan faith, fometimes that of the Christians: he was now a follower of Zoroaster, and now of Brahma. In the midst of these devout professions, he would, sometimes, as flarting from a dream, exclaim, That the prophets of all nations were impostors; and that he himself, should his indolence permit him, could form a better fyflem of religion than any they had imposed on the world. When he was lober, he was divested of every idea of religion, having been brought up a Deift under the tuition of his father Akbar.

The variety of opinions, on the subject of religion, which pre- scheme of vailed in India, occasioned great uneafiness both to Jehangire and a new sain. his father Akbar. The tenets of Mahommedanism, which the family of Timur had brought along with them into their conquests, were the religion established by law; but the majority of their fubjects were of different perluafions. The followers of the Brahmin faith were the most numerous, and the next were the Perfian Guebres, who worthipped the element of Fire, as the best representative of God. The Christians of Europe and of Ar-

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menia possessed deveral factories in the principal cities and ports, and they wandered in pursuit of commerce over all the empire. The different opinions among all these fects, on a subject which mankind reckon of the last importance, were the source of disputes, animolities, and quarrels. Akbar was chagrined. He tolerated every religion; he admitted men of all perfuafions into his confidence and fervice; and he had formed ferious thoughts of promulgating a new faith, which might reconcile the minds of all his subjects. He esteemed himself as equal in abilities to Mahommed, and he had more power to enforce his doctrine. But, forefeeing the distractions which this arduous measure might occasion, he dropt his defign; and, instead of establishing a new faith, contented himfelf with giving no credit to any of the old systems of religion. Jehangire in his youth had imbibed his father's principles. He began to write a new code of divine law; but he had neither the aufterity nor the abilities of a prophet. He shewed more wisdom in relinquishing, than in forming fuch a visionary scheme.

His violence, Jehangire was subject to violent passions upon many occasions. Complaints against his nobles, and even against his favourite sons, were received with an eagerness, and a rage against the offenders, more eafily imagined than described. When his mind was heated with a relation of oppression, he often burst out into a loud exclamation, "Who in my empire has dared to do this wrong?" His violence flew before the accusation; and to name any person to him, was to convince him of his guilt. Shaw Jehan had been known, when in the greatest favour, to have come trembling before his father, at the acculation of the meanest subject; and the whole ministry, and the fervants of the court, frequently flood abathed, pale, diffant, and in terror for themselves, when a poor man in rags was relating his grievances to the emperor.

His



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His excessive severity in the execution of impartial justice, was the great line which marks the features of the character of Jehangire. He had no respect of persons, when he animadverted upon crimes. His former favour was obliterated at once by guilt; and he persevered, with undeviating rigour, to revenge upon the great, the injuries done to the low. The flory of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his favage justice. The fifter of the favourite Sultana had a fon by her husband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at court by the empress, who having no fons by Jehangire, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The emperor was fond of the boy; he even often feated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jehangire gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having refided in his government some years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the street, to tread by accident a child to death. The parents of the child followed Alla to his house. They loudly demanded an exemplary punishment on the driver; and the governor, confidering it an accident, refused their request, and ordered them to be driven away from his door. They abused him in very opprobrious terms; and Alla, proud of his rank and family, expelled them from the district of Burdwan.

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Jehangire residing, at that time, in the city of Lahore, they found their way, after a long journey on foot, to the presence. They called aloud for justice; and the emperor wrote a letter to Alla with his own hand, with peremptory orders to restore to the injured parents of the child their possessions, and to make them ample amends for their loss and the fatigue of their journey. The pride of Alla was hurt, at the victory obtained over him; and instead of obeying the orders of his prince, he threw them into prison, Vot. III.

of his feve-

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THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037. till they made submissions to him for their conduct. But as soon as they were released, they travelled again to Lahore. Alla was alarmed, and wrote letters to the Sultana and Asiph Jah, to prevent the petitioners from being admitted into the presence. They hovered to no effect, for some months, about the palace. They could not even come within hearing of the emperor, till one day, that he was taking his pleasure in a barge upon the river. They pressed forward through the crowd; and thrice called out aloud for justice. The emperor heard them, and he recollected their persons. He ordered the barge to be rowed, that instant, to the bank; and, before he inquired into the nature of their complaint, he wrote an order for them to receive a pension for life, from the Imperial treasury. When they had explained their grievances, he said not a word, but he commanded Alla to appear immediately at court.

in the execution of justice.

Alla obeyed the Imperial command; but he knew not the intentions of Jehangire, which that prince had locked up in his own breaft. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river; and sent a mesfenger to announce his coming to the emperor. Jehangire gave orders for one of his elephants of state to be ready, by the dawn of day; and he at the same time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himself was up before it was light, and having croffed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant; and the emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the refentment of the Saltana, paffed over him feveral times, without giving the elephant the necessary directions. The emperor, however, by his threats obliged him at last to execute his orders. He retired home in filence; and iffued out his com-

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JE HANGIRE



mands to bury Alla with great pomp and magnificence, and that A.D. 1027. the court should go into mourning for him for the space of two moons .- "I loved him;" faid Jehangire, " but justice, like neceffity, should bind monarchs."

The levere juffice of Jehangire established tranquillity through all his dominions, when they were not disturbed by the ambition of his fons. The Subas of provinces avoided oppression, as the poor had a determined avenger of their wrongs, in their fovereign. He upon every occasion affected the conversation of the lower fort. They had immediate access to his person; and he only feemed pleafed, when he was humbling the pride of his nobles, upon the just complaints of the vulgar. He boasted of his humanity, as well as of his justice. He had used to say, That a monarch should even feel for the beasts of the field; and that the birds of heaven ought to receive their due at the foot of the

Of his humanity,

As foon as Jehangire expired, Asiph, at the head of the Im- Dawir Buxsh perial retinue, proceeded with the body to Lahore. When he arrived on the banks of the Gelum, he dispatched a Hindoo named Narsi, with the ring to Mohâbet, as the signal for that lord to espouse the cause of Shaw Jehan. The will of Jehangire had been opened immediately upon his demife. He had, at the instigation of the Sultana, named his fourth fon Shariar, as his fucceffor in the throne; but that prince had, fome weeks before, fet out for Lahore. When the news of the death of Jehangire arrived at that city, the prince feized upon the Imperial treafure, and encouraged the troops to join him, by ample donations. The visier was alarmed. To gain time for the execution of his defigns in favour of Shaw Jehân, he proclaimed Dawir Buxih, the fon of prince Chusero, emperor of the Moguls. His P 2 flifter

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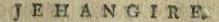
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A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037. fister disapproved of this measure; and endeavoured to raise a party in the camp in favour of Shariar: but he put an end to her schemes, by confining her to her tent; and gave strict orders, that none should be admitted into her presence.

