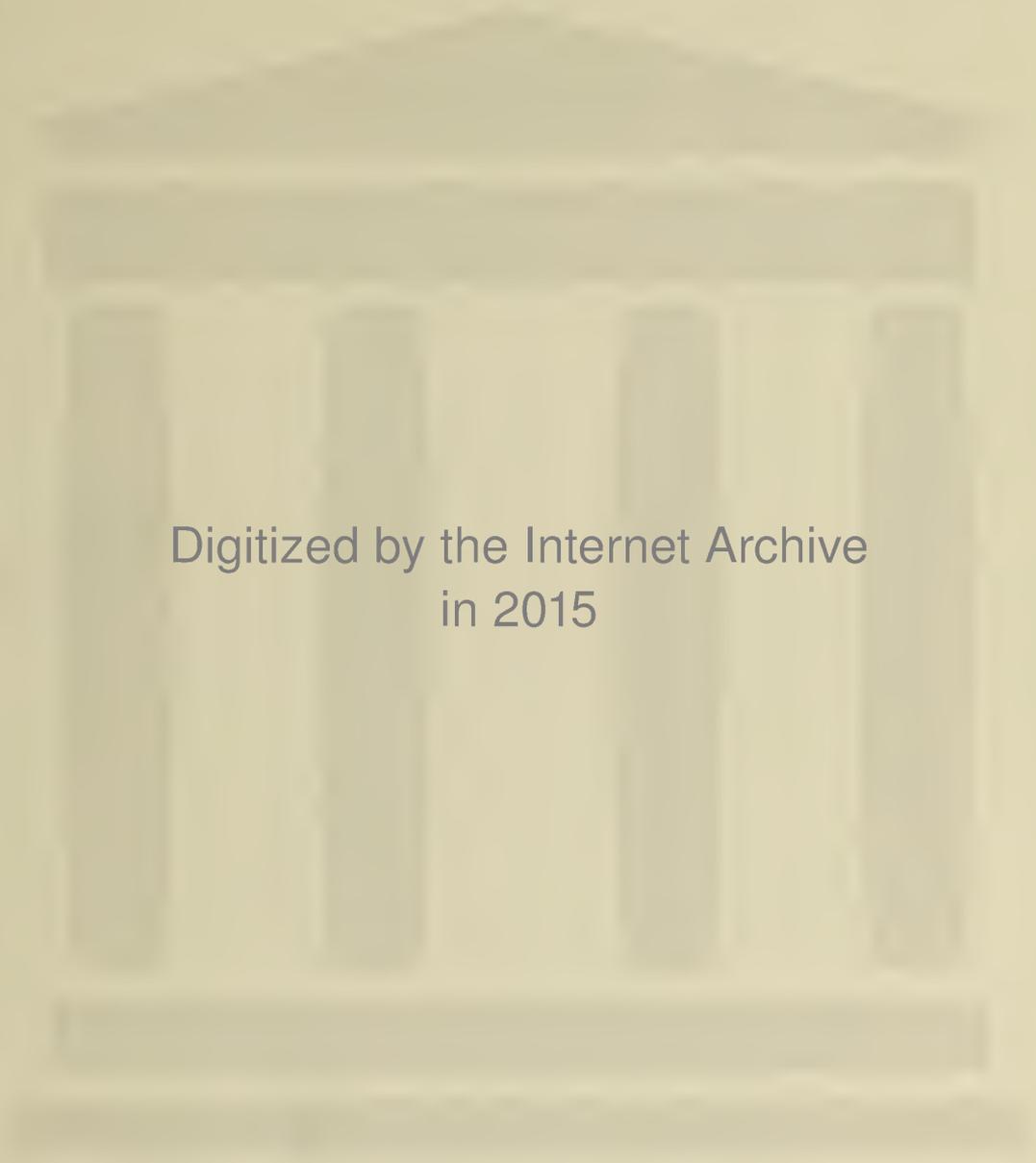


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From an Original painting

Shah Allum the present Emperor of Hindostan.

J. Taylor sculp.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N ;

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME,
TO THE
DEATH OF AKBAR;

TRANSLATED
FROM THE PERSIAN OF MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA OF DELHI:
TOGETHER WITH

A DISSERTATION

Concerning the RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY of the BRAHMINS;

WITH

An APPENDIX,

Containing the History of the MOGUL EMPIRE, from its Decline in the Reign of
MAHUMMUD SHAW, to the present Times.

By ALEXANDER DOW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, in the Strand.
MDCCLXVIII.

D K I K

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

10812

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

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TO THE
K I N G.

S I R,

THE History of India is laid, with great humility, at the foot of the throne. As no inconsiderable part of Hindostan, is now in a manner comprehended within the circle of the British empire, there is a propriety in addressing the history of that country to the Sovereign.

The success of your Majesty's arms has laid open the East to the researches of the curious ; and your gracious acceptance of this first, though small specimen of the literature of Asia, will excite men of greater abilities than the present translator possesses, to study the annals of a people, remarkable for their antiquity, civilization, and the singular character of their religion and manners.

D E D I C A T I O N .

In the history of Hindostan, now offered to your Majesty, the people of Great-Britain may see a striking contrast of their own condition ; and, whilst they feel for human nature suffering under despotism, exult at the same time, in that happy liberty, which they enjoy under the government of a Prince who delights in augmenting the security and felicity of his subjects.

That your Majesty may long remain a public blessing, and reign for a series of many years over this happy nation, is the sincere prayer of

Your Majesty's

most dutiful,

most humble,

and most devoted

subject and servant,

ALEXANDER DOW.

C O N T E N T S

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P R E-

P R E F A C E.

THE translator of the following history of the Mahomedan empire in Hindostan, having in a military capacity resided for some time in the kingdom of Bengal, dedicated the most of his leisure hours to the study of the oriental languages. The Persian tongue being the most polite and learned, as well as the most universally understood in Asia, engaged his principal attention.

The intimate connection which the British nation now have, with a part of Hindostan, renders the knowledge of the country languages of great importance to the servants of the public in that part of the world. The translator, who had extended his views in the way of his profession, thought it so capital a point for him, that he persevered for some years, in that dry and difficult study, and incurred a very considerable expence, in retaining masters, and in procuring manuscripts.

Though to qualify himself for action, and negotiation in India, was the primary object of the translator, yet in proportion as he advanced in his studies, other motives for his continuing them arose. He found, that however different the manner of the eastern writers may be from the correct

taste of Europe, there are many things in their works worthy of the attention of literary men. Their poetry it is true is too turgid and florid, and the diction of their historians too diffuse and verbose. Yet in the first we meet with some passages truly elegant and sublime; and amidst the redundancy of the latter, there appears sometimes a nervousness of expression, and a manliness of sentiment, which might do honour to any historical genius in the west.

Locked up in the difficulties of the Persian tongue, the literature of Asia has been hitherto little known in Europe. From an ignorance so unpardonable in this investigating age, a very unfavourable idea has prevailed concerning the learning, as well as history, of the eastern nations. Full of prejudices so natural to an European, the translator entered upon the study of the oriental languages. Whatever aid a knowledge of them might give to his private views, he little hoped to be able to convert his studies to the amusement or instruction of the public. To translate some piece of history, was, by his teachers, recommended to him as a proper exercise in the Persian. The works of Mahummud Casim Ferishta of Delhi, who flourished in the reign of Jehangire, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, was put into his hands for that purpose. As he advanced, a greater field gradually opened before him. He found, with some degree of astonishment, the minute and authentic history of a great empire, the name of which had scarcely ever travelled to Europe.

To open a door to the literary treasures, which lay concealed in the obscurity of the Persian, the translator resolved to proceed in his version of Ferishta's history, and to give it

to the public as a small specimen of what men of greater abilities may hereafter meet with in that language. But before he had fully accomplished this design, injuries in rank, and other motives, forced him to quit the company's service, and to return to England. Being, at his departure from India, possessed only of one volume of the original, he has been obliged to confine himself to it; and to leave the second volume, which contains the particular histories of the Decan, Bengal, Guzerat, and Cashmire, to a more favourable opportunity, or to the employment of some other hand. This circumstance has occasioned some chasms in that part of the history which is now given to the public; and many material transactions of those nations, of whom Ferishta in his second volume treats, are only slightly mentioned.

The reigns of the Mogul Emperors, from Akbar, with whom our author concludes his general history, have been written by different historians. But so voluminous are those works, that to attempt a translation, would be a laborious and very tedious task. Since the days of Ferishta, no writer that has come to our knowledge, has abridged the history of India, and therefore the translator had formed a design to compile from various authors that very essential part of the history of the Mogul empire, which is not comprehended in the following translation.

With a view to accomplish this undertaking, the translator, who had been honoured with the particular friendship of the present Mogul, applied in person to that Prince, for such books, and authentic records, as were necessary to complete the History of Hindostan. The King approved very
 a 2 much

much of his design, and gave orders to his secretary to grant his request. But in the mean time the translator quitted the service, and retired to Calcutta. To revive however his Majesty's memory upon that subject, he wrote to him; and as the manner of writing to eastern Princes may afford matter of some curiosity to the public, we shall here give a literal translation of the letter.

“ To the audience of the admitted into the presence of the treasury of liberality, and beneficence: To the sage director of the ways of truth, the Kibla* of the world, and the asylum of the inhabitants of the universe, whose kingdom and renown last for ever, it is most humbly presented;

“ That a servant, nourished by their † bounty, having, from their splendid presence, obtained leave of departure, hath now reached the city of Calcutta, where, retired from the noise of public affairs, he prays for their Majesty's welfare.

“ Moved by a grateful remembrance of their royal favour, warmed by the fame, justice, and glorious exploits and conquests of the emperors of the paradisiacal regions of Hindostan; but more particularly excited by the renown of the imperial house of Timur ‡, lord of ages! And also by a desire to gratify

* The point to which the Mahommedans turn their faces when they pray.

† It is an invariable custom among the Eastern nations, to address crowned heads in the third person plural, while the writer himself always uses the third person in the singular number.

‡ Timur, who in Europe is, by corruption, called Tamerlane, has always conferred upon him the title of Saib Kirren, or lord of the periods. Kirren, of which Kiran is the plural, signifies a period of thirty years. The long reign of Timur gave rise to his title.

P R E F A C E.

the curiosity of distant nations, with the great actions of a splendid dynasty of Kings; he has dared to aspire to translate the history of Hindostan, from the best and most authentic Persian authors, into the English language, now strong, learned and universal.

“ From the first rising of the star of the faith, upon these paradisiacal plains, unto the end of the glorious reign of ARSH ASTANI MAHUMMUD AKBAR, King, the history of Empire has been already penned: but, from that period to the present time, materials have been wanting to their Majesty's servant: he therefore breathes in hope, that their sublime Majesty will signify their royal pleasure to the RAI RAIAN, chief secretary of the illustrious presence, to supply their servant with such books and authentic records, as are necessary to accomplish his great design. Thus shall the glory of their renown shine forth to European eyes, with that splendor, which, from the firmament of empire, hath hitherto enlightened the East.”

The government of the presidency of Bengal, have of late, in some particulars, imbibed the political principles of the East; for all private correspondence with any of the country powers is strictly prohibited. The above letter was dispatched by the translator to a friend at Allahabad, the present residence of the Emperor, with a request to deliver it in person to that prince. But whether afraid of his superiors, or guilty of an unaccountable neglect, that gentleman returned to Calcutta without presenting the letter to the Mogul. The translator forwarded it a second time to Allahabad, but before an answer could be received from so
great

great a distance, he was obliged, after having waited for the last ship in the season, to embark for Europe.

Though our author Mahummud Casim Ferishta has given the title of the History of Hindostan to his work, yet it is rather that of the Mahommedan empire in India, than a general account of the affairs of the Hindoos. What he says concerning India, prior to the first invasion of the Afgan Mussulmen, is very far from being satisfactory. He collected his accounts from Persian authors, being altogether unacquainted with the Shanscrita or learned language of the Brahmins, in which the internal history of India is comprehended. We must not therefore, with Ferishta, consider the Hindoos as destitute of genuine domestic annals, or that those voluminous records they possess are mere legends framed by the Brahmins.

The prejudices of the Mahommedans against the followers of the Brahmin religion, seldom permits them to speak with common candour of the Hindoos. It swayed very much with Ferishta when he affirmed, that there is no history among the Hindoos of better authority than the Mahabarit. That work is a poem and not a history: It was translated into Persian by the brother of the great Abul Fazil, rather as a performance of fancy, than as an authentic account of the ancient dynasties of the Kings of India. But that there are many hundred volumes in prose in the Shanscrita language, which treat of the ancient Indians, the translator can, from his own knowledge, aver, and he has great reason to believe, that the Hindoos carry their authentic history farther back into antiquity, than any other nation now existing.

The Mahommedans know nothing of the Hindoo learning: and had they even any knowledge of the history of the followers of Brimha, their prejudices in favour of the Jewish fictions contained in the Koran, would make them reject accounts, which tend to subvert the system of their own faith. The Sanscrita records contain accounts of the affairs of the western Asia, very different from what any tribe of the Arabians have transmitted to posterity: and it is more than probable, that upon examination, the former will appear to bear the marks of more authenticity, and of greater antiquity than the latter.

But whether the Hindoos possess any true history of greater antiquity than other nations, must altogether rest upon the authority of the Brahmins, till we shall become better acquainted with their records. Their pretensions however are very high, and they confidently affirm, that the Jewish and Mahommedan religions are heresies, from what is contained in the Bedas. They give a very particular account of the origin of the Jewish religion in records of undoubted antiquity. Raja Tura, say they, who is placed in the first ages of the Cal Jug, had a son who apostatized from the Hindoo faith, for which he was banished by his father to the West. The apostate fixed his residence in a country called Mohgod, and propagated the Jewish religion, which the impostor Mahommed further corrupted. The Cal Jug commenced about 4885 years ago, and whether the whole story may not relate to Terah and his son Abraham, is a point which we will leave to others to determine.

There is one circumstance which goes far to prove that there is some connection between the Brahmin Bedas and the doctrines

doctrines contained in the Old Testament. Ever since the promulgation of the religion of Mahommed, which is founded upon Moses and the Prophets, the Brahmins have totally rejected their fourth Beda called the Obatar Bah, as the schism of Mahommed, according to them, has been founded upon that book. However extraordinary this reason is for rejecting the fourth part of their religious records, it can scarcely be doubted, as it is in the mouth of every Brahmin.

Feizi, the brother of Abul Fazil the historian, was the only Mussulman we ever heard of, who understood the Shanscrita. The fraudulent means by which he acquired it, will be shewn in another place. He never translated any of the Indian histories, excepting the Mahabarit, which, at best, is but an historical poem, in which a great deal of fable is blended with a little truth. We, upon the whole, cannot much depend upon the accounts which the followers of Mahommed give of the religion and ancient history of the Hindoos: Their prejudice makes them misrepresent the former, and their ignorance in the Shanscrita language, has totally excluded them from any knowledge of the latter.

The history of Casim Ferishta being an abridgment of a variety of authors, who wrote distinct accounts of the different reigns of the Mahommedan Emperors of Hindostan, he, with a view to comprehend in a small compass, every material transaction, has crowded the events too much together, without interspersing them with those reflections which give spirit and elegance to works of this kind: This defect seems however to have proceeded more from a studied brevity, than
from

from a narrowness of genius in Ferishta. Upon some occasions, especially in the characters of the princes, he shews a strength of judgment, and a nervousness and conciseness of expression which would do no dishonour to the best writers in the west. What is really remarkable in this writer is, that he seems as much divested of religious prejudices, as he is of political flattery or fear. He never passes a good action without conferring upon it its due reward of praise, nor a bad one, let the villainous actor be never so high, without stigmatizing it with infamy. In short, if he does not arrive at the character of a good writer, he certainly deserves that of a good man.

The brevity which we censure in Ferishta, is by no means a common fault in the writers of Asia. Redundant and verbose in their diction, they often regard more the cadence and turn of their sentences, than the propriety and elegance of their thoughts; leading frequently the reader into a labyrinth to which he can find no end. This is too much the manner of the learned Abul Fazil himself. He wrote the history of the reign of Akbar in two large volumes in folio. The intrigues of the court, and all the secret motives to action are investigated with the utmost exactness; but the diction is too diffuse, and the language too florid for the correct taste of Europe.

It ought here to be remarked, that all the oriental historians write, in what they call in Europe, poetical prose. This false taste only commenced about five centuries ago, when literature declined in Asia, with the power of the Caliphs. The translator has now in his possession, books written in the Persian before that period, the diction of

which, is as concise and manly, as that which descended from Greece and Rome, to the writers of modern Europe. The learned and celebrated Abul Fazil, instead of correcting this vicious taste, encouraged it greatly by his florid manner, in his history of the reign of Akbar. But this great writer has, notwithstanding his circumlocutions, clothed his expressions with such beauty and pomp of eloquence, that he seems to come down upon the astonished reader, like the Ganges in the rainy season.

The small progress which correctness and elegance of sentiment and diction has made in the East, did not proceed from a want of encouragement to literature. We shall find in the course of this history, that no princes in the world patronised men of letters with more generosity and respect, than the Mahomedan Emperors of Hindostan. A literary genius was not only the certain means to acquire a degree of wealth which must astonish Europeans, but an infallible road for rising to the first offices of the state. The character of the learned, was at the same time so sacred, that tyrants, who made a pastime of embruing their hands in the blood of their other subjects, not only abstained from offering violence to men of genius, but stood in fear of their pens. It is a proverb in the East, that the Monarchs of Asia were more afraid of the pen of Abul Fazil, than they were of the sword of Akbar; and, however amazing it may seem in absolute governments, it is certain that the historians of that division of the world, have wrote with more freedom concerning persons and things, than writers have ever dared to do in the West.

The

The translator, however, being sensible of the impropriety of poetical diction, in the grave narration of historical facts, has, in many places, clipped the wings of Ferishta's turgid expressions, and reduced his metaphors into common language, without however swerving in the least from the original meaning of the author.

A frequent repetition of proper names is unavoidable in a work of such brevity, and so much crowded with action. This will perhaps appear the most glaring defect in the work: but to use the pronouns too often, would have rendered the sense more perplexed, and the narration less elegant and distinct. The translator, in short, chose to give the faults of his author to the public as they stood, rather than by an attempt to amend them, to substitute perhaps some of his own in their place.

Our author with great propriety begins the history of the Patan empire in Hindostan, from the commencement of the kingdom of Ghizni. The Mahomedan government, which afterwards extended itself to Hindostan, rose originally from very small beginnings among the mountains which divide Persia from India. The Afgans or Patans, a warlike race of men, who had been subjects of the vast empire of Bochara, revolted under their governor Abistagi, in the fourth century of the Higera, and laid the foundation of the empire of Ghizni, known commonly in Europe, by the name of Gazna. Under a succession of warlike princes, this empire rose to a surprising magnitude. We find that in the reign of Mufaood, in the beginning of the fifth century of the Higera, it extended from Ispahan to Bengal, and from the mouths of the Indus to the banks

of the Jaxartes, which comprehends near half of the great continent of Asia.

Soon after the death of Mufaood, the Charizmian empire arose on the confines of Persia and great Tartary. It extended itself over Tartary and the greatest part of the Persian provinces; the Kings of the Ghiznian Patans were obliged to relinquish their dominions in the north, and to transfer the seat of their empire to Lahore, and afterwards to Delhi.

When the great conqueror of Asia, Zingis Chan, invaded and subverted the Charizmian empire under Mahummud Shaw, the Patan dominions were entirely confined within the limits of Hindostan. They possessed however power sufficient to repel the generals of that great man, though flushed with victory and the spoils of the East. The whole force of Zingis, it is true, was never bent against Hindostan, otherwise it is probable it would have shared the fate of the western Asia, which was almost depopulated by his sword.

The uncommon strength of the Patan empire in Hindostan at this period, may be easily accounted for: It was the policy of the adopted Turkish slaves of the family of Ghor, who then held the kingdom of Delhi, to keep standing armies of the mountain Afgans, under their respective chiefs, who were invariably created Omrahs of the empire. This hardy race, whatever domestic confusions and revolutions they might occasion in India, were, to use Ferishta's words, a wall of iron against foreign enemies.

Our

Our author has not been careful to mark the extent of the Empire in every reign. We can only form a general idea of it, from the transactions which he records. The Empire we find sometimes reduced to a few districts round the capital, and at other times, extending itself from the bay of Bengal to Persia, and from the Carnatic to the great mountains of Sewalic. In short, the boundaries of the Pagan imperial dominions, varied in proportion to the abilities of those princes who possessed the throne. When the monarchs discovered great parts, the governors of provinces shrunk back from their independance into their former submission; but when a weak Prince sat on the Musnud, his lieutenants started up into Kings around him.

The history now given to the public, presents us with a striking picture of the deplorable condition of a people subjected to arbitrary sway; and of the instability of empire itself, when it is founded neither upon laws, nor upon the opinions and attachments of mankind. Hindostan, in every age, was an ample field for private ambition, and for public tyranny. At one time we see a petty Omrah starting forth, and wading through an ocean of blood to the crown, or involving many thousands of indigent adventurers in the ruin which he draws upon his own head. At another time we meet with Kings, from a lust of power which defeats itself, destroying those subjects over whom they only wished to tyrannize.

In a government like that of India, public spirit is never seen, and loyalty is a thing unknown. The people permit themselves to be transferred from one tyrant to another, without murmuring; and individuals look with unconcern upon

upon the miseries of others, if they are capable to screen themselves from the general misfortune. This, however, is a picture of Hindostan in bad times, and under the worst Kings. As arbitrary government can inflict the most sudden miseries, so, when in the hands of good men, it can administer the most expeditious relief to the subject. We accordingly find in this history, that the misfortunes of half an age of tyranny, are removed in a few years, under the mild administration of a virtuous prince.

It may not be improper in this place, to lay before the public, a short sketch of the constitution of Hindostan. The Emperor is absolute and sole arbiter in every thing, and is controlled by no law. The lives and properties of the greatest Omrahs are as much at his disposal, as those of the meanest subjects. The former however are often too powerful to be punished, while the latter are not only slaves to the King, but to the provincial governors. These governors, distinguished by the name of Nabobs, have in their respective jurisdictions, the power of life and death, and are, in every particular, invested with regal authority.

All the lands in India are considered as the property of the King, except some hereditary districts possessed by Hindoo Princes, for which, when the Empire was in its vigour, they paid annual tributes, but retained an absolute jurisdiction in their own hands. The King is the general heir of all his subjects; but when there are children to inherit, they are seldom deprived of their father's estate, without the fortune is enormous, and has been amassed in the oppressive government of a province. In a case of this kind, the children, or nearest relations, are allowed a certain proportion for their
subsistence,

substance, at the discretion of the Casy or judge. The fortunes of merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics, are never confiscated by the crown, if any children or relations remain.

The King has the extraordinary power of nominating his successor by will. This part of royal prerogative is not peculiar to the monarchs of Hindostan. We find that our own nation, so remarkable for their political freedom, were, not above two centuries ago, made over like a private estate, and that with their own consent, by the will of a Prince, who neither deserved to be beloved nor admired. According to the opinion of the Indians, the right of succession is vested in the male heir, but the last will of the King very often supercedes this idea of justice. Notwithstanding this prejudice in favour of the first born, there is no distinction made between natural children and those born in lawful wedlock; for every child brought forth in the Haram, whether by wives or concubines, are equally legitimate.

The vizier is generally first minister of state. All edicts and public deeds must pass under his seal, after the royal signet is affixed to them. The Vizier's office consists of various departments, in every one of which all commissions, patents for honorary titles, and grants for Jagiers, are carefully registered. He superintends the royal exchequer, and, in that capacity, keeps accounts with the Dewans of the several provinces, in every thing which regards the finances.

A Vakiel Mutuluck is sometimes appointed by the King. The power of this officer is superior to that of the Vizier, for he not only has the superintendency of civil, but also of
all

all military affairs. This last is never any part of the Vizier's office ; the Amir ul Omrah, or Buxshi, being independent captain-general, and paymaster of the forces. It is not easy to explain to Europeans the full extent of authority conferred upon the Vakiel Mutuluck ; he seems to be an officer to whom the King for a time delegates his whole power, reserving only for himself the imperial title, and ensigns of royalty.

The Emperor of Hindostan gives public audience twice a day from the throne. All petitioners, without distinction, are, after having gone through the usual ceremonies, admitted. They are permitted to present their written complaints to the Ariz Beg, or lord of the requests, who attends, in order to present them to the King. The King reads them all himself, and superscribes his pleasure in a few words, with his own hand. Should any thing in the petition appear doubtful, it is immediately referred to the Sidder ul Suddur, whose office answers to that of our chief justice, to be examined and determined according to law.

The Mahommedans of Hindostan have no written laws, but those contained in the Koran. There are certain usages founded upon reason, and immemorial custom, which are also committed to writing. By the latter some causes are determined, and there are officers appointed by the crown, under the name of Canongoes, who, for a certain fee, explain the written usages to the people. In every district or pergunnah, there is a catchery, or court of justice established. These courts are extremely venal, and even the legal fees for determining a cause concerning property, is one fourth of the

the value of the matter in dispute. Their decisions were, however, very expeditious ; and through fear of the displeasure of the King, who invariably punished with the utmost severity corrupt judges, the Cafys were pretty equitable in their determinations.

In the declining state of the Empire, the provinces were submitted to the management of Nabobs, or military governors, who farmed the revenues at a certain sum, and reserved the overplus for their own use. Originally the Nabobs were only commanders of the forces, who receiving their orders from court, through the medium of the Dewan, a civil officer who collected all the revenues for the King, paid the just expences of the government of the province, and remitted the surplus to the exchequer. But the Nabobs having the military power in their hands, despised the authority of the Dewans, and purposely fomented divisions, factions, and insurrections, that they might be indulged with great standing armies, to make more money pass through their own hands, and to favour their schemes of independence.

The imbecility of the Empire daily increasing, the nominal authority vested in the Dewan, was not sufficient to contend with the real force in the hands of the Nabob. Continual altercations subsisted between these officers in the province, and frequent complaints were transmitted to court. Ministers who preferred present ease to the future interest of the empire, curtailed the power of the Dewan, and, from being in a manner the commander in chief of the province, he fell into the simple superintendency of the collections.

He had, it is true, the power to prevent new imposts, and innovations in the law.

When the King took the field, the provincial Nabobs, with their troops, were obliged to repair to the imperial standard. Each Nabob erected his own standard, and formed a separate camp, subject only to his own orders. The Nabobs every morning attended at the royal pavilion, and received their orders from the Amir ul Omrah*, who received his immediately from the King himself. If we except the army of the great Sultan Baber, there are few traces of real discipline to be met with among those myriads, with whom the Emperors of Hindostan often took the field. The forces of Baber were formed on a very regular and masterly plan. The dispositions of his battles were excellent; and the surprising victories he obtained with a handful of men, over immense armies, are sufficient to convince us, that military discipline has not always been unknown in Asia.

It may to an European, furnish matter of some surprize, how Eastern armies of two or three hundred thousand horse, and triple that number of soldiers and followers, could be supplied with provisions and forage upon their march, and in their standing camps. To account for this it is to be observed, that every provincial Nabob, upon his taking the field, appoints an officer called the Cutwal, whose business it is to superintend the Bazars or markets, which may belong to his camp. Every commander of a body of troops obtains at the same time, permission to hoist a flag for a Bazar, and to appoint a Cutwal of his own, under the direction of the

* The captain-general.

Cutwal-general. These Cutwals grant licences to chapmen, futlers, and corn dealers, who gladly pay a certain tax for permission to dispose of their various commodities, under the protection of the different flags.

The futlers and dealers in corn, being provided with a sufficient number of camels and oxen, collect provisions from all the countries in their rear, and supply the wants of the camp. The pay of soldiers in Hindostan is very great, being from 60 to 200 rupees per month, to every single trooper. This enables them to give such high prices for provisions, that the countries round run all hazards for such a great prospect of gain. The fertility of Hindostan itself, is the great source of this ready and plentiful supply to the armies; for that country produces, in most parts two, and sometimes three crops of corn every year †.

It may perhaps be expected, that something concerning the language of the translation, should be said in this place. Employed from his youth in a profession very different from that of letters, the translator aspires not to the character of a fine writer. To express his author's meaning in a plain and unaffected diction, was all his design; and he expects the public will the more readily overlook any errors he may have committed, that he neither hopes for much literary reputation, nor wishes for any advantage from his work.

† The Indians sometimes feed their horses with a kind of vetch called Gram, which they boil. In want of that, they make a shift with the roots of grafs, which they dig up and wash in water. This they reckon better than hay. They are by this means never in want for forage, in a country so remarkable for vegetation. The horses always belong to the riders, which renders them more assiduous to keep them in proper order, as their pay depends entirely on the goodness of their horses. But this is attended with a bad consequence. A soldier of fortune, who has nothing but his horse to depend upon, is often afraid to expose him, where he would perhaps risque his own life.

DISSEMINATION

CONCERNING THE

General Manner, Language, Religion and
Philosophy of the Nations

THE author of this work, having been
convinced that the views of Locke and
Hobbes upon the origin of language and
religion were not only false but also
dangerous to the human mind, he has
endeavored to show that the origin of
language and religion is to be sought
in the human mind, and that the
philosophy of the human mind is to be
sought in the human mind.

London: Printed by J. Baskin, in the Strand, 1789.

A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

Customs, Manners, Language, Religion and
Philosophy of the HINDOOS.

THE learned of modern Europe have, with reason, complained that the writers of Greece and Rome did not extend their enquiries to the religion and philosophy of the Druids. Posterity will perhaps, in the same manner, find fault with the British for not investigating the learning and religious opinions, which prevail in those countries in Asia, into which either their commerce or their arms have penetrated. The Brahmins of the East possessed in antient times, some reputation for knowledge, but we have never had the curiosity to examine whether there was any truth in the reports of antiquity upon that head.

Excuses, however, may be formed for our ignorance concerning the learning, religion and philosophy of the Brahmins. Literary inquiries are by no means a capital object.

object to many of our adventurers in Asia. The few who have a turn for researches of that kind, are discouraged by the very great difficulty in acquiring that language, in which the learning of the Hindoos is contained; or by that impenetrable veil of mystery with which the Brahmins industriously cover their religious tenets and philosophy.

These circumstances combining together, have opened an ample field for fiction. Modern travellers have accordingly indulged their talent for fable, upon the mysterious religion of Hindostan. Whether the ridiculous tales they relate, proceed from that common partiality which Europeans, as well as less enlightened nations, entertain for the religion and philosophy of their own country, or from a judgment formed upon some external ceremonies of the Hindoos, is very difficult to determine; but they have prejudiced Europe against the Brahmins, and by a very unfair account, have thrown disgrace upon a system of religion and philosophy, which they did by no means investigate.

The author of this dissertation must own, that he for a long time, suffered himself to be carried down in this stream of popular prejudice. The present decline of literature in Hindostan, served to confirm him in his belief of those legends which he read in Europe, concerning the Brahmins. But conversing by accident, one day, with a noble and learned Brahmin, he was not a little surprized to find him perfectly acquainted with those opinions, which, both in ancient and modern Europe, have employed the pens of the most celebrated moralists. This circumstance did not fail to excite his curiosity, and in the course of many subsequent

sequent conversations, he found that philosophy and the sciences had, in former ages, made a very considerable progress in the East.

Having then no intention to quit India for some time, he resolved to acquire some knowledge in the Sanscrita language; the grand repository of the religion, philosophy and history of the Hindoos. With this view, he prevailed upon his noble friend the Brahmin, to procure for him a Pundit, from the university of Benaris, well versed in the Sanscrita, and master of all the knowledge of that learned body. But before he had made any considerable progress in his studies, an unexpected change of affairs in Bengal, broke off all his literary schemes. He found that the time he had to remain in India would be too short to acquire the Sanscrita. He determined therefore, through the medium of the Persian language, and through the vulgar tongue of the Hindoos, to inform himself as much as possible, concerning the mythology and philosophy of the Brahmins. He, for this purpose, procured some of the principal SHASTERS, and his Pundit explained to him, as many passages of those curious books, as served to give him a general idea of the doctrine which they contain.

It is but justice to the Brahmins to confess that the author of this dissertation is very sensible of his own inability to illustrate, with that fullness and perspicuity which it deserves, that symbolical religion, which they are at so much pains to conceal from foreigners. He however can aver, that he has not misrepresented one single circumstance or tenet, though many may have escaped his observation.

The

The books which contain the religion and philosophy of the Hindoos, are distinguished by the name of Bedas. They are four in number, and like the sacred writings of other nations, are said to have been penned by the divinity. Beda in the Sanscrita, literally signifies SCIENCE: for these books not only treat of religious and moral duties, but of every branch of philosophical knowledge.

The Bedas are, by the Brahmins, held so sacred, that they permit no other sect to read them; and such is the influence of superstition and priest-craft over the minds of the other CASTS in India, that they would deem it an unpardonable sin to satisfy their curiosity in that respect, were it even within the compass of their power. The Brahmins themselves are bound by such strong ties of religion, to confine those writings to their own tribe, that were any of them known to read them to others, he would be immediately excommunicated. This punishment is worse than even death itself among the Hindoos. The offender is not only thrown down from the noblest order to the most polluted CAST, but his posterity are rendered for ever incapable of being received into his former dignity.

All these things considered, we are not to wonder that the doctrine of the Bedas is so little known in Europe. Even the literary part of the Mahomedans of Asia, reckon it an abstruse and mysterious subject, and candidly confess, that it is covered with a veil of darkness, which they could never penetrate. Some have indeed supposed, that the learned Feizi, brother to the celebrated Abul Fazil, chief secretary to the Emperor Akbar, had read the Bedas, and discovered the religious tenets contained in them to that renowned Prince.

As

As the story of Feizi made a good deal of noise in the east, it may not be improper to give the particulars of it in this place.

Mahummud Akbar being a prince of elevated and extensive ideas, was totally divested of those prejudices for his own religion, which men of inferior parts not only imbibe with their mother's milk, but retain throughout their lives. Though bred in all the strictness of the Mahomedan faith, his great soul in his riper years, broke those chains of superstition and credulity, with which his tutors had, in his early youth, fettered his mind. With a design to chuse his own religion, or rather from curiosity, he made it his business to enquire minutely into all the systems of divinity, which prevailed among mankind. The story of his being instructed in the christian tenets, by a missionary from Portugal, is too well known in Europe to require a place in this dissertation. As almost all religions admit of profelytes, Akbar had good success in his enquiries, till he came to his own subjects the Hindoos. Contrary to the practice of all other religious sects, they admit of no converts; but they allow that every one may go to heaven his own way, though they perhaps suppose, that theirs is the most expeditious method to obtain that important end. They chuse rather to make a mystery of their religion, than impose it upon the world, like the Mahomedans, with the sword, or by means of the stake, after the manner of some pious christians.

Not all the authority of Akbar could prevail with the Brahmins to reveal the principles of their faith. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to artifice to obtain the information which he so much desired. The Emperor, for

this purpose, concerted a plan with his chief secretary, Abul Fazil, to impose Feizi, then a boy, upon the Brahmins, in the character of a poor orphan of their tribe. Feizi being instructed in his part, was privately sent to Benaris, the principal seat of learning among the Hindoos. In that city the fraud was practised on a learned Brahmin, who received the boy into his house, and educated him as his own son.

When Feizi, after ten years study, had acquired the Sanscrita language, and all the knowledge of which the learned of Benaris were possessed, proper measures were taken by the Emperor to secure his safe return. Feizi it seems, during his residence with his patron the Brahmin, was smitten with the beauty of his only daughter; and indeed the ladies of the Brahmin race are the handsomest in Hindostan. The old Brahmin saw the mutual passion of the young pair with pleasure, and as he loved Feizi for his uncommon abilities, he offered him his daughter in marriage. Feizi, perplexed between love and gratitude, at length discovered himself to the good old man, fell down at his feet, and grasping his knees, solicited with tears for forgiveness, for the great crime he had committed against his indulgent benefactor. The Brahmin, struck dumb with astonishment, uttered not one word of reproach. He drew a dagger, which he always carried on his girdle, and prepared to plunge it in his own breast. Feizi seized his hand, and conjured him, that if yet any atonement could be made for the injury he had done him, he himself would swear to deny him nothing. The Brahmin, bursting into tears, told him, that if Feizi should grant him two requests, he would forgive him, and consent to live. Feizi, without any hesitation, consented, and the
Brahmin's

Brahmin's requests were, that he should never translate the Bedas, nor repeat the creed of the Hindoos.

How far Feizi was bound by his oath not to reveal the doctrine of the Bedas to Akbar is uncertain; but that neither he, nor any other person, ever translated those books, is a truth beyond any dispute. It is however well known, that the Emperor afterwards greatly favoured the Hindoo faith, and gave much offence to zealous Mahomedans, by practising some Indian customs which they thought favoured of idolatry. But the dispassionate part of mankind have always allowed, that Akbar was equally divested of all the follies of both the religious superstitions, which prevailed among his subjects.

To return from this digression, the Brahmins maintain, that the Bedas are the divine laws, which Brimha, at the creation of the world, delivered for the instruction of mankind. But they affirm that their meaning was perverted in the first age, by the ignorance and wickedness of some princes, whom they represent as evil spirits who then haunted the earth. They call those evil genii Dewtas, and tell many strange allegorical legends concerning them; such as, that the Bedas being lost, were afterwards recovered by Bishen, in the form of a fish, who brought them up from the bottom of the ocean, into which they were thrown by a Deo, or Demon.

The first credible account we have of the Bedas, is, that about the commencement of the Cal Jug, of which era the present year 1768, is the 4886th year, they were written, or rather collected by a great philosopher, and reputed prophet, called Beas Muni, or Beas the inspired. This learned man is

otherwise called Krishen Basdeo, and is said to have lived in the reign of Judishter, in the city of Histanapore, upon the river Jumna, near the present city of Delhi.

The Brahmins do not give to Beäfs Muni the merit of being the author of the Bedas. They however acknowledge, that he reduced them into the present form, dividing them into four distinct books, after having collected the detached pieces of which they are composed, from every part of India. It is, upon the whole, probable, that they are not the work of one man, on account of their immense bulk.

The Mahomedans of Asia, as well as some of the learned of Europe, have mistaken Brimha, an allegorical person, for some philosopher of repute in India, whom they distinguish by the disfigured names of Bruma, Burma, and Bramha, whom they suppose to have been the writer of the religious books of the Hindoos. Ferishta, in the history now given to the public, affirms, that Brimha was of the race of Bang, and flourished in the reign of Krishen, first monarch of Hindostan. But the Brahmins deny, that any such person ever existed, which we have reason to believe is the truth; as Brimha in the Shanscrita language allegorically signifies WISDOM, one of the principal attributes of the supreme divinity.

The four Bedas contain 100,000 ashlogues or stanzas in verse, each of which consists of four lines. The first Beda is called RUG BEDA, which signifies the science of divination, concerning which it principally treats. It also contains astrology, astronomy, natural philosophy, and a very particular account of the creation of matter, and the formation of the world.

The second Beda is distinguished by the name of SHEHAM. That word signifies piety or devotion, and this book accordingly treats of all religious and moral duties. It also contains many hymns in praise of the supreme being, as well as verses in honour of subaltern intelligences.

The third is the JUDGER BEDA, which, as the word implies, comprehends the whole science of religious rites and ceremonies; such as fasts, festivals, purifications, penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, prayers, and offerings. They give the appellation of OBATAR BAH to the fourth Beda. OBATAR signifies in the Shanscrita, the being, or the essence, and BAH good; so that the Obatar Bah is literally the knowledge of the good being, and accordingly this book comprehends the whole science of theology and metaphysical philosophy.

The language of the Obatar Bah Beda is now become obsolete; so that very few Brahmins pretend to read it with propriety. Whether this proceeds from its great antiquity, or from its being wrote in an uncommon dialect of the Shanscrita, is hard to determine. We are inclined to believe that the first is the truth; for we can by no means agree with a late ingenious writer*, who affirms, that the Obatar Bah was written in a period posterior to the rest of the Bedas.

It has been already observed, that the Bedas are written in the Shanscrita tongue. Whether the Shanscrita was, in any period of antiquity, the vulgar language of Hindostan,

* Mr. Helwell: The author of the dissertation finds himself obliged to differ almost in every particular concerning the religion of the Hindoos, from that gentleman.

or was invented by the Brahmins, to be a mysterious repository for their religion and philosophy, is difficult to determine. All other languages, it is true, were casually invented by mankind, to express their ideas and wants; but the astonishing formation of the Sanscrita seems to be beyond the power of chance. In regularity of etymology and grammatical order, it far exceeds the Arabic. It, in short, bears evident marks, that it has been fixed upon rational principles, by a body of learned men, who studied regularity, harmony, and a wonderful simplicity and energy of expression.

Though the Sanscrita is amazingly copious, a very small grammar and vocabulary serve to illustrate the principles of the whole. In a treatise of a few pages, the roots and primitives are all comprehended, and so uniform is the rules for derivations and inflections, that the etymon of every word is, with the greatest facility, at once investigated. The pronunciation is the greatest difficulty which attends the acquirement of the language to perfection. This is so quick and forcible, that a person, even before the years of puberty, must labour a long time before he can pronounce it with propriety; but when once that is attained to perfection, it strikes the ear with amazing boldness and harmony. The alphabet of the Sanscrita consists of fifty letters, but one half of these carry combined sounds, so that its characters in fact, do not exceed ours in number. Some small idea of the Sanscrita may be conveyed by the annexed plate, which contains the alphabet, and the measure of the four Vedas.

Before we shall proceed to the religion and philosophy of the Brahmins, it may not be improper to premise something
concerning

A Specimen of the measure of the Bedas.

Foot

Rough Beda.

12 पशपत्रवतिहाप
 18 प र की पा ऋ ग न वा प्र वा डा षा
 12 शा स प त्र त्र स प ति प न
 14 न ग पि क त्र ण श्य ते चै त

Toidippi nabatti hani
Parakian chiritti busa bodat dian
Asa mon jesso mitach muttah
Todopi kela kidatti sketa.

Sheam Beda.

14 श्यापति माति १, त्रय न १, त्रः प्र मा ति
 14 पशक ऋ णि व च्चा ति श्च, रा ति १ शी
 14 न न प ति स क व त्रा प हा प्र प त्रा
 14 शा स न ग र्हा वा षा ग वि ति वै च तै र ति

Utiati jati punareti puna preati
Padang kourani bishenuti duruoli puckon
Ullbeinuti succulani puiddani juckon
Sari sati belina bidatenati.

Judger Beda.

12 प न प प १ १ १ १ १ १ १ १
 18 स क ल न न त की ति श्री णु द ष
 16 ष ति प ल च ले र ना ति षा
 12 य का ष म ल ष व वा

Malla Maiah pugalla punde,
Sukollo Sulleh dingkilisi soddeh
Luki putti chulani hing janibo
Upa bimilla subabo.

Obatur bah Beda.

11 शा व दा ग प य तै त्र रि रा न
 11 स र म प क र १ र १ प श प वै र ति
 11 मा व व चा षा ष उ दि इ त्त
 8 मा द षा षा प ता प म

Taboda gummateta norinderan
Saisam baro gohaia mokinderan
Tabo debo cufsi crindro dedico
Stridifsa damo jagamo.

The Shanscrita Alphabet.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Ka</i> | <i>Kha</i> | <i>Ga</i> | <i>Gha</i> | <i>Ma</i> | <i>Me</i> | <i>Na</i> | <i>Ne</i> | <i>Pa</i> | <i>Pe</i> | <i>Ta</i> | <i>Te</i> | <i>Tha</i> | <i>Tha</i> | <i>Da</i> | <i>De</i> | <i>Na</i> | <i>Ne</i> | <i>Pa</i> | <i>Pe</i> | <i>Pha</i> | <i>Pha</i> | <i>Ma</i> | <i>Me</i> |
| क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | ज | झ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | ण | त | थ | द | ध | न | प | फ | ब | व | म | य |
| <i>La</i> | <i>La</i> | <i>La</i> | <i>Bha</i> | <i>Sua</i> | <i>Sha</i> | <i>Sh</i> | <i>Ma</i> | <i>Cha</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> | <i>U</i> |
| म | र | ल | व | श | ० | स | ह | घ | ॥ | ष | षा | ह | ह | उ | उ | ॐ | ॐ | ॐ | ॐ | ॐ | ॐ | ॐ | ॐ |

The first thirty four Letters are consonants & the last sixteen are used for Vowels, but never written as above except at the beginning of a proper name or paragraph; the manner of writing the common Vowels being different, as for example.

Ka, Ki, Kii, Ku, Kuu, Kii, Kii, Kii, Ke, Ky, Ko, Koo, Kang, Kah.

का कि की कु कू कृ कृ के के का कौ कं कः

EXHIBITION

The first of these is the fact that the exhibition is held in a building which is not only one of the finest in the city but also one of the most convenient. The building is situated in the heart of the city and is easily accessible by all the principal roads. It is also a very large building and is well adapted for the purpose of an exhibition. The second of these is the fact that the exhibition is held at a time when the weather is generally good. This is a very important consideration, especially in a city like London, where the weather is so variable. The third of these is the fact that the exhibition is held for a long period. This is also a very important consideration, as it allows visitors to see the exhibition at their own convenience. The fourth of these is the fact that the exhibition is held in a city which is one of the most interesting in the world. This is a very important consideration, as it allows visitors to see the exhibition in a city which is full of interest and beauty.

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concerning the most characteristical manners and customs of the Hindoos in general. The Hindoos are so called from Indoo or Hindoo, which, in the Shanscrita language, signifies the Moon; for from that luminary, and the sun, they deduce their fabulous origin. The author of the dissertation has in his possession, a long list of a dynasty of Kings, called Hindoo-buns or Chunder-buns, both of which words mean, the Children of the Moon. He also has a catalogue of the Surage-buns, or the Children of the Sun, from whom many of the Rajas of Hindostan pretend to derive their blood. Hindostan, the domestic appellation of India, is a composition of Hindoo, and Stan, a region; and the great river Indus takes its name from the people, and not the people from the river, as has been erroneously supposed in Europe.

The Hindoos have, from all antiquity, been divided into four great tribes, each of which comprehend a variety of inferior casts. These tribes do not intermarry, eat, drink, or in any manner associate with one another, except when they worship at the temple of Jagga-nat † in Orissa, where it is held a crime to make any distinction. The first and most noble tribe are the Brahmins, who alone can officiate in the priesthood, like the Levites among the Jews. They are not however excluded from government, trade, or agriculture, though they are strictly prohibited from all menial offices by their laws. They derive their name from Brimha, who they allegorically say, produced the Brahmins from his head, when he created the world.

† Jagga nat signifies Lord of the creation. This is one of the names of Bisfen and the Obatar, or Being, who is said to preside over the present period. He is represented under the figure of a fat man, sitting cross-legged, with his arms hanging down by his side as if they had no strength. This last circumstance alludes to the imbecility of this age. His temple is in the greatest repute of any now in India.

The second in order is the Sittri tribe, who are sometimes distinguished by the name of Kittri or Koytri. They, according to their original institution, ought to be all military men; but they frequently follow other professions. Brimha is said to have produced the Kittri from his heart, as an emblem of that courage which warriors should possess.

The name of Beise or Bise is given to the third tribe. They are for the most part, merchants, bankers, and bunias or shopkeepers. These are figuratively said to have sprung from the belly of Brimha; the word Beish signifying a provider or nourisher. The fourth tribe is that of Sudder. They ought to be menial servants, and they are incapable to raise themselves to any superior rank. They are said to have proceeded from the feet of Brimha, in allusion to their low degree. But indeed it is contrary to the inviolable laws of the Hindoos, that any person should rise from an inferior cast into a higher tribe. If any therefore should be excommunicated from any of the four tribes, he and his posterity are forever shut out from society of every body in the nation, excepting that of the Harri cast, who are held in utter detestation by all the other tribes, and are employed only in the meanest and vilest offices. This circumstance renders excommunication so dreadful, that any Hindoo will suffer the torture, and even death itself, rather than deviate from one article of his faith. This severity prevented all intermixture of blood between the tribes, so that, in their appearance, they seem rather four different nations, than members of the same community.

It is, as we have already observed, a principle peculiar to the Hindoo religion, not to admit of proselytes. Instead of
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being solicitous about gaining converts, they always make a mystery of their faith. Heaven, say they, is like a palace with many doors, and every one may enter in his own way. But this charitable disposition never encouraged other sects to settle among them, as they must have been excluded entirely from all the benefits of society.

When a child is born, some of the Brahmins are called. They pretend, from the horoscope of his nativity, to foretell his future fortune, by means of some astrological tables, of which they are possessed. When this ceremony is over, they burn incense, and make an offering according to the circumstances of the parent; and without ever consulting them, tie the zinar * round the infant's neck, and impose a name upon him, according to their own fancy.

Between the age of seven and ten, the children are, by their parents, given away in marriage. The young pair are brought together, in order to contract an intimacy with one another. But when they approach to the years of puberty, they carefully separate them, till the female produces signs of womanhood. She then is taken from her parents to cohabit with her husband: nor is she ever after permitted to visit them. It is not lawful among the Hindoos to marry nearer than the eighth degree of kindred. Polygamy is permitted, but seldom practised; for they very rationally think, that one wife is sufficient for one man.

The extraordinary custom of the women burning themselves with their deceased husbands, has, for the most part, fallen into desuetude in India; nor was it ever reckoned a

* A string which all the Hindoos wear, by way of charm or amulet.

religious duty, as has been very erroneously supposed in the West. This species of barbarity, like many others, rose originally from the foolish enthusiasm of feeble minds. In a text in the *Bedas*, conjugal affection and fidelity are thus figuratively inculcated: "The woman, in short, who dies with her husband, shall enjoy life eternal with him in heaven." From this source the Brahmins themselves deduce this ridiculous custom, which is a more rational solution of it, than the story which prevails in Europe; that it was a political institution, made by one of the Emperors, to prevent wives from poisoning their husbands, a practice, in those days, common in Hindostan.

People of rank and those of the higher casts, burn their dead and throw some incense into the pile. Some throw the bodies of their friends into the Ganges, while others expose them on the high ways, as a prey to vultures and wild beasts. There is one cast in the kingdom of Bengal, who barbarously expose their sick by the river's side to die there. They even sometimes choak them with mud, when they think them past hopes of recovery. They defend this inhuman custom by saying, that life is not an adequate recompence for the tortures of a lingering disease.

The Hindoos have a code of laws in the *NEA SHASTER*. Treason, incest, sacrilege, murder, adultery with the wife of a Brahmin, and theft, are capital crimes. Though the Brahmins were the authors of those laws, we do not find that they have exempted themselves from the punishment of death, when guilty of those crimes. This is one of those numerous fables, which modern travellers imported from the East. It is however certain, that the influence of the
Brah-

Brahmins is so great, and their characters as priests so sacred, that they escape in cases where no mercy would be shewn to the other tribes.

Petty offences are punished by temporary excommunications, pilgrimages, penances and fines, according to the degree of the crime, and the wealth of the guilty person. But as the Hindoos are now, for the most part, subject to the Mahommedans, they are governed by the laws of the Koran, or by the arbitrary will of the prince.

The Senasseys are a sect of mendicant philosophers, commonly known by the name of Fakiers, which literally signifies poor people. These idle and pretended devotees, assemble sometimes in armies of ten or twelve thousand, and, under a pretext of making pilgrimages to certain temples, lay whole countries under contribution. These faints wear no clothes, are generally very robust, and convert the wives of the less holy part of mankind to their own use, upon their religious progresses. They admit any man of parts into their number, and they take great care to instruct their disciples in every branch of knowledge, to make the order the more revered among the vulgar.

When this naked army of robust faints direct their march to any temple, the men of the provinces through which their road lies, very often fly before them, notwithstanding of the sanctified character of the Fakiers. But the women are in general more resolute, and not only remain in their dwellings, but apply frequently for the prayers of those holy persons, which are found to be most effectual in cases of sterility. When a Fakier is at prayers with the lady of

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the house, he leaves either his flipper or his staff at the door, which if seen by the husband, effectually prevents him from disturbing their devotion. But should he be so unfortunate as not to mind those signals, a sound drubbing is the inevitable consequence of his intrusion.

Though the Fakiers enforce with their arms, that reverence which the people of Hindostan have naturally for their order, they inflict voluntary penances of very extraordinary kinds upon themselves, to gain more respect. These fellows sometimes hold up one arm in a fixed position till it becomes stiff, and remains in that situation during the rest of their lives. Some clench their fists very hard, and keep them so till their nails grow into their palms, and appear through the back of their hands. Others turn their faces over one shoulder, and keep them in that situation, till they fix forever their heads looking backward. Many turn their eyes to the point of their nose, till they have lost the power of looking in any other direction. These last, pretend sometimes to see what they call the sacred fire, which vision, no doubt, proceeds from some disorder arising from the distortion of the optic nerves.

It often appears to Europeans in India, a matter of some ridicule to converse with those distorted and naked philosophers; though their knowledge and external appearance, exhibit a very striking contrast. Some are really what they seem, enthusiasts; but others put on the character of sanctity, as a cloak for their pleasures. But what actually makes them a public nuisance, and the aversion of poor husbands, is, that the women think they derive some holiness to themselves, from an intimacy with a Fakier.

Many other foolish customs, besides those we have mentioned, are peculiar to those religious mendicants. But enthusiastic penances are not confined to them alone. Some of the vulgar, on the fast of Oppos, suspend themselves on iron hooks, by the flesh of the shoulder-blade, to the end of a beam. This beam turns round with great velocity, upon a pivot, on the head of a high pole. The enthusiast not only seems insensible of pain, but very often blows a trumpet as he is whirled round above, and, at certain intervals, sings a song to the gaping multitude below; who very much admire his fortitude and devotion. This ridiculous custom is kept up to commemorate the sufferings of a martyr, who was in that manner, tortured for his faith.

To dwell longer upon the characteristical customs and manners of the Hindoos, would extend this dissertation too far. Some more particulars concerning that nation, will naturally arise from an investigation of their religion and philosophy. This last was the capital design of this introductory discourse; and we hope to be able to throw a new, if not a compleat light, on a subject hitherto little understood in the West. Some writers have very lately given to the world, an unintelligible system of the Brahmin religion; and they affirm, that they derived their information from the Hindoos themselves. This may be the case, but they certainly conversed upon that subject only with the inferior tribes, or with the unlearned part of the Brahmins: and it would be as ridiculous to hope for a true state of the religion and philosophy of the Hindoos from those illiterate casts, as it would be in a Mahomedan in London, to rely upon the accounts of a parish beadle, concerning the most abstruse points of the Christian faith; or, to form his opinion

nion of the principles of the Newtonian philosophy, from a conversation with an English carman.

The Hindoos are divided into two great religious sects: the followers of the doctrine of the BEDANG; and those who adhere to the principles of the NEADIRSIN. As the first are esteemed the most orthodox, as well as the most ancient, we shall begin to explain their opinions, by extracts literally translated from the original SHASTER^a, which goes by the name of Bedang.

Bedang, the title of the Shaster, or commentary upon the Bedas, concerning which we are about to treat, is a word compounded of Beda, *science*, and Ang, *body*. The name of this Shaster therefore, may be literally translated, the Body of science. This book has, in Europe, been erroneously called Vedam; and it is an exposition of the doctrine of the Bedas, by that great philosopher and prophet Beâs Muni, who, according to the Brahmins, flourished about four thousand years ago. The Bedang is said to have been revised some ages after Beâs Muni, by one Sirrider Swami, since which it has been reckoned sacred, and not subject to any further alterations. Almost all the Hindoos of the Decan, and those of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, are of the sect of the Bedang.

^a Shaster literally signifies Knowledge: but it is commonly understood to mean a book which treats of divinity and the sciences. There are many Shasters among the Hindoos; so that those writers who affirmed, that there was but one Shaster in India, which, like the Bible of the Christians, or Koran of the followers of Mahomed, contained the first principles of the Brahmin faith, have deceived themselves and the public.

This commentary opens with a dialogue between Brimha ^b, the Wisdom of the Divinity; and Narud ^c or Reason, who is represented as the son of Brimha. Narud desires to be instructed by his father, and for that purpose, puts the following questions to him.

NARUD.

O father! thou first of God ^d, thou art said to have created the world, and thy son Narud, astonished at what he beholds, is desirous to be instructed how all these things were made.

BRIMHA.

Be not deceived, my son! do not imagine that I was the creator of the world, independent of the divine mover ^e, who is the great original essence ^f, and creator of all things. Look, therefore, only upon me as the instrument of the great

^b Brimha is the genitive case of BRIMH, which is a primitive signifying GOD. He is called Brimha or WISDOM, the first attribute of the supreme divinity. The divine wisdom, under the name of Brimha, is figuratively represented with one head, having four faces, looking to the four quarters, alluding to his seeing all things. Upon the head of this figure is a crown, an emblem of power and dominion. He has four hands, implying, the omnipotence of divine wisdom. In the first hand he holds the four Bedas, as a symbol of knowledge; in the second a scepter, as a token of authority; and in the third a ring, or compleat circle, as an emblem of eternity. Brimha holds nothing in the fourth hand, which implies, that THE WISDOM OF GOD is always ready to lend his aid to his creatures. He is represented riding upon a goose, the emblem of simplicity among the Hindoos. The latter circumstance is intended to imply the simplicity of the operations of nature, which is but another name for the wisdom of the divinity. These explications of the insignia of Brimha, were given by the Brahmin, and are, by no means, conjectures of the author of this dissertation.

^c Narud literally signifies REASON, emphatically called the son of THE WISDOM OF GOD. He is said to be the first-born of the MUNIS, of whom hereafter.

^d Brimh. ^e The supreme divinity. ^f Pirrim Purrus; from PIR first, and PURRUS essence or being.

WILL,

WILL ^s, and a part of his ^l being, whom he called forth to execute his eternal designs.

NARUD.

What shall we think of God?

BRIMHA.

Being immaterial ^b, he is above all conception; being invisible ^l, he can have no form ^k; but, from what we behold in his works, we may conclude that he is eternal ^l, omnipotent ^m, knowing all things ⁿ, and present every where ^o.

NARUD.

How did God create the world?

BRIMHA.

Affection ^p, dwelt with God, from all eternity. It was of three different kinds, the creative ^q, the preserving ^r, and the destructive ^s. This first is represented by Brimha, the second

^s ISH-BUR; from ISH will, and BUR great: commonly pronounced ISHUR. This is one of the thousand names of GOD, which have so much perplexed the writers of Europe. In the answer of Brimha, mention is made of the first three great deities of the Hindoos; which three, however, they by no means worship as distinct beings from God, but only as his principal attributes. ^b Nid-akar. ^l Oderiffa.

^k Sirba-Sirrup. ^l Nitteh. ^m Ge-itcha. ⁿ Subittera-dirfi. ^o Surba-Birfi. These are the very terms used in the Bedang, in the definition of God, which we have literally translated in the text. Whether we, who profess christianity, and call the Hindoos by the detestable names of Pagans and Idolaters, have higher ideas of the supreme divinity, we shall leave to the unprejudiced reader to determine.

^p Majah, which signifies either affection or passion. ^q Redjo-goon, the creative quality. ^r Sittohgoon, the preserving quality. ^s Timmugoon, the destructive quality.

by

by Bishen [†], and the third by Shibah [‡]. You, O Narud! are taught to worship all the three; in various shapes and likenesses, as the creator [‡], the preserver [§], and the destroyer [¶]. The affection of God then produced power [‡], and power at a proper conjunction of time [‡] and fate [§], embraced goodness [¶], and produced matter [¶]. The three qualities then acting upon matter, produced the universe in the following manner. From the opposite actions of the creative and destructive quality in matter, self-motion [¶] first arose. Self-motion was of three kinds; the first inclining to plasticity [¶], the second to discord [¶], and the third to rest [¶]. The discordant actions then produced the Akash [¶], which invisible element possessed the quality of conveying sound; it produced air [¶], a palpable element, fire [¶], a visible element, water [¶], a fluid element, and earth [¶], a solid element.

The Akash dispersed itself abroad. Air formed the atmosphere; fire, collecting itself, blazed forth in the host of

[†] The preserver; Providence is personified under the name of Bishen. [‡] Shibah, the foe of good. [§] Naat. [¶] Bishen. [¶] Shibah. The Hindoos worship the destructive attribute of the divinity, under the name of Shibah; but they do not mean evil by Shibah, for they affirm, that there is no such thing but what proceeds from the free agency of man. [‡] Jotna. [§] Kaal. [¶] Addaristo. [¶] Pir-kirti, from *Pir* good, and *Kirti* action. God's attribute of goodness, is worshipped as a Goddess, under the name of Pirkirti, and many other appellations, which comprehend all the virtues. It has been ridiculously supposed in Europe, that PURRUS and PIRKIRTI were the first man and woman, according to the system of the Hindoos; whereas by Purrus is meant God, or emphatically, *the Being*; and by Pirkirti, his attribute of goodness. [¶] Mohat. In other places of the Bedang, matter is distinguished by the name of Maha-tit, *the great substance*. [¶] Ahankar. The word literally signifies self-action. [¶] Rajas. [¶] Tamas. [¶] Satig. [¶] A kind of celestial element. The Bedang in another place, speaks of akash as a pure impalpable element, through which the planets move. This element, says the philosopher, makes no resistance, and therefore the planets continue their motion, from the first impulse which they received from the hand of Brimha or God; nor will they stop, says he, till he shall seize them in the midst of their course. [¶] Baiow. [¶] Tege. [¶] Joal. [¶] Prittavi.

heaven^o; water rose to the surface of the earth, being forced from beneath by the gravity of the latter element. Thus broke forth the world from the veil of darkness, in which it was formerly comprehended by God. Order rose over the universe. The seven heavens were formed^p, and the seven worlds were fixed in their places; there to remain till the great dissolution^q, when all things shall be absorbed^r into God.

God seeing the earth in full bloom, and that vegetation^s was strong from its seeds, called forth for the first time, Intellect^t, which he endued with various organs and shapes, to form a diversity of animals^u upon the earth. He endued the animals with five senses, feeling, seeing, smelling, tasting, and hearing^x. But to man he gave reflexion^y to raise him above the beasts of the field.

The creatures were created male and female^z, that they might propagate their species upon the earth. Every herb bore the seed of its kind, that the world might be clothed with verdure, and all animals provided with food.

NARUD:

What dost thou mean, O Father! by intellect?

^o Dewta; of which Surage the Sun is first in rank. ^p The names of the seven heavens are, Bu, Buba, Surg, Moha, Junnoh, Tapu, and Sutteh. The seven worlds are, Ottal, Bittal, Suttal, Joal, Tallattal, Rissatal, and Pattal. The author of the dissertation, by a negligence which he very much regrets, forgot to get the proper explanation of those names, or the uses to which the seven heavens were converted.

^q Mah-pirly. ^r Mucht. ^s Birgalotta. ^u Mun. ^w Jount. ^x The five senses are, Suppurfina, Chowkowna, Nasiga, Rissina, Kurnowa. ^y Manus. ^z Nir and Madda signifies male and female.

BRIMHA.

BRIMHA.

It is a portion of the GREAT SOUL^a of the universe, breathed into all creatures, to animate them for a certain time.

NARUD.

What becomes of it after death ?

BRIMHA.

It animates other bodies, or returns like a drop into that unbounded ocean from which it first arose.

NARUD.

Shall not then the souls of good men receive rewards ? Nor the souls of the bad meet with punishment ?

BRIMHA.

The souls of men are distinguished from those of other animals ; for the first are endued with reason^b and with a consciousness of right and wrong. If therefore man shall adhere to the first, as far as his powers shall extend, his soul, when disengaged from the body by death, shall be absorbed into the divine essence, and shall never more re-animate flesh. But the souls of those who do evil^c, are not, at death, disengaged from all the elements. They are immediately clothed with a body of fire, air, and akash, in which they are, for a time, punished in hell^d. After the season of

^a Purmattima literally signifies the great soul. ^b Upiman. ^c Mund. ^d Nirick. The Hindoos reckon above eighty kinds of hells, each proportioned to the degree of the wickedness of the persons punished there. The Brahmins have no idea that all the sins that a man can commit in the short period of his life, can deserve eternal punishment ; nor that all the virtues he can exercise, can merit perpetual felicity in heaven.

their grief is over, they re-animate other bodies; but till they shall arrive at a state of purity, they can never be absorbed into God.

NARUD.

What is the nature of that absorbed state? which the souls of good men enjoy after death?

BRIMHA.

It is a participation of the divine nature, where all passions are utterly unknown, and where consciousness is lost in bliss.

NARUD.

Thou sayst, O Father! that unless the soul is perfectly pure, it cannot be absorbed into God: Now, as the actions of the generality of men are partly good, and partly bad, whether are their spirits sent immediately after death?

BRIMHA.

They must atone for their crimes in hell, where they must remain for a space proportioned to the degree of their iniquities; then they rise to heaven to be rewarded for a time for their virtues; and from thence they will return to the world, to reanimate other bodies.

Muchti. It is somewhat surprising, that a state of unconsciousness, which in fact is the same with annihilation, should be esteemed by the Hindoos as the supreme good; yet so it is, that they always represent the *absorbed state*, as a situation of perfect insensibility, equally destitute of pleasure and of pain. But Brimha seems here to imply, that it is a kind of delirium of joy.

NARUD.

NARUD.

What is time?

BRIMHA.

Time existed from all eternity with God: but it can only be estimated since motion was produced, and only be conceived by the mind, from its own constant progress.

NARUD.

How long shall this world remain?

BRIMHA.

Until the four jugs shall have revolved. Then Ruder^b with the ten spirits of dissolution shall roll a comet under the moon, that shall involve all things in fire, and reduce the world into ashes. God shall then exist alone, for matter will be totally annihilatedⁱ.

^a Kaal. It may not be improper, in this place, to say something concerning the Hindoo method of computing time. Their least subdivision of time is, the Nemish or twinkling of an eye. Three Nemish's make one Kaan, fifty Kaan one Ligger, ten Liggers one Dind, two Dinds one Gurry, equal to forty-five of our minutes; four Gurries one Pâr, eight Pârs one Dien or day, fifteen Diens one Packa, two Packas one Mâsh, two Mâshes one Ribbi, three Ribbis one Aioon or year, which only consists of 360 days, but when the odd days, hours and minutes, wanting of a solar year, amount to one revolution of the moon, an additional month is made to that year to adjust the Callendar. A year of 360 days, they reckon but one day to the Dewtas or host of Heaven; and they say, that twelve thousand of those planetary years, make one revolution of the four Jugs or periods, into which they divide the ages of the world. The Sittoh Jug or age of truth contained, according to them, four thousand planetary years. The Treta Jug, or age of three, contained three thousand years. The Duapur Jug, or age of two, contained two thousand; and the Kallé Jug, or age of pollution, consists of only one thousand. To these they add two other periods, between the dissolution and renovation of the world, which they call Sunde, and Sundas, each of a thousand planetary years; so that from one Maperly, or great dissolution of all things, to another, there are 3,720,000 of our years.

^b The same with Shibah, the destroying quality of God.

ⁱ Nisht.

Here

Here ends the first chapter of the Bedang. The second treats of providence and free will; a subject so abstruse, that it was impossible to understand it, without a compleat knowledge of the Shanscrita. The author of the Bedang, thinking perhaps, that the philosophical catechism which we have translated above, was too pure for narrow and superstitious minds, has inserted into his work, a strange allegorical account of the creation, for the purposes of vulgar theology. In this tale, the attributes of God, the human passions and faculties of the mind are personified, and introduced upon the stage. As this allegory may afford matter of some curiosity to the public, we shall here translate it.

“BRIMH existed from all eternity, in a form of infinite dimensions. When it pleased him to create the world, he said, *Rise up, O Brimha*^k. Immediately a spirit of the colour of flame issued from his navel, having four heads and four hands. Brimha gazing round, and seeing nothing but the immense image, out of which he had proceeded, he travelled a thousand years, to endeavour to comprehend its dimensions. But after all his toil, he found himself as much at a loss as before.

“Lost in amazement, Brimha gave over his journey. He fell prostrate and praised what he saw, with his four mouths. The almighty, then, with a voice like ten thousand thunders, was pleased to say: Thou hast done well, O Brimha, for thou canst not comprehend me!—Go and create the world!—How can I create it?—Ask of me, and power shall be given unto thee.—O God, said Brimha, thou art almighty in power!—

^k The wisdom of God.

“Brimha forthwith perceived the idea of things, as if floating before his eyes. He said, LET THEM BE, and all that he saw became real before him. Then fear struck the frame of Brimha, lest those things should be annihilated. O immortal Brimh! he cried, who shall preserve those things which I behold. In the instant a spirit of a blue colour issued from Brimha's mouth, and said aloud, I WILL. Then shall thy name be Bishen¹, because thou hast undertaken to preserve all things.

“Brimha then commanded Bishen to go and create all animals, with vegetables for their subsistence, to possess that earth which he himself had made. Bishen forthwith created all manner of beasts, fish, fowl, insects and reptiles. Trees and grass rose also beneath his hands, for Brimha had invested him with power. But man was still wanting to rule the whole: and Brimha commanded Bishen to form him. Bishen began the work, but the men he made were idiots with great bellies, for he could not inspire them with knowledge; so that in every thing but in shape, they resembled the beasts of the field. They had no passion but to satisfy their carnal appetites.

“Brimha, offended at the men, destroyed them, and produced four persons from his own breath, whom he called by four different names. The name of the first was Sinnoc², of the second, Sinnunda³, of the third, Sonnatin⁴, and of the fourth, Sonninkunar⁵. These four persons were ordered by Brimha, to rule over the creatures, and to possess

¹ The providence of God.

² Permanency.

³ Intellectual existence.

⁴ Body.

⁵ Life.

for ever the world. But they refused to do any thing but to praise God, having nothing of the destructive quality in their composition.

Brimha, for this contempt of his orders, became angry, and lo! a brown spirit started from between his eyes. He sat down before Brimha, and began to weep: then lifting up his eyes, he asked him, "Who am I, and where shall be the place of my abode?" Thy name shall be Rudder^b, said Brimha, and all nature shall be the place of thine abode. But rise up, O Rudder! and form man to govern the world.

"Rudder immediately obeyed the orders of Brimha. He began the work, but the men he made were fiercer than tigers, having nothing but the destructive quality in their compositions. They, however, soon destroyed one another, for anger was their only passion. Brimha, Bishen, and Rudder then joined their different powers. They created ten men, whose names were, Narud, Dico, Bashista, Birga, Kirku, Pulla, Pulista, Ongira, Oteri and Murichi^c: The general appellation of the whole, was the Munies^d. Brimha then produced Dirmo^e from his breast, Adirmo^f from his back, Loab^g from his lip, and Kâm^h from his heart. This last being a beautiful female, Brimha looked upon her with amorous eyes. But the Munies told him, that she was his own daughter; upon which he shrunk back, and produced a blushing virgin called Ludjaⁱ. Brimha thinking his body defiled by throwing his

^a Timmu-goon. ^b The weeper; because he was produced in tears. One of the names of Shibah, the destructive attribute of the Divinity.

^c The significations of these ten names are in order, these: Reason, Ingenuity, Emulation, Humility, Piety, Pride, Patience, Charity, Deceit, Mortality.

^d The Inspired.

^e Fortune.

^f Misfortune.

^g Appetite.

^h Love.

ⁱ Shame.

eyes upon Kâm, changed it, and produced ten women, one of which was given to each of the Munies."

In this division of the *Bédang Shafter*, there is a long list of the *Surage Buns*, or children of the sun, who, it is said, ruled the world in the first periods. But as the whole is a mere dream of imagination, and scarcely the belief of the Hindoo children and women, we shall not trespass further on the patience of the public with these allegories. The Brahmins of former ages wrote many volumes of romances upon the lives and actions of those pretended Kings, inculcating, after their manner, morality by fable. This was the grand fountain from which the religion of the vulgar in India was corrupted; if the vulgar of any country require any adventitious aid to corrupt their ideas, upon so mysterious a subject.

Upon the whole, the opinions of the author of the *Bedang*, upon the subject of religion, are not unphilosophical. He maintains that the world was created out of nothing by God, and that it will be again annihilated. The unity, infinity and omnipotence of the supreme divinity are inculcated by him: for though he presents us with a long list of inferior beings, it is plain that they are merely allegorical; and neither he nor the sensible part of his followers believe their actual existence. The more ignorant Hindoos, it cannot be denied, think that these subaltern divinities do exist, in the same manner, that Christians believe in Angels: but the unity of God was always a fundamental tenet of the uncorrupted faith of the more learned Brahmins.

The opinion of this philosopher, that the soul, after death, assumes a body of the purer elements, is not peculiar to the Brahmins. It descended from the Druids of Europe, to the Greeks, and was the same with the *εἰδωλον* of Homer. His idea of the manner of the transmigration of the human soul into various bodies, is peculiar to himself. As he holds it as a maxim that a portion of the GREAT SOUL or God, animates every living thing; he thinks it no ways inconsistent, that the same portion that gave life to man, should afterwards pass into the body of any other animal. This transmigration does not, in his opinion, debase the quality of the soul: for when it extricates itself from the fetters of the flesh, it reassumes its original nature.

The followers of the BEDANG SHASTER do not allow that any physical evil exists. They maintain that God created all things perfectly good, but that man, being a free agent, may be guilty of moral evil: which, however, only respects himself and society, but is of no detriment to the general system of nature. God, say they, has no passion but benevolence: and being possessed of no wrath, he never punishes the wicked, but by the pain and affliction which are the natural consequences of evil actions. The more learned Brahmins therefore affirm, that the hell which is mentioned in the Bedang, was only intended as a mere bugbear to the vulgar, to enforce upon their minds, the duties of morality: for that hell is no other than a consciousness of evil, and those bad consequences which invariably follow wicked deeds.

Before we shall proceed to the doctrine of the NEADIRSEN SHASTER, it may not be improper to give a translation of the
first

first chapter of the DIRM SHASTER, which throws a clear light upon the religious tenets, common to both the grand sects of the Hindoos. It is a dialogue between Brimha, or the wisdom of God; and Narud, or human reason.

NARUD.

O thou first of God! Who is the greatest of all Beings?

BRIMHA.

BRIMH; who is infinite and almighty.

NARUD.

Is he exempted from death?

BRIMHA.

He is: being eternal and incorporeal.

NARUD.

Who created the world?

BRIMHA.

God, by his power.

NARUD.

Who is the giver of blifs?

BRIMHA.

KRISHEN: and whosoever worshippeth him, shall enjoy heaven¹.

¹ Brimha, as we have already observed, is the genitive case of BRIMH; as WISDOM is, by the Brahmins, reckoned the chief attribute of God.

² Krishen is derived from *Krish* giving, and *Ana* joy. It is one of the thousand names of God.

A DISSERTATION, &c.

NARUD.

What is his likeness?

BRIMHA.

He hath no likeness: but to stamp some idea of him upon the minds of men, who cannot believe in an immaterial being, he is represented under various symbolical forms.

NARUD.

What image shall we conceive of him?

BRIMHA.

If your imagination cannot rise to devotion without an image; suppose with yourself, that his eyes are like the Lotos, his complexion like a cloud, his cloathing of the lightning of heaven, and that he hath four hands.

NARUD.

Why should we think of the almighty in this form?

BRIMHA.

His eyes may be compared to the Lotos, to show that they are always open, like that flower which the greatest depth of water cannot surmount. His complexion being like that of a cloud, is an emblem of that darkness with which he veils himself from mortal eyes. His cloathing is of lightning, to express that awful majesty which surrounds him: and his four hands are symbols of his strength and almighty power.

NARUD.

What things are proper to be offered unto him?

BRIMHA.

Those things which are clean, and offered with a grateful heart. But all things which by the law are reckoned impure,

or.

or have been defiled by the touch of a woman in her times ; things which have been coveted by your own soul, seized by oppression, or obtained by deceit, or that have any natural blemish, are offerings unworthy of God.

NARUD:

We are commanded then to make offerings to God of such things as are pure and without blemish, by which it would appear that God eateth and drinketh, like mortal man, or if he doth not, for what purpose are our offerings?

BRIMHA:

God neither eats nor drinks like mortal men. But if you love not God, your offerings will be unworthy of him; for as all men covet the good things of this world, God requires a free offering of their substance; as the strongest testimony of their gratitude and inclinations towards him.

NARUD:

How is God to be worshipped?

BRIMHA:

With no selfish view; but for love of his beauties, gratitude for his favours, and for admiration of his greatness.

NARUD:

How can the human mind fix itself upon God, being, and that it is in its nature changeable, and perpetually running from one object to another?

BRIMHA:

True: The mind is stronger than an elephant, whom men have found means to subdue, though they have never been.

been able entirely to subdue their own inclinations. But the ankush^a of the mind is true wisdom, which sees into the vanity of all worldly things.

NARUD.

Where shall we find true wisdom?

BRIMHA.

In the society of good and wise men.

NARUD.

But the mind, in spite of restraint, covets riches, women, and all worldly pleasures. How are these appetites to be subdued?

BRIMHA.

If they cannot be overcome by reason, let them be mortified by penance. For this purpose it will be necessary to make a public and solemn vow, lest your resolution should be shaken by the pain which attends it.

NARUD.

We see that all men are mortal, what state is there after death?

BRIMHA.

The souls of such good men as retain a small degree of worldly inclinations, will enjoy Surg^b for a time; but the souls of those who are holy, shall be absorbed into God, never more to reanimate flesh. The wicked shall be punished in Nirick^c for a certain space, and afterwards their souls are permitted to wander in search of new habitations of flesh.

^a Ankush is an iron instrument used for driving elephants.

^b Heaven.

^c Hell.

NARUD.

NARUD.

Thou, O father, dost mention God as one; yet we are told, that Râm, whom we are taught to call God, was born in the house of Jessarit: That Kishen, whom we call God, was born in the house of Basdeo, and many others in the same manner. In what light are we to take this mystery?

BRIMHA.

You are to look upon these as particular manifestations of the providence of God, for certain great ends, as in the case of the sixteen hundred women, called Gopi, when all the men of Sirendiep^d were destroyed in war. The women prayed for husbands, and they had all their desires gratified in one night, and became with child. But you are not to suppose, that God, who is in this case introduced as the actor, is liable to human passions or frailties, being in himself, pure and incorporeal. At the same time he may appear in a thousand places, by a thousand names, and in a thousand forms; yet continue the same unchangeable, in his divine nature.—

Without making any reflections upon this chapter of the DIRM SHASTER, it appears evident, that the religion of the Hindoos has hitherto been very much misrepresented in Europe. The followers of the NEADIRSEN SHASTER, differ greatly in their philosophy, from the sect of the BEDANG, though both agree about the unity of the supreme being. To give some idea of the Neadirsen philosophy, we shall, in this place, give some extracts from that Shaster.

