



covered the retreat of their party, whilst they themselves slowly retired. The field of action and the passes of the mountains remained to the visier, who immediately detached a great part of the army under his lieutenant Eradit to Dowlatabâd.

A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1040.

The Nizam, being advanced in years, was unfit for the fatigues of the field. He had remained in his capital; but as soon as he heard of the approach of Eradit, he evacuated the city, and shut himself up in the citadel, which was thought impregnable. Lodi, after his defeat, made the best of his way to Dowlatabâd, with an intention of throwing himself into that capital, to defend it to the last extremity. He was too late by some hours: Eradit was in the city. He fled, and took possession of a pass near Dowlatabâd, where he defended himself till night, against the whole force of the Imperialists. He escaped in the dark, and wandered over Golconda. The army of the Nizam had, by this time, thrown themselves into the fortresses, and the open country was over-run by the enemy. To complete the misfortunes of that prince, his nobles daily deserted him, with their adherents, and joined Shaw Jehân. He began seriously to think of peace, and dispatched ambassadors both to the emperor and to the visier.

The Nizam
proposes
terms.

The emperor had given instructions to Asiph to listen to no terms, without a preliminary article, that Lodi should be delivered into his hands. The affairs of the Nizam were desperate; and Lodi was afraid that necessity would get the better of friendship. He now considered his allies as his greatest enemies, and he resolved to fly from Golconda. The emperor had foreseen what was to happen, and he placed strong detachments in all the passes of the mountains. Notwithstanding this precaution, in spite of the general orders for seizing him dispersed over the country, Lodi forced his way, with four hundred men, into

Flight,



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1631.

Hig 100.

Malava, and arrived at the city of Ugein. Shaw Jehân was no sooner apprised of his escape, than he sent Abdalla in pursuit of him with ten thousand horse. Abdalla came up with the fugitive at Ugein, but he escaped to Debalpour; and being also driven from that place, he surprized Sirong, where he seized several Imperial elephants; and with these he took the route of Bundela.

misfortunes,

Misfortune pursued Lodi wherever he went. The Raja's son, to gain the emperor's favour, fell upon him. In the action he lost many of his best friends. Deria was the first who fell; and the unfortunate Lodi gave up his soul to grief. He fled; but it was to accumulated misery. He fell in, the very next day, with the army of Abdalla: there scarce was time for flight. His eldest son, Mahommed Aziz, stopt, with a few friends, in a narrow part of the road; and devoting their lives for the safety of Lodi, were cut off to a man. He waited half the night on a neighbouring hill, with a vain expectation of the return of his gallant son. All was silent; and the unhappy father was dissolved in tears. The noise of arms approached at last; but it was the enemy, recent from the slaughter of his son and his friends. He fled toward Callenger; but Seid Amud, the governor of that place, marched out against him. A skirmish ensued: Lodi was defeated; Houssein, the only son left to him, was slain, and his adherents were now reduced to thirty horsemen. He was pursued with such vehemence, that he had not even time for despair.

and death of
Lodi;

Abdalla, hearing of the low ebb of Lodi's fortune, divided his army into small parties, to scour the country. A detachment under Muziffer Chan fell in with the unfortunate fugitive. When he saw the enemy at a small distance, he called together his thirty followers. "Misfortune," said he, "has devoted me to ruin: it is in vain to struggle longer against the stream. I have lost my sons; but

A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1041.

“but your attachment, in the last extreme, tells me I have not
 “lost all my friends. I only remain of my family, but let me
 “not involve you in the destruction which overwhelms me with-
 “out resource. Your adherence is a proof that I have conferred
 “favours upon you: permit me to ask one favour in my turn. It
 “is—that you leave me—and save yourselves by flight.” They
 burst all into tears, and told him, that was the only command
 from him which they could not obey. He was silent, and gave
 the signal with his sword to advance. Muziffer was astonished
 when he saw thirty men marching up against his numerous de-
 tachment. He imagined they were coming to surrender them-
 selves. But when they had come near his line, they put their
 horses on a gallop, and Muziffer ordered his men to fire. A ball
 pierced Lodi through the left breast; he fell dead at the feet of
 his horse, and his thirty faithful companions were cut off to a man.

Such was the end of Chan Jehân Lodi, after a series of uncommon
 misfortunes. He was descended of the Imperial family of Lodi,
 who held the sceptre of India before the Moguls. His mind was
 as high as his descent: his courage was equal to his ambition. He
 was full of honour, and generous in the extreme. His pride pre-
 vented him from ever gaining an enemy, and he never lost a
 friend. The attachment of his followers to his person, is the best
 eulogy on the benevolence of his mind; and the fears of the em-
 peror are irrefragable proofs of his abilities. Those misfortunes,
 therefore, which might have excited pity had they fallen upon
 others, drew admiration only on Lodi. We feel compassion for
 the weak; great men are a match for adversity: the contest is
 equal, and we yield to no emotion but surprise.

His charac-
ter.

When the news of the death of Lodi arrived in the Imperial
 camp, Shaw Jehân betrayed every symptom of joy. The head of

Negotiation
broke off.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1011.

the unfortunate rebel was placed above one of the gates of the city of Brampour. Abdalla was carested for his services. Valuable presents were given him, and he was dignified with the splendid title of, THE SUN OF OMRAHS, AND THE VICTORIOUS IN WAR. Muziffer, whose fortune it was to kill Lodi, was raised to the dignity of the deceased, being afterwards distinguished by the name of Chan Jehân. The negotiations for the re-establishment of peace between the emperor and the confederate princes of the Decan, was, in the mean time, broke off by the too great demands on the part of Shaw Jehân. Hostilities were accordingly recommenced, and Erâdit was left in the command of the army; the public business demanding the presence of the visier at court. The confederates had, as has been already observed, retired from the field into their strong holds. The war was converted into a succession of sieges. The fortresses were strong, the garrisons determined, and the Imperialists unskilful; but the emperor was obstinate, and would not abate from his first demands. The consequence was, that Shaw Jehân, after a war of two years, in which he lost multitudes of men by famine, disease, and the sword; and after having expended prodigious treasures, found himself possessed of a few forts, his army tired out with ineffectual hostilities, and the enemy distressed, but not vanquished.

Progress of
the Imperial
arms.

A minute detail of unimportant campaigns would be tedious and dry. Uninteresting particulars and events scarce stamp a sufficient value on time, to merit the pen of the historian. In the summer of 1631, Damawir, the strongest fort in Golconda was taken. In the beginning of the year 1632, Candumâr in Tellingana, which was deemed impregnable, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Little treasure was found in either. The Patan princes never had a disposition for hoarding up wealth. A fierce, warlike, and independent race of men, they valued the hard-tempered steel

of



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of their swords more than gold and silver, which the rest of mankind so much prize.

A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1642.

On the eighteenth day of July 1631, died in child-bed, about two hours after the birth of a princess, the favourite Sultana, Arjemund Banu, the daughter of Asiph Jah. She had been twenty years married to Shaw Jehân, and bore him a child almost every year. Four sons and four daughters survived her. When her husband ascended the throne, he dignified her with the title of Mumtâza Zemâni, or, THE MOST EXALTED OF THE AGE. Though she seldom interfered in public affairs, Shaw Jehân owed the empire to her influence with her father. Nor was he ungrateful: he loved her living, and lamented her when dead. Calm, engaging, and mild in her disposition, she engrossed his whole affection: and though he maintained a number of women for state, they were only the slaves of her pleasure. She was such an enthusiast in Deism, that she scarce could forbear persecuting the Portuguese for their supposed idolatry; and it was only on what concerned that nation, she suffered her temper, which was naturally placid, to be ruffled. To express his respect for her memory, the emperor raised at Agra, a tomb to her name, which cost in building the amazing sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Death and
character of
the Sultana.

The death of the Sultana was followed by public calamities of various kinds. The war in the Decan produced nothing but the desolation of that country. An extraordinary drought, which burnt up all vegetables, dried up the rivers, and rent the very ground, occasioned a dreadful famine. The Imperial camp could not be supplied with provisions: distress prevailed over the whole face of the empire. Shaw Jehân remitted the taxes in many of the provinces, to the amount of three millions sterling; he even opened

Public calamities.



A. D. 1531.
Hig. 1042.

opened the treasury for the relief of the poor; but money could not purchase bread: a prodigious mortality ensued; disease followed close on the heels of famine, and death ravaged every corner of India. The scarcity of provisions prevailed in Persia: the famine raged with still greater violence in the Western Tartary. No rain had fallen for seven years in that country. Populous and flourishing provinces were converted into solitudes and deserts; and a few, who escaped the general calamity, wandered through depopulated cities alone.

The confederates sue for peace.

But as if famine and disease were not sufficient to destroy mankind, Asiph Jâh, who had resumed the command of the army, assisted them with the sword. He trod down the scanty harvest in the Decan; and ravaged with fire and sword the kingdom of Bijapour. Adil Shaw, the sovereign of the country, came into terms when nothing was left worthy of defence. He promised to pay an annual tribute to the house of Timur, and to own himself a dependent on the empire. Money was extorted from the Nizam, and from Kuttub, prince of Tellingana. The conditions were, That the emperor should remove his army; but that he should retain, by way of security for their future behaviour, the strong-holds which had fallen into his hands. Such was the end of a war, begun from motives of conquest, and continued through pride. The emperor, after squandering a great treasure, and losing a multitude of men, sat down without extending his limits, without acquiring reputation. His great superiority in point of strength, when compared to the small force of the confederates, prevented battles which might yield him renown. He wasted his strength on sieges, and had to contend with greater evils than the swords of the enemy. He, however, humbled the Patan power in India, which, during the distractions



occasioned by his own rebellion in the preceding reign, had become formidable to the family of Timur.

A. D. 1633.
Hig. 1043.

The emperor returned not to Agra, from the unprofitable war in the Decan, till the seventh of March of the year 1633. Eradit was left in the city of Brampour, in his former office of governor of Chandeish. He, however, did not long continue to execute the duties of a commission which was the greatest the emperor could bestow. The command of the army, stationed on the frontiers of the Decan, had been annexed to the subaship of the province; and though Shaw Jehân was in no great terror of Eradit's abilities, he, at that time, placed no trust in his fidelity. The command and the province were offered to the vizier; who was alarmed lest it might be a pretence of removing him from the presence. He covered his dislike to the measure with an act of generosity. He recommended Mohâbet to the office destined for himself; and the emperor, though, from a jealousy of that lord's reputation, he had kept him during the war in the command of the army near Brampour, consented to grant his request. He, however, insinuated to Mohâbet, that he could not spare him from his councils; and, therefore, recommended to him to appoint his son Chan Zimân his deputy, in the province of Chandeish.

Return of the
emperor to
Agra.

The emperor had observed, that during the distress occasioned by the late famine, the superstitious Hindoos, instead of cultivating their lands, flew to the shrines of their gods. Though neither an enthusiast, nor even attached to any system of religion, he was enraged at their neglect of the means of subsistence, for the uncertain relief to be obtained by prayer. "They have a thousand gods," said he, "yet the thousand have not been able to guard them from famine. This army of divinities," continued he, "instead of being beneficial to their votaries, distract their

Persecution
of the Hine-
doos.

attention



A. D. 1633.
Hig. 1044.

attention by their own numbers; and I am therefore determined to expel them from my empire." These were the words of Shaw Jehân, when he signed an edict for breaking down the idols, and for demolishing the temples of the Hindoos. The measure was impolitic, and, in the event, cruel. The zealous followers of the Brahmin religion rose in defence of their gods, and many enthusiasts were massacred in their presence. Shaw Jehân saw the impropriety of the persecution; he recalled the edict, and was heard to say, "That a prince who wishes to have subjects, must take them with all the trumpery and bawbles of their religion."