Shariar defeated, taken and blinded.

Shariar, by means of the Imperial treasure, collected together a confiderable force. Being ill of a venereal diforder himfelf, he appointed Baiefar, the fon of his uncle, the prince Danial, to command his army. The troops of Aliph were inferior in number to those of Shariar; but they were, in some measure, disciplined, and inured to the field. Shariar had croffed the Gelum before the arrival of Afiph; who drew up his forces upon the first appearance of the enemy. It was rather a flight than a batthe. The raw troops of Shariar gave way, before they came to blows. He was not himself in the action: he stood on a distant hill, and fell in into the current of retreat. He thut himfelf up in the citadel of Lahore; which was invested the next day by the army of Afiph. The friends of Shariar deferted him; and made terms for themselves. The unfortunate prince hid himself in a cellar within the haram. He was found, and dragged to the light by Ferole Chan; and Alliverdi bound his hands with his girdle, and brought him to Dawir Buxih. He was ordered to be confined; and the second day he was deprived of fight.

Warch of Shaw Jehân. Narsi, the messenger of Asiph, arrived with the ring, after a journey of three weeks, at Chibîr on the borders of Golconda, where Mohâbet, at the time, resided, with Shaw Jehân. He informed the prince of the death of Jehangire; and acquainted Mohâbet of the plan, formed by the visier, to secure the throne for the former; and that Dawir Buxsh was only raised, as a temporary bulwark against the designs of the Sultana, and to appeale the people, who were averse to Shariar. Shaw Jehân, by the advice





advice of Mohabet, began his march through Guzerat. Two A.D. 1627. officers were fent with letters to the vizier; and Nîshar Chan was dispatched with presents to Lodi, who commanded the army in the Decan.

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Lodi was always averse to the interests of Shaw Jehan. He suspicious was proud and passionate; of high birth, and reputation in Lodi. war. Deriving his blood from the Imperial family of Lodi, he even had views on the empire. Many of his nation ferved under him in the army; and confiding in their attachment, he looked with fecret pleafure upon the contests for the throne, which were likely to arise in the family of Timur. He had detached a part of his army to feize Malava, and all the Imperial territories bordering upon that province. The messenger of Shaw Jehan was received with coldness. The answer given him was undecifive and evalive; and he was difmiffed without any marks either of refentment or favour. Lodi did not fee clearly before him; and he was refolved to take advantage of events as they should happen to rife.

Shaw Jehan having, as already mentioned, taken the rout of Dawir Buxffe Guzerat, received the submission of that province. Seif Chan, murdered. who commanded for the empire, being fick, was taken in his bed; but his life was spared at the intercession of his wife, who was the particular favourite of the fifter of the prince. Having remained seven days at Ahmedabâd, news arrived of the victory of the visier over Shariar. Chidmud-Perist was dispatched to the conqueror with letters. They contained expressions of the deepest gratitude to the minister; but he, at the same time, intimated, that diffention could not cease but with the life of the fons of Chusero and Danial.-The temporary emperor, Dawir Buxth, had been dethroned and imprisoned three days before the arrival of Shaw Tehân's

depoted and

A. D. 1627. Hig. 1037.

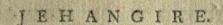
Jehân's meffenger at Lahore. His brother Gurshasp, and Baiesar and Hoshung, the sons of Danial, had been also confined. To show his attachment to Shaw Jehan, the vifier delivered the keys of the prison to Perist; and that chief, to gain his master's favour, firangled the three princes that very night. Afiph made no enquiry concerning their deaths. He marched the next day toward Agra, having proclaimed Shaw Jehan emperor of the Moguls.

Shaw Jehan arrives at Agra.

Shaw Jehân arriving at Ajmere, was joined, in that city, by the Rana and his fon. They were dignified with titles; and feveral Omrahs were raifed to higher ranks of nobility. The government of Ajmere, with many rich estates, were conferred upon Mohabet; and the emperor, for Shaw Jehan had affumed that title, marched toward Agra, and pitched his camp in fight of that capital, on the 31st of January 1628, in the garden which from its beauty was called the Habitation of Light. Cassim, the governor of Agra, came with the keys, and touched the ground with his forehead before the emperor; who entered the city the next day, amid the acclamations of the populace. They forgot his crimes in his fplendour; and recognized the right to the throne, which murder had procured.

Jehangire's children.

Seven children were born to the emperor Jehangire: five fons and two daughters. The first were Chusero, Purvez, Churrum, Jehandar, and Shariar; the daughters were Sultana Niffa, and Sultana, Bâr Banu. Chusero, Purvez and Jehandâr died before their father: Shariar fell a victim to his brother's jealoufy; and Churrum, under the name of Shaw Jehan, succeeded to the empire. The prince Chusero left two sons, Dawir Buxsh and Gurshasp: the first had obtained the name of emperor; they were both murdered, as has been already mentioned, at Lahore. The chil-



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dren of Purvez were a fon and a daughter: the first, by dying a natural death soon after his father, prevented the dagger of Shaw Jehân from committing another murder; and the latter became afterwards the wife of Dara, the eldest son of Shaw Jehân.—The two sons of Daniâl, Baiêsar and Hoshung, had been confined during the reign of their uncle Jehangire. Strangers to the world, and destitute of experience, their nerves were relaxed by inactivity, and their minds broken by adversity. This state of debility did not secure them from the jealousy of the new emperor, by whose commands they were strangled at Lahore. The emperor, either by the dagger or bowsstring, dispatched alls the males of the house of Timur; so that he himself and his children only remained of the posterity of Baber, who conquered India.

State of Perfix and Ulbekian Tartary.