NEADIRSEN is a compound from NEA, signifying right; and DIRSEN, to teach or explain; so that the word may be

^d The island of Ceylon.

translated an *exhibition of truth*. Though it is not reckoned so antient as the Bedang, yet it is said to have been written by a philosopher called Goutam, near four thousand years ago. The philosophy contained in this Shaster, is very abstruse and metaphysical; and therefore it is but justice to Goutam to confess, that the author of the dissertation, notwithstanding the great pains he took to have proper definitions of the terms, is by no means certain, whether he has fully attained his end. In this state of uncertainty he chose to adhere to the literal meaning of words, rather than by a free translation, to deviate perhaps from the sense of his author.

The generality of the Hindoos of Bengal, and all the northern provinces of Hindostan, esteem the NEADIRSEN a sacred Shaster; but those of the Decan, Coromandel, and Malabar, totally reject it. It consists of seven volumes. The first only came to the hands of the author of the dissertation, and he has, since his arrival in England, deposited it in the British Museum. He can say nothing for certain, concerning the contents of the subsequent volumes; only that they contain a compleat system of the theology and philosophy of the Brahmins of the Neadirsen sect.

Goutam does not begin to reason, *a priori*, like the writer of the Bedang. He considers the present state of nature, and the intellectual faculties, as far as they can be investigated by human reason; and from thence he draws all his conclusions. He reduces all things under six principal heads; substance, quality, motion, species, assimilation, and construction*. In substance, besides time, space, life,

* These are in the original Sanscrita, Dirba, Goon, Kirmo, Summania, Bishesth, Sammabae.

and

and spirit, he comprehends earth, water, fire, air, and akash. The four grosser elements, he says, come under the immediate comprehension of our bodily senses; and akash, time, space, soul and spirit, come under mental perception.

He maintains, that all objects of perception are equally real, as we cannot comprehend the nature of a solid cubit, any more than the same extent of space. He affirms, that distance in point of time and space, are equally incomprehensible; so that if we shall admit, that space is a real existence, time must be so too. That the soul, or vital principle, is a subtile element, which pervades all things; for that intellect, which, according to experience in animals, cannot proceed from organization and vital motion only, must be a principle totally distinct from them.

“The author of the *Bedang*,” says Goutam, “finding the impossibility of forming an idea of substance, asserts, that all nature is a mere delusion. But as imagination must be acted upon by some real existence, as we cannot conceive that it can act upon itself, we must conclude, that there is something real, otherwise philosophy is at an end.”

He then proceeds to explain what he means by his second principle, or *Goon*, which, says he, comprehends twenty-four things; form, taste, smell, touch, sound, number, quantity, gravity, solidity, fluidity, elasticity, conjunction, separation, priority, posteriority, divisibility, indivisibility, accident, perception, ease, pain, desire, aversion, and power^s.

^s A system of sceptical philosophy, to which many of the Brahmins adhere.

^s The twenty-four things are, in the Sanscrita, in order these; *Rup*, *Ris*, *Gund*, *Supurfa*, *Shubardo*, *Snika*, *Putriman*, *Garritte*, *Durbitte*, *Sitnitha*, *Shanikan*, *Sangeog*, *Bibag*, *Firible*, *Particca*, *Apporticta*, *Addaristo*, *Bud*, *Suc*, *Duc*, *Itcha*, *Desh*, *Jotna*.

Kirmo or motion is, according to him, of two kinds, direct and crooked. Sammania, or species, which is his third principle, includes all animals and natural productions. Bithesh he defines to be a tendency in matter towards productions; and Sammabae, or the last principle, is the artificial construction or formation of things, as a statue from a block of marble, a house from stones, or cloth from cotton.

Under these six heads, as we have already observed, Goutam comprehends all things which fall under our comprehension; and after having reasoned about their nature and origin, in a very philosophical manner, he concludes with asserting, that five things must of necessity be eternal. The first of these is Pirrum Attima, or the GREAT SOUL, who, says he, is immaterial, one, invisible, eternal, and indivisible, possessing omniscience, rest, will, and power^b.

The second eternal principle is the Jive Attima, or the vital soul, which he supposes is material, by giving it the following properties; number, quantity, motion, contraction, extension, divisibility, perception, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, accident, and power. His reasons for maintaining, that the *vital soul* is different from the *great soul*, are very numerous, and it is upon this head that the followers of the Bedang and Neadirsén are principally divided. The first affirm that there is no soul in the universe but God, and the second strenuously hold that there is; as they cannot conceive, that God can be subject to such affections and passions as they feel in their own minds; or that he can possibly have a propensity to evil. Evil, according to the author of the

^b These properties of the divinity, are the following in order; Nidakaar, Akitta, Oderisa, Nitte, Appartieta, Budsirba, Suck, Itcha, Jotna.

Neadirsén

Neadirfen Shafter, proceeds entirely from Jive Attima, or the vital soul. It is a selfish craving principle, never to be satisfied; whereas God remains in eternal rest, without any desire but benevolence.

Goutam's third eternal principle is time or duration, which, says he, must of necessity have existed, while any thing did exist; and is therefore infinite. The fourth principle is space or extension, without which nothing could have been; and as it comprehends all quantity, or rather is infinite, he maintains, that it is indivisible and eternal. The fifth eternal principle is Akash, a subtile and pure element, which fills up the vacuum of space, and is compounded of purmans or quantities, infinitely small, indivisible and perpetual. "God," says he, "can neither make nor annihilate these atoms, on account of the love which he bears to them, and the necessity of their existence; but they are, in other respects, totally subservient to his pleasure."

"God," says Goutam, "at a certain season, endued these atoms, as we may call them, with Bisheesh or plasticity, by virtue of which they arranged themselves into four gross elements, fire, air, water, and earth. These atoms being, from the beginning, formed by God into the *seeds* of all productions, Jive Attima, or the vital soul, associated with them, so that animals, and plants of various kinds, were produced upon the face of the earth."

"The same vital soul," continues Goutam, "which before associated with the Purman of an animal, may afterwards associate with the Purman of a man." This transmi-

gration is distinguished by three names, Mirt, Mirren, and Pirra-purra-purvesh, which last literally signifies *the change of abode*. The superiority of man, according to the philosophy of the Neadirsen, consists only in the finer organization of his parts, from which proceed reason, reflexion, and memory, which the brutes only possess in an inferior degree, on account of their less refined organs.

Goutam supposes, with the author of the Bedang, that the soul after death, assumes a body of fire, air, and akash, unless in the carnal body, it has been so purified by piety and virtue, that it retains no selfish inclinations. In that case it is absorbed into the GREAT SOUL OF NATURE, never more to reanimate flesh. Such, says the philosopher, shall be the reward of all those who worship God from pure love and admiration, without any selfish views. Those that shall worship God from motives of future happiness, shall be indulged with their desires in heaven, for a certain time. But they must also expiate their crimes, by suffering adequate punishments; and afterwards their souls will return to the earth, and wander about for new habitations. Upon their return to the earth, they shall casually associate with the first organized Purman they shall meet. They shall not retain any consciousness of their former state, unless it is revealed to them by God. But those favoured persons are very few, and are distinguished by the name of Jates Summonⁱ.

The author of the Neadirsen teaches, for the purposes of morality, that the sins of the parents will descend to their posterity; and that, on the other hand, the virtues of the children will mitigate the punishments of the parents in

ⁱ The acquainted with their former state.

Nirick, and hasten their return to the earth. Of all sins he holds ingratitude ^b to be the greatest. Souls guilty of that black crime, says he, will remain in hell, while the sun remains in heaven, or to the general dissolution of all things.

Intellect, says Goutam, is formed by the combined action of the senses. He reckons six senses: five external ⁱ, and one internal. The last he calls Manus, by which he seems to mean conscience. In the latter he comprehends reason, perception ^k and memory: and he concludes, that by their means only, mankind may possibly acquire knowledge. He then proceeds to explain the manner by which these senses act.

Sight, says he, arises from the Shanskar or repulsive qualities of bodies, by which the particles of light which fall upon them, are reflected back upon the eyes from all parts of their surfaces. Thus the object is painted in a perfect manner upon the organ of seeing, whither the soul repairs to receive the image. He affirms, that, unless the soul fixes its attention upon the figure in the eye, nothing can be perceived by the mind; for a man in a profound reverie, though his eyes are open to the light, perceives nothing. Colours, says Goutam, are particular feelings in the eye, which are proportioned to the quantity of light reflected from any solid body.

Goutam defines hearing in the same manner with the European philosophers, with this difference only, that he

^b Mitterdro. ⁱ Onnuman, reason. Upimen, perception.

^k Chakous, Shraban, Rafan, Granap, Tawafs.

supposes, that the sound which affects the ear, is conveyed through the purer element of akash, and not by the air; an error which is not very surprizing, in a speculative philosopher. Taste, he defines to be a sensation of the tongue and palate, occasioned by the particular form of those particles which compose food. Smell, says he, proceeds from the effluvia which arise from bodies to the nostrils. The feeling, which arises from touching, is occasioned by the contact of dense bodies with the skin, which, as well as the whole body, excepting the bones, the hair and the nails, is the organ of that sense. There runs, says he, from all parts of the skin, very small nerves to a great nerve, which he distinguishes by the name of Medda. This nerve is composed of two different coats, the one sensitive, and the other insensitive. It extends from the crown of the head, down the right side of the vertebræ to the right foot¹. When the body becomes languid, the soul, fatigued with action, retires within the insensible coat, which checks the operation of the senses, and occasions sound sleep. But should there remain in the soul, a small inclination to action, it starts into the sensitive part of the nerve, and dreams immediately arise before it. These dreams, says he, invariably relate to something perceived before by the senses, though the mind may combine the ideas together at pleasure.

Manus, or conscience, is the internal feeling of the mind, when it is no way affected by external objects. Onnuman, or reason, says Goutam, is that faculty of the soul which enables us to conclude that things and circumstances exist,

¹ To save the credit of Goutam, in this place, it is necessary to observe, that anatomy is not at all known among the Hindoos; being strictly prohibited from touching a dead body, by the severest ties of religion.

from an analogy to things, which had before fallen under the conception of our bodily senses: For instance, when we see smoke, we conclude that it proceeds from a fire; when we see one end of a rope, we are persuaded that it must have another.

By reason, continues Goutam, men perceive the existence of God; which the Boad or Atheists deny, because his existence does not come within the comprehension of the senses. These atheists, says he, maintain, that there is no God but the universe; that there is neither good nor evil in the world; that there is no such thing as a soul; that all animals exist, by a mere mechanism of the organs, or by a fermentation of the elements; and that all natural productions are but the fortuitous concurrence of things.

The philosopher refutes these atheistical opinions, by a long train of arguments, such as have been often urged by European divines. Though superstition and custom may bias reason to different ends, in various countries, we find a surprising similarity in the arguments used by all nations, against the Boad, those common enemies of every system of religion.

“Another sect of the Boad, says Goutam, are of opinion that all things were produced by chance.” This doctrine he thus refutes. Chance is so far from being the origin of all things, that it has but a momentary existence of its own; being alternately created and annihilated, at periods infinitely small, as it depends entirely on the action of real

^m Add.isto.

essences. This action is not accidental, for it must inevitably proceed from some natural cause. Let the dice be rattled eternally in the box, they are determined in their motion, by certain invariable laws. What therefore we call chance, is but an effect proceeding from causes which we do not perceive.

“ Perception,” continues Goutam, “ is that faculty by which we instantaneously know things without the help of reason. This is perceived by means of relation, or some distinguishing property in things, such as high and low, long and short, great and small, hard and soft, cold and hot, black and white.”

Memory, according to Goutam, is the elasticity of the mind, and is employed in three different ways; on things present as to time, but absent as to place; on things past, and on things to come. It would appear from the latter part of the distinction, that the philosopher comprehends imagination in memory. He then proceeds to define all the original properties of matter, and all the passions and faculties of the mind. He then descants on the nature of generation.

“ Generation, says he, may be divided into two kinds; Jonidge, or generation by copulation; and adjonidge, generation without copulation. All animals are produced by the first, and all plants by the latter. The purman or seed of things, was formed from the beginning, with all its parts. When it happens to be deposited in a matrix suitable to its nature, a soul associates with it; and, by assimilating
more

more matter, it gradually becomes a creature or plant; for plants, as well as animals, are possessed of a portion of the *vital soul* of the world."

Goutam, in another place, treats diffusely of providence and free will. He divides the action of man under three heads: The will of God, the power of man, and casual or accidental events. In explaining the first, he maintains a particular providence; in the second, the freedom of will in man; and in the third, the common course of things, according to the general laws of nature. With respect to providence, though he cannot deny the possibility of its existence, without divesting God of his omnipotence, he supposes that the deity never exerts that power, but that he remains in eternal rest, taking no concern, neither in human affairs, nor in the course of the operations of nature.

The author of the Neadirsen maintains, that the world is subject to successive dissolutions and renovations at certain stated periods. He divides these dissolutions into the lesser and the greater. The lesser dissolution will happen at the end of a revolution of the Jugs. The world will be then consumed by fire, and the elements shall be jumbled together, and after a certain space of time, they will again resume their former order. When a thousand of those smaller dissolutions shall have happened, a MAHPERLEY or great dissolution will take place. All the elements will then be reduced to their original Purmans or atoms, in which state they shall long remain. God will then, from his mere goodness and pleasure, restore Bishesth or plasticity. A new creation will arise; and thus things have

revolved in fucceffion, from the beginning, and will continue to do fo to eternity.

These repeated diffolutions and renovations have furnished an ample field for the inventions of the Brahmins. Many allegorical systems of creation are upon that account contained in the Shasters. It was for this reason, that fo many different accounts of the cosmogony of the Hindoos have been promulgated in Europe ; some travellers adopting one system, and some another. Without deviating from the good manners due to those writers, we may venture to affirm, that their tales, upon this subject, are extremely puerile, if not absurd. They took their accounts from any common Brahmin, with whom they chanced to meet, and never had the curiosity or industry to go to the fountain head.

In some of the renovations of the world, Brimha, or the wisdom of God, is represented in the form of an infant with his toe in his mouth, floating on a comala or water flower, or sometimes upon a leaf of that plant, upon the watery abyfs. The Brahmins mean no more by this allegory, than that at that time, the wisdom and designs of God will appear, as in their infant state. Brimha floating upon a leaf, shews the instability of things at that period. The toe which he sucks in his mouth, implies that infinite wisdom subsists of itself; and the position of Brimha's body, is an emblem of the endless circle of eternity.

We see Brimha sometimes creeping forth from a winding shell. This is an emblem of the untraceable way by which divine wisdom issues forth from the *infinite ocean of God.*

God. He, at other times, blows up the world with a pipe, which implies, that the earth is but a bubble of vanity, which the breath of his mouth can destroy. *Brimha*, in one of the renovations, is represented in the form of a snake, one end of which, is upon a tortoise which floats upon the vast abyss, and upon the other, he supports the world. The snake is the emblem of wisdom, the tortoise is a symbol of security, which figuratively signifies providence, and the vast abyss is the eternity and infinitude of God.

What has been already said has, it is hoped, thrown a new light on the opinions of the Hindoos, upon the subject of religion and philosophical inquiry. We find that the Brahmins, contrary to the ideas formed of them in the west, invariably believe in the unity, eternity, omniscience and omnipotence of God: that the polytheism of which they have been accused, is no more than a symbolical worship of the divine attributes, which they divide into three principal classes. Under the name of *BRIMHA*, they worship the wisdom and creative power of God; under the appellation of *BISHEN*, his providential and preserving quality; and under that of *SHIBAH*, that attribute which tends to destroy.

This system of worship, say the Brahmins, arises from two opinions. The first is, that as God is immaterial, and consequently invisible, it is impossible to raise a proper idea of him, by any image in the human mind. The second is, that it is necessary to strike the gross ideas of man, with some emblems of God's attributes, otherwise, that all sense of religion will naturally vanish from the mind. They, for this purpose, have

made symbolical representations of the three classes of the divine attributes; but they aver, that they do not believe them to be separate intelligences. BRIMH, or the supreme divinity, has a thousand names; but the Hindoos would think it the grossest impiety to represent him under any form. "The human mind, say they, may form some conception of his attributes separately, but who can grasp the whole, within the circle of finite ideas."

That in any age or country, human reason was ever so depraved as to worship the work of hands, for the creator of the universe, we believe to be an absolute deception, which arose from the vanity of the abettors of particular systems of religion. To attentive inquirers into the human mind, it will appear, that common sense, upon the affairs of religion, is pretty equally divided among all nations. Revelation and philosophy have, it is confessed, lopped off some of those superstitious excrescences and absurdities that naturally arise in weak minds, upon a subject so mysterious: but it is much to be doubted, whether the want of those necessary purifiers of religion, ever involved any nation in gross idolatry, as many ignorant zealots have pretended.

In India, as well as in many other countries, there are two religious sects; the one look up to the divinity, through the medium of reason and philosophy; while the others receive, as an article of their belief, every holy legend and allegory which have been transmitted down from antiquity. From a fundamental article in the Hindoo
faith,

faith, that God is *the soul of the world*, and is consequently diffused through all nature, the vulgar revere all the elements, and consequently every great natural object, as containing a portion of God; nor is the infinity of the supreme being, easily comprehended by weak minds, without falling into this error. This veneration for different objects, has, no doubt, given rise among the common Indians, to an idea of subaltern intelligences; but the learned Brahmins, with one voice, deny the existence of inferior divinities; and, indeed, all their religious books of any antiquity, confirm that assertion.

END of the DISSERTATION.

THE
HISTORY OF THE
HINDOOS

CATALOGUE

GODS OF THE HINDOOS

The gods of the Hindoos are numerous and various. They are divided into three classes: the gods of the Hindoos, the gods of the Hindoos, and the gods of the Hindoos. The gods of the Hindoos are the gods of the Hindoos, the gods of the Hindoos, and the gods of the Hindoos. The gods of the Hindoos are the gods of the Hindoos, the gods of the Hindoos, and the gods of the Hindoos. The gods of the Hindoos are the gods of the Hindoos, the gods of the Hindoos, and the gods of the Hindoos.

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A
C A T A L O G U E
O F T H E
G O D S O F T H E H I N D O O S.

TO prevent future writers from confounding themselves and others, by mistaking synonymous names of the Gods of the Hindoos, for different intelligences, we here present the public with a catalogue of them, as taken from an original book of the Brahmins. A list of proper names, especially in a foreign language, is so very dry of itself, that it is superfluous to advise such as are not particularly inquisitive upon this subject, to pass entirely over this list, as it can afford very little amusement.

BRIMH, or the supreme being, is distinguished by a thousand names, in the Sanscrita, according to the Brahmins; but it is to be observed, that in that number they include the names of all those powers, properties, and attributes, which they conceive to be inherent in the divine nature, as well as the names of all those symbols and material essences,
under

under which God is worshipped. Those commonly used are, Ishbur, the great will; Bagubaan, the receptacle of goodness; Narrain, the giver of motion; Pirrimpurrous, the first essence; Niringen, the dispassionate; Nidakar, the immaterial.

BRIMHA, or God, in his attribute of wisdom, is worshipped under the following names: Attimabah, the good spirit. Beda, science. Beddatta, the giver of knowledge. Biffickrick, the flower of the creation. Surrajist, Purmisti, Pittamah, Hirinagirba, Lokeffa, Saimbu, Chottranun, Datta, Objajoni, Birrinchi, Commalafein, Bididi.

BISHEN, or God in his providential quality, is worshipped under the following names. Krishana, the giver of joy; Bishana, the nourisher. Baycanta, Bitara-sirba, Dammudar, Bishi-kesh, Kefeba, Mahdob, Subbuh, Deitari, Pundericack, Gurrud-idaja, Pittamber, Otchuta, Saringi, Biffickson, Jannardan, Uppindera, Indrabah-rajah, Suckerpani, Chullerbudge, Puttanab, Mudcripu, Basdebo, Tribickerma, Deibuckinindan, Suri, Sirriputti, Purrufttam, Bunnumali, Billidinfi, Kangfarratti, Oddu-kego, Biffimber, Koitabagit, Sirbassa, Lanchana.

SHIBAH, or as it is generally pronounced, SHIEB, and sometimes SHIEW, emblematically, the destructive power of God, is known by the names of Mahoiffur, the great Demon; Mahdebo, the great spirit; Bamdebo, the frightful spirit; Mohilla, the destroyer; Khaal, time; Sumbu, Ish, Puffhuputti, Shuli, Surboh, Ishan, Shawkacarrah, Sandraseikar, Butcheffa, Candapursu, Giriffa, Merrurah, Mittinja, Kirtibash, Pinnaki, Pirmatadippo, Ugur, Choppurdi, Sricant, Sitticant,

Sitticant, Copalbrit, Birrupacka, Trilochuna, Kerfanwreta, Sirbugah, Durjutti, Neloloito, Harra, Sarraharra, Trimbick, Tripurantacka, Gangadir, Undukorripu, Kirtudansi, Birsadja, Bumkefa, Babah, Bimeh, Stanu, Rudder, Ummaputti.

In the same manner as the power of God is figuratively said to have taken upon itself three masculine forms at the creation; so PIRKITTI, or the goodness of God, is said to have taken three feminine forms. The first of these was Drugah, or Virtue, who, say they, was married to Shibah, to intimate that good and evil are so blended together, that they could not have existed separately; for had there been no such thing as evil, in consequence there could be no good. She is worshipped in this character under the names of Bowani, courage; Maiah, love; Homibutti, Ishura, Shiba, Rudderani, Sirbani, Surba-mungula, Appurna, Parbutti, Kattaini Gouri, and a variety of other names.

As the consort of Bisheh, she is worshipped under the names of Litchmi, which signifies fortune; Puddamali, Leich, Commala, Siri Horripria.

As the consort of Brimha, she is generally known by the names of Surfitti, which means the bestower of wisdom; Giandah, the giver of reason; Gire, Baak, Bani, Sardah, Brimhapira.

Besides the above six capital divisions of the divine attributes, they raise temples to GRANESH, or policy, whom they worship at the commencement of any design, by the names of Biggenrage, Binnauck, Deimatar, Gunnadebo, Eckdant, Herrumboo, Lumbodre, Gunjanund. This divinity is feign-

ed to be the first born son of Shibah, and is represented with the head of an elephant, with one tooth only.

KARTICK, or Fame, is also worshipped under various names as follows ; Farruck-gite, Mahasin, Surjunmah, Surranonno, Parbutti-nundun, Skunda Sonnani, Agnibu, Guha, Bahulliha, Bishaka, Shuckibahin, Shanmattara, Shuckliddir, Cummar, Corrim-chidarna. He is said to be the second son of Sibah.

CAM-DEBO, the spirit of love, is also known by the names of Muddun, Mannumut, Maro, Purrudumun, Minckatin, Kundurp, Durpako, Annungah, Panfufur, Shwaro, Sumberari, Munnufigah, Kusshumesha, Ommenidja, Pafsbadinna, Kulliputti, Nackera-dija, Ratimoboo : he is said to be the first born of Bishen.

COBERE, or wealth, is known by the following names ; Trumbuca-fuca, Juckrage, Gudja-keffera, Monnusa-dirma, Dunnedo, Raja Raja, Donnadippa, Kinareffo, Borfferbunnu, Pollufta, Narru-bahin, Joikaika, Ellabilla, Srida Punejanisherah. Nill Cobere the son of wealth, is also represented in the emblems of luxury, but is seldom worshipped.

SOORAGE, or the Sun, is worshipped under the names of Inder, or the King of the Stars ; Mohruttan, Mugubah, Biraja, Packfasen, Birdirfiba, Sonnasir, Purruhutta, Purrinder, Giftnow, Likkerfubba, Sockor, Sukamunneh, Debasputti, Suttrama, Gottrabit, Budgeri, Bafub, Bitterha, Bastosputti, Suraputti, Ballaratti, Satchiputti, Jambubedi, Horriheia, Surat, Nomifinundun, Sonkrindana, Duffibina, Turrafat, Negabahina, Akindilla, Sorakah, Ribukah.

CHUNDER, or the Moon, is worshipped under the names of Hindoo, Himmanchu, Chundermah, Kumuda-bandibah, Biddu, Sudduns, Subranfu, Offadiffa, Nishaputti, Objoja, Soom, Gullow, Merkanku, Kollandi, Dirjarage, Sefudirra, Nuhtitreffa, Kepakina.

Besides all the above, they have divinities which they suppose to preside over the elements, rivers, mountains, &c. or rather worship all these as parts of the divinity, or on a supposition of his existence in all things.

AGUNNI, or the God of fire, hath thirty-five names. Birren, or the God of water, ten names. Baiow, or the God of air, twenty-three names; all which are too tedious to mention.

The JUM are fourteen in number, and are supposed to be spirits who dispose of the souls of the dead.

The USSERA are beautiful women, who are feigned to reside in heaven, and to sing the praises of God.

The GUNDIRP are boys who have the same office.

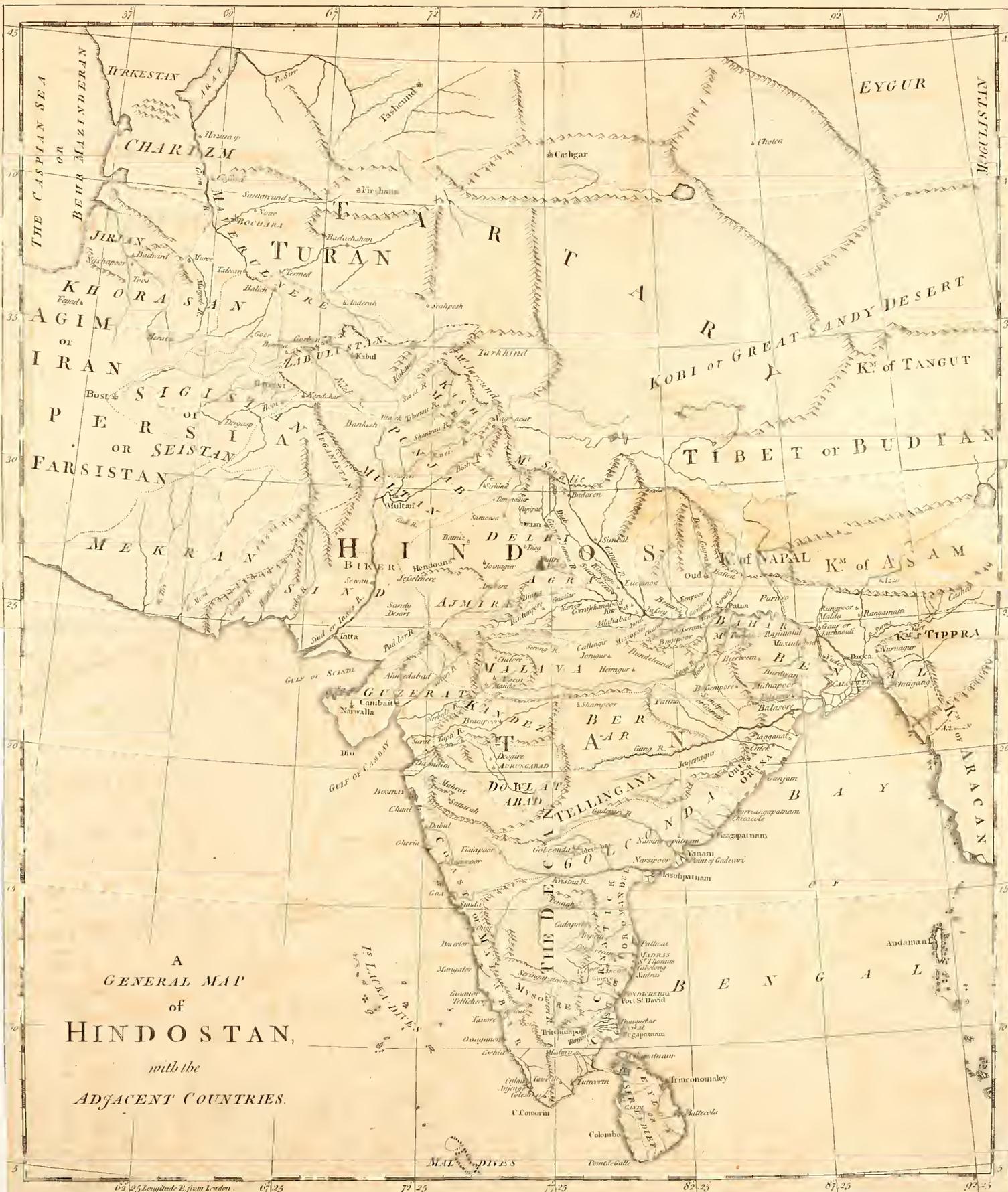
The RAKISS are ghosts or spectres who walk about the earth.

The DEINTS or OISSURS are evil spirits or demons, who were expelled from heaven, and are now said to live underground.

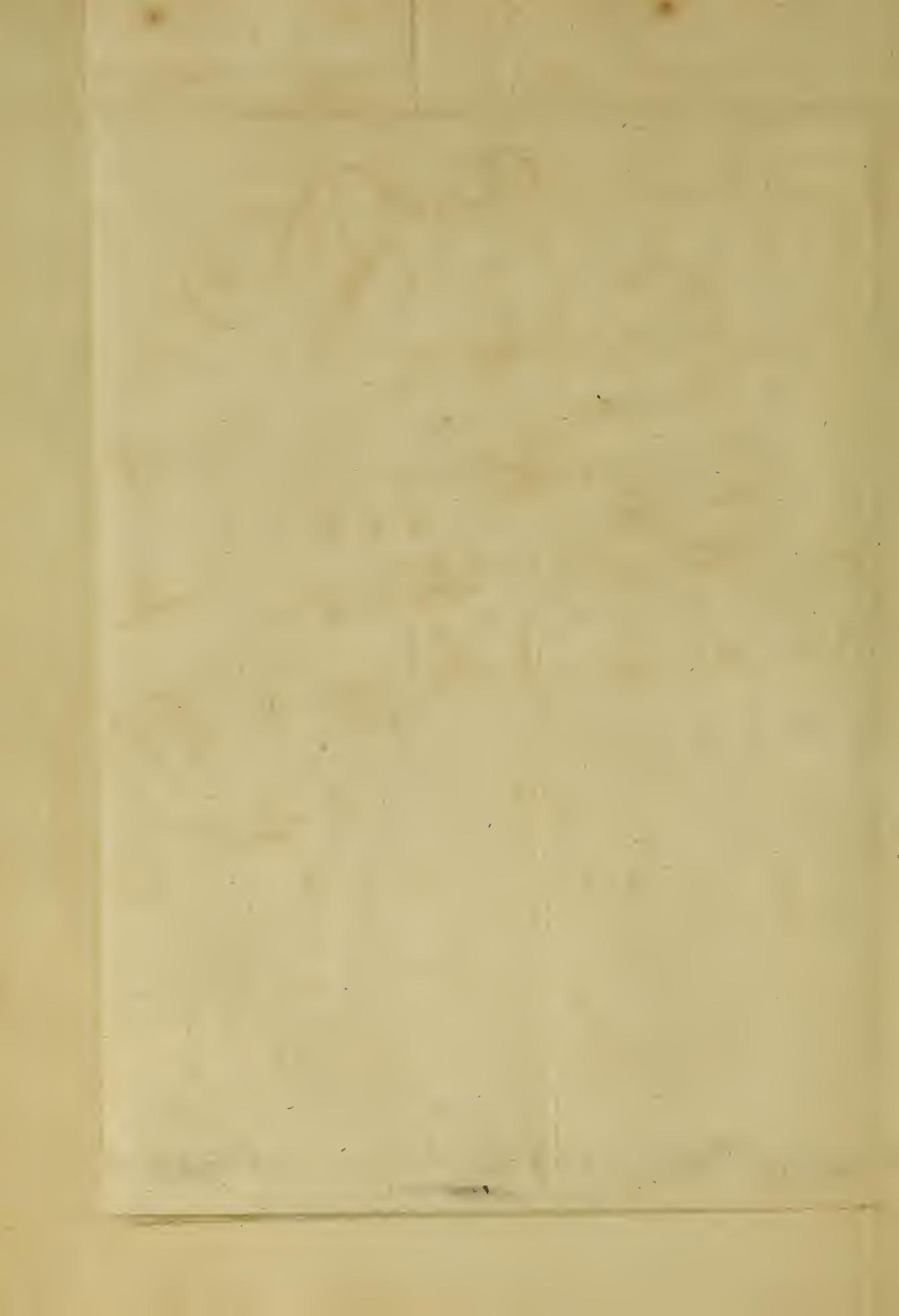
The DEOS or DEBOS, are spirits whose bodies are supposed to be of the element of fire; they are sometimes represented beautiful

beautiful as angels, and at other times in horrible forms; they are supposed to inhabit the air.

Such is the strange system of religion which priestcraft has imposed on the vulgar, ever ready in all climes and ages to take advantage of superstitious minds. There is one thing however to be said in favour of the Hindoo doctrine, that while it teaches the purest morals, it is systematically formed on philosophical opinions. Let us therefore no longer imagine half the world more ignorant than the stones which they seem to worship, but rest assured, that whatever the external ceremonies of religion may be, the self-same infinite Being is the object of universal adoration.



A
GENERAL MAP
of
HINDOSTAN,
with the
ADJACENT COUNTRIES.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N.

P A R T I.

The History of the HINDOOS, before the first
Invasion of HINDOSTAN by the MAHO-
MEDANS.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the fabulous Accounts of the Hindoos concerning their
Origin.—A Specimen of their ancient History.

THERE is no history among the Hindoos, of better authority than the Mahabarit*, which Shech Abul Fazil translated into Persian, in the reign of Akbar. It consists of about one hundred and twenty thousand periods † in the original Shanscrita, in a kind of long blank verse. We shall from this author select the particulars which relate to the history of the Hindoos.

The ancient history of the Hindoos fabulous.

* Mahabarit signifies, the great war. Our author has in this section given a specimen of the legends contained in that book.

† Athlogues or Stanzas.

Their division
of time.

The Hindoos divide the age of the world into four grand periods or jugs : the Sat Jug, the Treta Jug, the Duapur Jug, and the Cal Jug. They believe that when the Cal Jug is finished, the Sat Jug will commence again, and that thus time will revolve in eternal succession. The Sat Jug is said to have been a period of fourteen millions and four hundred thousand years, and it is represented as the age of felicity, in which there was nothing but truth, religion, happiness, peace, plenty, and independence ; and that the life of man extended to one hundred thousand years.

The Treta Jug is said to contain one million and eighty thousand years, in which, it is said, that in the composition of mankind, there were three fourths truth, and one fourth falsehood, and that the age of man extended to ten thousand years. The Duapur Jug is said to contain seventy two thousand years, in which two parts of the composition of man were truth, and two parts falsehood, his age extending to one thousand years. The Cal Jug contains thirty six thousand years, in which period three fourths of the composition of man consisted of falsehood, and only one fourth of truth, his age being one hundred years.

Brimha
creates the
world,

It is the opinion of the Hindoos, that God first created five elements ; Fire, Water, Air, Earth, and Akash, or a Celestial Element of which the heavens are made. He afterwards created a kind of being endued with perfect wisdom, whom he called Brimha, and commanded him to make the world. When Brimha had created
and mankind, mankind out of nothing, he divided them into four tribes ; the Brahmin, the Kittri, the Bise, and the Sudar. The first tribe were to be priests, to direct man in the ways of God ; the second rulers and possessors of the earth ; the third labourers ; and the fourth tradesmen and servants ; which division is strictly maintained to this day.

Brimha,

Brimha, say they, wrote a book which he called the Beda, by the order of God, in which he affirms, that all things were originally God, and that all things shall be resolved into him again; that happiness consists in virtue, and that vice will be punished with misery. To regulate the ceremonies of religion, and to instruct men how to govern the world, he has in the Beda given a canon of laws, founded upon the principles of justice. But as the Bedas are covered with a veil of darkness by the Brahmins, we cannot say much more for certain concerning them. The Hindoos affirm, that Brimha lives for ever, or, as some say, one hundred years, in which each day is computed at four hundred revolutions of the Jugs. We shall here give a specimen of the early history of the Hindoos.

Author of the
Bedas.

It is recorded in the Mahabarit, that about the middle of the third period, there was a Raja of the tribe of Kittiri, in the city of Hittinapoor, whose name was Birt. He ruled the kingdom of Hindostan, and his issue after him in lineal descent for eight generations, in peace and tranquillity. The ninth in succession, whose name was Kour, we are told, founded the city of that name, which is now called Tannassar, and is about 70 crores from Delhi. He was the father of the tribe who are still called Kours.

Specimen of
the ancient
history of the
Hindoos.

In the thirteenth generation from Kour, Chitterbource reigned, and was esteemed a great prince. He had two sons, one named Ditarashter, and the other Pind. But when Ditarashter grew up, he became blind, and therefore his father left the kingdom to his younger son, who had five children; Judishter, Brimsein, and Arjun, by one wife, and Nucul and Sedive, by another woman. But his elder brother Ditarashter had sons one hundred and one, by a variety of women, among whom one was named Jirjodin, being the eldest of his children by the first wife, and another was called Jutush, being his first born by a second spouse. In short, when Pind died, the in-

Ditarashter
being blind,
his brother
succeeds to
the throne.

heritance descended by right to the heirs of his elder brother Ditarashter, so that Jirjodin became king.

Differences
between their
children.

But the children of Pind regarded Jirjodin as an enemy, and waited an opportunity to divest him of his authority. Ditarashter, fearing disturbances, advised his son to build a palace without the city for the sons of Pind, in which for some time they consented to reside. In the mean time Jirjodin had privately ordered the workmen who built this palace to fill up several vaults with combustibles, and hired an old woman to set fire to them, at a proper opportunity. But the plot being discovered accidentally by the sons of Pind, they themselves set fire to the mine, and burnt the old woman and her five sons in the flames, while they privately withdrew into the wilderness, where they remained for some time, the king imagining they had been destroyed in the fire.

The sons of
Pind shew
themselves at
Cum-pula.

The sons of Pind ventured at length into a certain city called Cum-pula, where they wedded Diropti, the Raja's daughter, with whom they lived by turns, for the space of seventeen days. In a short time, however, it was noised abroad, that the sons of Pind were not dead, as was supposed, which reaching the ears of the king, he ordered enquiry to be made, and found that truth was in the report. Anxious to have them again in his power, he wrote to them affectionate letters, inviting them to Histinapoor, to share with him the inheritance of their forefathers. They were at length prevailed upon by his fair promises, returned to court, and were treated in every respect becoming their dignity. A part of the kingdom was allotted for their maintenance, for upon their arrival they became so much beloved by the people and nobility, that the king was afraid to lay violent hands upon them. Their popularity daily increasing, and their party being strengthened by many of the principal nobility, they at length openly insisted on a division of the empire in their favour, which the king being in no condition to refuse, complied with without hesitation.

Are invited to
court.

Some

Some time after these transactions Judishter gave the feast of the period *, the manner of which is said to be this: They lighted a prodigious fire, and threw into it every kind of spice, perfume, fruit, and grain. At this feast it was necessary that all the Rajas of the earth should be present. Judishter, in order to invite the Rajas, sent his four brothers to the four quarters of the world, that by the favour of God his design in a short time might be accomplished. His brothers, according to his desire, from Arab, from Agim, from Turkistan, from Habysh, and other countries, brought those princes to be present at this grand festival. Jirjodin, on observing the greatness of Judishter, burnt with envy at his fortune, and contrived this scheme to deprive his rival of his kingdoms and wealth.

The feast of the period.

It was the custom in those days to play at dice, and Jirjodin, having made a false set, challenged Judishter to play, which being accepted by him, he in a short time, in the presence of the princes, lost all his wealth and kingdoms. Jirjodin told him then, that he would give him one more chance to recover the whole, but that if he again should lose, he must retire, with all his brothers, for the space of twelve years into banishment, and if during that interval he was to be seen in his former dominions, he was to remain in banishment twelve years more. Judishter, hoping that fortune would not always be unkind, consented to these terms, but having lost as before, he was constrained by the princes, who were umpires, to relinquish his kingdoms to Jirjodin, and retire into banishment with his brethren from Inderput, his capital city, now known by the name of Delhi.

The sons of Pind banished for twelve years.

Twelve years they lay concealed in the wilderness, in such a manner that the tread of their feet was not heard; and when the time of their exile expired, they dispatched Kishen, the son of Basdeo, to demand the restoration of their kingdoms. Jirjodin, notwithstanding

Send an ambassador to demand their share of the kingdom.

* Jug-Rajasou, somewhat similar to the secular games among the Romans.

of his promise, made a jest of the embassy, and turned the ambassador with scorn from his presence. The sons of Pind finding that they could do nothing without force, began to collect their friends, of whom they had many; and in a short time they appeared in the field of Kirket, near the city of Tanassar, at the head of a mighty army, in the beginning of the Cal Jug. Jirjodin advancing with his army, after having drawn up his troops in array, encouraged the ranks of the valiant. The soldiers on both sides, according to the custom of battle, began to work for death; the contest was renew'd, with dubious advantages, for the space of eighteen days, till at length, Jirjodin, with most of his friends, as the reward of his perfidy, drank the cup of fate in the field of war.

A battle.

Incredible
number of
both armies.

The Hindoos say, that in this war, Jirjodin commanded eleven cohin, and the sons of Pind seven: a cohin, according to their fabulous accounts, consisted of twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy elephants of war, an equal number of chariots, six thousand six hundred and ten horsemen, and one hundred and nine thousand three hundred and fifty foot. Of all this incredible number, they say that only twelve men survived on both sides, four on the part of Jirjodin, and eight on the part of Judishter; among the latter was the ambassador Kishen Basdeo, who is esteem'd a great prophet among the Hindoos. They say, that the astrologers gave advice to Raja Kuns, who ruled in the city of Muttra, that Kishen should one day take away his life; upon which he sought every opportunity to put Kishen to death: but Kishen, knowing the designs of his foe, retired to a place called Nind, where he lived with a shepherd eleven years. He ventured at length into the world, and collecting a body of men together, who were dissatisfied with the government of Kuns, he made war upon him and put him to death, setting up Ogursein, the father of Kuns, in the kingdom; and he himself lived afterwards thirty-two years, at the head of the administration at Muttra. Raja Jeradsing, from the country of Barounia, came at

length with a great army, towards Muttra, to turn Kishen from his place. At the same time came from the east, Raja Callioon, and attacked him on the other side. Kishen, not able to oppose these two Rajas, fled towards Duarka, which is on the coast of the Salt Sea, and was there besieged for the space of eighteen years, where some say he died; but the superstitious aver that he is still alive, and therefore they pay him divine honors.

They relate that after the Mahabarit, which signifies the great war, Judishter having overcome Jirjodin, ruled the whole empire of Hindostan for thirty-six years, when being disgusted with the vanity and pomp of the world, he retired into a mountain, dividing his wealth and empire among his friends, and lived the life of religion and poverty the remainder of his days. The reign of Jirjodin and Judishter is said to be one hundred and twenty-five years. Such are the tales of the Hindoos concerning an age too dark and distant to be distinctly known.

S E C T I O N II.

Of the Origin of the Hindoos †.

AS the best and most authentic historians agree that Adam was the father of mankind, whose creation they place about five thousand years before the Higerah, the sensible part of mankind, who love the plainness of truth better than the extravagance of fable,

Origin of the
Hindoos..

† Though our author begins his accounts of Hindostan with the flood, yet like the annals of other nations, there is little to be depended upon in the history of that country, for some ages after that supposed period. This must rather be ascribed to the ignorance of the Mahomedans in the Shanscrita language, than to a real want of ancient monuments among the Hindoos themselves. In the first centuries of the Higerah, truth begins to beam forth with lustre in his accounts of India, and that with more precision and minuteness than any history we have of any European nation, in so early a period.

have

have rejected the marvellous traditions of the Hindoos, concerning the transactions of a hundred thousand years, and are of opinion that they, like other nations, are the descendants of the sons of Noo, who peopled the world. The Hindoos pretend to know nothing of the flood; however, as this event is supported by the testimony of all other nations, there is little room to doubt of its truth, and we shall, therefore, proceed to trace the Hindoos from that great æra, according to the best authorities.

The sons of
Noo or Noah

We are told that Noo had three sons, Sham, Eaphs and Ham. Sham, the eldest, had nine sons, Arshud, Arphashud, Bood, Khe, Simood, Aram, Kibt, Aad and Keitan. All the tribes of Arabs, Abraham and the prophets, were of the race of Arphashud, and his second son Keiomours, is said to be the first king of Agim*, and his sons were six, Shamuc, Pharis, Iraac, Billou, Shaam and Mogaan. Shamuc inherited the kingdom after the death of his father, whereas the other sons dispersing themselves, laid the foundation of monarchies, which pass'd by their names.

Eaphs or
Japhet.

Eaphs, according to the desire of his father, turned his face to the north-east, where he had many sons and daughters. The name of his first-born was Turc, from whence all the tribes of the Turks, Moguls, Usbecks, Chigettas, Turkumanians and Rumians †. The name of the second son was Chin, who laid the foundation of the mighty monarchy of China; and the third, whose name was Rus, is said to be the father of those nations, who extend themselves northward, even into the regions of darkness, in the countries of Musc, Ghiz and Eucolaat.

* Media.

† The European Turks are called Rumians, by the eastern nations, from their possessing the empire of the Romans in the lesser Asia.

Ham,

Ham, by the order of his illustrious father, turned his face to the south. He also had many children: the name of the first was Hind, the second Sind, the third Habysh †, the fourth Zinge, the fifth Barber, and the sixth Nobah; from these, all the kingdoms, distinguished by their names, took their rise. Hind, turning eastward, possessed himself of the paradisial regions of Hindostan, where he laid the foundation of his monarchy. His brother Sind, turning to the south-east, possessed himself of the fertile plains of the river ††, and founding the city of Tatta, ruled the kingdom of Moultan.

Ham, the progenitor of the Hindos.

Hind had four sons, one of whom was named Purib, another Bang, a third Decan, and a fourth Nerwaal. They first inhabited the countries, known to this day by their names. To Decan, the son of Hind, was born three sons, among whom he divided his kingdom, Marhat, Conher and Tiling; and from them sprung these three great tribes in the Decan, Marhattas, Conherias and Telingas. Nerwaal had also three sons, Beroge, Cambage and Malrage, whose names descended to the countries over which they ruled. Bang also had many children, who lived to inherit the kingdom of Bengal. But Purib, the first-born of Hind, had forty-two sons, who in a short time multiply'd exceedingly; but among these, one of them whose name was Krishen, exalted himself above his brethren.

The sons of Hind.

† Habysh, according to the Mahommedans, was the progenitor of the Abyssinians.

†† The Indus.

SECTION III.

Of the Reign of Krishen, the Founder of the Dynasty of the Marages.

Krishen first
king of Hin-
dostan..

LET it not be concealed that the first who placed his foot on the musnud of empire, in the region of Hindostan, was Krishen; but not that Krishen whom the Hindoos worship, but a man of wisdom, policy, and courage. He was, it is said, so fat a man, that finding no horse sufficiently strong for his weight, he first, prompted by necessity, found out the art of catching and taming elephants. In the reign of Krishen, it is also said, that there lived a certain person of the race of Bang, whose name was Brahma, wise and learned, whom Krishen made his vizier. This Brahma is said to be the father of many arts, of writing and of working in wood and iron. He was also the founder of the city of Oud, which became the capital of Krishen; and is said to have been the first regular imperial city of Hindostan. When Krishen had lived to the age of four hundred years *, he left the world to his first-born Marage, having, during his reign, peopled near two thousand towns and villages.

* That is to say, Krishen, and such of his race as bore his name, reigned four hundred years over Hindostan. It is to be observed that our author does not, properly speaking, begin his history till the empire of Ghizni was founded by Subuetagi; his professed design being to record the transactions of the Mahomedans in Hindostan. What therefore the translator has distinguished under the title of the first part of this history is no more than a dissertation prefixed to the original, in which the domestic accounts of the Hindoos, concerning their ancient Kings, are briefly recapitulated.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Of the Reign of Marage *, the son of Krishen, and of the Dynasties of the Marages and Keshrorages.

WHEN Marage, by the consent of his brothers and of the people, had ascended the throne, in the art of government he soon rivall'd the fame of his father, devoting his time to the just administration of his affairs. As the children of Brahma were skill'd in the arts of their father, he continued the most expert of them as his vizier, and appointed the rest his astrologers, physicians and priests, whence some derive the origin of the Brahmins, who to this day exercise those functions in Hindostan. Others of the nobility were appointed hereditary governors of provinces, from whom the second great sect of the Hindoos are supposed to derive their origin; while a third class were commanded to cultivate the ground, and a fourth to employ themselves in such arts as were necessary for the purposes of society. It was enacted, that this division of the subjects of Marage into four grand departments should subsist for ever: and thus was laid the foundation of the four great sects of Hindoos, Brahma, Kittri, Bife and Sudur.

Is succeeded by Marage.

Marage divides his subjects into four tribes.

The wife and the excellent Marage was a lover of learning. He invited philosophers from all parts, and founded the city of Bahar for their reception; appropriating the revenues of certain lands for their maintenance, and building several noble edifices and temples for the worship of the true God. Of the length of his reign, and the manner of his death, we have no particular accounts; neither are we inform'd of the lives and actions of his successors, who are said to have ruled over Hindostan, under the name and honours of

Is a lover of learning.

* Marage, signifies the great king.

their father, during the space of seven hundred years, in which time the country is said to have greatly encreas'd in riches, cultivation, and in the number of its people. A friendly correspondence was kept up between the imperial crowns of Hindostan and Iran †, till at length one of the princes of the blood of Hind, went in disgust to the presence of Feredoon, king of Iran. He laid his complaints before the king, who ordered Kirshib, the son of Attrid, with a numerous army, to recover his rights. When Kirshib reach'd the kingdom of Hindostan, a war was commenced, which continued, with various success, for the space of ten years. The country suffered exceedingly, till Marage was compell'd to give up a part of his dominions to the fugitive prince, of whose name we have no information, only that he was nephew to the then emperor. Marage thus procured peace, and sent presents by the hand of Kirshib, to the king of Iran.

The Persians, for the first time, invade Hindostan.

Rebellion in Ceylon.

It is said, that some time after, the governor of Shingeldiep † and Carnatic, trusting in his strength, blew up the flames of rebellion, which was the occasion of a long and bloody war in the Decan, in which the eldest son of the king lost his life, being deserted in the fight by Showra, ruler of the Decan, who fled with his discomfited army to the king. Marage, on hearing this news, writhed himself like a snake with anger, and bit the finger of sorrow, because, before that time, none of the rulers of the islands of Atchin, or the coasts of Pegu or Malabar, had dared to dispute his commands.

Second invasion of the Persians.

He was, at the same time, threaten'd with an invasion from Iran; for Minuchere had advanced as far as Moultan, with a mighty army, intending to make an entire conquest of Hindostan. Marage sent Baal Chund, his general, against him, who, finding that peace would be more advantageous at that juncture, than war with this foreign enemy, prevailed on Minuchere, by large presents, to return to

† Persia.

‡ Ceylon.

Iran.

Iran. When Baal Chund had accomplished this pacification, he was ordered by the king, to march to the Carnatic, where he subdued the governor of Shingeldiep, and again established the authority of his master. Some authors relate, that Baal Chund was obliged to cede the whole territory of Punjaab to Minuchere, the general of Feredoon *, before he would return to Iran : But others affirm, that the territory of Punjaab, during the reign of Feredoon, was in the possession of the king of Agim †.

When Baal Chund returned from the war, Marage, in reward of his bravery, appointed him ruler of Malava. This general is said to have built the castles of Gualier and Biana, and to have first introduced music into Hindostan, from the Tilingas of the Decan, among whom it was invented.

The dynasty of the posterity of Marage lasted seven hundred years after the death of Krishen, when Keshrorage ascended the throne. This prince was also of the race of the Marages, and had fourteen brothers, whom on his accession he dispatch'd into different countries; while he himself taking the way of Calpic, went into the Decan, by the city of Gunduar, and directing his march towards Shingeldiep, reduced that country into obedience, and regulated its government. Soon after, the Zemindars of the Decan joining in confederacy, exalted the spear of enmity, and day by day gained strength, till at last they ventured to advance their standards against the king. Keshrorage, seeing the inequality of his force, began to treat about a peace, which he obtained, and began his retreat.

Ceylon reduced.

Before Christ 1429. Dynasty of the Keshrorage commences.

Rebellion in the Decan.

* Feredoon and Minuchere seem to have been names common to all the Kings of Persia in those ages.

† Media.

Perfians aid
Keshrorage.

In the mean time, he sent presents to Minuchere, King of Iran, to demand assistance. Minuchere ordered Sham, the son of Nireman, with a great force, to his aid. Keshrorage met him at the town of Jillender, and received him with feasts and with joy. The confederate armies turned their standards towards the Decan, and the chiefs of the rebels began to be greatly affected with the terror of the troops of Iran. The regions of the Decan fell again into the hands of the King. When the country was settled in tranquillity, Keshrorage returned with his army to his capital of Oud, and from thence, accompanying Sham as far as Punjaab, dismissed him with presents to his prince Minuchere. Keshrorage returning home, spread the umbrella of justice over the head of his people, and gave them happiness, plenty and peace. His successors of the same name ruled Hindostan two hundred and twenty years, of whom we hear nothing remarkable, till Firose Ra ascended the throne of empire.

The Decan
reduced.

SECTION V.

Of the Reign of Firose Ra, and the Dissolution of the
Dynasty of the Keshrorage.

Before Christ
1209.
Firose Ra a
weak prince.

FIROSE RA, being versed in the Indian sciences of the Shashter, took great delight in the society of learned men, and entirely neglected the art of war. He expended his revenues in charities to Fakeers, and in building temples for the worship of God. He made two journeys to the city of Bahar, to which he granted large endowments, and built the town of Moneer. Among the bad actions of his life is related, that on the death of Sham, the son of Nireman, who was a great general under Minuchere*,

* King of Persia.

Afrasiab * having invaded the kingdom of Iran, Firose Ra ungratefully seiz'd the same opportunity to wrest the countries of Punjaab † and Jallender from that prince, notwithstanding the generous assistance of Persia to his father, in recovering the kingdoms of the Decan. Some ancient authors relate, that till the reign of Keikubad, the territories of Punjaab were annexed to those of Hindostan: But when the hero of the world, Rustum Dista ‡, gave grace to the throne of empire, he turned to the conquest of Punjaab; and Firose Ra unable to oppose his progress, withdrew his army to the mountains of Turhat. After Rustum had conquer'd Sind, Moulton and Punjaab, he advanced towards Turhat; and Firose Ra, in great terror, fled from thence to the mountains of Jarcund and Gundwarah; nor did he ever after see happiness, but gave up his soul to death. He is said to have reign'd one hundred and thirty-seven years, but this period must be understood, to include all the Kings who ruled under that name and title.

Seizes upon
Punjaab.

Deposed by
Rustum Dista.

Dynasty of the
Firose Ra
ends.

SECTION VI.

Of the Reign of Soorage; and the Dynasty of that Name.

WHEN the news of the death of Firose Ra reach'd the ears of Rustum, that hero, on account of his character and ingratitude to Minuchere, was not desirous that his son should succeed to his honours; he therefore placed a chief of the Hindoos, whose name

Before Christ
1072.
Soorage ascends the
throne.

* King of Turan or Great Tartary. He was one of the greatest conquerors of the East.

† The countries lying near the five heads of the Indus.

‡ Rustum Dista was King of Seistan, and for his great exploits he was reckoned the Hercules of the East.

was

A powerful
prince.

was Soorage, upon the throne, and he himself returned to Iran. Soorage became a powerful prince, and from the sea of Bengal, to that of Malabar, placed his viceroys and governors, and turned his mind to erect magnificent edifices, and to improve agriculture.

The worship
of idols intro-
duced.

In the reign of Soorage, a Brahmin from the mountains of Jaround appear'd, who was skill'd in the arts of enchantment, and who, insinuating himself into the favour of the King, instructed him in the practices of idolatry. It is said, that Hind continued, in imitation of his father, to worship the true God, and that his descendants followed his example; till in the time of Marage, a person came from Iran, and introduced the worship of the sun, moon and stars, and their proper symbol the element of fire: But the Brahmin, in the days of Soorage, having introduced the worship of Idols, in a manner obliterated all traces of the old religion; for then, every great family molded their silver and gold into images of their fore fathers, and setting them up as objects of worship, among their vassals, there arose in the land, Gods without number.

Soorage builds
Kinnoge.

Soorage built the city of Kinnoge, which he adorn'd with the temples of his Gods, and was intent upon the practice of idolatry. This city, being pleasantly situated on the banks of the Ganges, he constituted his capital; and it is said that the extent of the walls of Kinnoge was, at that time, fifty crores.

Duration of
the dynasty of
the Soorages.

The dynasty of the Soorages lasted two hundred and eighty-six years, during which time, they sent annual presents, by way of tribute, to the Kings of Iran.

SECTION VII.

Of Barage.

OF the race of the Surage we hear nothing particular till the ^{Before Christ} reign of Barage, who was the last of that family. ^{786.} When Barage mounted the throne of Hindostan, he enlarged the city of ^{Barage} Barage, and dignified it with his own name. ^{mounts the throne.} This city is situated to the north-west of Oud about forty crores, by the foot of the mountains. He is said to have wrote some books on the science of music, which were in great repute in antient times. We are also told, that he finished the city of Banaris, which his father had begun to build towards the latter end of his reign: But his disposition being somewhat tinctured with madness, he overturned the laws of ^{Is tyrannical,} Marage, which were founded on wisdom, and great disturbances arose in Hindostan. Keidar, a Brahmin, from the mountains of ^{Deposed.} Sewali, having collected a great army, invaded him, and having in the end, entirely defeated the King, wielded the scepter of government in his own hand. The reign of Barage is said to have been thirty-six years.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Reign of Keidar the Brahmin.

Before Christ
750.
Keidar, a
Brahmin, suc-
ceeds to the
throne.

Defeated and
dethroned by
Shinkol.

WHEN Keidar the Brahmin had claspt the bride of royalty in his arms *, being a man of learning and genius, he became a great King; but carrying the trappings of Kei Caous and Kei Chusero † on his shoulders, he was constrained, by way of tribute, to send them annual gifts. This prince laid the foundation of the castle of Killinger, upon a high rock, about thirty crores south from Allahabad, and lived to see it compleatly finished. In the latter end of his reign, one Shinkol, a native of Kinnoge, having strengthened himself, took possession of Bang ‡ and Behar, where he had been governor; and leading a great army against Keidar, after many battles had been fought with various success, the fortune of Shinkol at length prevailed. The reign of Keidar was nineteen years.

SECTION IX.

Of the Reign of Shinkol and of his Son and Successor Rhoat.

Before Christ
731.
Shinkol
mounts the
throne.

WHEN Shinkol had ascended the throne, he exerted himself in the military art, and affected great magnificence. The city of Lucknouti, which is famous by the name of Goura, he rebuilt and beautified, with many noble structures: That city is said to have been the capital of Bang for the space of two thousand

* A metaphorical expression for the empire.

† Kei-Caous and Kei-Chusero were Kings of Persia.

‡ The province of Bengal.

years, and was not destroyed till after the conquest of Timur, when Tanda became the seat of government in those parts.

Shinkol kept up a force of four thousand elephants of war, a hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. When, therefore, Afrasiab *, King of Iran, demanded his tribute, Shinkol, confiding in his own strength, refused to make any acknowledgment, but turned away the Persian ambassador with disgrace. Afrasiab being enraged at this treatment, one of his generals, whose name was Peiran, was commanded to march against Shinkol with fifty thousand chosen troops. When intelligence of this invasion came to Shinkol, he exalted the spear of defiance, and raising a great army, marched forth to meet him.

His great
army.

Refuses to pay
tribute to
Persia.

The two armies came in sight of each other near the hills of Koge, which are in the country of Koracut, on the frontiers of Bengala. The battle soon begun, and it lasted two days and two nights, without victory declaring on either side. The Turks †, doing justice to their former fame, had by this time laid fifty thousand of the Hindoos upon the field; yet, on account of the number of the enemy, the harvest seemed not to decrease before them: In the mean time, eighteen thousand of the smaller army being slain, a weakness appeared distinctly on the face of their affairs. However, urged as they were, they made a third attempt, and finding themselves overcome, they fought as they retreated to the mountains; there they took possession of a strong post, from which it was impossible to drive them: From this post, they continued with small parties, to harass the neighbouring country, and in the mean time, dispatched letters to Afrasiab, giving him an account of their situation.

Defeats the
Persians.

* Afrasiab was a common title of the Kings of Persia of the Tartar race.

† The word Turk signifies no more than a soldier in the Persian language, so that all their troops went by that name; Turks in this place must be understood of those whom we call Tartars.

Afrasiab was at that time in the city of Gingdis, which is situated between Chitta and Chin, and about a month's journey beyond the city of Balich. When he received intelligence of the situation of Peiran, he hastened to his relief with a hundred thousand horse, and came just in time to save him from destruction; for Shinkol had so closely invested him with a numerous army, that in a few days more he must have perished with famine, or submitted himself to the mercy of an enraged enemy. Afrasiab without delay assaulted Shinkol; the terrified Hindoos, unable to stand the combat, were dispersed like straw before the storm, leaving their wealth and equipage behind. When Peiran was relieved from his distress, Afrasiab pursued the enemy, and put thousands of them to the sword. Shinkol himself hastened to Bang, and came to the city of Lucknouti, but being closely pursued by Afrasiab, he tarried there only one day, and then fled to the mountains of Turhat. The Turks ravaged the whole kingdom with fire and sword.

But is overcome by Afrasiab, and Hindostan ravaged.

Afrasiab having received intelligence of Shinkol, he directed his march towards him. Shinkol immediately sent some of the wise men of his court to beg peace and forgiveness for his errors, soliciting that he might have the honour to kiss the foot of the lord of nations. Afrasiab yielded to his intreaties, and Shinkol, with a sword and a coffin, was brought into his presence. It was agreed between the kings that Shinkol should accompany Afrasiab to Turan, and that his son should have the empire restored to him upon condition of paying an annual tribute. Thus Shinkol continued to attend Afrasiab, who returned to his own dominions, till in one of the battles with Rustum * he was slain by that hero's sword.

Submits and is carried to Persia.

Before Christ 667. Rhoat a good prince.

Shinkol is said to have reigned sixty-four years. His son Rhoat, who succeeded him in the throne, was a wise, religious and affable

* Rustum seems to be a name common to all the kings of Sistan.

prince. The revenues of his empire, which extended from Kirmi to Malava, he divided into three parts; one of which he expended in charities, another he sent to Afrasiab for his tribute, in which there was a large surplus for the use of his father; and the other third was appropriated to the necessary expences of his government. His standing army upon this account was small, which induced the king of Malava, who was rich and powerful, to withdraw his neck from the yoke of obedience, and to seize upon the castle of Gualier, at the time that Raja Rhoat was busy in building the strong hold of Rho-tas, which still goes by his name. - When intelligence was brought to the King of the loss of Gualier, he assembled an army and led them against the Raja of Malava, but was forced to retreat. After Rhoat and his race had reigned eighty-one years, they went the way of their fathers, and having left no children to assume the ensigns of royalty, there arose great disturbances in the city of Kinnoge. A nobleman whose name was Merage, from the Rajaput tribe of Cutchwa, assumed at last the dignities of the empire. This prince we are told was a native of Marwar.

Tributary to
Persia.

The family of
Shinkol be-
come extirp.

S E C T I O N X.

Of the Reign of Merage.

AFTER Merage had firmly established himself upon the throne, he led an army towards Narval*, and punished the disobedient Zemindars of that country. Having built a port on the shores of the Salt Sea, he there constructed ships of wonderful invention to trade into foreign lands, and having settled the country in peace, returned to his capital, where he died, after a reign of forty

Merage suc-
ceeds to the
throne, be-
fore Christ
586.

Encourages
trade.

Dis.

* Guzerat.

years.

years. He was cotemporary with Gustasp, Emperor of Turkistan †, to whom he paid tribute.

SECTION XI.

Of the Reign of Kederage.

Before Christ
546.
Kederage.
Conquers
Punjaab.

But loses it
again.

KEDERAGE was nephew, by a sister, to the former King, and nominated by him for his successor. Rustum Dista the second being slain, and the ruler of Punjaab being a weak man, Kederage led an army that way, conquered it without much difficulty, and remained some time in Bhera, which is an ancient city. He built the fort of Jimbu, situated about forty crores from Lahore, on a mountain: then leaving one of his kinsmen, whose name was Wirick, to govern the country, he returned to his capital. But some time after two tribes of mountaineers, the Gickers and Joppies, collecting all the troops of Cabul and Kandahar, advanced against Kederage, and recovered all those territories, from which time these people have kept possession of the mountains, and are now called Afgans. Kederage reigned forty three years.

† Hytaspes, the father of Darius Hytaspes, King of Persia. It is remarkable, that the chronology of the Hindoos agrees almost exactly with Sir Isaac Newton. Newton fixes the commencement of the reign of Darius in the 521st year before Christ; so that if we suppose that Hytaspes made a figure in Turkestan twenty five years before the accession of his son to the throne of Persia, which is no ways improbable, the chronology of Hindostan agrees perfectly with that which Newton has established.

SECTION XII.

Of the Reign of Jeichund.

JEICHUND was commander in chief of the armies of the former King, and having the power in his hands, he mounted the throne at the death of his sovereign. In this reign a dreadful famine and pestilence devoured the land. The King neglecting the public calamity in the city of Biana, spent his time in riot and festivity. Many towns and villages upon this occasion became desolate, and the whole kingdom of Hindostan put on the aspect of ruin and distress. Jeichund, at the expiration of sixty years, withdrew into the regions of eternity. He was cotemporary with Bemim and Daraab, and sent them an annual tribute. He left one son of tender years, so that the mother of the child took the reins of administration into her hands; but being too weak to guide the chariot of empire, Delu, the brother of Jeichund, seized that opportunity of usurping the government.

Before Christ
503.
Jeichund.

A dissolute
prince.

Dies.

Delu usurps
the throne.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Reigns of Delu and the two Foor.

DELU was a prince uncommonly brave and generous, with a disposition benevolent towards men, and entirely devoted to his creator. He founded the city of Delhi in the fortieth year of his reign; but a Raja of his own family, whose name was Foor *, and who ruled the country of Cumaoon under him, rebelled, and having

Before Christ

443.
A brave and
generous
prince.

Foor or Porus
rebels.

* Foor was father to the famous Porus who fought against Alexander.

Defeats and
deposes Lelu.

His son ne-
glects to pay
the tribute to
Persia, and is
overthrown
and slain by
Alexander.
Before Christ
§30.

first secured that country, drew a great army together, and invaded the Emperor in Kinnoge. Thus a bloody war was commenced, in which the Emperor was taken prisoner and sent to be confined in the fort of Rhotas. Foor led his army towards Bang, and conquered the country as far as the ocean, and became a great and powerful prince: but his son Foor confiding in his strength, neglected to pay the customary tribute to the King of Iran, which drew the victorious army of the great Secunder * upon his head. Foor, notwithstanding, would not submit; but with an army numerous as the locusts, met Secunder at Sirhind, about eighty crores from Delhi, where a terrible battle was fought, in which he bravely lost his life with many thousands of his subjects.

When the great Secunder came to Hindostan, there was a Raja of the Decan, whose name was Bider, and founder of the castle of that name, who upon hearing of the victory of Secunder and the death of Foor, sent his son with great wealth to the conqueror to obtain peace, which being granted, and a mutiny arising in his army, Secunder returned to Iran.

Sinfarchund.

Pays the Per-
sian tribute.

After the death of Foor, and the return of Secunder, Sinfarchund assumed the imperial dignity, and in a short time regulated the empire; which was then in great confusion, but he neglected not to send his regular tribute to Kodirs and Nirsi, who at that time held the Sultanit of Iran.

Jonah,

a good prince.

After he and his family of the same name had reigned seventy years, a Raja whose name was Jonah, invaded the empire, and gained the ascendancy. Some say that Jonah was the nephew of Foor, but this is not well attested. However, when his fortune raised him to the throne, he became an excellent prince, taking great pains in peopling and cultivating the waste parts of his dominions, and found-

* Alexander the Great.

ing a lasting name of justice and benevolence. Aridshere * at this time was Emperor of Iran, and advanced with an army to the borders of Hindostan, when Jonah, in fear of his arms, hastened to make his submission, carrying with him a great number of warlike elephants, with a vast quantity of gold and jewels, which he presented to the Emperor and bought peace. He then returned to Kinnoge, and ruled in tranquillity for many years. He and his posterity reigned ninety years without doing any thing remarkable to the accession of Callian Chund to the imperial throne.

Submits to Persia.

SECTION XIV.

Of Callian Chund.

CALLIAN CHUND was a prince of an evil disposition, oppressive and tyrannical to his subjects, whose blood he shed without mercy. His cruelty occasioned many people of distinction to desert the country and fly to other kingdoms for protection, by which the lustre of the court and the beauty of the country were greatly diminished. At length faction began openly to raise her head, and all the dependant Rajas to appear in arms, so that being deserted by his own troops, he fled and died in obscurity.

Before Christ
170.
Callian
Chund a bad
prince.

Deposed.

From this period, we find nothing certain in the history of Hindostan to the time of Bickermagit, the Raja of Malava, who made a considerable figure in the world. We shall therefore make a short digression from the history of the Kings of Kinnoge, to give some account of him.

* Aridshere is the same with Arsaces, king of Parthia, who founded the Parthian or second Persian empire, about two hundred and fifty-six years before the christian era.

Bickermagit This Bickermagit was of the tribe of Tuar, and great things are recorded in the histories of the Hindoos, concerning the policy, justice and wisdom of his government. It is said that this prince in his youth, putting on the habit of a Fakeer, travelled over the world for many years in acquiring the arts, learning and policy of foreign nations. It was not however till the age of fifty that he became famous for his exploits in the field, to which they say he was impelled by divine command; which notion seemed indeed to be justified by his uncommon success, which soon paved his way to the throne. In a few months he entirely subdued the kingdoms of Narval and Malava, spreading the carpet of justice, and throwing the shadow of his protection over the heads of his subjects. The poets of those days praise his justice, by telling us that the magnet without his leave durst not exert its power upon iron, nor amber upon the chaff of the field; and such was his temperance and contempt of external grandeur, that he slept upon a mat, and reduced the furniture of his apartment to an earthen pot filled with water from the spring.

travels to foreign countries.

His great actions and good qualities.

Sets up an idol,

but worships the true God.

In his reign the city of Ugein was built, as also the fort of Daar, where he took up his residence. He is said to have set up the idol Makaal* in Ugein, and to have collected Brahmins, Fakeers, and Jogies, to attend that worship for the vulgar, while he himself worshipped only the infinite and invisible God. The time of his death before the writing of this history (in the year of the Higerah one thousand and fifteen) according to the account of the Hindoo writers, is fifteen hundred and sixty three years. He is said to have been cotemporary with Shawpoor † King of Iran.

Slain.

Bickermagit ‡ was slain in his old age, in a battle with the princes of the Decan, who had lifted up their standards against him upon the

* Great time.

† Shawpoor signifies, *the King of the city*, a title of the Kings of Persia, for some time after the dissolution of the first empire. It is the same name with Sapor, so famous in the Roman history.

‡ The æra of Bickermagit is that which is most commonly used by the Gentoos.

banks

banks of the river Nirbidda. The Hindoo historians have stretched the praise of this hero so far beyond the bounds of reason and probability, that the love of truth obliges us to be silent on this head. After the death of Bickermagit the kingdom fell into anarchy for some time, till Raja Boge drew the reins of government into his hands.

An interregnum.

Raja Boge also was of the tribe of Tuar, and in policy, justice, and government, followed the example of Bickermagit. In the discipline of his troops he was extremely active and vigilant, often going the rounds in disguise to see that they were watchful on their posts. He had a peculiar passion for architecture, which he gratified in building, restoring, and ornamenting many cities in his dominions. Hindia, Bijanagur, and Gircoon, were built in his reign. He was also much addicted to women, whom he collected into his Haram from all parts. Twice every year he made a grand festival, to which thousands of musicians and singers crowded for his entertainment. This festival continued for the space of forty days, in which nothing went on but dancing, singing and debauchery. The company, on the breaking up of the assembly, were presented each with a dress and other presents according to their rank. In this luxurious manner he reigned fifty years.

A. D. 240.
Raja Boge,

a good prince.

To return to the history of Kinnoge. After the expulsion of Callian Chund, the kingdom of Kinnoge remained in anarchy to the days of Basdeo, who having mounted the throne, recovered Bahar and Bengal, which had revolted, and began to restore the power and authority of his kingdom. Byram Gore, King of Iran, at that time, came in disguise to Hindostan, in the character of a merchant, to inform himself of the power, government and manners of that country. When he was entering the city of Kinnoge, it is related, that a wild elephant attacked him, who in the season of lust had rushed from the woods, killing and destroying all who came in his way. Byram

Basdeo reduces Bahar and Bengal.

The King of Persia comes in disguise to Hindostan.
A. D. 350.

Gore pierced the elephant's forehead with an arrow, by which he acquired great fame and popularity. This circumstance having reached the ears of the King, he was desirous of seeing the merchant, and *Is discovered.* ordered him to be brought into his presence. When one of the nobles who had gone to the court of Iran some years before with the tribute, discovered him to Basdeo, who being perfectly assured of the truth, descended from his throne and embraced him.

Byram Gore being constrained to assume his proper character, he *Treated with magnificence.* was treated with the utmost magnificence and respect while he remained at the court of Kinnoge, where he married the daughter of Basdeo, and returned in a short time to Iran. Basdeo and the princes his posterity, are said to have ruled the empire for eighty years. The country being torn to pieces by a civil war, which arose *Ramdeo.* between the descendants of Basdeo, Ramdeo, who had been general of the forces, excluded the royal line from the throne, and by consent of the nobility and troops, took the supreme authority into his own hands.

SECTION XV.

Of the Reign of Ramdeo Rhator.

A. D. 4,6. **R**AMDEO was of the tribe of Rhator, a prince bold, wise, and generous. The first thing he did on his accession, was to exterminate by degrees the chiefs and Rajas who assumed independency, and raised factions in the empire. Then he advanced with his army towards Marvar, and recovered that country from the tribe of Cutchwa, whom he dispossessed, and peopled it with that of Rhator, from which time they have possessed it*. The tribe of

* These are the Mahrattas, who at present make such a figure in India.

Cutchwa was sent to the precincts of Rhotas which they still inhabit. Ramdeo Rhator, after these transactions, returned and marched towards Lucknouti, which he took and gave to his nephew. Here great wealth fell into his hands, and after an expedition of three years he returned to Kinnoge, where he remained two years, and then marched his army towards Malava, which he conquered, and putting it in the hands of his Vizier, ordered many cities and towns to be built in that province. Having repaired the fort of Narvar, he appointed one of his kinsmen governor, and demanded the daughter of the Raja of Bijanagur in marriage, who, fearing the power of Ramdeo, complied. He remained in the city of Gundwara two years, where he slew many of the rebellious Zemindars, then returning to Kinnoge spent seven years in festivity and pleasure.

His great
actions.

Ramdeo afterwards went unto the mountains of Sawalic, and reduced all the Rajas of those parts; particularly the Raja of Comaon, whose ancestors, according to the fabulous history of the Hindoos, had reigned there ten thousand years. This Raja had drawn together a powerful army, with which he engaged Ramdeo in several great battles; so that for some time the war was doubtful. At length the fortune of Ramdeo prevailed, and the Raja of Comaon was forced to abandon his wealth, and take refuge in the inaccessible mountains*. His wives and daughters fell into the hands of Ramdeo, who having softened him to compassion, he restored to the Raja his country, and turned his face towards Nagracut, plundering the country till he reached Scutdimindi. There he halted out of respect to the temple of Bowani †, which was built near the fort of Nagracut, sending a person to call the Raja before him. The Raja afraid for his life, delayed for some time till he had received proper

* The mountains of Comaon lye about two hundred miles North from Delhi.

† Bowani is one of the names of the Goddess Fūkirti; concerning whom see the dissertation prefixed to this history.

assurances of personal safety, by the mediation of a Brahmin; and then he waited on the King, and exhibited the customs of obedience. Ramdeo went to pay his adoration to the idol, to whom he made rich offerings, then retiring, demanded the daughter of the Raja in marriage for his son, and marched to the fort of Jammu. The Raja of Jammu being strong in troops and well supplied with money and provisions, confiding in the strength of his fort and the inaccessibleness of the roads leading towards it, despised the summons of the King, and refused to bend to his commands, preparing himself for war. But in the first encounter in the field, his irregular troops, though singly brave, were discomfited before the united powers of the King, who driving him within his walls, immediately invested the place, and storming it in a few days, imprisoned what part of the garrison escaped the sword, and in the fort found great wealth.

The Raja having previously fled into the mountains, saw no hope but in peace, and therefore solicited the mercy of the King. Ramdeo reinstated him, taking one of his daughters for his second son. Directing his march from thence to the banks of the river Nerbet, which falls from the mountains of Cashmire into the districts of Punjab, he traversed the country of Hindostan to the salt sea of Bengal, where the great mountains of Sewalic press upon the ocean. He accomplished this march in five months, having reduced near five hundred disobedient Rajas and Zemindars. He plundered them of their wealth, and then turned his victorious standards towards his capital of Kinnoge, which he entered in pomp and triumph.

He soon after prepared a magnificent festival, and divided the spoil among his soldiers, the share of each being forty pieces of gold. Besides a third part of the spoil was thrown among the people. From this time forward he reposed upon the throne of ease and magnificence, nor ever afterwards mounted the horse of war to hunt for further conquests. After he had reigned fifty four years, he followed
his

his ancestors to the unknown world, from whence none return: But the great actions of his life rendered his fame immortal; for among the Kings of Hindostan, we are told by historians, that few have rivalled the greatness of Ramdeo. He was cotemporary with Firose Saffa, father of Keikubad, to whom he paid tribute.

SECTION XVI.

Of the Reign of Partab Chund.

UPON the death of Ramdeo, enmity broke out among his children, so that nothing but war, slaughter and death raged in the plains of Hindostan. In a short time, the great treasures which he had amassed, were expended, and desolation began to appear in the streets. The general of Ramdeo, whose name was Partab Chund, taking advantage of these family factions, gained confidence and popularity among the troops. He accordingly marched against the capital, and reduced it in a few days. His first care was to extirpate the royal family, that his power might be firmly established; then drawing many of the Rajas, by fair, but false promises into his power, he cut off the most formidable, by which means, the rest became obedient to his commands. This prince, by an uninterrupted course of success, began at length to devour the wind of pride, and neglected, for some years, to send the annual tribute to Iran, returning the ambassadors of Noshirwaan with empty hands and dishonour from his court. This usage provoked the resentment of the King of Iran, and he sent an army against Partab Chund; which having conquered and ravaged the countries of Cabul and Punjaab, threw him into great confusion; he therefore was forced to pay up his arrears, to advance the tribute of the ensuing year, and to make promises of future obedience.