Suba of Bengal complains of the Portuguese.

Soon after this insult on the superstition of Brahma, letters were received at court from Casim Chan, governor of Bengal. Casim complained to the emperor, that he was very much disturbed in the duties of his office by a parcel of European idolaters, for so he called the Portuguese, who had been permitted to establish themselves at Hugley, for the purposes of trade; that, instead of confining their attention to the business of merchants, they had fortified themselves in that place, and were become so insolent, that they committed many acts of violence upon the subjects of the empire, and presumed to exact duties from all the boats and vessels which passed by their fort. The emperor wrote him in the following laconic manner: "Expel these idolaters from my dominions." The severity of this order proceeded from another cause.

Their insolence to Shaw Jehân.

When Shaw Jehân, after the battle at the Nirbidda, found himself obliged to take refuge in the eastern provinces, he passed through Orixa into Bengal. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Dacca, Michael Rodriguez, who commanded the Portuguese forces at Hugley, paid him a visit of ceremony. Shaw Jehân, after the first compliments were over, requested the assistance



ance of Rodriguez, with his soldiers and artillery; making large promises of favour and emolument, should he himself ever come to the possession of the throne of Hindostan. The governor saw the desperate condition of the prince's affairs, and would not grant his request. He had the imprudence to add insult to his refusal, by insinuating, that he would be ashamed of serving under a rebel, who had wantonly taken up arms against his father and sovereign. Shaw Jehân was silent; but he laid up the sarcasm in his mind. He, therefore, listened with ardour to the representations of Cafim; and ordered him to invest Hugley.

A. D. 1633.
Hig. 1083.

Cafim, in consequence of the Imperial orders, appeared with an army before the Portuguese factory. Their force was not sufficient to face him in the field; and he immediately made his approaches in form. A breach was made, and the ditch filled up in a few days; and the Imperialists carried the place by assault. The Portuguese, however, behaved with bravery. They continued to fight from their houses. Many were killed, and the living proposed terms. They offered half their effects to Cafim; they promised to pay an annual tribute of four lacks, upon condition that they should be permitted to remain in the country, in their former privileges of trade. The victor would listen to no terms until they laid down their arms. Three thousand souls fell into his hands. Their lives were spared; but the images, which had given so much offence to the favourite Sultana, were broken down and destroyed. These were the first hostilities against Europeans recorded in the histories of the East.

Hugley taken
by assault.

The petty war with the Portuguese, was succeeded by the second revolt of the Raja of Bundela. The terms imposed upon him at the reduction of his country by Mohâbet, were too severe; and he only had remained quiet to prepare for

Revolt of the
Raja of Bundela.



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A. D. 1633.
Hig. 1044.

another effort against the Imperial power. Aurungzêbe, the third son of the emperor, was sent against him, under the tuition of Nuferit, the Suba of Malava. This was the first opportunity given to that young lion of rioting in blood. The Raja, though much inferior in force, was obstinate and brave. Possessed of many strong holds, he resolved to stand upon the defensive, against an enemy whom he could not, with any assurance of victory, face in the field. The war was protracted for two years. Judger Singh maintained every post to the last; and he yielded in one place, only to retire with accumulated fortitude to another. Aurungzêbe, though but thirteen years of age, displayed that martial intrepidity which distinguished the rest of his life. He could not, by the influence of Nuferit, be restrained in the camp: he was present in every danger, and shewed an elevation of mind in the time of action, which proved that he was born for tumult and war.

His misfortunes, bravely,

The last place which remained to the Raja was his capital city; and in this he was closely besieged. He was hemmed in on every side by the Imperial army; and the circle grew narrower every day. Resolution was at last converted into despair. His bravest foldiers were cut off: his friends had gradually fallen. The helpless part of his family, his women and children, remained. He proposed terms; but his fortunes were too low to obtain them. To leave them to the enemy, would be dishonourable; to remain himself, certain death to him, but no relief to them. He set fire to the town; and he escaped through the flames which overwhelmed his family. A few horsemen were the companions of his flight; and Nuferit followed close on their heels for two hundred miles. The Raja at last crossed the Nirbidda, and penetrated into the country of Canduana.

The



The unfortunate prince was, at length, overcome with fatigue. He came into a forest, and finding a pleasant plain in the middle, he resolved to halt; dreaming of no danger in the center of an impervious wood. Both he and his followers alighted, and tying their horses to trees, betook themselves to rest. A barbarous race of men possessed the country round. They had not seen the Raja's troop, but the neighing of his horses led some of them to the spot. Looking from the thicket into the narrow plain where the fugitives lay, they perceived, to their astonishment, a number of men richly dressed, sleeping on the ground; and fine horses standing near, with furniture of silver and gold. The temptation was too great to be withstood by men who had never seen so much wealth before. They rushed upon the strangers; and stabbed them in their sleep. While they were yet dividing the spoil, Nuferit came. The robbers were slain; and the head of the Raja was brought back to the army, which Nuferit had left under the command of Aurungzêbe. In the vaults of the Raja's palace were found to the value of three millions in silver coin, in gold, and in jewels, which Aurungzêbe laid at the feet of his father, as the first fruit of his victories. He was received with uncommon demonstrations of joy; and Nuferit, for his services, was raised to a higher rank of nobility.

A. D. 133.
Hig. 2044.
and death.

During these transactions, all remained quiet at court. The emperor applied to public business; nor was he forgetful of pleasure. Though, during the life of the Sultana, his affections were confined to her alone, he became dissolute after her decease. The vast number of women whom he kept for state in his haram, had among them many enchanting beauties. He wandered from one charming object to another, without fixing his mind on any; and enjoyed their conversation, without being the dupe of their art. The daughter of his brother Purvez was now grown into mar-

Marriages of
the princes
Dara and
Suja.



A. D. 1633.
Hig. 1044.

riageable years; and he gave her to wife to his eldest son Dara, whom he destined for the throne. Suja, his second son, was at the same time married to the daughter of Rustum Suffavi, of the royal line of Persia. The ceremonies of these two marriages were attended with uncommon pomp and festivity: eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds were expended out of the public treasury alone; and the nobles contended with one another in expensive entertainments and shews.

Mohâbet in-
vades Gol-
conda.

Though the jealousy of the emperor prevented Mohâbet for some time from taking upon himself the Subaship of Chandeish, and command of the army on the frontiers, that lord was at last permitted to retire to his government. His active genius could not remain idle long. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his predecessor Eradit, who had carried on the late unsuccessful war in the Decan, he found means of renewing hostilities with the Nizâm. He led accordingly the Imperial army into the kingdom of Golconda. The Nizâm was no match for that able general in the field, and he shut himself up in the citadel of Dowlatabâd. Mohâbet sat down before it; but for the space of six months he could make little impression upon it, from its uncommon strength and situation.

Takes Dow-
latabâd.

The citadel of Dowlatabâd is built on a solid rock, almost perpendicular on every side, which rises one hundred and forty yards above the plain. The circumference of the outermost wall is five thousand yards; the thickness, at the foundation, five; the height fifteen. The space within is divided into nine fortifications, separated by strong walls, rising gradually above one another toward the center, by which means each commands that which is next to it beneath. The entrance is by a subterraneous passage cut from the level of the plain, which rises into the center of the inner fort,



fort, by a winding stair-case. On the outside, the entrance is secured with iron gates; the top of the stair-case is covered with a masonry grate, on which a large fire is always kept during a siege. But the strength of Dowlatabâd was not proof against treachery. Fatté, the son of Maleck Amber, who was the governor, sold it to Mohâbet for a sum of money, and an annual pension of twenty-five thousand pounds, secured on the Imperial treasury.

A. D. 1613.
Hig. 1044.

The old Nizâm was dead before the treachery of Fatté had delivered up the impregnable fortrefs of Dowlatabâd to Mohâbet. An infant succeeded him; and Fatté chose to make terms for himself, under the uncertainty of the young prince's fortunes. The delivery of the Nizâm into the hands of the Imperial general, was one of the conditions imposed on Fatté for the bribe which he received. The prince was carried to Agra. He was treated with apparent respect and kindness by the emperor; but it was dangerous to permit him to remain at large. He was ordered into confinement in the castle of Gualiar; with an attendance of women and servants to alleviate his captivity. His dominions, in the mean time, were annexed to the empire; and Mohâbet, with his wonted abilities, established the form of government, by which the new province was to be, for the future, regulated.

The Nizâm
confined.

The animosity and jealousy which broke out afterwards among the princes, the four sons of Shaw Jehân, made their first appearance at this time. Aurungzêbe, who shewed a courage and understanding beyond his years, was in great favour with the emperor. He delighted to encourage him in the martial exercises, which the prince ardently loved; and though he did not abate in his regard for his other sons, they repined at the preference given to Aurungzêbe. A feat which that prince performed on his birth-day, when he entered his fifteenth year, strengthened his interest

Seja sent to
the Decan.



A. D. 1633.
Hig. 1044.

interest in his father's affections. He fought on horseback against an elephant, in the presence of the emperor and the whole court; and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. The whole empire rung with his praise; and the action was celebrated in verse by Saib Selim, the best poet of the age. The prince Suja, naturally high-spirited and jealous, shewed violent signs of discontent at the preference given to Aurungzêbe. He began to look upon his younger brother as designed for the throne; and his haughty mind could not endure the thought. He wished to be absent from a scene which gave him uneasiness; and he prevailed on Mohâbet to write to the emperor, requesting that he should be sent to him to the Decan. Shaw Jehân consented. Suja was created an Omrah of five thousand horse; and, having received sixty thousand pounds for his expences from the treasury, he took leave of his father.

Jealousy of
Dara.

Dara, the Imperial prince, highly resented the honours conferred on Suja. He himself had hitherto remained at court, without either office or establishment. He complained to his father with great vehemence; and the latter endeavoured to soothe his son, by insinuating, that from his great affection for him, he could not permit him to take the field; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. Dara would not be satisfied with these reasons; and the emperor, to make him easy, gave him the command of six thousand horse. The prince, however, could not forget the prior honours of Suja. He was told that Mohâbet designed that prince for the throne; and there were some grounds for suspicion on that head. Had Shaw Jehân had a serious design of favouring Suja, he could not have fallen upon more effectual means of serving him, than by placing him under the tuition of so able an officer as Mohâbet. But he had no intention of that kind. He had fixed on Dara as his successor; though

there



there was little policy in his placing Suja in the channel of acquiring the favour of the army, a knowledge of the world, and a superior skill in war. It was upon these grounds, that Dara justly complained; and the sequel will shew, that he judged better than his father of the consequences.