The flate of Persia suffered no change during the reign of the emperor Jehangire in Hindostan. Shaw Abas, sirnamed the Great, who was in his twentieth year on the throne of the family of Seifi at the death of Akbar, outlived Jehangire. He covered with fplendid exploits, and a rigorous adherence to justice, the natural severity and even cruelty of his character; and acquired the reputation of a great, though not of an amiable prince. The Ufbec Tartars of Great Bucharia, who had made encroachments on the Persian dominions during the interrupted reigns of the immediate predecessors of Abas, lost much of their consequence in the time of that victorious prince. Domestic troubles and difputes about the succession converted the western Tartary into a feene of blood; and offered an object of ambition to Abas. He invaded Choraffan; he befreged the capital Balick, but he was obliged to retreat, by the activity and valour of Baki, who had possessed himself, after various vicislitudes of fortune, of the throne of the Usbecs. Baki, dying in the third year of his reign,



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THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1628. Hig. 1037. was fucceeded by his brother Walli; who being expelled by his uncle, took refuge, with many of the nobles, in the court of Shaw Abas. The Perhan affifted him with an army. He was fuccefsful in many engagements, defeated his uncle's forces, and took the city of Bochara; but his fortune changed near Samarcand, and he fell in a battle, which he loft. The views of Abas, on the western dominions of the Usbecs, which had formerly belonged to Persia, fell with his ally Walli. Emam Kulli and his brother divided between them the empire; and, notwithstanding the efforts of Abas, retained the dominion of the extensive province of Chorasian.

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SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. I.

Reflections—Accession of Shaw Jehan—Promotions—The emperor's children—State of the empire with regard to foreign powers—Incursion of the Usbecs—War in Bundelcund—Disgrace—Tragical story—and slight of Chan Jehan Lodi—Death and character of Shaw Abas of Persia—Emperor's march to the Decan—War in Golconda and Tellingana—Irruption of the Asgans—The visier Asiph takes the field.

HE ideas upon government which the Tartars of the northern Afia carried into their conquests in Hindostan, were often fatal to the posterity of Timur. Monarchy descends through the channel of primogeniture; but despotism must never fall into the hands of a minor. The prince is the center of union between all the members of the state; and, when he happens to be a child, the ties which bind the allegiance of the subject are diffolved. Habituated to battle, and inured to depredation, the Tartars always adopted for their leader, that person of the family of their princes who was most proper for their own mode of life; and lost fight of hereditary fuccession in the convenience of the nation. When they fettled in better regions than their native country, they did not lay afide a custom suited only to incursion and war. The fuccession to the throne was never determined by established rules; and a door was opened to intrigue, to murder, and to civil war. Every prince, as if in an enemy's country, mounted the throne through conquest; and the fafety VOL. III.

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A. D. 1628. Hig. 1017. fafety of the state, as well as his own, forced him, in a manner, to become an assassin, and to stain the day of his accession with the blood of his relations. When therefore the Despot died, ambition was not the only source of broils among his sons. They contended for life as well as for the throne; under a certainty that the first must be lost, without a possession of the second. Self-preservation, that first principle of the human mind, converted frequently the humane prince into a cruel tyrant, and thus necessity prompted men to actions, which their souls perhaps abhorred.

Accession of Shaw Jehin.

Shaw Jehân had this apology for the murder of his relations; and the manners of the people were fo much adapted to an idea of necessity in such a case, that they acquiesced without murmuring under his government. He mounted the throne of the Moguls in Agra, on the first of February of the year 1628 of the Christian Era; and, according to the pompous manner of eastern princes, assumed the titles of THE TRUE STAR OF THE FAITH, THE SECOND LORD OF THE HAPPY CONJUNC-TIONS, MAHOMMED, THE KING OF THE WORLD. He was born at Lahore on the fifth of January 1592, and, on the day of his accession, he was thirty-fix solar years and twenty-eight days old. To drive away the memory of the late affaffinations from the minds of the people, and to gratify the nobles, who had crowded from every quarter to Agra, he ushered in his reign with a festival, which exceeded every thing of the kind known in that age, in magnificence and expence. The pompous shews of the favourite Sultana, in the late reign, vanished in the superior grandeur of those exhibited by Shaw Jehân.

Promotions.

In the midst of festivity and joy, Shaw Jehan did neither forget the state nor the gratitude which he owed to his friends. Asiph Jah, though not yet arrived from Lahore, was consirmed in the office of visier. His appointments to support the dignity



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of his station, and as a reward for the part he acted, in securing the possession of the throne to the emperor, amounted to near a million sterling. Mohâbet who, in Shaw Jehân's progress from the Decan to Agra, had been presented with the government of Aimere, was raised to the high office of captain-general of all the forces, and to the title and dignity of Chan Chanan, or first of the nobles. His fon Chanazad, who had been raifed to the title of Chan Ziman, was placed in the government of Malava. Behår was conferred on Chan Alum, Bengal on Casim, Allahabad on Janfapar Chan. The emperor, in bestowing the province of Cabul on Lifear, exhibited an instance of justice. He had, during his rebellion, taken eight lacks of roupees by force from that Omrah, and when he appointed him to Cabul, he at the fame time gave him a draught on the treasury for the money; fignifying to Lifcar, " That necessity being removed, there was no excuse for the continuance of injustice." Fifty Mahommedan nobles, together with many Indian Rajas, were raised to honours, and gratified with prefents.

late emperor, being ruined in all her schemes of ambition, was left, in a kind of confinement at Lahore, in the Imperial palace. The four fons of the reigning emperor, Dara, Suja, Aurungzêbe, and Morâd, had been fent as hoftages for their father's good behaviour to Jehangire. They were in the Imperial camp when that monarch expired; and Aliph treated them with kindness and respect. He arrived at Agra on the twenty-second of March, and prefented his fons to the emperor, when he was celebrating

in very flow marches from Lahore. His lifter, the favourite of the

During these transactions at Agra, Asiph pursued his journey Asiph arrives at Agra.

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the festival of the Norose, which is kept by the followers of Mahommed at the vernal equinox in every year. The emperor was

to much rejoiced at the fight of his children, who had been all born



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F. D. 1628, Hg 1637. born to him by his favourite wife the daughter of Aliph, that he conferred upon their grandfather, the pompous title of The father of frinces, the strength of the realm, and protector of the empire.

Children of the emperor.