A. D. 500.

PartabChund.

Neglects to pay the tribute to the Persians.

Is forced to pay it.

The empire declines.

After the death of Partab Chund, several of the neighbouring Rajas gaining power, formed independent governments, and left but a small part of the country in the hands of the heirs of the empire, infomuch that they lost the title of Rajas or Kings, and had that of Rana substituted in its place. Yet they possessed the mountains of Combilmere, and the adjacent countries of Chitor and Mindufur, till they were conquered by the successors of Timur.

SECTION XVII.

Of Annindeo, Maldeo, and the Diffolution of the Empire.

Annindeo.

ANNINDEO was of the sect of Bise, who, upon the death of Partab Chund, seized upon the country of Malava, and with rapidity of conquest, brought Narvalla, the country of the Marhattas, and the whole territory of Berar, into the circle of his obedience. To secure these conquests, he built the forts of Mahor, Rungiri and Mundo. He was cotemporary with Chusero * Purvese, and died after a reign of sixteen years. About this time, a person whose name was Maldeo, of obscure original, from the country of Duaab, raised himself to great power, and collecting a numerous army, took the city of Delhi from the descendants of Partab Chund; then directing his march to Kinnoge, soon reduced that capital to his obedience, which at that time, we are told, was so populous, that there were in the city thirty thousand shops in which arrecā † was sold, and sixty thousand sets of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to the government, from which we may judge of the amazing extent of this city. Maldeo, at the end of forty-two years, died, and as he had no issue, every petty Raja rendered himself indepen-

Reduces the Marhattas, &c.
A. D. 576.

Dies.

Maldeo.

Empire of the Hindoo, dissolved.

* King of Persia.

† A kind of nut, which the Hindoos use as the Europeans do tobacco.

dent. From that time forward, no imperial Raja ruled Hindostan; for when Sultan Mahmood Giznavi invaded that country, who was the first of the Islamite conquerors, he found it divided into small states. Kinnoge was governed by one Raja Korrah; Merat by Hirdit; Mahvin by Calchunder; Lahor by Jeipal, the son of Hitpal; and Callinger by Begera. Malava, Ajmere, Guzarat and Gualier had each their distinct Rajas, who were perfectly independent of one another; for this reason we shall quit the history of the Rajas, and begin with that of the conquest of the Islamites* in Hindostan.

* The Mahommedans.

VOL. I.

F

PART

P A R T II.

The History of the Empire of Ghizni.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the first Appearance of the Star of Islamism * in Hindostan, together with a summary Account of those Mahomedans, by whom the Empire of Ghizni was formed.

First invasion
of Hindostan
by the Ma-
hommedans.

TO minds enlightened like the sun, let it not remain a secret; That the first person of the faith who placed his foot within the boundaries of Hindostan, was Mohlib, the son of Abiul Sukur. The particulars of his history are these: In the twenty-eighth year of the Higerah; Abdulla, the son of Amir, governor of Bufforah, by the command of Osman, led an army towards Pharis, against the sovereign of that kingdom, who had revolted upon the death of Omar. Abdulla reduced his enemy to obedience, and returned victorious to Bufforah. In the thirtieth of the Higerah, Osman turned Olid Okbah, on account of his continuing to drink wine, from the government of Kufa, which he conferred upon Seid ben ul Afs. That commander marched the same year towards Tibiristan, accompanied by the two sons of Ali, Hassen and Hassein, and conquered the country of Jirju, whose capital is Ashtrabad, where he raised a contribution of forty thousand dinars. Abdulla ben Amir, ruler of Bufforah, on the part of Osman, in the thirty-first of the Higerah, marched to the conquest of Chorrasan, by the way of

* A metaphorical expression for the Mahomedan faith.

Kirman, and having reduced that country, Seistan, Keistan, Neshapoor, Sirchush, Herat, Badyeish, Ghore, Girghistan, Murve, Talickan and Balich, he entered into a treaty with a King of the northern regions whose name was Joos; having appointed Keis ben Hanim to the government of Chorrasan, Hanif ben Keis to the superintendency of Murve, Talickan and Neshapoor, and Chalid ben Abdulla to that of Herat, Ghore and Gerghistan, he himself being bent on a pilgrimage to Caba, marched back by the way of Hujage.

In the thirty-third year, Abdul Reiman, by order of Osman, having marched with an army against Balich, he and all his troops became martyrs to the faith, except a few, who escaped the sword and fled by the way of Gilan. Sharon, who was an Omrah of Agim, seeing that Abdulla ben Amir had gone a pilgrimage to Mecca, and that the plains of Chorrasan were clear of Persians and Mussulmen, raised in the same year an army of forty thousand men from Jibbis, Herat, Badyeish, Ghore, Keistan, and the adjacent countries, and fell upon the Mussulmen. But Abdulla Hazim, who was at Neshapoor with Hanif, with four thousand horse, attacked and defeated him; for which service he was afterwards rewarded with the government of Chorrasan.

In the forty-fourth year of the Higerah, Mavia ben Abessifian advanced Zeiad ben Abiera to the government of Bufforah, Chorrasan and Seistan; and in that year, Abdul Reiman ben Summera, according to the orders of Zeiad, conquered the country of Cabul, and bound them over to obedience.

About the same time, Mohlib ben abul Sukur, who was a great Mohlib Omrah of Arab, by the way of Murve, invaded Cabul and Zabul; then entering Hindostan, made war upon the idolators, ravaging enters Hindostan. the

the country of Limgan and its dependencies, and with twelve thousand captives returned to Chorrasan. A few of the inhabitants of Hind were converted at that time to the belief of the unity of God, and the embassy of his holy prophet.

In the fifty-third of the Higerah, Zuad, governor of Bufforah, died in consequence of a wound in his finger, and Mavia gave the government of Kufa to Abdulla his son. Abdulla led his troops against the country of Maver ul neer, which he conquered, and returned to Kufa; after which he got the government of Bufforah, and appointed Allim ben Zerait ul Gulabi to the government of Chorrasan: But in the year fifty-six, Mavia gave that appointment to Seid ben Osman Affan; and again, in the year fifty-nine, that government was changed into the hands of Abdul Reiman ben Zeiad.

In the sixty-second of the Higerah, Zeid ben Mavia appointed Zillim ben Ziad to rule over Chorrasan and Seistan. Among the chiefs who attended him, was Mohlib ben Abiull Sukur: This Zillim, when he had seated himself in the government, gave his brother Izid the government of Seistan, who hearing that the King of Cabul had imprisoned Abu Abida his brother, who had been collecting the tribute, he raised an army and marched towards him, but after an obstinate battle he was defeated, and lost the greatest part of his army.

Intelligence of this defeat coming to Zillim, he sent Tilla ben Abudulla to Cabul, who ransomed Abu-Abida for five thousand dirms. He then set aside his brother, and gave the government of Seistan to Tilla, who sent the troops of Ghore and Badyeish to Cabul, and by that means reduced that country to obedience, and conferred the government upon Chaled ben Abdulla. This Chaled
ben

ben Abdulla being ordered some time thereafter to return back and give an account of his administration, fearing the oppression of new rulers, with his family, wealth and friends, fled to the mountains of Soliman, which extend between Moultan and Peshawir, and there took up his abode. He married his daughter to one of the chiefs of the Afghans, who was a Mussulman: From this marriage sprung many children, two of whom became famous, Load and Soor, from whom the two great tribes of that name derive their origin. In the history of Muttelu ul Anwar, which is wrote by an author of good authority, it is related, that the Afghans are of the race of the Cibthi*, who were ruled by Pharaon †, and being expelled about the time of Moses, took up their residence in those mountains.

Origin of the Afghans.

But to return to our history. We are told, that this small colony under Caled, began to employ themselves in the cultivation of their grounds, and in breeding of cattle. When, therefore, Mahumud Casim, by the way of Sind, came to Moultan, he remained some time among them, and was hospitably entertained.

In the one hundred and forty-third of the Higerah, when they began to multiply exceedingly, they issued from their hills, and possessed themselves of Kirman, Peshawir and Shinwaran: In the mean time, the Raja of Lahore, who was in alliance with the Raja of Ajmere, entered into a design to humble them, and sent one of his Omrahs against them; but the Omrah was worsted and lost many of his men, upon which the Raja sent his nephew with an additional force of two thousand horse and five thousand foot.

Raja of Lahore designs to humble them,

but is worsted.

The Mussulmen of Cabul, Chillige and Ghore, hearing of these hostilities against their brethren, sent four thousand horse to the assistance of the Afghans, so that in the space of five months, above

* Copts or Egyptians.

† Pharaoh.

seventy different battles and skirmishes were fought with various success: When winter came on, the troops of Hindostan unable to bear the inclemency of the weather, were forced to retreat, but returned again in the spring. The two armies met between Kirman and Peshawir, where a battle was fought, in which the right wing of each army was victorious. The Raja of Lahore finding at last that he could not reduce them, was obliged to conclude a peace.

A war broke out at that time, between the Raja of Lahore and the tribe of Gicker, who entered into an alliance with the Afgans or Patans, which obliged the Raja to accommodate matters, and give up several districts to the Patans. The tribe of Chillige entered in the mean time into treaty with them, in which the Patans guaranteed the boundaries of Hindostan against any foreign invasion by the way of Iran. To be able to fulfil the terms of this treaty, they built the fort of Cheiber in the passes of the mountains, which obliged the troops of Samania to invade Hind, by the way of Sind and Battia.

When the government of Ghizni * fell to Abistagi, his general, whose name was Subuctagi, made some incursions into Limgan and Moultan, carrying off plunder and slaves; and the Patans not being able to cope with him in the field, sent an embassy to Jeipal † Raja of Lahore, for assistance. When Jeipal understood that his troops could not subsist in the winter season in those cold regions, he called Shech Amid, who was chief of the Afgans, conferred the title of general upon him; and made over some countries of Moultan and Limgan to enable him to carry on the war.

Abistagi dying about this time, Mahmud Subuctagi succeeded him: And Shech Amid finding it unadvisable to carry on the war,

* Ghizni was at that time a province of the empire of Bochara.

† Jeipal seems to have been the name of two or three successive Rajas of Lahore.

sent an ambaffador to him to propofe terms of accommodation, giving him to underftand, that as they were brethren of the fame faith, he was in hopes he would henceforth confider the Afgans as his friends; upon which conditions, he might pafs with his army unmolefted towards Hindoftan. Subuctagi gladly embraced this propofal, and marching againft Jeipal, defeated him, and gave Shul Ameid the Defeats Jeipal. government of Moultan. But Sultan Mahmood, the fon of Su- The Afgans reduced by Mamood. buctagi, in the abfence, and contrary to the policy of his father, made war upon the Afgans, and cut off many of their chiefs, bending the reft to the yoke of his commands.

SECTION II.

The Reign of Nafir ul-dien Subuctagi, the Founder of the Empire of Ghizni.

THOUGH the valiant Subuctagi never crossed the river of A. D. 975. Higer. 365. Subuctagi. Nilaab, nor attained to the government of Punjaab, yet authors have conferred upon him the honour of being the first Mahomedan King of Lahore. Subuctagi was originally a Turkish slave, and having fallen into the hands of Abiftagi, was, from a low His family and rife under Abiftagi. degree, in the reign of Samania *, raifed to the moft confiderable dignities of the kingdom; being appointed to the government of Choraffan, where he acquired great renown. When Abdul Mallick, the fon of Samania, died, the Omrahs of Bochara fent an embaffy to Abiftagi, to confult with him about a fucceffor. He told them that Munfur, the fon of Abdul Mallick, was as yet but a child, and no ways capable of fuftraining the weight of government: He therefore advised them to elect his uncle, but before the return of the ambaffadors, the Omrahs had advanced Munfur to the throne; who

* King of Bochara.

hearing

Abistagi re-
volts from the
empire of
Bochara.

hearing of the advice given by Abistagi, commanded that general back to Bochara; but Abistagi fearing the young King's resentment, refused to comply: He wisely considered that peaceable measures would only be to him the means of ruin, and he forthwith stood behind his disobedience, with thirty thousand men.

Secures to
himself
Ghizni and
Chorassan.

In the three hundred and fifty-first of the Higerah, he directed his march towards Ghizni, and having subdued that country by the edge of the sword, he exalted his standard of royalty*. In the mean time, Munfur, hearing that Abistagi had left Chorassan almost totally destitute of troops, ordered Abul Hassen to march with an army that way, but he was interrupted in his rout by Abistagi, who gave him two signal defeats, and obliged him to fly into Bochara. Abistagi immediately obtained the peaceable sovereignty of the kingdoms of Ghizni and Chorassan. During the fifteen years of the reign of Abistagi, he had employed Subuctagi, who had raised himself by his valour, to make depredations upon the Rajas of Hind, whom he plundered of much wealth.

Is succeeded
by his son,

When Abistagi, in the year three hundred and sixty-five, departed into the regions of eternity, his son Abu Isaac invaded Bochara; in which expedition, Subuctagi enjoyed the chief command. Munfur, King of Bochara, being worsted in some engagements, a peace was concluded; in which it was stipulated, that Abu Isaac should continue to enjoy the regency of Ghizni, under the direction of Subuctagi.

who dies.

Abu Isaac being very young and addicted to pleasure, he readily entrusted Subuctagi with the whole administration of affairs. The voluptuous King travelled soon the road of mortality, and the Omrahs

* That is, assumed the title of King.

of Ghizni, who admired the wisdom and bravery of Subuctagi, unanimously elected him their King, in the year three hundred and sixty-seven; the reign of Abu Isaac continuing only for two years. When Subuctagi ascended the throne, he married the daughter of Abistagi, and turning his mind wholly upon the art of government, he soon established justice in his dominions, and held the hearts of his subjects in his hand. There was at this time, a governor in the fort of Bust, of the name of Tigha, who was expelled by another chief called Bab Toor. Tigha, who was an independent Zemindar, on the borders of Ghizni, upon losing his fort and country, came and laid his complaint before the King, promising him tribute and obedience, if Subuctagi should restore him to his dignity.

A. D. 577.
Higer. 367.

Subuctagi
succeeds him.
A good
prince.

The King gave a favourable answer, and sent an army against Bab Toor, drove that chief from his new conquests, and put Tigha in quiet possession of his country; but Tigha no sooner found himself possessed of his inheritance, than he neglected all his promises to the King, and never once thought of sending his tribute. Subuctagi perceived this ingratitude, but he dissembled his resentment. Making soon after the circuit of his dominions, when he came near the territories of Tigha, he invited him to the chace. Finding himself alone with Tigha, the King took that opportunity to upbraid him with his ingratitude: Tigha, who was a daring and impetuous man, put his hand on his sword, on which the King also drew, but, in the combat, was wounded in the hand. Immediately a crowd of attendants poured in upon them, when a short but fierce conflict ensued, wherein Tigha and his adherents were soon put to flight, and so closely pursued by the troops of Subuctagi, that they entered the fort at his heels; Tigha leaped over the wall and fled towards Kirman.

Aids Tigha,

who is un-
grateful.

Tigha de-
feated.

A. D. 977.
Higer. 367.

It was here that Subuctagi met with Abul Fatti, who, in the art of writing, and in the knowledge of the sciences, had no equal: He had been formerly secretary to Bab Toor, and on his defeat had retired to enjoy his studies. Subuctagi hearing of him, called him into his presence, and having obtained proofs of his great abilities, made him his secretary, and dignified him with honourable titles. In that station Abul Fatti remained till the accession of Sultan Mamood, when he retired in disgust to Turkistan.

Subuctagi in-
vades Hin-
dostan.

Amir Subuctagi having conquered Bult, turned towards Kusdar, and taking the chief of that place prisoner, added his territory to his own dominions, giving the government of it to Actafs. He soon after resolved upon a war with the idolators of Hindostan, and towards the close of the year three hundred and sixty-seven, which was the first of his reign, he undertook that expedition; and having ravaged part of the countries of Cabul and Punjaab, he founded some mosques, and returned to Ghizni with great treasures.

Advances.
against Jeipal.

Jeipal, the son of Hitpal the Brahmin, ruled at this time, the country extending from Sirhind to Limghaan, and from Cashmire to Moulton; and kept his court at Lahore. Jeipal finding he could have no rest from the incursions of the Mussulmen, raised a great army with intent to invade them in their own country, which Subuctagi hearing, put his army in motion, and marched out to meet him. The Kings drew near one another at Limghaan, on the boundaries of their respective dominions: They skirmished for a few days, and Sultan Mamood, though then a boy, gave such signal proofs of his courage, that he drew tears of joy from the eyes of his father.

A miraculous
storm,

Historians, whose credulity exceed their wisdom, have told us, that on this occasion, a certain person informed the King, that in
the

the camp of Jeipal there was a spring, into which, if a small quantity of a certain drug, called Casurat, should be thrown, the sky would immediately be overcast, and a dreadful storm of hail and wind arise. Subuctagi having accordingly ordered this to be done, the effects became visible, for immediately the sky loured, and thunder, lightning, wind and hail began, turning the day into darkness, and spreading horror and desolation around; insomuch that a great part of the cavalry were killed, and some thousands of both armies perished; but the troops of Ghizni being more hardy than those of Hindostan, suffered not so much upon this occasion. Jeipal in the morning found his army in such weakness and dejection, by the effects of this storm, which was rather natural than the work of magic, that fearing Subuctagi would take advantage of his condition, he sent Heralds to treat of a peace: He offered to the King of Ghizni a certain tribute, and a considerable present in elephants and gold.

A. D. 977.
Higer. 367.

which induces
Jeipal to sue
for peace.

Subuctagi was not displeas'd with these terms, but his son, Sultan Mamood, who was an ambitious young man, fearing this would put an end to his expedition, prevail'd with his father to reject the proposal. Jeipal, upon this, told him that the customs of the Rajaputs were of such a nature, that if he persist'd in distressing them, it must make him, in the end, pay very dear for his victories. Upon such occasions, and when reduced to extremity, said Jeipal, they murder their wives and children, set fire to their houses, set loose their hair, and, rushing in despair among the enemy, drown themselves in the crimson torrent of revenge. Subuctagi hearing of this custom, he was afraid to reduce them to despair, and consented to let them retreat upon their paying a million of Dirms, and presenting him with fifty elephants. Jeipal not being able to discharge the whole of this sum in camp, he desired that some persons of trust,

A. D. 977.
Higer. 3/7. on the part of Subuctagi, should accompany him to Lahore to receive the ballance; for whose safety, Subuctagi took hostages.

His perfidy. Jeipal having arrived at Lahore, and finding Subuctagi had returned home, imprisoned his messengers, and refused to pay the money. It was then customary among the Rajas, in affairs of moment, to assemble the double council, which consisted of an equal number of the most respectable Brahmins, who sat on the right side of the throne; and of the noblest Kittries, who sat on the left. When they saw that Jeipal proceeded to such an impolitic measure, they intreated the King, saying, that the consequence of this step would bring ruin and distress upon the country; the troops said they have not yet forgot the terror of their enemy's arms; and Jeipal may rest assured, that a conqueror will never brook such an indignity: It was, therefore, the opinion of the double council, to comply strictly with the terms of the peace, that the people might enjoy the blessings of tranquillity; but the King was obstinate, and would not hearken to their advice.

Intelligence of what was done, soon reached the ears of Subuctagi; like a foaming torrent he hastened towards Hindostan with a numerous army, to take revenge upon Jeipal for his treacherous behaviour; Jeipal also collected his forces, and marched forth to meet him; for the neighbouring Rajas, considering themselves interested in his success, supplied him with troops and money. The Rajas of Delhi, Ajmere, Callinger and Kinnoge, were now bound in his alliance, and Jeipal found himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot; with which he marched with full assurance of victory.

Renews the
war,

When the moving armies approached each other, Subuctagi ascended a hill, to view the forces of Jeipal, which he beheld like a
shoreless

shoreless sea, and in number, like the ants or the locusts; but he looked upon himself as a wolf among a flock of goats: Calling therefore together his chiefs, he encouraged them to glory, and honoured them distinctly with his commands. His troops, though few in number, he divided into squadrons of five hundred each, which he ordered one after another, to the attack in a circle, so that a continual round of fresh troops harrassed the Indian army.

A. D. 978.
Higer. 368.

The Hindoos being worse mounted than the cavalry of Subuctagi, could effect nothing against them; so that wearied out with this manner of fighting, confusion became visible amongst them. Subuctagi perceiving their disorder, founded a general charge, so that they fell like corn before the hands of the reaper; and were pursued with great slaughter to the banks of the river Nilaab; where many, who had escaped the edge of the sword, perished by their fear in the waters.

and is de-
feated.

Subuctagi acquired in this action much glory and wealth; for besides the rich plunder of the Hindoo camp, he raised great contributions in the countries of Limghaan and Peshawir, and annexed them to his own dominions, joined them to his titles, and stamped their names, as was customary, upon his coins. One of his Omrahs, with three thousand horse, was appointed to the government of Peshawir; and the Afghans who resided among the mountains, having promised allegiance, he entertained some thousands of them in his army, and returned victorious to Ghizni.

Amir Noo Samani, King of Bochara, being at this time hard pressed by Faeck, sent Abu Niser Pharsi to Subuctagi to beg his assistance. Subuctagi was moved by gratitude to the family of Bochara, and hastened with his army towards Maverulnere, while Amir Noo advanced to the country of Sirchush to meet him. Subuctagi,

Subuctagi
solicited for
aid by the
King of
Bochara.

A. D. 978.
Higer. 368.

upon account of his age, sent a messenger to Amir Noo, to excuse his lighting from his horse; but when he advanced and recognized the features of his royal father, in the face of the young prince, he could not suppress the emotions of his heart. He leaped from his horse and run to kiss his stirrup, which the young King perceiving, prevented him by dismounting and receiving him in his embrace. At this happy interview the flower of joy bloomed in every face, and such a knot of friendship was bound as can hardly be paralleled in any age.

As the season was now too far advanced for action, it was agreed that Subuctagi should return, during the winter, to Ghizni, and prepare his forces to act in conjunction with those of Amir Noo in the spring. But when Amir Ali Sumjure, prince of Chorassan, at whose court Faek was then in treaty, heard of the alliance formed between Amir Noo and Subuctagi, he began to fear the consequence of his engagement with Faek. He asked his council where he should take protection, in case fortune, which was seldom to be depended upon, should desert his standards in war. They replied, that the situation of affairs required he should endeavour to gain the alliance of Fuchier ul Dowla, prince of Jirja. Jaffier zul Karmin was accordingly appointed ambassador to the court of Jirja, with presents of every thing that was valuable and curious: and in a short time a treaty of friendship and alliance was settled between the two powers.

The confederates join their armies.

Subuctagi in the mean time put his troops in motion, and marched towards Balich, where Amir Noo joined him with his forces from Bochara. The rebel Faek and Abu ali Sumjure hearing of this junction, with consent of Dara the general of Fuchir ul Dowla Wilami, marched out of Herat in great pomp and magnificence. Subuctagi pitched his camp in an extensive plain, where he waited for the enemy. They soon appeared in his front, he drew out his army in order of battle, and took post in the center, with his son Sultan Mahmood and Amir Noo.

In the first charge the troops of the enemy came forward with great violence and bravery, and pressed so hard upon the flanks of Subuctagi, that both wings began to give ground, and the whole army was upon the point of being defeated. But Dara ben Kabus, the general of Fuchir ul Dowla, charging the centre where Subuctagi in person led on his troops with great bravery, as soon as he had got near threw his shield upon his back, which was a signal of friendship, and riding up to the King, begged he would accept of his services. He then returned with the few who had accompanied him, and immediately brought over his troops to the side of Subuctagi, facing round on his deserted friends, who were astonished at this unexpected treachery. Subuctagi took immediate advantage of their confusion, charged them home, and soon put their whole army to flight, pursuing them with great slaughter, and taking many prisoners.

A. D. 978.
Higer. 363.

Defeat the
rebels.

Thus the unfortunate man who had exalted the spear of enmity against his sovereign, lost his honour and his wealth, a tenth of which might have maintained him and his family in splendor and happiness for life.

Faek and Abu Ali took in their flight the way of Neshapoor, with the scattered remains of their army. Amir Noo and Subuctagi entered forthwith the city of Herat, where they remained a few days to refresh their troops and divide the spoil. Subuctagi after this signal victory received the title of Nafir ul Dein, or the Supporter of the Faith, and his son Mamood was dignified with that of Seif ul Dowla, or the Sword of Fortune, by Amir Noo, whom he still acknowledged as Emperor, though his power had been greatly diminished at this period.

Amir

A. D. 973.
Higer. 368.

Amir Noo, after these transactions, directed his march to Bochara, and Subuctagi, and his son Sultan Mamood turned their faces towards Neshapoor. Faeck and Abu Ali fled into Jirja, and took protection with Fucher ul Dowla. The country being thus cleared of the enemy, Subuctagi returned to Ghizni, while his son Sultan Mamood remained at Neshapoor with a small force. Faeck and Abu Ali seizing upon this opportunity, collected all their forces, marched towards Mamood, and before he could receive any assistance from Amir Noo, or his father, he was compelled to an engagement, in which he was defeated and lost all his baggage.

Mamood, the
son of Subuc-
tagi, defeated.

Subuctagi
comes to the
aid of his son.

Subuctagi hearing of the situation of his son, hastened towards Neshapoor, and in the districts of Toos, meeting with Abul Ali and Faeck, engaged them without delay. In the heat of the action a great dust was seen to rise in the rear of Abul Ali, which proved to be Sultan Mamood; and Faeck and Abul Ali finding they would soon be attacked on both sides, made a resolute charge against Subuctagi, which was so well received that they were obliged to give ground. Sultan Mamood arriving at that instant attacked them like an angry lion, and they unable to support the contest, turned their face to flight, and took refuge in the fort of Killat.

The rebels are
again totally
overthrown.

A. D. 977.
Higer. 387.

Subuctagi
dies.

Subuctagi after this victory, according to his heart's desire, reposed upon the musnad of empire, till in the year 387, which was the 56th of his age, death overtook him, in the town of Turmuz near Balich.

Subuctagi reigned twenty years. Fourteen Kings of his race held after him Lahore and the countries adjacent, within the circle of their command. The Vizier of Subuctagi was Abul Abas Fazil ben Amud Ispherai, who was a great minister in the management of both civil and military affairs. The author of the Jam ul Hickaiat relates, that

that Subuctagi was at first a private horseman in the service of Abif-
 tagi, and being of a vigorous and active disposition used to hunt every
 day in the forest. It happened one time as he employed himself in
 this amusement, that he saw a deer grazing with her young fawn,
 upon which, spurring his horse, he seized the fawn, and tying his
 legs laid him across his saddle and turned his face towards his home.
 When he had rode a little way, he looked behind and beheld the
 mother of the fawn following him and exhibiting every mark
 of extreme affliction. The soul of Subuctagi melted within him
 into pity, he untied the feet of the fawn and generously restored him
 to his liberty. The happy mother turned her face to the wilderness,
 but often looked back upon Subuctagi, and the tears dropt fast from
 her eyes.

A. D. 997.
 H ger. 387.
 His character.

Subuctagi is said to have seen that night a figure or apparition in
 his dream, who said to him, That generosity and compassion which
 you have this day shown to a distressed animal has been approved of
 in the presence of God: therefore, in the records of Providence, the
 kingdom of Ghizni is marked as a reward against thy name. But
 let not greatness destroy your virtue, but thus continue your benevo-
 lence to men.

It is said in the Masir ul Maluck, that Sultan Mamood his son,
 having built a pleasure house in an elegant garden near the city of
 Ghizni, he invited his father when it was finished to a magnificent
 entertainment which he had prepared for him. The son, in the joy
 of his heart, desired the opinion of Subuctagi concerning the house
 and garden, which were esteemed admirable in taste and structure.
 The old man, to the great disappointment of Mamood, told him, that
 he looked upon the whole as a bauble, which any of his subjects might
 have raised by the means of wealth. But that it was the business of a
 prince to erect the more durable structure of good fame which might

A. D. 907.
Higer. 387.

stand for ever, to be imitated but never to be equalled by posterity. The great poet Nizami makes upon this saying the following reflection. Of all the magnificent palaces which we are told Sultan Mahmood built, we now find not one stone upon another; but the edifice of his fame, as he was told by his father, still triumphs over time, and seems established on a lasting foundation.

S E C T I O N III.

The Reign of Amir Ismaiel ben Nasir ul dien Subuctagi.

A. D. 997.
Higer. 387.

Ismaiel succeeds his father Subuctagi.

SUBUCTAGI dying suddenly, and his eldest son, Sultan Mahmood, being at Neshapoor, which was a considerable distance from the place of the King's decease, Amir Ismaiel prevailed with his father, in his last moments, to appoint him to succeed till the return of his brother. The reason assigned for this demand, was to prevent other usurpations, which were then feared in the government. Ismaiel therefore, immediately upon the demise of his father, was crowned with great solemnity at Balich. To gain popularity, Ismaiel opened the treasury and distributed the greatest part of his father's wealth in presents to the nobility, and in expensive shews and entertainments to the people. He also augmented the pay of the troops, and rewarded small services with the hand of prodigality.

This policy being overacted had not the desired effect. The nobility perceiving that all this generosity proceeded from the fear of his brother, ungenerously increased their demands, while the troops puffed up with pride by his indulgences, began to be mutinous, disorderly and debauched.

When

When intelligence was brought to Mamood of the death of his father, and the accession of his younger brother, he wrote to Ismaiel by the hand of Abul Hassen. In this letter he said thus, That since the death of his royal father, he held none upon earth so dear as his beloved brother Amir Ismaiel, whom he would oblige to the full extent of his power. But that the art of government required years, experience, wisdom and knowledge, in the affairs of state, which Ismaiel could not possibly pretend to possess, though Subuc-tagi had appointed him to succeed to the throne in the absence of Mamood. He therefore advised Ismael seriously to consider the matter, to distinguish propriety from impropriety, and to give up his title to government without further dispute, which would restore him to the love and generosity of Mamood; for that it was his original intention to confer upon Ismaiel the governments of Balich and Choraffan.

A. D. 977. A
Higer. 337.
Mamood's
behaviour,
upon his bro-
ther's accef-
sion.

Amir Ismaiel shut his ears against all the proposals of his brother, and prepared for his own security, turning the edge of the sword of enmity against him. Sultan Mamood saw no remedy but in war, and attaching his uncle Bujerac, and his brother Nisir to his interest, advanced with his standards towards Ghizni, while Amir Ismaiel hastened also from Balich to oppose him. When the two armies approached towards one another, Sultan Mamood took great pains to avoid coming to extremities, and in vain tried to reconcile matters in an amicable manner. He was therefore forced to form his troops in order of battle, while Amir Ismaiel also extended the lines of war, which he supported by a chain of elephants. Both armies unsheathing their steel, commenced such a slaughter that the swords wept blood. Sultan Mamood at length charged the center of the enemy with such fury that they trembled as with an earthquake, and turned their faces to flight; taking refuge in the citadel of Ghizni. Thither the conqueror pursued them, and immediately invested the

200 A
1091 H
War between
the brothers.

A. D. 997.
Higer. 387.
Ismaiel de-
feated and
taken.

place. Such a prodigious number of the runaways had crowded into Ghizni, that for want of provisions Amir Ismaiel was reduced to the necessity of treating about a surrender. Having therefore received promises of safety, he submitted himself, and delivered up the keys of the garrison and the treasury to Sultan Mamood.

Mamood having appointed a new ministry, and regulated the government of the country, proceeded with his army towards Balich. It is said, that a few days after the submission of Amir Ismaiel, he was asked by his brother, What he intended to have done with him had his better fortune prevailed? To which Ismaiel replied, That he intended to have imprisoned him for life in some castle, and to indulge him with every pleasure but his liberty. Upon which Sultan Mamood made no reflections at that time, but soon after confined him in the fort of Georghan, in the manner that he himself had intimated, where he remained till his death, which happened not long after his being deposed.

Is imprisoned
and dies.

S E C T I O N IV.

The History of the Reign of Amin ul Muluc, Emin ul Dowla, Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi, from his Accession to the Year 403.

A. D. 997.
Higer. 387.
Accession of
Mamood.
His character.

WE are told by historians, that Sultan Mamood was a King who conferred happiness upon the world, and reflected glory upon the faith of Mahomed: that the day of his accession illuminated the earth with the bright torch of justice, and cherished it with the beams of beneficence. Others inform us, that in his disposition

position, the fordid vice of avarice found place, which however could not darken the other bright qualities of his mind. A certain poet says, that his wealth was like a pearl in the shell; but as poets hunt after wit rather than truth, therefore we must judge of Mamood by his actions, from which it appears that he was indeed a prince of great oeconomy, but that he never withheld his generosity upon a just and proper occasion. We have the testimony of the Fatti Bilad, wrote by Abu Nisir Muscati, and of the famous Abul Fazil, that no King had ever more learned men at his court, kept a finer army, or displayed more magnificence than Sultan Mamood. All these things could not be done without expence; so that the stigma of avarice must have been owing to two particular circumstances of his life, which ought by no means to have stamped his general character with that fordid vice.

The two circumstances in a few words were these. Having a great propensity to poetry, in which he made some tolerable progress himself, he promised Sheck Phirdoci a golden mher * for every verse of an heroic poem which he was desirous to patronize. Under the protection of this promise, that divine poet wrote the unparalleled poem called the Shaw Namma, which consisted of sixty thousand couplets. When he presented it to the King, he repented of his promise, telling the poet, that he thought sixty thousand rupees might satisfy him for a work which he seemed to have performed with so much ease and expedition. Phirdoci justly offended at this indignity, could never be brought to accept of any reward, though Sultan Mamood would after reflection have gladly paid him the sum originally stipulated; the poet, however, took ample revenge in a satire of seven hundred couplets which he wrote upon that occasion.

* A mher is about fourteen rupees; this coin was called mher from having a sun stamped upon it. Mher signifies *the sun*, in the Persian.

A. D. 997.
Higer. 337.
His perion.

Sultan Mamood, who it is reported was defective in external appearance, said one day, observing himself in a glass, "The sight of a King should brighten the eyes of the beholders, but nature has been so capricious to me that my aspect seems the picture of misfortune." The Vizier replied, It is not one of ten thousand who are blessed with a sight of your majesty's countenance, but your virtues are diffused over all. But to proceed with our history.

His justice.

A golden mine.

We have already observed that the father of Sultan Mamood was Subuctagi. His mother was a princess of the house of Zabulstan, for which reason she is known by the name of Zabuli. He was born in the year 357 of the Higerah, and as the astrologers say, with many happy omens expressed in the heroscope of his fate. Subuctagi being asleep at the time of his birth, dreamed that he beheld a green tree springing forth from his chimney, which threw its shadow over the face of the earth, and screened from the storms of heaven the whole animal creation. This indeed was verified by the justice of Mamood; for if we can believe the poet, in his reign the wolf and the sheep drank together at the same brook. In the first month of his reign a vein of gold, resembling a tree of three cubits in circumference, was found in Seistan, which yielded pure gold till the reign of Sultan Mufaood, when it was lost in consequence of an earthquake.

Mamood's complaint to Munfur, King of Bochara, is ill received.

When Sultan Mamood had settled his dispute with his brother, he hastened to Balich, from whence he sent an ambaffador to Amir Munfur, Emperor of Bochara, complaining of the indignity which he met with in the appointment of Buctufin to the regency of Chorassan: it was returned to him for answer, that he was already in possession of the territories of Balich, Turmuz, and Herat, which held of the empire; and that there was a necessity to divide the favours of Bochara among her friends. Buctufin, it was also insinuated, had been a faithful and good servant.

But

But Sultan Mamood, not discouraged by this answer, sent Abul Hassen Jemmavi with rich presents to the court of Bochara, and a letter in the following terms. "That he hoped the pure spring of friendship which had flowed in the time of his father should not now be polluted with the ashes of indignity, nor he himself reduced to the necessity of divesting himself of that obedience which he had hitherto paid to the imperial family of Samania."

A. D. 998.
Higer. 389.

When Abul Hassen delivered his embassy, his capacity and elocution appeared so great to the Emperor, that desirous to gain him over to his interest by any means, he bribed him at last with the honours of the Vizarit*, but never returned an answer to Mamood. Sultan Mamood having received information of this transaction, through necessity turned his face towards Neshapoor; and Buctusin advised of his intention abandoned the city, and sent the Emperor intelligence of his situation. Amir Munfur, upon this, exalted the imperial standard, and in the rashness of inexperienced youth, hastened towards Chorrassan, and halted not till he arrived at Sirchus. Sultan Mamood, though he well knew that Amir Munfur was in no condition to oppose him, yet gratitude to the imperial family of Samania wrought so much upon his mind, that ashamed of measuring spears with his Lord, he evacuated the country of Neshapoor, and marched to Murghab. Buctusin in the mean time treacherously entered into a confederacy with Faeck, and forming a conspiracy in the camp of Amir Munfur, seized upon the person of that prince, and cruelly put out his eyes. Abdul, the younger brother of Munfur, who was but a boy, was advanced by the traitors to the throne. Being however afraid of the resentment of Sultan Mamood, the conspirators hastened to Murve, whither they were pursued by the Sultan with great expedition. Finding themselves, upon their march, hard

War between
Mamood and
Munfur.

The eyes of
Munfur put
out by his
own officer.

of the empire, and
of Bochara,
it received

* The office of Vizier.

pressed

A. D. 999.
Higer. 390.
They are
overthrown by
Mamood.

pressed in the rear by Mamood, they halted and gave him battle. But the sin of ingratitude had darkened the face of their fortune, so that the gales of victory blew upon the standards of Sultan Mamood. Faeck carried off the young king, and fled to Bochara, and Buçtufin was not heard of for some time, but at length he found his way to Faeck, and begun to collect his scattered troops. Faeck in the mean time fell sick, and soon went into the regions of death. Elich Chan seizing upon the opportunity offered him by that event, marched with an army from Kashgar to Bochara, and rooted Abdul Mallick and his adherents out of the empire and the soil of life.

The royal
family of Bo-
chara extir-
pated.

Thus the prosperity of the house of Samania, which had continued for the space of one hundred and twenty-seven years to illuminate the firmament of empire, set for ever in darkness.

Sultan Mamood at this juncture, employed himself in settling the government of the countries of Balich and Chorrassan, which he regulated in such a manner, as to exalt the voice of his fame so high, that it reached the ears of the Calipha of Bagdat, Al Kadir Billa Abbaffi. The Calipha sent him a rich Chelat *, such as he had never before bestowed on any King, and dignified Mamood with the titles of Amin ul Muluck Emin ul Dowla †.

Mamood's
first expedition
to Hindostan.

In the end of the month Zicada, in the year three hundred and ninety, the Sultan hastened from Balich to Herat, and from Herat to Seistan, where he defeated Chiliph ben Amid the governor of Bochara, and returned to Ghizni. He then turned his face to Hindostan, took many forts and countries; in which having settled his own governors, he again returned to his dominions, where he spread the carpêt of justice so smoothly upon the face of the earth, that the love of him, and loyalty gained place in every heart. Having at the

* Chelat signifies an honorary dress.

† The protector of the state, and the treasurer of fortune.

same time set a treaty on foot with Elich Chan, he had the province of Mavir'ul Nere ceded to him, for which he made an ample return in presents of great value; and the strictest friendship, and greatest familiarity, for a long time subsisted between the Kings.

Sultan Mamood having made a vow, that if ever he should be blessed with tranquillity in his own dominions, he would turn his arms against the idolators of Hindostan, marched in the year three hundred and ninety-one from Ghizni, with ten thousand of his chosen horse, and came to Peshawir, where Jeipal †, with twelve thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, supported by three hundred chain-elephants, opposed him on Saturday the eighth of Mohirrim, in the three hundred and ninety-second of the Higer. An obstinate battle ensued, in which, Sultan Mamood was victorious; Jeipal, with fifteen of his principal friends, was taken prisoner, and five thousand of his troops lay dead upon the field. Sultan Mamood in this action acquired great fame and wealth, for round the neck of Jeipal only, were found sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at one hundred and eighty thousand rupees.

After this victory, the Sultan marched from Peshawir, and investing the fort of Bitinda, reduced it, and releasing his prisoners upon the payment of a large ransom and a stipulation of an annual tribute, returned to Ghizni. It was in those ages a custom of the Hindoos, that whatever Raja was twice worsted by the Mussulmen, should be, by that disgrace, rendered unfit for further command. Jeipal in compliance to this custom, having raised his son to the government, ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, upon which he sacrificed himself to his Gods.

In the Mohirrim of the year three hundred and ninety-three, Mamood again marched into Seistan, and brought Chiliph, who

† Raja of Lahore.

A. D. 1002.
Hijer. 379.

had misbehaved in his government, prisoner to Ghizni. Finding that the tribute from Hindostan had not been paid in the year three hundred ninety-five, he directed his march towards the city of Battea; and leaving the boundaries of Moultan, arrived at Tahera, which was fortified with an exceeding high wall, and a deep broad ditch. Tahera was at that time governed by a Raja, called Bachera, who had, in the pride of power and wealth, greatly molested the Mahommedan governors, whom the Sultan had established in Hindostan. Bachera had also refused to pay his proportion of the tribute to Annindpal, the son of Jeipal, of whom he held his authority.

When Sultan Mamood entered the territories of this Raja, he drew out his troops to receive him, and taking possession of strong posts, continued to engage the Mahommedans for the space of three days; in which time, they suffered so much, that they were on the point of abandoning the attack: But on the fourth day, Sultan Mamood spoke at the head of his troops, and encouraged them to glory. He concluded with telling them, that this day he had devoted himself to conquest or to death. Bachera, on his part, invoked the Gods at the temple, and prepared with his former resolution to repel the enemy. The Mussulmen advanced with great impetuosity, but were repulsed with slaughter; yet returning with fresh courage, and redoubled rage, the attack was continued till the evening, when Sultan Mamood turning his face to Caba *, invoked the aid of the prophet in the presence of his army.—“Advance, advance, cried then the Sultan, our prayers have found favour with God.”—Immediately a great shout arose among the host, and the Mussulmen pressing forward, as if they thirsted for death, obliged the enemy to give ground, and pursued them to the gates of the town.

* The holy temple of Mecca.

Sultan Mamood having next morning invested the place, gave orders to make preparations for filling up the ditch; which in a few days was nearly completed. Bachera finding he could not long maintain the town, determined to leave only a small garrison for its defence; and accordingly one night, marched out with the rest of his troops, and took post in a wood on the banks of the Sind. The Sultan being informed of his retreat, detached part of his army to pursue him. Bachera by this time was deserted by his fortune and by the most of his friends; he found himself surrounded by the Muffulmen, and he attempted, in vain, to force through them his way: Being just upon the point of being taken prisoner, he turned his sword against his breast, and the most of his adherents were slaughtered in attempting revenge. Sultan Mamood had in the mean time taken Tahera by assault. He found there one hundred and twenty elephants, many slaves, and rich plunder, and annexing the town and its dependencies to his own dominions, he returned victorious to Ghizni.

A. D. 1004.
Higer. 395.
Defeats Bachera,

who kills himself.

In the year three hundred and ninety-six, he formed the design of re-conquering Moulton, which had revolted from his obedience. Shuh Amid Lodi, the regent of Moulton, had formerly paid Mamood allegiance, and after him, his grandson Abul Fatte Daood; till the expedition against Raja Bachera, when he withdrew his loyalty.

Mamood's fourth expedition into India.

The king marched in the beginning of the spring; with a great army from Ghizni, and was met by Annindpal, the son of Jeipal, in the hills of Peshawir, whom he defeated and obliged to fly into Cashmire. Annindpal had entered into an alliance with Abul Fatte, and as there were two passies only, by which the Mahommedans could enter Moulton, Annindpal had taken upon himself to secure that by the way of Peshawir, which Sultan Mamood chanced

Defeats Annindpal, Raja of Lahore.

A. D. 1025. Higer. 396. to take. The Sultan returning from the pursuit, entered Moultan, by the way of Betinda, which was his first intention. When Abub Fatte received intelligence of the fate of Annindpal, thinking himself too weak to keep the field, he shut himself up in his fortified places, and submissively solicited forgiveness for his faults, promised to pay a great tribute, and for the future, to obey implicitly the Sultan's commands. Mamood received him again as a subject, and prepared to return to Ghizni, when news was brought to him from Arfilla Hajib, who commanded at Herat, that Elich Chan had invaded his government with an army. The Sultan hastened to settle the affairs of Hindostan, which he put into the hands of Shockpal, an Hindoo prince, who had been with Abu Ali Sumjure in Peshawir, and had turned Mussulman by the name of Zab Sais.

Misunder-
standing be-
tween Ma-
mood and
Elich Chan,

who invades
Chorassan.

The particulars of the war of Mamood with Elich Chan are these: We have already mentioned that an uncommon friendship had subsisted between this Elich Chan, King of Kashgar, and Sultan Mamood. The Sultan himself was married to the daughter of Elich Chan, but some factious men about the two courts, by misrepresentations of the princes to one another, changed their former friendship into enmity. When Sultan Mamood therefore marched to Hindostan, and had left the fields of Chorassan almost destitute of troops, Elich Chan took that opportunity, and resolved to appropriate that province to himself. To accomplish his design, he ordered his chief general Sipistagi, with a great force, to enter Chorassan; and Jassier Tighi, at the same time, was appointed to command in the territory of Balich. Arfilla Hajib, the governor of Herat, being informed of these motions, hastened to Ghizni, that he might secure the capital. In the mean time, the chiefs of Chorassan finding themselves deserted, and being in no condition to oppose the enemy, submitted themselves to Sipistagi.

But

But Sultan Mamood having by great marches reached Ghizni, he poured onward like a torrent, with his army towards Balich. Jaffier Tighi, who had by this time possessed himself of the place, fled towards Turmuz at his approach. The Sultan then detached Arfilla Hajib with a great part of his army, to drive Sipistagi out of Chorrassan; and he also, upon the approach of the troops of Ghizni, abandoned Herat, and marched towards Mavir ul Nere.

A. D. 1006.
Higer. 397.
Mamood
marches
against him.

Elich Chan seeing the bad state of his affairs, solicited the aid of the King of Chutun Kudir Chan, who marched to join him with fifty thousand horse. Strengthened by this alliance, he crossed, with the confederate armies, the river Gion, † which was five pharsangs from Balich, and opposed himself to the camp of Sultan Mamood. The Sultan immediately drew up his army in order of battle, giving the command of the center to his brother Amir Nifir, supported by Abu Nifir Faioon, regent of Gorgan, and by Abdulla Jaï, a chief, of reputation in arms. The right wing he committed to the care of Alta Sash, an old experienced officer, while the left was the charge of Arfilla Hajib, an Omrah of the Afghans. The front of his line he strengthened with five hundred chain-elephants, with intervals behind them, to facilitate their retreat.

Elich Chan posted himself in the center; Kudir Chan led the right, and Jaffier Tighi the left. The armies advanced to the charge. The shouts of warriors, the neighing of horses, and the clashing of arms rent the ears of the firmament; while dust obscured the face of day. The flame of war was at once blown up by a storm of rage; and the clay of the field was tempered with blood. The fountains of life were opened by the edge of the sword, and the sharp point of the deathful spear.

Comes to battle with Elich Chan,

† The Oxus.

A. D. 1005.
Higer. 397.

Elich Chan advancing with some chosen squadrons, threw disorder into the center of Sultan Mamood's army, and was busy in the affairs of death. Mamood perceived his progress, leaped from his horse, and kissing the ground, invoked the aid of the Almighty. He instantly mounted an elephant of war, encouraged his troops, and made a violent assault upon Elich Chan. The elephant seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy, folded round him his trunk, and tossed him aloft into the sky. He then pressed forward like a mountain removed from its place by an earthquake, and trod the enemy like locusts under his feet.

who is totally
overthrown.

When the troops of Sultan Mamood saw their King forcing thus his way alone through the enemy's ranks, they rushed on with headlong impetuosity, and drove the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elich Chan abandoned by fortune and his army, turned his face to flight. He crossed the river with a few of his surviving friends, never afterwards appearing in the field to dispute glory with Sultan Mamood.

Mamood's
army in
distress.

The Sultan after this victory proposed to pursue the enemy, which was thought unadvisable by his generals, on account of the inclemency of the season, it being then winter, and the troops hardly capable of motion: But the king was positive in his resolution, and marched two days after the runaways. On the third night, a great storm of wind and snow overtook the army of Mamood in the desert. The king's tents were with much difficulty pitched, while the army was obliged to lie in the snow. Mamood having ordered great fires to be kindled around his tents, they became so warm, that many of the courtiers began to turn off their upper garments; when a facetious chief, whose name was Dilk, came in shivering with cold. The King observing him, said, Go out Dilk, and tell the Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for here we value not his resentment.

ment. Dilk went out accordingly, and returning in a short time, kissed the ground, and thus presented his address. " I have delivered the Sultan's message to Winter, but the surly season replies, that if his hands cannot tear the skirts of the King and his attendants, yet he will so execute his power to night on his army, that in the morning his Majesty shall be obliged to saddle his own horses."

A. D. 1007.
Higer, 398.
Facetious answer of an officer to Mamood.

The King smiled at this reply, but it presently rendered him thoughtful, and determined him to proceed no farther. In the morning some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished with the cold. Mamood at the same time received advice from Hindostan, that Zab Sais had thrown off his allegiance, and returning to his former religion, expelled all the officers who had been appointed by the King, from their respective departments. The Sultan immediately determined to punish this revolt, and with great expedition, advanced towards India. He detached some part of his cavalry in front, who coming unexpectedly upon Zab Sais, defeated him, and brought him prisoner to the King. The rebel was fined in four lacks of rupees, of which the Sultan made a present to his treasurer, and kept Zab Sais a prisoner for life.

Mamood defeats and takes Zab Sais.

The King having thus settled his affairs in Hindostan, returned in autumn to Ghizni, where he remained for the winter, in peace. But in the spring of the year three hundred and ninety-nine, Annindpal began to raise disturbances in Moultau, so that Mamood was obliged to undertake another expedition into those parts, with a great army, to correct the Hindoos. Annindpal hearing of the Sultan's intentions, sent ambassadors every where to request the assistance of the other Rajas of Hindostan; who considered the extirpation of the Mussulmen from Hindostan, as a meritorious and political action.

Annindpal raises disturbances.

Mamood's fifth expedition into India.

The

A. D. 1658.
Page 39.
The Rajas
considered
against him.

The Rajas of Ugein, Gualiar, Callinger, Kinnoge, Delbi and Ajmere, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards Punjaab with the greatest army that had been for some hundreds of years seen upon the plains of Hindostan. The two armies came in fight of one another in a great plain near Pishawir. They remained there encamped forty days without action: but the troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. They were joined by the Gickers and other tribes with numerous armies, and surrounded the Mussulmen, who fearing a general assault were obliged to entrench themselves.

They are
overthrown.

The King having thus secured himself, ordered a thousand archers to his front, to endeavour to provoke the enemy to advance to the entrenchments. The archers accordingly were attacked by the Gickers, who notwithstanding all the Sultan could do, pursued the runaways within the trenches, where a dreadful scene of slaughter ensued on both sides, in which five thousand Mussulmen in a few minutes drank the wine of martyrdom. The enemy at length being slain as fast as they advanced, the attack became fainter and fainter, when on a sudden the elephant upon which Annindpal rode took fright at the report of a gun*, and turned his face to flight. This circumstance struck the Hindoos with a panic, for thinking they were deserted by their sovereign they immediately followed the example. Abdulla Tai, with six thousand Arabian horse, and Arfilla Hajib, with ten thousand Turks, Afghans, and Chillages, pursued the enemy for two days and nights; so that twenty thousand Hindoos were killed in their flight, together with the great multitude which fell on the field of battle.

A great
slaughter of
the Hindoos.

Thirty elephants with much rich plunder were brought to the King, who to establish the faith, marched against the Hindoos of

* According to our accounts there were no guns at this time, but many Eastern authors mention them, ascribing the invention to one Lockman.

Nagracut, breaking down their idols and subverting their temples. A. D. 1003.
Higer. 399.
 There was at that time in the territory of Nagracut a famous fort called Bimé, which the Sultan invested, after having destroyed the country round with fire and sword. Bimé was built by Raja Bimé on the top of a steep mountain, and here the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had repositied the wealth consecrated to their idols in all the neighbouring kingdoms; so that in this fort there was a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls, than had been ever collected into the royal treasury of any prince on earth. The Sultan Mamood invests Bimé. invested the place with such expedition that the Hindoos had not time to throw troops into it for its defence, the greatest part of the garrison being before carried into the field. Those within consisted for the most part of priests, a race of men who having little inclination to the bloody business of war, in a few days solicited to be permitted to capitulate. Their request being granted by Mamood, they opened the gates, and fell upon their faces before him; and with a few of Bimé taken, his officers and attendants, he immediately entered the place.

In Bimé were found seven hundred thousand golden dinars, seven hundred maunds * of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of pure gold in ingots, two thousand maunds of silver bullion, and twenty maunds of various jewels set, which had been collecting from the time of Bimé. With this immense treasure the King returned to Ghizni, and in the year 400 prepared a magnificent festival, where he displayed to the people his wealth in golden thrones, and in other rich ornaments, in a great plain without the city of Ghizni, and after the feast every individual received a princely present.

In the following year the Sultan led his army towards Ghor. The governor of that country, Mahummud ben Suri, with ten thousand troops, opposed him. From morning to noon the fire of war flamed,

* The least maund in India is about forty pounds avoirdupoise.

A. D. 1009.
Higer. 400.

Mamood re-
duces Ghor.

and justice was done to valour on both sides. The Sultan finding that the troops of Ghor defended themselves in their intrenchments with such obstinacy, commanded his army to make a feint of retreating, to allure the enemy out of their fortified camp, which accordingly succeeded. The Ghorans being deceived, pursued the army of Ghizni to the plain, where the Sultan facing round with his troops, attacked them with great impetuosity and slaughter. Mahummud Suri was taken prisoner and brought to the King, but in his despair he had taken poison, which he always kept under his ring, and died in a few hours. His country was annexed to the dominions of Ghizni.

Some historians affirm, that neither the sovereigns of Ghor, nor its inhabitants were Mussulmen, till after this victory, whilst others of good credit assure us, that they were converted many years before, even so early as the time of Ali.

Mamood in the same year was under the necessity of marching again into Moultan, which had revolted, but having soon reduced it, and cut off a great number of the chiefs, he brought Daood ben Nazir prisoner to Ghizni, and confined him in the fort of Gorci for life.

His sixth ex-
pedition to
India.

In the year 402, the passion of war fermenting in the mind of Mamood, he resolved upon the conquest of Tannasar* in the kingdom of Hindostan. It had reached the ears of the King, that Tannasar was held in the same veneration by idolaters, as Mecca was by the Mussulmen; that there they had set up a whole tribe of rich idols, the principal of whom they called Jug Soom; that this Jug Soom they pretended to say existed when as yet the world existed not. When the Sultan reached the country of Punjaab, he wanted that according to the treaty that subsisted between him and Annindpal, he should not be disturbed in his march through that country. He

* A city fourteen crores to the West of Delhi.

accordingly

accordingly sent an embassy to Annindpal, advising him of his intentions, and desiring him to send guards for the protection of his towns and villages, which he would take care should not be molested by the followers of his camp.

A. D. 1011.
Higer. 402.
Sends an ambassador to Annindpal.

Annindpal agreed to this proposal, and prepared an entertainment for the reception of the King, issuing out an order for all his subjects to supply the Sultan's camp with every necessary of life. He in the mean time sent his brother with two thousand horse to meet the King and deliver this embassy to those who approached the throne:

“ That he was the subject and slave of the King; but that he begged permission to acquaint his majesty that Tannafar was the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of that country: that if it was a virtue required by the religion of Mamood to destroy the religion of others, he had already acquitted himself of that duty to his God, in the destruction of the temple of Nagracut. But if he should be pleased to alter his resolution against Tannafar, Annindpal would undertake that the amount of the revenues of that country should be annually paid to Mamood, to reimburse the expence of his expedition: that besides he, on his own part, would present him with fifty elephants and jewels to a considerable amount.”

Annindpal's request to Mamood,

The King replied, “ That in the Mussulman religion it was an established tenet, that the more the glory of the prophet was exalted, and the more his followers exerted themselves in the subversion of idolatry, the greater would be their reward in heaven. That therefore it was his firm resolution, with the assistance of God, to root out the abominable worship of idols from the face of the country of Hindostan. Why then should he spare Tannafar?”

is refused.

When this news reached the Raja of Delhi, he prepared to oppose the invaders, sending messengers all over Hindostan to acquaint the

A. D. 1011. Higer. 402. Rajas that Sultan Mamood, without any reason or provocation, was marching with an innumerable army to destroy Tannafar, which was under his immediate protection: that if a mound was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent, the country of Hindostan would be soon overwhelmed in ruin, and the tree of prosperity rooted up: that therefore it was adviseable for them to join their forces at Tannafar, to oppose with united strength the impending danger.

Tannafar taken.

But Sultan Mamood reached Tannafar before they could take any measures for its defence, plundered the city and broke down the idols, sending Jug Soom to Ghizni, where he was soon stripped of his ornaments. He then ordered his head to be struck off, and his body to be thrown on the highway. According to the account of Hadge Mahumud of Kandahar, there was a ruby found in one of the temples which weighed four hundred and fifty miskal *.

Mamood's designs against Annindpal

Mamood, after these transactions at Tannafar, proceeded to Delhi, which he also took, and wanted much to annex it to his dominions. But his councillors told him that it was impossible to keep the Rajaship of Delhi, till he had entirely subjected Moulton under the Musfulman government, and exterminated the power and family of Annindpal. The King approved of this council, and he immediately determined to proceed no farther against that country till he had accomplished the reduction of Moulton and Annindpal. But that prince behaved with so much policy and hospitality that he changed the purpose of the King, who returned to Ghizni. He brought to Ghizni forty thousand captives and much wealth, so that that city could now be hardly distinguished in riches from Hindostan itself.

averted by the policy of that prince.

* A miskal is thirty-six ruty, and a ruty seven eighths of a carat, so that the size of this ruby is too improbable to deserve any credit.

SECTION V.

The History of the Reign of Sultan Mamood, from the Year 403 to his Death in the Year 419.

IN the 403d year of the Higerah, the general of Arfilla Hajib, A. D. 1012. Higer. 403. governor of Herat, conquered the country of Girgistan, and brought Shar ul Nisier, ruler of that province, prisoner to Ghizni. Sultan Mamood at this time wrote to Calipha-Abaffi al Kadir Billâ, Mamood's embassy to the Caliph. that the greatest part of the kingdom of Chorassan was under his jurisdiction, and that he hoped he would order his governors to give up the remainder. The Caliph, fearing his great power which might fall upon his other dominions, consented to this demand.

The Sultan, in the year 404, drew his army against the fort of His seventh expedition into India. Nindoona, which is situated upon the mountains of Belnat, and was in the possession of the Raja of Lahore. Annindpal by this time was dead, and his son had acceded to his government. When Pitterugepal, for that was the new Raja's name, saw that he could not stand against the Sultan in the field, he drew off his army towards Cashmire, leaving a good garrison for the defence of the place. The Sultan immediately invested it, and with mining and other arts of attack, assiduously employed himself; so that in a few weeks the governor seeing his walls in ruins was under the necessity of begging to capitulate. The Sultan granted his request, took every thing of value out of the place, appointed a governor, and set out without delay for Cashmire, upon which Pitterugepal abandoned that province and fled to the hills. The Sultan plundered the country, in which he found great wealth, and having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the prophet, returned with the spoil to his capital.

Mamood,

A. D. 1015.
Higer. 406.
Returns to
Cashmire.

Mamood, in the year 406, returned with an army to Cashmire, to punish the revolted chiefs, and to besiege some forts which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of those forts was Lokote, very famous for its height and strength, which entirely defeated the Sultan's utmost efforts; for not being able to reduce it, all the summer season, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprize, and return to Ghizni. On his way home he was led astray by his guides, and fell into an extensive morass covered with water, from which he, for several days, could not extricate his army, so that many of his troops perished upon that occasion.

Abul Abas,
Sultan of
Charizm, de-
mands Ma-
mood's sister
in marriage.

Abul Abas Mamoo, in the course of the same year, wrote to Sultan Mamood, to ask his sister in marriage. Mamood consented to the match, and sent her to Charizm according to his desire. In the year 407, a tribe of plunderers rising against Abul Abas Charizm Shaw, and defeating him, he fell into their hands, and was put to death. Sultan Mamood having had advice of this disaster, marched to Balich, and from thence to Charizm, and, when he arrived at Hifferbund, on the frontiers of that country, he ordered Mahummud Tai to advance before him with a detachment. When the Mussulmen were at prayers in their camp, Himar Tash, the general of the Charizmiens, rushed upon this detachment from a neighbouring wood, and making a great slaughter, put them to flight. The Sultan having received intelligence of this affair, supported them with several squadrons of his best horse. The runaways deriving courage from this reinforcement, returned to the charge, routed the enemy, and took their chief prisoner, whom they carried before the King.

Is put to death.

Which is re-
venged by
Mamood.

Mamood advancing to the fort of Hazar Asp, perceived the troops of Charizm prepared to receive him in the field before it: But they were soon defeated, their general, Abistagi Bochari, taken prisoner, and the murderer of Abul Abas met the just vengeance due to his crime.

crime. The Sultan spent some time in regulating the government, which he bestowed upon Amir Hajib, with the title of Charizm Shaw : He annexed also to his government the province of Orgunge. Returning to Balich, Mamood gave the government of Herat, to his son Amir Musaood, appointing Abu Sul his vizier, and the government of Gurgan he conferred upon his younger son Amir Mahumud, under the care of Abu Bicker. After the final settlement of the affairs of Charizm, the Ghiznian army were cantoned, for the winter, at Balich.

A. D. 1016.
Higer. 407.

In the beginning of the year 409, as soon as the sun began to awake the children of the spring, Sultan Mamood, with a hundred thousand chosen horse, and thirty thousand foot, raised in the countries of Turkistan, Maverulnere, Chorrassan, and the adjacent provinces, undertook an expedition against Kinnoge, which, from the time of Gustasp to this period, had not been visited by any foreign enemy. Kinnoge was distant from Ghizni three months march, and seven great rivers rushed across the way. When Mamood reached the confines of Cashmire, the Raja sent him presents of every thing curious and valuable in his country, and waited to have the honour of expressing his loyalty. When the Sultan, with much difficulty, had conducted his army through the mountains, he entered the plains of Hindostan, drove all opposition before him, and advanced to Kinnoge †.

Mamood's
eighth expe-
dition into In-
dia.

He there saw a city which raised its head to the firmament; and which, in strength and structure, might justly boast to have no equal. The Raja of this rich city, whose name was Korrah, and who affected great pomp and splendor, being thus unexpectedly invaded, had not had time to put himself in a posture of defence, or to collect his troops together. Terrified by the great force, and warlike appearance of the Sultan; he, in his embarrassment, resolved to

The great city
of Kinnoge
submits.

† Mamood's route lay through the mountains behind Cashmire; and he must have entered Hindostan by the way of Tibet.

A. D. 1018.
Higer. 409. sue for peace, and accordingly went out, with his family, to the camp, where he submitted himself to the mercy of the King. Some authors relate, that he even turned Mussulman, or true believer.

Mamood advances towards Merat; which he takes. The Sultan tarried in Kinnoge only three nights, and then turned his face towards Merat, the Raja of which place, by name Hirdit, retreated with his army, leaving only a garrison, which was obliged to capitulate in a few days. The terms were two hundred and fifty thousand rupees, and fifty elephants, to be paid by the Raja, besides the plunder of the city. The Sultan marched from thence to invest the fort of Mavin, upon the banks of the river Gihon, now called the Jumna. The Raja of Mavin coming forth to make his submission, at the head of his troops, a quarrel accidentally ensued between some soldiers, and immediately the action became general. Calchunder the Raja, and most of his troops, being driven into the river, he drew his sword against his own wife and children, and having dispatched them, turned it in despair upon himself. The fort immediately surrendered, where the conqueror found much treasure and rich spoil, among which were seventy elephants of war.

Marches against and takes Muttra.

Great spoil found in Muttra.

When Mamood had here refreshed his troops, he was given to understand, that, at some distance, there was a rich city, called Muttra,* consecrated to Kissen Basdeo, which in buildings and extent yielded to none in Hindostan. The Sultan directed his march towards the place, and entering it, with very little opposition from the troops of the Raja of Delhi, to whom it belonged, gave it up to plunder. He broke down or burnt all the idols, and amassed an immense quantity of gold and silver, of which those figures were mostly made. He intended to destroy the temples, but he found that the labour exceeded his capacity; while some say that he was

* Muttra stands upon the Jumna 36 miles above Agra, and is still a very considerable city.

turned from his purpose, by the admirable beauty and structure of those edifices. He, it is certain, extravagantly extolled the noble beauty of the buildings and city, in a letter to the Omrahs of Ghizni, after this conquest. A. D. 1018.
Higer. 409.

It is said that the Sultan found in Muttra five great idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies, each of which eyes were worth fifty thousand dinars. Upon another idol, he found a sapphire, weighing four hundred miskal; and the image being melted down, produced ninety-eight thousand three hundred miskal of pure gold. Besides these, there were above a hundred idols of silver, which loaded a hundred camels with bullion. The Sultan, having tarried here twenty days, in which time the city suffered greatly from fire, besides what it suffered from the hand of ravage and desolation, he marched against the other fortified places in these districts, some of which he took himself, while others fell into the hands of his chiefs.

One of those forts called Munge, held out twenty-five days, being full of Rajaputs; but when they found the place no longer tenable, some rushed through the breaches among the enemy and met that death which they no longer endeavoured to avoid. Some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and were dashed to pieces, while others burnt themselves in their houses, with their wives and children; so that not one of the garrison survived this fatal catastrophe. Mungetaken.

The Sultan having secured what was valuable, invested the fort of Chundpal. But Chundpal, for that also was the Raja's name, had sent off all his treasure to the mountains, and at the approach of the King, evacuated the place. There however still remained much spoil and provisions which the Sultan divided among his troops.

A. D. 1018.
 Pige. 07.
 Mamood
 marches
 against Jundroy.

Mamood immediately march'd against a proud and imperious Raja, whose name was Jundroy. This Raja, after some skirmishes, finding himself unable to cope with the King, sent off his treasure, and other valuable effects, and fled also to the mountains. Jundroy had an elephant of a most uncommon size, such as had never before been seen in Hindostan; nor was he more remarkable for his enormous bulk, than for his docility and courage. The Sultan having heard much of this elephant, sent to the Raja, offering him advantageous terms of peace, and a great sum of money for this animal. But the obstinacy of Jundroy would never listen to any terms with the Mussulmen, so that Mamood, with regret, was obliged to desist. The elephant however happened one night to break loose from his keepers, and went into the Sultan's camp, where he permitted himself to be mounted and brought before the King, who received him with great joy, and named him, The gift of God.

Returns to
 Ghizni.

The Sultan, loaded with spoil, and encumbered with captives, returned to Ghizni; where he enumerated the articles of his plunder. It consisted of twenty million of dirms, fifty-three thousand captives, three hundred and fifty elephants, besides jewels, pearls, and precious effects, which could not be properly estimated. Nor was the private spoil of the army less than that which came into the public treasury.

Builds the Ce-
 lestial Bride.

The Sultan upon his return to Ghizni, ordered a magnificent mosque to be built of marble and granate, of such beauty and structure, as struck every beholder with astonishment and pleasure. This mosque he afterwards adorned with such beautiful carpets, chandeliers, and other ornaments of silver and gold, that it became known by the name of the Celestial bride. In the neighbourhood of this mosque he founded an university, which he furnished with a vast collection of curious books, in various languages, and with natural and

artificial curiosities. He appropriated a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the students, and learned men who were appointed to instruct the youth in the sciences. A. D. 1018.
Higer. 409.

When the nobility of Ghizni saw that the taste of their King began to run upon architecture, they also endeavoured to outvie each other, in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings, which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus in a short space of time the capital was ornamented, with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts and cisterns, in a degree superior to any city at that time in the east. Some authors affirm, that among the curiosities which the Sultan possessed, there was a bird, of the size of a cuckoo, which was possessed of this particular instinct or quality, that whenever poison was brought, however secretly, into the apartment in which he hung, he was affected with the smell in such a manner, as to fly distractedly about his cage, while the tears streamed involuntarily from his eyes. This bird, with other curiosities, was sent as a present to the Caliph of Bagdat, Al Kadir Billa Abaffi. We, however, believe, that this story rose from the policy of Mamood, and the credulity of mankind, rather than that it had actually any foundation in truth. Other authors mention a stone which he brought from Hindostan, as a great curiosity. This stone being dipped in water, and applied to a wound, proved a powerful and efficacious remedy. Magnificence
of the Ghiz-
nians.

The Sultan, in the year 410, ordered a writing of victories * to be made out, which he sent to the Caliph, who ordered it to be read to the people of Bagdat, making a great festival upon the occasion, to express his joy for the propagation of the faith, which now begun to be spread over almost the whole face of the earth. to Mamood
writes to the
Caliph.

* This was an account of Mamood's wars in verse.

A. D. 1021.
Higer. 412.

Sends a con-
voy with the
pilgrims to
Mecca.

In the year 412 Mamood was presented with a petition from his subjects, setting forth, that some tribes of the wild Arabs had, for many years, shut up the roads to Mecca, so that, for fear of them, and on account of the weakness of the Caliph, who neglected to expel them, they had not been able to pay their devotions at the shrine of the prophet. The Sultan immediately appointed Abu Mahummud, his chief justice, with a considerable force, to protect the caffila. † But lest the enemy should be too strong for him, he sent thirty thousand dirms, to procure a safe journey to the pilgrims. Accordingly many thousands of all degrees prepared to go to Mecca.

Who defeat
the wild A-
rabs.

When they had wound up their way, as far as the desert of Achtid, they beheld a great camp of Arabs, pitched in their way. The banditti drew up in order to receive them. Abu Mahummud being desirous of treating with the Arabs, sent a message to their chief, offering him five thousand dirms. The chief, instead of accepting the proposal, resented it so much, that, without delay, he advanced with intention to rob the Caffila. Abu Mahummud, in the mean time, drew out his troops to receive the robbers, when fortunately, in the very beginning of the action, a Turkish slave, in the Caffila, who was master of the art of archery, lodged an arrow in the brain of Himad ben Ali, the chief of the Arabs. The banditti immediately upon the fall of their chief, turned their face to flight; and the Caffila, without further disturbance, proceeded to Mecca; and having paid their devotions, returned by the same way, and arrived safe at Ghizni.

Mamood's
ninth expedi-
tion into In-
dia.

The Sultan received, this year, advices from Hindostan, that the neighbouring Raja's had, in his absence, fallen upon Korrah, the Raja of Kinnoge, for having entered into an alliance, and for putting himself under the protection of the Sultan. Mamood immediately

† The Caravan of Pilgrims.

marched to the aid of his vassal; but before he could arrive, Raja Nunda of Callinger, had drawn his army upon Kinnoge, and had slain Raja Kurrah with a great many of his principal warriors. The Sultan arriving at the river Jumna, encamped on the bank opposite to the enemy.

A. D. 1021.
Higer. 412.

Seven officers in his army, without orders, swam across the river, and entering the enemy's camp in the morning by surprize, struck such a pannick in their troops, that they all betook themselves to flight. The King, notwithstanding their success, was greatly enraged, but passing with the remainder of his army, he immediately commenced the pursuit.

Defeats the
Hindoos.

When Nunda came to the frontiers of his own dominions, he halted with his army, and prepared to receive the Sultan with thirty six thousand horse, forty five thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty Elephants. The Sultan, after having reconnoitred the strength of the enemy and their situation, from a rising ground, prostrated himself before God, and pray'd that the standard of Islamism might be exalted with glory and triumph. The day being far advanced, he determined to wait for the morning, which in the event, disappointed his hopes and ambition, for Nunda decamp'd in the night with the utmost disorder, leaving his tents, equipage and baggage behind him.

Comes up
with Raja
Nunda,

who decamps
in the night.

The Sultan, having next morning reconnoitred the woods and hollow grounds around, ordered his army to march into the enemy's camp, and to lengthen their hands upon the spoil, which proved to be very considerable, besides five hundred and eighty Elephants which were found in the neighbouring wood. He then laid waste, with fire and sword, the country, and returned to Ghizni without prosecuting the war any further.

He

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 41.
Mamood's ex-
pedition to
Kiberat,

He had not remained there many days, before he heard that the inhabitants of Kiberat and Nardein, countries upon the boundaries of Hindostan, would not acknowledge the Mussulman faith, but continued the worship of Lions †. Mamood resolved to compel them, and accordingly marched towards their country, taking with him a great number of masons, carpenters, smiths, and labourers, that he might there build a fort, to overawe them after his departure.

which he re-
duces.

The Lord of the country of Kiberat, finding he could not pretend to oppose the Sultan, submitted himself, acknowledging the faith of the Prophet. Hajib Ali was sent with a division of the army, to reduce the country of Nardein, which he soon accomplished, pillaging the country, and carrying away many of the people captives.

A curious in-
scription.

There was a temple in Nardein which Hajib destroyed, and brought from thence a stone, upon which there was a curious inscription, which bore that it was forty thousand years old.

Mamood's
tenth expedi-
tion to India.

The Sultan ordered a fort to be built in that place, and left it under the care of Ali Ben Kudur. He himself, in the mean time, return'd by the way of Lahore, and in his march invested the strong hold of Locoat, in the province of Cashmire. He besieged the place for a whole month, but finding it impregnable, he decamped, and proceeding to Lahore, entered that city without much opposition, giving it up to be sack'd by his troops. Here wealth, and precious effects, beyond the power of estimation, fell into their hands.

Lahore re-
duced.

† The Divinity is worshipped under the figure of a Lion by some of the Hindoos: That animal being, in their opinion, a proper emblem of almighty power and strength.

Patturugepal, the Raja, unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, fled to Ajmere for protection; and the Sultan immediately appointed one of his Omrahs to the government of Lahore, and sent other commanders to various districts in the territories of Hindostan. Mamood himself returned in the spring to Ghizni.

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

The martial disposition of Mamood could not rest long in peace. He marched again by the way of Lahore, in the 414th year of the Higerah, against Nunda the Raja of Callinger, with a great army. Passing by the fort of Gualier, he ordered it to be besieged; but the Raja of that province prevailed upon him to remove from before that place in a few days, by the means of rich presents and thirty five Elephants: The Sultan immediately directed his march to Callinger, invested that city, and Nunda offered him three hundred Elephants and other presents for peace.

Mamood's
eleventh ex-
pedition to
India.

Nunda sub-
mits.

The Sultan consented to the terms proposed; and the Raja, to try the bravery of the Sultan's troops, intoxicated the Elephants with certain drugs, and let them loose without riders into the camp; Mamood seeing the animals advancing, perceived the trick, by the wildness of their motions, and immediately ordered a party of his best horse to seize, kill, and drive them from the camp: Some of the Turks, emulous to display their bravery in the presence of their King, and of both armies, mounted the greatest part of the Elephants, and drove the rest into an adjacent wood, where they were soon reduced to obedience.

The enemy, upon seeing the resolution of the Ghiznians, were much intimidated, and Nunda taking advantage of one of the foibles of Mamood, sent to him a panegyrick, in the Indian tongue. The King was much pleased with this elegant piece of flattery; for the poetry was much admired by the learned men of Hind, Arab, and Agim,

His panegy-
rick upon Ma-
mood.

A. D. 1024. Agim, who were at his court. To make return for this compliment, Higer. 415. the Sultan conferred the government of fifteen forts upon Nunda, with many other curious presents; but the peace was principally ratify'd by means of many valuable presents in jewels and gold, on the part of Nunda. Mamood immediately return'd to Ghizni.

Mamood
musters his
forces.

The Sultan, in the year 415, mustered all his forces. He found them, exclusive of his garrisons, and those upon duty in various parts of his dominions, to consist of fifty five thousand chosen horse, one thousand three hundred Elephants, and one hundred thousand infantry. With this force, excepting a part of the infantry, which he left at Ghizni, he marched to Balich to expel Ali Tiggi from the government of Maverulnere for oppressing the people, who complained of his tyranny to the King. When the chiefs of Maverulnere heard that the King had cross'd the Jagetay, they came with presents to meet him; Eufuph Kudir Chan, King of Turkistan, paid him, at the same time, the compliment of a visit, and was received with joy and friendship. The Sultan prepared a great feast upon the occasion; and after having concluded a treaty, the Monarchs took leave of each other, making an exchange of princely presents.

Ali Tiggi, seizing this opportunity, betook himself to flight. But the Sultan sending a party of horse after him, he was after a long search, discovered and brought to the King, who confined him for life in one of the forts of Hindostan; while he himself returned to Ghizni.

Mamood's
twelfth expe-
dition into
India.

Mamood understood in the same year, that there was a famous temple called Sumnat, in the province of Guzerat, near the Bunder * of Deo, very rich and greatly frequented by devotees from all parts of Hindostan. These infidels believe that souls, after death, went before Sumnat, who transferred them into other bodies or ani-

* Bunder signifies a harbour: This place is now called Dieu, and is in the possession of the Portuguese.

mals, according to their merits in their former state. The Sultan was also informed that the priests of this God gave out, that the sins of the people of Delhi and Kinnoge had incensed him so much, that he abandoned them to the vengeance of the Mussulmen, otherwise that in the twinkling of an eye, he could have blasted the whole army of Mamood.

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

The Sultan, no ways intimidated by this report, was determined to put the power of the God to a tryal, by personally treating him ill. He therefore marched from Ghizni with a numerous army, in the month Shaban.

The temple of Sumnat, which also gave name to a great city, was situated upon the shore of the Ocean, and is at this time to be seen in the districts of Deo Bunder, under the dominion of the Europeans. † Some historians affirm, that Sumnat was brought from Mecca, where it stood before the time of the Prophet. But the Brahmins deny this tale, and say that it stood in Deo-Bunder since the time of Krishen, who was concealed in that place about four thousand years ago.

Description of
the temple of
Sumnat.

The Sultan, about the middle of Ramzan, reached the city of Moultan, and as there was a great desert before him, he gave orders that all his troops should provide themselves with several days water and provisions, as also with provender for their horses, he besides loaded twenty thousand Camels with necessaries for the army. When he had passed that terrible desert, he arrived at the city of Ajmere, and finding that the Raja and inhabitants had abandoned the place, and that he could not prevail with them to come and submit themselves, he ordered the city to be sack'd, and the adja-

Mamood ar-
rives at Moul-
tan.