A. D. 1634.
Hig. 1044.

On the fifth of April 1634, the emperor marched from Agra toward Lahore. He moved slowly, taking the diversion of hunting in all the forests on the way. He himself was an excellent sportsman; and the writer of his life relates, that he shot forty deer with his own hand, before he reached Delhi. In that city he remained a few days; and then proceeded to Lahore, where he arrived after a journey of more than a month. The governors of the northern provinces met the emperor near the city; and, with these and his own retinue, Shaw Jehân went with great pomp to visit the tomb of his father. He distinguished, by peculiar attention and acts of favour, Mirza Bakir and Sheikh Beloli, two learned men, who resided at Lahore; and, having made a considerable present to the Fakiers, who kept up the perpetual lamp in his father's tomb, he set out for the kingdom of Cashmire, on the limits of which he arrived on the thirteenth of June. Pleasure was his only business to Cashmire. He relaxed his mind from public affairs for some days, and amused himself with viewing the curious springs, the cascades, the hanging woods, and the lakes, which diversify the delightful and romantic face of that beautiful country. His progress was celebrated in verse by Mahommed Jân: but his care for the state soon brought him back to Lahore.

Emperor's
progress to
Cashmire.

The Prince Suja arrived in the Imperial army in the Decan, while Mohâbet was yet settling the affairs of the conquered dominions of the Nizâm. The general received him with all the distinction.

Suja recalled.



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A. D. 1634.
Hig. 1044.

distinction due to his birth, and soon after put his troops in motion toward Tellingana. The enemy forsook the field, and betook themselves to their strong holds. Mohâbet sat down before Bizida; but the garrison defended the place with such obstinacy, that the Imperialists made little progress. The warm valour of Suja could not brook delay. He attributed to the inactivity of Mohâbet, what proceeded from the bravery of the enemy, and the strength of the place. He raised by his murmuring a dissension between the officers of the army. Mohâbet remonstrated against the behaviour of Suja; and gave him to understand, that he himself, and not the prince, commanded the troops. Suja was obstinate. Mohâbet sent expresses to court, and the prince was recalled. He was enraged beyond measure at this indignity; but it was prudent to obey. He left the camp; and Mohâbet, falling sick, was obliged to raise the siege. He returned to Brampour; and his disorder having increased in the march, put a period to his life in a very advanced age.

Death and
character of
Mohâbet.

Mohâbet was one of the most extraordinary characters that ever figured in India. Severe in disposition, haughty in command, rigid in the execution of his orders, he was feared and respected, but never beloved by an indolent and effeminate race of men. In conduct he was unrivalled, in courage he had few equals, and none in success. In the field he was active, daring and intrepid, always in perfect possession of his own mind. His abilities seemed to rise with the occasion; and Fortune could present nothing in battle which his prudence had not foreseen. In his political character, he was bold in his resolves, active and determined in execution. As his own soul was above fear, he was an enemy to cruelty; and he was so honest himself, that he seldom suspected others. His demeanor was lofty and reserved; his manner full of dignity and grace: he was generous



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rous and always sincere. He attempted high and arduous things, rather from a love of danger than from ambition; and when he had attained the summit of greatness, and might have rested there, he descended the precipice, because it was full of peril. Jehangire owed twice to him his throne; once to his valour, and once to his moderation; and his name gave the empire to Shaw Jehân, more than the friendship of Asiph Jâh.

A. D. 1635.
Hig. 1044.

Notwithstanding the great abilities of Mohâbet, he seemed to be sensible of his own merit, and conscious of his importance in the state. He was punctilious about rank; and would upon no occasion give place to the visier; who would not relinquish the precedence which he derived from his high office. The dispute was carried so high between these two great men in the beginning of the reign of Shaw Jehân, that it was agreed they should not come to court on the same day. The emperor did not chuse to interfere in the contest: they were both his benefactors, both were powerful in the state; and it would not be prudent to disoblige one, by giving preference to the claims of the other. He, however, was at last prevailed upon to decide in favour of Asiph: And he made his excuse to Mohâbet, by saying, "That in all civilized governments the sword should yield to the pen." Mohâbet submitted; but he avoided ever after, as much as possible, the ceremony of appearing publicly in the presence of the emperor.

Anecdotes

These disputes, though they did not break out into an open rupture between the visier and Mohâbet, were the source of a coldness between them. Shaw Jehân was at no pains to reconcile them. He was unwilling to throw the influence of both into one channel; and by alternately favouring each, he kept alive their jealousy. Mohâbet had a numerous party at court; and they had once almost ruined the power of Asiph by recommend-

concerning
him.



A. D. 1635.
Hig. 1044.

ing him to the emperor, as the only fit man for settling the affairs of the Decan. His commission was ordered without his knowledge; but he fell upon means of turning the artillery of the enemy upon themselves. He persuaded the emperor that Mohâbet only was fit to conduct the war; at the same time that he made a merit with that general, of transferring to him a government, the most lucrative and important in the empire.

Embassy to
the Uibecs.

The emperor, upon the death of Mohâbet, separated the command of the army from the government of the Decan. Islam Chan became general of the forces, with the title of paymaster-general; and the Subaship was conferred on Chan Zimân, the son of Mohâbet. In the beginning of January 1635, Tizbiet Chan returned from his embassy to Mahommed, prince of Balick. That lord had been sent to Mahommed to demand redress for the incursions of his subjects into the northern provinces. Mahommed excused the insult, in submissive letters, accompanied with presents; the most valuable of which, to a prince of Shaw Jehân's amorous disposition, was the young and beautiful Malika Shadè, the daughter of Mahommed Sultan, lineally descended from Timur. The emperor received this northern beauty, with excess of joy; and soon forgot the invasions of the Uibecs in her charms.

Emperor re-
turns to
Agra.

Shaw Jehân, after his return from Cashmire, continued for some time at Lahore. He left that city on the 27th of January, and arrived at Agra on the 23d of March 1635. Nadira, the daughter of Purvez, and wife of the Imperial prince Dara, was brought to bed, on the way, of a son; who received the name of Solimân Sheko from his grandfather. Great rejoicings were made upon the birth of the prince; and the emperor, upon the occasion, mounted a new throne formed of solid gold, embossed with
various



various figures, and studded with precious stones. The throne had been seven years in finishing, and the expence of the jewels only amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money. It was afterwards distinguished by the name of Tuckt Taôus, or the Peacock Throne, from having the figures of two peacocks standing behind it with their tails spread, which were studded with jewels of various colours to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald. The finest jewel in the throne was a ruby, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398. Jehangire, with peculiar barbarity, diminished the beauty and lustre of the stone, by engraving upon it his own name and titles; and when he was reproved for this piece of vanity by the favourite Sultana, he replied, "This stone will perhaps carry my name down further through time, than the empire of the house of Timur."

A D. 1635.
Hig. 1044.

The festival on account of the birth of Solimân, was succeeded by various promotions at court. Aurungzêbe was created an Omrah of five thousand horse; and the visier was raised to the high dignity of captain-general of the Imperial forces. Shaw Jehân was not altogether disinterested in conferring this honour on Afîph. He paid him a visit in his own house upon his appointment, and received a present of five lacks of rousees; which he immediately added to the sum of one million and an half sterling, which he laid out in the course of the year on public buildings, and on canals for bringing water to Agra.

Promotions.



S H A W J E H A N.

C H A P. III.

Emperor's expedition to the Decan—Reduction of that country—Death of Chan Zimân—An insurrection in Behâr—Quelled—Candahâr restored to the empire—Invasion from Affâm—Reduction of Tibet—Oppressive governors punished—Prince Suja narrowly escapes from the flames of Rajamâhil—An embassy to Constantinople—Calamities in the northern provinces—Death and character of Asiph Jâh—Turbet punished for oppression—An invasion threatened from Persia—Interrupted by the death of Sharw Sefi.

A. D. 1636.
Hig. 1046.

The emperor
resolves to in-
vade the De-
can.

SHAW JEHAN, whether most prompted by avarice or by ambition is uncertain, formed a resolution to reduce the Mahomedan sovereignties of the Decan into provinces of the Mogul empire. The conquests made by his generals were partial. They had laid waste, but had not subdued the country; and when most successful, they imposed contributions rather than a tribute on the enemy. Even the great abilities of Mohâbet were not attended with a success equal to the sanguine hopes of the emperor; and all his prospects of conquest vanished at the death of that able general. Shaw Jehân, though addicted to the enervating pleasures of the haram, was roused by his ambition to mark his reign with some splendid conquest; "For it is not enough," he said, "for a great prince to send only to his posterity the dominions which he has received from his fathers." The thought was more



S H A W J E H A N.

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magnificent than wife. To improve the conquests of his fathers with true policy, would be more useful to his posterity, and more glorious to himself, than to exhaust his strength in violent efforts to extend the limits of his empire. He however had determined on the measure; and the advice of his most prudent Omrahs and counsellors was despised.

A. D. 1636.
Hig. 1046.

On the first of October 1636, he set out from Agra with his usual pomp and magnificence. Dowlatabâd was the point to which he directed his march; but his progress was politically slow. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces as he advanced; and the distance of many of them from the intended scene of action, required time to bring them to the field. The prince Aurungzêbe attended his father on this expedition, and was highly in favour. He proposed, with a youthful ardor which pleased the emperor, to take a circuit with the Imperial camp, through the province of Bundela, to view the strong holds which he himself, under the tuition of Nuférit, had some time before taken from the unfortunate Judger Singh. The emperor had not as yet collected a force sufficient to ensure success to his arms; and to gain time, he listened to the request of his son. The whole of the year was passed in premeditated delays, and in excursions of hunting; so that the emperor did not arrive in the Decan till the latter end of the rainy season of the 1637 of the Christian era.

He sets out
from Agra,

The Subas of the different provinces had, with their troops, joined the emperor on his march. His force was prodigious when he entered the borders of the enemy. On his arrival at Dowlatabâd, he was able to form twelve different armies, which, under twelve leaders, he sent into the kingdoms of Bijapour and Tellin-gana. The princes of the country had collected their forces, but they

He lays waste
the enemy's
country,



A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1048.

they knew not to which quarter they should direct their march. The Imperialists formed a circle round them, and war was at once in all parts of their dominions. The orders of the emperor were barbarous and cruel. He submitted the open country to fire; and garrisons that resisted were put to the sword. "War is an evil," he said; "and compassion contributes only to render that evil permanent." The eastern writers describe the miseries of the Decan in the peculiar hyperboles of their diction. "Towns and cities," say they, "were seen in flames on every side; the hills were shaken with the continual roar of artillery, and tigers and the wild beasts of the desert fled from the rage of men." One hundred and fifteen towns and castles were taken and destroyed in the course of the year. The emperor sat, in the mean time, aloft in the citadel of Dowlatabâd, and looked down, with horrid joy, on the tempest which he himself had raised around.

which sub-
mits.

The devastations committed by the express orders of the emperor, had at last the intended effect on the sovereigns of Tellingana and Bijapour. Shut up in their strongest forts, they could not assist their subjects, who were either ruined or massacred without mercy around them. They proposed peace in the most humble and supplicating terms. Shaw Jehân took advantage of their necessities, and imposed severe conditions. They were established, by commission from the emperor, as hereditary governors of their own dominions, upon agreeing to give a large annual tribute, the first payment of which was to be made at the signing of the treaty. The princes besides were to acknowledge the emperor and his successors lords paramount of the Decan in all their public deeds, and to design themselves, The humble subjects of the empire of the Moguls.