The Imperial prince Dara Shêko was thirteen years old at the accession of his father to the throne; Suja was in the twelfth, Aurungzêbe in the tenth, and Morâd in the fourth lunar year of his age. The eldest of the emperor's children, by the favourite Sultana, the daughter of Aliph, was the princels Jehanara, which name fignifies THE ORNAMENT OF THE WORLD. She was fourteen years of age when Shaw Jehan mounted the throne. Senfible, lively and generous, elegant in her person, and accomplished in her mind, she obtained an absolute empire over her father. A fimilarity of disposition with the open and sincere Dara, attached her to the interest of that prince; and he owed, in a great measure, the favour of his father to her influence. Rofhenrai Begum, or THE PRINCESS OF THE ENLIGHTENED MIND, was the fecond daughter of Shaw Jehân, and his fourth child by the favourite Sultana. Her wit was tharp and penetrating, her judgment found, her manner engaging like her person; she was full of address, and calculated for stratagem and intrigue. She resembled the pervading genius of Aurungzêbe, and she favoured his defigns. The emperor's third daughter was Suria Banu, or THE SPLENDID PRINCESS; a name fuited to her exquisite beauty. She was eafy and gentle in her temper, foft and pleafing in her address, humane, benevolent and filent: averse to duplicity and art, full of dignity and honourable pride. She took no part in the intrigues which disturbed the repose of the state, devoting her time to the accomplishments of her fex, and a few innocent amusements.



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Shaw Jehan found himfeif in the peaceable possession of the extensive empire of his father, and he had abilities to govern it with dignity, justice and precision. Tranquillity was established at home; and there were no enemics to disturb him from abroad. Shaw Abas foon after died in Persia; and the scepter fell into the weak and inactive hands of his grandfon Sefi; a prince, incapable of either governing his fubjects with dignity, or of giving any diffurbance to his neighbours. The spirit of the Usbecs had declined; and they were exhausted by difputed fucceffions and civil wars. The Indian nations, beyond the pale of the empire, were peaceable and unwarlike: incapable of committing injuries, and too diffant from the feat of government to receive them. The Portugueze, though the most powerful European nation in India, were not formidable to the empire, though hated by the prince. Shaw Jehan, when in arms against his father, had folicited their affiftance. They had not only refused him their aid, but, in a manly manner, reproached him for having demanded it against his parent and sovereign. He was fensible of the justice of the reproof, and therefore could not forgive it. The Sultana was their enemy. She had accompanied her hufband to one of their fettlements; and she was enraged beyond measure against them for the worship they paid to images.

The difrespect shewn by Lodi who commanded in the De- Lodi submits. can, to Nishar Chan the emperor's meffenger, produced a fuperceding commission to the latter against the former. Nishar produced the Imperial mandate: but Lodi would not obey. Mohabet was ordered with a force against the refractory general; and Nishar, on account of his not having acted with a proper spirit, was recalled. Chan Ziman, from his government of Malava, marched with all his forces to the aid of his father Moha-



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bet. Lodi was foon reduced to extremities. He fent messengers to Mohâbet, with a request of his mediation with the emperor, explaining away his conduct, by the difficulty of deciding in favour of the reigning emperor against the will of Jehangire. "But now," continues he, "that Shaw Jehân remains alone of the posterity of Timur, Lodi cannot hesitate to obey his commands." These letters were received by Mohâbet before things came to open hostility. He transmitted them to Agra, and Lodi was restored, in appearance, to favour.

Invasion

The confusions occasioned by the disputed succession, after the death of Jehangire, rouzed the ambition of Shaw Kuli, prince of the Usbec Tartars. He looked upon a civil war as a certain event in India; and he resolved to seize on the opportunity presented by Fortune. He ordered ten thousand of his best horse under Nidder Mahommed, accompanied with a good train of artillery, to penetrate into the province of Cabul. That general entered the Imperial dominions, and laid siege to the fortress of Zohâc. But the place was so strong, and so well defended by Zingis, who commanded the garrison, that Mahommed, after suffering a considerable loss, raised the siege. The Usbecs, however, did not retreat to their own country. Mahommed, after being repulsed at Zohâc, attempted to surprize Cabul, and, having failed in the enterprize, he sat down before that city.

pf the Ufbecs.

Having summoned the garrison of Cabul to no purpose, the Usbecs began to make their approaches. They soon advanced their batteries to the counterscarp of the ditch, and, by a constant sire, made several breaches in the wall. Zisser, the late Suba, had left the place; and Liscar, the new governor, was not yet arrived. The command of the garrison was in Jacob Chan; who defended himself so well, that the enemy was beat back with great loss in

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a general affault. Mahommed, though repulsed, was not dif- A.D. 1628. couraged. He raifed, with great labour, mounds to command the walls; and drove the belieged from the rampart. The breach, however, had been repaired, and the Usbecs durst not attempt to fcale the walls.

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. The news of the invalion had, in the mean time, arrived at the Repulled. court of Agra; and the emperor, finding that Mohâbet had fettled the affairs of the Decan, ordered that general to the relief of Cabul. Having left his fon in his command in the fouth, Mohâbet hastened with all expedition to the north. Twelve thousand horse attended him; and he was to take up the forces of Punjab on his way. The fiege had now continued three months: the Usbees had again made a practicable breach, and the ditch was almost filled, when the news of the march of Mohâbet arrived in the camp of Mahornmed. He redoubled his diligence; and the garrison, who knew nothing of succour, began to despair. When, therefore, the Usbecs began to prepare for a second general affault, the befieged fallied out with all their forces. The battle was obflinate and bloody; but Mahommed was at length obliged to give way; and the garrison hung on his heels beyond the frontiers of the province. Mohâbet, upon the news of this defeat, returned to Agra; and civil contests took up the attention of the Ulbecs at home.

The invafion of the Ufbecs was succeeded by an insurrec- War with the rion in the fmall province of Bundelcund. The Indian prince of that country, whose name was Hidjar Singh, having come to pay his respects at the court of Agra, found that an addition was made, in the books of the Imperial treasury, to the tribute which he and his ancestors had formerly paid to the house of Timur. Instead of petitioning for an abatement of the impost, he fled with-



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out taking leave of the emperor. When he arrived in his dominions, he armed his dependants to the number of fifteen thoufand men. He garrifoned his fortreffes, and occupied the paffes
which led to his country. The emperor was enraged at the prefumption of this petty chieftain. He ordered Mohâbet to enter
his country with twelve thousand horse and three thousand
foot, by the way of Gualiar. Lodi, lately received into favour,
with twelve thousand more, was commanded to invade Bundelcund from the south; and Abdalla, with seven thousand horse,
from the east, by the way of Allahabad. These three armies,
under three experienced and able officers, were more than necesfary for the service; but the emperor was desirous to shew an
instance of vigour at the commencement of his reign, to raise the
terror of his displeasure, and to establish tranquillity and good
order by the means of fear.