Sacks Ajmere.

† Portuguese.

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

cent country to be laid waste with fire and sword. But as the reduction of the citadel would take up too much time, he left it and proceeded upon his expedition, and reduced some small forts in the way by assault.

Arrives at
Narwalla,

Having then arrived at Narwalla, a city of Guzerat, which was evacuated at his approach, another defart presented itself to the King beyond that place. Mamood, however, taking the same precautions

and at Sum-
nat,

as before, without any remarkable occurrence reached Sumnat, which was a lofty castle, upon a narrow Peninsula, washed on three sides by the sea.

Upon the battlements of the place there appeared an innumerable multitude of people in arms. They immediately made a signal for a Herald to approach, and told him, that their Mabood or Idol Sumnat, had drawn the Mussulmen thither, that he might blast them in a moment and avenge the destruction of the Gods of Hindostan. The Sultan only smiled at this vain threat, and commanded, that as soon as the streams of light should pour from the spring of day, his army should prepare for an assault.

which he af-
faults.

In the morning the valiant troops of the sublime Mamood, advanced to the foot of the walls and began the attack. The battlements were in a short time cleared, by the experience and valour of the archers, and the dastardly Hindoos, astonished and dispirited, crouded into the temple, and prostrating themselves in tears before the Idol, prayed for assistance.

Scales the
walls.

The Mussulmen seized the opportunity which the devotion of their enemies offered them, applied their scaling ladders, and mounting the wall, began to exclaim Alla Akber †. The Hindoos now

† God is greatest.

reduc-d

reduced to despair, found they must fight for themselves or die, they collected their force together, and made so violent an attack upon the assailants, that, from the time that the King of day dispelled the darkness till the moon, fair bride of night, illuminated the court of heaven with paler rays, the flames of war were not quenched with blood. The Mussulmen wearied out with fatigue, were at length obliged to abandon all their advantages, and retire to rest.

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

But is re-
pulsed.

Next morning the work of death was renewed, but as fast as they mounted the wall, so fast were they pushed headlong down by the spears of the defendants, who weeping had taken leave of their God, and now seemed wishing for death. And thus the labours of this day proved more unsuccessful than the first.

Repulsed a se-
cond time.

An army of idolaters, upon the third day, presented themselves in order of battle in sight of the Sultan's camp. Mamood immediately advanced, with an intention to raise the siege of Sumnat, and therefore ordered a party to amuse the besieged, while he himself prepared to engage the enemy in the field. He marched in order of battle towards the idolaters, who advanced with equal resolution. The fire of adverse rage immediately illuminated the gleaming field, and Death stalked with such execution and power around, that Time, trembling for his empire, wept. Byramdeo and Dabifelima in the middle of the action joined the enemy with their troops, and inspired them with such fresh courage, that faintness became visible in the Sultan's army.

The army of
the Hindoos
appears,

whom he en-
gages,

Mamood perceiving a languor spreading over his lines, leapt from his horse, and prostrating himself before God, implored his assistance. Then mounting with a noble assurance, he took Abul

A. D. 1622.
H'ger. 413.

Hassen Chirkani, one of his generals, by the hand, and inspired him with hope and glory. He himself advanced upon the enemy, encouraging his troops with such determined resolution, that ashamed to abandon their King, with whom they had so often trod the path of renown, they with one accord, gave a shout of victory and rushed forward, as for a prize. They bore the enemy before them upon the points of their spears, laying five thousand of them dead at their feet.

and over-
throws.

Sumnat sur-
renders.

When the garrison of Sumnat beheld this defeat, they were struck with confusion and fear. They withdrew their hands from the fight, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of four thousand, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Sirindiep †. But they did not escape the eyes of the Sultan. He seized upon boats which were left in a neighbouring creek, and manning them with rowers and some of his best troops, pursued the enemy, taking and sinking some of their boats, while others escaped.

Mamood en-
ters Sumnat.

The Emperor having placed guards round the walls, and at the gates, entered Sumnat with his son and a few of his Omrahs and principal attendants. When they advanced to the temple, they saw a great and antique structure built of stone, within a spacious court. They immediately entered it, beheld a great square hall, having it's lofty roof supported by fifty six pillars, curiously turned and set with precious stones. In the center of the hall stood Sumnat, an Idol of stone, five yards in heighth, two of which were sunk in the ground.

Destroys the
Idol of Sum-
nat.

The Sultan was enraged when he saw this Idol, and raising his mace, struck off the nose from his face. He then ordered that two

† Ceylon.

pieces of this image should be broke off, to be sent to Ghizni, there to be thrown at the threshold of the public Mosque, and in the court of his palace. Two more fragments he reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina.

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

When the Sultan was thus employed in breaking up Sumnat, a croud of Brahmins petitioned his attendants, and offered some crores* in gold, if the King should be pleased to proceed no further. The Omrahs endeavoured to persuade Mamood to accept of the money; for they said that breaking up the idol would not remove idolatry from the walls of Sumnat, that therefore it could serve no purpose to destroy the image, but that such a sum of money, given in charity among believers, would be a very meritorious action. The Sultan acknowledged, that what they said was, in some measure, true; but should he consent to that bargain, he might justly be called a seller of idols; and that he looked upon a breaker of them as a more honourable title. He therefore ordered them to proceed.

The next blow having broke up the belly of Sumnat, which had been made hollow, they discovered that it was full of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of a much greater value than the amount of what the Brahmins had offered.

Finds an immense treasure.

It is said, by some writers, that the name of this idol is a compound word of *Sum* and *Nat*; *Sum* being the name of the Raja who erected it, and *Nat* the true name of the God; which in the language of the Brahmins, signifies Creator. In the time of eclipses we are told that there used to be forty or fifty thousand worshippers at this temple; and that the different Rajas of Hindostan had bestowed, in all, two thousand villages, with their territories, for the maintenance of its priests; besides the

Account of Sumnat.

* Ten millions.

innumerable

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

innumerable presents received from all parts of the empire. It was a custom among those idolaters, to wash Sumnat every morning and evening, with fresh water from the Ganges, though that river is above five hundred crores distant.

Among the spoils of this temple, was a chain of gold weighing forty maunds, which hung from the top of the building by a ring. It supported a great bell which warned the people to the worship of the God. Besides two thousand Brahmins, who officiated as priests, there belonged to the temple five hundred dancing girls, three hundred musicians, and three hundred barbers to shave the devotees before they were admitted to the presence of Sumnat. The dancing girls were either remarkable for their beauty, or their quality, the Rajas thinking it an honour to have their daughters admitted.

Sultan Mamood found in this temple, a greater quantity of jewels and gold, than, it is thought, any royal treasury ever contained before. In the history of Eben Assur, it is related, that there was no light in the temple, but one pendant lamp, which being reflected from the jewels, spread a strong and refulgent light over the whole place. Besides the great idol above-mentioned, there were in the temple some thousands of small images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions.

The emperor having secured the wealth of Sumnat, prepared to chastise Raja Byram Deo, from whom the harbour of Deo takes its name, for having endeavoured to distress him during the siege, and having given above three thousand of the Mussulmen to drink of the wine of martyrdom. Byram Deo, after the taking of Sumnat, had fled from Narwalla the capital of Guzerat, and shut himself up in the fort of Gundia, which was forty pharsangs from Sumnat. The king, without opposition, arrived before the fort, and saw that it was surrounded

The emperor
marches
against Byram
Deo.

rounded on all sides by the sea, which, in every place, appeared impassable. He sent however to sound the depth of the water, and received intelligence, that at one place it was fordable at low water; but if he should be caught by the tide, in his passage, the troops must inevitably perish.

The Sultan having ordered public prayers, and cast his fortune in the Koran, turned his horse into the sea, at the head of his troops, and reaching in safety the opposite shore, immediately made an assault upon the place. Byram Deo, looking upon life preferable to every other consideration, left his family and wealth, and, in the habit of a slave, stealing out of the fort, run and concealed himself in a corner. The troops who defended the place, seeing themselves thus shamefully deserted, were also struck with fear, and quitted their posts upon the walls. The Mussulmen mounted their scaling ladders, and commenced a dreadful havock among the unfortunate slaves, reserving the women and children for captivity. The wealth of the Raja was lodged in the treasury of the King.

Mamood being thus victorious, marched to Narwalla. He found the soil of that place so fertile, the air so salubrious and pure, and the country so well cultivated and pleasant, that he proposed to take up his residence there for some years, and to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghizni upon his son the Sultan Musfood. Some historians relate, that, in that age, there were gold mines in Guzerat; which occasioned Sultan Mamood to incline to fix his residence in that country. But to this we cannot well give any credit, as there are now no traces of those mines; but it is acknowledged, that the country was, at all times, one of the richest in Hindostan. In support of their assertion, they however give many instances of the disappearance of gold mines, such as that in Seistan, which was swallowed up by an earthquake.

A. D. 1022.
Higer. 413.

Attacks him
in his fort of
Gundia,

which he
takes.

Marches to
Narwalla,

A. D. 1022
Higer 413.

earthquake. There are other writers who pretend to say, that the King, having heard of gold and ruby mines, upon the island of Sirendiep, and in the country of Pegu, intended to fit out a fleet for the conquest of those parts, but that he was diverted by his council from this scheme, and also prevailed upon not to abandon his native kingdom and capital.

Mamood yielding to this latter advice, consented to return, and at the same time begged of his Omrahs, to recommend a fit person to him, for the government of the kingdom of Guzerat. After consulting among themselves, they told the King, that on account of the great distance of this country from his other dominions, and the number of troops it would require for its defence, they thought it adviseable, that some one of the natives should receive that honour. The King then enquired among the chiefs of the natives, and was informed that the family of Dabissalima was the noblest in those parts, and that then a man of parts and distinction of that tribe, was in his camp, in the habit of a Brahmin. That they knew no person fitter to be exalted to royalty than him : though he had been obliged to chuse that way of life, to conceal himself from the cruelty of a younger brother, who had usurped his inheritance.

But some authors, suspecting the probability of this story, have informed us, that Dabissalima was Raja of a neighbouring country, famous as well for his policy and wisdom, as for his great knowledge in the sciences. To him the King sent a friendly message, inviting him to his presence, to receive his allegiance for the government of Guzerat, which he intended to bestow upon him. But as we have many authentic proofs of the truth of our first relation, it must be acknowledged that the King, upon having settled an annual tribute, bestowed the kingdom of Guzerat upon Dabissalima the poor Brahmin, and not upon the Raja of the same name, who lived at that period.

Makes Dabissalima King of Guzerat.

We find, that when the King had bestowed the regency upon the Brahmin, that he petitioned him to leave some forces for his protection, for that Raja Dabiffalima, as soon as Mamood should evacuate the country, would undoubtedly invade him before his power was thoroughly established, the consequences of which might be easily foreseen. But that if the King would grant him his protection, he would annually give double the revenues of Cabulistan and Zabulistan.

A. D. 1026.
Higer. 417.

These considerations prevailed with the Sultan to form a design to reduce this Raja before he left the country. He accordingly sent a part of his army into the dominions of the Raja, which, in a short time, defeated him, and brought him prisoner to Mamood. He immediately delivered over the unfortunate Raja into the hands of his kinsman Dabiffalima the viceroy to take away his life.

Marches
against and
defeats a
neighbouring
Raja.

Dabiffalima addressed himself to the King after this manner; that in his religion, the murder of a King was unlawful; but that it was customary, when one King got possession of the person of another who was his enemy, to make a dark pit under his throne, where he should remain imprisoned for life, or till the death of his conqueror. That for his own part, he esteemed such usage a cruelty of which he could not be guilty; but that on the other hand, if the Raja should be confined by him in another prison, his adherents would, upon the King's departure, attempt to release him. He therefore earnestly begged that the King might carry him to Ghizni.

Dabiffalima's
clemency.

The Sultan complied with this last request, and after two years and six months absence, turned homewards his victorious standards. But having received intelligence, that Byram Deo, and the Raja of Ajmere, with others, had collected a great army to oppose him in the desert, he turned by the way of Sind and Moultan. He there also met with desarts in his march, wherein his army greatly suffered

Mamood re-
turns to Ghiz-
ni.

A. D. 1026. by want of water, and his cavalry by want of grafs ; but in the year
 Hige. 417. 417 he with much difficulty and toil, reached Ghizni. During his
 march through Sind, he was led astray three days and nights, by
 one of his Hindoo guides, in a desert of dry sand, so that madness
 and thirst began intolerably to rage through his perishing troops.

Perfidy of one
 of the Priests
 of Sumnat.

The Sultan suspecting his guide, commanded him to be put to
 the torture, when he confessed that he was one of the priests of Sum-
 nat, who, to revenge the injuries done to his God, had thus endea-
 voured to bring about the ruin of the Ghiznian army. The King:
 then commanded him to be put to death ; and it being towards
 evening, he fell prostrate before God, imploring a speedy deliverance.
 A meteor was immediately seen in the east, to which he directed
 his march, and before morning, found himself upon the banks of
 a lake.

Dabiffalima
 demands the
 imprisoned
 Raja.

Dabiffalima the devout, having established himself upon the throne
 of Guzerat, continued to send his revenues punctually to the King,
 and some years after desired the imprisoned Raja might be returned to
 him. But the Raja had, by this time, gained upon the mind of the
 King, which made him unwilling to part with him. He however
 was over-persuaded, by his counsellors, who were envious of the favour
 which the unfortunate Raja had acquired ; and he was accordingly
 put into the hands of the person who brought the revenue to Ghizni.

His cruelty,

When they reached the dominions of Guzerat, Dabiffalima the
 devout gave orders to dig a hole under his own throne, in which he
 intended to confine the unhappy Raja, according to the barbarous
 custom of the Hindoos. To stretch his triumph still further, he ad-
 vanced to some distance from his capitol, to meet the Raja, that the
 unfortunate man might run before his horse, with a bason on his head,
 and an ewer in his hand.

The

The King, it is said, having over-heated himself upon this occasion, lay down, much disordered, in a shade, drew a red handkerchief over his face, and ordered his attendants to withdraw. A Vulture, which was hovering over that place, mistaking the red handkerchief for prey, foused down upon the King, and fixing her talons about his eyes, rendered him totally blind ; and therefore incapable to reign according to the laws of the country.

A. D. 1026.
Higér. 417.

and punish-
ment.

When the accident which befel the King became public, the whole camp and city were filled with confusion and uproar. The imprisoned Raja, arriving at that very instant, was received with universal acclamations, and immediately elected King. He put the bason upon the head of Dabissalima, and placed the ewer in his hand, and drove him before him into the dungeon, which he himself had prepared, where he spent the remainder of his life.

This barbarous action, however, shewed that his successor was unworthy of what providence had, so miraculously, bestowed upon him. This story is a striking instance of the just punishment of pride, and that he who digs a pit for another, will fall into it himself.

The author of the Jam ul Hikaiat has related, that, when Sultan Mamood was in Guzerat, he saw a small black idol, under a circular arch, which, to all appearance, was suspended in the air, without support. The King, amazed at this phænomenon, consulted the philosophers of his court concerning it. They told him, that they believed the image to be iron, and the stones of the arch magnets. The King observed, that he thought the equilibrium of weight and attraction could not be so exactly found. He however, by way of experiment, ordered a stone to be struck out of the arch ; which was no sooner done, than the idol fell to the ground, and the stone was accordingly found to be a magnet ; but philosophers of latter days

Story of an
iron idol.

A. D. 1026.
Higer. 417.

are of the King's opinion, and that this story may be rank'd among the fabulous.

The Caliph
writes to Ma-
mood.

The Caliph of Bagdat being informed of the expedition of Sultan Mamood, wrote him a congratulatory letter, in which he stiled him, The guardian of fortune and Islamism. To his son Sultan Musafod, he gave the title of, The light of posterity, and the beauty of nations; and to his second son Mur Eusoph, the appellation of, The strength of the arm of fortune, and establisher of the state. He, at the same time, assured Mamood, that, whoever he should appoint to the succession, he himself would confirm and support.

Mamood at-
tacks the Jits,

Mamood marched this year an army against the Jits, who had insulted him in his way from Sumnat. This people inhabited the country, on the borders of Moultan, near the banks of the river that runs by the mountains of Jude. When he arrived at Moultan, finding that the country of the Jits was defended by great rivers, he ordered fifteen hundred boats to be built, each of which he armed with six iron spikes projecting from their prows and sides, to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, who were very expert in that kind of war. When he had launched this fleet, he ordered twenty archers into each boat, and five others, with fire-balls, to burn the craft of the Jits, and naphtha to set the whole river on fire. This force he commanded to extirpate the Jits, and remained with the remainder of his army at Moultan.

who are
overthrown.

The Jits having intelligence of this armament, sent their wives and children, and most valuable effects, into an island, and launching, according to some, four thousand, or, according to others, eight thousand boats, manned and armed, prepared to receive the Ghiznians. They met, and a terrible conflict ensued; but the projected pikes from the Sultan's boats, did such execution, when they ran against the

the craft of the Jits, that many of them were overfet. The archers, A. D. 1027. Higer. 418. at the same time, plied their bows to such good purpose, that many of the enemy plunged over board to avoid their galling arrows. Some of the Jitfiad boats being, in the mean time, fet on fire, communicated their flames to others; some were sunk, some boarded by the Turks, and others endeavoured to make their escape. In this scene of confusion and terror, very few of the Jits could shun their hard fate. All those therefore, who escaped death, met with the more severe misfortune of captivity.

The Sultan, after this victory, returned in triumph to Ghizni, and in the 418th year of the Higerah, ordered Amir Toos, one of his generals, to the government of Badwird, that he might chastise the Turkuman of Siljoki, who had crossed the river Amavia, and invaded that province. But Amir Toos being defeated in a very bloody action, wrote to the Sultan, that without his presence and fortune nothing could be done against the enemy. Amir Toos defeated by the Turkumans.

The Sultan immediately put his army in motion, and having come up with them gave them a total defeat, which entirely dispersed them and cleared the country. Hearing, at this time, that one of his generals had conquered Iraak *, he marched that way, and seized all the treasure that had been amassed by the race of Boia, who had possessed that country, and lived in the city of Rai. Having there enforced some laws respecting the religion of the inhabitants, who had adopted false tenets, he settled the government of Rai and Ispahan upon his son, Sultan Musafood, and returned himself to Ghizni. Mamood marches against and overthrows the Turkumans. Reduces Iraak. Returns to Ghizni.

The Sultan was soon after afflicted with the stone, which disorder daily increased. He went in this condition to Balich to settle some Western Provinces of Persia Falls sick. state

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Higer. 419.

Dies.

state affairs, and in the beginning of the spring he turned his face again to Ghizni; where, upon friday the 23d of Ribbi ul Sani, in the 419th of the Higer, and the sixty third year of his age, this great conqueror, amidst the tears of his people, gave up his body to death, and his soul to immortality.

His person.

Sultan Mamood reigned thirty-five years, and he was buried by torch light, with great pomp and solemnity, in the palace of triumph at Ghizni. He was a man of a middle stature, not very handsome in his person, but without any deformity or blemish.

Instances of
his avarice.

Two days before his death, he commanded, that all the sacks of gold and caskets of precious stones, which were in the treasury, should be placed before him; when he beheld them as with regret, he wept, ordering them to be carried back to the treasury, without exhibiting his generosity at that time to any body, for which he has been accused of avarice. He ordered, the following day, a review of his Army, his Elephants, Camels, Horses and Chariots, with which, having feasted his eyes for some time, from his traveling throne, he again burst into tears, and retired in grief to his palace.

It's said, that Sultan Mamood, upon hearing that a citizen of Neshapoor was possessed of immense wealth, commanded him to be called into his presence. The King began to reproach him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O King, I am no idolater nor apostate, but it is true that I am possessed of much wealth; take it therefore, but do me not a double injustice, by robbing me of my money and my good name." The King, for this insolence, as he termed it, ordered him to be punished and confiscated his whole estate.

But Mamood was, in other instances, famous for justice. A per-
 son one day, thrusting himself into the presence, called loudly
 for justice. The King ordered him to explain his complaint,
 which he thus did: That, unfortunately having a handsome wife,
 the King's nephew had conceived a passion for her, and came to
 his house every night with armed attendants, beating him and turn-
 ing him into the street, till he had gratified his adulterous passion.
 That he had frequently complained to those who ought to have done
 him justice, but that the rank of the adulterer had shut their ears
 against him.

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 Higer. 419.

The King, upon hearing this, was so much enraged that tears
 of resentment and compassion started from his eyes; he reprimanded
 the poor man for not making sooner his complaint to him. The man
 replied, that he often attempted it, but could not gain admittance.
 He was then commanded by the King, to return to his house, and to
 give him notice the first time that his nephew was guilty of the like
 violence; charging those who were present, upon pain of death, to let
 nothing of this complaint transpire, ordering him to be admitted at
 any hour. Accordingly the man returned to his house, and upon the
 third night following, the King's nephew, as usual, came, and having
 whipped the husband severely, turned him into the street. The poor
 man hastened to the King; but the captain of the guards would not
 give him admittance, saying, that his Majesty was in the Haram.
 The man immediately began to make a violent outcry, so that the
 porter fearing that the court might be disturbed, and that the noise
 might reach the King, he was under the necessity to conduct him to
 the Eunuchs of the bedchamber, who immediately acquainted the
 Sultan with the affair.

The King immediately rose, and drawing on a garment followed
 the man to his house. He found his nephew and the man's wife
 sleeping

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Higer. 419.

sleeping together in one bed, with a candle standing on the carpet near them. The Sultan, extinguishing the candle, drew his dagger and severed his nephew's head from his body: Then commanding the man to light the candle, he called out for some water, and having taken a deep draught, he told him he might now go and sleep with safety, if he could trust his own wife.

The poor man fell down at the Sultan's feet, in gratitude to his justice and condescension, but begged he might tell him why he put out the candle, and afterwards called out so vehemently for water. The King replied, that he put out the candle that pity might not arrest his hand in the execution of justice, on a youth whom he tenderly loved; and that he had made a vow to God, when he first heard his complaint, that he would neither eat nor drink till he had brought the criminal to justice, in so much, that he was upon the point of dying of thirst.

The learned
men who flourished
under
Mamood.

The learned men who lived at the court of Sultan Mamood were principally these; Ozaeri Rasi, a native of Rai, whose poetical performances as a panegyrist, are esteemed very good, for one of which he received a present of 4000 Dirms from the Sultan.—Affidi Toofi, a native of Chorrassan, a poet of great fame, whom the Sultan often entreated to undertake the Shaw Namma, but he excused himself on account of his age. He was the master of Phirdoci, who afterwards undertook that work; but Phirdoci falling sick by too much application, before it was finished, he applied himself to his old master Affidi; telling him that he was now at the point of death, and that his only regret for leaving this vain world was, that his poem was unfinished. The old man weeping replied, that, tho' he had often excused himself to the King, from having any hand in that performance, yet for the affection he bore to Phirdoci, he would undertake to finish his poem. The dying poet replied, that he was

well assured no other man of the age had the genius to attempt it; ^{A. D. 1028.} but at the same time he was afraid, years and infirmities had damped ^{Higer. 419.} the native fire of Affidi.

The old man warmed with friendship and emulation, collecting the force of his mind, made the attempt, and brought into the chains of rhyme in a few days, that part of the poem, between the Arabian conquest of Agim to the end, which consists of four thousand couplets. He immediately brought it to Phirdoci, who was so rejoiced that he recovered from his disorder. The Shaw Namma is esteemed among the first of poetical productions, and Phirdoci the author, consequently among the first of poets.

Minuchere was an Omrah of Balich, and famous for his poetry and wit. But Hakim Ali Unfuri is esteemed to hold the first rank, as to genius, in that age; for besides being one of the best poets, he was a great philosopher, versed in all the known sciences, and all the learned languages of those times. Four hundred poets and learned men, besides all the students of the university of Ghizni, acknowledged him for their master. He was therefore appointed by the King, to superintend literature, and it was ordered, that no performance should be brought before the Sultan, without being previously honoured with the approbation of Ali Unfuri.

Among the works of Unfuri there is an heroic poem, upon the actions of Sultan Mamood. The King having one night, in his cups, cut off the long tresses of his beloved *, he was much afflicted in the morning for what he had done. He sat, he rose, he walked by turns, and there was a terror round him, which kept the people at distance.

* His favourite mistress.

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H ger. 419.

Ali Unfuri accosted him with some extempore lines †, which so pleased the King that he ordered his mouth to be filled three times with jewels. Calling then for wine, he sat down with the poet and washed down his grief, seasoning society with wit.

Asjuddi was one of the scholars of Unfuri: He was a native of Hirvi, a poet blessed with the light of true genius, but his works are very scarce and the greatest part of them lost. Firochi was also a pupil of Unfuri. He was of the antient royal race of the Kings of Seistan, but reduced by fortune so low, that he was obliged to hire himself to a farmer for the yearly wages of a hundred Dirms. When he married, he found this small sum would not answer his expences, so he became desirous of having his wages increased. The farmer told him he certainly deserved a great deal more, but that his capacity could not extend the allowance further. Firochi, in this state of dependence, waited on the Sultan's nephew Abul Muziffir with a poem, for which he was honoured with a handsome reward, with a horse and a dress. He was introduced to the King by Muziffir, who settled a pension upon him which enabled him to ride with a retinue of twenty well mounted slaves.

† The beauty of the lines consisted chiefly in a happy chime of words, which cannot possibly be imitated in a translation. The sense runs thus: On this happy day, when the tresses of your beloved are cut off, what place is there for grief? Let it be rather crowned with mirth and wine, for the beauty of the cypress is increased by the pruning of it's branches.

SECTION V.

The History of the Reign of Jellal ul Dowla, Jemmal ul Muluck SULTAN MAHUMMUD, ben Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi.

WHEN the hand of Sultan Mamood was shortened from worldly labour, his son Mahummud was in the province of Gourgan, and Amir Mufaood in Ispahan. Amir Ali ben Arfilla; the father in law of Sultan Mamood, called Amir Mahummud to Ghizni, and according to the will of his father placed the crown upon his head. Sultan Mahummud, upon his accession, bestowed the dignity of captain general upon his uncle Eufoph the son of Subuctagi, and the honour of Vizier upon Abu Seil Ahummud; then opening the treasury he gladdened his friends and the public with liberal donations; but the hearts of the soldiery and people run chiefly in favour of his brother Mufaood.

About fifty days after the Sultan's death, Abul Nigim Amir Eaz having, in confederacy with Ali Dia, gained over the slaves*, they broke into the royal stables, and mounting the King's best horses, rode off towards Bust. Amir Muhummud informed of this, immediately dispatched Subundraï, an Hindoo Omrah of trust, with a numerous body of Hindoo cavalry in pursuit of them. He came up with the slaves in a few days; a skirmish ensued in which Subundraï with the greatest part of his troops were killed, and not a few of the slaves. The surviving part of the rebels with their two chiefs, pursued their journey to Mufaood, whom they met at Neshapoor.

* By the Slaves mentioned in this place, and in the sequel of this history, are meant the captives and young children, bought by Kings, and educated for the offices of state. They were often adopted by the emperors, and very frequently succeeded to the empire. A whole Dynasty of them possessed afterwards the throne in Hindostan. We must not therefore consider the word slave, which often occurs in this history, in the mean sense which it carries in our language.

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Higer. 419.
Mufaood
writes to his
brother.

Mufaood having heard of his father's decease at Hammedan, settled Viceroy's and governors of trust in Ayrack and Agim, and hastened towards Chorrassan. From thence he wrote to his brother, that he had no inclination to take those countries from him, which his father, notwithstanding of his preferable right, had been pleased to bequeath to Mahummud. He moreover added, that the regions of the Hills, Tiberistan and Ayrack, which he had mostly acquired by his own sword, were ample enough dominions for him. He only insisted so far on his birth-right, as to have his name first read in the Chutba *, over all his dominions.

His moderation.

Amir Mufaood is allowed to have been very moderate in this case, for though he and Mahummud were twins, he was the elder by some hours, and consequently had the undoubted right of succession.

War between
the brothers.

But enmity had subsisted between the brothers from their youth, and Sultan Mahummud returned his brother upon this occasion, a very unfriendly answer, and began to prepare for war, in spite of all that his council could do to oppose so rash a measure. The Sultan accordingly put his army in motion, and leaving Ghizni, proceeded to meet Mufaood: It is said, that at the feast, upon the conclusion of the Ramzan which Mahummud held at Tunganabad, his crown fell accidentally from his head when he sat in state. This was reckoned a very unfortunate omen, of which some disaffected Omrahs taking advantage, estranged the minds of the soldiery from their prince. Accordingly upon the third night after, there was a confederacy formed by Amir Ali, Eufoph ben Subuctagi, and Amir Hassnic Mical, who sounding the trumpets to arms, put themselves at the head of the troops, surrounded the King's tents, and seizing upon his person, sent him prisoner to the fort of Chillige. They immediately marched with the army to Herat, to meet Amir Mufaood, to whom they swore allegiance.

Mahummud
deposed.

* The general gy and titles of their Kings read from the pulpit on all public occasions of worship, after the praise of the prophet.

Sultan Mufaood directed his march to Balch, where he ordered Amir Haffnic to be executed, for having deserted him before, and fled to the King of Myfer *. There was also, it is said, a private pique, which hastened the death of Haffnic, for he was in publick heard to say, that if ever Mufaood should be King, he would suffer himself to be hanged. Amir Ali Cheshawind had his head struck off for his ingratitude to his prince; and Eusoph ben Subuctagi, the other conspirator, and the Sultan's uncle, was imprisoned for life. The eyes of the unfortunate Mahummud were put out, and he himself confined: So that the Sultanit of Mahummud scarcely lasted five months. But, as we shall hereafter see, he was, after nine years imprisonment, blessed with one more bright ray of fortune.

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Mufaood succeeds.

The conspirators punished.

SECTION VI.

The Reign of Shahab ul dowla Jemmal ul Muluck Sultan
MUSAOOD ben Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi.

SULTAN Mafood was a man of a lofty spirit, and was honoured with the appellation of Rustum the second. His arrow could pierce the strongest mail, and sink into the body of an elephant, and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time could raise it with one hand. He was withal, of an obstinate and fierce disposition, contemptuous of all authority, and disdainful of all obedience: This circumstance, in his youth, engaged him in many quarrels, and greatly disoblged his father; who, for that reason, fixed his affections upon his brother Amir Mahummud, who was of a more mild and tractable disposition.

Sultan Mufaood's great strength.

His fierce disposition.

* Egypt.

A. D. 1028.
Higer. 419.
An edire
concerning
Mufaood.

Chaja Abu Nifer Muscati relates, that, when the name of Amir Mahummud was inserted before that of Mufaood, in the Chutba, and read in public for the first time, that he himself followed Amir Mufaood to the door of the mosque, and told him, that what he had heard, gave him the utmost concern, for that his own, as well as the hearts of most of the Omrahs, burnt with affection for him. Amir Mufaood replied with a smile, Give yourselves no concern about it ; the world is for the longest sword.

One of the King's spies hearing this conversation, immediately gave information of it to the Sultan. Mamood immediately calling Abu Nifer, asked him what had passed between him and Amir Mufaood. Abu Nifer thinking that truth would be his best defence, related the particulars. Upon which the King said, that he had always a high opinion of the superior abilities of Mufaood, who, he foresaw, would one day be King ; but that Amir Mahummud had gained his heart, by filial duty, and implicit obedience.

Mufaood re-
leases several
prisoners of
state.

Sultan Mufaood, upon his accession, released Ahummud ben Hassen Mumundi, who, by the orders of the Sultan Mamood, had been imprisoned in the fort of Callinger, and again made him Vizier. He called Amir Ahummud ben Mealtagi, the treasurer, to a strict account, and after having obliged him to refund a great sum, for malpractices in his office, appointed him general of all his forces in Hindostan, and ordered him to proceed to Lahore. He, at the same time, released Mujeid ul Dowla Willami, who had also been imprisoned in one of the forts of Hindostan, and called him to his court.

Higer. 422
Invades Kutch
and Macke-
ran.

Sultan Mufaood, in the year 422, having left Balich, came to Ghizni, and sent an army to Kutch and Mackeran, and the coin of both provinces was struck in his name. The prince of those countries died about that time, and left two sons, Abul Afakir, and Isah.

—Isah,

—Ifah, the younger brother, taking possession of the government, A. D. 1031. Hige: 422. Abul Afakir had recourse for aid, to regain his inheritance, to Sultan Musafood, to whom the fugitive prince promised an annual tribute, and to hold his dominions, when recovered, of him. Musafood agreeing to this proposal, sent a great army with Abul Afakir, with orders to his general, if possible, to reconcile the difference between the brothers, and to divide the country equally between them; but if this could not be done, to put the whole into the possession of Abul Afakir. which are reduced.

When Abul Afakir arrived upon the frontiers, with this powerful army, so obstinate was his brother, and so much devoted to his own ruin, that he would not be brought to listen to any accommodation; and though he was deserted by many of his friends, who joined his brother, he determined to decide the affair with his sword. He accordingly fought with great bravery, till he obtained that death he seemed so eagerly to pursue. The provinces fell into the hands of Abul Afakir, who paid tribute and allegiance to the empire.

The Sultan, in the same year, bestowed the viceroyship of Rai, of Mash made governor of Rai in Persia. Hammedan, and of all the regions of the hills, upon Mash, a man who, though he had raised himself from the lowest office in the camp, displayed uncommon abilities, in reducing those provinces to obedience. After the departure of Sultan Musafood, the countries which we have just mentioned, revolted in part, but Mash not only reduced them to their former dependence, but chastised Ali ul Dowla, governor of Chorassan, who had been tampering with the rebels.

Sultan Musafood, after having settled affairs at Ghizni, intended to march to Ispahan and Rai. But when he arrived at Herat, the people of Sirchus and Badawird complained to him of the ravages of the Siljoki Turkumans. The King, moved by the injuries done to his Unsuccessful wars with the Turkumans. subjects,

A. D. 1031. subjects, was incensed very much against the enemy, and therefore
Higer. 422. immediately ordered Abduse ben Abdul Azize, with a great force, to chastise them. This general, however, was received by the Turkumans, with so much bravery, that he could gain no advantages over them; and the King, for what reason is not known, returned to Ghizni.

Higer. 423. In the year 423, Musafash dispatched Altafash Hajib from Cha-
War with rizm, with a great army, to oppose Ali Tiggi, who had invaded and
Ali Tiggi. conquered Samarcand and Bochara. Altafash marched to Maverulnere, where fifteen thousand horse were ordered to join him from Ghizni. After this junction was effected, he crossed the river Amavia, in the face of the enemy, and continued his rout to Bochara, which he reduced, and then proceeded to Sumarcand. Ali Tiggi marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post, having the river on one side, and a high mountain on the other. When the fire of contention arose *, a party of Ali Tiggi's horse, having turned the mountain, attacked the army of Altafash in the rear. A great slaughter commenced, and the Ghiznian commander was wounded, in a part of the body in which he had formerly received a wound, in taking one of the forts of Hindostan. He however concealed his blood from his army, and charged the enemy with such vigour, in his front and rear, that, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, they were at length put to flight.

Bochara reduced.

Ali Tiggi overthrown by Altafash.

When the battle was over, Altafash called a council of his principal officers, and shewing his wound, told them his end was approaching; and that they must now manage affairs in the best manner they could, intimating at the same time, that he thought they could do nothing better, than conclude a peace with the enemy. This motion being approved, a messenger was dispatched to them,

* That is, when the battle began.

that very night, with proposals, which were eagerly accepted. The conditions were, that Ali Tiggi should keep possession of Samarcand, and that Bochara should remain to Mufaood. The two armies, immediately after this pacification, departed, the one for Samarcand, and the other for Chorrassan. The brave Altafash died the second day after, but his death was concealed from the army, and the chiefs conducted the troops to Charizm: And when these accounts came to Sultan Mufaood, he conferred the government upon Haro the son of Altafash.

Ahmed ben Hassen Mumundi dying this year, Mufaood appointed Abu Niser Ahmid to succeed him as vizier. In the 424th of the Higera, Sultan Mufaood resolved upon an expedition into Hindostan. Taking the rout of Cashmire, he invested the fort of Surfutti, which commanded the passes. The garrison being intimidated, sent messengers to the King, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute if he should desist from his enterprize. The Sultan began to listen to the proposals, when his ears were stunned with a grievous complaint from some Mussulmen captives, who were then detained in the place. He immediately broke up the conference, and began to besiege the fort, ordering the ditch to be filled up with Sugar-canes, from the adjacent plantations. This being done, he ordered scaling ladders to be applied to the walls, which, after a bloody contest, were mounted, and the garrison, without distinction of age or sex, barbarously put to the sword, excepting a few women and children, who were protected by the soldiers for slaves. The King commanded, that what part of the spoil was saved from pillage, should be given to the Mussulmen, who had been slaves in Surfutti, and who had formerly lost their effects.

This year was remarkable for a great drought and famine, in many parts of the world. The famine was succeeded by a calamity.

A. D. 1032.
Higer. 424.

tous pestilence, which swept many thousands from the face of the earth; for in less than one month, forty thousand died in Ispahan, alone. Nor did it rage with less violence in Hindostan, where whole countries were entirely depopulated.

Disturbances
in Tiberistan,

are quelled.

Sultan Mufaood in the mean time was obliged to march back to quell some disturbances in Tiberistan. The inhabitants of Amalifar opposed him in his progress, but they were dispersed by the imperial troops, with little opposition, and Abu Callingar, Prince of Tiberistan, sent an ambassador, and subjected himself and his country to the King. He, at the same time, gave his son Bhamin, and his nephew Shirvi, as hostages, for his future good behaviour.

War with the
Turkumans,

who demand
a subsidy,

Sultan Mufaood turned from thence his face towards Ghizni; and when he arrived at Neshapoor, the people of that place again complained of the incursions of the Turkumans of Siljoki, and Mufaood immediately dispatched Buçtadi, and Hussein ben Ali, with a great force to chastise them. When the Ghiznian army reached the village of Seindenfauk, a messenger came from the Turkumans with a letter, to the following purpose. "That they were the King's servants, and not at all desirous to disturb any body but his enemies, if they should be enabled, by an annual subsidy, to live at home without plunder, or led out to war, that they might exert their skill in what they reckoned their only profession."

and are de-
feated by
Buçtadi,

The answer of Buçtadi was very haughty. "There is no peace, says he, between us, but the sword, unless you will give over your depredations, and submit yourselves implicitly to the laws and authority of the King." After the Turkumans had heard this message from their ambassador, they advanced and made a violent assault upon the camp of Buçtadi; but as they were conducted more by rage than conduct, they were repulsed and obliged to turn their backs upon

upon the honours of the field. Buçtadi pursuing them with great expedition, took all their baggage, and their wives and children.

A. D. 1032,
Higer. 424A

But when Buçtadi was returning from the pursuit, while yet many of his troops were dispersed, and intent upon the plunder, the Turkumans issued out from between two hills, and, rendered desperate by their former loss, made a dreadful slaughter among the troops of Buçtadi, who could not be regularly brought up to the charge. The Ghiznians continued to fight and retreat, for two days and nights, but Hufsein ben Ali could not be persuaded to quit the field, so that after the most of his men were killed, he himself fell a prisoner into the hands of the enemy. Buçtadi fled, and carried advice of his own defeat, to Sultan Musafood, at Neshapoor.

whom, in another battle, they overthrew.

The Sultan was obliged for that time to restrain his resentment, upon account of some disturbances in Hindostan. He marched back to Ghizni, in the year 426; and thence sent an army under Ban, an Indian chief, against Ahmud Neal Tiggi, who had rebelled in his government. But, when the two armies met, Ban was defeated with great slaughter.

Disturbances in Hindostan.

Musafood being informed of this disaster, sent Touluck, another Hindoo chief, who coming to battle with Ahmud Neal Tiggi, gave him a total overthrow. He fled in great haste towards Munsura, Tatta, and Sind. Touluck pursued him so close, that many thousands of the runaways fell into his hands; whom he treated in the most inhuman manner, cutting off their noses and ears.

The rebels defeated.

When Tiggi reached the banks of the Sind, he found himself, if possible, in greater distress than before; for collecting all the boats, which the pressure of the enemy would permit, he endeavoured to cross the river. But the soldiers, afraid of being abandoned, hurried into the boats with such violence, and in such numbers, that most of them were either overset or sunk. A sudden storm, and an inundation of the river, added to the confusion of the

Their great distress.

A. D. 1034. vanquished; so that very few of them escaped. The body of their
Higer. 425. chief was soon after found by the enemy, and his head sent to Ghizni.

A new palace built at Ghizni.

A new palace being finished in the year 427, at Ghizni, a golden throne, studded with jewels, was erected in a magnificent hall, and a crown of gold, weighing seventy maunds †, darting lustre from its precious stones, suspended by a golden chain over it, by way of canopy, under which the King sat in state, and gave public audience. He in the same year conferred the ensigns and drums of royalty, upon his son Amir Modood, and sent him to the government of Balich, whilst he himself marched with an army to Hindostan, to reduce the strong city of Haffi.

Mufaood invades Hindostan.

This city was the capital of Sewalic, and was, by the Hindoos, reckoned impregnable, for they were taught to believe, by some of their prophets, that it should never fall into the hands of the Mussulmen. But the Hindoo prophets, like those of other nations, deceived their followers; for the King, in the space of six days, though with a very considerable loss on his side, scaled the place and took it. Mufaood found immense treasures in Haffi; and having put it into the hands of a trusty servant, he marched towards the fort of Sunput. Deipal, the governor of Sunput, evacuated the place, and fled into the woods; but he had no time to carry off his treasure, which fell into the conqueror's hands. Mufaood ordered all the temples to be laid in ruins, and all the idols to be broke down.

Take: Haffi.

Sunput evacuated.

Mufaood surpriseth Deipal.

The Sultan then went in pursuit of Deipal, who began to shew himself in the field; but he was surpris'd by the King, and all his army

† The least maund in India is that of Surat, which weighs thirty-seven pound five ounces and seven drachms averdupoize; by which we may conjecture, that the value of this crown was immense.

taken prisoners; while he himself escaped in the habit of a slave. A. D. 1635. Higert 427.
 Mufaood marched from thence towards Raam, another Raja of those parts, who upon receiving intelligence of the King's intentions, sent immense presents of gold and elephants, excusing himself on account of his age, from personally attending upon Mufaood. The Sultan received his presents and excuse, and with-held his hand from giving him any farther molestation; then leaving a trusty Omrah in Sinput*, he took possession of all the countries in his rear, intending to return to Ghizni. When he reached Lahore, he left there his son Mugdood, on whom he conferred the government and the drums and ensigns of state, with Eur his favourite, to be his counsellor in matters of importance.

In the year 428 Mufaood again marched to Balich, to quell the tumults raised by the Turkumans, who, upon hearing of the King's approach, evacuated that country. The inhabitants of that province addressed the Sultan and acquainted him, that Eur Tiggi, after his departure, had made divers incursions into their territories, and crossing the river, had lengthened his hands upon the lives and effects of his subjects. The King determined therefore to chastise him that winter, and in the beginning of the spring, to bring the other Turkomans of Siljoki to a better understanding. The Omrahs of his court, with one accord, advised him to march first against the Siljokis, because they had, for two years, gained an ascendancy over the inhabitants of Chorrassan, and were daily gaining strength. The Sultan, at that time, received also a letter from one of the nobles of that province, acquainting him that his enemies, who were once but Ants, were now become little Snakes, and if they were not soon destroyed, they might grow in a short time to Serpents.

* Forty miles from Delhi, on the road to Lahore.

But

A. D. 1036.
 The good fortune of Muraod declines.

But the star of the King's fortune had now reached the house of adversity, and he would not by any means hearken to their advice. In hopes to conquer the country before him, he laid a bridge over the Gion, and crossing his army without opposition, took possession of the whole province of Maver ul nere. But during that winter, such a quantity of snow fell, that it was with the greatest difficulty he marched back his army towards Ghizni. In the mean time, Chukker Beg Daood Siljoki marched with an army against Balich, from whence Chaja Amud wrote to the King the particulars, begging, as he had not a sufficient force to oppose the enemy, that he would take some measures to reinforce him. Mufaood upon this turned his army towards Balich.

Ghizni pillaged.

But Tiggi taking this advantage, marched quickly to Ghizni, where he plundered the King's stables, and after having greatly dishonoured the capital, he was repulsed. When the Sultan reached the confines of Balich, Daood retreated towards Murve, upon which the King, in conjunction with his son Modood, set out in pursuit of him to Gurgan. When the Turkumans heard of the motion of the Ghiznians towards Murve, they sent an ambassador, professing obedience and loyalty, if the King would bestow a track of country upon them, in which they might settle. Sultan Mufaood consenting to this proposal, sent a messenger to their chief, whose name was Pugu, to come and settle the treaty, which accordingly he did, and the King, upon promise of their future good behaviour, alienated a large territory for their maintainance.

Peace with the Turkumans.

Their perfidy.

Mufaood, after this treaty, turned with his army towards Herat; but such was the infidelity of those ravagers, that they attacked the rear of the King's army, carrying off part of his baggage, and slaying a number of his attendants. The Sultan, incensed at this behaviour, sent a detachment in pursuit of them, who took a small party

party of them prisoners and brought them to his feet. He immediately ordered their heads to be cut off and sent to Pugu, who excused himself, saying, that for his part he was glad they had met with their deserts, for he had no knowledge of their proceedings.

A. D. 1038.
Higer. 430.

The Sultan continued his march to Herat, from Herat to Neshapoor, and from thence to Toos. At Toos he was attacked by another tribe of Turkumans, whom he defeated with great slaughter. In the mean time he received intelligence that the inhabitants of Badwird had given up their forts to the Turkumans. He marched immediately against them, retook the forts and cleared that country of the enemy. He then returned to Neshapoor, where he spent the winter, and in the spring of the year 430, he again returned to Badwird, which had been infested in his absence by Toghril Siljoki, who fled upon the Sultan's approach towards Tizin. Mufaoon, after this exploit, returned by the way of Sirchus, whose inhabitants had refused to pay their taxes: But upon some of their chiefs being put to death, they became more tractable; and upon their submission the King continued his march to Dindaka.

Mufaoon
takes the rout
of Herat;

The Turkumans collecting their forces at Dindaka, surrounded the King's army, securing the passes upon every side: The Sultan, to bring them to an engagement, drew out his army in order of battle, which the enemy by no means declined, advancing upon all quarters with barbarous shouts and great impetuosity. This uncommon method of charging discouraged the Sultan's troops; and whether thro' fear or perfidy, several of his generals in the beginning of the action, rode off with their whole squadrons and joined the enemy. The King, enraged at this treachery, and seeing his affairs in a desperate situation, addressed himself in a few words to his friends about him. He told them that their own safety, their long acquired honour, the glory of their King, and the security of their native coun-

His army
surrounded by
the Turku-
mans;

Is deserted by
a great part of
his army.

Mufaoon en-
courages his
troops.

A. D. 1038. try, now depended upon one noble effort to revenge themselves upon
Higer. 430. their enemies, and those still greater enemies, who had so basely
deserted their cause.

His valour. Musafood then turning his horse to where he beheld the torrent of
gleaming arms rolling on, plunged singly to oppose the stream, bear-
ing down all before him, and exhibiting such acts of gigantic force
and valour, as never King had before displayed. A few of his
friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour
which inspires the brave, seconded their Lord so well, that whitherfo-
ever he turned his fatal sword, the enemy were mowed down or
retreated before him. But now, when victory seemed to blow on
his standard, misfortune was active behind it; for when he looked
round he beheld his whole army devouring the paths of
flight.

His army de-
serts him.

He opens a
passage for
himself thro'
the enemy,

punishes the
deserters.

The King, seeing himself thus shamefully deserted, and that no
hope from his single arm remained, turned his steed and
trampling down the enemy, opened to himself a clear passage with
his own sword. When he reached the river near Murve, he met
with a few of the fugitives, who now began to collect themselves
from all quarters. He took from thence the way of Ghor, and
proceeded to Ghizni. There he seized upon the generals who had
so ingloriously deserted him. He ordered Ali Daia, Buctadi and Sab
Sinai, to be conveyed to Hindostan, and confined in a certain fort
for life.

He retreats to
Hindostan,

The Sultan finding himself, at this period, unable to withstand the
enemy, resolved to withdraw to Hindostan, till he could collect his
forces and make another effort to retrieve his affairs. He left his son
Modood and his Vizier Chaja Mahummud, with four thousand
horse, to defend Balich, and ordered his other son Amir Mugdood,
who

who had come from Lahore with two thousand horse to secure Moultan. In the mean time Erid Ear, another of his sons, was sent with a detachment to awe the mountain Afghans, near Ghizni, who were in arms. He then collected all his wealth from the different strong holds to Ghizni, and laying it upon camels bent his way to Lahore, sending for his brother Mahummud the blind from his confinement.

A. D. 1041.
Higer. 433.

When Musafood arrived upon the banks of the Gelum, the water of which, on account of its purity, is called the water of Paradise, the slaves, who were very numerous in his camp, entered into a confederacy with the camel keepers, and began to divide the treasure among them. The troops observing this, they were determined to partake of the spoil, so that in a moment nothing was to be seen but drawn swords, ravage, and confusion. Every one plundered his neighbour; some gained much wealth, while others more weak or unfortunate, were robbed of all upon which they had laid their hands, and stripped of their own besides. The army, for this tumult, fearing the resentment of the King, and not chusing to refund the plunder; hastened in a mob to Mahummud the blind, who had been before King, and, exalting him upon their shoulders, proclaimed him Emperor.

A tumult in
the camp.

Mahummud
proclaimed
King.

Musafood was, during this time, collecting what friends he could to suppress the mutiny; but no sooner was it known that his brother was proclaimed King, than the Sultan found himself intirely deserted. The mob pressing round him, he was obliged to give himself up into their hands, and he was carried before the new Sultan. Mahummud told him he had no design to take his life, and desired he might pitch upon some fort, whither he might retire with his family into confinement. Sultan Musafood, in this extremity, chose the fort of Kurri, but was even in distress for money to pay his few

Musafood de-
posed,

A. D. 1041.
Higer. 433.

menial attendants. This obliged him to send a person to his brother to request him for some. Sultan Mahummud accordingly ordered the pitiful sum of five hundred dirms to be sent him; upon which Musfood, when it was brought him, exclaimed after the following manner. "O wonderful cast of Providence! O cruel reverse of fate! Yesterday was I not a mighty prince; three thousand camels bending under my treasure? To-day I am forced to beg, and to receive but the mere mockery of my wants." With that he borrowed a thousand dirms from his servants, and bestowed it in a present upon his brother's messenger, who had brought the five hundred dirms, which he desired he might again carry back to his master.

and assassinated.

Sultan Mahummud, upon his accession, advanced his son Ahmid to the government, reserving for himself only the name, though Ahmid was, by many, supposed to have a tincture of madness in his disposition. The first thing he did was, without consulting his father, in conjunction with Soliman ben Eusoph, and the son of Ali Cheshawind, to go to the castle of Kurri and assassinate Sultan Musfood, in the year 433. But some affirm, that he buried him alive in a well.

His character.

Munificent to the learned.

The reign of Musfood was nine years and nine months. He was a prince of uncommon strength and bravery; affable, of easy access, and generous to prodigality; particularly to learned men, of whose company he was excessively fond, which drew many from all parts to his court.

Among the first of the learned in the court of Musfood, we must reckon Abu Keihan Charismi, a great philosopher and astrologer, who wrote one of the best treatises upon astronomy, called Canoon Musfoodi, for which he was presented with an elephant made of silver, the size of which we are not told. *Casi* Abu Mahummud.

Mahummud Nafahi was also a man of much reputation in this age. A. D. 1041. Higer. 433. He wrote a book called Mufaoodi, in support of the doctrine of Abu Hanifa, which he presented to the King. Charitable. The author of the Rofit ul Sulja tells us, that so extensive was the King's charity, that some days in the month of Ramzan, he bestowed often a lack of dirms upon the poor. In the beginning of his reign he built many Magnificent. noble mosques, and endowed many colleges and schools, which he erected in different cities of his dominions.

S E C T I O N VII.

The Reign of Abul Fatte, Chutub ul Muluck Shahab, ul Dowla AMIR MODOOD ben Mufaood ben Mamood Ghiznavi.

WHEN the news of the murder of Mufaood came to Mahummud the blind, he wept bitterly, and severely reproached Mahummud grieves for the death of Mufaood. the assassins. He, at the same time, wrote to Modood, who was then at Balich, that such and such people had killed his father; calling God to witness, that his hands were clear of the wicked deed. To this Modood replied, sarcastically: May God lengthen the days of so good and so merciful a King, and grant that his mad son Ahmid, may gain glory in the practice of regicide, till his reward be obtained from our hands.

Modood was for marching immediately, to revenge the death of his father; but he was persuaded by his council, to go first to Modood ascends the throne of Ghizni. Ghizni; where the citizens, upon his approach, thronged out to meet him, and expressed their joy in acclamations and congratulations upon his accession.

A. D. 1041.
Liger. 433.

Marches to
revenge the
death of his
father.

Totally de-
feats Ma-
hummud.

In the year 433, he marched from Ghizni; while Mahummud the blind, appointing his younger son Nami, governor of Pishawir and Moultan, marched in person to the banks of the Sind to receive Modood, who was moving that way, and the two armies meeting in the forest of Diner, between the uncle and nephew, the flames of contention began to arise. The gales of victory at length, began to fan the standards of Modood, while Sultan Mahummud, with his sons, and Tiggi Ali Cheshawind, and Soliman ben Eusoph were taken prisoners. They were all put to death, except Abdul Rahim, the son of Mahummud, whom Modood pardoned for this reason; that during the time that Mufaood was prisoner, Abdul Rahim went with his brother Abdul Reiman to see him. When, upon this occasion, the latter insultingly threw off Mufaood's royal cap, Abdul Rahim took it up and put it upon the King's head with much respect, chastising his brother for his mean and barbarous behaviour.

Modood having thus revenged his father's murder, built a town on the spot upon which he had obtained the victory, and called it Fatte Abad. He carried the remains of his father and family, to be interred at Ghizni; whither he returned, and appointed Abu Niser Ahmed his Vizier. But he soon after discharged that Omrah from that high office, and conferred the dignity upon Chuja Tahir. He sent, at the same time, Nisir Ahmed with a force to Moultan, against Nami, the son of Mahummud, whom he slew, reducing the country under the obedience of Modood. The Sultan had now nothing to fear but from his own brother, who was in possession of Lahore and its dependencies. This brother, upon the murder of his father, marched from Moultan, and by the council of Eas, possessed himself of all the country lying between the Sind, Hassi and Tannafar.

Sultan

Sultan Modood finding that his brother refused to pay him allegiance, ordered an army against him. Mugdood being apprised of this expedition, marched from Haffi, where he then resided, with his whole force, to oppose the Sultan's troops. He came up with them before they reached Lahore, with an army so numerous, that the forces of Modood were upon the point of flying at their appearance, several of the chiefs deserting their colours, and enlisting themselves under the banners of Mugdood. But fortune here, or treachery, befriended Modood. In the morning of the day of sacrifice, Mugdood was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint, or apparent cause of his decease. But what seemed to discover the hand of traitors, was, that next day, his counsellor and friend Eas was found dead in the same manner. Mugdood's army marched under the banners of Modood, so that the southern countries submitted in peace.

A. D. 1041.
Higer. 433.
Modood sends
an army
against his
brother,

who is found
dead in his
bed.

Nor was Modood less fortunate towards the north. The province of Maveerulnere, which had for some time asserted its independence, submitted. But the Siljokies, notwithstanding the King had taken one of the daughters of their chief in marriage, began to make incursions anew, into his territories.

In the year 435, the Raja of Delhi, in alliance with others, raising an army, took Haffi, Tannassar, and their dependencies, from the governors, to whom Modood had entrusted them. The Hindoos from thence marched towards the fort of Nagracot, which they besieged for four months, and the garrison being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, were under the necessity of capitulating. The Hindoos, according to the antient form, erected new idols, and recommenced the rites of idolatry.

Invasion from
Delhi.

We are told, that the Raja of Delhi, observing a weakness in the empire of Ghizni, pretended to have seen a vision, in which

A pretended
vision.

the

A. D. 1013.
Higer. 435.

the great idol of Nagracot told him, that having now revenged himself upon Ghizni, he would meet him at Nagracot in his former temple. This story being propagated by the Brahmins, who probably were in the secret, it gained faith among the superstitious, by which means the Raja was joined by zealots from all parts, and soon saw himself at the head of a very numerous army. With this army, as we have already mentioned, he besieged Nagracot, and when the place surrendered, he took care to have an idol, of the same shape and size with the former, which he had caused to be made at Delhi, introduced, in the night, into a garden in the center of the place. This image being discovered in the morning, there was a prodigious rejoicing among his deluded votaries, who exclaimed, that their God was returned from Ghizni. The Raja, and the Brahmins, taking advantage of the credulity of the populace, with great pomp and festivity, carried him into the temple, where he received the worship and congratulations of his people.

A holy trick.

This story raised so much the fame of the idol, that thousands came daily to worship from all parts of Hindostan, as also to consult him as an oracle, upon all important occasions. The manner of consultation was this; the persons who came to inquire into futurity, slept on the floor of the temple before him, after drinking a dose of something which the Brahmins prescribed, to create dreams, from which they predicted their fortune, in the morning, according to their own fancy.

The siege of
Lahore.

The success of the Raja of Delhi gave such confidence to the Rajas of Punjaab, and other places, that though before like foxes they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Musselman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those Rajas, with ten thousand horse, and an innumerable army of foot, advanced to Lahore, and invested it.

The Mussulmen, in defence of their laws, families, and effects, exerted all imaginable valour upon this occasion, during the space of seven months, defending the town, street by street; for the walls being bad, were soon laid in ruins. Finding, however, that in the end, they must be rooted out by this defensive war, unless they had speedy succours, they bound themselves by oath, to devote their lives to victory or martyrdom, and making a sally out of the city, presented themselves in order of battle, before the enemy's camp. The Hindoos, either struck with their unexpected appearance, or intimidated by their resolution, betook themselves instantly to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

A. D. 1043.
Higer. 435.

Is raised.

In the year preceding this event, the King sent Artagi Hajib, with an army, to Tiberistan, against the Turkumans. When he reached that place, he heard that the son of Daood had advanced to Arkin; but when the two armies drew up in order against one another, the chief of the Turkumans, who was a young man, without either experience or courage, shewed such pusillanimity in arranging his troops, that the enemy had begun the charge before they were properly formed, which occasioned an immediate confusion, so that they abandoned the field, and were pursued with great slaughter. Artagi having returned from the pursuit, marched directly to Balich, which the Turkumans had taken, and recovered that city out of their hands.

The Turkumans defeated.

Not long after, the Turkumans advanced again with a powerful force, and invested the same place. As it was not very defensible, and Artagi was too weak to engage the enemy in the field, he wrote to Modood for succours. The succours not arriving, and the general finding his difficulties daily increasing, and his force diminishing, determined to evacuate the place, which he accordingly did, and fled to Ghizni, with a few of his attendants. But the popular outcry was so great against the unfortunate Artagi, that the Sultan was obliged

A. D. 1044
Higer 436.
Atagi Hajib
put to death.

ged, in some measure, to silence the clamour by the death of his servant. About this time another tribe of the Turkumans of Ghizizi made an incursion into the Ghiznian territories, by the way of Bust, against whom Modood sent an army, which gave them a signal defeat.

The Turku-
mans repeat-
edly defeated.

In the year 436, Chaja Tahir the vizier was deposed, and Chaja Abul Fatte Abdul Ryfaac, was exalted to that dignity; and, in the same year, Tughril Hajib was sent, with a force, towards Bust, from whence he proceeded to Seistan, and brought his own brother, and Ringi Abu Munfur, who had rebelled against the King, prisoners to Ghizni. The Turkumans of Siljoki, in the year following, collected all their forces, and directed their march towards Ghizni, plundering the palace of Bust. Tughril was ordered against them, with the troops of Ghizni, and he defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them out of the country. After this victory Tughril marched immediately against the Turkumans of Candahar, whom they called *red-caps*, and, defeating them also, took many prisoners, whom he brought to Ghizni.

Tughril re-
volts.

In the 438th year, Tughril was again ordered to Bust, with a numerous army; but when he came to Tiggiabad, he began to discover the traitor. News of his revolt having reached Modood, he sent some persons to endeavour to reclaim him to his duty, with promises of pardon, and a removal of all the disgusts which he might have entertained. To this Tughril replied, that the reason of this step was to secure himself: That he had an information of a plot formed against his life, by those sycophants, whose only business was to stand by the throne, and to amuse the too easy ears of the King, with lies and flattery: That being once forced to disobedience, he had, for a subject, gone too far to retreat. The King's emissaries however, though they had no effect upon Tughril, found that the most part of the chiefs were still loyal to the King, and brought over others, who had

had changed, rather out of a desire of innovation, than disaffection to their sovereign. Upon this they returned, and having told to the King in what manner things were concerted with the other chiefs, he immediately ordered Ali ben Ribbi, with two thousand horse, to favour the insurrection, so that Tughril, finding himself deserted by the army, upon the appearance of Ali ben Ribbi, betook himself to flight, with a few of his adherents.

A. D. 1046.
Higer, 438.

Deserted by
his army.

Hajib bab Tiggi was in the same year sent to Ghor, to the assistance of Willidingi, who joining him with his force, they both marched against Abu Ali, chief of Ghor, and having driven him into a fort, he was there besieged and taken prisoner. This place was reckoned so strong, that for seven hundred years before, the reduction of it had not been attempted by any body. When Hajib bab Tiggi found himself master of the fort, he treacherously laid hands upon Willidingi, whose right he came to support, and carried him in chains with Abu Ali, to Ghizni, where the perfidious King settled their dispute, by cutting off both their heads.

Madood Willidingi

basely put to
death.

Hajib bab Tiggi was sent, soon after, against Byram Neal, general of the Turkumans. He met the enemy in the districts of Bust, and engaged them, gaining, at length, the long disputed field. He was again, in the year 439, sent against Amir Kisdar, who refused to pay his tribute, whom he subdued, and obliged to comply with the King's commands, and returned with his army to Ghizni, the year following.

Sultan Modood, the following year, in one day, conferred the che- lat, drums and colours, upon his two eldest sons, Abul Casim Ma- mood, whom he sent to Lahore, and upon Munfur, whom he sent to Peshawir. At the same time Abu Ali, chief magistrate of Ghizni, was sent to command in Hindostan. Abu Ali first marched to Peshawir,

Modood con-
fers the drums,
&c. on two
of his sons.

A. D. 1047.
Higer. 439.

wir, and took the fort of Mahitila, from Ahin, who had rebelled against the King's authority, then sent a letter of invitation to Higgi Rai, a general of the Hindoos, who had done much service in the time of Sultan Mamood, but, upon account of some political matters, had fled from the court, and had taken up his abode in the mountains of Cashmire. The invitation being complied with, the King desired his attendance at Ghizni.

Abu Ali put
to death.

While Abu Ali was settling the countries about the Sind, some malicious chiefs in his camp, forwarded many complaints against him, to the King. He was called to Ghizni, and imprisoned, under the care of one Mirik ben Hassen. This man, out of former enmity, and with a design to extort money from him, put him to the torture, and soon after to death itself. Fearing, however, that the King might some day enquire for the prisoner, and order him to be produced, he himself being then a great favourite, endeavoured to divert Modood's mind to some important affairs, till he should be able to frame some excuse for the death of Abu Ali. He at length prevailed upon the Sultan to form an expedition against Chorrassan, by the way of Cabul. When they reached Lowgur, they besieged the fort of Sancoot, where there was a considerable treasure lodged. But there the King was seized with a disorder in his liver, which daily gaining ground, he was obliged to proceed to Ghizni in a litter; while his vizier, Abul Ryfac, with the army, marched back into Seistan, to oppose the Siljokies, who had invaded that country.

Modood falls
sick.

When the King arrived at Ghizni, he ordered Mirik to bring his prisoner Abu Ali before him. Mirik, by plausible excuses, delayed the time for a week, before the expiration of which, Sultan Modood took his leave of the world, in the year four hundred and forty one, having reigned nine years.

Dies.

1

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

The Reign of Abu Jaffier MUSAOOD ben Modood.

WHEN Modood had taken his journey to the other world, A. D. 1049.
Higer. 441. Ali ben Ribbi had formed a design to usurp the throne; but Musaood, an
infant, placed
upon the
throne. concealing his intentions, he raised Musaood, the son of Modood, who was then a child of four years, to the Musnud. Bab Tiggi Hajib, not being made a partner in his measures, was highly offended, and drew off with half the army, who were in his interest. The kingdom was thus split into two factions, and came to action; in which Ali ben Ribbi being worsted, the faction of Bab Tiggi took Abul Hassen Ali, one of the sons of Musaood, who had escaped the resentment of Ali ben Ribbi, and proclaimed him King, He is deposed. deposing Abu Jaffier Musaood, after a reign of six days.

SECTION IX.

The Reign of Sultan ABUL HASSEN ALI ben Musaood.

UPON friday, the first of Shaban, in the year four hundred and Abul Hassen
Ali ascends
the throne. forty one, Sultan Abul Hassen Ali ascended the throne of Ghizni, and took the wife of Modood in marriage. In the mean time Ali ben Ribbi, in association with Mirik, broke open the treasury, and taking out a vast quantity of gold and jewels, fled, with a company of the slaves, and some of the Omrahs, whom they had brought over to their interest, to Peshawir. At Peshawir they were joined by the natives, raised a great army, and reduced Moulton and Sind to their obedience, making a great slaughter of the Afghans or Patans, who had taken advantage of the public disturbances, to plunder the country.

A. D. 1051.
Higer. 443.
Defeated and
deposed by
Abdul Reshid.

In the year four hundred and forty three, Sultan Abul Hassen Ali, called his brothers, Murda Shaw, and Ezid Ear, from the fort of Naáláma, where they had been imprisoned, and treated them with affection and respect. But, at this time, Abdul Reshid, the son of Sultan Mamood, began to form a faction in his own favour. To crush Reshid, the King opened his treasury, and entertained a great army; notwithstanding which, his power began daily visibly to decline. Abdul Reshid advanced in the mean time, with his army, to Ghizni, and, gaining a compleat victory, ascended the throne.

SECTION X.

The Reign of Zein ul Muluck, Sultan ABDUL RESHID.

Abdul Reshid
mounts the
throne.

ABDUL RESHID, as we have already mentioned, was the son of Sultan Mamood, and was, by the order of Modood, imprisoned in a castle near Buft. When Abdul Ryfac, about the time of the death of Modood, marched with an army, to settle the country of Seistan; he, upon hearing of the King's death, in confederacy with Chaja Abul Fazil, Resid ben Altafash; and Noshtagi Hajib, in the year 443, released Abdul Reshid from his confinement, and, asserting his cause with vigour, raised him, as we have seen, to the throne. His predecessor Abul Hassen Ali, was seized by some of the Zemindars, in the country into which he had fled, brought prisoner before Reshid, and confined in the fort of Didi.

Bings over
Ali ben Ribbi.

The Sultan, by various means, prevailed upon Ali ben Ribbi, who had usurped the provinces of Hindostan, to submit to his allegiance, and return to Ghizni. He appointed Noshtagi Hajib to the command of those provinces, created him an Omrah, and sent him
with

with a fine army to Lahore. Hajib, upon his way, turning to Nagracot, laid siege to that place, and on the sixth day, scaling the walls, took it by assault.

A. D. 1052.
Higer. 444.

Tughril, whom we have already mentioned, was, notwithstanding his treachery to his former master, now again intrusted with the government of Seistan, which he soon brought under proper regulations. Being stirred up by the spirit of treachery and ambition, he conceived hopes of assuming royalty; and raising a great army, marched towards Ghizni; where Abdul Reshid being almost destitute of troops, was forced to shut himself up; but the place being very extensive, it was impossible for him to defend it long, which he however did to the last extremity. Ghizni was taken at length, and the Sultan with nine of the blood royal were inhumanly put to death by the usurper, who now ascended the throne. But Tughril did not long enjoy the fruits of his villany; having wrote to Noshtagi Hajib, endeavouring to bring him over by fair means to acknowledge him, that chief answered him with the contempt he deserved.

Tughil rebels.

Besieges Ghizni.

The Sultan taken and slain.

Hajib, at the same time, wrote private letters to the daughter of Musacod, whom the tyrant had compelled to marry him, as also to all the Omrahs who he knew had retained their loyalty for the imperial family, spiring them up to conspire against the usurper's life. They were so far excited to resentment, that a conspiracy was forthwith formed amongst them, and put in execution on new year's day, when Tughril was stepping up to the throne to give public audience. Thus the usurper, at the end of forty days, arrived at his tragical end.

The Usurper assassinated.

After this important transaction, Noshtagi Hajib arrived at Ghizni with his army, and calling a council of state, enquired whether any

any

A. D. 1032. any yet remained of the race of Subuktagi. He was informed that
Higer. 441. there were still imprisoned in a certain fort, Feroch Zaad, Ibrahim
and Suja. These he ordered to be called, and it being agreed that
Feroch Zaad fortune should decide it by lot who should reign; she favoured Feroch
made King. Zaad, who was accordingly placed upon the throne, and received
the allegiance of the court: The reign of Abdul Reshid compre-
hended only one year.

Anecdote of Tughril. A certain author tells us, that Tughril, being one day asked by
one of his intimate friends,—what induced him to think of aspir-
ing to the empire, replied, that when Abdul Reshid dispatched him
to take the government of Seistan, he found that his hand trembled,
from which circumstance he concluded, that he was destitute of that
resolution and fortitude which are necessary accomplishments of a King.

SECTION XI.

The Reign of Jemmal ul Dowla FEROCHE ZAAD, ben Sultan
Mufaood Ghiznavi.

Noshtagi
Hajib ma-
nages the af-
fairs of state.

WHEN Sultan Feroch Zaad placed the crown of fortune
upon his head, he gave the reins of administration into the
hands of Noshtagi Hajib, who had called him from obscurity.
Daood, chief of the Siljoki Turkumans, hearing of the commotions
in the empire, seized upon that favourable opportunity to invade
Ghizni. He advanced with a numerous army, while Noshtagi,
collecting all his forces, went forth to meet him. When the armies
engaged, the fire of gleaming steel was extinguished in torrents of
blood; for, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the warriors
on both sides laboured in the field of death; and though thousands
fell

fell at their feet, they seemed insensible of their own mortality. Victory at length declared for Noshtagi, while his enemies betook themselves to flight, leaving all their camp equipage and baggage on the field, to the conquerors, who immediately returned victorious to Ghizni.

A. D. 1052.
Higer. 444.
Overthrows
the Turku-
mans.

This victory served to establish Feroch Zaad without fear upon the throne. He now exalted the standard of triumph, and inclined it towards Chorraffan, where, on the part of the Siljoki, he was met by Callifarick, one of their principal Omrahs, with a numerous army. When the engagement commenced, such a flame of rage and contention appeared, as the tongue of the travellers of the plain of eloquence cannot sufficiently express; then also the gales of victory fanned the royal standards of Ghizni, and Callifarick and several other persons of note were taken prisoners.

Feroch Zaad
overthrows
the Turku-
mans.

Intelligence of this defeat coming to Daood Siljoki, he collected all his forces, which he submitted to the command of his son Alib Arfilla, a youth of great expectations. Arfilla advanced to oppose the King, and having engaged him with great resolution, recovered the honour of the Turkumans, and took many of the Omrahs of Ghizni prisoners in the pursuit. But he did not think proper at that time, to make further use of his fortune, and he therefore returned with his victorious army.

Defeated by
Alib Arfilla.

When Sultan Feroch Zaad arrived at Ghizni, he called Callifarick and all the prisoners of the Turkumans into his presence, bestowed upon each of them the honour of a dress, and gave them their liberty. The Turkumans returning home, represented in so strong a light, the humanity of the King, that Daood, ashamed to be outdone in a virtuous action, ordered the prisoners of Ghizni to be also released.

Prisoners re-
leased.

Sultan:

A. D. 1038.
Hijer. 430.

Feroch Zaad
d.es.

Sultan Feroch Zaad, who, according to the best authorities, was the son of Mufaood, though some say that Abdul Reshid was his father, having extended his reign to six years, in the year four hundred and fifty turned his face to the regions of futurity. The year before his death, his slaves having been instigated to a conspiracy against his life, made an attempt to assassinate him in the bath. Feroch Zaad having wrested a sword out of the hand of one of them, killed many, and defended himself against the rest, till his guards hearing the noise, came in to his assistance; upon which, all the slaves were put to instant death. His first vizier was Hassen ben Mora, and in the latter part of his reign, Abu Beker Saley.

SECTION XII.

The Reign of Zahir ul. Dowla SULTAN IBRAHIM, ben
Mufaood Ghiznavi.

Ibrahim,
a religious
and good
prince.

WHEN Feroch Zaad became the inhabitant of another world, Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne of empire: A King remarkable for morality and devotion, having in the flower of his youth, amidst a paradise of pleasure, conquered all the sensual appetites, and added two months more to the feast of Ramzan, which he kept with the strictest severity. He, at the same time, gave proper attention to government, and the due administration of justice, and opened the hand of charity to the poor. This prince excelled in the art of fine writing, and in the libraries of Mecca and Medina, there are two copies of the Koran wrote by his own hand, which were sent as presents to the Caliph.—In the first year of his reign, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Turkumans, ceding to them
all

Peace with the
Turkumans.

all the countries they had seized, upon condition that they would not lengthen the hand of violence any further upon his dominions.

A. D. 1058.
Higer. 450.

He married, at the same time, his son Mufaood, to the daughter of their King, Malleck Shaw, which opened the door of friendship and intercourse between the two nations.

We are told, that before this peace was concluded, Malleck Shaw had collected a great army, with an intention to invade Ghizni, which greatly intimidated Ibrahim, as he was not then in a condition to oppose him. But knowing that policy is sometimes a good substitute for strength, he wrote letters to the principal Omrahs of Malleck Shaw's army, which he dispatched by a messenger who had received his instructions how to proceed. The purport of those letters was to importune the Omrahs, to whom they were directed, to hasten the King's march to Ghizni, lest their scheme should be prematurely discovered; and that they might depend upon his fulfilling his engagements to their satisfaction.

Policy of
Ibrahim.

The messenger accordingly took an opportunity one day, when Malleck Shaw was hunting, upon the road to Ghizni, to come running towards him; but upon discovering the King, he stole slowly away, which creating suspicion, he was pursued by some horsemen, and brought before the King. He was immediately searched, and the packet was found upon him; though he had previously suffered himself to be severely bastinadoed, without confessing any thing. The King having read these letters, the power of the supposed conspirators was such, that there was great danger in accusing them; but it raised such a diffidence in his mind, that he, from that time, was desirous of peace, and gave over all thoughts of his expedition.

King of the
Turkomans
deceived.

When the mind of Ibrahim was quieted from any apprehensions from that quarter, he sent an army towards Hindostan, and con-

A. D. 1079.
Hige. 472.
Ibrahim's ex-
pedition to
Hindolan.

quered many places in that country, which before had not been visited by the Mussulman arms. In the year 472, he marched himself towards that country, and extended his conquests to the fort of Ajodin, called now Palanshukurgunge. This place being taken, he turned to another fort called Rupal, which was built upon the summit of a steep hill; a river enclosed it on three sides, and a small peninsula joined it to the other hills, which were entirely covered with an impervious wood, and much infested by venomous serpents. This, however, did not discourage the Sultan from his attempt. He ordered some thousand hatchet men to clear the wood, which they effected in spite of all opposition; and the rock being soft, the miners forced their way in a short time under the walls, which were brought down in ruins. The place was immediately taken, and the garrison made prisoners.

Takes Rupal.

He marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which came originally from Chorrassan, and were banished thither, with their families, by Afranfiab †, for frequent rebellions. Here they formed themselves into a small independant state, being encircled by impassible mountains; and had preserved their ancient customs and rites, without intermarrying with any other people. The Sultan having, with infinite labour, cleared a road for his army over the mountains, advanced towards the town, which was well fortified. He was overtaken by the rainy season, and his army was greatly distressed; during three months he was obliged to remain idle before it. But when the rains began to abate, and the country to dry up, he summoned the town to surrender, and acknowledge the faith.

Ibrahim's proposals being rejected he commenced the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The

† A name common to a long race of Persian Kings.

town at length was taken by assault, and the Mussulmen found much wealth within it, and one hundred thousand unfortunate persons, whom they carried bound to Ghizni. Some time after, the King accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone with great difficulty and labour, to a palace which was then building. This awakened his pity; he commanded him to throw it down, and gave him his liberty.

A. D. 1079.
Higer. 472.

This stone happened to lie upon the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers; but as the King's rigid adherence to his commands was universally known, none would attempt to remove it. A courtier one day, having stumbled with his horse over this stone, took occasion to mention it to the King; insinuating, that he thought, if his Majesty pleased, that it were advisable to have it removed. To which the King replied; "I have commanded it to be thrown there, and there it must remain; as a memorial of the misfortunes of war, and my own pity: For it is better for a King to be obstinate, even in his inadyertencies, than to break his royal word." The stone was accordingly permitted to remain, where it is shewn as a curiosity to this day.

Sultan Ibrahim had thirty six sons and forty daughters. The latter he gave in marriage to learned and religious men. In the year 492, he left this mortal state, after having reigned in tranquility and happiness forty two years. In his time flourished Abul Farrhe, who was a native of Seistan, according to some, but as others affirm, of Ghizni. He is esteemed a master in poetry; and the famous An-suri was one of his disciples.

SECTION XIII.

The Reign of Alla ul Dowla MUSAOOD, ben Ibrahim ben Mufaood Ghiznavi.

A. D. 1098.
Higer. 492.
Mufaood a
good Prince.

SULTAN Mufaood, the son of Ibrahim, was endowed with a benevolent and generous disposition. Nor was he less famous for his justice and sound policy. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, and abrogating such as were thought unreasonable, substituted others in their place, founded upon better principles. He took the daughter of Sultan Sinjer Siljoki, whose name was Mehid Irac, in marriage, which cemented the peace between them.

Hajib Tigha
Tiggi's ex-
pedition.

In the reign of Mufaood, Hajib Tigha Tiggi was honoured with the command of a great expedition, which he formed against Hindostan. Crossing the Ganges he carried his conquests further than any Mussulman, except Sultan Mamood; and having plundered many rich cities and temples of their wealth, returned in triumph to Lahore.

Sultan Mu-
faood dies.