Emperor re-
turns to Aj-
mere.

The treaty being signed and ratified, the emperor left his son Aurungzêbe under the tuition of Chan Zimân, the son of Mohâbet,

at

A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1048.

at the head of a considerable force, to awe his new subjects. In the strong holds which had fallen into his hands during the war, he placed garrisons; and, having left the Decan, took the route of Ajmere. On the eighth of December 1638, he arrived in that city, and visited the shrine of Moin ul Dien, more from a desire to please the superstitious among his courtiers, than from his own devotion. He had not remained long at Ajmere when the prince Aurungzêbe arrived, to celebrate his nuptials with the daughter of Shaw Nawâz, the son of Afiph Jâh. The visier, who had remained during the war at Agra, to manage the civil affairs of the empire, came to join the court at Ajmere, accompanied by Morâd, the emperor's youngest son, and was present at the splendid festival held in honour of the marriage of his grandson with his granddaughter.

Death of
Chan Zimân.

Soon after the departure of Aurungzêbe from the army in the Decan, Chan Zimân, fell sick and died. His death was much regretted by the whole empire. Calm, manly and generous, he was esteemed, respected, and beloved. He was possessed of all the polite accomplishments of the gentleman: he was a brave general, a good statesman, an excellent scholar, and a poet. Under his original name of Mirza Amani, he published a collection of his poems, which are still in high repute for their energy and elegance over all the East. The emperor was so sensible of the high merit of Chan Zimân, that he sincerely lamented his death, and spoke much in his praise in the hall of the presence, before the whole nobility. "We did not miss," said he, "the abilities of Mohâbet, till we lost his son." Aurungzêbe received immediate orders to repair to the Decan, and to take upon himself the sole command of the Imperial army, stationed in the conquered provinces.

During



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1639.
Hig. 1042.
Insurrection
in Behâr.

During these transactions in Ajmere, the revolt of the Raja of Budgepour happened in the province of Behâr. The emperor detached a part of the army under Abdalla to suppress the insurrection. Abdalla at the same time received a commission to govern Behâr in quality of Suba. He attacked and defeated the Raja on his first arrival; and that unfortunate prince, whose love of independence had made him overlook his own want of power, was reduced to the last extremity. He shut himself up in a fortress which was invested on all sides. When a breach was made in the walls, and the orders for the assault were issued, the Raja came out of his castle, leading his children in his hand. He might have been pardoned; but his wife appearing behind him, sealed his doom. She was extremely handsome, and Abdalla, though old himself, wished to grace his haram with a beautiful widow. The unfortunate Raja, therefore, was put to death on the spot as a rebel.

Candahâr delivered up to the empire.

The news of the defeat and death of the Raja of Budgepour had scarce arrived at court, when Shaw Jehân received an agreeable piece of intelligence from the northern frontier of the empire. The feeble administration of Sefi, who succeeded Shaw Abas in the throne of Persia, had thrown the affairs of that kingdom into confusion. Ali Murdan commanded in the fortresses of Candahâr. His fidelity was suspected; and, besides, he saw no end of the troubles which distracted his country. He resolved to save himself from the malice of his enemies, by delivering the city to the emperor of Hindostan, from whose hands it had been wrested by Shaw Abas. A negotiation was therefore set on foot by Ali Murdan with Seid Chan, the governor of Cabul. His terms were only for himself. Seid closed with him in the name of his sovereign. He sent his son in haste with a force to Candahâr, which

was



was delivered by Ali Murdan, who set out immediately to pay his respects to his new sovereign.

A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1043.

Seid no sooner heard of the treachery of Ali Murdan, than he issued orders for a force to march from Chorassan to retake Candahâr. This expedition was under the conduct of Scâh-ôsh. That officer appeared before the city with seven thousand horse; but Seid, who commanded in the place, sallied out with an inferior force, and totally defeated the Persians, for which signal service he was raised, by the name of Ziffer Jung, to the dignity of six thousand horse. Gulzâr, the governor of Moul-tan, was removed to Candahâr; and as a general war with Persia was apprehended, the prince Suja was dispatched with a great army to the province of Cabul. Before Gulzâr arrived at his new government, Seid following his victory over the Persians, penetrated into Seistân. Bust, Zemindâwir, and other places fell into his hands; and all the district which had formerly been annexed to the government of Candahâr, was reduced to subjection by his arms.

Persians de-
feated.

The emperor was so overjoyed at the recovery of Candahâr, that he received Ali Murdan with every mark of esteem and gratitude. He was raised to the rank of six thousand horse, with the title of captain-general of the Imperial forces, and invest-ed with the government of Cashmire. The service he had done was great, but the reward of treachery was extravagant. Ali, however, seemed to possess abilities equal to any rank. Bold, pro-vident and ambitious, he grasped at power; and when he had ob-tained it, he kept it during his life by management and intrigue. His generosity rendered him popular; and before his death he is said to have numbered sixteen thousand families of Afgans, Uzbecs, and Moguls among his clients and dependants.

Ali Murdan
rewarded.



A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1048.

Invasion from
Affām.

The most remarkable transaction of the year 1638, next to the recovery of Candahâr, was an invasion of the province of Bengal by the Tartars of Affām. They rushed down the river Birramputa in armed boats, to where it falls into the Ganges, below Dacca. They plundered some of the northern districts, and made themselves masters of several small forts. Islam, governor of Bengal, hearing of the invasion, marched against the enemy with all the Imperial troops stationed in the province. They had the folly to come to action with the Suba, and he gave them a signal defeat. Four thousand were killed on the spot, and five hundred armed vessels fell into the hands of the conqueror. The remaining part of the invaders fled; and the governor pursued them into their own country. Fifteen forts, with the king of Affām's son-in-law, fell into his hands. The whole province of Cochâgi was reduced; and he invaded that of Buldive. The latter was very obstinately defended. Few passes led into it, being environed with mountains. The Suba at last forced the passes, and the enemy fled to the hills.

Reduction of
Affām.

The sovereign of Buldive did not long survive the reduction of his country. Worn out with fatigue, harassed with grief, and tormented with vexation, he was seized with a contagious distemper, which infected his family, and carried him and them off in a few days. His people, however, would not quit their hills. The enemy spread devastation over the plain below; and the unfortunate Affâmites beheld from the woods, the smoke of their burning towns. But the unbounded ravages of Islam occasioned his retreat. The grain was inadvertently destroyed in the fire which consumed the towns of Buldive, and a scarcity of provisions began to be felt in the Imperial camp. Islam marched back with the spoils of Affām; but he suffered incredible hardships from the badness of the roads, the torrents which fell from the hills, and a distemper, which the rainy season, now come on, had raised in the



army. The kingdom of Tibet was, at the same time, reduced by Ziffer. The news of this double conquest came at the same instant to the emperor. He was greatly pleased with the success of his arms, as none of the Mahomedan princes, who had reigned before him in India, ever penetrated into those countries.

A. D. 1638:
Fig. 1043.

The eleventh year of the reign of Shaw Jehân commenced with the death of the Mah-Raja, prince of the Rajaputs. He was succeeded in the throne by his second son Hufinet Singh; it being the established custom of the branch of the Rajaputs called Mahrattors, to leave the sceptre to the disposal of the sovereigns by their latter will. The Rajaputs, properly so called, did not acquiesce in the right of Hufinet. He had an elder brother, and they adhered to him. The flames of a civil war were kindled; but the emperor interfered; and, after having examined the claims of both the princes, he confirmed the Raja's will in favour of Hufinet, whom he raised to the rank of four thousand horse. His elder brother, who was deprived of all hopes of the throne by the decision of the emperor, was also created an Omrah of three thousand.

Death of the
Mah-Raja.

The insult which Persia received through the invasion of its territories by the Mogul governor of Candahâr, did not raise any spirit of revenge in the court of Isfahan. The debility in the councils of Sefi brought on a peace between the empires. Shaw Jehân had dispatched Sifder Chan his ambassador to the court of Persia. That lord returned this year from Serifa, where Sefi resided, with a present of five hundred horses, some curious animals, and various manufactures of Persia, to the value of five lacks of roupes. Sifder executed his commission so much to his master's satisfaction, that he was raised to the dignity of five thousand horse. The chief condition of the treaty of peace between Persia and

Peace with
Persia.



A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1048.

Hindoſtan was, an entire ceſſion of Candahâr by the former in favour of the latter.

Death of Afzil, the emperor's preceptor.

The winter of the year 1637 had been remarkable for a great fall of ſnow in the northern provinces of India. It extended as far as Lahore; and in the mountains of Cabul and Caſhmire, many villages, with all their inhabitants, were overwhelmed and deſtroyed. The emperor, in the mean time, kept his court at Lahore. Peace being eſtabliſhed on every ſide, he applied himſelf to the management of the civil government of the empire. He iſſued many ſalutary edicts for the ſecurity of property, the improvement of the country, and the encouragement of commerce. In the miſt of his cares for the good of the ſtate, he was afflicted with the death of Afzil Chan, a man of great literary talents, who had been his preceptor. The young princes were alſo educated under his care, and they mourned him as a father. He had been raiſed to the firſt honours of the empire. He obtained the rank of ſeven thouſand, and the management of the civil affairs of the empire were in a great meaſure in his hands. The emperor, to ſhow his great veneration for his abilities, allowed him an annual revenue of three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds.

Dara and Suja promoted.

Soon after the death of Afzil, the princes Dara and Suja were raiſed to higher ranks of nobility. Dara was dignified with the title of an Omrah of ten thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot; and Suja with the rank of ſeven thouſand horſe and as many of foot. The emperor having frequently declared his intentions of leaving the throne to Dara, gave him always the firſt place in dignities and power. He ſhewed an inclination of habituating his other ſons to a ſubmiſſion to Dara; and whatever marks of ſuperior affection he might beſtow on his younger ſons in private, in public he directed his principal attention to the eldeſt. Aurung-

zêbe



zêbe was not at court when his brothers were promoted. Averse to idleness in his command of the army in the Decan, he made an incursion, under pretence of injuries, into the country of Baglana. The forts fell into his hands, and the chiefs submitted to a tribute; but the sterility and poverty of those regions did neither answer the expence of the war, nor that of keeping the possession of the conquered country. He therefore evacuated the places which he had taken, and depended for the tribute on the future fears of the enemy. Having brought back the army within the limits of the empire, Aurungzêbe, who was jealous of the influence of Dara with the emperor, requested leave of absence, and came to Lahore, where his father at the time resided.

A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1043.

The prince Suja, who had been sent with an army to Cabul, when a war with Persia was apprehended, had for some time remained in that city. His wife dying, he returned on the twenty-third of June 1638 to Lahore, where he was married with great pomp and solemnity to the daughter of Azim. Complaints having been sent to court against Islam, governor of Bengal, he was removed from his office; and Suja was ordered to proceed, with a commission, into that kingdom, to restore the civil regulations which had been ruined by the rapacity of Islam. Abdalla, governor of Behâr, had also fallen under the emperor's displeasure for some oppressions which he had exercised in the execution of justice. Shaw Jehân, who was a severe justiciary, would not even have his representatives in the provinces suspected of partiality in the distribution of the laws. He heard the complaints of the poorest subjects, from the most distant corners of the empire, and the influence of the first men in the state was not sufficient to protect the delinquents from his resentment. He was, therefore, beloved by the people, and revered and feared by the great. An Imperial order was issued to Abdalla to appear in

Suja made
governor of
Bengal.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1638.
Hig. 1048.Excellent
government
of the em-
peror.

the presence, to give a public account of his administration; and Shaisa, the son of the vizier, was raised to the government of Behâr. Abdalla had the good fortune to clear himself of the aspersions thrown on his character by his enemies; and he was sent, with a considerable force, against insurgents in the province of Bundela, and some Rajas, who, from their hills, made depredatory incursions into Behâr.