Raja of Bundelcund.

The emperor himself marched from Agra on the twentieth of December, on a tour of pleasure to the forest of Niderbari, where he hunted tigers for fix days, and then took the route of Gualiar, that he might be near the feat of war. He opened the gates of that fortress to all state prisoners, some of whom had remained in confinement during the whole of the former reign. This clemency procured him popularity, and took away part of the odium which his bloody policy had already fixed on his character. The refractory Raja was, in the mean time, preffed hard on every fide. He relifted with spirit; but he was driven from post to post. He, as the last refort, shut himself up in his fort of Erige. Abdalla fat down before it; and having made a practicable breach, flormed the place, and put the garrison, confifting of three thousand men, to the fword. The Raja made his escape. He was ruined, but his spirit was not broken. With the remaining part of his army he fell into the rout of Mohaber; and.



and his forces being cut off, he himfelf came into the hands of the A.D. 1628. captain-general.

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Mohâbet carried his prisoner to the emperor, who had returned to Agra. Shaw Jehân was rigid to an extreme; and his humanity gave always place to policy. He ordered the unfortunate prince into confinement, intimating that a warrant should soon be iffued for his execution. Mohâbet, who admired the intrepid conftancy of the Raja, shewed an inclination to intercede for his life; but the stern looks of the emperor imposed filence upon him. He, however, the next day carried his prisoner into the presence: the rigid darkness of Shaw Jehan's countenance continued; and the captain-general flood at a distance, in close conversation with the Raja. The emperor saw them; but he was filent. The prince, and even Mohâbet, despaired of success. They came the third day into the presence, and stood, as usual, at a distance. The Raja was in fetters, and Mohâbet chained his own hand to that of the prisoner. "Approach, Mohabet," faid Shaw Jehan. "The captain-general will have it fo; and I pardon Hidjar Singh. But life without dignity is no present from the emperor of the Moguls, to a fallen prince; I, therefore, to his government reftore Hidjar Singh, upon paying fixteen lacks of roupees, and furnishing the Imperial army with forty elephants of war."

He is taken prisoner.

Notwithstanding the deference which was shewn to Mohâbet for his great abilities, the emperor was jealous of his influence and popularity. He therefore requested of him to refign the command of the army on the frontiers of the unconquered provinces of the Decan, together with the government of Candeish; both which offices the captain-general discharged, by Chan Zemân his fon. Eradit, the receiver-general of the Imperial revenues,

Mohabet removed from the head of the army.



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was appointed to that important station. He set out from court, and Chan Zemân, having resigned the army and government to him, returned to Agra. This change in the government of the frontier provinces was productive of disturbances. The Nizam of Golconda, who had been kept quiet by the reputation of Mohâbet and his son, invaded, upon the departure of the latter, the Imperial province of Candeish. Diria, who, in subordination to the new Suba, commanded the army, attacked the Nizam in a disadvantageous situation, and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions, with the loss of a great part of his army.

Irruption of the Usbecs. The unfuccessful attempts of the Usbecs upon Cabul, in the beginning of the preceding year, together with domestic distractions consequent upon their disgrace, had hitherto secured the peace of the northern frontier of the empire. They were, however, anxious to recover their lost reputation. An army of volunteers were collected, and the command vested in Zingis. That officer suddenly entered the Imperial dominions; and fat down before the fort of Bamia, in the mountains of Cabul. The place was feebly garrisoned, and the Usbecs pressed the siege with vigour. It fell into their hands; and Zingis having demolished the walls, returned, with the plunder of the open country, to the dominions of the Usbecs. This irruption could be scarce called a war; as the sudden retreat of the enemy restored the public tranquillity.

Story of Chan Johan LodiThe most remarkable event of the second year of Shaw Jehan is the flight of Chan Jehan Lodi from Agra. This nobleman, at the death of Jehangire, commanded, as already mentioned, the Imperial army stationed in the Decan. The favourite Sultana had found means, by letters, to gain over Lodi to the interest of the prince Shariar, whom she had resolved to place on the



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throne of India. Shaw Jehan, in his march to Agra, applied to him for a passage through his government, which he absolutely refused. He added contempt to his refusal; by sending a thoufand roupees, a horse, and a dress to the prince, as to a person of inferior dignity to himfelf. The messenger of Lodi, however, had not the courage to deliver the humiliating present. He gave the roupees, the dress, and the horse to a shepherd, when he got beyond the walls of Brampour, where Lodi refided. He, at the same time, defired the shepherd to return the whole to Lodi; and to tell him, That if the prefents were not unworthy of him to give, they were too infignificant for his fervant to carry to a great prince. Having given these directions to the shepherd, the messenger proceeded to Shaw Jehân. The prince approved of his behaviour, thanked him forhaving fuch a regard for his honour; and after he was fettled on the throne, raifed the messenger, as a reward for his services, to the rank of a noble.

the government of Lodi, took a long circuit round the hills, through wild and unfrequented paths. Lodi became foon fenfible of his error. The defeat and death of Shariar, the imprisonment of the Sultana, the murder of Dawir Buxsh, and the
accession of Shaw Jehân to the throne, came successively to his
ears. He thought of submission; but an army was on its march
to reduce him to obedience. Zimân, the son of Mohâbet, was at
the head of this force; but Lodi being in possession of an army,
and an extensive and rich province, the emperor gave to his general a commission to treat with that refractory Lord. He son
closed with the terms. He was appointed to the government of

Shaw Jehan, being in no condition to force his way through Cause of the government of Lodi, took a long circuit round the hills, emperor's re-

Malava, upon his refigning the Imperial division of the Decan. The emperor, however, was not sincere in the pardon which



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A. D. 1629. Hig. 1038. he promised. His pride revolted at the indignities offered him by Lodi; and, at a proper occasion, he resolved to punish him.

against that Omrah.