After Sultan Mufaood had reigned sixteen years, without domestic troubles, or foreign wars, he entered his eternal abode in the latter end of the year five hundred and eight. We are told, that after his death, his son Shere Zaad placed his foot upon the imperial throne. He enjoyed it only one year, being assassinated by the hand of his own brother Arfilla Shaw, who assumed the diadem.

SECTION XIV.

The Reign of Sultan ul Dowla ARSILLA SHAW ben Mufaood.

WHEN Arfilla Shaw became King of Ghizni, he seized upon all his brothers, excepting one who escaped, and confined them. Byram Shaw, who was so fortunate as to get out of the Sultan's hands, fled for protection to Sultan Sinjer, who then, on the part of his brother Mahummud, ruled the province of Chorrafan. Sultan Sinjer, having demanded the releasement of the other brothers, which was not complied with, made the cause of Byram Shaw a pretence for invading the kingdom of Ghizni; and he accordingly advanced the standard of hostility towards that city.

A. D. 1115.
Higer. 509.
Arfilla confines his brother.

Byram escapes to Chorrafan.

An invasion in his favour.

Arfilla Shaw hearing of the intended invasion, wrote letters of complaint to Sinjer's elder brother, Sultan Mahummud, that he might command him back; and he indeed pretended to be inclinable to make peace between them. But Sultan Sinjer was found to continue his march, which convinced Arfilla haw that he could have no dependance upon any thing but his sword. But his mother, Mehid Irac, being offended with him for the murder of his brother Mufaood; and his inhuman treatment of her other children, with well dissembled affection, prevailed upon him to send her to negotiate a peace, with a great sum of money, sufficient to reimburse Sultan Sinjer, for the expence of his expedition. When she arrived in the camp, she, according to her design, excited Byram Shaw, and Sultan Sinjer, to prosecute the war with all expedition.

Arfilla deceived by his mother.

Sinjer immediately marched, with thirty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, from Buft, where he then lay, and, without opposition, advanced within one pharsang of Ghizni, where he beheld:

Sultan Sinjer engages Arfilla,

A. D. 1117.
Higer. 505.

who is over-
thrown.

flies to Hin-
dostan.

beheld the army of Arfilla Shaw drawn out in order of battle, to receive him. He therefore instantly ordered the line to be formed, dividing his horse into squadrons, and placing battalions of spear-men in the intervals, with elephants in the rear, to be ready to advance upon occasion. Encouraging then his troops, he advanced slowly toward the enemy, who stood firm to receive the charge. The shock was so violent upon both sides, that order and command yielded to rage and confusion. The gleam of arms that illuminated the field, was soon quenched in blood, and darkened by clouds of dust, that took away all distinction. At length, by the uncommon bravery of Abul Fazil, governor of Seistan, the troops of Ghizni were put to flight, and Arfilla Shaw, unable to renew the combat, fled in disorder towards Hindostan.

Returning
with an army.

he is again
overthrown
by Sinjer.

Arfilla taken
and slain.

Sultan Sinjer entered Ghizni in triumph, where he remained forty days, giving the kingdom to Byram Shaw, and then returning to his own country. When Arfilla Shaw had heard of the departure of Sultan Sinjer, he collected all his troops in the provinces of Hindostan, and returned to recover his capital. Byram Shaw, unable to oppose him, shut himself up in the fort of Bamia, till he should be succoured by Sultan Sinjer. Sinjer again took the field, and drove Arfilla Shaw a second time back to Hindostan. But he was so closely pursued, that his army was dispersed, while a few of his Omrahs, who remained, laid hands upon him, and brought him to Byram Shaw, to procure their own pardon. Arfilla suffered a violent death in the 27th year of his age, after he had reigned three years. In this reign historians report, that, among other prodigies, there fell a storm of fire upon the city of Ghizni, which consumed a great part of its buildings.

SECTION XV.

The Reign of Moaz ul dowla BYRAM SHAW, ben Mufaood.

THIS Prince was blest with a noble and generous disposition. A. D. 1118. Higer. 512. Byram, He had an uncommon thirst after knowlege; he was a great promoter of literature, and a liberal patron of learned men. Many men of letters resorted to his court, particularly Shech Nizami, and a good Prince. Seid Hassèn, both poets and philosophers of great fame. Many books An encourager of learning. were, in this reign, translated from various languages, into the Persian tongue; among the most famous of which, was an Hindoo book, called the Killila Dumna, a fabulous story, pregnant with sound morality, policy, and entertainment.

This book was sent formerly by the King of Hindostan, accompanied by a Chèss table, to Noshirwan, surnamed The Just, King of Iran. Buzurg Chimere his vizier, surnamed The Wise, was so well versed in all the known languages, that in a few days he translated the Killila Dumna into Phelevi or antient Persic, to the astonishment of the ambassador, who imagined the Sanscrita language was entirely A digression. unknown in those parts. But he could form no conception of the chès-board, as that game was, at that time, unknown in Persia. He therefore had recourse to the ambassador, who was esteemed the best player in Hindostan, to have this matter explained to him, who having accordingly discovered to him the principles, Buzurg Chimere sat down with him to play. The first game he obliged the ambassador to draw; the second he chased his King solitary; and the third he gave him check-mate. The ambassador was so mad to be foiled at his own weapons, that he would play no more. Buzurg Chimere then invented the game of back-gammon, returning a set of those tables,

A. D. 1118. tables, by the ambaffador, who having related his adventure with
 Higer. 512. Buzurg Chimere, and given an account of the genius and government
 of Nofhirwan, his mafter gave up all thoughts of an invafion, which
 he had been meditating againft that King.

The prefent of the chefs-board was intended as an experiment
 upon the genius of the minifter, and to indicate that in the great
 game of ftate, attention and capacity were better friends than fortune.
 While the book, in its whole tenor, ftroingly inculcated that wife
 maxim, that true wifdom and policy is always an over-match for
 ftrength. The back-gammon table, which was returned, fignified,
 that attention and capacity alone cannot always infure fuccefs, but
 that we muft play the game of life according to the cafts of fortune.

Byram fetles
 the affairs of
 Hindoftan.

But to return to our hiftory. Byram Shaw, in the days of his
 profperity, went twice into Hindoftan, chaftifing his refractory fub-
 jects and Zemindars. The firft time he went to reduce Mahummud
 Balin, who had poffeffion of the government of Lahore, on the part
 of Arilla Shaw, whom he defeated, and took, the 27th of Ramfan,
 in the year 512, but having pardoned him, upon fwearing allegiance,
 he was again reinfated in his government, and the King returned to
 Ghizni. In the mean time, Mahummud Balin built the fort of
 Nagore, in the country of Sewalic, whither he conveyed all his
 wealth, family, and effects; then raifing an army, compofed chiefly
 of Arabs, Perfians, Afghans, and Chilligies, he committed great
 devaftations upon the Hindoo Rajas, which fuccefs fo puffed him up,
 that he afpired at length to the empire.

Balin builds
 Nagore,

and afpires to
 the empire.

Byram
 marches
 againft him.

Byram Shaw being apprized of the intentions of Balin, collected
 his army, and a fecond time marched towards Hindoftan. Mahum-
 mud Balin, with his ten fons, who had each the command of a pro-
 vince, advanced to meet the king, as far as Moultan, with a powerful
 army,

army. A dreadful battle ensued; but the curse of ingratitude was poured, in a storm, upon the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, fell headlong into a deep quagmire, where they were totally overwhelmed, and every one of them perished.

A. D. 1150.
Higer. 545.

The King, after this compleat victory, settled the country, and appointing Sallar Husein to the chief command of these provinces, returned himself to Ghizni. He soon after publicly executed Cuttab ul dien Mahummud of Ghor, who was son-in-law to Mahummud Balin. This, in its consequences, proved the ruin of his empire. Seif ul dien Souri, Prince of Ghor *, brother to the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. He marched directly to Ghizni, which Byram Shaw, unable to oppose him, evacuated and fled to a place called Kirma, upon the borders of Hindostan. This Kirma had been built by the Afghans to guard a pass in the mountains.

Obtains a compleat victory.

Ghizni invaded by the Prince of Ghor.

Seif ul dien Souri, without further opposition, entered the capital, where he established himself, by consent of the people, sending Alla ul dien his brother to rule the kingdom of Ghor. Notwithstanding all he could do to render himself popular at Ghizni, the people began to dislike his government, and secretly wished the re-establishment of their former King. Some of the Omrahs, who were of the same principles, laying hold of this favorable disposition, informed Byram Shaw of their ripeness for an insurrection, if he could by any means favour it.

The city taken.

A conspiracy against Seiff ul dien.

It was now winter, and most of the troops of Ghor had returned, upon leave, to their families, when Byram Shaw, unexpectedly, appeared before Ghizni, with a great army. Seif ul dien being then in no condition to engage him with his own troops, and having little

Byram marches against him.

* A province of the Ghizian empire.

A. D. 1151.
Higer. 547.
Seif ul dien
betrayed,

dependance upon those of Ghizni, was preparing to retreat to Ghor, when the Ghiznians intreated him to engage Byram Shaw, and that they would exert themselves to the utmost in his service. This was only a trick for an opportunity to put their design in execution. As Seif ul dien was advancing to engage Byram Shaw, he was surrounded by the troops of Ghizni, and taken prisoner, while Byram Shaw in person put the forces of Ghor to flight.

disgrace,
tortured, and
put to death.

The unfortunate captive was inhumanly ordered to have his forehead made black, and then to be put astride a sorry bullock, with his face turned towards the tail. He, in that manner, was led round the whole city, insulted and hooted by the mob. He was then put to the torture, and his head sent to Sultan Sinjer, while his vizier Seid Mujud ul dien, was impaled alive.

His brother
Alla marches
to revenge
his death.

When this news was carried to the ears of his brother, Alla ul dien, he burnt with his rage, and resolving upon revenge, with all his united powers, invaded Ghizni. Byram Shaw hearing of his coming, prepared himself to receive him. He wrote him a letter, and endeavoured to intimidate him, with the superiority of his troops, advising him not to plunge the whole family of Ghor into the same abyss of misfortune. Alla ul dien replied, "that his threats were as impotent as his arms. That it was no new thing for Kings to make war upon their neighbours; but that barbarity like his, was unknown to the brave, and what he had never heard to have been exercised upon Princes. That he might be assured that God had forsaken Byram, and ordained Alla to be the instrument of that just vengeance which was denounced against him."

All hopes of accommodation being past, Byram Shaw advanced with a numerous army, to give Alla battle. The offer was gladly accepted by his adversary, and the bloody conflict commenced with
great

great fury on both sides. At first the troops of Ghizni, by their superior numbers, bore down those of Ghor; till Alla ul dien seeing his affairs almost desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, whose name was Chirmil, the greater and the lesser, whom he saw in the front, like two rocks bearing against the torrent. He forced on his elephant towards Byram Shaw, these two heroes clearing all before him. Byram observing him, stood off; but his son Dowlat Shaw accepting the challenge, advanced to oppose Alla. The elder of the heroic Chirmils intervening, ripped up the belly of Dowlat's elephant, and was himself killed by his fall. Alla ul dien, in the mean time, nailed the brave prince, with his spear, to the ground. The other Chirmil, in the mean time, attacked the elephant of Byram Shaw, and after many wounds, brought the enormous animal to the ground; but while he was rising from under the elephant's side, being much bruised by the fall, Byram Shaw escaped with his life, and instantly mounting a horse, joined the flight of his army which was now repulsed on all sides. The troops of Ghor emulating the bravery of their leader, had made such a violent attack as to be no longer resistible.

A. D. 1152;
Higer. 547.
The battle.

Prince Dow-
lat slain.

Byram over-
thrown.

Byram Shaw fled, with the scattered remains of his army, towards Hindostan; but he was overwhelmed with his misfortunes, and sunk under the hand of death, in the year five hundred and forty seven, after a reign of thirty-five years.

Dies.

SECTION XVI.

The Reign of Zehiri ul dowla CHUSERO SHAW ben Byram Shaw Ghiznavi.

A. D. 1152
 † Higer 547.
 Chusero
 Shaw.

CHUSERO Shaw, upon the death of his father, continued his march to Lahore, leaving the Kingdom of Ghizni to his enemies, and was there saluted King, by the unanimous voice of his people.

Ghizni taken
 and destroyed.

In the mean time the conqueror entered Ghizni, with little opposition, and that noble city was given up to flame, slaughter, rapine, and devastation. The massacre continued, for the space of seven days, in which time pity seemed to have fled the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate the bodies of men. For which inhuman cruelty the barbarous Alla was justly denominated Allum Soze, or the incendiary of the world. But, insatiable of revenge, he carried a number of the most venerable priests, learned men, and citizens, in chains to Ghor, to adorn his triumph. There,---we shudder to relate it ! he ordered their throats to be cut, tempering earth with their blood, with which he plaistered the walls of his city.

Alla's un-
 heard-of cru-
 elty.

Chusero at-
 tempts to re-
 cover Ghiz-
 ni.

After the return of Alla ul dien to Ghor, Chusero Shaw, hoping to recover his lost kingdom of Ghizni, and depending upon the assistance of Sultan Sinjer *, collected all his forces, and marched from Lahore. But when he had arrived upon the borders of Ghizni, he received intelligence, that Sultan Sinjer had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Turks of Ghiza, who were then marching

* This Sinjer must be the son or grandson of the former Sinjer, who placed Byram on the throne of Ghizni.

down with a great army to Ghizni, to appropriate that kingdom to themselves. This obliged him to retreat again to Lahore, being in no condition to oppose them. A. D. 1159. Higer. 555. He retreats.

The Turks, in the mean time, drove out the troops of Ghor, and kept possession of the kingdom for two years. But they were expelled in their turn by the Ghorians, who did not long enjoy it for that time, being vanquished by Abad Affumud, general to Chusero Malleck, the son of Chusero Shaw, who for a short space recovered and held that kingdom.

Chusero Shaw died at Lahore, in the year five hundred and fifty-five, after he had reigned seven years. Chusero dies.

SECTION XVII.

The Reign of CHUSERO MALLECK, ben Chusero Shaw.

WHEN Chusero Shaw departed from this house of grief, towards the mansions of joy and immortality, his son Chusero ascended the throne, which he adorned with benevolence and justice, extending his dominions to all the provinces formerly possessed by Ibrahim and Byram Shaw. Chusero Malleck a good Prince.

But Shahab ul dien Mahummud, brother to the Prince of Ghor, invaded the kingdom of Ghizni, which he conquered, and not satisfied with that, marched an army into Hindostan, over-running Pishawir, Afghanistan, Moulton and Sind. He advanced at length to Lahore, and in the year 576, invested Chusero Malleck in his capital, Invaded by the Ghorians. And besieges Lahore.
but

A. D. 1148 .
Higer. 580.
A treaty. but not being able to take the place, there was a kind of treaty concluded between them. Shahab ul dien evacuated the country, carrying Chusero Shaw, the son of Chusero Malleck, a child of four years of age, hostage for the performance of the treaty.

Lahore again
besieged. But the terms not being kept properly by Chusero, Shahab ul dien, in the year 580, returned to Lahore, and besieged it to no purpose. He however subjected the open country to fire and sword. Shahab ul dien built the fort of Salcot, where he left a strong garrison, and then returned to Ghizni. In his absence, Chusero Malleck, in alliance with the Gickers, besieged the fort of Salcot, but their enterprize proving unsuccessful, they were obliged to desist.

Lahore taken
by treachery. Some time after these transactions, Shahab ul dien collected all his forces, and the third time, resolved to reduce the city of Lahore, which he effected by treachery, in the following manner. While he was preparing for the expedition, he gave out, that it was intended against the Turkumans, writing, at the same time, to Chusero Malleck, that he was desirous of accommodating all their differences, by a treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intentions, he now returned his son Chusero Shaw, with a splendid retinue; who had orders to make short marches, while Chusero Malleck, impatient to see him, advanced a part of the way to meet him. In the mean time, Shahab ul dien, with twenty thousand horse, with incredible expedition, marched by another way round the mountains, and cut off Chusero Malleck from Lahore, having surrounded his small camp in the night. Chusero Malleck having waked in the morning, from his dream of negligence, saw no hope of escape left, which obliged him to throw himself upon the mercy of his adversary. He demanded possession of the capital for the King's release, accordingly the gates of that city were thrown open to receive

The Empire
transferred to
the house of
Ghor.

receive him; and thus the empire passed from the house of Ghizni to that of Ghor, as we shall see more fully in the history of that race.

A. D. 1184.
Higer. 580a

SECTION XVIII.

Of the Dynasty of Ghor.

MOR CHAN the historian tells us, that about the time when Feredoon subdued Zohac Tazi, two brothers of that family, Souri and Saam, were taken into favour by the conqueror; but having by some means incurred his displeasure, they fled with a party of their friends to Hawind, where they took up their abode, possessing themselves of a small territory. Souri took the government of this district, appointing his brother to the command of his small army, and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Suja.

The origin of
the house of
Ghor.

Suja, after his father's decease, enjoyed his place. But some private enemies having traduced him to his uncle, inspired him with jealousy and enmity to such a degree, that he wanted to take his daughter away from him. When Suja found this, he was determined to seek his fortune elsewhere. He accordingly, in the night, with ten horsemen and a few camels, laden with his effects, set out, with his wife and children to the mountains of Ghor, where he built a house and called it Romejandish †.

Suja the first
of that race.

Flies to the
mountains of
Ghor.

Here he was gradually joined by many of his friends, who built a strong fort, which he held out against the troops of Feredoon

† That is, Go without care.

for some time, but at length he was obliged to submit and pay tribute.

The genealogy of the house of Ghor.

Thus the race of Zohac, one after another, succeeded to this government, which began to gain strength by degrees, till the time of the prophet, when it was ruled by Shinsub, who, some say, was converted to the faith by the great Ali, who confirmed him in his kingdom. The genealogy of the Kings of Ghor, according to the most authentic historians, runs upward thus. Shinsub ben Haric, ben Nick, ben Meshi, ben Wisen, ben Heisien, ben Byram, ben Hajis, ben Ibrahim, ben Zaad, ben Assad, ben Shidaad, ben Zohac Hubistan, ben Mashad, ben Neriman, ben Afredoon, ben Samund, ben Esafed Asp, ben Zohac, ben Sheran, ben Sind Asp, ben Shamuc, ben Murintash, ben Zohac ul Maleck. And downward from Shinsub thus. Purvese ben Shinsub, Darmunshaw, ben Purvese, Dirmesh, ben Darmunshaw, Nehadan ben Dirmesh, Punchi ben Nehadan, Souri, ben Muhummud, Muhummud ben Punchi, Mahummud ben Soiri, cotemporary with Sultan Mamood of Ghizni; who conquered his country and gave it to his son Abu Ali, imprisoning Muhummud his father.

Conquered by Mamood of Ghizni.

Subject to the Ghiznian empire.

But Abu Ali, endeavouring to throw off the yoke of Sultan Mamood, he was deposed, and the country given to Abafs his nephew, in whose reign there was seven years drought in Ghor, so that the earth was burnt up, and thousands of men and animals perished with heat and famine. Abafs, desirous of rendering himself independent, commenced a war against Sultan Ibrahim, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner; the kingdom being conferred upon his son Mahummud, who swore allegiance to the empire of Ghizni. He was succeeded by his son Cuttub ul dien Houssein, who was killed by an arrow in the eye, in attacking a certain fort, when he rebelled against Ghizni.

Upon

Upon the death of Cuttub, his son Sham was obliged to fly to Hindostan, where he followed the business of a merchant; and having acquired much wealth, he returned up the Indus to his native country. But unfortunately he was wrecked, narrowly escaping with his life upon a plank, with his son Ezid ul dien Hufflein, after driving with the tide for three days. When they got foot on shore, they made towards a town that appeared in sight, but, it being late before they arrived, they could find no lodgings, and were obliged to creep in under a balcony, where they might sleep out of the rain. The watch going the rounds perceived them, and without further examination, concluding they were thieves, carried them to prison. They were condemned to slavery for seven years, during which time the son died.

The adventures of Sham.

Wrecked on the Indus.

Condemned to slavery.

When Sham obtained his liberty, he proceeded towards Ghizni, on the way to which, he was met by a gang of robbers, that had for a long time infested the roads. When they saw him a man of great strength and of a bold appearance, they insisted upon enrolling him in the gang, to which he was obliged to consent; but unfortunately that very night, a party of the troops of Sultan Ibrahim surrounded them and carried them all in chains before the Emperor, who immediately condemned them to death.

Taken with robbers.

Condemned to death.

When the executioner was binding up the eyes of Sham, he raised a grievous complaint, protesting, and calling God to witness, that he was innocent, which softened the steely heart of the executioner to pity. He desired him to relate what he had to say in his own defence, which he did in such a circumstantial and probable manner, that the magistrate who attended, believing him innocent, petitioned the King to give him a hearing. This being accordingly granted, he acquitted himself with such modesty and eloquence, that the King commanded him to be released, and admitted him

Pardoned and received in to favour by Sultan Ibrahim.

into his particular friendship and favour. Ibrahim, some time after, created Sham an Omrah, and appointed him master of requests, in which station he acquitted himself so honourably, that he rose daily in rank and honours, till Sultan Mufaoood, the son of Ibrahim, put him in possession of his hereditary kingdom. He then married a princess of the house of Ghizni, by whom he had seven sons, denominated the seven stars.

History of his
sons.

After the death of Huffein Sham, his sons became divided into two factions; one headed by the governor of Taristan and Hiatilla, whose name was Fuchur ul dien Mufaoood, the eldest son: And the other by the fourth son, Nafir ul dien Mahummud, who took possession of Ghor. The second son, Cuttub ul dien Mahummud, took possession of the hills, and founded the city of Firose Ko, which he made his capital; and raising himself in a few years to great power, he meditated an attempt upon the empire of Ghizni, collecting soldiers of fortune from all parts. But Byram Shaw, being privately acquainted of his intentions, treacherously invited him in friendship to Ghizni, where, contrary to all the laws of honour and hospitality, he ordered poison to be administered to him, which proved the fatal cause of the war between the houses of Ghor and Ghizni.

Seif ul dien Sourî the fifth son, who had accompanied his brother, escaped the snare and fled to Firose Ko. He there placed himself at the head of his brother's army, and marched towards Ghizni to revenge his death, as we have seen in the history of that kingdom. He took Ghizni, and Byram Shaw fled to Hindostan. But Byram returning again in the winter, when the troops of Seif ul dien were mostly gone to Ferose Ko and Ghor, from whence they could not easily return, on account of the roads and deep snow, Seif ul dien, as before related, was treacherously delivered up to him, and with his vizier, put to a most ignominious death.

The

The consequence of this impolitic cruelty was, that Baha ul dien Sham, the sixth brother, prepared to invade Byram, with an army from Firoze Ko and Ghor; but dying in the interim, the command devolved upon the seventh brother, Alla ul dien the incendiary, who took and destroyed Ghizni. He carried his ravages so far as to destroy every monument and tomb of the Ghiznian Kings, excepting those of the Sultans Mamood, Mufaood, and Ibrahim, throwing fire into their very graves, and defacing their inscriptions upon all public edifices. When he returned to Ghor, he appointed his nephew Yeas ul dien Mahummud Sham, and Moaz ul dien Mahummud Sham, to the government of a province of Ghor called Singia.

But when they found the revenues of that province could not support the figure which they endeavoured to make, by their unbounded generosity and liberality to military men, whom they began to collect from all parts; they began to extend their limits. This having reached the ears of Alla ul dien, he sent a force against them, and seizing them both, confined them in the fort of Goristan.

Alla then turned the hostile spear against Sultan Sinjer, to whom his father paid tribute. He overrun the provinces of Balich and Herat; but coming to an engagement with the Sultan, he was defeated and taken prisoner. Notwithstanding all which, the Sultan had compassion upon him, and again confirmed him in the kingdom of Ghor, where he died in the year five hundred and fifty-one.

Alla was succeeded by his son Seif ul dien Mahummud, who upon his accession released his two cousins from their confinement at Goristan, and bestowed the government of Singia upon them. In little more than a year, he commenced a war with the tribe of Turkmans called Ghiza, and in the day of battle, was killed by one of his own men.

A. D. 1171.
Higer. 567.

He was succeeded by Yeas ul dien Mahummud ben Sham, the eldest of his two cousins, who appointed his brother Shab ul dien his general, and in a short time, subdued Chorraffan and a great part of Hindostan, of which countries, he annexed the titles to his own, and died in the year 599, after a glorious reign of upwards of forty six years.

S E C T I O N X I X .

The Reign of Shaw Churfied Ahtiefham SULTAN MOAZ UL DIEN; known in Hindostan by the name of SHAB UL DIEN MAHUMMUD GHORI.

The actions of the Sultan before the final reduction of the Ghiznian empire.

MOAZ UL DIEN, or as he was called in Hindostan, Shab ul dien, was left by his brother to command in Tunganabad, in the province of Chorraffan. He continued from thence to make incursions upon Ghizni, as we have observed in the history of that kingdom.

In the year 567, Sultan Yeas ul dien marched in person against the Omrahs of Chusero Malleck, and entirely reduced them. He gave the government of Ghizni to Shâb ul dien, who, according to his brother's orders, in the year 572, led an army towards Moultan, which he entirely subdued. He marched from thence to Adja. The Raja of that place shut himself up in a strong fort. Shab ul dien began to besiege the place; but, finding it would be a difficult task to reduce it, he sent a private message to the Raja's wife, promising to marry her if she would make away with her husband.

The

The base woman returned for answer, that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony, but that she had a beautiful young daughter, whom, if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in free possession of the country and its wealth, she would in a few days remove the Raja. Shab ul dien basely accepted of the proposal, and the wicked woman accordingly, in a few days, found means to assassinate her husband, and to open the gates to the enemy.

A. D. 1178.
Higer. 574.

Shab ul dien confirmed his promise, by marrying the daughter, upon acknowledging the true faith; but he made no scruple to deviate from what respected the mother; for, instead of trusting her with the country, he sent her off to Ghizni, where she soon died of grief and resentment. Nor did the daughter relish her situation better; for, in the space of two years, she also fell a victim to grief.

Sultan Shab ul dien having conferred the government of Moulton and Adja upon Ali Kirbach, returned to Ghizni; from whence, in the year 574, he again marched to Adja and Moulton, and from those places, continued his course through the sandy desert, to Guzerat. Raja Bim Deo advanced thither with a great army, to give him battle, in which the Mussulmen were defeated, with great slaughter, and suffered many hardships in their retreat, till they arrived at Ghizni.

In the year following, he marched his recruited army towards Peshawir, known in antient history by the names of Bickraam, Firshoor, and Poorshoor, which he in a short time brought under subjection. He proceeded in the course of the next year, towards Lahore, where he invested Chusero Malleck, who had been so weakened at that time, by wars with the Rajas of Hind, and the Afghans, that he could not oppose him in the field. But Shab ul dien, finding he could not reduce the place, he intimated a desire of treating with
Chusero

A. D. 1179.
Higer. 575.

Chufero Malleck, who, glad to get rid of him, made him some presents, and gave his son as an hostage for the performance of the rest of the agreement between them.

Shab ul dien returned to Ghizni, but he could not rest long in peace. He, the very next year, drew his army towards Dewil, in the province of Sind, and subdued all the country to the sea coast, returning loaded with rich spoil.

Higer. 580.

In the year 580 he returned again to Lahore, where Chufero Malleck shut himself up as before, sustaining a long siege, which at length Shab ul dien was obliged to raise. He in this expedition, built the fort of Salcot, in which he left a garrison to command the countries between the rivers Ravi and Chinab, under the government of Husein Churmili, while he himself returned to Ghizni. This fort, as we have before related, was ineffectually besieged by Chufero Malleck, in the absence of Shab ul dien, which occasioned his third expedition towards Lahore, which he took in the year 582, by the perfidious stratagem mentioned in the conclusion of the history of Ghizni. He sent Chufero Malleck and his family, prisoners to his brother at Firose Ko, who confined them in a fort in Ghirgistan, where they were some time afterwards put to death, on account of something the astrologers had predicted concerning them.

The Sultan
extirpates the
royal family
of Ghizni.

He marches
to Hindostan.

When Shab ul dien had settled the provinces of Lahore, he left the government of that place in the hands of Ali Kirbach, governor of Moulton, and returned himself to Ghizni. In the year 587, he marched again towards Hindostan, and, proceeding to Ajmere, took the capital of Tiberhind, where he left Malleck Zea ul dien, with above a thousand chosen horse, and some foot, to garrison the place. He himself was upon his way back, when he heard that Pittu Ra, the Raja of Ajmere, with his brother Candi Ra, Raja of Delhi, in alli-

ance with some other Hindoo Rajas, were marching towards Tiberhind, with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Shab ul dien determined to return to the relief of the garrison. He met the enemy at the village of Sirauri, upon the banks of the Sirfutti, seven crores from Tannaffar, and forty crores from Delhi, and gave them battle.

A. D. 1191.
Higer. 587.

Upon the first onset his right and left wings retired, being outflanked by the enemy, till, joining in the rear, his army was formed into a circle. Shab ul dien, who was in person in the centre of the line, when first formed, was told that his right and left wings were defeated, and advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this council, he smote the imprudent adviser, and rushed on towards the enemy, among whom he commenced, with a few followers, a great slaughter.

Engages the
Hindoos.

The eyes of Candi Ra, Raja of Delhi, fell upon him. He drove the elephant upon which he was mounted, directly against him. The Sultan rising from his horse, threw his lance with such force at the elephant, that he drove out three of his back teeth. In the mean time the Raja of Delhi from above, pierced the Sultan through the right arm, and had almost thrown him to the ground; when some of his chiefs advanced to his rescue. This gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants, to leap behind him as he was sinking from his horse, and supporting him in his arms, he carried him from the field, which, by this time, was deserted almost by his whole army. The enemy pursued them near twenty crores.

A single combat between
the Sultan
and the Raja
of Delhi.

He is over-
thrown.

After this defeat, and when he had recovered of his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in Hindostan, and returned himself to Ghor with his army. At Ghor he disgraced all those Omrahs who had deserted him in battle.

He

A. D. 1192. He obliged them to walk round the city, with their horses mouth-
 1192. 588. bags filled with barley, hanging about their necks; at the same time
 Extraordinary punishment of cowardly punishment of cowardly
 Qatrahs. forcing them to eat, or have their heads struck off; the former of which they chiefly chose to do.

We are told by Eben Afire, contrary to all other authority, that when Sultan Shab ul dein was wounded, he fell from his horse, and lay upon the field among the dead, till night. And that, in the dark, a party of his own horse returned to search for his body, and carried him off to his own camp.

The combined Rajas take Tiberhind.

Upon the retreat of the Sultan, the allied Rajas continued their march to Tiberhind, which they besieged for one year and one month, and at last were obliged to give favourable terms of capitulation. Sultan Shab ul dien remained a few months with his brother at Ghor, and then returning to Ghizni, spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity. But ambition again fermenting in his mind, he recruited a noble army, consisting of one hundred thousand chosen horse, Turks, Persians, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold. With these he marched in martial splendor, from Ghizni towards Hindostan, without disclosing to his friends any part of his intentions.

The Sultan raises a fine army.

His conference with a sage.

When his victorious spears had advanced as far as Peshawir, an old sage of Ghor prostrating himself before him, said, "O King, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom, but as yet thy design has been a subject of much dispute and speculation among us." Shab ul dien replied, "Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in Hindostan, notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease, nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined, with this army, to recover my lost honour from those idolaters,

idolaters, or die in the noble attempt." The sage, kissing the ground, said, "Victory and triumph be thy attendants, and fortune be the guide of thy paths. But, O King, let the petition of thy slave find favour, and let those Omrahs you have so justly disgraced, be permitted to take this glorious opportunity of wiping away their dishonorable stains." A. D. 1192.
Higer. 528.

The Prince listened to his request, and sent an order to Ghizni to release the disgraced Omrahs from their confinement, and that such of them as were desirous of recovering their honour, might now attend his stirrup. They accordingly obeyed the order, and were each honoured with a chelat, according to their rank. The next day the royal standard was put in motion, and the army advanced to Moultan, where the Sultan conferred titles and employments upon all who had been firm to his interest. He then proceeded to Lahore, from whence he dispatched Ruckun ul dien Humza, one of his principal Omrahs, ambassador to Ajmere, with a declaration of war, if they should reject the true faith. Sends for the
dishonoured
Omrahs.

Declares war
against the
Hindoos.

Raja Pittu Rai gave a disrespectful answer to the embassy, and immediately wrote for succours to all the neighbouring Rajas. Nor did his allies delay their coming, and therefore he soon advanced to meet Shab ul dien, with an army, consisting, according to the lowest and most moderate account, of three hundred thousand horse of Rajaputs, Kittries, and others; besides above three thousand elephants, and foot innumerable as the locusts. The Hindoos again waited to receive Shab ul dien upon the former field of battle. The two armies incamped in sight of each other, with the river Surfutti between them. They meet
him with a
numerous
army.

The Hindoo Rajas, of whom there were one hundred and fifty, in this enormous camp, having assembled, rubbed Tica upon

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A. D. 1192.
Figer. 588.
The haughty
letter of the
Rajas to the
Sultan.

their foreheads, and swore by the water of the Ganges, that they should conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith. They then wrote a letter to Shab ul dien, in these haughty terms. “ To the bravery of our troops we imagined you was no stranger ; and to our great superiority in number, which daily increafes, your eyes will bear testimony of the truth. If you are wearied of your own existence, yet have pity upon your troops, who may still think it a happinefs to live. It were better then you should repent in time, of the foolish resolution you have taken, and we shall permit you to retreat in safety. But if you have determined to force your evil destiny, we have sworn by our Gods to advance upon you with our rank-breaking elephants, war-treading horses, and blood-thirsting foldiers, early in the morning, to crush the unfortunate army which your ambition has led to ruin.”

The Sultan's
answer.

Sultan Shab ul dien returned them this politic answer.—“ That he had drawn his army into Hindostan, by the command of his brother, whose general he only was, and that honour and duty bound him to exert the utmost of his capacity in his service. That therefore he could not retreat without his leave, but would be glad to obtain a truce, till he informed him of the situation of affairs, and received his answer.”

He surprises
their camp.

This letter produced the intended effect, for the enemy imagined that Shab ul dien was intimidated, and they spent the night in riot and revelry, while the Sultan was preparing for a surprize. He accordingly forded the river a little before the dawn of the morning, drew up his army on the sands, and had entered part of the Hindoo camp, before the alarm was spread. Notwithstanding the confusion that naturally reigned on this occasion among the Hindoos, their camp was of such an amazing extent, that the greater part had sufficient time to form the line which served to cover the rout, so that now they began to advance with great resolution and some order, in four lines.

Sultan

Sultan Shab ul dien, upon seeing this, ordered his troops to halt, and his army, which had been divided into four parts, were commanded to renew the attack by turns, wheeling off to the rear after they had discharged their bows a certain number of times upon the enemy, giving ground gradually as they advanced with their elephants. In this manner he retreated and fought, till the sun was approaching the west, when, thinking he had sufficiently wearied the enemy, and deluded them with a security of victory, he put himself at the head of twelve thousand of his best horse, whose riders were covered with steel, and giving orders to his generals to second him, he made a resolute charge, and carried death and confusion among the Hindoo ranks. The disorder increased every where, till at length it became general. The Mussulman troops, as if now only serious in fight, made such a dreadful slaughter, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, was lost in its own ruins. The enemy recoiled, like a troubled torrent, from the bloody plain.

A. D. 1193.
Higer. 569.

A battle.

The Hindoos
overthrown.

Candi Rai Raja of Delhi, and many other Rajas, were slain in the field, while Pittu Rai was taken in the pursuit, and afterwards put to death. The spoil of the camp, which was immensely rich, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forts of Sursutti, Samana, Koram and Haffi, surrendered after the victory. Sultan Shab ul dien in person went to Ajmere, and took possession of it, after having barbarously put some thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. But, upon a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he gave up the country to Gola the son of Pittu Rai. He then turned his standards towards Delhi, but he was prevailed upon by the new Raja, with great presents, to abandon that enterprize. He left Cuttub ul dien Abeik, in the town of Koram, with a considerable detachment, and marched himself, with the body of his army, towards the mountains of Sewalic, which lie to the north of Hindostan, destroying and plundering all the countries in his way to Ghizni.

Shub ul dien
settles the
conquered
countries.

A. D. 1191.
Higer. 589.
Expl. its of
Cuttub in
Hindostan.

After the return of the Sultan, Cuttub ul dien Abiek, who had been formerly a slave, raised an army and took the fort of Merat, and the city of Delhi, from the family of Candi Rai. It was from this circumstance, that foreign nations say, that the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave. In the year 589 he also took the fort of Kole, and making Delhi the seat of his government; there established himself in security, obliging all the districts around to acknowledge the Mussulman faith.

Sultan Shab ul dien, in the mean time, marched from Ghizni towards Kinnoge, and engaged Rai Joy Chund, who was Lord of Kinnoge and Bena-ris, and who commanded a very numerous army of horse, besides four hundred elephants. This Raja led his forces into the field between Chundwar and Atava, where he received a total defeat from the vanguard of the Ghiznian army, led by Cuttub ul dien Abiek, and all his baggage and elephants were taken. The Sultan then marched to the fort of Affi, where Joy Chund had laid up his treasure, which in a few days he took, and found there, gold, silver, and precious stones, to a great amount. He marched from thence to Benaris, and broke down the idols in above one thousand temples, which he purified and consecrated to the true God. Here he also found immense plunder. He returned then to the fort of Kole, where he again confirmed Cuttub ul dien in the regency of Hindostan, and from thence, laden with treasure, he took the rout of Ghizni.

Shab ul dien
takes Affi and
Benaris.

In the mean time, one of the relations of Pitta Rai whose name was Himrage, invaded Gola the son of Pittu Rai, and drove him out of Ajmere. Gola immediately had recourse for assistance to Cuttub ul dien Abiek. Cuttub accordingly marched, in the year 591, from Delhi against Himrage, who having collected a great army, gave the Mussulmen battle, in which he lost the victory and

This life. Cuttub, after this victory, appointed a governor of his own faith to superintend the Raja, then led his army to Narwalla in the province of Guzerat, and defeating Bim Deo took ample revenge for the overthrow given to his Lord. He plundered that rich country; but he was soon recalled, by orders from Ghizni, and commanded to proceed immediately to Delhi.

A. D. 1194.
Higer. 591.

In the year following, Sultan Shab ul dien formed again a resolution of returning to Hindostan, and proceeding to Biana. He took it, and conferred the government upon Baha ul dien Tughril; and leaving with him the body of his army, he commanded him to besiege Gualier, and returned himself to settle some affairs at Ghizni. In the mean time, the strong fort of Gualier was taken, after a long siege. Tughril, ambitious of extending his conquests further; led his army against the Rajaputs of the south. But he received a terrible defeat, and was obliged to take the protection of his forts.

Shab ul dien
again invades
Hindostan.

Gualier
taken.

In the year 593, Cuttub ul dien marched again from Delhi, and reduced Narwalla of Guzerat, with all its dependencies. He, after his return, took the forts of Callinger, Calpee and Budaon.

Sultan Shab ul dien, was in the mean time engaged in an expedition to Toos and Sirchus. News was then brought to him of the death of his brother Sultan Yeas ul dien; who retained nothing of the empire but the name. Shab ul dien, upon this, acceded to the empire. He turned by the way of Badyeish, and subdued the country of Chorrassan, which he divided among the family of Saam, giving the government of Firose Ko and Ghor to Malleck Zea ul dien, who was son in law to his brother Yeas ul dien the deceased Emperor. Bust, Ferra and Isphorar he gave to Sultan Mamood,

Sultan Yeas
ul dien dies.

his

A. D. 1202. his brother's son; and the government of Herat and its districts, to
Hig. 590. Nasir ul dien, his nephew by a sister.

Shab ul dien
crowned at
Ghizni.

Shab ul dien, after these transactions, returned to Ghizni, where, according to the will of the deceased Emperor, he was crowned in form; and mounted the imperial throne. In the same year he heard of the death of Mahummud Zireck, Lord of Murve, and

Marches into
Charizm and
besieges the
city.

in the beginning of the next, marched to the conquest of that country, advancing by the way of Charizm, and Charizm Shaw, not able to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the city. The Sultan pitched his camp on the banks of the great canal, which the Chilligies had formerly dug to the westward of that city. He forthwith attacked the place, and in a few days lost many brave Omrahs in the pursuit of glory. In the mean time, news arrived, that Aibeck, the general of Ghor Chan, King of Chitta, and Sultan Osman King of Samarcand, were advancing with great armies, to the relief of Charizm Shaw. Shab ul dien was so unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, that he delayed till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was under a necessity of burning all his baggage, and to retreat with the utmost expedition towards Chorrassan. But an army from the city pressed so close upon his heels, that he was obliged to give them battle. He was totally defeated, losing all his Elephants and treasure.

Forced to re-
treat, and is
defeated.

He is again
totally over-
thrown.

In the mean time, Sultan Osman and Aibeck, who had taken a circuit, to cut off Shab ul dien's retreat, met him full in the face, as he was flying from Charizm Shaw. Under a fatal necessity, he was obliged to rally his army, who now saw no safety in flight. Surrounded thus by the enemy, he commenced a desperate carnage. But valour was overpowered by numbers in the end, and of his late mighty army, there now remained scarce a hundred men, who

still defended their King, and in spite of innumerable foes, hewed him out a passage, and conducted him safe to the fort of Hindohood, which was at a small distance from the field. Shab ul dien was besieged here by the enemy, but upon paying a great ransom to Sultan Osman, and giving up the place, he was permitted to return in sorrow to his own dominions.

A. D. 1203.
Higer, 600.

When Sultan Shab ul dien was defeated, one of his officers of state, named Abiek Nack Birka, escaped from the field, and imagining the King was slain, with very great expedition made his way to Moultan, without mentioning the affair to any body. He waited immediately upon Meer dad Hassen, governor of that province, and told him that he had a private message from the King. Hassen retired with him into his closet, where the villain, whispering in his ear, drew out a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. He ran instantly into the court yard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor, Meer dad Hassen, in obedience to the King's command. Producing then a false order and commission, to take the government into his own hands, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.

Birka, by a
villainous ex-
pedient, gets
the govern-
ment of
Moultan.

The chief of the Gickers at this time, hearing that the King was certainly slain, aspired to the empire, and raising a great army, advanced towards Lahore; kindling the war between the rivers Gelum and Sodra. When the Sultan, from the fort of Hindohood, arrived at Ghizni; his own slave Ildecuz, having seized upon the supreme authority in the city, presented himself to oppose his entrance, which obliged the King to continue his rout to Moultan. There Birka also rebelled against him; but the Sultan, being by this time joined by many of his friends, gave him battle, and obtaining a compleat victory, took the traitor prisoner. He then, with all the troops of the borders of Hindostan, who now joined his standard, marched

The chief of
the Gickers
aspires to the
throne.

The Sultan
refused ad-
mittance into
Ghizni.

A. D. 1203. Higer. 600. marched to Ghizni, and the citizens presenting him with the head of the rebellious slave, obtained their pardon.

Shab ul dien, at this time, concluded a treaty of peace with Charizm Shaw; and then, in order to chastise the Gickers, drew his army towards Hindostan. Cuttub ul dien attacked them on the other side, with his army from Delhi, and the Gickers being defeated and dispersed, the Sultan parted, at Lahore, with Cuttub ul dien, who returned to his government of Delhi.

The Gickers
a tribe of bar-
barians.

During the residence of the Sultan at Lahore, the Gickers, who inhabited the country from the Nilaab, up to the fort of the mountains of Sewalic, began to exercise unheard-of cruelties upon the Mussulmen; so that the communication between Peshawir and Mooltan was entirely cut off. These Gickers were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them, as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market place, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by any of the others, who might be coming on the same errand, he immediately withdrew, till the signal was taken away.

They are con-
verted.

This barbarous people continued to make incursions upon the Mahommedans, till in the latter end of this King's reign, their chieftain was converted to the Mussulman faith, by one of his captives. He, upon this change of principles, addressed the King, who advised him to endeavour to convert his people; and at the same time, honoured him with a title and dress, and confirmed him in

the command of the mountains. A great part of these mountaineers being very indifferent about religion, followed the opinions of their chief, and acknowledged the true faith. At the same time, about four hundred thousand Caffers of Teraiba, who inhabited the mountains between Ghizni and Punjaab, were converted, some by force, and others by inclination.

The Sultan, having settled the affairs of Hindostan in peace, marched, in the year 602, from Lahore to Ghizni. He conferred the government of Bamia upon Baha ul dien Saam, with orders, that when he himself should march towards Turkestan, to take satisfaction for his former defeat, to march at an appointed time, with all the forces of those parts, and encamp on the banks of the Geihu, where he would receive further orders, and at the same time to throw a bridge over the river.

Shab ul dien, upon the second of Shaban, having reached the banks of the Nilaab, at a place called Rimeik, twenty Gickers, who had lost some of their relations in their wars with the Sultan, entered into a conspiracy against his life, and sought an opportunity to put their wicked purpose in execution. The weather being close and sultry, the King ordered the Canats * of his tents to be struck, to give free admission to the air, which gave them an opportunity of seeing the King's sleeping tent. They cut their way through the screens in the night, and hid themselves in a corner, while one of them advanced to the door; but being there stopt by one of the guards, who was going to seize him, he buried his dagger in his breast. The groans of the dying man being heard within, alarmed the rest of the guards in the outer tent, who running out to see what was the matter, the other assassins took that opportunity of cutting their way through the King's tent behind.

* Screens which surround the King's tents, forming a large square.

A. D. 1205.
Higer. 602.

The Sultan
assassinated.

They found him asleep, with two slaves fanning him, who stood petrified with terror, when they beheld the assassins advancing towards the Sultan. They at once plunged all their daggers in his body. He was afterwards found to have been pierced with no less than forty wounds.

Thus tragically fell that great King and conqueror Moaz ul dien, in the year 602, after a reign of thirty two years from the commencement of his government over Ghizni, and three from his accession to the empire, the honours and titles of which he permitted his elder brother to retain during his life. One daughter only remained of his race.

Disputes a-
b out the suc-
cession.

His Vizier Chaja Moweid ul Mulluck, took some of the assassins, and put them to a cruel death. He then called the Omrahs together, and having obtained their promise of fidelity, in protecting the King's treasure, which was loaded on four thousand camels, he prevented the army and the slaves, who had proposed to plunder it, from putting their scheme in execution. He carried the body in mournful pomp towards Ghizni. But when they reached Peshawir, a great contest arose about the succession. The Omrahs of Ghor insisted upon Baha ul dien Saam, governor of Bamia, and one of the seven sons of Ezid dien Husein; and the Vizier and Turkish chiefs, on Yeas ul dien Mamood, son of the former Emperor.

The Vizier therefore wanted to go by the way of Kirma, where he knew that the governor Ildecuz, was in the interest of Yeas ul dien, hoping, by his assistance, to secure, at least, the treasure for his own party. The Omrahs of Ghor, were equally desirous of proceeding by that road which lay nearest to Bamia, that they might be the sooner supported by Saam. At length, being upon the eve of open hostility, the point was given up to the Vizier.

When

When they arrived near Kirma, after having suffered greatly by the mountaineers, Ildecuz came out to meet the Vizier and the King's herse; upon sight of which, he tore off his armour, threw dust upon his head, and expressed all the variety of sorrow. He attended the funeral to Ghizni, where the Sultan was buried in a new tomb which he had built for his daughter.

A. D. 1205.
Higer. 602.

The body
carried to
Ghizni.

The treasure he left behind him is almost incredible: we shall only mention, as an instance of his wealth, that he had, in diamonds of various sizes alone, five hundred maund*; for he had made nine expeditions into Hindostan; returning every time, excepting twice, laden with wealth.

* About forty pounds averdupoise, each maund.

P A R T III.

The History of the EMPIRE OF DELHI, from
the Accession of CUTTUB to the Throne, to
the Invasion of TIMUR.

S E C T I O N I.

The Reign of Sultan CUTTUB UL DIEN ABIEK.

A. D. 1205.
Higer. 602.
Cuttub ul
dien Abiek,

SULTAN Cuttub ul dien Abiek, was of a brave and virtuous disposition, open and liberal to his friends, and courteous and affable to strangers. In the art of war and government he was inferior to none, nor was he a mean proficient in literature.

In his childhood he was brought from Turkestan to Nishapoor, and there sold by a merchant, to Cafi Fuchur ul dien ben Abdu, Azizi Kufi, who, finding that heaven had endued him with a great genius, sent him to school, where he made a wonderful progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, and in all the polite arts and sciences.

But his patron and master dying suddenly, he was sold as part of his estate, by his relations, and bought by a rich merchant, for a great sum of money, and presented for sale to Sultan Shab ul dien. The Sultan purchased him, and called his name Abiek, from having his little finger broke. He behaved himself in such a becoming and ^{his wife,} assiduous manner, that he soon attracted the notice of his prince, and daily gained confidence and favour. One night the Sultan kept a magnificent festival at court, and ordered a liberal distribution of presents and money to be made among his servants. Abiek par- ^{generosity,} took largely of his munificence, but had no sooner retired, than he divided his share among his companions. The Prince having heard of this circumstance, asked him the cause, and Abiek, kissing the earth, replied; "That all his wants were amply supplied by his Majesty's bounty. He had therefore no desire of burthening himself with ^{affability,} superfluities, his favour being a certain independence." This answer so pleased the King, that he immediately gave him an office near his person, and in a little time, was so satisfied with his diligence and capacity, that he appointed him master of the horse. capacity,

When the princes of Ghor, Ghizni and Bamia had drawn their forces towards Chorrassan, in order to expel the Shaw, Sultan of Charizm, from that province, Abiek went out with a detachment to forage on the banks of the Murgaab. He was there surrounded by a numerous party of the enemy. But though he did the utmost ^{and valour,} justice to valour, he was, after the loss of most of his men, taken prisoner, and carried to Charizm Shaw, who put him in chains. But the Shaw being defeated, Abiek was left in this manner, sitting upon a camel in the field, and carried to his victorious master; who pitying his condition, received him with great kindness.

In the year 588; when the Sultan took revenge of his enemies the Hindoos for the defeat they had given him, he upon his return, appointed

Made gover-
nor in Hin-
dostan,
and besieges
Delhi.
Delhi taken.

appointed *Cuttub ul dien Abiek*, to the chief command of the army left to protect his conquest. In discharge of this duty, *Cuttub* took possession of many districts around, and reduced the fort of *Merat*. He also drew his army towards *Delhi*, and invested it. But the garrison, finding that their own numbers triply exceeded the besiegers, marched out of the place, and drew up in order of battle, which was gladly accepted by *Abiek*. When the slaughter became great on both sides, and the river *Jumna* was discoloured with blood, the *Rajaputs* were, at length, put to flight, taking protection within their walls. The garrison, after a desperate siege, were at last obliged to capitulate.

Cuttub de-
feats the *Jits*.
In great fa-
vour with the
Sultan.

In the year 589, the *Jits*, who were subject to the *Raja* of *Narwalla*, advanced with an army to besiege *Haffi*. *Cuttub ul dien Abiek* marched with his forces to protect it, and obliging them to raise the siege, pursued them to their own frontiers. In the year following, he crossed the *Jumna*, and took the fort of *Kole* by assault. He found there a thousand fine horses, and much spoil, and being informed of *Sultan Shab ul dien's* expedition towards *Kinnoge*, he thought proper to proceed as far as *Peshawir*, to meet him, presenting him with a hundred fine horses, and two great elephants, one of which carried a chain of gold, and the other a chain of silver. He mustered there, before the *Sultan*, fifty thousand horse, and was honoured with an honorary dress, and with the command of the van of the royal army.

Defeats the
Raja of *Beratic*.

With the van he defeated the *Raja* of *Benaris*, who, upon seeing his army retreat, pushed forward his elephant, in despair, against his enemy; but *Cuttub ul dien*, who excelled in archery, sunk an arrow in the ball of his eye, which brought him down from his elephant to the ground. It is said that the number of slain was so great, that the body of the *Raja* for a long time could not be found

by his friends, who were permitted to search for it. But, at last, he was discovered by his teeth, which, happening to be bad, were supplied by artificial ones, fixed in by golden wedges and wires.

Sultan Shab ul dien, following with the body of the army, entered the city of Benaris, and took possession of the country, as far as the boundaries of Bengal, without opposition. He broke down all the idols, and loaded four thousand camels with the most valuable spoils.

Cuttub ul dien presented the King with above three hundred elephants, taken from the Raja of Benaris. The riders had a signal given them to make the elephants SELAM * the King at once, which they all did except one white elephant. This animal was esteemed an inestimable curiosity. But upon this occasion, though extremely tractable at other times, had almost killed his rider, when he endeavoured to force him to pay his obedience.

A white elephant.

The King, when he was setting out for Ghizni, sent the white elephant back, in a present to Cuttub ul dien, and adopted him his son in his letter. Cuttub, ever afterwards till his death, rode the white elephant; and when he died, the affectionate animal pined away with visible sorrow, and expired the third day after. This was the only white elephant of which we have ever heard in Hindostan; but it is said, that the King of Pegu keeps always two white elephants, and that, when one of them dies, he issues out an order over all his dominions, to search the woods for another to supply his place. Cuttub ul dien, after the departure of the King, remained some days at Affi, where the Raja's treasure was found. He then returned to Delhi, and there received advice that Himrage Rajaput was marching down from the mountains of Abugur, and had driven Gola, the Raja of Ajmere, towards Rintimpore, and that Chitter

Cuttub ul dien adopted by the Sultan.

Cuttub defeats the general of Himrage,

* That is to fall upon their knees.

Rai,

Rai, Himrage's general, was marching with another army, towards Delhi, before which he soon arrived, and began to destroy the country. Cuttub ul dien marched out to chastise him, and separating twenty thousand horse from the rest of his army, he set out in front, and engaging the enemy, put them to flight. Chitter Rai, some days after, rallying his defeated army, retreated towards Ajmere, and was pursued all the way by the conqueror. Himrage being joined by his general, in confidence of his superior numbers, formed his army in order of battle. When they came to blows, he distinguished himself by his bravery, as well as by his conduct; but, being slain, his army took the way of infamy before them. Thus Ajmere was restored to the Mahommedan government, and was afterwards ruled by their laws.

And Him-
rage himself

ravages the
territory of
Narwalla.

In the year 590, Cuttub turned his arms towards Narwalla, and Setwan, the general of Bimdeo, who was encamped under the walls, fled upon his approach. But being pursued, he drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, and then his army resumed their flight. Bimdeo, upon intelligence of this defeat, fled from his dominions, and Cuttub ul dien ravaged the country at leisure, and found much spoil. He marched from thence to the fort of Haffi, which he repaired, then having visited Koram, returned to Delhi.

He in the mean time received advice, from the governor of the districts near Rintimpore, that the brother of the Raja of Ajmere, who lived in the hills, was marching down with an army to invade him. This obliged Cuttub ul dien to move immediately to his relief. The enemy, upon hearing this, fled; and Cuttub paid a visit to Raja Gola, who entertained him magnificently, and at his departure, presented him with some fine jewels, and two melons of gold. When he had settled the country, he again returned to Delhi, from

from whence he wrote to the King a particular account of his conquests, which so pleased Sultan Shab ul dien, that he ordered his attendance at Ghizni, for which place he sat out, and was received with every demonstration of joy and respect. Sent for to Ghizni.

Cuttub ul dien, some time after, obtained leave to return to his government, and on his way, married the daughter of Sultan Tague ul dien, of Kirman, making a magnificent rejoicing upon the occasion, when he returned to Delhi. He soon after marched his army to the siege of the fort of Biana, and, when he was on his way, he heard that Shab ul dien had taken the rout of Hindostan. To shew his respect for the Sultan, Cuttub returned back as far as Hassi to meet him. Both returned to Biana, besieged and took the place, which the Sultan submitted to the command of Tughril, one of his particular and trusty slaves. They then took the rout of Gualier, where the Raja Shilkuman agreed to pay tribute, and bought peace with a great sum of ready money, and with jewels. The Sultan, immediately after these transactions, returned to Ghizni, leaving Cuttub ul dien viceroy of all the conquered provinces of Hindostan. In conjunction with the Sultan, reduces Biana and Gualier.

About this time news arrived that the Rajas of the Rajaputs had entered into an alliance with the Raja of Narwalla, and had formed a design to recover Ajmere from the Mahommedans. The troops of Cuttub ul dien being dispersed over the provinces, he was forced to march against the Rajaputs, with what small part of the army lay in Delhi, to prevent their junction with the forces of Narwalla; but he was defeated, received six wounds, and was often dismounted, yet he fought like a man who had made death his companion. Forced at last, by his own friends, to abandon the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmere. Marches against the Rajaputs, and is defeated,

Tittura, chief of the Rajaputs, rejoicing at this victory, joined the forces of Narwalla, and sat down before Ajmere. Intelligence of and besieged in Ajmere.

The siege
raised by the
Ghizarians.

this unfortunate event, coming to Sultan Shab ul dien, he sent a great force from Ghizni, to the relief of Cuttub. Ajmere held out till the arrival of the Ghiznians, who obliged the enemy to raise the siege. Cuttub ul dien pursued them to Narwalla, in the year 593, taking in his way the forts of Tilli and Buzule. He there received advice that Walin and Daraparifs Rajaputs, in alliance with the Raja of Narwalla, were encamped near the fort of Abugur, to guard the passes into Guzerat. Cuttub notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, and disadvantages of ground, resolved to attack them, which he did, with such bravery and conduct, that, having trodden down their ranks, above fifty thousand of the enemy, with their blood, tempered the dust of the field. Twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and an immense spoil fell into his hands.

Overthrows
the Hindoos.

Marches to
Guzerat.

When he had given his army some respite from slaughter and fatigue, he pursued his rout into Guzerat, and ravaged that country without further opposition, taking the city of Narwalla, where an Omrah with a strong garrison was left. He then returned to Delhi, by the way of Ajmere, and sent a great quantity of jewels and gold, and also many slaves to the Sultan at Ghizni, and divided the remainder among his trusty partners in the glories of the field.

In the year 599, he mustered his forces and marched to the siege of Calinger, where he was met by the Raja of that country, whom he defeated; and dismounting his cavalry, began to besiege him in his fort. The Raja seeing himself hard pressed, offered Cuttub ul dien the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to Sultan Mamood. The proposal was accepted, but the Vizier, who wanted to hold out without coming to any terms, found means to make away with the Raja, while the presents were preparing to be sent. The flag of hostility was again hoisted upon the fort, and the siege recommenced. The place, however, was in a short time reduced,

reduced, on account of the drying up of a spring upon that hill whereon the fort stood, and which supplied the garrison with water. Takes Calinger. There is a tradition among the natives of the place, that the above fountain always dries up upon the discharging the artillery of the place. This story may possibly, from a natural cause, have some foundation. But we are rather tempted to believe, that the present drying up of this spring was owing to the increase of inhabitants, and the thirst occasioned by hard duty; for, besides the garrison, Cuttub ul dien found there fifty thousand male and female.

The plunder of this city was very great, in gold, jewels and precious effects. Cuttub then marched to the city of Mhoba, the capital of the Raja of Calpee. He also took that place, together with Budafo, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Mahummud Bucht Ear Chillige, who had been appointed governor of Behar, came at this time to pay him a visit, laying rich presents at his feet, and Cuttub having entertained him magnificently, returned to Delhi. Takes Mhoba and Budafo.

When Sultan Shab ul dien, after his defeat in Turkestan, returned to Hindostan, he was joined by Cuttub ul dien, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gickers in several actions, and recovered his fallen glory. When matters were peaceably settled in this quarter, he returned to his government; and Sultan Shab ul dien, upon his way to Ghizni, was inhumanly assassinated by the Gickers. Shab ul dien's nephew, Yeas ul dien Mamood ascended the throne of Ghor, and upon his accession sent all the ensigns of royalty, a throne, an umbrella, standards, drums, and the title of Sultan or Prince to Cuttub ul dien, desirous of retaining him in his interest; as he was by no means able to oppose his power. Joins Shab ul dien against the Gickers.

A. D. 1205.
Hijer. 602.
Raised to the
Empire.

Sultan Cuttub ul dien received those dignities with a proper respect, at Lahore, where he ascended the throne in the year 602, upon the 18th of Zicaat; returning from thence in a few days to Delhi. In the mean time, Taje ul dien Eldoze marched an army from Ghizni, with an intention to take Lahore, which he effected by the treachery of the governor, whom he afterwards turned out. Sultan Cuttub ul dien marched to dispute the point with Taje ul dien, as soon as he received intelligence at Delhi of this transaction. In the year 603, the flames of war began to ascend between them, while bravery on both sides became apparent. Taje ul dien at length was beat out of the city, and obliged to fly towards Kirman. Sultan Cuttub ul dien pursued him as far as Ghizni, in which city he was again crowned, taking that kingdom into his own hands.

Lahore taken.

Retaken by
Cuttub, who
is crowned at
Ghizni.

Cuttub turns
indolent and
luxurious.

Expelled
from Ghizni.

He dies.

Cuttub after this, unaccountably gave himself up to wine and pleasure, till the citizens of Ghizni, disgusted with his luxury and indolence, sent privately to Taje ul dien Eldoze, acquainting him of the King's negligence; and intreating his return. Taje ul dien, upon this, recruiting an army with all secrecy and expedition, advanced towards Ghizni, and in a manner surprized the King, who had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to put himself in a proper state of defence, and he was obliged to abandon that kingdom and retire to Lahore. He then became sensible of his weakness, repented of his evil habits, and exercised himself in the practice of justice, temperance and morality. He regulated his kingdoms according to the best laws of policy and wisdom till his death, in the year 607; which happened by a fall from his horse in a match at ball, which adverse parties endeavoured to carry off on the point of their spears.

His reign, properly speaking, was only four years, though he enjoyed all the state and dignities of a King, for upwards of twenty;
if

if we reckon from his taking of Delhi, when he may be said to have become King of Hindostan; though he assumed only the title of commander in chief for his patron Shab ul dien. He was certainly an accomplished warrior, and had nearly equalled the greatest heroes in fame, had not his loss of the kingdom of Ghizni tarnished his glory. He was famous for his great generosity all over the east, for which he got the surname of Lack Buksh, or bestower of Lacks. When a man is praised for generosity in Hindostan, they say to this day, "he is as generous as Sultan Cuttub ul dien."

A. D. 1210.
Higer. 607.
His character.

SECTION II.

The Reign of TAJE UL DIEN ELDOZE.

SULTAN Shab ul dien, during his reign, having no children of his own excepting one daughter, had taken a particular pleasure in educating Turkish slaves, whom he afterwards adopted as his children. Four of those slaves besides Cuttub ul dien became great princes, of whom the present Taje ul dien Eldoze was one. The King having observed him to be a youth of genius, advanced him gradually, till at last he bestowed upon him the government of Kirma and Shinoran, which lay between Ghizni and Hindostan. His situation gave him an opportunity of frequently entertaining his prince, upon his expeditions to and from that country, which he always did with great magnificence and festivity, making presents to all the King's attendants.

Sultan Shab ul dien, in his last expedition, favoured Taje ul dien so much, that he bestowed upon him the black standard of the kingdom

Ascends the throne of Ghizni.

kingdom of Ghizni, by this intimating his will, that he should succeed to that throne. But upon the death of that monarch, the Turkish Omrahs were desirous that Sultan Yeas ul dien ben Sham should come from Ghor and reign at Ghizni. Yeas ul dien being a man of an indolent disposition declined it; and said that he was content with the throne of his ancestors. He, however, assumed the imperial title, proclaimed Taje ul dien King of Ghizni, and was content to maintain the appearance of that power which he would not, or rather durst not enforce.

Charizm Shaw takes Ghizni.

The first thing Taje ul dien Eldoze did after his accession, was to invade Punjab and Lahore, as we have seen in the former reign. He was defeated by Cuttub ul dien Abiek, and in consequence lost his own kingdom, which, however, he soon after recovered. He afterwards, in conjunction with Sultan Yeas ul dien Mamood, sent an army to Herat, which they conquered, as also a great part of Seistan, but making peace with the prince of that country, they returned. On the way, making war upon Charizm Shaw, they were both defeated, and the conqueror pursuing his fortune, took Ghizni, while Eldoze retired to Kirma.

Eldoze defeated and taken, dies.

The Sultan finding the northern troops too hard for him, recruited an army, and marched some time after the death of Cuttub ul dien Abiek, with a view to conquer Hindostan. But, after reducing some of the northern provinces, he was defeated near Delhi by Sultan Shumfi ul dien, and being taken, died in confinement. The time of his reign was nine years.

As we have already given the history of two of Shab ul dien's slaves who arrived at the imperial dignity, it may not be improper here to say something of Tughril, who raised himself from the same low situation.

Tughril was an Omrah of some repute in the service of Shab ul dien, brave, and of a virtuous disposition. They relate, that when Shab ul dien Mahummud took the fort of Biana, he gave the command of it to Tughril, and proceeded himself to Gualier, as we have seen before. But after he left Hindostan, Tughril continued to infest the country about Gualier; the King having told him at his departure, that if he conquered the place, he would confirm him in the government of it. When he found that this manner of war had no effect, as they always found some opportunity of supplying the place, he ordered small forts to be built all round, which he garrisoned, and by this means the place was effectually blockaded. Yet it held out for near a whole year, when being distressed for provisions, they sent an embassy privately to Sultan Cuttub ul dien Abiek to come and take possession of the place, for they had conceived an implacable resentment against Tughril. The Sultan accordingly sent his troops to seize upon Gualier; upon which, war had almost ensued between him and Tughril. Death however interfering, put an end to the dispute; for at this juncture, Tughril suddenly expired. The actions of the other two princes, formerly slaves to Shab ul dien, will be seen in the history of Sind and Punjab, to which they more properly belong.

Tughril a
brave and vir-
tuous Omrah.

SECTION III.

The Reign of Sultan ARAM SHAW, ben Sultan Cuttub ul dien Abiek.

AFTER the death of Cuttub, his son Aram Shaw mounted the throne of Delhi; but was no ways equal to the government of so great an empire.

Aram Shaw, a
weak prince.

A. D. 1210.
Higer. 607.

Several provinces dis-
membered
from the em-
pire.

Nasir ul dien Cabaja, one of the adopted slaves of Shab ul dien, marched with an army towards Sind, which he conquered, as also Moultan, Oteh, Shinoran and other places. Another slave, Achiar ul dien Muhummud of Chillige, possessed himself of the kingdom of Bengal and asserted his own independence. At the same time, several Rajas blew up the flames of rebellion in many parts of the empire.

Upon these misfortunes Amir Alli Ismaiel, Amir Dad Delhi, and all the Omrahs became discontented, sending a person to call Malleck Altumsh, who was the son in law and adopted son of Cuttub ul dien, and then governor of Budaoon *, to ascend the throne. Malleck Altumsh accordingly marched with his army to Delhi, and by the assistance of the faction within, easily reduced it. Aram Shaw, afraid of trusting himself in his capital, had previously withdrawn into the country, recruited a fine army, and advanced to give Malleck Altumsh battle. A warm engagement ensued in sight of the city. Aram Shaw lost the victory and his empire, which he had enjoyed scarce one year.

He is defeat-
ed and de-
posed.

SECTION IV.

The Reign of SHUMSE UL DIEN ALTUMSH.

The family of
Altumsh.

WE are told that Altumsh was originally a nobleman of Chitta, whose father's name was Elim Chan, a great and famous general. But in his youth, being the favourite of his father, he was envied by the rest of his brothers. They therefore determined

* The country beyond the Ganges, N. E. from Delhi, now possessed by the Rohil'as.

to get rid of him, and as they were out one day hunting, they stript him, and sold him to a company of travelling merchants for a slave. He is sold as a slave. The merchants carried him to Bochara, and sold him to one of the relations of Sider Jehan prince of that country, from whom he received a liberal education.

Upon the death of his master he was again exposed to sale, and bought by a merchant, who sold him to another who carried him to Ghizni. Mahummud Shaw heard at Ghizni of Altumsh's beauty and talents, but could not agree with the merchant about his price. He was therefore carried back to Bochara, as none durst buy him, on account of the King's displeasure, till Sultan Cuttub ul dien Abiek ob- Purchased by Cuttub ul dien. taining his leave, made that purchase at Delhi, whither he had invited the merchant, for fifty thousand pieces of silver. Cuttub, at the same time, bought another slave whom he called Tagage, and appointed him afterwards, governor of Tibberhind, where he was slain in the battle between Cuttub ul dien and Eldoze.

Altumsh, in the mean time, was made master of the chace, and afterwards rose to such favour, that he became the adopted son of his prince, Cuttub ul dien, and was advanced to the government of Altumsh adopted by Cuttub. Gualier and Birren; and from thence to the viceroyship of Budaoon. He accompanied Cuttub in his war against the Gickers, and greatly distinguished himself in bravery and zeal for the service. He killed in one action, with the troops of Budaoon, upwards of ten thousand of the enemy. This behaviour so pleased the King, that he declared him free, and made him many honorary presents.

Thus by degrees Altumsh rose, till he was created Amir ul Om- Made captain general of the Empire. rah, or captain general of the empire; and married the daughter of Sultan Cuttub ul dien; and upon his death, as we have before re-

A. D. 1210.
Higer. 607.
Accedes to
the throne,

lated, he advanced against the capital, and expelling Aram Shaw from the throne in the year 607, declared himself Emperor by the title of Shumse ul dien Altumsh.

Deserted by
some Omrahs,

Upon his accession he was acknowledged by many chiefs and princes; but some of his generals taking disgust, went off with the greater part of his Turkish horse, which were the flower of his army. They joined themselves with other malecontents, and advanced with a great force towards Delhi. They were met before

Defeats them.

the city by Shumse ul dien and defeated, their chief general Firoch Shaw being killed, and the rest so closely pursued, that in a short time they were all either killed or taken, which for that time established Altumsh in peace. But soon after the governor of the fort of Gollore, whose name was Avice, rebelled and refused to pay the revenues of that country. This obliged the King to march and reduce him to obedience. Sultan Eldoze of Ghizni, at this time sent him the

Defeats and
takes Sultan
Eldoze.

ensigns of royalty, pretending to confirm Altumsh in the empire of Hindostan. But soon after, when Taje ul dien Eldoze himself was defeated by the troops of Charizm, and retired to Kirma and Shenoran, he turned his views towards the conquest of Hindostan. Eldoze seized upon the country of Punjaab and the city of Tannafar in the year 612, and endeavoured by his emissaries in the court of Shumse ul dien, to raise a faction in his own favour. Sultan Shumse ul dien, in the mean time, drew together his forces, and advancing towards him, they fought on the confines of Tirowri, about seventy crores from Delhi. Taje ul dien was defeated, as before related, and with many of his Omrahs, taken and imprisoned in Budaoon, where he died a natural death, according to some, but according to others, was poisoned.

In the year 614, Sultan Shumse ul dien, engaged Malleck Nafir ul dien Cabaja, who was also son in law to Cuttub ul dien, upon

the banks of Chinaab, where Altumsh proved victorious. The go-
 vernor of Chillige, the year following, being defeated by Nasir ul
 dien, fled for protection to Altumsh, who taking part in his quarrel,
 marched against Nasir ul dien, and a second time overthrew him,
 recovering the countries lost by the Viceroy of Chillige, upon which
 he himself returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1217.
 Higer. 614.

In the year 618, Sultan Jellal ul dien Charizm Shaw being de-
 feated in the north, by the great conqueror Chingez Chan, retreated
 towards Lahore, where Sultan Shumse ul dien opposed him with all
 his forces. This obliged the brave though unfortunate Jellal ul
 dien to retreat towards Sind, where he was opposed by Nasir ul dien,
 who defeated him and pursued him by the way of Kutch and Muckeran.

Chingez
 Chan.

In the year 622, Sultan Shumse ul dien led his army towards Be-
 har and Lucknouti, where he obliged Sultan Yeas ul dien of Chillige,
 then prince of Bengal, whose history we shall see in its proper
 place *, to pay him tribute and allegiance. He struck the currency in
 his own name, and appointing his own son Nasir ul dien to the govern-
 ment of Lucknouti, which comprehended all the kingdom of Bengal,
 he left Yeas ul dien in the government of Behar, and then returned to
 Delhi. But soon after, war broke out between Nasir ul dien
 prince of Bengal, and Yeas ul dien of Behar. The latter was de-
 feated and slain; Nasir ul dien taking possession of his principa-
 lity and treasure, out of which he sent ample presents to his friends
 at Delhi.

Altumsh re-
 duces Bengal.

and Behar.

In the mean time, Sultan Shumse ul dien led out his forces against
 Nasir ul dien Cabaja, prince of Sind, who, unable to oppose him in
 the field, left a strong garrison in Outch, and returned himself to

Altumsh
 marches a-
 gainst Sind.

* The historian alludes to another work which he wrote concerning the transactions
 of the principalities of Hindostan.

A. D. 1227.
Higer. 622.

which he re-
duces.

Backar. The Emperor detached Nizam ul Maluck Jinaidi with half the army in pursuit of Nasir ul dien, while with the other half, he himself laid siege to Outch, which he took in two months and twenty days. When the news of the fall of Outch reached Nasir ul dien Cabaja, he sent his son Alla ul dien Byram Shaw to intreat the Emperor for peace. The terms were not settled when news was brought that Cabaja had been obliged by Nizam ul Molluck to attempt to cross the river, and that he was unhappily drowned. Then the whole country submitted to the imperial power. Altumsh then drew his forces towards the fort of Rintimpore, which he besieged and took.

Reduces Se-
walic.

In the year 624, he marched towards the fort of Mendu, which he reduced with all the country of Sewalic. At this time, Amir Ruhani, the most learned and most famous poet and philosopher of that age, fled from Bochara, that city being taken by Chingez Chan, and took protection at Delhi, where he wrote many excellent pieces. The Emperor, at the same time, had an embassy from the Arabian Princes, with the royal robes of the Caliphat, which he assumed with joy, making a great festival, and distributing rich presents.

Quells d sur-
bances in
Bengal.

In the same year, he received intelligence of the death of Nasir ul dien, his eldest son prince of Lucknouti, which threw him into mourning and sorrow. He soon after conferred the title upon his younger son, whom he carried with him to Lucknouti in the year 627, to invest him with the government, which had run into confusion, after the death of the former prince. Having entirely settled this country in peace, he left Eaz ul Muluck to superintend the kingdom, and returned with his son to Delhi.

He formed a design, in the year 629, to reduce the fort of Guallier, which had, during the reign of Aram Shaw, fallen into the hands

hands of the Hindoos. He accordingly besieged it for a whole year, when the garrison being reduced to great streights, the governor, Deo Mull, made his escape in the night, and the troops capitulated, but about three hundred of them, for treacherous behaviour, were punished.

A. D. 1231.
Higér. 629.
Reduces
Gualier.

After the reduction of this place, he marched his army towards Malava, and reducing the fort of Belfay, took the city of Ugein, where he destroyed the magnificent and rich temple of Makal*, formed upon the same plan with that of Sumnat, which had been building three hundred years, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Bickermagit, who had been formerly Raja of this country, and so renowned that the people of Hindostan date their time from his death, as also that of Makal, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, he ordered to be carried to Delhi, and broken at the door of the great mosque.

Destroys the
magnificent
temple of
Makal.

After his return from this expedition, he drew his army again towards Moulton; but this enterprize proved unsuccessful on account of his health. He fell sick on his march, which obliged him to return to Delhi, where he died on the 20th of Shaban, in the year 633. His vizier, towards the latter end of his reign, was Fuchur ul Muluck Affami, who had been formerly vizier of Bagdat, for thirty years. He was renowned for wisdom and learning, but had left that court on account of some disgust, and travelled to Delhi, where he was deemed a great acquisition, and honoured with the vizarit. The most famous for letters in this reign, was Noor ul dien Mahummud Ufi, who wrote the Jame ul Hickaiat, a valuable collection of histories and other books. The Reign of Sultan Shumse ul dien was twenty-six years.

Altumsh dies.

* MA signifies Great in the Indian language; and KAL Time, or sometimes Death.

SECTION V.

The Reign of Ruckun ul dien FEROSE SHAW ben Sultan
Shumse ul dien Altumsh.

A. D. 1235.
Higer. 633.
Feroze Shaw,

IN the year 625, his father appointed Feroze Shaw governor of Budaon, and, after his reduction of Gualier, gave him the re- gency of Lahore. He chanced, at the emperor's death, to be at Delhi on a visit, and immediately ascended the throne. The Om- rahs made their offerings, and swore allegiance; while the poets of the age vied with one another in his praise, for which they received liberal donations.

a weak and
dissolute
Prince.

But, when he acquired the imperial dignity, he spread the flowery carpets of luxury, and withdrew his hand from the toils of state. He expended his father's treasure upon dancing women, comedians, and musicians, and left the affairs of government to the management of his mother Shahe Turkaan. This woman had been a Turkish slave, and now became a monster of cruelty, murdering all the women of Shumse ul dien's Haram, to gratify her inhuman hatred to them, as also the youngest of that Emperor's sons.

Cruelty of
his mother.

Several Om-
rahs rebel.

The minds of the people began to be filled with disgust, and Yeas ul dien Mahummud Shaw, the younger brother of the Sultan, and governor of Oud, intercepted the revenues from Bengal, and began to assert independance. At the same time Malleck Ez ul dien Ma- hummud, Suba of Budaon, Malleck ul dien Chani, Suba of La- hore, Malleck Ez ul dien Cabire Chan, Suba of Moultan, and Mal- leck Seif ul dien Kugi, governor of Haffi, entering into a confede- racy, exalted their standards of hostility against the Emperor. Fe-
rofe

rofe Shaw collected a vast army, and marched to Kilogurry, where he was deserted by his vizier Nizam Mahummud Junedi, with part of his army. The vizier went towards Kole, where he joined Malleck Meaz ul dien Mahummud Sallar. They from thence proceeded to Lahore, where they were joined by the Princes of these provinces.

A. D. 1235.
Higer. 633.
Feroze Shaw
marches
against the
rebels.

The Emperor, in the mean time, continued his march towards them, and when he reached Munfurpoor, seven of his principal Omrahs deserted him, and retired with their troops to Delhi. There they advanced Sultana Rizia, the eldest daughter of Shumse ul dien, to the throne, and imprisoned the Emperor's mother.

Deserted by
his army.

When this news reached the emperor, he hastened back with his army towards Delhi, and having reached Kilogurry, Sultana Rizia, on the 18th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 634, advanced against him. He was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after; so that he reigned only six months and twenty-eight days.

Sultana Rizia
raised to the
throne.

S E C T I O N VI.

The Reign of MALLEKE DORAN SULTANA RIZIA.