Abdalla no sooner arrived in the place of his destination than peace was restored. The banditti who infested the country, fled precipitately to their mountains, and dispersed themselves to their several homes. Some examples of justice upon those who fell into the hands of the Imperialists, confirmed the tranquillity which now was general over all the empire. The attention of the emperor to the improvement of his dominions, his impartial execution of justice, his exact but not oppressive mode of collecting the revenues, rendered his people happy and his empire flourishing. A lover of pleasure himself, though not fond of parade and shew, his haram was a considerable market for the finest manufactures; and the ample provision made for his sons and nobles, rendered his capital a cluster of princely courts, where magnificence and elegant luxury prevailed in the extreme. He divided his time between the hall of audience and the haram. He heard complaints with patience; he decided with precision and equity; and when his mind was fatigued with business, he dived into the elegant and secret apartments of his women; who, being the natives of different countries, presented to his eyes a variety of charms.

The capital
of Bengal
destroyed by
fire.

Suja, to whom a son was born soon after his arrival in Bengal, narrowly escaped with his life, from a fire which broke out in the capital of the province. Many of his servants, and some of



of his women were destroyed in the flames; and the whole city was burnt down to the ground. Rajamâhil never recovered from this disaster. The waters of the Ganges joined issue with the flames in its destruction. The ground on which it stood was carried away by the river; and nothing now remains of its former magnificence, except some wells, which, as the earth in which they were sunk has been carried away by the stream, appear like spires in the channel of the river, when its waters are low.

A. D. 1639.
Hig. 1049.

Ali Murdan, who, for the delivery of Candahâr to the emperor, had been gratified with the government of Cashmire, returned to court at Lahore on the eighteenth of October. No complaints against his administration having been preferred in the hall of audience, he was received with distinction and favour. To reward him for the equity and justice of his government, he was raised to the government of Punjâb; with a power of holding Cashmire by deputy. Ali Murdan took immediate possession of his new office; and the emperor signified to his son Aurungzêbe, that his presence in the Decan was necessary, to superintend the affairs of his government, which, in the hands of deputies, might fall into confusion, from the distance of the conquered provinces from the seat of empire.

Ali Murdan
promoted.

When Aurungzêbe set out for the Decan, the emperor, resolving upon a tour to Cashmire, moved the Imperial camp northward from Lahore. Whilst he amused himself in that beautiful country, Mahommed Zerif, whom he had some time before sent ambassador to Constantinople, returned to court. Morâd, who at that time held the Ottoman scepter, had received Zerif with every mark of respect and esteem. The empires having no political business to settle, the embassy was chiefly an affair of compliment; with a request to permit Zeriff to purchase some fine horses

Return of the
ambassador
to the Otto-
man empe-
ror.



A. D. 1640.
Hig. 1049.

in Arabia. Morâd not only granted the required favour, but even gave to the ambassador several horses of the highest blood, with furniture of solid gold, studded with precious stones, as a present to Shaw Jehân. The emperor was highly pleased with the reception given to his ambassador; and he was charmed with the beauty of the horses. On the seventeenth of February 1640, he set out for Lahore, the business of the empire requiring his presence nearer its center.

Calamitous
floods.

When he was upon the road, a prodigious fall of rain laid the whole country under water. No dry spot was left for pitching the Imperial tent; and he was obliged to sleep for several nights in a boat. His army were in the mean time in the utmost distress. Their horses without provender; and they themselves destitute of provisions. Four thousand families were swept away and drowned by the river Bêhat. On the banks of the Chofhal the destruction was greater still. Seven hundred villages were carried away, with their inhabitants; and every day brought fresh accounts of disasters from other parts of the country, through which the branches of the Indus flow. When the waters began to subside, the emperor hastened his march. The scene which presented itself to his eyes as he advanced, was full of horror. Boats were seen sticking in the tops of trees; the fish were gasping on dry land, the bodies of men and animals were mixed with the wreck of villages, and mud and sand covered the whole face of the country. He was so much affected with the misery of his subjects, that he issued an edict for the remission of the taxes for a year, to the countries which had suffered by that dreadful calamity. He also made donations from the public treasury to many of the farmers, to enable them to maintain their families; and, continuing his journey, arrived on the first of April at Lahore.

During



During these disasters on the banks of the Indus, Bust was surprised by the Persian governor of the province of Seïstân. Gulzâr, who commanded for the empire in Candahâr, detached a part of the garrison under his lieutenant Leitif Chan, to retake the place. He summoned Bust upon his arrival, but the Persians refused to surrender. He began his approaches; and, after a smart siege, in which his vigilance, activity, and courage did him great honour, he took Bust. The garrison were made prisoners; and Leitif, pursuing the advantage which he had obtained, made incursions into Seïstân, and carried off great booty, with which he returned to Candahâr. The debility of the councils of Persia suffered this affront to pass without revenge.

A. D. 1640.
Hig 1030.

Bust surprised
and retaken.

In the summer of the year 1640, Arselan Aga, who had accompanied Zerif from Constantinople, as ambassador from Morâd, had his audience of leave of the emperor. He was presented with twelve thousand pounds for the expences of his journey home; and he was charged with magnificent presents for his master. News at the same time arrived at court, that the oppressions committed by Azim, governor of Guzerat, had occasioned an insurrection; at the head of which, the two chiefs, Jami and Bahara, appeared. Azim, possessed of an immense revenue, soon raised a force, which, in the end, reduced the insurgents; but all the money, which ought to have been remitted to the treasury, was expended in the war. The emperor was enraged at his conduct. He deprived him of his government; and ordered him to repair to court, to give an account of his administration. His friends interceded in his behalf. The emperor was inflexible; till a fair cousin of Azim, who was retained in the Imperial haram, threw herself at his feet, and not only obtained the pardon of the governor, but even his reinstatement in his former office. After he had

An ambassa-
dor from
Constanti-
nople.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1641.
Hig. 1051.

The prince
Morâd dis-
tinguishes
himself.

passed his word in favour of Azim to this weeping beauty, he commanded her never more to appear in his presence: "For," said he, "I will not have my justice perverted by my weakness."

Morâd, the fourth son of the emperor, was now in the seventeenth year of his age. Like his brothers he was high-spirited and a lover of war. An opportunity offered which suited his disposition. Jagenât Singh, a prince on the confines of Marwâr, who was a subject of the empire, revolted, and issuing from his native mountains, spread devastation through the neighbouring plains. The active spirit of Morâd flew before him. He outstripped the news of his coming by his expedition; surprised, defeated, and pursued the prince to his fort of Tara Cudda, in which, after a smart siege, he was taken; but pardoned, upon conditions. The emperor was pleased with the vigour which he discovered in the soul of Morâd; and he received him upon his return with great distinction and affection.

Death of the
vizier.

The death of the vizier Asiph Jâh, in the seventy-second year of his age, was the most remarkable event of the succeeding year. His daughter Moina Bânû, the sister of the favourite Sultana, and wife of Seif Chan, the high-steward of the household, died a short time before her father: and his grief for her, as he was worn-out with business, infirmities, and age, seems to have hastened his death, which happened on the twentieth of November. He was born in Tartary, many years before his father Aiâfs quitted that country to push his fortune in Hindostan; and he did not leave the place of his nativity, till the affairs of his father assumed a very favourable aspect in the court of the emperor Akbâr. The merit of Aiâfs raised himself to the first offices of the state; and his son was not of a disposition to relinquish the advantages which his family had gained. Habituated to business under



under his father, he succeeded him in the office of visier, and managed the affairs of the empire with great address during the remaining part of the reign of Jehangire. The active part which he took to secure the empire for Shaw Jehân, met with every return of gratitude from that prince; who, soon after his accession, raised him to an office superior in dignity to that of visier, called Vakiel Mutuluck, or absolute minister of the empire. The emperor, who had the sincerest affection for his daughter, the mother of so many princes and princesses, distinguished Asiph in his conversation with the title of Father. He dignified that minister at the same time with many pompous titles. In public deeds he was styled, The Strength of the Realm, the Protector of the Empire, the Powerful Prince, the Lord of Lords, the revered Father of Wisdom, the Leader of Armies, in rank great as ASIPH, and a Lion in War.

A. D. 1611.
Hig. 1031.

Though three sons and five daughters survived the visier, he adopted his grandson Dara, the Imperial prince, and constituted him heir to all his fortune. He excused himself to his sons, by saying, that he had already raised them to high ranks and employments in the state; and that, if they conducted themselves with prudence and wisdom, the favour of the emperor would be to them an ample fortune. "But, should Folly be the ruler of your conduct," continued Asiph, "you do not deserve to possess the wealth which I have acquired by my services." There was prudence in the conduct of Asiph upon this occasion. The emperor loved money; and he might have availed himself of the law, which constitutes the prince the heir of all his officers; and a dispute of that kind might prove fatal to the influence and interest of the family of the visier. He, however, divided, before his death, three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds among his children and servants. Dara, in terms of his will, took possession

He leaves his
fortune to
prince Dara.



A. D. 1641.
Hig. 1051.

of the bulk of his fortune, which in coin, in jewels, in plate, elephants and horses, amounted to near four millions sterling, exclusive of his estates in land, which, according to the tenures in India, reverted to the crown.

His character.

Though the abilities of Afiph Jāh were little known under the wise and able administration of his father, they broke forth with lustre when he himself came into the first office in the state. He was a great orator, a fine writer, an able politician. In his private character, he was mild, affable, humane, generous; in his public, severe, reserved, inflexible, exact. He never excused negligence; he punished disobedience. His orders, therefore, were no sooner issued than they were executed; his very nod was respected; understood, and obeyed. He was possessed of political as well as personal courage; as little afraid of the unjust reproaches of his friends, as he was of the weapons of his enemies; and he was often heard to say, "That he who fears death is unworthy of life." He was uniform in his conduct, impartial and dignified in his actions, consistent with himself. He courted not popularity by his measures: justice, propriety, and the ultimate good of the state, and not the applause of the vulgar, were his objects in all his decisions. He was fit for the field, as well as adapted for the cabinet; and had he not gained renown with the pen, he would have commanded it with the sword. In his youth, he was addicted to poetry. He wrote upon heroic subjects; and the fire of his genius was such, that the very sound of his verse animates the soul to war. The glory and happiness of India during his long administration were great; and when war raged on the frontiers, the interior provinces enjoyed uninterrupted peace. The field in which he moved was extensive, but his eye comprehended the whole. An eastern writer continues the metaphor, and says, "That he rendered that field flourishing and fruitful. He passed through



through it with reputation and lustre, and when he sunk into the grave, a cloud of sorrow obscured the face of the empire."