Lodi was not long in possession of the government of Malava, when he received orders to repair to court. As his refignation of the command of the army might be confirmed into obedience, rather than attributed to fear, he was under no apprehensions in making his appearance in the prefence. An edict of indemnity had been promulgated to all the Omrahs who had opposed the accession of Shaw Jehan to the throne; and Lodi thought that there was no probability of his being excluded from the indulgence granted to others. He was, however, convinced of his error, on the first day of his appearance at court. The usher, Perist, obliged him to exhibit some ceremonies of obedience, inconfishent with the rank which he held among the nobility. He was fomewhat refractory, but he thought it prudent to fubmit. His fon, Azmut Chan, was introduced after his father. The youth was then but fixteen years of age. He thought that the usher kept him too long proftrate upon the ground; and he flarted up before the fignal for rifing was given. The usher, in a rage, firuck Azmut over the head with his rod, and infifted upon his throwing himself again on the ground. Azmut, full of fire and valour, drew his fword. He aimed a blow at the uther's. head; but one of the mace-bearers warded it off, and faved his ears. Le thought or julimitions; that he army was on life. ce reduce blin to electionee. Limits, the Do of Mobile

He is difgraced in the prefence. A fudden murmur fpread around. All fell into confusion; and many placed their hands on their swords. Lodi, confidering the blow given to his son, as the signal of death, drew his dagger to defend himself. Hussein, his other son, followed his father's example. The tumult encreased, and the emperor leapt from his throne. Lodi and his sons rushed out of the presence.



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Their house was contiguous to the palace; and they shut them- A. D. 1629. felves up, with three hundred dependants. The house being inclosed with a strong wall, no impression could be made upon it without artillery; and as a fiege fo near the gates of the palace would derogate from the majesty of the emperor, Shaw Tehân endeavoured to entice Lodi to a furrender, by a promise of pardon. His friends at court, however, acquainted him, that that there was a resolution formed against his life; and he refolved to make his escape, or to die in the attempt.

Night, in the mean time, came on; and he was tormented with His diffres, various passions. His women were all around him. To leave them to dishonour was intolerable, to remain was death, to remove them by violence, cruelty. He was afflicted beyond measure; and he burst into tears. His wives faw his grief, and they retired. They confulted together in an inner apartment. Their refolution was noble, but desperate; they raised their hands against their own lives. The groans reached the ears of Lodi. He ruthed in; but there was only one taper burning, which, in his hafte, he overturned and extinguished. He spoke, but none answered. He searched around, but he plunged his hand in blood. He flood in filence a while; and one of his fons having broughta light, discovered to his eyes a scene of inexpressible horror. He faid not a word; but the wildness of his eyes was expresfive of the tempest which rolled in his mind. He made a fignal to his two fons, and they buried the unfortunate women in the garden. He hung for some time in silence over their common grave. Then flarting at once from a profound reverie, he iffued forth in a state of horror and despair. He ordered his drums to be beaten, his trumpers to be founded. His people gathered around him. They mounted their horses in the court-yard, and he himself at once threw open the gate. He issued out with his two

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fons; and his followers fell in order into his path. The Imperial troops were aftenished, and made little resistance. He was heard to exclaim, "I will awaken the tyrant with the found of my departure, but he shall tremble at my return." He rushed through the city like a whirlwind, and took the rout of Malava.

and flight.

The emperor, disturbed by the sudden noise, started from his bed. He enquired into the cause; and ordered Abul Hussein, with nine other nobles, to purfue the fugitive. They collected their troops; and left the city by the dawn of day. Lodi, without halting, rode forward near forty miles. He was flopt by the river Chunbil, which was fo high, fo rough and rapid, on account of the rains, that he could not fwim across it, and all the boats had been carried down by the stream. This was an unexpected and terrible check; but as the weather was now fair, he hoped that the torrent would foon fall; and in that expectation, he and his followers flood on the bank. In the midft of his anxiety, the Imperial troops appeared. He called his people together, and told them, he was refolved to die in arms. There was a pass behind him, which opened between two hills into a narrow plain. He took immediate possession of the pass; the river, which had cut off all hopes of flight, served to cover his rear.

His gallant behaviour, The Imperialists, trusting to their numbers, advanced with confidence; but they were so warmly received, that they drew back, with manifest signs of fear. Shame forced them to renew the charge. A select body pressed forward into the pass. The shock was violent; and the slaughter, on both sides, was as great and expeditious, as the small place in which they engaged would permit. Hussein had a resource in numbers; Lodi had nothing in which he could confide but his valour. Scarce one hundred of his men now remained undurt; he himself was wounded



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wounded in the right arm, and the enemy were preparing a third A.D. 1629-Hig. 1038. time to advance. His affairs were desperate. His two sons, Azmut and Hussein, conjured him to attempt the river, and that they would fecure his retreat. "The danger is equal," replied Lodi, "but it is more honourable to die in the field." They infifted upon his retreating, as his wound had rendered him unfit for action. " But can I leave you both," faid Lodi, " when I have most need of my fons? One must attend me in " my misfortune, which is perhaps a greater evil than death " iffelf." A dispute immediately arose between the brothers, each contending for the honour of covering their father's retreat. At that instant, the Usher Perist, who had struck Azmut in the presence, appeared in the front of the Imperialists. "Hussein, " the thing is determined;" faid Azmut, " dost thou behold that " villain, and bid me fly?" He spurred onward his horse: hisfather and brother plunged into the river.

Perist was a Calmuc Tartar, of great strength of body and in- and escapeatrepidity of mind. He saw Azmut advancing, and he started from the ranks, and rode forward to meet him half-way. Azmut had his bow ready bent in his hand: he aimed an arrow at Perist, and laid him dead at the seet of his horse. But the valiant youth did not long survive his enemy. He was cut to pieces by the Imperialists; and the sew faithful friends who had remained by his side, were either stain on the spot, or driven into the river and drowned. The conquerors had no reason to boast of their victory; four hundred men, and three officers of high rank were stain in the action, six nobles and a great number of inferior chiefs were wounded. The latter action was so short, that it was over before Lodi and Hussein had extricated themselves from the stream. When they ascended the opposite bank of the river, they looked back with anxiety for Azmut; but Azmut was no more to be seen:



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A. D. 1629. Hig. 1038. even his followers were, by that time, flain; and the victors, with shouts of triumph, possessed the further shore.

His diffress and bravery.