THIS Princess was adorned with every qualification required in the ablest Kings; and the strictest scrutineers of her actions, could find in her no fault but that she was a woman. In the time of her father, she entered deeply into the affairs of government, which disposition he encouraged, finding she had a remarkable talent in politics. In that year in which he took the fort of Gualier, he appointed her regent in his absence. When he was asked by the Omrahs, why

An excellent
Princess.

A. D. 1236.
Higer. 634.

why he appointed his daughter to such an office in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, " that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine, women, gaming, and the worship of the wind † ; that therefore he thought the government too weighty for their shoulders to bear ; and that Rizia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons."

The rebels
at Lahore
march to-
wards Delhi.

Sultana Rizia, upon her accession, changing her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last reign, and distributing justice with an equal hand. In the mean time the vizier Malleck Nizam ul Muleck Mahummud Junedi, and the confederate Omrahs, who had met at Lahore, advanced with their armies to Delhi, and encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They, at the same time, sent circular letters to all the Omrahs of the empire, to draw them from their allegiance. This news reaching Malleck Nusferit, Suba of Oud, he collected his forces, and hastened to the relief of the empress; but when he had crossed the Ganges, he was engaged by the confederates, defeated, and taken prisoner, in which condition he soon died.

They dis-
perse and are
punished.

The Empress found means, in her own policy, to sow dissention among the confederates ; till, finding themselves in a dangerous situation, they retreated each to his own country, while some of them, being pursued by the Empress, Malleck Seif ul dien Kugi and his brothers, were taken and put to death, as also Malleck Alla ul dien Chani, who suffered the same fate, the vizier having escaped to the hills of Sirmore, where he died.

Sultana Rizia
settles the
Empire.

The prosperity of the Sultana daily gaining ground, she gave the vizarit to Chaja Mohezzib Ghiznavi, who had been deputy to the

† Flattery.

former

former vizier, with the title of Nizam ul Muluck, and the chief command of her forces to Seif ul dien Abiek, with the title of Kilick Chan. Mallek Kabir Chan Eaz, having subjected himself to her authority, was confirmed in the regency of Lahore, while the countries of Bengal, Dewil, Sind, Moultan, and others, were also confirmed to their respective Subahs, on their promise of future obedience.

A. D. 1239.
Higer. 637.

In the mean time Seif ul dien Abiek, her general, died, and Cut-tub ul dien Hassen, being appointed to succeed him, was sent with the army to raise the siege of Rintimpore, which was then invested by the Hindoo Rajas. But at the approach of the imperial forces, they raised the siege and retreated. After Hassen's departure for Rintimpore, Malleck Achtiar ab Tiggi was advanced to the dignity of Amir Hajib, or lord of the privacy, and master of requests. Jemmal ul dien Eacoot Hubbashi, gaining great favour with the empress, was also appointed Amir Achor, or Master of the Horse, from which station he was presently advanced to that of Amir ul Omrah, or Captain General of the Empire.

Promotions
at court.

The nobles were greatly disgusted at this promotion, as the favourite was originally an Abaffinian slave. The first who began openly to express his discontent, was Malleck Eaz ul dien, regent of Lahore, in the year 637, who threw off his allegiance, and began to recruit his army. The Empress collecting also her forces, marched out against him, and Eaz ul dien being disappointed by some of his confederates, was obliged to make every concession to obtain pardon. This he effected with so much art, that the Empress, upon her departure, either believing him to be her friend, or desirous of binding him over to her interest, by gratitude, continued him in his viceroyship, and added to it that of Moultan, which had been governed by Malleck Kirakush.

The governor
of Lahore re-
bels.

Is pardoned.

A. D. 1239. In the same year Malleck Altunia, Suba of Tiberhind, exalted the
 Higer. 637. hostile standard against the Empress, on account of her imprudent
 The Suba of partiality to the Abassian. The Empress, upon this intelligence,
 Tiberhind rebels. marched with her army towards Tiberhind, but, about half way,
 all the Turkish Omrahs in her army, mutinied with their forces.

A mutiny in A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which her Abassian general was
 the Empress's killed, and she herself seized and sent to the fort of Tiberhind. The
 army. army then returned to Delhi, where the Turkish Omrahs set up
 Moaz ul dien Byram Shaw, the son of Sultan Shumse ul dien, her
 brother.

She is depo- In the mean time, Malleck Altunia, Suba of Tiberhind, having
 fed. married the Empress, in a short time, by her influence, raised a
 great army of Gickers, Jits, and other nations, with many Omrahs of
 distinction, and marched with her towards Delhi. Sultan Byram

Marches to Shaw upon this, sent Balin, son-in-law to Shumse ul dien, with his
 Delhi. forces to oppose her. The two armies meeting near Delhi, an obsti-
 nate action ensued, in which the unfortunate Empress being defeated,
 fled to Tiberhind.

She some time after collected her scattered forces, and was soon in
 a condition to make another bold effort for her Empire. She ad-
 vanced with a numerous army towards Delhi, but her forces being
 composed of the troops of Hindostan, were no ways a match for
 those of Turkestan, which chiefly composed the Emperor's army.
 Malleck Balin, who was again sent to oppose her, gave her another
 defeat at Keitel, the 4th of Rubbi ul Awil in the same year. She and
 her husband being taken in the pursuit, were inhumanly put to
 immediate death; while others relate, that they were both carried
 bound to Byram Shaw, who ordered them to be assassinated in prison.
 Thus died the Empress Rizia, deserving a better fate, after a reign of
 three years, six months, and six days.

Defeated and
 put to death.

SECTION VII.

The Reign of Sultan Moaz ul dien BYRAM SHAW ben Sultan Shumse ul dien Altumsh.

WHEN the Empress Rizia was prisoner in the fort of Tiberhind, Byram Shaw, upon Monday the 27th of Ramsan, in the year 637, by consent of the Omrahs, ascended the throne of Delhi, and confirmed all the laws and customs then in force. Malleck Achtiar ul dien ab Tiggi, in conjunction with the vizier, Nizam ul Muluck, by degrees took the whole government of the Empire upon himself, taking the sister of the Emperor to wife, and mounting an elephant upon guard, at his gate, which was an honour peculiar to royalty.

A. D. 1239.
Higer. 637.
Byram Shaw
mounts the
throne.

This circumstance raised disgust and jealousy in the Emperor's mind. He therefore ordered two Turkish slaves to put on the appearance of drunkenness, and endeavour to assassinate Malleck and the vizier. Accordingly upon a certain day, these two Turks, when the King gave public audience, pressed among the crowd, and began to be very troublesome. Tiggi, who stood first in the rank of Omrahs, went to turn them out. They drew their daggers, and plunged them into his breast, then, running to the vizier, they gave him two wounds; but he escaped through the crowd. The slaves were immediately seized, and thrown into chains, but in a few days after they were pardoned.

Disgusted
with two
factious Om-
rahs.

The vizier kept his bed for some days, on account of his wounds, but, as soon as he recovered, he appeared again at court, and officiated in his employ. Buddur ul dien Sunkir Rumi, who was then

A D. 1239.
Higer. 637.
Scheme to
supercede the
vizier.

master of requests, formed a scheme to supercede him. He, for this purpose, placed himself at the head of a powerful faction at court, and collecting the Omrahs together, and, among the rest, the vizier, at the house of Sudder ul Muluck, the chief justice, he began to concert with them a plan to bring about a revolution in the Empire. Sudder ul Muluck was secretly averse to the measure, and fearing that what was nominally meant against the vizier, should actually turn upon his master, he sent to the Emperor, and informed him of the whole affair. Sudder's messenger brought back with him a faithful servant of the King, in the habit of a fool, who might overhear the conversation with the vizier. The vizier, though he actually entered into the measures of the meeting, excused himself from attendance at that time.

The conspirators punished.

The story of Sudder being confirmed by the person whom the Emperor sent to overhear the Omrahs, a body of cavalry were immediately dispatched to seize them; but they having had previous intelligence, dispersed themselves before the horse arrived. The next day Malleck Budir ul dien Sunkur, who was one of the principal conspirators, was sent to be Suba of Budaoon, while Cafi Jellal ul dien Kashani was turned out of his office. In a few months after, Sunkur and Muza were assassinated at Budaoon by the Emperor's emissaries, while Cafi Shümse ul dien was trod under foot by elephants.

A sedition among the troops.

These proceedings raised fear and apprehension in the bosom of every body, which being improved by the faction, there was a general sedition among the troops. In the mean time news arrived that the Moguls of Chingez Chan had invested Lahore upon the 16th of Jemmad ul Achir, in the year 639: that Malleck Kerakush, the viceroy of that place, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged

Lahore taken by Zingis Chan.

obliged to fly in the night, and was actually on his way to Delhi ; A. D. 1241.
Higer. 639.
and that Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and the miserable inhabitants carried away prisoners.

The King, upon this urgent occasion, called a general council of state, in which it was determined to send Nizam ul Muluck, vizier, and Mallèck ul dien Haffen Ghorî, vakeel of the Empire, with other Omrahs, to oppose the Moguls at Lahore with an army. When the imperial army advanced as far as the river Bea, where the town Treachery of
the vizier. of Sultanpoor now stands, the vizier, who was privately an enemy to the Emperor, began to depreciate his government to the Omrahs, and to sow the seeds of sedition in their minds. But that he might compleatly effect his purpose, he wrote a private letter to the Emperor, accusing them of disaffection, and begging he would either take the field himself, or send other Omrahs and more forces, for that those now with the army could not be depended upon, and that therefore nothing could be done against the enemy.

The Emperor, though he had been forewarned of the treachery Attaches the
Omrahs to
his interest. of his vizier in the late conspiracy, yet the artful man had so well extricated himself, and gained such confidence, that Byram Shaw, who was not blessed with much discernment, gave entire credit to this accusation, and sent him an order, importing, that they deserved death ; at the same time recommending to him to keep them quiet till he should find the means of bringing them to condign punishment. This was what the crafty vizier wanted. He immediately produced the King's order, which kindled the Omrahs at once into rage, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself, and began to consult with them about the means of general security ; and they all promised to support him.

This

A. D. 1242.
Higer. 640.

The Emperor
dispatches
Ilaam to
quiet the
Omrahs.

Delhi be-
sieged.

The Emperor
taken and
slain.

This news having reached the Emperor, he began to open his eyes, when too late, and in great perturbation hastened to the house of Shuh Ilaam, a venerable and learned Omrah, requesting him to set out for the camp, and endeavour, by proper representations, to bring over the disaffected Omrahs to their duty. Ilaam accordingly set out in private, but not being able to effect any thing, returned to Delhi. The Vizier, in the mean time, advanced with the army to the capital, which he besieged for three months and an half. Rebellion spreading at last among the citizens, the place was taken on the eighth of Zicaat, in the year 639. Sultan Moaz ul dien Byram Shaw was thrown into prison, where in a few days he came to a very tragical end, after a reign of two years one month and fifteen days.

The Moguls, in the mean time, plundered Punjaab and returned to Ghizni.

S E C T I O N VIII.

The Reign of Sultan ALLA UL DIEN MUSAOOD SHAW,
the son of Ruckun ul dien Firoze Shaw.

WHEN Byram Shaw had drank the cup of fate, Malleck Eaz ul dien Balin the elder raised a faction, and forcing his way into the palace, mounted the throne, and ordered himself to be proclaimed throughout the city. But the greater part of the princes and nobility, dissatisfied with his advancement, immediately took out Alla ul dien from his confinement in the white castle, and deposing the usurper, placed him upon the throne the same day in which

Alla ul dien
mounts the
throne.

Balin

Balin had usurped it. Malleck Cuttub ul dien Haffin was made Vakeel of the empire *. Malleck Mohizib ul dien Nizam ul Muluck, Vizier, and Malleck Kirakush lord of requests.

A. D. 1242.
Higer. 640.

The Vizier, who was a politic and ambitious man, still maintained an absolute power in the empire; but being of a haughty and oppressive disposition, he bore it with too high a hand among the nobles. They consequently began to combine against him, and in the month of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 640, found means to assassinate him one day when he was hunting. The Vizierit was conferred upon Sudder ul Muluck Nigim ul dien Abu Buker, and the younger Balin was made lord of the requests. Even Balin the elder was appointed viceroy of Nagore, Sind and Ajmere. The Subaship of Budaoon was given at the same time to Malleck Tage ul dien; and other provinces fell to various Omrahs, according to their rank and interest at court; and in general, peace and content seemed to diffuse themselves over the kingdom.

The Vizier
maintains his
great power,

and is assassinated.

The Emperor, about this time, released his two uncles Nasir ul dien and Jellal ul dien, who had been imprisoned by Byram Shaw. He conferred upon the former the government of Barage, and to the latter, he gave that of Kinnoge. Tigga Chan was appointed Suba of Lucknouti, or Bengal.

The Emperor
releases his
uncles.

In the year 642, an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal by the way of Chitta and Tibet. Sultan Alla ul dien sent towards Lucknouti. Malleck Kira beg Timur Chan, to the aid of Tigha Chan, with a great army. The Moguls received a total defeat, but jealousy arising between Timur and Tigha Chan, they

The Mogul
Tartars de-
feated in Ben-
gal.

* This office of Vakeel Sultanit, or Vakeel Mutuluck, was the first in the empire; his business was to issue all orders from the closet to the Vizier or other officers of state, who were to take measures for executing them.

proceeded

A. D. 1244. proceeded to open hostilities; and the Emperor ordered Tigha to
Higer. 642. resign the government to Timur, and to return to Delhi.

In the following year intelligence arrived that another army of Moguls, by the way of Kundiz and Talikaan, had entered Sind, and invested Outch. The Sultan immediately ordered forces to be mustered, and putting himself at their head, directed the imperial standard towards the Tartars. When he had reached the banks of the river Bea, they raised the siege and began to retreat; and the Sultan hearing that they had totally evacuated the country, returned to Delhi.

Expelled from
Sind.

Alla soon after gave himself up to wine and women, and exercised various modes of cruelty, injustice and oppression, despising all counsel, and placing the way of ruin before him. The Princes and Omrahs at length bound up their loins to hostility, having first privately sent for Nasir ul dien Mamood the Sultan's uncle from Barage. Mamood advanced with all the forces he could raise towards the capital. The Emperor was thrown into prison by the Omrahs, where he remained for life. He reigned four years, one month and one day.

The Emperor
deposed.

S E C T I O N IX.

The Reign of Sultan NASIR UL DIEN MAMOOD ben Sultan Shumse ul dien Altumsh.

WE have already observed, that when the eldest son of Sultan Altumsh died in Lucknouti, he conferred the title and government of that principality upon his younger son Nasir ul dien Mamood.

but this was a nominal honour, Mamood being at that time too young for such a charge. Upon his father's death he was confined by Shaha Turkaan, and remained in prison till he was released by Musaood Shaw, who gave him the government of Barage. During the time of his government he waged successful wars with the neighbouring Rajas, and rendered his province happy and flourishing. The fame of his justice and policy became to be noised abroad, which made the Omrahs turn their eyes towards him in the late revolution. He was then placed upon the throne of his father, which, even laying aside his birth, his bravery, wisdom and learning, his other good qualiteis very much deserved to possess.

A. D. 1215.
Higer. 643.

Mamood a
wise, learned,
and politic
prince.

During the time of his imprisonment, he wrote for his livelihood, despising the Emperor's allowance. He often said in the days of his misfortune, that he who could not work for his bread did not deserve it. When he ascended the throne, he was the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor. The poets of that age vied with one another for the prize, at his coronation, which was gained by Cafi Minhage, for his poem upon that occasion. This writer is also particularly famous for his valuable history called the Tibcaat Nazari.

An encour-
ager of learn-
ing.

The vizarit was now conferred upon Malleck Yeas ul dien Balin the younger, who formerly, under the title of Chan Azim Anigh Chan, defeated the Sultana, and all the executive power put into his hands. Shere Chan, the Emperor's nephew, was appointed to the government of Lahore, Moulton, Batenize and Tibberhind, where he was ordered to keep a great standing army, to watch the motions of the Moguls, who now had possessed themselves of Cabul, Candahar, Ghizni, Balich and Herat.

The Vizarit
conferred up-
on Balin.

It is said, that when Mamood appointed young Balin vizier, that he told him, he trusted his own glory to his loyalty and conduct;

The Emper-
or's charge to
Balin.

A. D. 1246.
Higer. 644.

therefore, to do nothing for which he could not answer to God, or that would stain his name with injustice towards his people, or ingratitude towards his king. The vizier faithfully promised his best, and exerted himself with such unwearied diligence in his office, regulated so well the business of the state, that nothing escaped his eye, or passed his particular inspection.

The Gickers
chastised.

In the month of Regib the King took the field, and turned his arms towards Moulton. He encamped for some time upon the banks of the Sodra; and making his vizier captain general, he sent him towards the mountains of Jehud, and the territories of Sind. Those countries were reduced, and the Emperor avenged himself upon the Gickers for their continual incursions, and for guiding the Moguls through their country into Hindostan. These offences were too great to be pardoned, and therefore he carried some thousands of every age and sex into captivity.

Refractory
Omrahs pu-
nished.

Some antient Omrahs who had Jagiers conferred on them in the provinces of Lahore and Moulton, had, for some time past, refused to supply their quotas to the army, for the maintainance of which, they held these estates. By the advice of the vizier, they were arrested and carried prisoners to Delhi. The King, however, gave their Jagiers to their sons or relations, upon the old military tenure. The country of Punjaab and Moulton were by these means effectually settled, and the King's authority firmly established.

Story of Alex-
ander the
Great.

Some authors inform us, that when Secunder* was on his way to Hindostan, some of his old generals, unwilling to proceed farther, began to draw their feet out of the circle of his obedience. The hero upon this, was thrown into great perplexity, not knowing how to proceed with them. In this dilemma he sent a messen-

* Alexander the Great.

ger to Greece to advise with his old master Aristotile*, who, by reason of his age and infirmities, could not accompany him. When the sage read the letter, he carried the messenger into the garden, where he gave orders to the gardener to root up all the old plants, and set young shoots in their places. Without saying more, or writing any answer, he told the messenger to return in haste to his master.

A. D. 1247.
Higer. 645.

When the messenger arrived, he fell upon his face before the King, and told him he could obtain no reply. Secunder was somewhat surprized, and enquired into the particulars of the interview. Hearing the above relation he smiled, and told the messenger he had brought him an excellent answer. He accordingly put some of the old mutinous officers to death, and cashiered others; supplying their places with young men who became more obedient to command; and thus re-established his authority in the army.

In the month of Shaban 645, Sultan Nasir ul dien Mamood returned with his troops through the country which lies between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna, and after an obstinate siege, the fort of Tilfinda yielded to his arms. He then continued his march towards Kurrah, the vizier commanding the van guard. He was met at Kurrah by the Rajas Dillekie and Millekie, whom he defeated, plundering their country, and taking many of both their families prisoners. These two Rajas had seized upon all the country to the south of the Jumna, destroyed the King's garrisons from Malava to Kurrah, and held their chief residence at Callinger. After these exploits the Emperor returned to Delhi.

The Emperor
reduces Til-
finda.

In the following year, he sent the Vizier with an army towards Rintimpore and the mountains of Meruaar, to chastise the rebellious inhabitants of these countries, which he effectually did, and returned

The Vizier
chastises the
inhabitants of
Rintimpore.

* Aristotle, the Philosopher.

A. D. 1749. H ger. 647. to Delhi. The vizier's brother Abiek Cushli Chan was promoted to the dignity of Hagib, and Eaz Zinjani to be vakeel of the Empire.

The Emperor recalls his brother from Kinnoge. In the same year, the Sultan's brother Jellal ul dien was called from his government of Kinnoge to Delhi. But, fearing that the King had some intentions against his life, he fled to the hills of Sittenoor, with all his adherents. The Emperor pursued him, but finding, after eight months labour, that he could not lay hands upon him, he returned to Delhi. The Sultan, in the year 647, married the daughter of his Vizier, Balin, and upon the occasion made great rejoicings. He drew, in the year following, his army towards Moultan, and upon the banks of the Bea, he was joined by Shere Chan with twenty thousand chosen horse. The Sultan continued his march to Moultan, where he remained for some days. Having placed Malleck Eaz ul dien Balin in the government of Nagore and Outch, and settled some other matters, he returned to his capital.

Faz ul dien Balin rebels,

and is pardoned.

Chinderi and Malava reduced.

This Eaz ul dien Balin, in the year 649, threw off his allegiance, and stirred up a rebellion in those provinces. This obliged the Sultan to put the imperial standard in motion towards Nagore. He put the rebels to flight; but such was the strange policy of the times, that he promised him his pardon, upon his submission; and afterwards actually continued him in his government. The Emperor, after returning from this expedition, remained only a few days at Delhi, before he proceeded to the siege of Narvar. He was met at Narvar by Raja Sahir Deo, who had just built that fortress on a steep rock, with five thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. This immense host were defeated with great slaughter, and the place being invested, was reduced, after a few months siege. The Emperor from thence continued his march to Chinderi and Malava, and having settled those countries,

tries, and appointed a Suba to govern them, returned to Delhi. The Vizier gained, in this expedition, great reputation for his conduct and personal valour.

A. D. 1251.
Higer. 649.

In the mean time the Sultan's nephew, Shere Chan, viceroy of Lahore and Moulton, who was at that time reckoned a prodigy of wisdom, valour, and every royal virtue, had raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Moguls out of the kingdom of Ghizni, and annexed it once more to the empire. He struck the currency in the name of Nazir ul dien, and proclaimed him through all the provinces. The King, for these services, added the government of Outch to his viceroyship, which, contrary to expectation, was quietly delivered up by Malleck Eaz ul dien Balin, who returned to Delhi, and received the Jagier of Budaoon.

Shere Chan
recovers
Ghizni from
the Moguls.

The Sultan, in the year 650, marched by the way of Lahore into Moulton, and was joined by Cuttulich Chan, by the way of Sevan and Cushlu, from Budaoon, with fine armies. In the beginning of the following year, Amad ul dien Eaz Zingani, vakeel of the empire, who had rose to that dignity through the interest of the vizier, began to envy the fame and influence of that able minister. He took every opportunity to traduce his benefactor to the King in private. The Monarch's affections for the vizier, began to cool visibly, and he was even prevailed upon at last to discharge that great man from his office, when he only conferred upon him, in lieu of it, the small government of Haffi, for his subsistence, where his enemy sought an opportunity to take his life.

The Vizier
disgraced.

Amad ul dien Eaz now became absolute in the King's favour, and began his authority by turning out every person from their offices and governments, who had been appointed by the former vizier. He removed.

Amad ul dien
Eaz in grt
favour with
the King.

A. D. 1252.
Higer. 650.

removed all Balin's friends and relations from the royal presence, constituting Ein ul Muluck Mahummud, who resided at Delhi, vizier of the empire, and Eaz ul dien Cutchlew Chan, lord of requests. When he returned to Delhi with the King, he every where disturbed the public peace, and overfet the fundamental laws of the country.

Shere Chan
disgraced.

The Emperor again mustered his army, and began his march towards the river Bea, for Shere Chan had unfortunately, at this time, been defeated by the Sindies, and lost several forts in Moultan. This furnished the favourite with an opportunity of disgracing him with the King, who turned him out of his viceroyship of Ouch, Tiberhind, and Moultaan, which he conferred upon Arfilla Chan, and then returned to his capital. In the mean time, Malleck Eaz ul dien Rizi ul Muluck, the Turk, was assassinated by the zemindars of Keital and Coram, which prevailed on the Sultan to march his army to revenge his death, from which expedition he very soon returned again to Delhi.

The insolence
of Amad ul
dien

The government of the Vakeel became by this time so invidious to the whole Empire, that the Subas of Kurra, Manickpoor, Oud, Budaon, Tiberhind, Sunnam, Koram, Lahore, Sewalic, and Nagore, entered into an association, and sent an embassy to Balin the former vizier, informing him, that the government of the country was quite subverted, and that the oppression and arrogance of Amad ul dien was beyond expression; that they were therefore desirous he should proceed to Delhi, and take the Empire, as formerly, under his wise conduct and direction. Balin consented, and, according to appointment, all the Omrahs met with their forces in one day at Koram.

occasions a
revolt.

The Sultan, and Amad ul dien, upon receiving this intelligence, marched with the imperial forces, to disperse the insurgents; but
when

when the royal army advanced as far as Haffi, Anigh Chan Balin, and the rest of the Omrahs, sent an address to the King, to the following purpose: "That they were his loyal subjects, and were satisfied to kiss the foot of his throne, so be he would banish Amad ul dien from his presence." The Sultan was under the necessity of either consenting to this request, or to lose his Empire. He therefore dismissed the obnoxious favourite from his presence, and sent him to Budaoon. The Omrahs presented their offerings, and were honoured with royal dresses. Jellal ul dien Chani, was appointed to command at Lahore, and Shere Chan was confirmed in the governments of Debalpoor, Moultan, Battanize, Tiberhind, and other districts adjacent. The Sultan returned peaceably to Delhi, and expressed great joy at seeing his old vizier, while the flower of desire blossomed in the hearts of the subjects.

A.D. 1253.
Higer. 651.
He is dismissed from the presence.

In the year 653, the Emperor conferred the government of Oud upon Cuttulich Chan, of which however he wanted to deprive him in a few months, for that of Barage, which was neither so lucrative, nor so honourable. Cuttulich Chan, upon this account, swerved from his allegiance, and, having brought over some other Omrahs to his party, raised a great army, which obliged the Sultan to send the vizier against him. Malleck Taje ul dien, the Turk, was dispatched at the same time against Amad ul dien, who had begun a diversion about Budaoon. He was however soon defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death. Cuttulich Chan was also routed by the Vizier, and fled to Sitnoor. The Vizier destroyed the place, but not being able to lay hold of the rebel, he returned to Delhi.

Insurrections
quelled.

Diepal, the Raja of Sitnoor, in the year 655, entered into an alliance with Cuttulich Chan, and, raising a great army, advanced to meet Cutchlew Chan, Suba of Sind, who was in the same confederacy. All three joining their forces near Koram, became very formidable

A conspiracy
in the imperial
army,

A. D. 1757.
H. ger. 655.

discovered
and baffled
by the Vizier.

to the empire. The King again ordered his Vizier, with a great army, to take the field. When the two armies approached one another, a mutiny was stirred up in the Vizier's camp, by Shech Islam, Cuttab ul dien, and Cafi Shumse ul dien Berachi, who wrote private letters to the enemy, projecting the means of their taking the city, in which they had also set a faction on foot to favour them. The Vizier having received good intelligence of this treasonable correspondence, acquainted the King of the particulars, who ordered them all to be confined. In the mean time the enemy, according to the scheme projected, marched with a body of chosen cavalry, a hundred crores, in two days, advancing to the gates of Delhi, where the traitors had promised to meet them that day with their forces; but finding themselves disappointed, and the Sultan's troops marching out against them, they entirely dispersed, Cutchlew Chan retreating to Sind, but Cuttulick Chan was never heard of afterwards.

The Moguls
obliged to re-
treat.

Towards the latter end of this year, a Mogul army invaded Outch and Moultan, which obliged the Sultan to point his hostile spears towards that quarter; but the Moguls fled upon his approach; so that, without further trouble, he returned to his capital, giving the country of Punjaab to Shere Chan, and sending Malleck Jellal ul dien Chani to the government of Lucknouti.

Disobedient
Omrahs
brought to
reason.

In the year 656, the Sultan marched his army towards Kurrah and Manickpoor, to chastise Arfilla Chan and Calliche Chan, who had not joined their forces in obedience to his orders, when he marched the year before to Punjaab. These Subas, however, found means at court to mollify the King's resentment, and Arfilla Shaw found even interest to obtain the government of Lucknouti, which had been so lately disposed of to Jellab ul dien, while the other obtained some districts by the foot of the mountains.

Cutchlew Chan, the Vizier's brother, was, in the year 657, appointed to the government of Kole, Jellafore, Gualier, and Biana. Nothing else remarkable happened this season, but the death of Cushlu Chan, governor of Sind. The Vizier, by the King's commands, led next year an army towards Sewalic and Rintimpore, where the Rajaputs had begun to raise great disturbances, having collected a very numerous body of horse and foot, at the head of which they plundered and burnt the country. Upon the Vizier's approach, they retired into strong posts and passes, among the mountains, where, however, he routed them, and continued to ravage their country four months, with fire and sword, setting a price upon their heads.

A. D. 1238.
Higer. 657.
Cutchlew
Chan made
governor of
Gualier, &c.

The Rajas of the Rajaputs, rendered at length desperate, collected all their forces, and rushed down from the mountains to be revenged of the Mahomedans. The Vizier saw the storm descending, and had time to draw up his army in order of battle to receive them. The attack of the enemy was violent and terrible, being actuated by rage, revenge, and despair. It was with much difficulty that the Vizier could keep the imperial troops in the field, but the enemy over-heating themselves towards mid-day, they became hourly more languid and faint. The imperial general inspiring his troops with fresh courage, for till then, they had acted upon the defensive, began to charge in his turn, and, before evening, pursued the enemy, with great slaughter, back to the hills. The Vizier's loss was very considerable in this action, and many brave Omrahs drank of the cup of martyrdom. Of the enemy above ten thousand were slain, and ninety of their chiefs made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers. The Vizier having, by this action, relieved the fort of Rintimpore, which had been besieged by some other tribes, he returned victorious to Delhi. The captive chiefs were cruelly ordered to be put to death, and their unfortunate soldiers condemned to perpetual slavery.

Some rebellious Rajas overthrown by the Viziers

A. D. 1258.
Higer 657.
Embassy from
Halacu King
of Persia.

In the month of Ribbi ul Awil of this year, an ambassador arrived at Delhi, on the part of Hallacu Chan †. The Vizier went out to meet the ambassador with fifty thousand horse, of Arab, Agim, Turk, Chillege, and Afghan; two hundred thousand infantry in arms, two thousand chain-elephants of war, and three thousand carriages of fire-works. He drew up in order of battle, formed in columns of twenty deep, with the artillery and cavalry properly disposed. Having then exhibited some feats of horsemanship, in mock battles, and fully displayed his pomp to the ambassador, he conducted him into the city and royal palace. There the court was very splendid, every thing being set out in the most gorgeous and magnificent manner. All the Omrahs, officers of state, judges, priests, and great men of the city were present, besides five princes of Ayrac, Chorrasan, and Maverulnere, with their retinues, who had taken protection at Delhi, from the arms of Chingez Chan, who, a little before that time, had overrun most part of Asia. Many Rajas of Hindostan, subject to the empire, were there, and stood next the throne.

The Emperor dies.

This ceremony being concluded with great pomp, nothing particular occurred at Delhi, till the year 663, when the Emperor fell sick, and, having lingered some months on the bed of affliction, died on the 11th of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year 664, much lamented by his people.

His singular character.

Sultan Mamood was very singular in his private character, for, contrary to the custom of all princes, he kept no concubines. He had but one wife, whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery; and when she complained one day, that she had burnt her fingers in baking his bread, desiring he might allow her a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, with saying, that he was only a trustee for the

† Halacu Chan was grandson to the famous Zingis Chan, was a great conqueror himself, and King of Persia,

state,

state, and that he was determined not to burthen it with needless expences." He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her in the end.

A. D. 1265.
Higer. 664.

As the Princes of Hindostan never eat in publick, his table was rather that of a hermit, than suitable to a great King. He also continued the whimsical notion of living by his pen. One day, as an Omrah was inspecting a Coran of the Emperor's writing, before him, he pointed out a word, which he said was wrong. The King, looking at it, smiled, and drew a circle round it. But when the critic was gone, he began to erase the circle, and restore the word. This being observed by one of his old attendants, he begged to know his Majesty's reason for so doing; to which he replied, "That he knew the word was originally right, but he thought it better to erase from a paper, than touch the heart of a poor man, by bringing him to shame." These might, indeed, be virtues in private life, but were certainly none in a sovereign; for notwithstanding the praises conferred upon him by historians, we must look upon him rather as the representation than the real substance of a great monarch.

SECTION X.

The Reign of Sultan YEAS UL DIEN BALIN.

SULTAN Balin was a Turk of Chitta, of the tribe of Alberi, and, in his youth, was carried prisoner by the Moguls, who conquered that country, and sold to a merchant, who conveyed him to Bagdat. His father was a chief of great power, and commanded ten thousand horse in that unfortunate war in which our young hero was taken. He was bought at Bagdat in the year 630, by Chaja Jemal ul dien of Bufforah, who was then famous for his piety and

Sultan Balin,
his family.

A. D. 1265.
Higer. 664.

Sent to Delhi.

learning. His master having learned that he was a relation of Sultan Altumsh, proceeded with him immediately to Delhi, and presented him to the Emperor, who rewarded him so handsomely, that he returned independent to Bagdat.

His gradual
rise in the
state.

The Sultan employed him first in the office of chief falconer, in which art he was very expert. He rose from that station, both by the influence of his brother, who happened to be then an Omrah, and in great favour at the court of Delhi, and by his own merit. He ascended gradually, from one preferment to another, till he became an Omrah of the empire, and a man in great esteem. In the reign of Ruckun ul dien, when he commanded in Punjaab, hearing his enemies at court had enraged the King against him, he refused to obey his orders to return, and kept for some time possession of that country. But having advanced to Delhi, with the confederate Omrahs, who came to depose the Empress Rizia, he was taken prisoner in their flight, and remained there some time in confinement. He however made his escape, and joined the party of Byram Shaw against the Empress, whom he twice defeated, as we have seen in that reign. This gained him great reputation; and he had the government of Haffi and Rabari conferred upon him; in which office he distinguished himself in several actions against the rebels of Mewat.

Made Vi-
zier.

Succeeds to
the Empire.

In the reign of Sultan Musafood, he was advanced to the dignity of Amir Hajib, in which he gained great reputation; and in that of Nasir ul dien he was raised to the Vizarit, which high office he managed in such a manner, as to leave the King but the mere title of royalty. He therefore, upon the death of his sovereign, mounted the throne, not only without opposition, but even by the general voice of the nobility and people.

In the reign of Shumse ul dien Altumsh, forty of his Turkish slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn association

to support one another, and upon the King's death, to divide the Empire among themselves. But jealousies and dissentions having arose afterwards among them, prevented this project from being executed. The Emperor Balin was of their number; and, as several of them had raised themselves to great power in the kingdom, the first thing he did after his accession, was to rid himself of all who remained of that association, either by sword or poison; among whom was a nephew of his own, Shere Chan, a man of great bravery and reputation.

A. D. 1265.
Higer. 664.
Rids himself
of his rivals.

His fears, after these assassinations, were entirely dispelled, and he became so famous for his justice and wise government, that his alliance was courted by all the Kings of Iran and Turan. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any office in his government; and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the particular talents and connections of every person in his court. As he was very assiduous in rewarding merit, he was no less so in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in their station, were certain of being immediately disgraced.

Courted by
the Kings of
Tartary and
Persia.

He expelled all flatterers, usurers, pimps and players from his court; and being one day told, that an Omrah, an old servant of the crown, who had acquired a vast fortune, by usury and monopoly in the Bazar, would present him with some lacks of Rupees, if he would honour him with one word from the throne; he rejected the proposal with great disdain, and said, "what must his subjects think of a King who should condescend to hold discourse with a wretch so infamous?"

An enemy to
vice.

Balin was so famous for his generosity, that all the princes of the East, who had been overthrown by the arms of Chingez Chan, fought

His genero-
sity,

A. D. 1265.
Higer. 664.

fought protection at his court. There came upwards of twenty of those unfortunate sovereigns from Turkestan, Mavir ul Nere, Chor-rassan, Ayrac, Azurbaejan, Pharis, Room *, and Shaam †. They had a princely allowance, and palaces for their residence allotted them; and they were upon public occasions, ranked before his throne, according to their dignity; all standing to the right and left, except two princes of the Kalifat, who were permitted to sit on either side of the Musnud. The palaces in which the royal fugitives resided in Delhi, took their names from their respective possessors, and were ranked in the following order: Abbassi, Singeri, Charizim Shahi, Willami, Ollavi, Attabuki, Ghorî, Chingezi, Roomi, Aefunkari, Emuni, Mufeli, Samarcandi, Cashgari, and Chittai.

In the retinue of those princes, were the most famous men for learning, war, arts and sciences, that Asia at that time produced. The court of Hindostan was therefore, in the days of Balin, reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets and divines, formed a society every night, at the house of Chan Shehîd, the heir apparent of the Empire; and Amir Chusero the poet presided at those meetings. Another society of musicians, dancers, mimicks, players, buffoons, and story-tellers was constantly convened at the house of the Emperor's second son Keîa Chan, who was given to pleasure and levity. The Omrahs followed the examples of their superiors, so that various societies and clubs were formed in every quarter of the city. The Sultan himself, having a great passion for splendor and magnificence in his palaces, equipages and liveries, he was imitated by the court. A new city seemed to lift up its head, and arts to arise from the bosoms of luxury and expence.

Such was the pomp and grandeur of the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without terror. The ceremonies of intro-

and magnifi-
cence,

* The lesser Asia, so called from being long a part of the Roman Empire.

† Syria.

duction were conducted with so much reverence and solemnity, and every thing disposed so as to strike awe and astonishment into the beholders. Nor was Balin less magnificent in his cavalcades. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble Turks in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver, and saddles of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen men in rich livery, with their drawn swords upon their shoulders, ran proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way before him. All the Omrahs followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The Monarch, in short, seldom went out with less than one hundred thousand men; which he used to say, was not to gratify any vanity in himself, but to exalt him in the eyes of the people.

The festivals of Norose and Ide, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were held with wonderful pomp and splendor. But amidst all this glare of royalty, he never forgot that he was the guardian of the laws, and protector of his meanest subjects. It was before Balin's time a custom in Hindostan, in cases of murder, to satisfy the relations by a certain fine, if they consented to accept of it. He abolished this custom, which has been since revived, and ordered the Suba of Budaoon, Malleck Feick, to be put to death upon the complaint of a poor woman for killing her son.

When Balin was only an Omrah, he gave into the then courtly vices of wine, women, and play. But upon his accession he became a great enemy to all those luxuries; prohibiting wine upon the severest penalties to be drank in his dominions; laying great restrictions upon women of pleasure, and banishing all gamesters from his court.

So zealous was Balin to support his authority, that for the disobedience of one man, he would order a force to the remotest parts

A. D. 1265.
Higer. 664.
His severity
to rebels.

of the empire to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion against his government, he was not content, as had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the Subas to have the King's mandate for every expedition or hostilities they were about to commence.

Rejects the
advice of his
council to re-
duce Malava.

That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt, for forty or fifty miles round the city, and established laws for the preservation of the game. In the year 664, he was advised by his council, to undertake an expedition to reduce the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malava, which had been annexed to the empire by Cuttub ul dien, but were afterwards permitted to shake off the yoke. To this advice the Emperor would by no means consent, saying, that the Moguls were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulmen princes, that he thought it would be much wiser to secure what he possessed against those invaders, than to weaken himself, and leave his country unguarded, by foreign wars.

Tatar Chan
reduced.

Mahummud Tatar Chan, the son of Arfilla Chan, who had begun to assert independence in Lucknouti, was this year, however, reduced, and obliged to send his usual tribute to Delhi. A great rejoicing was made upon this occasion, at which the King was present and gave public audience.

The Mewats
extirpated.

Balin ordered, in the course of the same year, an army to extirpate a certain tribe of banditti called Mewats, who had possessed themselves of an extensive wilderness about eighty miles south east of the city towards the hills; from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions, to the number of fifty thousand, even to the gates
of

of Delhi. It is said, that in this expedition, above one hundred thousand of these wretches were put to the sword; and the army being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for above the circumference of fifty crores. The cleared space, afterwards proved excellent lands, and was well inhabited, as the people were protected by a line of forts along the foot of the mountains.

A. D. 1265.
Higer. 665.

In the 665 year of the Higer, Balin sent an army down between the Ganges and Jumna, to suppress some insurrections in those parts, with orders to punish the offenders without mercy. The Sultan soon after marched in person towards Kattal, Pattiali and Bhogepoor, whose inhabitants had begun to stop all intercourse with Bengal, by the way of Jionpoor and Benaris. He put some thousands of them to death, establishing justice and public security in those parts. He ordered forts to be built, which he garrisoned with Pattans, to crush any future disturbance, and then returned towards Delhi. Soon after his arrival, he received intelligence of an insurrection in Budaoon and Kutter, whither he hastened with five thousand chosen horse, and ordered a general massacre among the unfortunate insurgents, and some thousands of every age and sex fell by the sword.

The Emperor
quells several
insurrections.

If such cruelties can be any where excused, it must be in a government like that of Hindostan, where rebellions were in those days so common, that, without the most vigorous measures, the peace and royal authority could not be at all established.

Balin, after these transactions, marched his army towards the mountains of Jehud, where he employed them for the space of two years, in taking forts, and reducing the wild inhabitants to obedience. This country was famous for breeding horses, many thousands of which were carried by the Sultan to Delhi. Wherever the

Reduces
Jehud.

A. D. 1266.
Higer. 655.

King marched there was an order for the Subas, Zemindars, Fegedars and magistrates of the provinces to meet him on their own frontiers, with their offerings, which was afterwards distributed among the poor. The Sultan, some time after, made a journey to Lahore, which city, having greatly suffered from the Moguls, he ordered to be put in a proper state of defence and repair; and after having erected some public buildings, he returned to Delhi.

Regulates the
army.

About this time, Balin was told by one of his Omrahs, that a great number of veterans, who had served in the preceding reigns, were now become invalids and incapable of attending their duty. The Sultan, upon this, ordered a list of their names to be taken, and settling half pay upon them for life, discharged them from further service. The old men however, were dissatisfied with this provision, and some of the principals of them were deputed by the rest, to go to Malleck ul Omrah, Fuchur ul dien, chief magistrate of Delhi, with presents, to represent their case to the King.

This venerable magistrate being in great favour with the Sultan, rejected their presents, but told them he would use his endeavour to get them continued upon full pay. He accordingly went next day to court, and while he stood in the presence, put on the appearance of sorrow, which being observed by the King, he enquired about the cause of his grief. The old man replied, "I was just thinking that if in the presence of God, all the old men were rejected, what would become of me." The King was struck with the reproof, and after some pensive silence, ordered the veterans to be continued in their usual pay.

Shere Chan
dus.

In the fourth year of the reign of Balin, Shere Chan Chaja Tash, who had, from the time of Nasir ul dien, governed the provinces of Lahore, Moultan, Battize, Tibberhind, Debalpoor and other dis-

tricts, died: Some say, by poison from the King, but this is not now believed, though reported by some malicious people in those days. He was esteemed a man of great genius and an intrepid warrior; having defended his country from the incursions of the Moguls, who now became the terror of the East. Sultan Balin, upon the demise of Shere Chan, gave Sunnam and Semana to Timur Chan, and the other countries were divided among other Omrahs of his court. The moguls, encouraged by the death of Shere Chan, began again their depredations in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the Subas, prevented them from doing any thing effectual for the public good.

A. D. 1268.
Higer. 667.

The Emperor, therefore, was obliged to appoint his eldest son Mahummud, at that time bearing the title of Chan Malleck, afterwards famous by the name of Chan Shehid, viceroy of all those frontier provinces. Mahummud was immediately dispatched to his government with a fine army, and some of the wisest and best generals in the empire. The Prince himself was blest with a bright and comprehensive genius, taking great delight in learning and the company of learned men. He with his own hand, made a choice collection of the beauties of poetry, selected from the most famous in that art. The work consisted of twenty thousand couplets, and was esteemed the criterion of taste. Among the learned men in the Prince's court, Amir Chufero and Chaja Hassen bore the first rank in genius and in his esteem. These, with many more of his philosophical society, accompanied him on this expedition to Lahore.

Mahummud
appointed go-
vernor of the
frontiers;

an encourager
of learning.

Mahummud was visited at Lahore by Shech Osman Marindi, who was esteemed the greatest man of that age. But no presents or entreaty could prevail upon him to remain out of his own country; so that after a short stay, he returned. We are told, that as he was

A. D. 1268. one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the Prince, all
 Higer. 6. 7. the poets who were present, were transported into a fit of dancing.
 But the piece affected the Prince, to all appearance, in a quite con-
 trary manner; for the tears began to flow fast down his cheeks.
 This might indeed be occasioned by excess of pleasure, though it
 was, at that time, attributed to that noble emulation which grieves
 for that excellence to which it cannot attain.

He invites the
 famous poet
 Sadi to his
 court.

The fame of Shech Sadi of Schiraz being great at that time, Ma-
 hummud invited him twice to his court; but that renowned sage
 excused himself upon account of his years, and, with much diffi-
 culty, was brought to accept of some presents. Sadi, in return, sent
 to Mahummud a copy of his works, and did honour to the abilities
 of Amir Chusero the Sultan's favourite, and president of his learned
 society.

The Prince, every year, made a journey to see his father at Delhi,
 to whom he always behaved with the greatest filial affection and
 duty. Sultan Balin gave his younger son Baghera Chan, entitled
 Nasir ul dien, a Jagier of Sammana and Sunnam, whither the Prince
 set out to reside. His father, at his departure, advised him to re-
 cruit and discipline a good army, to watch the motions of the Mo-
 guls; and that if he ever should hear of his giving himself up to
 wine and his former debaucheries, he would certainly withdraw him
 from that Subaship, and never put confidence in him again. The
 Prince took the advice of his father to heart, and entirely reform-
 ing his manners, gave great proofs of his natural abilities, though
 his mind had taken a wrong bias, in his youth. A place of ren-
 dezvous was appointed, in case of an invasion from the north, on
 the river Béa, near Lahore, where the two Princes were to join
 the imperial army from Delhi.

Baghera, the
 Sultan's
 younger son,
 reforms his
 manners.

Every

Every thing seemed now in perfect peace and security throughout the empire, when Tughril, who was intrusted with the government of Lucknouti, began to appear in arms. In the year 678, this bold and enterprizing man led an army against the Rajas towards Jagennagur, whom he defeated, carrying off some hundreds of elephants and much wealth, out of which he made no acknowledgment to the King. Balin happened at that time to be very sick, insomuch that the news of his death was spread abroad. This intelligence having reached the ears of Tughril, he assumed the red umbrella with all the royal dignities, and declared himself King of Bengal. Balin hearing of this, wrote him an order to return immediately to his allegiance, which having produced no effect, he commanded Ab Tiggi, Suba of Oud, to raise his forces, and declaring him Suba of Bengal, sent Timar Chan Shumshi, Malleck Taje ul dien, Jemmal ul dien, and other generals, to his assistance, with an army from Delhi, to reduce the traitor to obedience.

A. D. 1279.
Higer. 678.

Tughril rebels in Lucknouti.

When Ab Tiggi was joined by this force, he crossed the Sirju, now the Gagra or Deo, and proceeded towards Lucknouti, whence Tughril advanced with his forces to meet him. Tughril employed his money so well among the troops of Ab Tiggi, that he drew many of the Turkish chiefs over to his party, and then engaging the imperial army, he gave them a total defeat. The Sultan hearing this news, bit his own flesh with indignation. He ordered ab Tiggi to be hanged at the gate of Oud; and dispatched Turmutti, a Turkish general, with another army against the rebel. Nor was the fate of Turmutti more fortunate than that of his predecessor. He was totally routed, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

Defeats the imperial army.

The Sultan having intelligence of this second disgrace to his arms, was in great affliction, and prepared to take the field in person. He gave orders to build a large fleet of boats, with all expedition, to

The Sultan prepares to march against him in person.

carry/

A. D. 1279.
Higer, 678.

carry his baggage down the river. He, in the mean time, under pretence of going upon a hunting party, went to Sunnam and Samana, the Subaship of his younger son, whom he brought with his army with him to Delhi, leaving Malleck Sotch in the government. Having collected the imperial army, he appointed Malleck ul Omrah, Fuchier ul dien, or chief magistrate of the city, regent during his own absence.

He enters
Bengal.

The Emperor crossing the Ganges, without waiting for the dry season, proceeded to Lucknouti by forced marches. But having met with great delay, on account of the roads, and numerous rivers, Tughril heard of his approach, and had time to collect his army, and with all his elephants, treasure and effects, took the rout of Jagengur †, with intention to remain there till the Sultan should return to Delhi. The Sultan having arrived in Lucknouti, remained there only a few days. He appointed Hissam ul dien Barbek, governor of the province, and proceeded himself, with his army, towards Jagengur. At Sunnargaum, the zemindar of that place, Hunnage Rai, joined him with his troops, and promised to guard the river against Tughril, if he should endeavour to escape that way.

Pursues the
rebels into
Orissa.

The Sultan continued his march with great expedition, but he could gain no intelligence of the enemy. He therefore ordered Malleck Barbek beg Birse, with seven thousand chosen horse, to advance ten or twelve crores, in front of the army, and, by all means, to endeavour to gain intelligence of the rebels; but in spite of all enquiry, no satisfactory accounts could for several days be obtained. One day however, Malleck Mahummud Shir, governor of Kole, being out from the advanced guard with forty horse, reconnoitring the country, beheld some bullocks with pack-saddles, and having seized the drivers, began to enquire about the enemy. They obstinately

† A town in Orissa, near Cattack.

pretended

pretended ignorance; but the head of one of them being struck off, ^{A. D. 1279.} the rest fell upon their faces, and confessed that they had just left ^{Higer. 678.} the enemy's camp, which was about two crores in front, that they had halted for that day, and intended to advance to Jagenagur.

Mahummud Shir sent the drivers to Malleck Barbek Birse, who ^{A gallant exploit of Mahummud Shir.} commanded the vanguard, that he might examine them, and proceeded himself as directed, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. He saw, from a rising ground, the whole encampment, extended over a great plain, with the elephants and cavalry picqueted, and every thing in rest and security. Having fixed his eye upon the rebel's tents, which were pitched in the center of the army, he determined to execute one of the boldest enterprizes perhaps ever attempted. He advanced on full speed, with his forty attendants, whom he fired with the glory of the undertaking, towards the camp, which he was permitted to enter, being taken for one of their own parties. He continued his course to the usurper's tents, and then ordered his men to draw; and rushing into the great tent of audience, which was crowded with men of distinction, put all they met to the sword, crying, "Victory to Sultan Ealin!"

Tughril, who imagined he was surprized by the imperial army, started from his throne in confusion, and cut his way through the tent behind. He mounted a horse without a saddle, and the cry ^{Tughril flies,} having now spread through the camp, he was confirmed in his fears, and fled towards the river, with an intention to cross it, that he might make his escape to Jagenagur. In the mean time, Malleck Makuddur, the brother of the gallant Mahummud Shir, having seen the rebel as he fled, pursued him to the river, and shot him with an arrow as he was crossing. Tughril immediately fell from his horse, ^{and is killed.} and Malleck plunging into the stream, dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head. At that very instant seeing some of the enemy

A. D. 1278.
Heger, 678.

my coming that way, he hid the head in the sand, and sending the body down the stream, begun to bath himself in the river. The party questioned him about their King, and then went off without suspicion.

His army fly.

Mahummud's party, in the mean time, having dispatched every body they found in the royal tents, dispersed themselves in such a manner among the enemy, who were now in the greatest confusion, that most of them escaped in the crowd. Tughril being no where to be found, and the panic having run through the whole army, the flight became general, and none thought about any thing but personal safety. Those who remained alive of the forty heroes, loitered in the rear, till the enemy were quite gone off the field. They then returned to the deserted camp, where they chanced to meet Malleck Mukuddur. He related the King's death to his brother, who instantly sent the head to the Sultan. He at the same time dispatched an express to the vanguard, which came up that night, and took possession of the camp.

The Sultan
reprimands
Mahummud
for his rash-
ness,

The Sultan arrived the next day, with the imperial army. He called to him the two gallant brothers, and commanded them to relate the particulars of this astonishing exploit. He heard it with surprize; but instead of praising them, as they expected, he told them that the rashness of their behaviour was inconsistent with their duty and prudence, with much more to the same purpose. But he, in a few days, took them into favour, and conferred great titles and honours upon them.

but rewards
him.

The Sultan finding the enemy had entirely dispersed, returned to Lucknouti, and put every one of the rebel's family, and principal adherents, to death. He did not even spare his innocent women and children; and he carried his cruelty so far, as to massacre a hundred Fakers,

Fakiers, and their chief Shaw Collinder; for having been in great favour with the rebel, who had given him a present of three maunds of gold, to support the society. Balin appointed his son Baghera Chan, King of Lucknouti, bestowing upon him all the ensigns of royalty, and the spoils of Tughril, except the elephants and treasure, while he himself returned with his army towards Delhi.

A. D. 1277.
Higer. 678.

Balin's cruelty.

Returns to
Delhi.

The Sultan was absent upon this expedition three years. Upon his arrival, he conferred great dignities upon Malleck Fuchier ul dien, who had ruled Delhi with great wisdom. He then visited the learned men at their own houses, made them princely presents, and at their instigation, published an act of grace to all insolvent debtors, who were in confinement, striking off, at the same time, all old balances of revenues due to the crown. Notwithstanding this appearance of humanity, either the policy, or natural cruelty of his disposition, rendered him unmerciful to all rebels. He ordered spits to be erected in the market place, for the execution of all the prisoners taken in the late expedition; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that the Casies, Mufties, and learned men, in a body petitioning their pardon, could obtain it. This venerable body at last, softened the Sultan into mercy, and he drew the pen of forgiveness over their crimes.

His eldest son having heard of his father's arrival, proceeded to Delhi to visit him, and was received with the greatest affection and joy. He had not remained at Delhi three months, during which his father and he were inseparable, when news was brought that the Moguls had invaded Moultan. Mahummud hastened his departure to oppose them; but before he had taken leave, his father called him into a private apartment, and accosted him in the following manner,

His eldest son
returns to
Delhi.

Invasion of
the Moguls.

He told him, "That he himself had spent a long life in the administration and government of kingdoms; that, by study and experience,

His father's
advice to
Mahummud.

A. D. 1282.
Higer. 681.

he had acquired some knowledge, which might be of service to Mahummud after his death, which, in the course of nature, now hastened apace. That therefore he desired he would lend him the ear of attention, and treasure up his maxims in his mind.

“ When you shall ascend the throne, look upon yourself as the deputy of God. Have a just sense of the importance of your charge. Permit not any meanness of behaviour in yourself, to sully the lustre of your exalted station, nor let avaritious and low-minded men, share your esteem, or bear any part in your administration.

“ Let your passions be governed by reason, and beware of giving way to your rage. Anger is dangerous in all men ; but in Kings it is the weapon of death.

“ Let the public treasure be expended in the service of the state, with that prudent œconomy, yet benevolent liberality, which reason will dictate to a mind always intent on doing good.

“ Let the worship of God be inculcated by your example, and never permit vice and infidelity, unpunished, to hold up their face to the day.

“ Be ever attentive to the business of the state, that you may avoid the imposition of designing ministers. Make it your study to see them execute your commands, without the least deviation or neglect, for it is by them you must govern your people.

“ Let your judges and magistrates be men of capacity, religion, and virtue, that the light of justice may illuminate your realms. Let no light behaviour, in public or private, detract from that important majesty which exalts the idea of a King ; and let every thing around you be so regulated, as to inspire that reverence and awe which will render your person sacred, and contribute to enforce your commands.

“ Spare no pains to find men of genius, learning, and courage. You must cherish them by your beneficence, that they may prove the soul of your council, and the sword of your power. A. D. 1282. Higer. 681.

“ Throw not down a great man to the ground for a small crime, nor entirely overlook his offence. Raise not a low man too hastily to a high station, lest he forget himself, and be an eyesore to men of superior merit.

“ Never attempt any thing, unless it is through necessity, but what you are sure to accomplish ; and having once determined upon a measure, let your perseverance be never shaken by doubt, nor your eye ever deviate from the object. For it is better for a King to be obstinate than pusillanimous, as in the first case he may chance to be right, in the latter he is always sure to be wrong. Nothing more certainly indicates the weakness of a prince, than a fluctuating mind.”

The Sultan having ended his instructions, embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The Prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having defeated and slain Mahummud Chan, chief of the Moguls, he recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in the empire. Mahummud marches against the Moguls.

The throne of Iran was at this time filled by Argunu Chan, the son of Eback Chan, and grandson of Hallaku Chan, who had conquered that empire about the year 656. Timur Chan Chingez, who was then an Omrah of mighty renown in the empire of the race of Chingez Chan, and governed Herat, Candahar, Balich, Cabul, Buduchsha, Ghizni, Ghor, Bamia, and other countries, invaded Hindostan, with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of his friend Mahummud Chan, who had been killed the former year. Having ravaged all the country about Debalpoor and The Moguls invade Hindostan,
F f 2 Lahore,

A. D. 1283.
Higer. 682.

Lahore, he turned towards Moultan. Mahummud Sultan, who was then in Moultan, hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of Moultan, and prepared to oppose him. When Timur Chan advanced to the river, he saw the army of Hindostan on the opposite bank. But the prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief upon equal terms, permitted Timur Chan to pass the river unmolested.

and are de-
feated by
Mahummud,

Both armies then drew up in order of battle, and engaged with great fury, for the space of three hours, in which both commanders eminently distinguished their valour and conduct. The Moguls were at last put to flight, and the Omrahs of Hind pursued them with imprudent disorder. Mahummud, fatigued by the pursuit, halted by a large pond of water, with five hundred attendants, to drink. He there fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

who is sur-
prized and
slain.

In the mean time one of the Mogul chiefs, who had hid himself, with two thousand horse, in a neighbouring wood, rushed out upon Mahummud, and began a dreadful slaughter. The prince had just time to mount his horse, and, collecting his small party, and encouraging them by his example, fell upon his enemies. He was at last overpowered by numbers, after having thrice obliged them to give ground, and he unfortunately received a fatal arrow in his breast, by which he fell to the ground, and in a few minutes expired. A body of the troops of Hind appearing at that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Very few of the unfortunate Mahummud's party escaped from this conflict. Among the fortunate few, was Amir Chusero, the poet, who relates this event at large, in his book called Chizer Chani.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Timur Chan, and beheld their prince in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed

to the wailings of woe. No dry eye was to be seen from the meanest soldier to the Omrah of high command. The fatal news reached the old Sultan, who was now in his eightieth year. The fountains of his tears were exhausted, and life became obnoxious to his sight. However, bearing himself up against the stream of misfortune, he sent Kei Chusero his grandson, and the son of the deceased, to supply the place of his father. Kei Chusero, upon his arrival at Moul-tan, took the command of the army, and pouring the balm of benevolence and kindness upon the wounds of his afflicted people, began to adjust his government, and provide for the defence of his frontiers.

A. D. 1286.
Higer. 685.
The grief of
the army for
the death of
the Prince.

When the Sultan found grief and infirmities began to conquer his vital strength, he sent for his son Baghera Chan from Lucknouti, and appointed him his successor, at the same time insisting that he should continue with him at Delhi till his death; and appoint a deputy for his government of Lucknouti. To this Baghera Chan consented; but finding his father's illness was not likely to come soon to a crisis, he set out for Lucknouti without acquainting him of his departure. This undutiful behaviour in his son, threw the old man into the deepest affliction, so that death began now to press hard upon him.

The Sultan
worn out with
age, sends for
his son
Baghera to
succeed him.

He in the mean time sent for his grandson Kei Chusero, from Moul-tan: the Prince hastened to his presence, and a council of all the Omrahs being called, the succession was changed in his favour, all of them promising to enforce the Sultan's last will, in favour of this young Prince. Balin in a few days expired, in the year 685, after a reign of twenty-two years.

The Sultan's
death.

Immediately upon the death of the Emperor, Malleck ul Omrah Fuchur ul dien Cutwal, having assembled the Omrahs, and being
always

A. D. 1286.
Higer. 685.

Kei Kubad
the son of
Prince
Baghera raised
to the throne.

always in enmity with the father of Chusero, harranged them upon the present posture of affairs. He assured them that Kei Chusero was a young man of a very violent and untractable disposition, and therefore, in his opinion, unfit to reign; besides, that the power of Baghera Chan was so great in the empire, that a civil war was to be feared if the succession should not be continued in his family. That therefore, as the father was absent, it would be most prudent for the Omrahs to elect his son Kei Kubad, who was a prince of a mild disposition and then present in Delhi. So great was the influence of the minister, that he procured the throne for Kei Kubad; and Kei Chusero, glad to escape with life, returned to his former government of Lahore.

In the glorious reign of Sultan Balin, flourished at Delhi, besides the great men we have already mentioned, Shech Ferid ul dien Musaood Shukurgunge, Shech Baha ul dien Zeckeria, Shech Sidder ul dien Arif, Shech Budder ul dien Ghiznavi, Chalipa Chaga Cuttub ul dien Buchtiar Kaki, Seid Mola, and many more, eminent in all branches of science and literature.

SECTION XI.

The Reign of Sultan MOAZ UL DIEN KEI KUBAD, ben
Bughera Chan, ben Sultan Yeas ul dien Balin.

Kei Kubad.

WHEN Sultan Balin was numbered with the dead, Kei Kubad his grandson, in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Moaz ul dien. He was a prince remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a talent for literature, and his knowledge that
way

way was pretty extensive. His mother was a beautiful princess, A. D. 1286.
Higer. 685. daughter to Nasir ul dien Altumsh; and if purity of blood royal is of any real worth, Kei Kubad had that to boast, for a series of generations.

As he had been bred up with great strictness under the wings of Luxury pre-
vails at Delhi. his father, when he became master of his own actions he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. He delighted in love, and in the soft society of silver bodied damsels with musky tresses, spent great part of his time. When it was publickly known that the King was a man of pleasure, it became immediately fashionable at court; and in short, in a few days, luxury and vice so prevailed that every shade was filled with ladies of pleasure, and every street rung with musick and mirth. Even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and riot was heard in every house.

The Sultan built a palace at Kilogurry upon the banks of the river Kei Kubad
gives himself
up to pleasure. Gion, and retired thither to enjoy his pleasures undisturbed; admitting no company but singers, players, musicians and buffoons. Malleck Nizam ul dien, who was nephew and son in law to Fuchir ul dien, entering into the King's humours, gained great favour, and was raised to the dignity of Vakeel Sultanit, and got the reins of Malleck Ni-
zam manages
public affairs. government in his hands; and Kuaam ul dien Ellaka, who was the greatest man of that age, was appointed his deputy.

Malleck Nizam ul dien, seeing that the king was quite swallowed Aspires to the
throne. up in his pleasures, began to form schemes to clear his own way to the Empire. The first object of his attention was Kei Chusero, who was now gone to Ghizni, to endeavour to bring Timur Chan over to his party, in order to recover the throne of Delhi; to which he claimed a title from his father's right of primogeniture, as well as
from

A. D. 1186. from the will of the last Sultan. But in this scheme Chusero did
Higer. 685. not succeed, and he was obliged to return from Ghizni in great
disgust.

In the mean time, Nizam ul dien endeavoured to make him as
obnoxious as possible to the King, who was at length prevailed upon
to entice Chusero to Delhi. Nizam hired assassins to murder the un-
fortunate prince on the way, which they accomplished at the vilage
of Hicke. The villainies of Nizam did not stop here. He forged
a correspondence between Chaja Chatire the vizier, and Kei Chusero,
and thus effected that minister's disgrace and banishment. He also
privately assassinated all the old servants of Sultan Balin, insomuch
that a general consternation was spread through the city, though
none as yet suspected Nizam as the cause. The more he succeeded
in his villainies, he became less secret in the execution; and though
he began to be detested by all ranks, his power and influence was
so great with the King, that he was the terror of every man.

Murders Kei
Chusero.

His many
villainies.

The Moguls
defeated.

While things were in this situation, advices arrived of another
invasion of Moguls into the districts of Lahore. Malleck Barbeck
beg Birse and Chan Jehan were sent with an army against them.
The Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and a number of prisoners
brought to Delhi. The next step the traitor took, was to inspire
the King with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of for-
tune, had enlisted in great numbers in his service. He pretended
that in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their
countrymen against him, insinuating at the same time, that he be-
lieved there was already some treachery intended.

Kei Kubad
massacres the
Moguls in his
service.

The weak prince listened to those villainous intimations, and,
calling their chiefs one day together, he ordered them to be set upon
by his guards and massacred; confiscating, at the same time, all their
goods

goods and wealth. He seized upon all the Omrahs who had any connections with the Moguls, and sent them prisoners to distant gar-
 risons in the remotest parts of the empire. So blind was Kei Kubat to his own ruin, and so infatuated by this deceitful minister, that when any of his father's friends, or wellwishers to himself and the state, made any complaints against the traitor, he immediately called for Nizam himself, and smiling, told him, that such a person had been doing him such and such ill offices, with an intention to alienate his affections from him. The person who preferred the complaint became, by this means, a sacrifice, while fear prevented others from falling martyrs to virtue and honesty.

A. D. 1288.
 Higer. 687.

When Nizam thus carried all before him in the Durbar, his wife was no less busy in the Haram. She had all the ladies at her devotion; and, by way of particular respect, was called the King's mother. Malleck ul Omrah Fuchir ul dien Cutwal, who had now reached his ninetieth year, perceived the design of the treacherous minister, and called him to his house, and by various arguments, endeavoured to suppress his ambitious schemes, and to lay the deformity of such behaviour fully open to his view. The minister allowed the justice of his reasoning, and affirmed that he had no further intentions than to secure himself in the King's favour. That having, unfortunately, disobligeed so many people, it was dangerous for him to permit his authority to decline.

The minister carries all before him.

In the mean time, Baghera Chan the Sultan's father, who had contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard how matters went on at the court of Delhi, penetrated into the designs of the minister, and wrote a long letter to his son forewarning him of his danger, and advising him how to proceed. But his advice, like that of others, was of no weight with that vicious, luxurious, and infatuated Prince. When Baghera found that his instructions were

Baghera Chan's advice to his son is slighted.

A. D. 1388.
Higer. 687.
Marches to-
wards Delhi.

flighted, and that things would soon be brought to a disagreeable issue, he collected a great army and directed his standards towards Delhi, about two years after the death of Balin. Sultan Kei Kubad hearing that his father had advanced as far as Behar, drew out his forces and marched down to meet him, encamping his army upon the banks of the Gagera. Baghera Chan lay upon the Sirve, and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man finding his army much inferior to that of his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly began to treat of peace.

The young Prince, upon this, became more haughty, and by the advice of his favourite prepared for battle. In the mean time, a letter arrived from his father, wrote in the most tender and affectionate terms, begging he might be blessed with one sight of him before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened nature which had slumbered so long in Kei Kubad's breast, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted all in his power to prevent this interview, but finding the Prince, for once, obstinate, he prevailed upon him to insist, as Emperor of Delhi, upon the first visit, hoping by this means, to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed, for the old King, seeing what a headstrong boy he had to deal with, consented to come to the imperial camp, and ordered the Astrologers to determine upon a lucky hour, and crossing the river, proceeded towards his son's camp.

Kei Kubad's
insolence.

The young Monarch having prepared every thing for Baghera's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, mounted his throne, and arrogantly gave orders, that his father, upon his approach, should three times kiss the ground. The old man accordingly, when he arrived at the first door, was ordered to

dismount,

disinmount, and after he had come in sight of the throne, he was commanded to pay his obeysance in three different places as he advanced. The Sultan's Chobdars crying out, according to custom, Baghera Chan to the King of the world sends health.

A.D. 1283.
Higer. 687.

The old man was so much shocked at this indignity, that he burst out into a flood of tears; which being observed by the son, he could no longer support his unnatural insolence, but leaping from the throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness for his offence. The good old man melted into compassion, and raising him in his arms embraced him, and hung weeping upon his neck. The scene in short was so affecting on both sides, that the whole court began to wipe the tears from their eyes.

Mollified upon seeing his father.

These transports being over, the young Sultan helped his father to mount the throne, and paying him his respects took his place at his right hand, ordering a charger full of golden suns to be waved three times over his father's head, and afterwards to be given among the people. All the Omrahs also presented to him their Nafirs.

Public business being then talked over, every thing was settled in peace and friendship, and Baghera Chan returned to his own camp. A friendly intercourse commenced immediately between the two armies, for the space of twenty days, in which time the father and son alternately visited one another, and the time was spent in festivity and mirth. The principal terms settled between the two Kings were, that they should respectively retain their former dominions; and then Sultan Moaz ul dien Kei Kubad prepared to return to Delhi, and his father to Bengal.

A peace settled between them.

They return to their respective capitals.

Before they had taken leave, Baghera Chan called his son, the favourite minister and his deputy into a private apartment, and gave

A. D. 1288.
Higer. 687.

them a long lecture of advice on the art of government. He then embraced Kei Kubad, and whispered in his ear, to rid himself of Nizam ul dien as soon possible. They both parted in tears, and returned to their respective capitals. Baghera Chan was much affected upon this occasion, and told his friends at his return to his own camp, "that he had that day parted with his son and the empire," still apprehensive of the minister and the wayward disposition of the young man.

Kei Kubad
beginning to
reform,

When the Sultan arrived at Delhi, the advice of his father for a few days seemed to take root in his mind. But his reformation was not the interest of the minister. He therefore soon brought back his prince to the paths of pleasure. He, for this purpose, collected together all the most beautiful women, most graceful dancers and sweetest fingers from all parts of the empire; and these allurements to vice were occasionally introduced to his view.

is again
brought back
to pleasure.

One day as he was riding out, he was accosted by a beautiful lady, mounted upon a fine Arabian horse, with a crown of jewels upon her head, a thin white robe with golden flowers flowing loosely over her snowy shoulders, and a sparkling girdle of gems around her slender waist. This fair one advancing before the royal umbrella, with a thousand charms and smiles began to sing a love song. Then stopping short, she begged pardon for her intrusion, and would not, without much intreaty, proceed. The King was struck with the beauty of this enchantress, and immediately dismounting, ordered his camp to be pitched, and employed the evening in the pleasures of love. This damsel was no less remarkable for her wit than for her beauty. The King, while she was dancing, having broke out in rapturous verses upon those charms which she displayed, she answered every time extempore in the same measure, with such propriety

propriety and elegance as astonished and silenced the greatest wits of the court. A. D. 1289.
Higer. (88.)

In short, the King continued in this course of pleasure, till wine, and intemperance in his other passions, had ruined his health. He fell sick, and then began to recollect the advices of his father, and to consider Nizam ul dien as the cause of all his distress. He immediately began to form schemes in his mind to rid himself of that wicked minister. He for this purpose ordered him to the government of Moultan; but Nizam ul dien perceiving his drift, contrived many delays, that he might get a favourable opportunity to accomplish his villainous intentions. His designs, however, in the mean time reverted upon his own head. The Omrahs dispatched him by poison, some say without the King's knowledge, while others affirm that it was by his authority. Kei Kubad
falls sick.

Nizam poi-
soned.

Malleck Jellal ul dien Feroze, the son of Malleck Egherish of Chillige, who was Naib of Sammana, came, by the Sultan's orders, to court, and was honoured with the title of Shaista Chan, and made Lord of requests, as also Suba of Birren. Malleck Itimer Chigen was promoted to a high office at court, and Malleck Eitumur Surcha was made Vakeel of the empire. These three divided the whole power of the government amongst them, while the King by this time became afflicted with a palsy, by which he lost the use of one side, and had his mouth distorted. Promotion
at court.

Kei Kubad
becomes pa-
ralytic.

Every Omrah of popularity or power, began now to intrigue for the empire, which obliged the friends of the royal family to take Keiomourse, a child of three years, son to the reigning emperor, out of the Haram, and to set him upon the throne. The army upon this, split into two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. His son raised
to the em-
pire.

A. D. 1286.
Higer. 683.

city. The Turks* espoused the cause of the young King, and the Chilligies, a powerful tribe of Tartars, joined Shaiста Chan, who usurped the throne. Upon the first disturbance, those Turks who had set up the young Prince, jealous of the power of the Chilligies, assembled themselves, and proscribed all the principal Chilligian officers.

Shaiста Chan
rebels.

Jellal ul dien, Shaiста Chan, being the first in that bloody list, immediately rebelled. Himar Chigen had been deputed by the Turkish party, to invite Shaiста to a conference with the sick Sultan, and a plot was formed for his assassination. Shaiста discovering his designs, drew upon the traitor, who came to invite him, and killed him at the door of his tent.

His sons seize
the young
King.

The sons of Jellal ul dien, who were renowned for their valour, immediately put themselves at the head of five hundred chosen horse, and making an assault upon the camp of the Turks, cut their way to the royal tents, which were pitched in the center of the army, and seizing the infant King, carried him, and the son of Malleck ul Omrah, off, in spite of all opposition, to their father. They killed Malleck Eitumur Surcha, who pursued them, with many other men of distinction.

The citizens
of Delhi
take arms.

When this exploit began to be noised abroad in the city, the mob flew immediately to arms. They marched out in thousands, and encamping at the Budaon gate, prepared to go against Jellal ul dien, and rescue the infant King, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Chilligies, who were a fierce and savage race. Malleck ul Omrah, the old minister, so often mentioned, considering that this step would occasion the assassination of the young king, and of his own

* The Turks and Tartars here mentioned, were mercenaries in the imperial army.

son, who was in their hands, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and at length prevailed with them to disperse. A. D. 1289. Higer, 688.

Jellal ul dien, in the mean time, sent an assassins to cut off Kei Kubad, who lay sick, at Kilogurry. The villain found this unfortunate prince dying upon his bed, deserted by all his attendants. He beat out the poor remains of life with a cudgel; then rolling him up in his bed-cloaths, threw him over the window into the river. This assassins was a Turk of some family, whose father had been unjustly put to death by Kei Kubad, and he now had a compleat revenge. Kei Kubad assassinated.

When this horrid deed was perpetrated, Shaista Chan ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Jellal ul dien, having put an end to the dynasty of Ghor, and commenced that of Chillige. Malleck Chidju, nephew to Sultan Balin, and who was now esteemed the just heir of the empire, was immediately appointed Suba of Kurrah, and sent off to his government. Jellal ul dien marched into the palace, and was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city; and to compleat his villainy, he made away with the young prince, that he might reign with the greater security. Shaista Chan ascends the throne.

This great revolution happened in the year six hundred and eighty-seven, the reign of Sultan Kei Kubad being something more than three years; a time long and disastrous, if we look upon the villainies of Nizam ul dien, and the consequent overthrow of the family of Balin.

SECTION XII.

The Reign of SULTAN JELLAL UL DIEN Firose of Chillige.

A. D. 1289.
Higer. 688.
Different opi-
nions con-
cerning the
origin of the
tribe of Chil-
lige.

NIZAM UL DIEN AHMUD says in his history, that the tribe of Chillige derived their origin from Calidge Chan. Callidge, continues that writer, having quarrelled with his wife, who was an imperious and vindictive woman, and fearing she would draw the resentment of her brother Chingez Chan upon him, deserted his army as he was passing the mountains of Ghor and Ghirgistan, in his return from the conquest of Iran. Three thousand of his friends followed Calidge, and took possession of those mountains, where they were afterwards joined by many of their countrymen, and even by some of the family of Chingez Chan.

Other historians, with equal improbability, affirm, that we ought to look for the origin of the Chilligies, as far back as Eaphs the son of Noo †, who, say they, had eleven sons, one of whom was called Chillige. But we have reason to think that neither of the accounts is authentic, the one being too modern, and the other too antient, to merit our faith. We hear of this tribe of Chillige in the reigns of Subuctagi, and Mamood of Ghizni, which entirely destroys the former supposition; and we have great doubts concerning the existence of Chillige the son of Eaphs, being persuaded that this idle story took its rise from the natural vanity of nations, in tracing themselves back to remote antiquity.

This tribe however, as we have already observed, inhabited the mountains of Ghor and Ghirgistan, and were a brave and hardy, though

† Japhet, the son of Noah.

barbarous race. They make a business of war, and always served as mercenaries any power that chose to employ them. The father of that Shaista Chan, who mounted the throne of Delhi, was Egherish. He was one of those soldiers of fortune, who subsist by the sword; and raised himself to some rank, in the army of Sultan Balin. His son Firose being a man of genius, was appointed to the government of Samana. He was called from thence, as before related, and usurped the empire. He reserved for some months, the young Prince Keiomours, as a cloak to his villainy; and having established himself upon the throne; he ordered him to be put to death. He was seventy years of age when he mounted the Musnud. Firose, by way of plainness, changed the royal umbrella from red to white; laid entirely aside his cruelty, after the death of the young Prince; and became remarkable for his humanity and benevolence.

A. D. 1288.
Higer. 687.

He murders
the infant
Emperor.

He had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Delhi, and therefore resided always at Kilogurry, which he strengthened with works, and adorned with fine gardens, and beautiful walks by the side of the river. The Omrahs following the Sultan's example, built palaces around, so that Kilogurry became known by the name of the new city.

Resides at
Kilogurry.

Egherish Chan, the Sultan's brother, was appointed Ariz Mumalick, or receiver-general of all petitions to the throne; and the Emperor's eldest son was dignified with the title of Chan Chanan †: The second son, with the title of Arkali Chan; and the third with that of Kuder Chan. They had all governments conferred upon them, and maintained separate households. Chaja Chatire was appointed Vizier, and the old chief magistrate of the city, Malleck ul Omrah, Fuchir ul dien, was continued in his office.

Confers ho-
nours upon
his son.

The citizens of Delhi perceiving the wisdom, lenity, and justice of the King, were gradually weaned from their attachment to the old

Seeks after
popularity.

† Lord of Lords.

A. D. 1200
Higer. 689.

The nephew
of Sultan Ba-
lin rebels

family, and became friends and supporters of the new government. The Sultan himself was at much pains to cultivate popularity, and for that purpose he gave great encouragement to the learned of that age, who, in return, offered the incense of flattery at the altar of his fame. In the second year of Firose, Malleck Chidju, nephew to Sultan Balin, and the Nabob of Kurrah, in alliance with Halim Chan, Nabob of Oud, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and struck the currency of the country in his own name, which he changed to that of Moghiz ul dien. He brought over to his party all the Rajas and Jagierdars of those parts, and, raising a great army, advanced towards Delhi.

His army de-
feated.

Advices of this insurrection arriving in the capital, the Sultan collected his forces, and marched out to meet the rebels. He sent the Chilligian cavalry, who excelled at the bow, a few miles in his front, under the command of Arkilli Chan his own son. Arkilli encountering the enemy about twelve crores from the city, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them. He took several Omrahs prisoners in the pursuit, whom he mounted upon camels, with branches hung round their necks; and in that plight sent them to the Sultan. When he saw them in this distress, he immediately ordered them to be unbound, to have a change of linen given them, and an elegant entertainment to be provided. He called them before him, and repeated a verse to this purpose, "That evil for evil was easily returned, but he only was great who could return good for evil." He then ordered them to retire, in full assurance of his forgiveness.

He is taken,
but pardon-
ed.