A. D. 1641.
Hig. 1051.

The original name of the eldest son of Afiph was Mirza Morâd. His sons. He was dignified afterwards with the title of Shaiста Chan; and he was governor of Behâr at the death of his father. He possessed not the abilities of his family; being of an infirm and sickly constitution, with a delicate, rather than a vigorous and active mind. Mirza Mifti, the second son of Afiph, was a youth of great hopes; vigorous, active, and full of fire. He lost his life in a drunken frolic; for being one day at the river Behât in Cashmire, when it foamed over its banks, he spurred his horse into the stream, by way of bravado, and, for his temerity, was drowned. Mirza Hufflein, the third son of the visier, was a man of moderate abilities; and his fourth son, who had been dignified with the title of Shaw Nawâz, was a nobleman of great reputation and high distinction in the empire.

The emperor, jealous of the influence which the governors of the provinces might acquire by a long continuance in their offices, made a practice of removing them every third year. When the news of any oppression committed by them arrived at court, they were instantly superseded; and, upon examination, if found guilty, divested of all their honours, and confined. The punishment of death seemed to have been laid aside from the commencement of this reign. Tirbiet Chan was, this year, ordered back from the government of Cabul, for his severity in exacting the revenue from the poor. The emperor himself had been a witness of the miserable condition to which the people of that province were reduced, by the floods in the rivers Choshal and Behât; and they had not yet recovered from that grievous calamity. They were unable to pay their rents; and Tirbiet submitted them

Justice of the
emperor.



A. D. 1642.
Hig. 1052.

to the rigours of military execution. He was divested of his honours as well as of his government; and the emperor issued money from the treasury to relieve thirty thousand of the inhabitants, whom the exactions of Tirbiet had reduced to want: "Remember," said the emperor to his nobles, "that when you are too severe on my people, you only injure me; for it is but just I should pay for losses occasioned by my wrong choice of officers, to govern the provinces of my empire." Ali Murdan was appointed to the government of Cabul, in the room of Tirbiet. He was succeeded in that of Cashmire, by Ziffer. Complaints had been received against the prince Aurungzêbe from the Decan. His father ordered him to the presence, to answer to the charge; which he did to satisfaction, and was forthwith reinstated in his government.

Persian invasion threatened.

The cruelty of Shaw Sefi of Persia had crowded hitherto his reign with tumult and misfortune. The empire suffered in its consequence with foreign powers, during years which Sefi distinguished only with the blood of his subjects. His intentions against Ali Murdan lost him the strong fortrefs of Candahâr, and he took no measures to revenge the insults which he received on his frontiers, after that place had fallen into the hands of the Moguls. The tumults of the Persians were at length quelled in their blood; and Sefi, having destroyed his domestic enemies, turned his attention to his foreign foes. Having collected a great army, he took the field, and moved toward Candahâr with a professed design to retake that city.

Prevented by the death of Shaw Sefi.

The news of the motions of the Persian was brought by express to the court of Agra. The emperor was alarmed. He gave a commission to the Imperial prince Dara, to command an army of fifty thousand men. The troops were soon ready, and



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the prince took the route of Cabul. Thirty thousand men, stationed on the frontiers, flocked also to the standard of Dara, upon his arrival at Cabul. Morâd, the emperor's fourth son, was posted with twenty thousand men behind the Nilâb, with orders to reinforce, in case of a requisition for that purpose, the army of Dara. But these formidable preparations were, in the event, unnecessary. Sefi, to the great joy of his subjects, fell sick and died. The war, which was begun by him, was dropt, with his other measures, by his successor. The Persians retreated; and Dara and Morâd returned to their father, who still kept his court at Lahore. Morâd, soon after his return to the presence, married a daughter of Shaw Nawâz, the son of the late visier Asiph.

A. D. 1642.
Hig. 1052.

The emperor, who took pleasure in managing in person the affairs of his empire, created no visier upon the death of Asiph. That lord's deputy in office, without any rank or title, managed the business of the department, and by a special commission, countersigned all public edicts. Aliverdi, governor of Punjâb, who resided at Lahore, which had formerly been the capital of his government, had the imprudence to speak contemptuously of this mode of transacting the public business. He said, That the emperor, from extreme avarice, endeavouring to save to himself the usual appointments bestowed on visiers, had thrown disgrace upon his own administration. He made no secret of his sarcasms; and they were carried to Shaw Jehân. He sent for Aliverdi, and said to that lord: "You do not like, I am told, my mode of governing my subjects; and therefore Aliverdi shall not assist in an administration which he does not love." He was immediately divested of his government and honours, and dismissed with ignominy from the presence. The prince Morâd was raised to the vacant government; and, having received magnificent presents from the emperor, set out for Moulân. The emperor, in the mean time,

Affairs at
court.



A. D. 1642.
Hig. 1052.

time, assisted at a grand festival, which he gave to his court upon opening the new gardens of Shalimâr, which had been begun in the fourth year of his reign. The gardens were laid out with admirable taste; and the money expended upon them amounted to the enormous sum of one million sterling.

SHAW



S H A W J E H A N.

C H A P. IV.

Reflections—Emperor arrives at Agra—Incidents at court—Inursions of the Uzbeks—Aurangzêbe removed from the Decan—Sadulla Chan made vîsier—Buduchshân invaded by the Moguls—Death and character of Noor Jêhân—Balick reduced—Prince Morâd disgraced—Aurangzêbe defeats the Uzbeks—Who submit to the empire—Emperor jealous of his sons—Arrival at Delhi—Persians take Candahâr—Aurangzêbe besieges it in vain—Defeats the Persians—Uzbeks of Balick claim the Emperor's aid—Candahâr again besieged to no purpose—Emperor returns to Agra—Promotions.

IN absolute governments, the Despot is every thing, and the people nothing. HE is the only object of attention; and when he sits in the midst of tranquillity, the page of the historian languishes in the detail of unimportant events. His hall of audience is a court of summary justice. His decisions are rapid; and they are generally impartial, as his situation has placed him beyond the limits of fear and of favour. But there is a fameness which never pleases, in the transactions of a government whose operations run through one unchangeable channel; and it is for this reason only, we pass lightly over the more peaceable years of the reign of Shaw Jêhân. In these he acted in the character of a judge, a mere determinator, if the word may be used, of

A. D. 1642.
Hig. 1052.
Reflections.



A. D. 1642.
Hig. 1052.

differences between individuals; and it must be confessed, that he had abilities to see, and integrity to do what was right.

Emperor
arrives at
Agra.

Lahore, during the former reign, had been considered as the capital of the empire, and the most settled residence of the prince. Jehangire, whose lungs were weak, wished to breathe in the free air of the north; and the improvements which he made in the palace and gardens, had rendered Lahore the most convenient and beautiful, if not the most magnificent of the Imperial residences. Shaw Jehân, however, whose attention to the affairs of the empire was always uppermost in his mind, thought Lahore too distant from the southern provinces; which, on account of their wealth, were the most important division of his dominions. He therefore resolved, as there was a prospect of permanent tranquillity on the northern frontier, to remove his court to Agra, where he arrived in the month of November. The cavalcade which attended his progress, was magnificent and numerous beyond description. The armies returned from the north were in his train; and half the citizens of Lahore, who, from his long residence in that place, were become in a manner his domestics, accompanied him on his march. He pitched his tents in the gardens of his favourite wife, Mumtâza Zemâni. The tomb of that princess was now finished at a great expence; and he endowed with lands a monastery of Fakiers, whose business it was to take care of the tomb, and to keep up the perpetual lamps over her shrine.

Applies to
the public
business.

Nothing material happened during nine months after the emperor's arrival at Agra. The public business, which had been neglected through the alarm of the Persian war, took up a part of his time; and pleasure appropriated to itself the rest. Several beautiful acquisitions had been made in the haram; and the emperor's



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emperor's attention to the execution of justice was interrupted by his love for women. A son was in the mean time born to Dara, the Imperial prince. Shaw Jehân, who loved his son, gave a magnificent festival upon the occasion. His posterity began to multiply apace. A son was born to Aurungzêbe, whom he named Mahommed Mauzim; and Morâd had this year a daughter whom he called Zêbe-ul-Niffa, or, The Ornament of Women. The emperor, in the course of the year, made an excursion to Ajmere; and after he returned to Agra, Dara was seized with a violent fever, which endangered his life.

A. D. 1643.
Hig. 1053.

The emperor's alarm for Dara was scarce subsided, when a dreadful accident happened to his eldest daughter, whom he loved above all his children. Returning one night from visiting her father to her own apartments in the haram, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire; and, as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she was scorched in a terrible manner. She rushed into the haram in flames; and there were no hopes of her life. The emperor was much afflicted. He gave no audience for several days. He distributed alms to the poor; he opened the doors of prisons; and he, for once, became devout, to bribe Heaven for the recovery of his favourite child. He, however, did not in the mean time neglect the common means. Anit-Alla, the most famous physician of the age, was brought express from Lahore; and the Sultana, though by slow degrees, was restored to health.

An accident.

The princefs had scarce recovered, when the emperor himself escaped from imminent danger. The brother of the Maraja, whose name was Amar Singh, having rebelled against the deci-

Rashness and
death of A-
mar Singh.



A. D. 1643.
Hig. 1053.

fion of Shaw Jehân in favour of his father's will, was defeated by a detachment of the Imperial army, and sent prisoner to court. When he was brought into the emperor's presence, he was forced, by the lords in waiting, to make the usual submissions, and the emperor pronounced his pardon from the throne; desiring him at the same time to take his place among the lords, in the rank which had been conferred upon him on a former occasion. He accordingly took his place; but being a young man of a proud and ungovernable spirit, he burnt with rage at the late indignity, as well as at the past injury done him by the emperor, in preferring to him his younger brother. He drew his dagger in secret; and rushed furiously toward the throne. Sillabut Chan, the paymaster-general of the forces, threw himself before Amar, who plunged his dagger in his body, and stretched him dead at his feet. Chilulla, Seid Sallâr, and several other lords drew immediately their swords, and flew the Hindoo prince on the spot. The emperor, who had descended from his throne with his sword in his hand, ordered the body to be dragged out of the hall of audience. A number of his followers, seeing their master dead, fell upon the guards, and fought till they were cut off to a man.

IncurSIONS
of the Uzbeks.

The Uzbeks, who had for a long time remained quiet, made an incurSION this year into the territories of the empire. They were led by Kuli the general of Mahommed, king of the Western Uzbeks. Ali Murdan, governor of Cabul, marched out and defeated the invaders. He followed his victory, and driving the fugitives beyond the limits of the empire, ravaged their country as far as Balick, and returned with a considerable booty. The news of the victory arrived at Agra, on the day that another son was born to Dara the Imperial prince. The emperor expressed his satisfaction on this double occasion of joy, by restoring Abdalla, his own former friend, to the dignities of which he had



been deprived, on account of his mismanagements in the government of the province of Behâr. Abdalla, however, did not long enjoy the good change in his fortune. He died in the eightieth year of his age, having been sixty years a noble of the empire. At the time of his death, he was possessed of the dignity of six thousand horse. He had passed through all the various vicissitudes of fortune. He was engaged in every war, and was unsuccessful in all; yet he was esteemed an able and active general.