Lodi had no time to deliberate, none to indulge his grief for Azmut. The enemy had already plunged into the ffream; and he made the best of his way from the bank. He entered his own province of Malava, but the Imperialifts were close at his heels. Before he could collect his friends, he was overpowered by numbers, and defeated in feveral actions. He was at length driven beyond the boundaries of Malava. He continued his flight to Bundela, with a few adherents who had joined him; and he maintained, with great bravery, every pass against the troops that purfued him in his retreat. The Imperialifts, however, being at length haraffed by long marches, bad roads, and continual fkirmifhing, gave over the purfuit. Lodi remained a few days at Bundela, then he traverfed the provinces of Berar and Odipour, in his rout to Golconda, and presented himfelf before the Nizam at Dowlatabad. That prince received the unfortunate fugitive with open arms, a warm friendship having, for fome years, sublisted between them.

Uneafiness of the emperor.

The emperor expressed great uneasiness at the escape of Lodi. He knew his abilities, he was acquainted with his undeviating perseverance. High-spirited and active, Lodi loved danger, as furnishing an opportunity for an exertion of his great talents; and he was always discontented and uneasy at that tranquillity for which mankind in general offer up their prayers to Heaven. The more noble and generous passions of his mind were now up in arms. His pride had been rouzed by the indignities thrown upon him, and he ascribed the death of his wives and of his gallant son to the persidy of Shaw Jehân. His haughty temper revolted against submission, and his prudence forbad him to listen



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any more to pardons that were not fincere. The emperor knew A. D. 1629. the man with whom he had to contend; and he was alarmed at the news of his arrival in the Decan. He foresaw a storm in that quarter, should time be given to Lodi to reconcile the jarring interests of princes, who were the avowed enemies of the house of Timur. Shaw Jehân was naturally provident. He judged of futurity by the past; and he was rapid in decision. He thought the object not unworthy of his presence, on the southern frontier of his empire; and he ordered his army to be drawn together, that he might command them in the expected war in person.

Abas of Persia, to felicitate Shaw Jehan on his accession to the Shaw Abas. throne. He had fearce made his public entrance, when the news of his mafter's death arrived. Abas died in the month of January of the year 1629, after a reign of fifty years over Choraffan, and more than forty-two as fovereign of all Persia. He was a prince of a warlike disposition, a good statesman, a deep politician, a great conqueror. But he was cruel and prodigal of blood. He never forgave an enemy; nor thought he ever fufficiently rewarded a friend. Severe in his justice beyond example, he rendered what is in itself a public good, a real evil. He knew no degrees in crimes: death, which is among mankind the greatest punishment, was the least inflicted by Abas. Though given to oppression himself, he permitted none in others. He was the monarch, and he would be the only tyrant. He delighted in curbing the haughtiness of the nobility: he took pride in relieving the poor. All his fubjects had access to his person. He heard their complaints, and his decisions were immediate and terrible. His people, therefore, became just through fear; and

he owed a reign of half a century to the terrors with which

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During these transactions, an ambassador arrived from Shaw Death and character of

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A. D. 1631. Hig. 1040. he furrounded his throne. He was passionate and violent to a degree that sometimes perverted his judgment; and he who boasted of holding the scales of just dealing between mankind, broke often forth into outrageous acts of injustice. During his life, he was respected by all; but his death was lamented by none.

Preparations for war.

The great preparations made by Shaw Jehân for an expedition into the Decan, detained him at Agra till the fourth of February of the 1631 of the Christian Æra. He placed himself at the head of one hundred thousand horse; which, together with infantry, artillery and attendants, increased the number of the army to three hundred thousand men. He advanced toward the Decan; and the governors of the provinces through which he passed, fell in with their forces into his line of march. On the borders of Chandeish, he was met by Eradit Chan, the Suba of the province, who conducted him to his own refidence, the city of Brampour. The emperor encamped his army in the environs of Brampour; and dispatched messengers to the tributary princes of the Decan. The principal of these were, Adil sovereign of Bejapour, Kuttub, who styled himself king of Hydrabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam prince of Golconda. He threatened them with utter destruction should they not come personally to make their fubmission, after having disbanded the armies which they had raifed to support the rebellion of Lodi. He also recommended to them, either to deliver up or expel the man who had, by encouraging their schemes, projected their ruin. They fent evafive answers to these demands; and continued their preparations for war.

Emperor arrives in the Decan. The fudden arrival of the emperor with fuch a great force, was, however, premature for the affairs of Lodi. He had not





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vet been able to unite the armies of his allies, nor to raise a sufficient force of his own. The terror of the Imperial army had made each prince unwilling to quit his own dominions, left they should become the theatre of invasion and war. They faw the form gathering, but they knew not where it was to fall: and when they were afraid of all quarters, they took no effectual means for the defence of any. They were befides divided in their councils. Ancient jealousies and recent injuries were remembered, when the good of the whole was forgot. Distrust prevailed, indecision and terror followed; and the unfortunate Lodi, in fpite of his activity, his zeal and abilities, found but finall ground on which he could reft his hopes.

The emperor, in the mean time, was piqued at the inattention He detaches which princes, whom he confidered as tributaries, had shewn to his embaffy. He refolved upon revenge. The Nizam, as being the first who had received Lodi under his protection, was the first object of his resentment. He raised Eradit, the governor of Chandeish, to the title of Azim Chan, and submitted an army of twenty-five thousand men to his command. The force was not judged fufficient for the reduction of the Nizam; but the emperor would not trust Eradit with the absolute command of a more numerous army. He fell upon the expedient of detaching two other armies, confifting each of fourteen thousand horse, under the separate commands of Raja Gop Singh and Shaista Chan. These two generals were to act in conjunction with Eradit, but they were not absolutely under his orders. The three armies began their march from the capital of Chandeish, about the vernal equinox of the 1631 of the Christian Era, and took the rout of Dowlatabâd.



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A. D. 1631. Hig. 1040. armies from the Imperial camp. The emperor, in the mean time, remained at Brampour. Forces from various quarters crowded daily into his camp. He detached feven thousand horse, under Raw Ruton, toward Tellingana; and as many more, under the conduct of Abul Hussein, into the principality of Nasic, in the mountains of Ballagat. The Raja of Nasic had insulted Shaw Jehân in his exile and missortunes; nor did he ever forget an injury which affected his pride. The Hindoo prince suffered for his insolence; his country being, without mercy, subjected to fire and sword. The emperor told Hussein at parting: "The Raja of Nasic listened not to me in my distress; and you must teach him how dangerous it is to infult a man, that may one day be sovereign of the world." The expression alluded to his own name; but a jest was unfit for the tragedy which was acted in the desolated country of Nasic.

Success in Golconda.