Malleck Chidju, some days after, was taken by the Zemindars, and sent prisoner to the King. Instead of condemning him to death, as was expected, the Sultan gave him a free pardon, and sent him to Moultan, where he had a handsome appointment for life, as prisoner at large. This lenity of the King, gave great umbrage to the Omrahs of Chillige, who addressed him upon the occasion, and advised him to pursue the policy of Sultan Balin, who never pardoned a traitor. They desired, that, at least, a needle should be passed

passed through the eyes of Malleck Chidju, to be an example to others. If that was not done, they averred, that treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire; and, should the Turks once gain the superiority, they would not leave the name of Chillige in Hindostan. The King answered, that what they said was certainly according to the true policy of government; but, my friends, says he, I am now an old man, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood.

A. D. 1290.
Higer. 689.

Clemency of
the Emperor

This behaviour of the Sultan, it must be acknowledged, had soon the effect which the Chilligian chiefs foresaw. Clemency is a virtue which descends from God, but the degenerate children of Hind did not deserve it. There was no security to be found in any place. The streets, the highways, were infested by banditti. House-breaking, robbery, murder, and every other species of villainy, became a business all over the empire. Insurrections were heard of in every province, numerous gangs of robbers stopt all commerce and intercourse, and the Nabobs refused or neglected to send any account of their revenues or administration.

occasions
disturbances.

The Omrahs of Chillige were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and began to lengthen the tongue of reproach against their Sovereign. They even began to consult about deposing him, and to raise Malleck Tage ul dien Kugi, who was a man of influence, courage, and resolution, to the throne. For this purpose they met one day, at an entertainment in his house; but having intoxicated themselves with wine, they began openly to talk of assassinating the emperor, quarrelling about which of them should have the honour of that undertaking. While they were in this situation, one of the company privately withdrew, and running to the Sultan, repeated very circumstantially every particular of what he had heard. The Sultan immediately ordered a guard to surround the house, who having seized the Omrahs,

The Omrahs
conspire
against him.

A. D. 1290.
Higer, 689.

Are discovered and pardoned.

brought them all before him. He upbraided them with their treason, he drew his sword, and throwing it down upon the ground, challenged the boldest of them to wield it against him. But they fell upon their faces, and remained silent and confounded. One of them however, whose name was Malleck Nuferit, was gifted with more impudence than the rest, and told the King, that “the words of drunkenness were but wind: Where can we ever find so good and gracious a King, if you should be no more? Or where can the King get so faithful servants, were he to condemn us for a little unguarded folly?”

Remarkable story of a Dirvesh.

The unguarded Prince was pleased with this, and smiling; called for wine, and gave him another cup with his own hand. He then upbraided the rest for their conduct, advised them to behave better for the future, and dismissed them all with his pardon.

The execution of a Dirvesh is one of the most remarkable events in this reign. The name of the Dirvesh was Seid Molah, and the whole affair has been thus delivered down in history.

Malleck ul Omrah Fuchir ul dien Cutwal, dying about this time, all the great men, who by his interest, held Jagiers and places at court, were deprived of them, and reduced to want. Among other dependants of the venerable Cutwal *, that became destitute by his death, were twelve thousand readers of the Coran †, and some thousands of his Sipais and servants. All these turned their face towards Seid Molah for their maintenance.

His history.

This Seid Molah was a venerable sage, in a mendicant dress, who travelled from Girjan towards the east, where he visited various

* Chief magistrate of the city.

† Each of these was obliged to read the Coran over once a day.

countries,

countries, and men famous for piety and knowledge. He then turned his face towards Hindostan, to visit Shech Ferid ul dien Shuckergunge, a famous poet and philosopher of that age, with whom he resided, some time, in great friendship. But in the reign of Sultan Balin, having an inclination to see Delhi, he took leave of his friend, who advised him to cultivate no intimacy with the great men of the court, otherwise it would prove fatal to him in the end.

A. D. 1200.
Higer. 689.

Seid Molah arriving at Delhi, set up a great academy and house of entertainment for travellers, fakiers and the poor of all denominations, turning none away from his door. Though he was very religious, and brought up in the Mahommedan faith, yet he followed some particular tenets of his own, so that he never attended public worship. He kept no women nor slaves for himself, and lived upon rice only; yet his expences in charity were so great, that, as he never accepted of any presents, men were astonished whence his finances were supplied, and actually believed, that he possessed the art of transmuting other metals into gold. Upon the death of Sultan Balin he launched out more and more in bestowing great sums in charity, and expended a princely revenue in his entertainments, which were now frequented by all the great men of the city; for he made nothing of throwing three or four thousand pieces of gold into the bosom of a noble family in distress. In short, he displayed more magnificence in his feasts than any of the princes of the empire. His charity was so unbounded, that he expended daily, upon the poor, a thousand maunds of flower, five hundred maunds of meat, eighty maunds of sugar, besides rice, oil, butter and other necessaries in proportion. The mob, at length, crouded his gates in such numbers, that it was almost impossible to pass that way. In the mean time, the sons of the Emperor and all the princes of the court resorted to him with all their retinues, and spent whole days and nights in innocent festivity and philosophical conversation.

Arrives at
Delhi,

his magnifi-
cence and
charity.

After

A. D. 1290. After the death of Fuchir ul dien Cutwal, the Dirvesh stretched
Higer. 689. forth his hand to his numerous dependants, and supported them in
plenty and ease.

In the mean time, Cafi Jellal ul dien, a man of an intriguing turbulent disposition, wrought himself into the favour and confidence of Seid Molah, and being endued with art and plausibility of tongue, began to inspire the philosopher with ambitious views. He told him that the people looked upon him as sent by God to deliver the kingdom from the tyranny and oppression of the Chilligies, and to bless Hindostan with a wise and just government.

Aspires to the
throne.

Conspires
against the
King.

The philosopher, in short, suffered his imagination to be deluded by the splendid ideas of royalty, and privately began to bestow titles and offices upon his disciples, and to take other measures to execute his designs. He engaged Beregin Cutwal and Heitai Palwan, two of his particular friends, to join in the King's retinue on Friday as he went to the public mosque, and to assassinate him; while he himself prepared about ten thousand of his adherents to support his usurpation. But one of his followers, understanding that some others of less merit than himself were appointed to be his superiors, became disgusted, went privately to the King, and disclosed to him every particular of the conspiracy.

He is seized,

The King ordered Seid Molah and Jellal ul dien to be immediately seized and brought before him for examination. But they persisted in their innocence, and no other witness appeared against them, which rendering the accusation doubtful, the Sultan ordered a great fire to be prepared in the field of Bahapoor, that they might be put to the ordeal trial. He himself marched out of the city to see the ceremony performed, and ordered a ring to be made round the pile. The fire being kindled, the Sultan commanded Seid

Mola

Molah and the two assassins to be brought, that they might walk through the flames to prove their innocence. Having said their prayers they were just going to plunge into the fire, when the Sultan stopped them short, and turning to his ministers, said, "that the nature of fire was to consume, paying no respect to the righteous more than to the wicked. Besides, said he, it is contrary to the Mahomedan law to practise this heathenish superstition."

A D. 1290.
Higer. 689.

He therefore ordered Cafi Jellal to Budaoon, and Seid Molah to be thrown into chains in a vault under the palace, and the two men who were to perpetrate the assassination to be put to death. He, at the same time, banished a number of those who were suspected of the conspiracy. When they were carrying Seid Molah through the court to his prison, the King pointed him out to some Collinders who stood near him, and said, "Behold the man who was projecting such evil against us! I therefore leave him to be judged by you, according to his deserts."

Ordered to
perpetual im-
prisonment.

At the word, a Collinder whose name was Beri, started forth, and running towards the prisoner began to cut him with a razor. The unfortunate Dirvesh told him to be more expeditious in sending him to God. He then addressed himself to the King, who was looking over the balcony, and said, I am rejoiced that you have thought of putting a period to my life; yet to distress the pious and the innocent is an evil, and be assured that my curse will lie heavy upon you and your unfortunate posterity. The King hearing these words, became pensive and perplexed. His son Arkilli Chan, who hated Seid Molah for the great intimacy between him and his elder brother Chan Chanan, seeing the Emperor's irresolution, beckoned to an elephant rider, who stood in the court mounted, to advance, which accordingly he did, and commanded his elephant to tread Seid Molah to death.

Put to a cruel
death.

Zea

A. D. 1201.
Higer. 690.

A prodigy.

Zea ul dien Birni, in his history of Firoze Shaw, informs us that he himself was at that time in Delhi, and that, immediately upon the death of Seid Molah, a black whirl-wind arose, which for the space of half an hour, changed day into night, drove the people in the streets against one another, so that they could scarce grope their way to their own habitations. The same author relates, that no rain fell in these provinces during that year, and the consequence was a most terrible famine, by which thousands daily died in the streets and highways; while whole families drowned themselves in the river. But these were the throes of nature, and not the rage of the elements for Seid Molah. This event happened in the year 690, and the loss of the Dirvesh was much regretted, for many believed him entirely innocent of the charge.

The good
fortune of the
King de-
clines.

The prosperity of the King began visibly to decline, for every day new factions and disputes arose, which greatly disturbed his administration. Private misfortunes pressed hard upon him at the same time; among the number of which was the madness of his eldest son Chan Chanan, heir apparent of the empire. No medicines could cure that prince, and the distemper hourly gaining ground soon terminated in his death.

He marches
to Rintim-
pore.

The King, after the decease of his son, marched his army towards Rintimpore to quell an insurrection in these parts. He left his son Arkilli Chan to manage affairs in his absence. The enemy having retired into the fort of Rintimpore, and the King having reconnoitered the place, despaired of reducing it. He marched towards a small fort called Jain, which he took, then breaking down the temples of Malava, plundered them of some wealth and again returned to Rintimpore. He summoned the fort a second time to surrender, but finding the rebels paid no attention to his threats, he gave orders to undermine the walls. He however changed his resolution, and
decamped,

decamped, saying, that he found the place could not be taken without the loss of many lives, and therefore that he would lay aside his designs against it. Malleck Amed Chip, who was one of the pillars of the empire, replied, that Kings in the time of war, should make no account of those things, when compelled to it by justice and the necessity of supporting their authority, which was now plainly the case. The King, in wrath, asked him how he came to think that these were not his sentiments; "but I have often, said he, told you, that now being on the brink of the grave, I am unwilling to entail the curse of widows and orphans upon the reign of a few days." He therefore continued his march to Delhi.

A. D. 1291.
Higer. 691.

In the year 691, one of the kinsmen of Hallacu Chan *, invaded Hindostan with ten tomans † of Moguls. The Sultan having received advices of the approach of the enemy, collected his army and moved forward to oppose them. When he reached the frontiers of Biraam, he saw the Moguls in front beyond a small river. Both armies encamped for the space of five days upon either side of this stream, during which time their advanced posts skirmished frequently, and many were killed.

The Moguls
invade Hin-
dostan.

The armies at last, by mutual consent, pitched upon an extensive plain where they might have room to contend for the victory. Accordingly on the sixth morning they drew up in order of battle, and closed up the dreadful interval of war. The Moguls, after an obstinate contest were overthrown, many of their chiefs killed, and about a thousand men taken prisoners. Among the latter were two Omrahs and several officers of rank. The Sultan, notwithstanding this victory was afraid to pursue it, and offered them peace, upon condition of their evacuating his dominions. They accordingly

Overthrown
by the Sul-
tan.

* Grandson of Zingis Chan, and King of Persia.

† A Toman consisted of 10,000 men.

A. D. 1292.
Higer. 692.

gladly accepted of those terms, and presents were exchanged between them. When the Moguls were retreating, Allaghu Chan, grandson to the great Chingez Chan, joined the Sultan with three thousand men. They all became Mussulmen, and their chief was honoured with one of the Sultan's daughters in marriage.

Arkilli Chan
made govern-
nor of La-
hore.

The King, about this time, appointed his son Arkilli Chan, viceroy of Lahore, Moultan and Sind, with whom he left a strong force, and returned himself to his capital. To Allaghu Chan and the rest of the Moguls who had now become true believers, was allotted a certain district near the city, where they built for themselves houses, and raised a considerable town, known by the name of Mogulpurra.

The expedi-
tions of Alla
ul dien.

In the year 692, the Sultan was under the necessity of marching his army again to quell an insurrection about Mindu, which fort he took, and put the enemy to flight. In the mean time, Malleck Alla ul dien, the King's nephew, and governor of Kurrah, requested to be permitted to march against the Hindoos of Belsa who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched the same year to Belsa, which he took, and having pillaged the country returned with much spoil, part of which was sent as a present to the Sultan; among other things there was a large brazen idol, which was thrown down, by the Budaon-gate. The Sultan was greatly pleased with the success and behaviour of Alla ul dien upon this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents, and annexed the subadary of Oud to his former government of Kurrah.

Alla ul dien, upon this preferment, acquainted the King that there were some Rajas of great wealth towards Chinderi, whom, if the Sultan should give him permission, he would reduce to his obedience, and send their spoils to the royal treasury. The King,

through covetousness, consented to this proposal, to which Alla ul dien was moved by the violent temper of his wife Mallike Jehan the Sultan's daughter, who threatened his life. To avoid therefore her resentment and that of her father, he looked round for some remote country which might afford him an asylum. Accordingly, in the year 693, he took leave of the Sultan at Delhi, and proceeding towards Kurrah, took many chiefs of distinction into his service. He marched with eight thousand chosen horse, by the nearest road against Ramdeo, Raja of the Decan, who possessed the wealth of a long series of Kings.

A. D. 1293.
Higer. 693.

Marches into
the Decan.

Alla ul dien, arriving upon the frontiers of the Decan, pressed forward against the capital of Rumdeo's dominions, which, not being fortified, he was in hopes of surprizing. Though this attempt seemed too bold to be attended with success, yet he persisted in his resolution, and by surprizing marches reached Elichpoor, where he made a short halt to refresh his small army. He marched from thence with equal expedition, towards Deogire the capital. Intelligence of Alla's progress coming to the Raja, who, with his son, had been absent upon some service in a distant part of his dominions, he returned with great expedition to intercept the enemy with a numerous army. He accordingly threw himself between Alla and the city, engaged him with consummate bravery, but in the end he was defeated with great loss.

Overthrows
Ramdeo.

This expedition is otherwise recorded by the author of the Tibcat Nafiri. Alla ul dien, says that writer, left Kurrah on pretence of hunting, and having passed through the territories of many petty Rajas, avoided all hostilities, giving out that he had left the Emperor in disgust, and was going to offer his services to the Raja of the Tillingas Ram Chunder, who was the most powerful King in the Decan. Accordingly, after two months march, he arrived

Another account of this expedition.

A. D. 1293.
Higer. 693.

without any remarkable opposition at Elichpoor, from whence, at once changing his course, he decamped in the night, and in two days surprized the city of Deogire the capital of Ramdeo. The Raja himself was in the city, but his wife and his eldest son had gone to worship at a certain temple without the walls.

Ramdeo, upon the approach of Alla, was in the greatest consternation. He however collected three or four thousand citizens and domesticks, engaged Alla ul dien at one of the gates of the city, but being defeated, retired into the citadel. This fort having no ditch, and not being stored with provisions, he had no hopes of defending it long. Alla ul dien immediately invested the place. In the mean time he gave out, that he was only the van-guard of the Emperor's army, who were on full march to the place. This struck universal terror into all the Rajas round, who, instead of joining for the general safety, began to secure themselves. Alla ul dien having pillaged the city and seized upon the merchants, brahmins and principal inhabitants, tortured them for their wealth; while he at the same time carried on the siege of the citadel.

Alla takes
Deogire.

Alla's cruelty.

Ramdeo seeing he must soon be obliged to yield, and imagining that the Emperor intended to make a general conquest of the Decan, endeavoured to procure a peace before any other forces arrived. He therefore wrote after this manner to Alla.

“ Your invasion of this country was certainly impolitic and rash, but fortunately for you, having found the city unguarded, you have been permitted to range at large. It is however possible that the Rajas of the Decan, who command innumerable armies, may yet surround you, and not permit one of your people to escape from our dominions alive. Supposing even that you should be able to retreat from hence undisturbed, are not the Rajas of Malava, Candez and Gundwarra

Gundwarra in your way, who have each armies of forty or fifty thousand men? Do you hope they will permit you to escape unmo-
 lested, after this perfidious attack on their brethren, in religion and
 Gods? It is therefore adviseable for you to retire in time, by accepting
 a small reward, and what spoil you have already got, to indemnify
 you for your expence and labour."

A. D. 1293.
 Higer. 693.

Ramdeo pro-
 poses terms of
 peace,

Malleck Alla ul dien was very glad to accept of those propofals, and having received fifty maunds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, fifty elephants, and some thousand horses, which were taken in the Rajas stables, he releas'd his prisoners, and promised to abandon the place in the morning of the fifteenth day, from his first entrance.

which Alla
 accepts.

But when Alla was preparing to retreat, the Raja's eldest son, who had fled with his mother, on the first appearance of the imperial troops, to collect forces, advanced with a numerous army, within a few miles of the city. Ramdeo sent a message to his son, informing him, that peace was concluded, and whatever was done, was done. He therefore ordered him not to open again the door of disturbance, for that he perceived the Turks were a warlike race, whose peace was better than their war. The young Prince however, understanding that his army was thrice the number of the enemy, and expecting hourly to be joined by other Rajas, with numerous forces, listened not to the commands of his father, but wrote to Alla ul dien in these terms :

Ramdeo's
 son advances
 with an army.

" If you have any love for life, and desire safety, rush out of this horrible whirlpool, into which you have plunged yourself. What-
 ever you have plundered and received, you must return, and take
 your way homeward, rejoicing in your happy escape."

His insolent
 letter to Alla.

Alla

A. D. 1293.
Higer. 693.

Alla ul dien, upon reading this insolent letter, kindled the fire of rage, and blackening the face of the messenger, hooted him out of the city. He left Malleck Nufirit to invest the citadel with a thousand horse, and immediately marched with the rest of his army, to attack the Raja's son, and drew up in the front of his camp.

Is over-
thrown.

The Hindoo did not decline the offered battle. He drew forth his numerous squadrons, and the battle commenced with such violence, that the stout heart of Alla ul dien began to quake for the victory. His troops began to fall back on all sides. In the mean time Malleck Nufirit having learned by his scouts, the situation of affairs, left the citadel without orders, and galloping up to the field of battle, with his thousand horse, changed the fortune of the day. The dust having prevented the enemy from discovering the force of Nufirit, some person cried out, that the Turkish army, of whom they had been told, was arrived. This spread instantly a panic through the Hindoo ranks, and they at once turned their face to flight. Alla ul dien did not think proper to pursue them far, but immediately returned into the city, and invested the citadel.

Cruelty of
the Turks.

A scene of cruelty and horror now commenced. The Turks, enraged at the perfidy of the Hindoos, for their breach of the treaty, began to spread fire and sword through the city; from which no discipline could restrain them. Several of the Raja's kindred, who had been taken prisoners, were in chains, thrown down in sight of the enemy. The Raja, in the mean time, sent express upon express, to hasten the succours which he expected from the Raja of Kilbirga, Tillingana, Malava, and Candez: but was informed, that there remained no provisions in the place, for that a great number of bags, in which they had reckoned upon rice, had been found, upon examination, to be salt.

The

The Raja was greatly perplexed ; he commanded that this should be concealed from the troops, and began a second time to propose a treaty with Alla ul dien.

A. D. 1293.
Higer. 693.
The Raja in
great distress.

“ It must be known to you, said the Raja, O ! my lord, that your well-wisher, Ramdeo, had no hand in the late quarrel. If my son, in the way of folly, and the pride of youth, exalted the spear of valour and hostility, let not your resentment be kindled against me for his rashness.”

Proposer
terms.

Ramdeo told the messenger privately, that there was no provisions in the place, and that if the enemy should persist a few days, they must be informed of their distress, which would inevitably bring on the ruin of the whole. For, said the Raja, supposing we should be able to hold out the place against the assaults of the enemy, yet famine cannot be withstood ; and there is now scarce six days provision left. Use then every art, and take any means, to persuade the army of Islam †, to evacuate the country.

But Malleck Alla ul dien, from the behaviour of Ramdeo, perceived the true cause of his proposals, and therefore started every day some new difficulty to retard the treaty, till the garrison was in the utmost distress. But at length it was concluded, according to our author, upon the following almost incredible terms ; that Alla ul dien should receive, upon consideration of evacuating the country, six hundred maunds, of pure gold, according to the weights of the Decan ‡, seven maunds of pearl, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and a long list of other precious commodities that surpass all belief. This ransom was not only required, but also the cession of Elichpoor, and its dependancies, where Alla might leave

A peace con-
cluded.

† That is the Mahomedans.

‡ The maund of the Decan is 25 lb. avoirdupoise.

a small

A. D. 1294. a small garrison to collect the revenues, which should remain there unmolested.
Higer. 694.

Alla retreats with an immense treasure.

Malleck Alla ul dien, having settled affairs to his satisfaction, released all his prisoners, and marched in triumph out of the city with his plunder, and proceeded on his way homeward, on the twenty-fifth day after his taking the city. He conducted his retreat with such surprising address, that he opened his way through extensive and powerful kingdoms; through Malava, Conduana, Candez, and others, though he was surrounded by numerous armies, who admiring his order and resolution, made but faint and irresolute attacks, which served only to adorn his triumph. We may here justly remark, that in the long volumes of history, there is scarcely any thing to be compared to this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of the execution of it, or the fortune which attended the attempt. We cannot help to lament, that a man formed for such great exploits, should not be actuated by better motives than rapine, violence, and the thirst of gain.

The Sultan suspects Alla of treasonable designs.

When Alla ul dien marched to Deogire, all communication with Kurrah being stopt, no news was heard of him for some months. The person, whom he left his deputy, to make the King easy, wrote, that he had accounts of his being busy in the conquest of Chinderi, and amused him every day with false intelligence. But as the King, for the space of six months, had received no letters from under his own hand, he began to suspect treason; and in the year 695, under a pretence of hunting, ordered out his retinue, and proceeded towards Gualier, where he encamp'd, and built a Choultry, inscribing a verse to this purpose, over the door.---“ I who press with my foot the celestial pavement, what fame can I acquire by a heap of stones and mortar? No! I have joined these broken stones together, that, perhaps,

perhaps, under their shade, the weary traveller, or broken-hearted, may find repose." A. D. 1295. Higer. 695.

In the mean time Firose Shaw received private intelligence, that Alla ul dien had conquered Deogire, and had acquired there such wealth, as had never been possessed by an Emperor of Delhi, and that he was now upon his march towards Kurrah. The King was greatly pleased with this intelligence, and reckoned upon the spoil, as if already in his own treasury. But men of more wisdom thought otherwise, and justly concluded, that it was not to fill the royal coffers, as Alla ul dien, without the King's authority, had undertaken such a daring expedition. They however waited to see the event, without informing the King of their suspicions. The King having one day assembled his council, and told them, that Alla ul dien was now on his march to Kurrah with immense plunder, requested their advice whether it was most prudent to remain where he was, and command Alla to his presence, to march towards him, or to return to Delhi. Alla ul dien returns towards Kurrah. The Sultan consults his council concerning Alla.

Malleck Ahmed Chip, who was renowned for his wisdom and penetration, expressed his suspicions to the King, in a rational and plausible manner. He advised the Sultan, at the same time, to advance with his army towards Chinderi, and to encamp in the way between Alla ul dien and Kurrah. This, said he, will discover Alla's intentions, before he has time to augment his army. Ahmed Chip added further, "that, upon the appearance of the imperial army, it was highly probable, that the troops of Alla ul dien, being laden with spoil, and within their own country, would not chuse to hazard the loss of it by an action; but would rather endeavour to secure their wealth among the mountains. That, by this means, Alla ul dien would be deserted by the greatest part of his small army, which would oblige him to think of nothing but peace, and to lay all his wealth at the

A. D. 1295.
Higer. 695.

foot of the throne. That the King in that case might take all the gold, jewels, and elephants, permitting him to retain the remainder for himself, and either leave him his government, or carry him to Delhi, according to the royal pleasure."

Malleck Fuchier ul dien Kudgi, though he was sensible of the prudence of this advice, yet turning his eyes upon the Emperor, he perceived he did not at all approve of it; and therefore began to this effect: "The news of Alla ul dien's return, the amount of his plunder, and the truth of his conquest, has not yet been confirmed but by flying reports, which we all know are often vague and extravagant. Supposing even that this account is true, is it not natural to imagine, that when he shall hear of the approach of the imperial army, that the fear of false accusation, or evil designs against him, will prevail on him to retreat among the mountains? From whence, as the rainy season is at hand, it will be impossible to dislodge him. Let us not therefore cast off our shoes, before we reach the river, but wait till Alla shall arrive at Kurrah. If then it shall appear, that he cherishes his treasonable views, one assault of the imperial army will crush his ambition."

Malleck Ahmed Chip, having heard this perfidious advice, was kindled into generous resentment, and replied; "The time passes,—As soon as Alla ul dien shall have escaped us, will he not proceed by the way of Oud to Lucknouti, where his treasure will soon enable him to raise such an army as neither you nor I will be able to oppose? O shame! that men should know better, yet not have the honesty to give salutary advice."

The Sultan was displeas'd with those words, and spoke thus to the Omrahs who stood near him. "Malleck Chip does always ill offices to Alla ul dien. He endeavours to raise my suspicion and resentment

ment against him ; but such private rancour shall have no weight with the King ; I am so well assured of the loyalty of Malleck Alla ul dien, whom I have nursed in my bosom, that I should sooner believe treason in my son than in him.”

A. D. 1295.
Higer. 695.

Malleck Ahmed, upon this, shut the door of argument, and, rising with some emotion, walked out, striking one hand upon the other, and repeating a verse to this purpose. “ When the sun of prosperity is eclipsed, no advice can enlighten the mind.” The King bestowing great commendations on Kudgi, marched back with his army to Delhi.

Not many days after the Sultan's arrival, the address of Alla ul dien was brought to him, setting forth, that “ he was the King's slave, and that all his own wealth was consecrated to him ; that being wearied by a tedious march, he begged some repose at Kurrah. That he intended to kiss the footstool of the throne, but that, knowing he had some enemies at court, who might have, in his absence, defamed him, and deprived him of his majesty's favour, he, and the chiefs who accompanied him in the expedition, in which he was sensible he had exceeded his orders, were apprehensive that some punishment might be inflicted upon them. That he therefore requested to have a letter of grace, to assure him and his followers of perfect safety, under the royal protection.” The King having received this address, expressed great joy, and entirely laid aside all suspicions of Alla ul dien. He ordered a letter full of kindness, and the most solemn assurances of protection, to be wrote to him, and dispatched by the hands of two messengers of distinction.

Alla ul dien's
infidious
message to
the King.

which de-
ceives the
Sultan.

In the mean time Alla ul dien was preparing to retreat to Bengal. He was now joined by all the Zemindars of the neighbouring districts, who enlisted themselves under his fortunate banners. The messen-

Alla prepares
to retreat to
Bengal.

A. D. 1295. gers perceived plainly his intentions, but they were detained, and
 Higer. 695. watched so strictly, that they could send no advices to the King. Malleck Almas, who was also son in law and nephew to Sultan Firose, in the mean time received advices from his brother Alla ul dien, " That it was now become public at Kurrah, that the King intended certainly to take his life, for proceeding to Deogire contrary to his orders. That he repented the occasion, and had taken his Majesty's displeasure, which to him was worse than death, so much to heart, that he was afraid excess of sorrow would put an end to his melancholy life : He therefore requested, that his brother should inform him, before the King put his design in execution, that he might either take poison, or look out for a place of security."

His insidious letters to the court.

Letters to the same purpose were, day after day, wrote to his brother, Almas Beg, who being in the plot, was constantly at court, and shewed them to the King, seemingly distracted, lest his brother should lay violent hands upon himself, or fly his country. He used a thousand delusive arts to inveigle the King, who no less feared the loss of the treasure than his nephew's life, to Kurrah. The old man, at last, took the golden bait, and embarked with a thousand horse, and a small retinue, on the Ganges, ordering Malleck Ahmed Chip to follow with the army by land.

The Sultan inveigled to proceed to Kurrah.

Alla ul dien, hearing of the Sultan's departure from Delhi, crossed the Ganges with his army, and encamped near Mannickpoor, upon the opposite bank. When, upon the seventeenth of Ramzaan, the Sultan's umbrella appeared in sight, Alla ul dien drew out his army, on pretence of doing him honour, and sent his brother Almas Beg, who had come on before to concert measures to introduce the King into camp. This artful traitor represented to the Sultan, that if he should take the thousand horse with him, Alla ul dien might be alarmed ; for that some bad people had confirmed him so strongly
 in

in his fears, that all he could say to him was not sufficient entirely to expell his suspicions. A. D. 1295. Higer. 695.

The poor old King suspecting nothing of this horrid treachery, from a man whom he had cherished from his infancy in his bosom, gave into this propofal. He ordered a few of his select friends into his own boat, and commanded the fleet to remain some distance behind. When they came near the camp, Almas Beg again opened the mouth of delusion, and told the King, that his brother seeing so many men in compleat armour, might possibly be startled; that therefore as he had taken such ridiculous notions into his head, which no body could remove, it were better to avoid the least appearances to favour them. The weak King might have seen that this was overdoing the matter, but perhaps he thought it now too late to reveal his suspicions, being near the skirts of the camp, and that an open confidence might be his best security. He therefore ordered all his attendants to unbuckle their armour, and lay their weapons aside. Malleck Charram, Vakiel of the Empire, opposed this step with great vehemence, for he plainly saw into the bottom of their perfidy. But the traitor had such a soft and plausible tongue, that at last he yielded, though with great reluctance. Perfused to leave his retinue behind him.

They had now reached the landing place, and Alla ul dien appeared upon the bank with his attendants, whom he ordered to halt. He himself advancing alone met the Sultan just after he had landed upon the beach, and fell down prostrate at his feet. The old man in a familiar manner tapped him on the cheek, and raising him up, embraced him, saying, “ I who have brought you up from your infancy, and cherished you with a fatherly affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if possible, than my own offspring, and who have not yet washed the odors of your infant smiles from my garments, how could you imagine I should entertain a thought to your

A. D. 1205.
Higer. 695.

Barbarously
assassinated.

prejudice." Then taking him by the hand he was leading him back into the royal barge, when the hard-hearted villain made a signal to his assassins who stood behind. Mamood ben Salim rushing immediately forward, wounded the King with his sword in the shoulder. The unfortunate Monarch run forward to gain the barge, crying, " Ah! villain Alla ul dien, what dost thou?" but before he had reached the boat, another of the assassins whose name was Achtiar ul dien Hoor, coming up, seized the old man and throwing him on the ground, barbarously cut off his head, just as the sun sunk in the west as if to avoid the horrid fight *.

Reflexions
upon his
death.

All his attendants were then murdered. They fixed the venerable head of their lord upon the point of a spear, and carried it through the camp and city, as a bloody spectacle to the gazing rabble. But the rabble were shocked at the sight, and were heard to cry: " Behold the reward of him who fixeth his mind upon this perfidious world: who nourisheth his relations with the blood of his liver, in the arms of kindness, and in their gratitude confideth his strength."

Alla ul dien immediately exalted the white umbrella over his own head; but the vengeance of heaven soon after fell heavy on all who were concerned in the assassination of the late King. They relate, that when Alla ul dien visited a reverend sage named Shech Karrick Mudgzu, who is buried at Kurrah, and whose tomb is held sacred to this day; he rose from his pillow and repeated an extempore verse to the following purpose: " He cometh, but his head shall fall in the boat, and his body shall be cast into the Ganges;" which they say was explained a few hours after by the death of the unfortunate King, whose head was thrown into the boat upon that occasion.

The miserable
end of the
assassins.

Mamood, the son of Salem, one of the assassins, about a year after died of a horrid leprosy which dissolved the flesh piece by piece from

* He reigned seven years and some months.

his bones. Achtiar Hoor, the other affassin, fared no better, for he became mad, crying out incessantly, that Sultan Jellal ul dien Firose was cutting off his head. Thus the wretch suffered a thousand deaths in imagination, before he expired. Almas Beg and others who planned this horrid tragedy, in hopes of great advancement, fell into such a scene of misfortunes, that in the space of four years there was no remembrance of them but their villainies upon the face of the earth.

A. D. 1295.
Higer. 695.

SECTION XIII.

The Reign of ALLA UL DIEN, called SECUNDER SANI †.

INTELLIGENCE of the murder of the King having reached Ahmed Chip, who was advancing with the army, he retreated to Delhi. Malleke Jehan, the wife of Jellal ul dien, and Queen regent, imprudently and without consulting the Omrahs, raised to the diadem Ruckun ul dien, her youngest son; Arkilli Chan, the elder son, being then at Moulton. She accompanied him from Kilogurry to Delhi, and placed him on the throne in the green palace, though as yet but a boy, and altogether unacquainted with the affairs of state. She also divided the provinces among her own party. Arkilli Chan, who was the true heir to the Empire, and possessed all the qualities of a King, was greatly afflicted at this news, but thought proper, for the present, to remain at Moulton.

Ruckun ul dien raised by his mother to the throne.

Malleck Alla ul dien, upon receiving intelligence of those transactions at Delhi, laid aside his intended expedition to Bengal, and prepared to march to the capital, though it was then the rainy season. He raised a great army in his government, and conferred titles and rewards upon his friends. Almas Beg was honoured with the title of Elich Chan,

Alla ul dien prepares to march to Delhi.

† Alexander the second.

Malleck

A. D. 1295. Malleck Nusferit of Jallifiri with that of Nusferit Chan, Malleck Hiziber ul dien was distinguished with the name of Ziffer Chan, and Sinjer, Alla's wife's brother, received the title of Actah Chan. They all received jagiers upon their advancement to those honours. The Sultan, by the advice of Nusferit Chan, distributed presents among the army, and wherever he encamped he amused himself with throwing gold from a sling among the people. This liberality, in a short time, brought a world of soldiers under his banners.

The Sultan in great perplexity. Mallecke Jehan was thrown into great perplexity, by the advices she daily received concerning Alla. She dispatched an express to Moultan, for her son Arkilli Chan; but that prince returned for answer, that now the time was lost, for that before he could arrive, the imperial troops would join the enemy; that therefore his coming would be of no real service: That the stream might have been diverted at its source, but when it became a river, no dams could oppose it.

Alla sits down before Delhi, which submits. Sultan Alla ul dien made no delay on his march. He crossed the Jumna, and encamped without the north-east gate of Delhi. Ruckun ul dien fluttering like a solitary fowl, collected all his forces, and marching out of the city, paraded it before the enemy. But when he saw them preparing for battle, he retreated into the city. He was that night deserted by a great number of Omrahs, who went over with their forces to Alla ul dien. Ruckun ul dien saw now no safety but in flight. Taking therefore his mother, Haram and treasure with him, he set out for Moultan, accompanied by Malleck Rijib, Cuttub ul dien Olavi, Ahmed Chip and Amir Jellal Malleka.

The citizens, after the departure of the young Sultan, crowded forth to pay their respects to Alla ul dien. He immediately ordered

ordered the current money to be struck in his name, and making a triumphant entry into Delhi, in the latter end of the year 695, ascended the throne, and kept his court at the red palace. He exhibited shows, and made grand festivals, encouraging every species of riot and debauchery; which so pleased the unthinking rabble, that they soon lost all memory of their former King, and the horrid villainy of the reigning Emperor. He who ought to have been hooted with detestation, became the object of admiration to those who could not see the darkness of his deeds, through the splendor of his magnificence.

Whilst he gained, by these means, popularity among the vulgar, he secured the great with titles, and bought the covetous with gold. The Vizarit was bestowed upon Chaja Chetier, a man renowned for his virtue in those degenerate times. Sidder Jehan Arif was made Cazaï Mumaleck *, and Omdat ul Muluck Eiz ul dien was raised to the office of Divan Incha †, being a man of great learning and genius, and a favourite of the King. Naserit Chan was appointed Cutwal ‡ of Delhi, Malleck Fuchir ul dien Kudgi was raised to the dignity of Amir Daad §, and Ziffer Chan to that of Ariz Mumaleck ||, with many others to high offices, which are too tedious to mention.

Alla ul dien having advanced six months pay to his whole army, began to concert means to extirpate the race of Firose Shaw. He dispatched Elich Chan and Ziffer Chan with forty thousand horse towards Moulton, who, upon their arrival, invested that city. After a siege of two months, the citizens and troops betrayed the cause of

* An office somewhat similar to that of our Lord high Chancellor.

† Principal Secretary of state.

‡ Chief magistrate of the city.

§ The same with our Lord Chief Justice of the pleas.

|| Intelligencer of the empire.

A. D. 1295.
Higer. 695.
They are
taken,

Arkilli Chan, and gave up the place to the enemy. The two unfortunate brothers being driven to great distress, surrendered themselves at last to Elich Chan, upon promise of personal safety.

blinded,

and assassinated.

A new vizier.

The object of the expedition being thus compleated, Elich Chan wrote the Sultan an account of his victory, which was read in all the public pulpits after divine worship, and great rejoicings were ordered to be made upon the occasion. Elich Chan proceeded in triumph with his army and state prisoners to Delhi. He was met on his way by Nufirit Chan, Cutwal, who had been sent by the Sultan to put out the eyes of the prisoners. This cruel order was executed upon the two princes, upon Alighu Chan the grandson of the great Chingez, upon Malleck Ahmed Chip, and others of less note, and all their effects confiscated. The two unfortunate princes were then confined in the fort of Haffi, where, soon after, they were both assassinated; and Mallecke Jehan, with all the ladies of the former Sultan's seraglio and his other children confined at Delhi.

Invasion of
the Moguls.

In the second year of this reign Chaja Chitier, not falling entirely in with the Sultan's policy, was dismissed from the vizarit, which was conferred upon Nufirit Chan. This minister redemanded all the sums which the Sultan, upon his accession, had bestowed upon the nobility and people, which occasioned great disgust and disturbance.

During these transactions, advices came to Delhi, that Dova Chan King of Maver ul nere, had sent an army of one hundred thousand Moguls, with a design to conquer Moultan, Punjab and Sind: That they were advancing with great expedition, carrying all before them with fire and sword. The Sultan immediately ordered Elich Chan and Ziffer Chan, with a great force to expell them. The two armies having met in the districts of Lahore, a bloody conflict ensued,

futed, in which the Moguls were defeated, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and many of their principal officers, besides a number of prisoners of all ranks, who were put to the sword some days after, without sparing the poor women and children who had been taken in the Mogul camp.

A.D. 1296.
 Higer, 696.
 Are over-
 thrown.

These two victories raised the fame of the Emperor's arms to a high pitch of reputation, established his authority at home, and overawed his foreign enemies. The Sultan about this time, by the advice of his brother Elich Chan, seized upon many Omrahs, who, in the late revolution, taking advantage of the distresses of Arkilli Chan, Ruckun ul dien and the Queen, had extorted great sums of money for their services. He ordered the extortioners to be blinded, and their estates to be confiscated, which brought great wealth into the treasury.

Reputation of
 the Sultan's
 arms.

In the beginning of the year 697, Elich Chan and Nusferit Chan were sent with a great army to reduce Guzerat. They accordingly laid waste that country with death and rapine, took the capital city Narwalla, which was deserted by Raja Kirren, who fled and took protection under Ramdeo, Raja of Deogire, in the Decan. By the aid of that prince he soon after returned and took possession of Buckelana, one of the districts of Guzerat, bordering upon Ramdeo's dominions. But his wives, children, elephants, baggage and treasure fell into the hands of the enemy when he fled.

He sends an
 army to re-
 duce Guze-
 rat,

Nusferit Chan, with a part of the army, proceeded then to Cambaat, which being a rich country and full of merchants, yielded a prodigious treasure to those sons of cruelty and rapine. When they had sufficiently glutted their avarice and quenched their thirst for blood, they appointed Subas to the provinces, and leaving part of the army for their defence, returned with their plunder towards Delhi.

and Cam-
 baat.

A. D. 1297.
Higer. 697.
A mutiny in
the army,

The two generals having on the march, made a demand of the fifth of the spoil from the troops, besides what they had already extorted from them, a mutiny arose in the camp. Mahummud Shaw, general of the mercenary Moguls, with many other chiefs, at the head of their several divisions, attacked Malleck Eiz ul dien, the brother of Naserit Chan, and having slain him and a number of his people, continued their march. Elich Chan fled in the disguise of a footman, to the tent of Naserit Chan. The mutineers rushing in, killed the Sultan's nephew, whom he had left upon the couch asleep, supposing him to be Elich Chan.

quelled.

Naserit Chan immediately ordered the drums of war to be beat and the trumpets to be sounded. All who had not been concerned in the mutiny imagined that the enemy was coming upon them, and quickly formed the line. The mutineers divided and dispersed themselves all over the camp, and escaping in the confusion, fled by different routs, to a place of rendezvous. They were however closely pursued the next day, and forced to retreat with some loss, to the districts of the Raja of Rintimpore, where they took protection. Elich Chan continued then his march to Delhi.

The Sultan's
abominable
lust.

Sultan Alla ul dien, upon seeing Camladè, the captive wife of the Raja of Guzerat, who, for her beauty, wit and accomplishments, was the flower of Hindostan, took her in marriage. But this did not satisfy his abominable lusts. Chaja Cafur, a slave who had been taken on that expedition, engaged his unnatural passion, which he publicly indulged to the disgrace and debasement of human nature.

His cruelty.

Naserit Chan, by the Sultan's order, basely massacred all the families of those Moguls or others, who had been concerned in the late mutiny. He pitied not the weeping mothers, nor the smiling infants who clung to their breasts. This was a new species of tyranny at
Delhi,

Delhi, and occasioned some private murmuring, but those slaves possessed not the virtue or bravery to shake off the tyrant.

A. D. 1298.
Higer. 698.

About this time, Jildoo, a Mogul chief, and his brother, came down with a considerable force, and took the fort of Seoftan. Ziffer Chan marched against him, and having invested the place, he took it. Jildoo, and about two thousand Moguls, were taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Delhi. But Ziffer Chan had distinguished himself so much as a brave commander in this expedition, that his fame awakened the jealousy of the King. He therefore designed to deprive him of his government, but was prevented from this measure, by a great invasion of Moguls, under Cuttuligh Chaja, the son of Dova Chan, King of Maverulnere. The army of the invaders consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and they promised to themselves the entire conquest of Hindostan. Cuttuligh, accordingly, took possession of all the countries beyond the Sind in his march, and protected them from all violence. He then crossed the river, and proceeded to Delhi, without opposition, Ziffer Chan retreating with his army before him.

Invasion of
the Moguls.

The whole country, in terror of the Moguls, crowded into the city. The crowd became so great, that the streets were rendered impassable, and all business and communication was interrupted. This however was but the beginning of their misfortunes. In the space of a few days, the consumption being great, and no supplies procured, a dreadful famine began to rage, and distraction to stare in every countenance.

They besiege
Delhi.

The Sultan, upon this pressing occasion, called a council of his Omrahs, and, having regulated his plan of action, prepared for battle, notwithstanding they all endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He left the care of the city to Alla ul Malleck, marched out at the Budaon gate, with three hundred thousand horse, and two thousand seven

The Sultan
marches out
against them.

A. D. 1298.
H. ger. 698.

seven hundred elephants, besides foot without number. He drew up in order of battle on the plains, beyond the suburbs; where the enemy were already formed to receive him. From the time that first the spears of Islam † were exalted in Hindostan, two such mighty armies had not joined in fight.

A battle.

Sultan Alla ul dien gave the command of his right wing to Ziffer Chan, the greatest general of that age, where all the troops of Punjaab, Moultan, and Sind, were posted. The left was intrusted to his brother Elich Chan, and to Akit Chan his brother in law. The Sultan posted himself in the center, with twelve thousand independant volunteers, who were mostly gentlemen of ruined families, and soldiers of fortune. With the choice of his elephants, he formed a tremendous line in his front, and he supported his rear with another chosen body of cavalry, under Naserit Chan. Ziffer Chan began the action with great impetuosity on the right, and breaking with his elephants, the enemy's line, commenced a dreadful slaughter, and bore them like a torrent before him. Inclining then to the left, he pressed upon their flank, and put their whole army to flight, before the action was well begun in the center.

The Moguls
overthrown.

Ziffer Chan
pressing too
hard upon
the enemy,

The Sultan, seeing the victory compleat, ordered Elich Chan, who commanded on the left, to advance and pursue the enemy. But the perfidious man, jealous of the glory of Ziffer Chan, stopt at a small distance, while Ziffer Chan continued the slaughter, for upwards of thirty miles. One of the Mogul chiefs, who commanded the left, seeing Ziffer Chan was not supported, rallied with ten thousand horse, and sending advice to Cuttuligh Chaja, he also returned with ten thousand more, and attacked Ziffer in the rear. The brave general saw into his error, but it was now too late to retreat. He drew up his troops, which were not half the enemy's number, divided into

† The Mahommedans. to collect wood & to collect...

two

two squadrons, and again renewed the conflict, exhibiting wonders by his own valour. At last his horse's leg being cut off by a sabre, he fell to the ground. He however rose again, seized a bow and quiver, and being a dexterous archer, sent death on the wings of his arrows. The most part of his men were, by this time, either killed or fled; and Cuttiligh Chaja, admiring his bravery, called out to him to submit, and his valour should be rewarded with such honours as he deserved. Ziffer Chan replied sternly, "I know no greater honour than to die in discharging my duty." Then he began to deal his arrows around. Cuttiligh Chan, upon this, ordered a party of horse to surround him, and endeavour to take him alive; but Ziffer refused to submit, and was at last cut in pieces, with a few trusty servants who stood by him to the last.

A. D. 1298.
Higer. 698.

is defeated
and slain.

This advantage however did not dispel the fears of the Moguls. They continued their retreat, and evacuated Hindostan with all expedition. The bravery of Ziffer Chan became famous among the Moguls. When their horses started, or were unruly, they used wantonly to ask them, whether they saw the ghost of Ziffer Chan? Sultan Alla ul dien, it is said, esteemed the death of this great general, as a second victory, and could not help expressing his satisfaction upon the occasion; and thus displayed his own base ingratitude, for that brave life which had been thrown away in his unworthy service. Great rejoicings were made at Delhi, to celebrate the victory; and the principal officers were rewarded with titles and governments, according to their behaviour and interest at court. Some who had behaved ill, were disgraced, particularly one Omrah, who was led upon an ass all round the city.

The Moguls
retreat.

the great
the great

In the third year of the reign of Alla, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects. One of these was the formation of a new system of religion, that, like Mahomed,

Extraordina-
ry schemes of
the Sultan.

hommed,

A. D. 1293.
Hger. 698.

homm'd, he might be held in veneration by posterity. He often consulted upon this scheme Elich Chan, Nalerit Chan, and Akit Chan, over a bottle; from which we may suppose he had no design to prohibit the use of wine. His other design was equally romantic. He propos'd to leave a viceroy in Hindostan, and, like the great Secunder, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this project, he assumed the title of Aescunder Sani †, which was struck upon the currency of the empire.

His ignorance
of letters.

Notwithstanding these lofty ideas, Alla ul dien was so illiterate, that he even did not possess the common knowledge of reading and writing; yet he was so obstinate in his ridiculous opinions, that men of learning, who disdain'd to prostitute their judgment, avoided the court, or stood silent in his presence. There were not however wanting slaves, who, though they knew better, extolled his every word to the skies, and seem'd to feed upon his crude imaginations.

Alla ul Muluck, the Cutwal || of the city, who was an old man, and so fat that he was not able to attend the court above once a month, being one day sent for by the King, to give his advice about the execution of his religious project, he determin'd, however fatal the consequences might be, to oppose every measure against the doctrine of the Mahommedan faith, and to dedicate the few years he had to live, by the course of nature, to martyrdom. With this firm resolution he waited upon the King, whom he found drinking wine with a great number of his principal Omrahs. The King beginning to confer with Muluck upon the occasion, the old man told him, he had something to say to him in private, and would be glad he should order the wine and the company away. The King smiled, and desired all the company to retire except four.

Alla ul Mu-
luck's advice
to the King.

† Alexander the Second.
|| The same with our Lord Mayor.

The old Cutwal then fell upon his face, and having kissed the ground at his feet, rose up and thus spoke. “ O King ! Religion is the law of God, by his spirit inspired in his prophets, nor depends it upon the opinions of mortals. We are taught by his word to believe, that the spirit of prophecy ended with Mahommed, the last and greatest messenger of God. Since this therefore is known to great and small, to all nations and degrees of people, should your intentions against their faith be once known, it is impossible to conceive what hatred should rise against you, and what blood and disturbance must ensue. It is therefore adviseable, that you should erase with the chissel of reason, those conceptions, from the surface of your blessed mind, as the accomplishment of your intention exceeds all mortal power. Did not Chingez * the most powerful of monarchs, and his successors, labour for ages to subvert our faith, that they might establish their own ? What rivers of blood were spilt in the contest, till at length the spirit of truth prevailed, and they became profelytes to that religion which they had laboured so long to destroy !”

A. D. 1298.
Higer. 693.

Against his
scheme of a
new religion.

The Sultan having listened with attention, replied, “ What you have said is just, and founded on friendship and reason. I will for ever lay aside all thoughts of this scheme, which has so long engaged my attention. But what do you think of my project of universal conquest ?”

Malleck Alla ul Muluck answered, “ Some Kings in former ages, formed the same great resolution which your Majesty does at present, and your power, personal bravery, and wealth, gives you at least equal hopes of success. But the times are not so favourable, and the government of Hindostan seems not to stand upon so firm a basis, as to support itself in your absence. Perfidy and ingratitude daily appear. Brothers become traitors to one another, and children against

Against his
project of
universal
conquest.

* Zingis Chan.

A. D. 1298.
H. ger. 698.

their parents conspire. How much is this degenerate age unlike to the virtuous times of Aescunder? Men were then endued with honourable principles, and the cunning and treachery of the present times were then held in utter abomination. Your Majesty has no counsellors like Aristotalice †, who kept, by his wisdom and policy, not only his own country in peace and security, but brought other nations, by voluntary consent, under his master's protection. If your Majesty can put equal confidence in your Omrahs, and can depend so much upon the love of your people, as Aescunder, you may then carry your scheme into execution; if not, we cannot well reconcile it to reason."

The King
enquiring
how he should
employ his
power,

The King, after musing awhile, said, "What you have told me bears the face of sincerity and truth. But what availeth all this power in armies, in wealth, and in kingdoms, if I content myself with what I already possess; nor employ it in acquiring conquest and glory?"

is advised to
conquer the
unsubdued
provinces of
Hindostan.

Alla ul Muluck replied, "That there were two undertakings in which his treasure might be expended to good purpose. The first was, the conquest of the southern kingdoms of Hindostan, such as Rintimpore, Chitore, Jallore, Chunderi, and Malava; and the second, the reduction of all the western provinces which had been invaded by the Moguls, such as Limghan, Cabul, Ghizni, Toor, and Chorraffan. This, said the Cutwal, would secure the peace of Hindostan, and procure to the King immortal honour, in bestowing happiness upon his people; a thing greater in itself, than if he should consume the world in the flames of war. But even to succeed in this project, it is requisite that the Sultan should abstain from excess of wine, and from luxurious pleasures."

The Sultan
rewards the
Cutwal.

Sultan Alla ul dien, contrary to the old man's expectations, took all this advice in good part, and, praising him for his fidelity, pre-

† Aristotle.

sented

presented him with a royal chelak, ten thousand rupees, two horses ca-
 parifoned, and two villages in freehold. The other Omrahs, who,
 though they themselves wanted the virtue or resolution to speak their
 minds, were extremely pleased with the Cutwal, and sent him also
 presents to a great amount.

A. D. 1299.
 Higer. 199.

The King, in the year 699, according to the advice of Malleck
 Alla ul Muluck, called Elich Chan, from Samana, Nuferit Chan,
 from Kurrah, and others from their respective Subadaries, and sent
 them with a great army, against the Raja of Rintimpore. They soon
 took the fort of Jain, and afterwards invested the capital. Nuferit
 Chan advancing near the wall, was crushed to death by a stone from
 an engine. And the Raja at the same time, rallying with forty thou-
 sand men, drove Elich Chan back to Jain with great loss.

The imperial
 army inva-
 ding Rintim-
 pore,

is defeated.

Elich Chan wrote to Delhi the particulars of this defeat. The Sul-
 tan flew into a violent rage, and immediately took the field. Upon his
 march he halted for a day at a place called Jilput, and went out a hunt-
 ing. Having wandered far from his camp, in the chace, he remained
 with his attendants all night in the forest. In the morning before
 sun-rise, he placed himself upon a rising ground, where he sat down
 with two or three attendants, and commanded the rest to hunt in his
 view. Akit Chan observing this, recollected that it was now in his
 power to cut off the King, in the same manner as the King himself
 had cut off his predecessor. He thought, that being nephew and
 brother in law to the emperor, he might claim by that, and the influ-
 ence he had by being Vakeel Muttaluck, the same title which Alla
 himself had to the empire †.

The Sultan
 takes the
 field.

Akit Chan imparted his resolution to a few chosen horsemen, who
 accompanied him on this party. They immediately rode up to the

A conspiracy.

† Alla ul dien was himself the nephew and son in law to Firose Shaw, whom he
 murdered.

A. D. 1299. King, saluted him with a flight of arrows, two of which entered his
 Hig. r. 699: body, so that he lay for dead on the ground. Akit Chan, upon this,
 drew his sword, and ran to cut off his head; when he was told by one
 of the King's attendants, that he was quite dead; that therefore to
 cut off his head would be an unnecessary piece of cruelty.

Akit Chan
 mounts the
 throne.

Akit being thus prevailed upon to desist from his intentions, set
 out for the camp with all expedition, mounted the throne, and pro-
 claimed the Sultan's death. The army was thrown into great con-
 fusion; but where loyal affection and patriotism are things unknown,
 mankind are satisfied to bow their necks to any new master. The
 great men assembled to pay their court, and present their nizirs or
 presents upon the occasion; the customary service was read from the
 Coran; the Chutba was proclaimed aloud, and the singers ordered to
 extol his praise. Akit Chan then rose from the throne, and proceeded
 towards the Haram; but Malleck Dinar, the chief eunuch, with his
 guard, stopped him at the door, swearing, that till he shewed him
 the Sultan's head, or put him to death, he should not enter.

The Sultan is
 advised to re-
 turn to his
 army,

Sultan Alla ul dien, in the mean time, recovered his senses, and
 having his wounds bound up, imagined that Akit Chan's treason and
 treachery was a preconcerted conspiracy of the Omrahs. He signi-
 fied his intentions to fly to his brother Elich Chan, at Jain, with
 about sixty servants, who still attended him. Malleck Humid ul
 dien, deputy porter of the presence, advised the Sultan against this
 resolution. He told him, that he ought immediately to go to his
 own camp, and there shew himself to his army; for that the usurper
 had not yet time to establish himself; and that, upon seeing the Em-
 peror's umbrella, he doubted not but the whole army would imme-
 diately return to their duty. He observed, at the same time, that the
 least delay might render his affairs irrecoverable.

The

The Sultan saw the propriety of this resolute advice, and mounting his horse, with great difficulty, spread the white umbrella, which lay on the field, over his head, and with his small retinue, proceeded towards the army. When he appeared in sight, being joined by some foraging parties on the way, he was now guarded by about five hundred men. He ascended an eminence, in full view of the camp, where he was at once seen by the whole army. They crowded in thousands towards him; and the court of the usurper was immediately broke up, and in a few minutes he found himself alone. In this situation he mounted his horse, and distracted with fear, fled towards Binour.

A. D. 1299.
Higer. 699.

who desert
the usurper.

Sultan Alla ul dien now marched down from the eminence towards the royal pavillion, and mounting the throne, gave public audience; sending, at the same time, a party of horse after the usurper. They soon came up with him and brought back his head. The Sultan ordered the usurper's brother Cuttulich Chan, and the chief conspirators to be put to death.

He is taken
and slain.

When Alla recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Rintimpore, where he was joined by Elich Chan, and began to besiege the place. But the Hindoos so well defended themselves, that numbers of the imperial army daily fell. The Sultan however continued his attacks with redoubled obstinacy, while detachments of his army ravaged the adjacent territories of Malava and Daar. But the siege being protracted for some months without much effect, Amir Omar and Mungu Chan, who were both nephews to the Emperor, and held the governments of Budaoon and Oud, rebelled and raised a great army. The Sultan wrote letters to the several Omrahs of those provinces whom he thought loyal, as also to the neighbouring Subas and Zemindars, and they levied forces, engaged, defeated and took the rebels, and sent them both prisoners to the royal

Alla besieges
Rintimpore.

A rebellion
quashed.

A. D. 1299.
Higer. 699. royal camp. The Sultan ordered their eyes to be put out, and then to torture them to death, as a barbarous example to others.

An extraor-
dinary con-
spiracy.

Notwithstanding this severity, one of the most extraordinary conspiracies recorded in history, was undertaken by Hadjee Mola, the son of a slave of the old Cutwal Amir ul Omrah Fuchir ul dien. This ambitious youth, seeing the Sultan busied in the siege of Rintimpore, began to form the scheme of a revolution in the empire. He was perhaps moved to this scheme by the murmuring of the citizens against Alla ul Muluck's deputy, Tirmazi, who, in his master's absence in camp, oppressed the people, having the government entirely in his hands. The first thing however that Hadjee Mola publicly did, was in the heat of the day, when every body was gone to rest, to collect a mob of citizens, by a forged order from the King. With these he hastened to the house of Tirmazi, and sent in to tell him that a messenger had arrived with an order from the King. Tirmazi, out of respect to the Sultan's order, hastened to the door, when the young impostor showing him the paper in one hand, cut him down with the other. He then read aloud the forged mandate for that purpose.

A sedition at
Delhi,

The mob now encreasing, he sent parties to secure the city gates, and dispatched a person to Alla ul dien Eaz, who was Cutwal of the new city, to come and see the King's order. This magistrate however, having heard of the disturbance, paid no regard to the message, but shut his own gates. Hadjee Mola, in the mean time, with his mob, entered the red palace and released all the state prisoners, taking out all the arms, treasure and valuable effects, which he divided among his followers. He then, by force, placed Allavi, one of the prisoners, who was descended from Altumsh, upon the throne, and imperiously commanded all the principal men of the city to pay him allegiance.

The Sultan having advice of these strange transactions, was struck ^{A. D. 1299.} motionless with astonishment, but stirred not a step from the siege. ^{Higer. 699.} He however wrote to Malleck Himid ul dien, his foster brother, who raising a party in the city, seized the Budaoon gate the seventh day after the usurpation, and took the field, where he was joined by a great multitude from the new city and the country around. With these he again, by surprize, entered the city at the Ghizni gate, but he was met at the second gate, called Beder, by Hadjie Mola and his associates, and a sharp conflict ensued. Himmid ul dien being dismounted, run up to Hadjie Mola, who was leading on his party with great bravery, and pulling him from his horse, threw him down in the street and slew him. He himself, in the mean time, received several wounds; but the faction of Hadjie Mola, ^{quashed.} dispirited by his death, gave ground and dispersed themselves all over the city. Himid ul dien then proceeded to the red palace, dragged from thence the unfortunate Allavi, and sent his head round the city upon the point of a spear, which put an end to this strange conspiracy.

Elich Chan was in the mean time sent by the Sultan to Delhi, to ^{Elich Chan} punish all who were supposed to have had any hand in this rebellion. ^{sent to punish} The sons of Malleck ul Omrah Fuchir ul dien, and the old Cutwal ^{the rebels.} himself were put to death merely on suspicion, as the rebel had been one of their dependants. But the most probable cause was their great wealth, which was confiscated to the King.

Rintimpore had now been closely besieged for a whole year, and the Sultan, after trying all other means, fell upon the following expedient ^{Rintimpore} to take the place. He collected together a great multitude of people, ^{taken.} and provided each of them with a bag, which they filled with earth, and having begun at some distance from the rock, with immense labour, formed an ascent to the top of the walls, by which
the

A. D. 1300.
Hijer. 700.

the troops entered the place, and put Raja Amir Deo, his family and the garrison to the sword. This fort is esteemed the strongest in Hindostan.

Mier Mahummud Shaw, the Mogul general, who had taken refuge in Rintimpore, after the mutiny at Jalore, having lost most of his men in the defence of the fort, was himself lying ill of his wounds when the Sultan entered the place. Alla finding the unfortunate Mahummud in this condition, asked him in an insulting manner, "what gratitude would he express for his lord, should he command his wounds to be immediately cured." The Mogul fiercely replied, "I would put him to death for a tyrant, and endeavour to make the son of Amir Deo, to whom my gratitude is due, King."

Mahummud
Shaw put to a
cruel death.

The Sultan enraged at this reply, threw him beneath the feet of an elephant. But considering afterwards that he was a brave man, and one of whose gallant behaviour he himself had been often witness, he ordered his body to be put in a coffin, and interred with decent solemnity. The Sultan then commanded that the Raja's vizier, who had deserted over to him with a strong party during the siege, should, with all his followers, be massacred. Saying upon the occasion, that "those who have betrayed their natural Lord, can never be true to another!" Having bestowed the government of Rintimpore, with all the riches taken in it, upon his brother Elich Chan, he returned with his army to Delhi. But Elich Chan, about six months after, fell sick and died on his way to the capital.

The Sultan
convenes a
council of the
Omrahs.

Alla ul dien being in the course of this year, apprehensive of conspiracies and insurrections, called together the Omrahs who were most renowned for their wisdom, and commanded them to give their opinion without reserve, how he should conduct matters, so as to prevent disturbances and rebellions in the empire. He at the same time desired them to explain what they thought were the principal causes

causes of those disorders. The Omrahs, after consulting among themselves, replied, that there were many causes concurring in a state, from which the convulsions disagreeable in their consequences proceeded. That as those misfortunes could not be obviated at once, they would only mention, for that time, a few of those evils, from which danger to the empire must have arose.

A. D. 1300.
Higer: 700,

“ At the head of this list,” said the Omrahs, “ we must place the King’s inattention to advance the good, or to redress the wrongs of the people. The public use of wine is the source of many disorders; for when men form themselves into societies for the purpose of drinking, their minds are disclosed to one another, while the strength of the liquor fermenting in their blood precipitates them into the most desperate undertakings. The connections formed by the great men of the court, are pregnant with danger to the state. Their numerous marriages, and the places in their gift, draw the strength of the government into the hands of a few, who are always able, by associating themselves together, to create revolutions in the empire. The fourth and not the least cause of disturbance is, the unequal division of property; for the wealth of a rich empire is circulated in a few hands, and therefore the governors of provinces are rather independent princes, than subjects of the state.”

The causes of disturbances in the empire.

The Sultan approved so much of the remarks of his Omrahs, that he immediately began to carry into execution the plan which they laid before him. He first applied himself to a strict inquiry into the administration of justice; to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men of rank in the empire. He laid himself out to procure intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces. He executed justice with such rigour and severity, that robbery and theft, formerly

The Sultan begins to redress grievances.

A. D. 1300. Higer. 700. so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure upon the public highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Cabul, and from Tilling to Cashmire.

Forbids the use of wine.

He published an edict against the use of wine and strong liquors upon pain of death. He himself set the example to his subjects, and emptied his cellars in the street. In this he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine.

Prohibits marriages without licence.

He issued out orders that no marriage among the nobility should be ratified without a special licence from him: that no private meetings or conversation should be held among the Omrahs, which proved a severe check to the pleasures of society. This latter order was carried into such rigorous execution, that no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the vizier.

Seizes upon the effects of the wealthy.

He then lengthened the hand of violence upon the rich. He seized upon the wealth, and confiscated the estates of Mussulmen and Hindoos without distinction, and by this means he accumulated an immense treasure. Men, in short, were almost reduced to a level over all the empire.

Cuts off fees from the offices.

All emoluments were cut off from the different offices, which were filled with men whose indigence and dependence rendered them implicitly obedient to the dictates of government.

An equal land tax established.

He ordered a tax of half the real annual produce of the lands to be raised over all the empire, and to be regularly transmitted to the exchequer. He appointed officers to superintend the collectors, who were to take care that the Zemindars should take no more from the poor

poor farmers, than in proportion to the estimate which they had given in of their estates; and in case of disobedience or neglect, the superintendants were obliged to refund the overplus, and to pay a fine for the oppression. The farmers, at the same time, were confined to a certain proportion of land, and to an appointed number of servants and oxen to cultivate the same. No grazier was permitted to have above a certain number of cows, sheep and goats, and a tax was paid out of them to the government.

A. D. 1300.
Higer. 799.

So strictly did the Sultan look after the behaviour of the collectors and other officers of the revenue, that many of them, who formerly kept great retinues, were obliged to dismiss them, and to have all the menial offices of their families performed by their wives and children. Neither were they permitted to resign their employments, till they found others as capable as themselves to execute the duties of their office.

Severity to
the officers of
the revenue.

These regulations were good, but they were arbitrary and severe. He broke through all laws and customs, which, according to the Mahomedan law, were left to the decision of the casis. Other Monarchs left state affairs to the common course of justice. Alla descended to all the inferior departments of government. It was with him a common saying, "That religion had no connection with civil government, but was only the business, or rather amusement of private life; and that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men."

These regulations good,
but too severe.

As the Sultan was known to be illiterate, it became a maxim with the learned men at court, to talk upon no subjects which they knew must be beyond the King's knowledge. He was however so sensible of the disadvantages which he laboured under by his ignorance of letters, that he applied himself privately to study, and soon, notwithstanding

The Sultan
applies himself
to letters.

A. D. 1503.
Higer 703.

standing the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of the Persian manner of writing, which generally requires ten or twelve years study, he soon read all address'es, and made himself acquainted with the best authors in the language. After he had proceeded so far as to be able to hold part in learned discourses, he encouraged literary subjects, and showed particular favour to all the eminent men of that age, particularly to Cafi Zea ul dien Molana Zehirling, to Molana Murshid Corami and Cuzi Moiz ul dien Biana. He appointed the last of those learned men to explain the law to him; which he did according to the true spirit, in every point upon which he was consulted. He did not however do it without fear and trembling, where it differed from the King's violent maxims of government.

The Sultan
reduces Chi-
tor.

The Sultan, much about this time, sent an army, by the way of Bengal, to reduce the fort of Arinkil, which was in the possession of the Raja of Tilling. He himself moved the royal standard towards Chitor, which had never before been reduced by the troops of Islam. After a siege of six months he took the place, in the year 703, conferred the government of it upon his eldest son Chizer Chan, and called it Chizerabad. He at the same time bestowed upon Chizer regal dignities and authority.

The Moguls
invade Hin-
doestan.

Intelligence of this expedition arriving at Maver ul nere, Jirghi, who distinguished himself formerly against Ziffer Chan, thinking that the Sultan would be a long time absent, seized that opportunity for invading Hindostan. Alla hearing of this dangerous inroad, abandoned all his schemes against the Decan, and made what haste he could with his army to Delhi.

They ad-
vance to-
wards Delhi.

Jirghi, with twelve tomans of Mogul horse, approached; in a few days, the city, and encamped upon the banks of the Jumna. The horse of the imperial army being absent on the expedition to Arinkil,

Arinkil, the Sultan was in no condition to face, upon equal terms, ^{A. D. 1303.} so powerful and warlike an enemy in the field. He therefore ^{Higer. 703.} contented himself with entrenching his army in the plain beyond the suburbs, till he could draw the forces of the distant Subas together. But the Moguls having the command of the adjacent country, prevented the succours from joining the Sultan, and proceeded so far as to plunder the suburbs, in the King's presence, without his being able to prevent them.

In this situation stood affairs for two months; and then the Sultan, say some authors, had recourse to supernatural aid. He applied to a faint of those days; whose name was Shech Nizam ul dien Aulia. The faint, in one night, without any visible cause, struck ^{but retreat,} the Mogul army with a panic which occasioned their precipitate retreat to their own country. But we have no reason to ascribe the flight of the Moguls to so weak and superstitious a cause; as private order, intelligence, or the improbability of success, brought about their sudden departure more than the power of the faint. The Sultan, during this alarming period, was heard to confess, that his ideas of universal conquest were idle and ridiculous, for that there were many heads in the world as hard as his own.

Alla being relieved from the perils of this invasion, built a palace upon the spot where he had entrenched himself, and ordered the citadel of Delhi to be pulled down and built anew. He then ^{Alla levies a} began to recruit his army, with an intention to retaliate upon the ^{great army.} Moguls their repeated inroads. He increased his forces to such a prodigious number, that upon calculating the expence, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself, could not support them above six years. He resolved therefore to reduce the pay, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering proportionably, the price of horses, arms and provisions.

A. D. 1703.
Higer. 703.

visions. This he did by an edict which he strictly enforced all over the empire, settling the price of every article at about half the common rate, which in fact, was just doubling his treasure and revenues.

The prices of
grain regu-
lated ;

To establish this reduction of the price, with respect to grain, he ordered great magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water carriage, under the direction of Malleck Cabuli. This collector received half of the land tax in grain ; and the royal agents supplied the markets at a stated price. To prevent any monopoly in this article, every farmer was allowed to retain only a certain quantity, according to the number of his family, and send the overplus, as soon as it was threshed out, to market, for which he was obliged to take the standing price. The importation of grain was encouraged ; but to export it or any other article of provisions, was a capital crime. The King himself had a daily report laid before him, of the quantity sold and remaining in the several royal granaries, and spies were appointed in the different markets, to inform him of abuses, which he punished with the utmost rigour.

and of cloth.

The Sultan also appointed a public office, and inspectors, who fixed the price of the various kinds of cloth, according to its quality, obliging the merchants to open their shops at certain hours every day, and sell their goods at the stipulated price. He at the same time opened a loan, by which they were enabled to procure ready money to import cloth from the neighbouring countries, where the poverty of the people rendered their manufactures cheaper. But what is somewhat unaccountable, the exportation of the finer kind of manufacture was prohibited, yet not permitted to be worn at home, except by special authority from the King, which favour was only conferred upon men of rank.

As horses had arose to an immense price, by an association of the dealers, who only bought up a certain number from the Persian and northern merchants to enhance the price; the King published an edict, by which they were obliged to register the prices paid for them, and to sell them at a certain profit within such a time, if that price was offered them, otherwise the King took them upon his own account. The price of the horse was at the same time according to his quality, and care was taken, by that means, that the merchants and dealers in those animals should not have an opportunity, by secret connivance, to raise the price. Many frauds being found out in this article some time after, a great number of horse dealers were whipt out of the city, and others put to death. Oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and asses, were also taken into consideration; and in short every useful animal, and all commodities, were sold at a stated price in the Bazars.

A. D. 1303.
Higer. 703.

Of horses.

The Sultan having thus regulated the prices of things, his next care was to new model his army. He settled the pay of every horseman, for himself and horse, from 234 rupees a year, down to 80, according to the goodness of the horse; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of four hundred and seventy-five thousand.

Settles the
pay of the
army.

In the mean time Ali Beg, the grandson of Chingez Chan, and Jirpal Chaja, with forty thousand horse, made an irruption into Hindostan, but the Sultan sending Malleck Tughlick, with a force against them, they were defeated, with the loss of seven thousand. Ali Beg, and Jirpal, with nine thousand of their troops, were taken prisoners. They were sent in chains to the Sultan, who ordered the chiefs to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, and the soldiers to be inhumanly massacred. He appointed Tughlick, for this service, viceroy of Punjab.

The Moguls
invading
Hindostan
are over-
thrown.

Alip Chan was about this time appointed Amir ul Omrah of Guzerat, and sent thither with a great force. Ain ul Muluck Moulani,

A. D. 1504.
Hijer, 704.
Malava re-
duced.

an Omrah of great fame, was at the same time ordered with a numerous army to the conquest of Malava. He was opposed by Kokah, the Raja, with forty thousand Rajaput horse, and one hundred thousand foot. An engagement ensued, in which Ain ul Muluck proved victorious, and took the cities of Ugein, Mandu, Daranagurri, and Chanduri. He, after these successes, dispatched a Fatte Namma* to the emperor, who, upon receiving it, ordered a rejoicing of seven days throughout the city of Delhi. Kuntir Deo, the governor of the fort of Jalore, terrified by the conquests of Ain ul Muluck, gave up that place upon terms of capitulation.

The Raja of
Chitor makes
his escape,

The Raja of Chitor, who had been prisoner since the Emperor took that place, found in the mean time means to make his escape, in a very extraordinary manner. The Sultan having heard extravagant things in praise of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would send her, he should, upon her account, be released.

by the con-
trivance of
his daughter.

The Raja, who was very ill treated in his confinement, consented, and sent for his daughter with a manifest design to prostitute her to the King. The Raja's family hearing this dishonourable proposal, concerted means of poisoning the Raja to save their own reputation. But the daughter being a girl of invention, proposed a stratagem to release her father, and at the same time to save her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to give out, that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Delhi upon a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this: She selected a number of enterprising fellows, who in compleat armour, concealed themselves in doolies or close chairs, in which the women are always carried; she provided for them a chosen retinue of horse and foot, as is customary to guard ladies of

* A writing of victory. Pompous accounts of his actions, according to their custom.
rank.

rank. She herself, by this time, had, by her father's means, received the Sultan's passport, and the whole cavalcade proceeded to Delhi, and were admitted without interruption. It was now night, and by the Sultan's permission, they were permitted to see the Raja. The chairs being carried into the prison, and the attendants having taken their stations without; the armed men started out of the chairs, and putting all to the sword within the courts, carried the Raja out, and having horses prepared for him, he mounted, and with his attendants, rushed out of the city, before any opposition could be made, and fled to his own country.

A. D. 1105.
Higer. 705.

In the year 705, Kabeik, an Omrah of Dova Chan, King of Maver ul nere, with design to revenge the death of Ali Beg and Jirpal, invaded Hindostan with a great army, and ravaging Moulton, proceeded to Sewalic. Malleck Tughlick, in the mean time, collecting his forces, cut off the retreat of the Moguls, before any troops arrived from Delhi, and defeated them with great slaughter. Those who escaped the sword, finding it impossible to force their way home, retired into the desert, where thirst and the hot winds which blow at that season, put an end to their miserable lives; so that out of fifty seven thousand horse, besides their attendants, who were still more numerous, only three thousand, who were taken prisoners, survived this horrid scene. The unhappy captives were only reserved for greater misery. They were sent to Delhi with their unfortunate chief, Kabeik, where they were all trodden to death by elephants, except some women and children, who were sold in the market for slaves.

The Moguls
overthrown.

These repeated misfortunes did not however discourage the Moguls. Aekbalmund, a chief of great reputation, soon after invaded Hindostan with a powerful army. But Malleck Tughlick defeated him also, with great slaughter; and sent some thousand prisoners to

The Moguls
again over-
thrown.

A. D. 1305, Higer. 705. Delhi, who were dispatched by the customary inhumanity of Alla. Fear, from this time forward, took possession of the Moguls, and they gave over all thoughts of Hindostan for many years. They were even hard pressed to defend themselves: for Malleck Tughlick made incursions into their country every year, plundering the provinces of Cabul, Ghizni, Candahar, and Garrimfere, or laying them under heavy contributions.

The Sultan busy in settling the police of the empire.

In the mean time, the Sultan was employed in settling the internal policy and government of his empire; and with such fortunate perseverance in whatever he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed his success to supernatural power, amazed at the good effects that flowed from the strictness of his government.

Ram Deo, Raja of Deogire in the Decan, having neglected to send the revenues of that district, which he assigned over to the Sultan by treaty, Malleck Cafoor, with many Omrahs of renown, and a great army was ordered to conquer the Decan. This Cafoor was one of the Sultan's catamites, and originally a slave, taken by force from a merchant of Guzerat, as we have already mentioned. The Emperor's affection for Cafoor exceeded all the bounds of decency and prudence upon the present occasion. He gave him the title of Malleck Naib Cafoor *, commanding the Omrahs who attended him, to pay their respects to him every day, as to a sovereign. This created among them great disgust, but they durst not murmur. Chaja Hadjee was appointed his lieutenant; a man much esteemed in those days, for his good principles. In the beginning of the year 706, they marched from Delhi, with an army of one hundred thousand horse, and were joined in their way, by Ain ul Muluck Moultoni, Suba of Malava, and Alip Chan, Suba of Guzerat, with their forces.

The imperial army invades the Decan.

* That is, a viceroy; with all the ensigns of royalty.

One of the Sultan's wives, the fair Comladè, formerly mentioned, hearing of this expedition, address'd herself to the King, and told him, that before she was taken prisoner, she had two beautiful daughters to Raja Kirren. That one of them, she heard, had since died; but that the other, whose name was Dewildè, was still alive. She therefore begged that the Sultan should give orders to his generals to endeavour to get her into their possession, and send her to Delhi. The King consented, and gave orders accordingly.

A. D. 1306.
Higer. 706.
Comladè's address to the Sultan.

Malleck Cafoor, having passed through Malava, encamped upon the borders of the Decan. He sent the Sultan's order to Raja Kirren, to deliver up his daughter Dewildè, which was now urged as a pretext for commencing hostilities in case of a refusal. The Raja could by no means be brought to agree to this demand. Malleck Cafoor therefore marched from his camp at Nidderbar, while Alip Chan, with his forces from Guzerat, was taking the rout of the mountains of Buckelana, to enter the Decan by another pass. He was oppos'd by Raja Kirren, who defeated all his attempts for two months, in which time several undecisive actions were fought.

Cafoor enters the Decan.

Singeldeo, the son of Ram Deo, Raja of Deogire, who had been contracted to the young Dewildè, without consent of his father, sent his brother Bimedeo with presents to Raja Kirren, perswading him, that as Dewildè was the occasion of the war, if he should deliver her over to him, the troops of Islam, in despair of obtaining their ends, would return to their own country. Raja Kirren, who depended much upon the young prince's aid, consented to this proposal, and gave his daughter, then in her thirteenth year, in marriage to Singeldeo.

Singeldeo de

Alip Chan hearing this news, was greatly terrified lest the Sultan should impute this circumstance to his slowness, and was resolv'd, at

A. D. 1195.
Higer. 706.
Alip Chan
deligns to in-
tercept her,

all events, to seize her before her departure, as he was certain his own life depended upon his success. He acquainted all the Omrahs with his intentions, who readily seconded the attempt. He then entered the mountains with his army, and engaging the Raja, gave him a total defeat; upon which, Kirren fled to Deogire, leaving all his elephants, tents and equipage upon the field. Alip Chan pursued him through the hills for some days, but at length, entirely lost his track and all intelligence concerning him and his daughter. But in the end, accident threw this pearl in his way.