A. D. 1644.
Hig. 1053.

Dara, by his constant residence with his father, had gained an ascendancy over his mind. The prince was free, generous and manly; pleasing in conversation, affable, polite and mild. The emperor loved him as a friend, as well as a son: he listened to his advice and studied to please him. He represented to his father, that it was dangerous to the repose of the empire to leave so long the management of the Decan in the hands of Aurungzêbe. "I trust," says he, "to my brother's honour; but why should the happiness of the emperor depend upon the honour of any man? Aurungzêbe possesses abilities; and his manner, and perhaps his integrity, has gained him many friends. They, in their ambition, may persuade him to things which, without their advice, he would abhor. The army he commands are, by habit, accustomed to perform his pleasure, and are attached to his person. What if they should prefer the spoils of the empire, to their watchful campaigns on our frontiers? Are the troops, debauched by the loose manners of the capital, fit to cope with men inured to arms? To foresee danger is to no purpose," continued Dara, "unless it is prevented. It is my part to advise my father and sovereign; his to do what he pleases: but to remove Aurungzêbe from the government of the Decan, is to remove temptation from that prince. If he is that devout man he pretends to be,

Aurungzêbe
removed
from the De-
can.



A. D. 1645.
Hig. 1055.

be, he will thank Heaven for being deprived of the means of committing crimes."

Reflections
of the em-
peror.

The emperor was sensible of the justice of Dara's observations; and he complied with his request. He was naturally fond of his children: he liked their spirit, and loved their aspiring genius. He was, however, too prudent not to foresee the disturbances which were likely to rise from even their good qualities. His affection, when they were young, prevented him from following the policy of other Despots, by shutting up every access of knowledge from their minds: and to keep them at court after they had commanded armies and provinces, would be a perpetual source of animosity between them, and of uneasiness to himself. He was heard often to say; "I have the sons I wish; yet I wish I had no sons." But hitherto he had no just reason to complain: they kept on apparent good terms with one another, and they implicitly obeyed his commands.

Aurungzêbe
sent into
Guzerat.

Orders were sent to Aurungzêbe to remove to Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat, where he should find a commission to govern that province. The prince obeyed; and Chan Dowran, who had lately been governor of Cashmire, was advanced to the superintendency of the conquered provinces, and to the command of the troops stationed on the southern frontiers of the empire. Dowran did not live to enjoy his high office, being assassinated by one of his domestics, whom he had punished for some crime. Sixty lacks of roupees, or about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money, were found in coin and jewels in his tent. The emperor was his heir, as he had amassed his fortune in his service. He had been governor of several provinces; and he possessed the rank of seven thousand horse in the empire. When the news of his death came to court, Ilam Chan was appointed his



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his successor; and that lord set out for his government, in the month of August of the year 1645.

A. D. 1645.
Hig. 1055.

The emperor, it has been already observed, did not appoint any successor to Asiph Jâh in the high office of visier. Sadulla, the chief secretary of Asiph, who was acquainted with the business of the empire, transacted the duties of the office without the name. He was a man of abilities. His experience in his department recommended him first to the emperor; and when he came to know him better, he esteemed him for his integrity. He was sent for one day to the presence; and the emperor, without previously acquainting him of his design, delivered to him the seals of the empire; and at the same time presented him with a patent, for the dignity of five thousand horse.

Sadulla made
visier.

Whilst these things are transacted at court, Ali Murdan, governor of Cabul, continued his incursions into the dominions of the Usbecs. He took the fort of Shermud in Buduchshân, and some other strong towns. When the winter came on, he retreated into his province; and took that opportunity of paying his respects to the emperor, who, upon his return from a tour to Cashmire, had stopt at Lahore. Shaw Jehân approved of his incursions, and recommended to him to continue the war. Ali returned to Cabul, and led his army to the north in the beginning of the spring. He took the direct road to Balick; but the enemy turning his rear, cut off both his supplies and his communication with Hindostan. They, at the same time, laid waste their own country, by carrying off or destroying the grain and cattle. Ali thought it prudent to retreat; but the Usbecs had retaken the forts which had, when he advanced, fallen into his hands. He, a second time laid siege to Shermud; and, having forced it to surrender, he established posts along the skirts of Bu-

Ali Murdan
invades Bu-
dushân.

dushân,



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1645,
Hig. 1055.

duchshân, and then returned to Cabul. An ambassador, charged with rich presents, was dispatched this year to the court of Persia, to congratulate Shaw Abas the Second, upon his accession to the throne.

Death and
character of
Noor-Jehân.

The emperor had not been returned to Lahore many days, before the famous Noor-Jehân, the favourite Sultana of his father Jehangire, died in her palace in that city. Twenty-five thousand pounds had been annually paid to her out of the treasury; and, as her power ceased with the death of her consort, she was too proud even to speak of public affairs, and she, therefore, gave up her mind to study, retirement, and ease. The extraordinary beauty of her person has been already mentioned; we shall now delineate the features of her mind. Her abilities were uncommon; for she rendered herself absolute, in a government in which women are thought incapable of bearing any part. Their power, it is true, is sometimes exerted in the haram; but, like the virtues of the magnet, it is silent and unperceived. Noor-Jehân stood forth in public; she broke through all restraint and custom, and acquired power by her own address, more than by the weakness of Jehangire. Ambitious, passionate, insinuating, cunning, bold and vindictive, yet her character was not stained with cruelty; and she maintained the reputation of chastity, when no restraint but virtue remained. Her passions were indeed too masculine. When we see her acting the part of a soldier, she excites ridicule more than admiration; and we are apt to forget that delicacy, beyond which her sex ceases to please.

War with the
Uzbeks.

The ineffectual expedition of Ali against the Uzbeks, did not induce the emperor to relinquish the war. He set up an antiquated claim, which his ancestors had on Buduchshân, and the



the district of Balich, and moved with a great army toward Cabul, to support his pretensions. When he arrived in that city, he detached fifty thousand horse with a large train of artillery, under the conduct of prince Morâd, to the north. Nidder Mahommed, who had taken Balich and its district by force from the Ufbecs, shut himself up in that city, where he was besieged by Morâd. Mahommed made but a poor defence; for he evacuated the place in a few days. Morâd entered the city in triumph. He protected the inhabitants from being plundered; and detached a party in pursuit of Mahommed. His own army fell, in the mean time, upon Mahommed; and having plundered him of sixty lacks of roupes, separated, and left him alone. The unfortunate prince had no resource but to fly his dominions, which were now over-run by the conquerors. He hoped to engage Persia in his interest, and he hastened to Isfahan. The prince Morâd, in the mean time, took all his towns and castles, at leisure: there was no enemy in the field, and scarce a garrison within the walls. Having left detachments of his army in the conquered countries, he moved toward the frontiers of the empire; and waited there for orders of recal.

A. D. 1646.
Hig. 1056.

The emperor having fixed his mind upon the complete conquest of Buduchishân and Balich, had no intention of withdrawing his army from these provinces. Morâd became impatient. He wrote letters to his father. He pretended want of health; he said he disliked the country; and he earnestly requested leave to return. Shaw Jehân, knowing the real state of his son's health, was much offended at his request. He commanded him to remain in the north, to settle the country according to the instructions given to him, and not to attempt to enter the dominions of Hindostan without orders. Morâd having a violent inclination

Morâd disgraced.



A. D. 1646.
Hig. 1056.

to be near the capital, in case of his father's death, and preferring the rich and fertile provinces of the south to the sterile regions of the north, obstinately disobeyed the emperor, left the army, and returned to Cabul. His father resented this undutiful behaviour. He formally divested him of the government of Moul-tân, and of all his dignities, without admitting him into his presence. He at the same issued an edict, which banished Morâd to the mountains of Peshâwir. Sadulla the visier was sent to settle the affairs of the north.

Prince of the
Uzbeks flies
to Persia.

The fugitive prince Mahommed having arrived at Isfahan, was treated by Shaw Abas with great friendship and respect. He received at different times four lacks of rousees, for his subsistence. He, however, could obtain no aid. His applications were counter-acted by the ambassador of India; and, besides, the Persian was not fond of war. The bad success of Mahommed soured his temper. He spoke disrespectfully of Shaw Abas and his ministers. His subsistence was withdrawn, and he was reduced to great distress. Sadulla, in the mean time, settled the affairs of Balich. In the year 1646 he was recalled to court; and the emperor returned to Lahore. Morâd, in the mean time, wrote letters of contrition to his father. He owned his error, and expressed his grief. His friends solicited warmly in his favour. He was permitted to come to court; and, by his prudent management, he soon regained the affections of his father, who restored him to his dignities, and to the government of Moul-tân.

Uzbeks in-
vade Balich.

When the prince of Balich was deserted by his own army, and obliged to take refuge in Persia, his son Abdul Azîz, who commanded a body of troops in another part of the province, threw himself under the protection of the northern Uzbeks. The petty chieftains beyond the Oxus were induced, by promises of advantage



advantage to themselves, to join his small squadron; so that he soon found himself at the head of an army. He however could not cover his intentions of invading the conquered dominions of his father, from the Mogul garrison of Balich; who sent advices of the approaching storm to the emperor. That monarch issued orders to his son Aurungzêbe to leave Guzerât, and to hasten to take the command of the army in the north. The emperor himself marched to Cabul to sustain the operations of his son; whilst Dara commanded another army in the environs of Lahore. Shaw Jehân, upon this occasion, shewed an instance of his generosity. Two of the sons of the prince of Balich, together with some of his wives and daughters, had been taken prisoners in the war. The sons, he raised to the rank of nobles; and the women were treated with the decency and respect due to their quality.

A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

Aurungzêbe, who was fond of action, posted with great expedition to Balich. He took the command of the troops upon his arrival; and he was informed that the enemy were, by that time, advanced to within a few miles of the place. He surveyed the works, and made temporary repairs; then devolving the command of the garrison upon Raja Mado Singh, he marched out against the Ufbecs with the troops which had flocked in to his standard from the untenable posts in the province. Bahadur of the Rohilla tribe of Afgans, commanded the vanguard. Ali Murdan was stationed on the right wing, and Ziffer on the left. The prince himself, after having marshalled the field, took his post in the center. The enemy, seeing the good order and firmness of the Moguls, declined, for that day, to come to action. They, however, skirmished with small parties, whilst the main body retreated. Night coming on, Aurungzêbe lay on his arms.

Aurungzêbe
sent against
them.



A. D. 1647.

Hig. 1057.

He comes to
action,

When day-light appeared, the prince formed his line of march, and pursued the Ufbecs. Several detachments of the enemy hovered round, and insulted him from time to time, whilst others turned his rear, and began to plunder a part of his baggage: the main body, in the mean time, began to form in his front. The prince detached parties from the line, who drove the flying squadrons of the enemy from the field. He then drew up his forces in the same order as on the preceding day; but Ziffer, from exerting himself too much, was seized with a violent fever, and obliged to devolve his command on his son. He scarce had retired, when Abdul Azîz advanced upon the Imperialists with his whole force. Ziffer again mounted his horse, and when he returned to his post, he found his son in close engagement with the Ufbecs. The enemy advanced with redoubled violence; but Ziffer, who now had resumed the command, stood his ground with great spirit and firmness, till he received nine wounds. He fell, with loss of blood, from his horse, and two of his sons covered him from the Ufbecs, and carried him between their horses to the rear.

defeats

Abdul Azîz, in the mean time, with ten thousand Tartar horse, fell in, sword in hand, with Ali Murdan on the right. The contest was fierce and bloody. The Tartars, proud of their native valour, despised the opposition of troops whom they deemed inferior to themselves; the Imperialists being chiefly composed of soldiers from the north, and better disciplined than the Tartars to war, stood their ground with great firmness, and checked the confident bravery of the enemy. Ali exhibited all the qualities of an able general, and valiant soldier: he sometimes encouraged his troops by words, but oftener by example; and finding that the enemy charged in a deep column, he contracted and strengthened his line. The Ufbecs were thrice repulsed; but defeat only rendered them more desperate. In the fourth charge,
the



the Imperialists were thrown into confusion; but they were rather borne down than defeated. They were on the point of flying; but Aurungzêbe came in to their aid.