The first account of the success of Shaw Jehân's arms arrived at Brampour, from Bakîr the governor of Orisla. That province lying contiguous to Golconda, Bakîr had received orders to make a diversion on that side. He accordingly had marched with a considerable force; and found the side of the country nearest to Orisla uncovered with troops. He laid siege to Shudda, Shikerist, Chizduar and Berimal, places of great strength in Golconda; and they fell successively into his hands. The news of this success pleased the more the less it was expected. In the splendour of the other expeditions, that under Bakîr was forgotten; and the emperor scarce remembered that he had given orders to the Suba to invade the enemy, when he heard that he had penetrated into the heart of their country. Honours were heaped upon him; and his messengers were loaded with presents.

Lodi commands the confederates. Though Lodi had failed in bringing the united force of the confederates into the field, he led the councils of the courts



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courts of Golconda and Bijapour. By representing to them, that when they fought one by one all should be overcome, they submitted their armies to his command. He advanced immediately toward the Imperialists, and threw himself into the passes of the mountains before Eradit, who made many vain efforts to penetrate into Golconda. A reinforcement of nine thousand men were detached to him from the Imperial camp. Nothing would do. His figuation and abilities enabled Lodi to counteract all his motions: and he either remained inactive, or loft numbers in fruitlefs attempts. An army, which penetrated from Guzerat into the countries on the coast of Malabar, was not so unsuccessful. The strong fortress of Chandwar fell into their hands; and they spread their devastations far and wide.

Shaw Jehan was not in the mean time idle at Brampour. Though Affairs at he directed all the motions of the armies, he was not forgetful of the civil government of his vast empire. With a justice which bordered on feverity, he quashed all petty disturbances through his dominions. He inquired minutely into every department. He heard all complaints against his own officers; and when the people were aggrieved, he removed them from their employments. Nor was he, in the midft of public bufinefs, negligent of that grandeur and magnificence which, by raifing awe in his subjects, gave weight to his commands. He selected a hundred out of the fons of the nobility, who were of the most diffinguished merit, and created them Omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they were, by their institution, always to attend the presence. They were all uniformly dressed in embroidered cloaths, with golden helmets, fwords inlaid, and thields studded with gold. When the emperor rode abroad, these attended him, with drawn fabres, all mounted on fine Arabian horses. Out of these he chose his officers; and when he sent any





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A. D. 1631. Hig. 1040. of them on fervice, his place was immediately supplied from another corps who, though not dignified with titles, were equipped in the fame manner, only that their ornaments were of filver. They also attended the emperor on horseback, when he rode abroad. penetrale sato Colconda. A relatorcament of

An action.

Eradit, having despaired of being able to force the passes of the mountains where Lodi was posted with the army of the confederates, directed his march another way. He was close pursued by Lodi with twelve thousand horse. That general, finding a proper opportunity, attacked the Imperialifts with great vigour, threw them into confusion, and went near routing the whole Six Omrahs of rank fell on the Imperial fide; but Eradit having formed his army in order of battle, Lodi thought proper to give way, and to shelter himself in the hills. Eradit took advantage of his retreat, and hung close upon his heels:but Lodi had the address not to offer battle, excepting upon unequal terms on the fide of the enemy. He in the mean time haraffed the Imperial army with flying fquadrons; cutting off their convoys, defeating their foraging parties, and laying wafte the country in their rear. Nor was the expedition under Raw Ruton into Tellingana attended with more fuccess than that under Eradit. The general was inactive, and the army weak. Raw Ruton was recalled, and difgraced for his inactivity; and Nazir Chan took the command of the Imperial troops in Tellingana.

Afgans re-pulsed.

The active spirit of Lodi was not confined to the operations of the field. No stranger to the superior power of the emperor, he armed against him, by his emissaries, the Afgans of the north. They issued from their hills to make a diversion on that side. They were led by Kemnal, the chief of the Rohilla tribe; and they entered Punjab, with a numerous but irregular army. The

project



project failed. The emperor despised too much the depredatory A. D. 1631.incursion of naked barbarians, to be frightened by them from his main object. He contented himself with sending orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to repel the invaders. The Afgans accordingly were opposed, defeated, and driven with little loss on the fide of the empire, to shelter themselves in their native hills. The project of Lodi, though well planned, fell thort of the intended effect.

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The flow progress made by Eradit, against the conduct and Eredit superabilities of Lodi, induced the emperor to think of superfed- command of ing him in his command. He had promifed to himself success, from the great superiority of his army in point of numbers, and the disappointment fell heavy on his ambition and pride. To place himfelf at the head of the expedition, was beneath his dignity; and his presence was otherwise necessary at Brampour, as the place most centrical for conveying his orders to the different armies in the field. Befides, the civil bufiness of the state, the folid regulation of which he had much at heart, required his attention and application. He therefore refolved to fend his viller Afiph into the field. His name was great in the empire; and his abilities in war were, at least, equal to his talent for managing the affairs of peace.

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SHAW JEHAN.

CHAP. II.

The Visier commands the army—Defeat of the confederates—Flight, misfortunes, and death of Lodi—Progress of the war in the Decan—Death of the favourite Sultana—A famine—Peace in the Decan—Emperor returns to Agra—Persecution of Idolaters—War with the Portugueze—Their factory taken—Raja of Bundela reduced and slain—Marriages of the princes Dara and Suja—War in the Decan—Golconda reduced—Death of Mohâbet—Affairs at court.

A. D. 1631. Hig. 1040. Vifier takes the command of the army.

HE visier, in obedience to the emperor's orders, set out from Brampour on the nineteenth of November, with a splendid retinue, together with a reinforcement of ten thoufand horfe. He took the command of the army upon his arrival in the mountains, and Eradit remained as his lieutenant; the emperor diffrusting more the abilities than the courage and fidelity of that Omrah. The name of Aliph, at the head of the army, flruck the confederates with a panic. They were no flrangers to his fame; and they began to be conquered in their own minds. They refolved to retreat from their advantageous post. Lodi remonstrated in vain. They had taken their resolution, and would not hear him. His haughty spirit was disgusted at their cowardice. Several nobles, formerly his friends, had joined him in his misfortunes, with their retinues. They adhered to his opinion, and refolved to stand by his fide. They took possession of advantageous ground; and they engaged the visier with great resolution and conduct. The battle was long equal: numbers at last prevailed. Lodi and his brave friend Diria Chan

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