A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

The prince had been engaged in the center, where the action had not been so hot. Finding how affairs went on the right, he formed into a column, and advanced on full speed on the flank of Abdul Azîz. That chief, however, was ready to receive him. The flock was violent and bloody. A mighty shout arose on either side; and men seemed to forget they were mortal. The Usbec was at the last overpowered, and driven off the field with great slaughter. Aurungzêbe thought himself in possession of a complete victory; but the battle was not yet over. The enemy took a circuit round the right, where Ali was restoring the line of his broken squadrons, and fell upon the rear of the Imperialists. The vanguard had retired thither after the commencement of the action, and formed a line round the artillery which had been little used. Abdul Azîz attacked them with great violence, and drove them from the guns. Bahadur, who commanded the vanguard, rallied them, and sustained the charge till Aurungzêbe came up in full speed from the line. Abdul Azîz was again repulsed with great slaughter, and the remains of the Usbec army quitted the field in disorder.

the Usbecs ;

The prince, after the action was over, advanced and took possession of the enemy's camp. It was now dark; and such an impression had the valour of the enemy made upon the Imperialists, that even the flight of the vanquished could not convince them of their victory. A panic seized the victors; frequent alarms disturbed the night; and, though fatigued and wearied, they lay sleepless upon their arms. Morning appearing convinced them of their error, and discovered to them how much they had done, by

and takes
their camp.

the



A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

the number of the slain. Ten thousand lay dead on the field. Many officers of distinction fell on the Imperial side; and Aurungzêbe justly acquired great reputation from the fortunate end of such an obstinate battle.

They are driven from Buduchhân.

The Usbecs, under their gallant leader, being frustrated in their designs on Balich, by the signal victory obtained over them, fell upon the province of Buduchshân. Despairing of conquering that province, they laid it waste, and filled their rout with confusion, desolation, and death. Express upon express was sent to Cabul to the emperor; and he forthwith detached twenty thousand horse, under the prince Morâd, to expel the enemy. The Usbecs, weakened in the late bloody battle with Aurungzêbe, were in no condition to face Morâd. They fled before that prince beyond the limits of the province, and left an undisturbed conquest to the family of Timur.

They submit.

Nidder Mahommed, who left the court of Persia upon advice of the invasion under his son, received on the way the news of the unfortunate battle, in which all his hopes were blasted. To contend longer in arms against Shaw Jehân was impossible: he therefore had recourse to submission and intreaty. He sent a letter to Aurungzêbe: "To the emperor," said he, "I dare not write. But you, descended from the victorious line of sovereigns, who support, with your sword, their title to command the world, may find an opportunity of presenting the request of Mahommed among those of his meanest subjects; and he who confers happiness on mankind, will relent at the misfortunes of an exiled prince. Inform him, that Nidder Mahommed wishes to be numbered among the servants of the King of Kings, and waits melancholy on the skirts of his dominions to receive his answer." Aurungzêbe sent the letter to his father. The emperor, moved by
prudence



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prudence as much as by pity for Mahommed, ordered his son to reinstate that prince in his sovereignty over his former dominions. It was difficult to defend such a distant frontier against the incursions of the Usbecs beyond the Oxus; and he made a merit of his policy, by restoring the provinces of Balich and Buduchshân to Mahommed, upon condition of receiving a small annual tribute. That prince being sick, sent his grandson Chusero to Aurungzébe to sign the terms of this pacification.

A. D. 1647.
Hig. 1057.

The emperor, in the month of April of the year 1647, returned to Lahore; and Aurungzébe, after the treaty was signed and ratified, joined his father in that city. He was appointed to the government of Moulân, to which province he went, after remaining a very few days at court. The prince Suja was, at the same time, sent to command in the province of Cabul, to watch the motions of the Tartars on the northern frontier. The war with the Usbecs was undertaken through wantonness; and ended, though successful, with loss to the empire. Six millions were expended upon it out of the Imperial treasury, besides estates granted to the nobility to the value of one million more. The emperor had a puff of reputation for this enormous sum.

Emperor returns to Lahore.

Shaw Jehân, who became jealous of the abilities and ambition of his sons, repented sincerely of having raised them to the first offices of the state, and to the government of the richest provinces of the empire. They had hitherto maintained a shew of implicit obedience; but the nation looked up to their power and consequence, and seemed apparently to divide themselves into parties in their favour. To prevent them from taking a stronger hold of the affections of the people, he removed them from one province to another, to prevent an increase in their popularity, and to inure

Jealous of his sons.



A. D. 1648.
Hig. 1058.

them to obedience. In the midst of this policy, the complying weakness of the father prevailed over the prudence of the monarch. None of his sons liked the northern provinces. They suited not with their pride, and they were not fit for their ambition. They were destitute of treasure to acquire dependants: they abounded not in lucrative employments to gratify friends. Morâd, by an act of disobedience, had quitted the north: Aurungzêbe, by his address, was permitted to leave it; and Suja, by his friends at court, wrought so much upon the emperor, that he was removed from Cabul to the government of Bengal.

Resides at
Delhi.

The emperor, ever fond of festivals, found an opportunity of exhibiting his generosity and hospitality, upon finishing the repairs of the city of Delhi. Seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been laid out on the Imperial palace; in which the emperor mounted the throne of his ancestors, on the first of April of the year 1648. The nobility paid their compliments with magnificent presents; and their ladies waited with gifts of value, upon the most favoured of the emperor's wives. During nine days, the whole city, as well as the court, were entertained at the public expence. Magnificent dresses were distributed among the great officers; and several new Omrahs, among whom were the two sons of prince Dara, were created. Hamid, one of the disciples of the great Abul Fazil, presented, upon the occasion, to the emperor, a history of the first ten years of his reign, and received a princely present.

Promotions.

The emperor remained at Delhi nine months, and returned to Lahore in the end of December the same year. Soon after his arrival in that latter city, he raised the visier to the rank of seven thousand; and gratified him, at the same time, with the government of Behâr, which he was permitted to hold by deputy.



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The abilities of this lord in his high deportment, and, above all, his unintriguing disposition, if the expression may be used, recommended him in the highest degree to his master. He never sought a favour of the emperor; and he conferred none without his permission. His assiduity to please consisted in his undeviating attention to business; and he gained the affections of his prince, by making him believe, that he was the sole spring which moved all the affairs of his own empire. The vanity of Shaw Jehân induced him to wish that every thing were done by himself; and the prudent visier did not, by his obvious interference, deprive him of the reputation which he strove to maintain. On the same day that Sadulla was promoted to the government of Behâr, the prince Morâd was raised to that of the Decan. The emperor, though fond of his son, distrusted his natural impetuosity and fire: he therefore committed the charge of the army on the frontiers to Shaw Nawâz, the father-in-law of Morâd himself. Without the consent of this lord, Morâd was not to attempt any thing of material concern to the empire.

A. D. 1649.
Hig. 1059.

Though the Imperial ambassador, who had been sent to congratulate Shaw Abâs the Second on his accession to the throne, had been well received at Ispahan, the court of Persia had not relinquished their pretensions to the city of Candahâr. The arrangements necessary to restore the kingdom to order, after the tyranny of Shaw Sefi, had hitherto engaged their attention; and the numerous armies employed by Shaw Jehân on his northern frontiers against the Usbecs, rendered it imprudent to break with him, till they were withdrawn. After the pacification with the prince of Balich, the greater part of the Imperial army had been removed to the south, and a fair field was left for the designs of Shaw Abas. That monarch accordingly, in the year 1648, marched with a great force toward Candahâr; but the news

Persians take
Candahâr.



A. D. 1649.
Hig. 1059.

of his preparations for the expedition had been previously carried to Lahore. Shaw Jehân, who had arrived in that city toward the close of the year, detached fifty thousand of his troops under the visier to cover Candahâr. The prince Aurungzêbe joined that minister with the forces stationed in his province of Moul-tân; but before they arrived, the city was surrendered to the Persians by capitulation. Shaw Abas left ten thousand musqueteers to garrison the place, and retreated with the rest of his army.

Aurungzêbe
besieges it in
vain.

Aurungzêbe and Sadulla invested the place in the March of 1649. The siege continued more than three months before a practicable breach was made; and the Imperialists, in a general assault, were repulsed with great loss. The prince, however, did not raise the siege: he continued his approaches, but he made very little progress toward taking of the place. Winter was now approaching, and the weather began to be already very severe in that high country. There was a great scarcity of forage and provisions; and the warlike stores were exhausted. The emperor, being apprized of the state of his army, ordered the siege to be raised; and Aurungzêbe, without laurels, returned toward Lahore.

Defeats the
Persians.

Nizier Ali, the Persian governor of Candahâr and Murtizi, who commanded an army of observation on the frontiers of that province, having joined their forces, fell on the rear of the Imperialists in their retreat. Aurungzêbe behaved, upon the occasion, with his usual spirit and conduct. He fell upon the assailants in the flank, with a column of cavalry, which he had filed off from his front, when he first observed the enemy. The Persians were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Though defeated, they were not however intimidated. Being reinforced from Candahâr, they hovered round the Imperial army; and, after a few days, formed their



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their line and offered battle. Aurungzêbe did not decline to come to action. The shock was from wing to wing, and the contest was long and bloody. The prince owed the victory which he obtained to the bravery of Rustum, one of his generals, who commanded the reserve, consisting of two thousand horse. Rustum, when the prince was on the point of quitting the field, fell on the enemy sword in hand, and threw them into confusion. Aurungzêbe, in the mean time, restored his ranks, and returned to the charge. The Persians fled, and were pursued twenty miles beyond the field; and the prince returned, with unexpected glory, to the emperor, who set out soon after the arrival of his son for Agra.

A. D. 1650.
Hig. 1060.

The Ubec Tartars beyond the Oxus, taking advantage of the debilitated state of Nidder Mahommed, who had not recovered from the blow given to his power by the conquest of his country by the Imperialists, invaded the dominions of that prince. Mahommed applied, in the character of a vassal, to the emperor, who was so well pleased with this mark of his submission, that he sent him a very considerable sum of money, which was the principal thing wanted. The escort sent with the treasure to Balich, conveyed his women and children to Mahommed; but two of his sons, Chusero and Eyram, who had been created nobles of the empire, remained from choice in India. Many marks of the emperor's favour were conferred on the family of Mahommed. An honorary dress was given to each, together with a considerable sum of money. Nor had their education been neglected. Masters had been appointed to teach the young princes; and the daughters were instructed in the suitable accomplishments of their sex.

Uibecs apply
for aid.