Halting to refresh his army two days among the mountains, some of his troops, without leave, to the number of three hundred, went from the camp to see a famous mountain in the neighbourhood of Deogire, from which city he was not then far distant. In their excursion they saw a great troop of horse, whom they apprehended to belong to Ramdeo, and to be in pursuit of them. As there was no safety in flight, they were determined to stand on their defence, and accordingly drew up to receive the enemy. This troop proved to be the retinue of Bimedeo, who was carrying the young bride to his brother. The two parties, in short, engaged, and the Hindoos were put to flight, while an unfortunate arrow having pierced the horse of Dewildè, the unhappy fair one was abandoned in the field. The conquerors seeing her, gathered round her horse, and commenced a bloody scuffle about the prize. This might have proved fatal to the beautiful Dewildè, had not one of her female slaves told aloud her name and quality, conjuring them to carry her to their commander with that respect which was due to her rank and sex. Upon hearing this they knew the peril of treating her with any indignity; and while an express was dispatched with the news to Alip Chan, they conducted her with great care and respect to the camp.

seizes her by
an accident.

Alip

Alip Chan, having obtained this prize, was exceedingly rejoiced, knowing how acceptable it would be to his prince, over whom the lady's mother had great influence. He therefore prosecuted his conquests no further, but returned to Guzerat, and from thence carried Dewildè to Delhi, and presented her to her mother. In a few days her beauty inflamed the heart of the Sultan's eldest son Chizer Chan, to whom she was given in marriage. The history of the loves of this illustrious pair, is wrote in an elegant poem, by Amir Chusero.

A. D. 1306.
Higer. 705.
He conducts
her to Delhi.

Let us now return to Malleck Naib Cafoor, whom we left entering the Decan. He first subdued the country of the Mahrattors, which he divided among his Omrahs, then proceeded to the siege of Deogire, since known by the name of Dowlat-abad. Ramdeo being in no condition to oppose this great army, prudently left his son Singeldeo in the fort, and advanced himself, with great presents, to the conqueror, to procure peace, which was accordingly settled between them. Malleck Cafoor, upon this, wrote a Fatee Namma to the King, and some time after brought Ramdeo, with rich presents and seventeen elephants, to pay his allegiance to him at Delhi, where he himself was received with the most extravagant marks of favour and distinction. Ramdeo had royal dignities conferred upon him, with the title of Rai Raian *, and had not only the government of his own dominions restored to him, but others were also added, for all which he did homage, and paid tribute to the Sultan. The King moreover gave him the district of Nofari, near Guzerat, by way of Jagier, and a lack of rupees to bear his expences home. Thus he dismissed Ramdeo with princely generosity; having, in some measure, looked upon the wealth, of which he had formerly robbed him, as the foundation of all his own greatness. And he perhaps

Cafoor's
transactions in
the Decan.

* Prince of Princes.

A. D. 1105. thought that some grateful return was due to the Raja upon this
Hig. 700. account.

The Sultan
besieges and
takes Sewana.

During the absence of Cafoor on his expedition to the Decan, the King employed himself in taking a strong fort to the southward of Delhi, called Sewana, which had often been attempted in vain. When Jilledeo the Raja of this place found he could hold out no longer, he sent his own image, which had been cast in pure gold, to the Sultan, with a chain round its neck, in token of obedience. This present was accompanied by a hundred elephants, and other precious effects, in hopes of procuring peace. The Sultan received the presents, but returned him for answer, that unless he came and made his submission in person, he could hope little from his dumb representative. The Raja finding the Sultan inexorable, threw himself upon his mercy, and delivered up the place. The Sultan plundered and again restored it. But he alienated a great part of the Raja's country to his favourite Omrahs, and bound him over to pay homage for the rest. The Sultan then proceeded to Jallire, which he took, and returned to Delhi.

Cafoor
marches to-
wards Arin-
kil.

The Sultan, much about this time, was informed that the expedition, by the way of Bengal, to Arinkil in the country of Tilling, had not succeeded, and that his army on that side had been obliged to retreat in great distress. In the year 709, he dispatched Malleck Cafoor with a great force to invade that country, by the way of Deogire; with orders, that if Lidder Deo, Prince of Arinkil, should consent to give him a handsome present, and promise an annual tribute, to return without prosecuting the war any further. When Malleck Cafoor and Chaja Hadjee had reached Deogire, Ram Deo came out to meet them with offerings, and carrying them home, entertained them with great hospitality, ordering his Bazar to the camp, with strict orders to sell every thing according to the Sultan's established price in his own dominions.

Cafoor

Cafoor having marched from Deogire, appeared at Indore, upon the frontiers of Tilling, and issued orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword; which struck the unhappy people, who had never injured their wanton enemies, with great terror and consternation. In the mean time, the neighbouring Rajas hastened with all their forces to support Lidderdeo, in this alarming juncture. But as the imperial army proceeded with great expedition, he was forced, before the arrival of his allies, to shut himself up in the fort of Arinkil, which was a place of great strength. The allied Rajas, upon this, also took possession of divers strong holds round the country.

A. D. 1307.
Higer. 707.
Enters Tilling.

Malleck Cafoor immediately invested the place, and began his attacks, which were carried on and repelled with great slaughter on both sides. Notwithstanding the interruptions that Cafoor received from the Rajas without the place, Arinkil, after some months siege, was taken by assault, and the garrison massacred without mercy, for the citadel to which Lidderdeo had retired, was not sufficient to contain the whole. Lidderdeo, driven to this extremity, bought his peace with three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and money and jewels to a very great amount; agreeing at the same time, to pay an annual tribute. Malleck Cafoor, after this advantageous peace, returned with his army to Delhi. He dispatched before him the news of his victories, which was read from the pulpit, and a public rejoicing ordered. Upon his approach to the city, the King himself came out and met him at the Budaoon gate, and there the conqueror laid all the spoils at his feet.

Besieges and takes Arinkil.

In the year 710, The Sultan sent Malleck Cafoor and Chaja Hajee with a great army, to reduce Dhoor, Summund and Maber in the Decan, where he had heard, there were temples very rich in gold and jewels. When they had proceeded to Deogire, they found that

Cafoor's expedition to the Decan.

A. D. 1310.
Higer. 710.

Ram Deo the old Raja was dead, and that the young Raja, Singeldeo, was not so well affected to them as they thought. They therefore left some Omrahs in a strong post upon the banks of the Ganges, and continued their march. When they had passed the Raja's territories, they began their inhuman cruelties, and after three months march from Delhi, arrived in the countries which they were commanded to subdue. They engaged Bellal Deo, Raja of the Carnatic, and defeating him, took him prisoner, and then ravaged his whole country. They found in the temples, prodigious spoils in idols of gold, adorned with the most precious stones; and other rich effects, consecrated to their worship. Here the conqueror built a small mosque, and ordered divine service to be read according to the Mahommedan faith, and the Chutba to be pronounced in the Emperor's name. This mosque remains intire in our days, for the Caffers * esteeming it a house consecrated to God, would not destroy it †.

The Raja of
the Carnatic
overthrown.

An immense
treasure dis-
covered.

Malleck Naib, Cafoor having wearied his own inhumanity and avarice, in destroying and robbing an unfortunate people, resolved to return to Delhi with his spoils. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some Brahmins who had taken protection in his camp from the plundering parties that scoured the country. Some body who understood their language, found the quarrel was about the division of some hidden treasure, which was immediately communicated to the Cutwal, who seized them and carried them to Malleck Cafoor to be examined. They were at

* The Mahommedans give the name of Caffers or Infidels to all the nations who do not profess their own faith.

† This observation of our author sets the two religions in very opposite lights, and is perfectly consistent with the principle of the universal charity of the Hindoos, who think that the same God is the object of all religions, however much they may differ in ceremonies and tenets.

first very obstinate, but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, they were afraid one would inform against the other, by which means they discovered all they knew. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where immense treasures were concealed. These being dug up and placed upon elephants, Malleck Cafoor turned the points of his spears to Delhi, where he arrived without any remarkable occurrence, in the year 711. He presented the Sultan with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things*. The Sultan upon seeing this treasure, which exceeded that of Baadawird or Pirvez, was greatly rejoiced, and opened the doors of his bounty to all. He gave to each of the principal Omrahs ten maunds, and to the inferior five. The learned men of his court received one maund, and thus in proportion, he distributed wealth to all his servants, according to their rank and quality. The remainder was melted down, coined and lodged in the treasury. It is said, that during this expedition to the Carnatic, the soldiers threw the silver they found away, as too cumbersome, where gold was found in such plenty. No person wore bracelets, chains, or rings of any other metal than gold, while all the plate in the houses of the great, and in the temples, was of beaten gold; neither was silver money at all current in that country, should we believe the reports of those adventurers.

A. D. 1311.
Higer 711.

The generosity of the Sultan.

Soon after this accession of wealth, the tyrannical Alla exhibited a scene in the capital too dreadful to be varnished over by his great

* This treasure may appear to exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans: But if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people, and not disturbed perhaps by wars for thousands of years; and add to this, that it is the invariable custom of that race, to live with the abstinence of hermits in the midst of wealth, our wonder will cease, and the credit of our author remain intire. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money.

A. D. 1314.
Higer. 711.

His inhumanity to the Mogul mercenaries.

abilities. The Mogul converts in his army having incurred his displeasure, he ordered them to be all discharged. Some of them engaged themselves in the service of the Omrahs, but the greater number remained at Delhi in great distress, in hopes that the Sultan would relent by seeing their wretched poverty. He however remained obdurate, and some daring fellows among them, forced by their misfortunes, entered into a conspiracy to murder the King. This plot being discovered, the Sultan, instead of punishing the conspirators, extended his inhuman rigour to the whole body. He ordered them all to be instantly put to the sword; so that fifteen thousand of those unhappy wretches lay dead in the streets of Delhi in one day. All their wives and children were enslaved. The Sultan was so inexorable and vindictive, that no one durst attempt to conceal, however nearly connected they might be, any of the unfortunate Moguls, so that not one of them escaped.

His pride and magnificence.

The King, elevated by his good fortune, gave himself over to pride. He listened to no advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in the beginning of his reign, but every thing was executed by his irrevocable word. Yet the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice travelled to the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, spires, forts, and all manner of public and private buildings seemed to rise, as by the power of enchantment, neither did there in any age appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty five skilled in the sciences were professors in the universities. In poetry, Amir Chusero and Chaja Hassen Delavi held the first rank. In philosophy and physics, Molana Buddir ul dien Damiski. In divinity, Molana Shatabi. In astrology, Shech Nizam ul dien Awlia acquired much fame. Others distinguished themselves in music, morality, languages, and in all the fine arts then known in the world.

But

But when the Sultan seemed to have carried every thing to the height of perfection, and to the extent of his wishes, he all at once adopted every measure that evidently tended to subvert the great fabrick which he had raised. He resigned the reins of government intirely into the hands of Malleck Cafoor, whom he blindly supported in his most impolitic and tyrannical actions. This gave great disgust to the Omrahs, and spread universal discontent over the face of the people. He neglected the education of his own children, who were let out of the seraglio when very young, and intrusted with independant power. Chizer Chan was made viceroy of Chitor when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him or to superintend his conduct, while Shadi Chan, Mubarick Chan and Shab ul dien Chan, his other sons, had appointments of the same important nature.

At D. 1311.
Higer. 711.
His impolitic
proceedings.

The Raja of Tilling, about this time, sent some presents and twenty elephants to the King, with a letter, informing him that the tribute which he had agreed to pay in his treaty with Malleck Cafoor, was ready to be paid. Malleck Cafoor, upon this, desired leave of the King, to make another expedition into the Decan, promising that he would, not only collect the revenues which had fallen due, but bring the Raja of Deogire and others, who had with-held their allegiance and tribute, under due subjection. He was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Chizer Chan, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition; and whom he feared the Sultan intended to send.

Malleck Cafoor proposes an expedition to the Decan.

The Sultan consented to Cafoor's proposal, and he accordingly proceeded the fourth time to the Decan with a great army. He seized the Raja of Deogire, and inhumanly put him to death; then ravaging the countries of Mahratt, Connir, Dabul, Givil, Raijore

He enters the Decan and reduces it.

A. D. 1312. and Mudkil, took up his residence at Deogire. He raised the tri-
 Higer. 712. bute from the Rajas of Tilling and the Carnatic, and in the year
 712, dispatched the whole to the Emperor.

The King
 falls sick.

The Sultan by this time, by his intemperance in the seraglio,
 ruined his constitution, and was taken extremely ill. His wife
 Mallecke Jehan and her son Chizer Chan, neglected him entirely,
 and spent their time in riot and revelry, which added new strength
 to the King's disorder. He therefore ordered Malleck Cafoor from
 the Decan, and Alip Chan from Guzerat. He told them in private
 of the unpolitic, undutiful and cruel behaviour of his wife and son.

Malleck Ca-
 foor aspires to
 the throne.

Cafoor, who had before aspired, in his mind, to the empire, now
 began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line.
 He, for this purpose, insinuated to the King, that Chizer Chan,
 Mallecke Jehan and Alip Chan had conspired against his life. What
 gave colour to this wicked accusation was, that at this time, Mallecke
 Jehan solicited the Sultan to get one of Alip Chan's daughters for her
 son Shadi Chan. This traitor did not fail to improve this circumstance
 to his own advantage. The King at length suffered suspicion to
 steal into his breast, and ordered Chizer Chan to Amrohe, and there
 to continue till he himself should recover. Though Chizer Chan
 was mad with the follies of youth, this command of his father
 made a deep impression on his mind, and at his departure he made
 a private vow, that if God should spare the life of his father, he
 would return all the way on foot. When he accordingly heard that
 his father's health began to return, he performed his vow, and
 waited upon him at Delhi.

Plots against
 Chizer Chan,

The traitor Cafoor turned this filial piety entirely against Chizer.
 He insinuated that his behaviour, by such a sudden change, could be
 imputed to nothing but hypocrisy, and urged his disobedience, by
 coming without his father's leave, pretending, at the same time, that
 he

he was intriguing with the Omrahs, about kindling a rebellion in the Empire. The Sultan could not give entire credit to these insinuations. He sent for Chizer Chan into his presence, embraced him to try his affection, and seeing him weep, seemed convinced of his sincerity, and ordered him into the Seraglio, to see his mother and sisters. But unhappily for this Prince, the flights of his youth made him deviate again into his former wild amusements. He neglected for several days to visit his father; during which time his subtle enemy bribed over to his own interest the Sultan's private servants, and called upon them to witness his aspersions against Chizer. He at length, by a thousand wiles and stratagems, accomplished his purpose, and prevailed upon the King to imprison his two sons Chizer Chan and Shadi Chan, in the fort of Gualier, and their mother in the old citadel. He at the same time procured an order to seize Aliph Chan, who was unjustly put to death, and his brother Nizam ul dien, Suba of Jalore, was assassinated by Seid Cummal ul dien Carrick, who assumed his place.

Thus far the traitor's schemes advanced in the direct road of success. But now the fire which had long been smothered, began to flame, kindling first at Guzerat into a general insurrection. The Sultan, to suppress this rebellion, sent Cumal ul dien Currik thither with a great army; but the forces commanded by the friends of Aliph Chan defeated him with great slaughter, and put him to a cruel death. In the mean time the Suba of Chitor threw the Sultan's officers over the wall, and assumed independence; while Hirpal Deo, the son in law of Ramdeo, stirred up the Decan to arms, and took a number of the Sultan's garrisons.

Alla ul dien, upon receiving this intelligence, could do nothing but bite his own flesh, in resentment. His grief and rage served to strengthen his disorder, which would yield to no power of medicine.

On .

A. D. 1316. On the evening of the sixth of Shawal, in the year 716, he gave up that
 Higer. 716. life, which, like a comet, had spread terror and desolation, through
 an astonished world ; but not without suspicion of being poisoned by
 the villain whom he had raised from the dust to power. He reigned
 twenty years and some months.

His character. If we look upon the government and policy of Alla ul dien, a
 great King arises to our view. If we behold his hands, which are
 red, an inexorable tyrant appears. Had he come by better means to
 the throne, his abilities deserved it well ; but he began in cruelty, and
 waded through blood to the end. Ambition was the favourite passion
 of his soul, and from it sprung forth like branches, injustice, violence,
 and rapine. Had fortune placed him at first on high, his glory would
 not perhaps be tarnished with meanness and deceit ; but in whatever
 way that flame was to pass through the world, his tract, like that of
 a storm, must have been marked with ruin. He had some right as a
 warrior, to the title of Secunder Sani ; but these two Princes
 resembled one another in nothing but in success and bravery. The
 first was polished and generous, the latter was dark and rude.
 They were both magnificent, and each of them might conquer
 the world, and could command it. The servants of his household
 amounted to seventeen thousand, and his pomp, wealth and power
 was never equalled by any Prince who sat before him on the throne
 of Hindostan.

SECTION XIV.

The Reign of SHAB UL DIEN OMAR ben Sultan ALLA UL DIEN CHILLIGIE.

IN the history of Sidder Jehan of Guzerat, we are informed that the day after the death of Sultan Alla ul dien, Malleck Cafoor assembled the Omrahs, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased King, in which he had appointed Shab ul dien, the youngest son, his successor, and Cufoor himself regent, during his minority, setting aside the right of primogeniture in the person of Chizer Chan, and the other princes. Shab ul dien then, in the seventh year of his age, was placed on the throne, and Cafoor began his administration. The first step which the traitor took, was to send a person to Gualier, to put out the eyes of Chizer Chan and Shaḍi Chan. His orders were inhumanly executed; and the Sultana Malleke Jehan was put into closer confinement, and all her wealth seized. Mubarick Chan, the third son of Alla, was also taken into custody, with an intention to have his eyes put out, like his unhappy brothers.

A. D. 1316.
Higer. 716.
Shab ul dien placed upon the throne by Cafoor.

Cafoor's cruelty to the Princes.

There is ridicule in what we are to relate. Cafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of Shab ul dien, the Emperor's third wife. But the mother of Mubarick Shaw, Alla ul dien's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes of her son, acquainted Shech Nizam ul dien of her intelligence, and he gave her some hopes that the threatened misfortune should be prevented.

Cafoor, tho' an eunuch, marries one of the Sultanas.

Malleck Cafoor, in the mean time, to cloak his wicked designs, placed the young King every day upon the throne, and ordered the

Sends to put out the eyes of Mubarick.

A. D. 1315.
Higer. 716.

nobles to pay their respects, as usual, to the Emperor. He sent one night some assassins to cut off Mubarick Shaw ; but when they entered the apartment of the Prince, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they were ; then untying a string of rich jewels from his neck, which perhaps had more influence than his intreaties, he gave it them. They immediately abandoned their purpose ; but quarrelling about the division of the jewels, when they had got out, it was proposed to carry them to the chief of the foot-guards, and acquaint him of what the Prince had said, and of their instructions, from Malleck Cafoor.

A conspiracy
against Ca-
foor.

The Mubishir *, who owed every thing to the favour of the deceased King, was shocked at the villainy of Cafoor, and finding his people of the same sentiments, he immediately formed a conspiracy against the tyrant, and accordingly he and his lieutenant, the Bushier, entered his apartment, in a few hours, and assassinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This happened thirty-five days after the King's death, and thus the world was rid of a monster too horrid to exist among mankind.

He is assassi-
nated.

Mubarick
Chan ascends
the throne.

When, with the return of day, the transactions of the night became public, they gave general satisfaction. Mubarick Chan was released from his confinement, and had the reins of government placed in his hand. He however did not immediately assume the throne, but acted for the space of two months, as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the Omrahs to his interest. He then claimed his birthright to the diadem, deposed his brother, and acceded to the imperial dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived Shab ul dien of his eyes, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualier, after he had borne the title of King for three months and some days.

* Chief or commander of the foot-guards

SECTION XV.

The Reign of CUTTUB UL DIEN MUBARICK SHAW CHIL-
LIGE.

UPON the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year seven hundred A. D. 1317.
and seventeen of the Higer, Mubarick Shaw mounted the Higer. 717.
throne. The Mubishir who had saved his life, and raised him to Mubarick's
cruelty and
ingratitude.
the imperial dignity, as also the Bushire, were ungratefully and inhu-
manly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than that
they presumed too much upon the services they had done him. It is
probable he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some
measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old Peons who
were under their command, into different parts of the country. Mu-
barick began to dispense his favours among the Omrahs, but he dis-
gusted them all by raising some of his slaves to that dignity.

Malleck Dinar Shenapil, was dignified with the title of Ziffer Promotions
at court.
Chan. Mahummud Moula, the Sultan's uncle, received the name
of Shere Shaw, and Molana Zea ul dien, that of Sidder Jehan. In
the mean time Malleck Kerabeg was made one of the councillors of
the Durbar; and Hassen one of his slaves, the son of a feller of rags
at Guzerat, received the title of Chusero Chan, and through the
King's unnatural affection for him, became the greatest man in the
empire. He was appointed to the command of the armies of Mal-
leck Cafoor and Shadi Chan, and at the same time to the honour of
the Vizarit, without any one good quality to recommend him to
those high employs.

The Sultan, whether to affect popularity, or in remembrance of The Sultan
affects popu-
larity.
his late situation, ordered all the prisons to be opened, by which

A. D. 1317. means seventeen thousand were blessed with the light of day, and
 Higer. 717. all the exiles were by proclamation recalled. He then commanded to give to the army a present of six months pay, and conferred upon many, other private benefits. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He eased the petitioners of some of their taxes ; but by too much relaxing the reins of government, disorder and tumult arose, which threw down to the ground the great fabrick raised by Alla ul dien. He gave himself up entirely to wine, revelry, and lust. These vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people were soon infected.

Guzerat reduced.

Mubarick, in the first year of his reign, sent an army under the command of Ain ul Mulluck Moulteni, into the province of Guzerat, which had revolted. Moulteni was an Omrah of great reputation. He soon defeated the insurgents, cut off their chiefs, and settled the country in peace. The King conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer Chan, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Ziffer Chan soon after marched his army to Narwalla, the capital of Guzerat, where some disturbances had happened, reduced the rebels, confiscated their estates, and sent their moveable wealth to the King.

Mubarick reduces the Decan.

Mubarick Shaw, in the second year of his reign, raised a great army, and marched towards the Decan, to chastise Hirpaldeo, the son in law of Ramdeo, who, by the assistance of the other Rajas of the Decan, had recovered his country. The Sultan at his departure appointed Shahin, the son of a slave, to whom he gave the title of Offa Beg, governor of Delhi, during his absence. When he arrived near Deogire, Hirpaldeo and the other Rajas, who were then besieging the place, fled. But some Omrahs being ordered to pursue Hirpaldeo, he was brought back prisoner, fled alive and beheaded. His head was fixed above the gate of his own capital. The Sultan
 ordered

ordered his garrisons to be re-established as far as the sea, and built a mosque in Deogire, which still remains. He then appointed Malleck Ecklikki, one of his father's slaves, to command in the Decan. He, in imitation of his father, gave his catamite Chusero Chan the ensigns of royalty, sending him towards Malbar, with part of his army, then returned himself to Delhi.

A. D. 1318.
Higer. 718.

Malleck Affid ul dien, son to the Sultan's grand uncle, seeing the King daily drunk, and negligent of all the duties of a king or commander, began to entertain thoughts of the empire, and formed a conspiracy against his life. This plot however was discovered by one of the conspirators, and Affid ul dien was condemned to death. Whether Mubarick had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this conspiracy, we cannot learn, but at that time he sent an assassin to Gualier, and these two unfortunate blind princes were inhumanly murdered, and the fair Dewildè brought to the royal Haram.

A conspiracy.
The Sultan's
cruelty.

Mubarick finding himself in quiet possession of all the kingdoms of Hindostan, abandoned those popular manners which he at first affected, and grew perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, despising all counsel, ill treating all his friends, and executing every thing, however bloody or unjust, by his obstinate, blind, arbitrary will. Ziffer Chan, Suba of Guzerat, among others, fell a victim to his tyranny, as also Offa Beg, upon whom he had heaped such favours, without any plausible pretences against either. He was infamous, in short, in every vice that can taint the human mind, and descended so far from the royal character, as to dress himself often like a common prostitute, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. At other times he would lead a gang of those abominable prostitutes stark naked along the terraces of the royal palaces, and make them play their fountains upon the Omrahs

The Empe-
ror abandons
himself to
every species
of vice.

A. D. 1518.
Higer. 718.

as they entered the court. These and such other vices and indecencies, too shocking to mention, were the constant amusements of this monster in the form of man.

Several insurrections
quashed.

After the death of Ziffer Chan, Hissam ul dien, unclé to Chusero Chan, who was also one of the Sultan's catamites, in the absence of the detestable slave, obtained the regency of Guzerat, where he had not been established long, till, in confederacy with a few Omrahs, he rebelled; but the other Omrahs of Guzerat rising in arms, defeated him, and sent him prisoner to Delhi, where he was not only pardoned, but permitted to resume his place in the King's favour; Malleck Odgi ul dien Toureshi being sent to Guzerat in his stead. About this time news arrived, that Malleck Ecklikki, governor of the Decan, had rebelled. The Sultan sent a great army to suppress that insurrection, who found means to seize the rebel and his principal adherents, and to send them to Delhi, where Malleck Ecklikki had his ears cut off, and the others were put to the torture. Ain ul Malleck Moulteni was advanced to the viceroyship of the Decan.

Chusero
Chan aspires
to the throne.

Chusero Chan, who had gone to Malbar, stayed there about one year. He plundered the country of about one hundred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond of 168 Ruttys, with other jewels and gold, to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth, and he began to aspire to the throne. Not being able to join to his interest any of the Omrahs of his army, he formed the means of their destruction. For this purpose he called Malleck Tilbigha from the government of the island of Koohe, Malleck Timur and Malleck Mullhe Affghan, who were on different services, and gave out that he had orders to return to Delhi. These Omrahs having intelligence of his intentions, disobeyed his commands, and wrote a remonstrance to the Sultan, accusing Chusero Chan of conspiracy against the state. The Sultan;

on

on this, ordered them to seize him and send him prisoner to Delhi, A. D. 1319.
Higer. 719. which accordingly they found means to execute. But when he came before the King, he pleaded his own innocence so artfully, and blamed his accusers with such plausibility of truth, that the Sultan believing the whole proceeded from the disgust of their being commanded by his favourite, he recalled them; and notwithstanding they gave undoubted proofs of their assertions, the Sultan was determined to listen to nothing against this vile catamite. He dishonoured them, confiscated all their estates, turned them out to poverty and the world: The other Omrahs seeing that the enemies of Chusero Chan, right or wrong, were devoted to destruction, the men of the best principles among them made excuses, and obtained leave to retire to distant parts of the empire: while the abandoned to all honour, joined themselves to the catamite, who was now the object of universal dread, as well as the source of all benefits and promotion. This slave, in the mean time, cherished his own ambitious views, and began again to form measures for his own advancement. Chusero con-
tinues his de-
signs.

To accomplish his purpose, he told the King, “ That as his own fidelity and services had been by his Majesty so generously rewarded, and as he might still have occasion for them in the conduct of his military affairs, while the Omrahs, from the pride of family, were seditious and disobedient to his commands, he begged that he might be permitted to call some of his relations from Guzerat, in whom he could more certainly confide.” The Sultan agreed to this request; and Chusero Chan sent a great sum of money by some of his agents to Guzerat, who collected about twenty thousand of the dregs of the people, and brought them to Delhi. Every place of profit and trust were conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Chusero’s interest; and also upon all the
villains s

A. D. 1320
Higer. 720. villains about the city, who were remarkable for their boldness and address.

Conspires a-
gainst the
Sultan's life.

The Sultan, in the mean time, going to hunt towards Jirsaya, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside, on account of some difference in opinion among the conspirators: and therefore they resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. The Sultan returned to Delhi, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debaucheries. Chusero Chan was warm in his project, and took the opportunity of a favourable hour to beg leave of Mubarrick to entertain his friends in the outer court of the palace. The Sultan not only consented, but issued orders, to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with those vermin.

The Sultan
informed of
the plot.

In the mean time, Cafi Zea ul dien, who was famous for his skill in astrology, though upon this occasion, we imagine, he consulted his own judgment and not the stars, ran into the presence and kissed the ground. "O King," said he, "Chusero Chan is concerting means for your assassination. If this should prove false his honesty will be the better established; if otherwise, caution is necessary, because life is the most inestimable jewel." The Sultan smiled at the old man, who had been one of his preceptors, and told him, he would make enquiry into that affair: while instantly Chusero Chan entered in a female dress, with all the affectations of a girl. The Sultan upon seeing the infamous catamite, repeated a verse to this effect. "If my beloved were guilty of ten thousand crimes, one smile from him and I forget them all." He then embraced Chusero, and actually did forget all that the Cafi had said.

His infatuation.

That night, as the Cafi was suspicious of treason, he could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight, to see whether the guards were

watchful. In their rounds, he met Mundule, uncle to Chusero Chan, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jaherba came behind him, and with one stroke of a sword, stretched him upon the ground, having only strength to cry out, "Treason! Treason! Murder and treason, are on foot!" while two servants who attended him, run off, screaming aloud, that the Cafi was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but they were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred before they could prepare for their own defence.

A. D. 1321.
Higer. 721.
The old Cafi
murdered.

The Sultan alarmed by the noise, asked Chusero Chan, who lay in his apartment, the cause of it. The villain arose to enquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning told the King, that some of the horses belonging to the guard, had broke loose from their picquets, and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to lay hold of them. This satisfied the Sultan for the present; but soon after, the conspirators having ascended the stairs, and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping apartment, they were stopped by Ibrahim and Ishaac, with all the porters of the private chambers, whom they immediately put to the sword. The Sultan hearing the clash of arms and groans of dying men so near him, rose up in great terror and confusion, running towards the Haram, by a private passage. Chusero Chan fearing he might escape, rushed close after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him for some time. The Sultan being the stronger man, threw Chusero on the ground; but as he had twisted his hand in his hair, he could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and with a stroke of a sabre, cut off his head and threw it down into the court, proclaiming the deed aloud to those below.

The Sultan
assassinated.

The

A. D. 1321.
Higer. 721.

The conspirators in the court below, began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who had crowded from all quarters, but upon hearing of the Sultan's fate, they all hastened out of the palace.

A general
massacre in
the palace.

The conspirators then shut the gates and massacred all who had not the good fortune to escape; particularly the younger children of Alla ul dien, Feredoon Chan, Ali Chan and Omar Chan. Then breaking into the Haram, committed all manner of violence upon the poor women.

Reflections
upon the Sul-
tan's death.

Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla ul dien, for his ingratitude to Firose Shaw, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands. Heaven also punished Mubarick Shaw, whose name and reign are too infamous to have a place in the records of literature; did not our duty as a historian, oblige us to this disagreeable task. But notwithstanding, we have, in some places, been obliged to throw the veil of oblivion over circumstances too horrid to relate.

Chusero Chan
mounts the
throne.

This massacre happened on the fifth of Ribi ul Awil, in the year 721. In the morning Chusero Chan, surrounded by his creatures, mounted the throne, and ridiculously assumed the title of Nasir ul dien, or the supporter of religion. He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Mubarick Shaw, who he thought had the least spark of honesty, to be put to death, and their wives and children to be sold for slaves. His brother was dignified with the title of Chan Chanan, and married to one of the daughters of Alla ul dien, while he took Dewildè, the widow of Mubarick Shaw, to himself. He disposed of all the other ladies of the Seraglio among his beggarly friends.

The army now remained to be bribed, who loved nothing better than a revolution; for they had always, upon such an occasion, a do-

nation of six months pay immediately divided from the treasury. A. D. 1321. Higer. 721.
 This trifle bought those dissolute slaves, who were lost to all sense of gratitude or honour. Brings over the army to his interest.

The son of Kimmerah Kimar, the chief of a gang of thieves, received the title of Azim Malleck Shaista Chan, and was made Ariz Mumalick, while Ain ul Malleck became Alim Chan, and was appointed Amir ul Omrah *. Malleck Fuchir ul dien Jonah had the title of Chusero Chan, and the appointment of master of the horse, with many other distinguishing favours, with an intention to gain over the allegiance of his father, Ghazi Malleck, governor of Lahore and Debalpoor, of whom the usurper was in great fear. Notwithstanding his promotion, Fuchir ul dien Jonah was touched to the soul, to see the empire ridden by a gang of villains. His father also, who was reckoned a man of great bravery and honour in those days, was discontented at the infamous proceedings at court, and roused himself to revenge. He acquainted his son of his purpose, and he took the first opportunity to fly from Delhi and join his father. Honours conferred upon the conspirators. Ghazi Malleck revolts from the usurper.

The usurper was in great perplexity upon the flight of Jonah, and began already to give his hopes to the wind. Ghazi Malleck immediately prepared for hostilities, and by circular letters, invited all the Omrahs to join his standard. A great many Subas put their troops immediately in motion; but Mogulti the Suba of Moultan, jealous of precedence, refused to join; upon which occasion, Byram Ibah, a chief of some note in those parts, was prevailed upon to assassinate him.

Malleck Ecklikki, Suba of Samana, notwithstanding the usurper had been the occasion of his losing his ears, transmitted the letter of Ghazi Malleck to court, informing him of the rebellion, and

* Captain General.

A. D. 1321.
Hig. r. 721.
The Suba of
Samana de-
feated.

taking the field against the confederates, received a signal defeat, and in his flight to Delhi, was fallen upon by the Zemindars and cut to pieces. The usurper sent Chan Chanan his brother, and Sufi Chan, with all on whom he could depend, against the confederates.

Ghazi Mal-
leck defeats
the usurper's
army, and
marches to
Delhi.

Ghazi Malleck, now joined by Byram Ibah, with the army from Moulton, and other Subas, advanced to meet the usurper's army, which he did upon the banks of the Sirusti. But as the troops of Ghazi Malleck were experienced in frequent wars with the Moguls, and those of Chusero enervated by indolence and debaucheries, and besides, lost to all sense of military honour, they were broke at the first onset, and all the public treasure, elephants and baggage were taken. This booty was divided in the field among the conquerors.

Chusero
marches out
of the city.

They then continued their march in triumph towards Delhi. The usurper, in great embarrassment, marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post near the great pond of Alahi, with the citadel in his rear, and many gardens with high walls in his front. He then opened the treasury, and gave three years pay to his troops, leaving nothing but the jewels, of some of which he also disposed. The confederates advancing in fight, an action was expected next morning. But that night, Ain ul Muluck Moultoni drew off his forces from the usurper, and took the rout of Mindu. This struck great terror into Chusero's army. They however drew up in order of battle; and Malleck Tilbigha and Shaiста Chan opposing the confederates with great bravery, as they advanced through the lanes, were at length overpowered and slain. But their situation gave such advantages to the usurper's army, that they maintained their post till the evening; when the infamous Chusero fled with a few of his friends towards Jilput. In the way he was deserted by all his attendants, and obliged to conceal himself in a tomb, from whence he was dragged the next day, and ordered to be put to death, together with his brother, who was taken in a neighbouring garden.

He is over-
thrown, taken
and slain.

The

The day after this action, being the first of Shaban, all the Om-
 rans and magistrates of the city came to pay their respects to the
 victor, and made him a present of the keys of the capital. He
 mounted his horse and entered Delhi in triumph. When he came
 in sight of the palace of a thousand pillars, he began to weep, cry-
 ing with a loud voice! "O ye subjects of this great empire, I am
 no more than one of you, who unsheathed my sword to deliver you
 from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. My endeavours,
 by the blessing of God, have been crowned with success. If there-
 fore any of the royal line remain, let them be brought, that justice
 may take place, and that we his servants may prostrate ourselves be-
 fore his throne. But if none of the race of Kings have escaped the
 bloody hands of tyranny and usurpation, let the most worthy of the
 illustrious order be elected among you, and I shall swear to abide by
 your choice."

A. D. 1321.
 H. ger. 721.

Ghazi Mal-
 leck's mode-
 ration.

The people called out with one voice, that none of the princes
 were now alive; that as he had shielded them from the vengeance of
 the Moguls, and delivered them from the rage of a tyrant, none
 was so worthy to reign. Then seizing him, in a manner, by vio-
 lence, they placed him upon the throne, and hailed him King of
 the world. But he assumed the more modest title of Yeas ul dien,
 or the reformer of the religion. The reign of Chusero Chan was
 five months. Nothing in history can exhibit such an example of
 the dissolute and infamous manners of any age or nation, as we
 are presented with in the accounts of this wicked and shameful
 usurpation.

He mounts
 the throne by
 the name of
 Yeas ul dien.

SECTION XVI.

The Reign of Sultan YEAS UL DIEN TUGLICK SHAW.

A. D. 1321.
Higer. 721.
His pedigree
uncertain.

WE have no true accounts of the pedigree of Tuglick Shaw. It is generally believed, that his father, whose name was Malleck Tuglick, had been, in his youth, slave to Sultan Balin. His mother was one of the tribe of the Jits. But indeed the pedigrees of the Kings of the Patan empire, make such a wretched figure in history, that we could wish to omit them, were it not to show how far the depravity and corruption of a people can plunge them into the sink of slavery, and subject them to the vilest of men.

A wise prince.

When Sultan Yeas ul dien mounted the throne, he began to regulate the affairs of government, which had fallen into the utmost disorder, by the most salutary and adviseable methods, which gained him general esteem. He repaired the palaces and fortifications, founded others, and encouraged industry and commerce. Men of genius and learning were called to court; institutes of laws and government were established and founded upon the Coran, and the antient usages of the empire.

Promotions at
court.

Malleck Fuchir ul dien Jonah, the Sultan's eldest son, was declared heir apparent, with the title of Aligh Chan, and all the royal ensigns conferred upon him. His other four sons were entitled Byram Chan, Ziffer Chan, Mamood Chan, and Nusferit Chan. Byram Ibah, who had so effectually assisted him with the army from Moultan, was adopted his brother, by the title of Chusero Chan, and appointed viceroy of Sind, Outch and Moultan. Malleck Assid

ul

ul dien, his nephew, was appointed Barbeg, or lord of the presence, and Malleck Baha ul dien, his other nephew, Ariz Mumalick. Malleck Shadi, the Emperor's brother and son in law, was made vizier. Malleck Burhan ul dien had the vizarit of Deogire conferred upon him; and Tatar Chan the government of Zifferabad.

A. D. 122.
Higer. 722.

The Emperor in the mean time stationed troops upon the frontiers towards Cabul, and built forts to defend the country from the incursions of the Moguls, which he did so effectually, as not to be troubled by these invaders during his reign.

Troops stationed on the frontiers.

In the second year from his accession, Aligh Chan, with some of the old Omrahs, and the troops of Chinderi, Budaoon, and Malava, was dispatched towards Tilling, to chastise Lidderdeo, Raja of Arinkil, who had, during the late disturbances, wrested his neck from the yoke, and refused to send his tribute, while the Raja of Deogire had also swerved from his allegiance. Aligh Chan having advanced into those countries, began a barbarous war with fire and sword. Lidderdeo opposed him with some vigour, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Arinkil, which Aligh Chan immediately invested.

Aligh Chan marches against Arinkil.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides, till the walls were battered down, and a practicable breach made. The Mahommedan army, in the mean time, on account of the hot winds and bad water, were seized with a malignant distemper, that swept hundreds to their graves every day. Many became desirous to return home, and spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation among the army. As there had been no advices for above a month from Delhi, Shech Zuda Dimiski, Obeid the poet, and some others, who were companions of Aligh Chan, raised

Lays siege to Arinkil,

A. D. 1322.
Hijri 722.

raised a report by way of jest, that Sultan Yeas ul dien was dead, and that a great revolution had happened in Delhi. Not content with this, they went to the tents of Malleck Timur, Malleck Mul Afghan, Malleck Cafoor Mordar, and Malleck Tiggi, who were the principal Omrahs in the camp, and told them, such and such was the state of affairs at Delhi, and that Aligh Chan, knowing them, as old Omrahs, to have an equal right with himself to the empire, had resolved to dispatch them.

which by the
desertion of
the Omrahs
he is con-
strained to
raite.

The Omrahs giving implicit belief to this false information, fled that night, with all their dependants, from camp. Aligh Chan, thus deserted, was under the necessity of retreating in great disorder, towards Deogire, whither he was pursued by the besieged, with great slaughter. In the mean time advices arrived from Delhi, that all was well, and Aligh Chan halted at Deogire, to collect his scattered army. The four Omrahs who fled, having disagreed among themselves, had each taken a separate rout, by which means they were fallen upon by the Hindoos, plundered of their elephants, camels, and baggage, and otherwise greatly harrassed in their march. Malleck Timur and Malleck Tiggi were both slain, while Malleck Mul and Malleck Cafoor were seized by their own troops, and brought prisoners to Deogire. An enquiry was made into their conduct, the authors of the disturbance seized, and all of them sent prisoners to Delhi. The Emperor ordered the propagators of the false intelligence to be buried alive, with this severe sarcasm: "That they had buried him alive in jest, but that he would bury them alive in good earnest."

Aligh Chan was obliged to retreat from Deogire, and brought only back three thousand horse of all his great army, to Delhi. He in two months, however, made great preparations, and, with a more numerous

numerous army than the former, took the rout of Arinkil. He took in his way the city of Bedir, on the frontiers of Tilling, and other places, where he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital; renewed the siege, and in a short time, reduced it. Some thousands of the unfortunate Hindoos were massacred, and Lidderdeo, with his family, taken prisoners. Aligh Chan sent the prisoners, their treasure, elephants, and effects, to Delhi, under charge of Kuddie Chan and Chaja Hadgee. Upon their arrival great rejoicings were made in the new citadel, which the Sultan had built, by the name of Tughlickabad.

A. D. 1325.
Higer. 723.

Aligh Chan
returns to
Arnkil, and
takes it.

Aligh Chan having appointed trusty Omrahs to govern the country of Tilling, proceeded in person towards Jagenagur*. In that place he took forty elephants from the Raja, and sent them to his father. Returning then to Arinkil, he staid there a few days, and continued his march to Delhi.

Takes Jage-
nagur.

In the beginning of the year 724, complaints arrived from Lucknouti and Sonnargaum, of the great oppressions committed by the governors of those countries. The Sultan appointed Aligh Chan to the government of Delhi, and with a great army, marched towards Bengal. When he had reached Nahib, Sultan Nazir ul dien, the son of Sultan Balin, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, arrived in a respectful manner, from Lucknouti, with many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of Lucknouti, Sonnargaum, Koru, and Bengal, and honoured with royal dignities; and the Emperor prepared for his return.

The Sultan
marches to-
wards Ben-
gal.

When he was passing near the hills of Turhat, the Raja of those parts appearing in arms, he pursued him into the woods. Finding his army could no longer continue the pursuit, he alighted, and call-

Reduces
Turhat.

* Now Cattack in Orissa.

A. D. 1325.
Higer. 725.

ing for a hatchet, cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops upon seeing this, set to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them, till they arrived at a fort surrounded with seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The King immediately invested it, and began the siege, filled up the ditches, and broke down the wall in three weeks. He took the Raja, his family and wealth, and conferred the government of Turhat upon Ahmed Chan, and returned with his army towards Delhi.

Killed by
accident.

When the Emperor had reached Afghanpoor, he was met by Aligh Chan, with all the Omrahs of Delhi, to congratulate him upon his safe return. But his death was now approaching. His son had in that place raised a house in three days time, for his father's reception. The entertainment being over, the King was preparing to mount, and every body hastened out to be ready to accompany him. The roof of the building fell instantly in, and killed the Sultan, and five of his attendants, as he was rising to follow the Omrahs.

His death
ascribed to
various cau-
ses.

Some authors attribute this accident to the newness of the building, and the motion of the elephants that were preparing without. Others give it to design, with which they charge Aligh Chan, as the raising this unnecessary building seems indeed to indicate. But others ascribe it to lightning; so that the matter still remains in doubt. The death of Tuglich Shaw happened in the month of Ribbi ul awil, of the year 725, after a reign of four years and some months. Amir Chusero, who lived down to the end of this Sultan's reign, has favoured posterity with his history at large, by which it appears, that he was a great and virtuous prince.

SECTION XVII.

The Reign of Sultan MAHUMMUD the son of YEAS UL
DIEN TUGHLICK SHAW.

AFTER the King's funeral obsequies were performed, Aligh Chan ascended the throne, by the title of Mahummud Shaw, and proceeded from Tughlick Abad, to Delhi. The streets of that city were strowed with flowers, the houses adorned, the drums beating, and every demonstration of joy exhibited. The Sultan ordered some elephants, loaded with gold and silver, before and behind him, which was scattered among the populace.

A. D. 1324.
Higer. 725.
Aligh Chan,
by the name
of Mahum-
mud Shaw,
mounts the
throne.

Tatar Chan, whom the Sultan's father had adopted, and appointed to the government of Zifferabad, was now honoured with the title of Byram Chan, and presented with a hundred elephants, a crore of golden rupees, two thousand horse, and the government of Bengal. To Malleck Sinjer Buduchshi, Mahummud gave seventy lacks in silver. To Malleck ul Muluck, eighty lacks; and to Molana Azid his preceptor, forty lacks, all in one day. Molana Nazir ul dien Cumi, had an annual pension of one lack, and Malleck Ghizni the poet another to the same amount.

His genero-
fity.

His generosity, in short, was, like his wealth, without bounds, which no man could well account for, there being no great sum in the treasury upon his accession. It is therefore probable that he had concealed the riches of the Raja of Arkilla, from his father, and that his liberality was supplied from the wealth of the Decan, which circumstance strengthens our suspicion that he was accessory to his father's death. Some writers, notwithstanding this suspicion, make long panegyrics upon his virtues and accomplishments. He, it must

His learning.

A. D. 1326. be acknowledged, aimed at universal knowledge, was conversant in
H. ger. 727. all the literature of the times, and a patron of learned men, giving them profusely pensions, for a magnificent subsistence.

His religion, The Sultan was, at the same time, very strict with regard to public and private worship. He ordered prayers to be read in the mosques five times every day. He discouraged all intemperate pleasures, and set the example by his own rigid life. But it is to be suspected, and cruelty. that he acted the mean character of a hypocrite, for he was vindictive and inhuman, delighting in the blood of his subjects, and condemning them without distinction of right or wrong, to cruel and ignominious deaths.

The Moguls invade Hindostan. In the beginning of the reign of Mahummud, before the empire was properly settled, Tirim Siri Chan, chief of the tribe of Chighitta, a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindostan, in the year 727, with an innumerable army, with a view to make an entire conquest of it. Having subdued Limghan, Moulton, and the northern provinces, he advanced towards Delhi, with incredible expedition, and invested it. Sultan Mahummud, seeing he could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, began to sue for peace, sent an immense present in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, upon receiving almost the price of the empire, to return to his own country, taking Guzerat and Sind in his way, which he plundered of a world of wealth.

The Sultan's conquests. Sultan Mahummud turned his thoughts to war, and the regulation of his army. He subdued by different generals, many distant countries, such as Door, Summudir, Maber, Compila, Arinkil, Lucknouti, Sonnargaum, and Chittagaum, some of which provinces had revolted, and others had never been subjected by the arms of the Islamites. He soon after reduced the Carnatic to the extremities of

A. D. 1329.
Higer. 730.
Villainies in
the mint.

ments in copper, to the poor manufacturers, at the same time that they themselves received for their exports, silver and gold. There was much villainy also practised in the mint; for a premium to those who had the management of it, the merchants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value; and these abuses were overlooked by the government.

But the great source of the misfortunes consequent upon this debasement of the coin, was the known instability of government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindostan; for how could the people in the remote provinces, receive for money the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?

The Sultan
obliged to
call in the
copper mo-
ney.

From these evils general murmurs and confusions arose throughout the Empire. The Sultan, to ease the minds of the people, was obliged to call in his copper currency. But there had been such abuses in the mint, that after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This he was forced to strike off, and thousands were ruined. The Emperor himself was so far from winning by this indigested scheme, that he lost all he had in his treasury; and the bankers accumulated immense fortunes, on the ruin of their sovereign and the people.

The army not
being paid,
commit out-
rages.

Mahummud, by the advice of Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who, with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, raised a great army. The Mogul buoyed up the Emperor's mind with the facility of reducing both Iran and Turan; but before these mighty projects could be put in execution, he fell in arrears to his forces. They, finding they could not subsist without pay, dispersed themselves over the empire, and carried pillage, ruin, and death, to every quarter.

Th...

These misfortunes comprehended the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury being squandered by impolitic schemes and follies of various kinds, the King entered into a project to repair his finances, equally absurd with that by which they were principally ruined.

A. D. 1337.
Higer. 738.
The Sultan forms a scheme to fill his treasury.

Having heard of the great wealth of Chin*, Mahummud formed a resolution to subdue that kingdom; but to accomplish his design, it was first necessary to conquer the country of Himmatchil, which lies between the borders of Chin and Hindostan. He accordingly, in the year 738, ordered one hundred thousand horse, under the command of his sister's son Chusero Malleck, to subdue the mountainous country of Himmatchil, and fix garrisons as far as the frontiers of Chin. When this should be done, he proposed to advance in person with his whole force, to invade that empire.

The Sultan's scheme to conquer China.

The Omrahs and counsellors of state, went so far, as plainly to tell him, that the troops of Hindostan never yet could, and never would advance a step within the limits of that mighty empire, and that the whole was a visionary project. The Sultan insisted upon making the experiment, and accordingly this army was put in motion, and having entered the mountains; began to build small forts on the road, to secure a communication; proceeding in this manner to the boundaries of Chin, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. As their numbers were by this time greatly diminished, and much inferior to that of the enemy; the troops of Hindostan were struck with universal dismay, upon considering their distance from home, the rugged ways they had passed, and the rainy season which was now approaching; besides the scarcity of provisions, which now began to be severely felt. In this consternation they bent their march towards the foot of a mountain, where

The Omrahs endeavour to dissuade him from it.

The Sultan's army advance to the frontiers of China.

* China.

A. D. 1337. the savage inhabitants of the hills poured down upon them, and
Higer. 738. plundered their baggage, while the Chinese army lay in their front.

Their distress- In this dreadful situation they remained for seven days, suffering
ful situation. the extremities of famine without knowing how to proceed. At length such a heavy rain fell, that the cavalry were up to their bellies in water, which obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance. Chusero Malleck then determined to endeavour to make his retreat, but the low country was quite covered with water, and the mountains with impervious woods. Their misfortunes now came to a crisis. Having lost the road, they found themselves in such an unfortunate situation, that they could find no way out but that by which they entered, which was now possessed by the enemy.

They are de- This whole army in short, in the space of fifteen days, fell a prey to
stroyed to a famine, and a victim to false ambition; scarce a man coming back
man. to relate the particulars, except those who were left behind in the garrisons. A few of them escaped indeed the rage of the enemy, but could not escape the more fatal tyranny of their Emperor, who ordered them to be put to death, upon their return to Delhi.

Kirshasib re- Baha ul dien, the Sultan's nephew, an Omrah of great reputation,
bels in the known more generally by his original name Kirshasib, who possessed
Decan. a government in the Decan, called Saghir, began to turn his thoughts upon the empire, and gained over many of the Omrahs of the Decan to his party. By their influence and the great riches which he had accumulated, his power became very formidable. He then attacked some Omrahs who continued firm in their allegiance, obliging them to take refuge in the fort of Mindu.

The Sultan having intelligence of the revolt, commanded Chaja Jehan, with many other Omrahs and the whole power of Guzerat,

to

to chastise the rebel. When the imperial army arrived before Deogire, they found Kirshafib drawn up in order of battle to receive them: but, after a gallant contest, he was defeated. He fled towards Sajur; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Campala in the Carnatic, and took protection in the dominions of the Raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

A. D. 1338.
Higer. 739.

He is over-
thrown.
Flies to the
Carnatic.

The Sultan, in the mean time, took the field, and arrived soon after at Deogire. He sent from thence Chaja Jehan with a great force against the Raja of Campala, by whom the imperialists were twice defeated: but fresh reinforcements arriving from Deogire, Chaja Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and carried the victory. He took the Raja prisoner, but Kirshafib fled to the court of Bellaldeo, who fearing to draw the same misfortunes upon himself, seized upon him, and sent him bound to the general, and acknowledged his subjection to the empire. Chaja Jehan immediately dispatched the prisoner to court, where the Sultan ordered him to be flead, and shewn a horrid spectacle, all around the city; while the executioner proclaimed aloud, " Thus shall all traitors to their King perish."

His allies de-
feated.

He is taken
and flead
alive.

The Sultan was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Deogire, that, considering it more central than Delhi, he determined to make it his capital. But, upon proposing this affair in his council, the majority were of opinion, that Ugein was a more proper place for that purpose. The King, however, had previously formed his resolution. He therefore gave orders that the city of Delhi, which was then the envy of the world, should be rendered desolate, and that men, women, and children, with all their effects and cattle, should make a grand migration to Deogire. To add magnificence to the migration, he commanded trees to be tore up by the roots, and planted in regular rows along the road, to yield the emigrants a shade,

The Sultan
making Deo-
give his capi-
tal, calls it
Dowlatabad.

Destroys
Delhi.

A. D. 1338.
Higer. 739.

shade, and that all who had not money to defray their charges should be maintained at the public expence. He ordered that for the future Deogire should be called Dowlatabad; raised noble buildings, and dug a deep ditch round the walls, which he repaired and beautified. Upon the top of the hill upon which the citadel stood, he formed large reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. This change however greatly affected the empire, and distracted the minds of the people. But the Sultan's orders were strictly complied with, and the ancient capital left desolate.

The Sultan having effected this business, marched his army against the fort of Gundana, near Jinner. Nack-naig, who was chief of the Colies, opposed him with great bravery, but was forced to take refuge within his walls. As the place was built upon the summit of a steep mountain, inaccessible but by one narrow pass cut in the rock, the Sultan had no hopes of reducing it but by famine. He accordingly ordered it to be blockaded, and at the same time, made some ineffectual attacks, in which he was repulsed with great loss. The garrison becoming straitened for provisions, and having no hopes of the Sultan's retreat, delivered up the place at the expiration of eight months; and the Sultan returned to Dowlatabad.

Gundana
taken.

The viceroy
of Moulton
revolts.

He had not been long in his capital, when he heard that Malleck Ibah, the viceroy of Moulton, had rebelled, and was then reducing the country of Punjaab with a great army. The cause of the revolt was this: The Sultan having sent an order to all his Omrahs to send their families to Dowlatabad, the messenger who was dispatched to Moulton, presuming too much upon the King's authority, upon observing some delay, proceeded to impertinent threats. He one day told Byram Shaw's son in law, that he believed his father was meditating treason against the King. High words upon this arose between them, which in the end proceeded to blows; and the messenger

messenger had his head struck off, by one of Byram Ibah's servants. A. D. 1340.
Higer. 741.
Byram Ibah, knowing the vengeful disposition of the Sultan, was sensible that this disrespect to his authority, would never be forgiven, and resolved to seek refuge in arms.

The Sultan upon these advices, put his spears in motion, and hastened towards Moultan; and Byram Ibah, with an army numerous as the ants or locusts, prepared to dispute the field. Both armies at last met, and, eager for victory, engaged with great resolution; but after the dust of the field was laid with blood on both sides, misfortune darkened the standards of Byram Ibah, and his troops turning their backs upon glory, abandoned the field. The Sultan immediately gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants of Moultan; but Shech Rukun ul dien interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this horrible mandate. Byram Ibah was taken in the pursuit, and his head brought to the King, who returned towards Delhi. He is overthrown and slain.

At sight of their native country and city, all those who had been forced to Dowlatabad, began to desert the Sultan's army, and to disperse themselves in the woods. The Emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city; whether he invited them, and remained there for the space of two years. But then he again revolved in his mind, the scheme of making Dowlatabad his capital. He removed his family, obliging the Omrahs to do the same, and carried off the whole city a second time, to the Decan; leaving that noble metropolis a habitation for owls, and the wild beasts of the desert. The Sultan resides at Delhi two years.

About this time, the taxes were so heavily imposed, and exacted with such rigour and cruelty, by the officers of the revenue, that the whole extent of that fertile country, between the two rivers, Oppressions, and unheard-of cruelty of the Sultan.

A. D. 1341. Ganges and Jumna, were particularly oppressed. The farmers, Higer. 742. weary of their lives, in one day, set fire to their own houses, and retired to the woods, with their families and cattle. The tyrant having received intelligence of this circumstance, ordered a body of troops to massacre these unhappy people if they resisted, and if they should be taken, to put out their eyes. Many populous provinces were, by this inhuman decree, laid waste, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlatabad was also in great distraction; the people, without houses, without employment, were reduced to the utmost distress.

Instances of it. The tyrannies of the execrable Mahummud exceeded, in short, any thing we have met with in history, of which the following is a horrid instance. When he remained at Delhi, he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When they arrived in the territory of Birren, he plainly told them, that he came not to hunt beasts but men; and without any obvious reason, began a general massacre of the wretched inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hang them over the city walls. He, upon another occasion, made an excursion of the same nature towards Kinnoge, and massacred all the inhabitants of that city, and the adjacent country for many miles, spreading terror and desolation wherever he turned his face.

A rebellion in Bengal. But to return to the chain of history: During this time, Malleck Fuchir ul dien, after the death of Byram Chan, rebelled in Lucknouti, having slain Kudder Chan, and possessed himself of the three provinces of Bengal *. The Sultan, at the same time, received advices, that Seid Hassen had rebelled in Maber. He ordered Ibrahim the son of Seid Hassen, and all his family, to prison; then marched in the year 742, from the sacking of Kinnoge, towards

* Bengal, at this time, was divided into three governments: *unmoudi M. 211.*

Maber. When he had reached Dowlatabad, he laid a heavy tax upon that city and the neighbouring provinces, which awakened the people into rebellion; but his numerous army soon reduced all the unhappy insurgents to their former slavery. From that place the Sultan sent back a part of his army and Chaja Jehan to Delhi, while he himself marched with another force towards Maber, by the way of Tilling.

A. D. 1342.
Higer. 713.

When Mahummud arrived before Arinkil, there happened to be a plague in that city, by which he lost a great part of his army. He himself had a violent struggle for his own life, and was obliged to leave Amad ul Malleck to command the army, and return towards Dowlatabad. On the way he was seized with a violent tooth-ach, and lost one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried with much ceremony at Beir, and a magnificent tomb to be reared over it, which still remains a monument of human vanity and folly. Having arrived at Patan he found himself better, and halted to take medicines for some days. In this place he gave to Shahab Sultani, the title of Naserit Chan, and the government of Bidder, with its dependencies, which yielded annually, a revenue of one crore of rupees. He, at the same time, conferred the government of Dowlatabad and Marhat upon Cuttilich Chan his preceptor.

The Sultan buries, with great solemnity, one of his teeth.

He proceeded from Patan in his palankie to Delhi, having heard of some disturbance among the Patans. He, at this period, gave leave to such of the inhabitants of Dowlatabad as were willing to return to Delhi, to follow him. Many thousands returned, but they had almost perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malava and Chinderi. When they came to Delhi, they found that the famine raged with redoubled violence in that city, in so much that very few could procure the necessaries of life. Mahummud, for once, seemed affected with human miseries.

He returns to Delhi.

The misery of the inhabitants.

A. D. 1340.
Higer. 743.

He even for some time entirely changed his disposition, and took great pains to encourage husbandry, commerce, and all kinds of industry. He opened the treasury, and divided large sums to the inhabitants for these purposes. But as the people were really in great distress, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and many of them were severely punished upon that account.

Rebellion of
the Afgans,

quelled.

Shahoo, a chief of the Afgans, about this time, commenced hostilities to the northward, pouring down like a torrent upon Moultan which he laid waste, and killed Begad the Sultan's viceroy, in battle; and put his army to flight. The Sultan having prepared an army at Delhi, moved towards Moultan, but Shahoo, upon the king's approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afganistan. The Sultan perceiving that it was idle to pursue him, returned to Delhi.

Dreadful fa-
mine at Delhi.

The famine continued still to rage in the city so dreadfully, that men eat one another. He ordered, in this distress, another distribution of money towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands, but the people weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress, while the drought continued, and rendered their labour vain. At the same time, the tribes of Mindahir, Chohan, Miana, Batti, and others who inhabited the country about Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled into the woods. The Sultan marched forthwith against them with his army, and massacred some thousands of these poor slaves.

The Gickers
invade Pun-
jaab.

In the year 743, Malleck Chunder, chief of the Gickers, invaded Punjâb, and killed Malleck Tatar the viceroy of Lahore in action. Chaja Jehan, upon this, was sent against him. The Sultan, in the mean time, began to entertain a ridiculous notion, that all the misfortunes

of

of his reign, proceeded from his not having been confirmed in the empire, by the Caliph of Mecca. He therefore dispatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia, and struck the Caliph's name in the place of his own, on all the current coin, and prohibited all public worship in the mosques, till the Caliph's confirmation should arrive. In the year 744, Hadgee Seid Sirfirri returned with the ambassador, and brought the Caliph's confirmation, and a royal dress. He was met without the city by the King in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, putting the Caliph's phirman upon his head, and opening it with great solemnity. Returning into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be celebrated, and public service to be read in all the mosques, striking out every King's name from the Chutba, who had not been confirmed from Mecca. Among the number of those degraded monarchs, was the Sultan's own father. He even carried this whim so far as to write the Caliph's name upon his houses, robes, and furniture. These, and some other ridiculous actions of the life of Mahummud, may reasonably make us suspect the soundness of his head. The Arabian ambassador, after being royally entertained, was dismissed with a letter to his master, full of respect, and with presents of immense value, and accompanied by Malleck Kabire, chief of the life guards.

A. D. 1343.
Higer. 744.
An embassy
sent to Mecca.

Ridiculous
behaviour of
the Sultan.

This year Kinfanaig, the son of Liddeldeo, who lived near Arinkil, went privately to Bellaldeo, the Raja of the Carnatic, and told him, "That he had heard the Mahommedans, who were now very numerous in the Decan, had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos; that it was therefore adviseable to prevent them in time." What truth there might be in this report we know not, but Bellaldeo acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He called a council of his nobles, in which it was resolved, that Bellaldeo should first secure his own country, by fixing his capital in a pass among the mountains, to exclude the followers of Mahommed from

Schemes for a
revolt, form-
ed in the De-
can.

all

A. D. 1344.
Higer. 745.

all those kingdoms. Kifnanaig in the mean time promised, when matters should be ripe, to raise all the Hindoos of Arinkil and Tilling to his assistance.

The Decan
lost to the
empire.

The Raja accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it Bigen, from the name of his son, to which the word Nagur or city is now added. He then began to raise an army, and sent part of it under the command of Kifnanaig, who reduced Arinkil, and drove Malleck Amad ul Muluck, the Sultan's viceroy, to Dowlatabad. Bellaldeo, and Kifnanaig, having joined their forces with the Raja of Maber and Doorsummund, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic, they seized upon those countries, and drove the Mahommedans before them on all sides. In short, within a few months, the Sultan had no possessions in the Decan, except Dowlatabad.

The Sultan's
tyranny, and
distractions in
the empire.

The tyrannical Mahummud, upon receiving intelligence of those misfortunes, grew vengeful, spleenitic, and cruel, wreaking his rage upon his unhappy subjects, without crime, provocation, or distinction. This conduct occasioned rebellion, robbery, and confusion, in all parts of the empire. The famine became daily more and more dreadful, insomuch that the Sultan, not able to procure provisions, even for his household, was obliged to abandon the city, and to open the gates, and permit the starved inhabitants, whom he had before confined, to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from the Empire. The Sultan encamped his army near Cumpula, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oud and Kurrah. He ordered his people to build houses, which at length became a city under the name of Surgdewarie.

Insurrections
quashed.

In the year 745, Nizam Bain, a Zemindar, possessed of some lands in the province of Oud, and a fellow of an infamous character,

collected a mob of the discontented farmers, and assumed the royal umbrella, with the title of Alla ul dien. But before the Sultan marched against him, Ain ul Muluck, Suba of Oud, raised his forces, and defeating him, sent his head to the King. Nuzerit Chan in the same year, who had taken the whole province of Bidder, at one crore of rupees, finding himself unable to make good that contract, rebelled; but Cuttulich Chan being ordered against him from Dowlatabad, expelled him from that government.

A. D. 1345.
Higer. 746.

During this period, Ali Shaw, who was sent from Dowlatabad to collect the rents of Kilbirgah, finding that country destitute of troops, assembled his friends, raised an army with the collections, and in the year 746, erected his rebellious standards, and took possession of Kilbirgah and Bidder. The Sultan, on this occasion, sent a reinforcement to Cuttulich Chan to suppress him. Cuttulich Chan arriving on the confines of Bidder, Ali Shaw came out and gave him battle; but being defeated, he shut himself up in the city. He was however soon obliged to capitulate, and was sent prisoner to the King, who banished him and his brother to Ghizni.

Rebellion at
Kilbirgah
quashed.

Ain ul Muluck having paid great attention to the King, and entirely gained his favour, was appointed to the viceroyship of Dowlatabad and Arinkil, in the room of Cuttulich Chan. But Ain ul Muluck himself looked upon this appointment as an impolitic step in the King, considering the services Cuttulich Chan had done to his affairs in the Decan, and the power he then enjoyed. And therefore thought it a snare laid to draw him quietly from his own Subaship, and then to deprive him of both. In the mean time a number of the clerks of the revenues being convicted of abuses in their office, were ordered to be put to death. Some of those who survived found means to escape to Ain ul Muluck, and endeavoured to confirm him in his former opinion of the King's intentions.

Ain ul Mu-
luck medi-
tates a rebel-
lion.

He

A. D. 1345.
Higer. 746.
Takes arms.

He accordingly disobeyed the King's order, and erected the standard of rebellion, sending a detachment of horse under the command of his brother, who, before the Sultan received any intelligence of his designs, carried off all the elephants, camels, and horses, that were grazing or foraging near the royal camp. The Sultan, in great perplexity, called the troops of Kole, Birren, Amrohe, Saman, and other districts adjacent, to his assistance; while Chaja Jehan joined him, with an army from Delhi. The Sultan moved his standards, for Ain ul Muluck and his brothers had now crossed the Ganges, and were advancing towards him, in great hopes that the Sultan's army, tired and disgusted with his tyrannical behaviour, would join them.

The Sultan
engages and
overthrows
him.

The Sultan, enraged at their presumption, mounted his horse, and, engaging them, after a short conflict, put them to flight. Ain ul Muluck was taken prisoner, and his brother Shoralla drowned in the Ganges, as he was swimming across, having been wounded in the action, while another brother was slain in the field. The Sultan was so prejudiced in favour of Ain ul Muluck, that he pardoned him, and restored him to his former dignities, saying, that he was certain that Muluck was a loyal subject, though he had been instigated to this rebellion by the malice and falsehood of others.

Pardons him.

The Sultan
returns to
Delhi.

The Sultan marched from thence to Barage, to pay his devotions at the tomb of Sallar Mufaood, one of the family of Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi, who had been killed there by the Hindoos in the year 557. He distributed great sums among the Fakiers, who resided at Barage, and then returned to Delhi. Another ambassador arrived at that time from the Caliph, and was received with the same distinguishing marks of respect as the former, and dismissed with rich presents. Not long after, a prince of the house of Abassi, arrived at Delhi, and was met by the Sultan, at the village of Palum, and he presented him with two lacks of rupees, a large tract of territory, a
palace

palace and fine gardens. By way of respect to the Caliphate, he placed him upon his right hand, and even sometimes ridiculously condescended to sit down upon the carpet before him, and pay him obeisance.

A. D. 1346.
Higer. 747.

Some of the courtiers calumniated Cuttulich Chan, governor of the Decan, accusing him of oppressions and other abuses in his government, though a man of justice and integrity. The King recalled Cuttulich Chan to Delhi, ordering his brother Molana Nizam ul dien, to whom he gave the title of Alim ul Malleck, and placed at Burudge, to take charge of what remained to the empire of the Decan, till he should send some person from court. When the King's order arrived, Cuttulich Chan was digging a great pond or reservoir, which he begged his brother to compleat, and prepared to return to Delhi, with all the revenues of the Decan, which he had previously secured in a fort called Daragire, upon a mountain close to the city.

Cuttulich
Chan recalled
from the
Decan.

The Sultan, after the arrival of Cuttulich Chan, appointed four governors for the Decan, having divided it into four provinces, and determined to reduce it as before, to his obedience. To accomplish his purpose, he ordered a numerous army, under the command of Amad ul Malleck, an Omrah of great reputation, to march to Dow-latabad, and entered into articles with him, that he and the other chiefs should pay into the treasury seven crores of rupees annually for their governments. To make up this sum, and to gratify their own avarice, they plundered and oppressed that unfortunate country. At the same time the Sultan conferred the government of Malava upon Aziz, a mean fellow formerly a vintner, and told him, that the Amirs of Sidda* were dangerous persons in that country, therefore to endeavour to extirpate them.

The Sultan
determines to
reconquer
the Decan.

* Mogul captains, who entered into his service with Amir Norose.

A. D. 1346.
Higer. 747.
Encourages
husbandry.

The Sultan then marched back to his old cantonments at Surgde-warie, and began to encourage cultivation, upon a new plan which he himself had invented. He appointed an inspector, for the regulation of all that related to husbandry, by the name of Amir Kohi, who divided the country into districts of 60 miles square, under a Shickdar, who was to be answerable for its cultivation and improvement. Above one hundred Shickdars received their appointments at once, and seventy lacks of rupees were issued out of the treasury, to enable them to carry on this work.

A cruel massacre at Bedar.

Aziz Chumar, when he arrived at Bedar, invited the Amirs of Sidda, to an entertainment, and assassinated eighty of them, with their attendants. He wrote to the Sultan an account of this horrible massacre, who sent him back a present of a dress and a fine horse, for his loyal services. Such were the morals of those wretched days! The tyrannical Mahummud had now taken it into his head, that he would be better served by people of low birth, than by the nobility. He accordingly promoted Litchena a finger, Pira a gardener, Munga his son, Shech Baboo a weaver, Muckbil a slave, and other low fellows, to the degree of Omrahs, and gave them the command of provinces and high offices at court. He in this, forgot the advice of the poet, who writes, that "He who exalts the head of a beggar, and hopes great things from his gratitude, inverts the nature of things, and nourishes a serpent in his bosom." This resolution of the tyrant, was occasioned by a noble refusal of the Omrahs, to put his cruel orders in execution.

The Sultan promotes men of low birth.

Disturbances in Guzerat.

In the mean time, Malleck Muckbil, entitled Chan Jehani, vizier of Guzerat, with the treasure, and the Sultan's horses, set out for Delhi. The Siddas of those parts, hearing of his intentions, way-laid him with a body of horse, and, having robbed him, retired to Narwalla. The Sultan hearing of this robbery, in a great rage prepared

pared

7.

pared for Guzerat, leaving Malleck Firofe his nephew, governor at Delhi, and, in the year 748, marched to Sultanpoor, about 30 miles without the city, where he waited for some reinforcements. An address came from Aziz Chumar, begging leave to go against the Siddas, being nearer, and having a sufficient force, as he imagined, for that purpose. The Sultan consented to his request, at the same time expressing much doubt of his success, knowing him to be a dastardly and unexperienced officer. Aziz Chumar advanced towards the rebels; but in the beginning of the action, he was struck powerless with terror, and fell headlong from his horse. He was taken, and suffered a cruel death; his army being defeated with some loss.

A. D. 1547.
Higer. 743.

Cowardice,
defeat, and
death of Aziz
Chumar.

The Sultan being informed of this disaster, marched from Sultanpoor. It was on this march that Mahummud is said to have asked Zeai Birni the poet, what crimes a King ought to punish with severity? The poet replied, that seven sorts of criminals deserved severe punishments; these were, apostates from their religion, shedders of innocent blood, double adulterers, rebellious persons, officers disobeying lawful orders, thieves and perverters of the laws. When he had reached the hills of Abu, upon the confines of Guzerat, he sent one of his principal Omrahs, Chan Jehan, against the rebels, who met them in the districts of Bai, and gave them a total defeat. The Sultan having halted at Baruge, sent Malleck Muckbil after them, who coming up with them as they were crossing the Nirbuda, put the greatest part to the sword. The few who escaped, taking protection with Madeo, Raja of Buckelana, were all plundered of their wealth.

Zeai Birni's
reply to the
Sultan.

The rebels
totally de-
feated.

The Sultan, upon this occasion, massacred many of the Siddas of Baruge, and plundered Cambait and Guzerat of every thing valuable, putting all who opposed him to the sword. He then sent Zein Dund Mugid ul dien to Dowlatabad, that he might seize

The Sultan's
cruelty in
Cambait and
Guzerat.

A. D. 1347.
Higer. 748.

upon all the Siddas of those parts, to bring them to punishment. Alim ul Malleck, according to orders, summoned the Siddas from Rajjor, Mudkil, Kilbirgah, Bidder, Bijapoor, Genjouti, Ruibaug, Kollchir, Hukeri, Berar, Ramgire, and other places. The Siddas, conformable to those orders, prepared for Dowlatabad, and when they were all collected, Alim ul Muluck dispatched them under a guard of fifteen hundred horse, to the royal presence.

The impri-
soned Siddas
forming a
conspiracy;

surprize and
take Dowlatabad.

When the Siddas were arrived upon the frontiers of Guzerat, fearing that the Sultan had a design upon their lives, they entered into a conspiracy for their own security. They, with one accord, fell upon their guard, slew Ahmed Latchin their chief, with many of his people, while the rest, under the command of Malleck Ali, fled to Dowlatabad. The Siddas pursued them, and, before any advices could arrive to put the place in a posture of defence, they took it by assault, being favoured by the troops within, who became seditious. Alim ul Muluck, with whose behaviour they were satisfied, was spared, but all the rest of the Emperor's officers were put to death, and the treasure divided among the conspirators.

Proclaim
Ismael Mu-
che King.

Sultan Ma-
hammad
marches
against him.

A drawn bat-
tle.

The Siddas of Guzerat, and other parts, who were skulking about in the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren, joined them. Ismaiel Muche, one of the Amirs of their faction, was proclaimed King, by the name of Nasir ul dien. Sultan Mahammud hearing of this revolution at Dowlatabad, left Baruge, and hastened towards that city. The usurper having drawn out his army, waited to give battle to the King. The two armies accordingly met, and the Siddas, though greatly inferior in number, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the imperial troops with such violence, that the right and left wings were beat back, and the whole army upon the point of flight. But many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, four thousand of the Siddas fled; and night

coming

coming on, left the victory undecided, so that both armies lay on the field of battle. A. D. 1347. Higer. 748.

A council of war being in the mean time called by the Siddas, who had suffered greatly in the engagement, it was determined that Ismaeil Muche should retire into Dowlatabad, with a good garrison, and that the remainder should shift for themselves, till the Sultan should leave the Decan; when they resolved to assemble again at Dowlatabad. This wretched conduct was accordingly pursued. The Sultan ordered Amad ul Muluck, who was then at Elichpoor, to pursue the fugitives, while he himself laid siege to the city. The impolitic conduct of the Siddas.

In the mean time advices arrived, that Malleck Tiggi, the slave of Suffder ul Muluck, heading the Siddas of Guzerat, was joined by many of the Zemindars, by which means he had taken Narwalla, and put Malleck Muziffer, the Naib of Guzerat, to death; imprisoned Shech Moaz ul dien the viceroy, and was now marching to lay waste Cambait, having in his rout blockaded Baruge. An insurrection in Guzerat.

The Sultan upon this, left Kawman ul dien to carry on the siege of Dowlatabad, and with the greater part of his army, marched with great expedition to Guzerat. He was plundered in his way of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Hindoos: he lost also a great many men in defending himself. The Sultan having arrived at Baruge, Tiggi retreated to Cambait, and was pursued by Malleck Eufiph Buckera, whom the Sultan had detached after him. Tiggi having engaged the pursuers at Cambait, turned the chace upon them, killed Eufiph Buckera and many other Omrahs, while the rest retreated to the Sultan. The rebel ordered all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those whom he had formerly in confinement, to be put to death; among the latter was Moaz ul dien, viceroy of Guzerat. The Sultan marches against the insurgents. Part of his army defeated.

Mahummud,

A. D. 1347.
Higer. 748.
The Sultan
pursues,

and over-
throws the
rebels.

Mahummud, hearing of this cruelty, breathed revenge. He hastened to Cambait, and Tiggi, unable to oppose him, retreated to Assawil, but was closely pursued thither by the Sultan. The rebel continued his flight to Narwalla, and in the mean time, the Sultan, on account of a prodigious rain, was obliged to halt at Assawil a whole month. Advices were brought him at Assawil, that Tiggi, having recruited his army at Narwalla, was returning to give him battle. The Sultan immediately struck his tents and met the rebel at Kurri. Tiggi, having injudiciously ordered his men to intoxicate themselves with strong liquors, they attacked the Sultan with the fury of madmen; but the elephants in front, soon repressed this borrowed valour, and repulsed and threw into confusion the rebels. An easy conquest was obtained: five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death; and an equal number fell in the field. The Sultan immediately detached the Son of Eusiph Buckera in pursuit of the runaways, by the way of Tatta, whither Tiggi had fled; while the King went in person to Narwalla, and employed himself in settling Guzerat.

A rebellion
in the De-
can.

News, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, that the Siddas had assembled again under Hassen Cacu, had defeated Amad ul Malleck, who had fallen in the action, and had driven all the imperial troops towards Malava: That Ismaiel Muche had resigned his regal dignity, which Hassen Cacu had assumed, under the title of Sultan Alla ul dien. Mahummud was excessively chagrined, upon receiving this intelligence, and began to consider his own tyranny as the cause of all those disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness and humanity for the future. He called Malleck Firose, Chaja Jehan, Amir Kiah, Malleck Ghizni, and Sidder Jehan from Delhi with their troops, in order to dispatch them against Cacu.

Before

Before those Omrahs arrived, the King was informed that the usurper's army was prodigiously encreased. He therefore determined first, to settle Guzerat and Carnal *, and then to march in person to the Decan; but this business was not so soon accomplished, as he at first imagined; for he spent a whole year in regulating Guzerat, and in recruiting his army. The next year was also spent in besieging the fort of Carnal, reducing Cutch, and the adjacent territories. Some authors affirm, that Mahummud took the fort of Carnal; but others, of better authority, say, that he desisted from that attempt, upon receiving some presents from the Raja.

A. D. 1349.
Higer. 750.
The Sultan
resolves to
march in per-
son against
the rebels.

Zeai Birni informs us, that the Sultan, one day, about this time, told him, that the diseases of the empire were of such a malignant nature, that he had no sooner cured them in one place, than they broke out in another. He would therefore be glad to know what remedy now remained, to put a stop to this contagion.

Asks advice
of Zeai Birni,
the poet,

The poet replied, that when disaffection and disgust had once taken root in the minds of the people, they were not to be exterminated, without tearing up the vitals of the state: that the Sultan ought to be, by this time, convinced, how little was to be hoped from punishment. That it was therefore his opinion, in this case, that the King ought to invest his son with the government, and retire; which would obliterate all former injuries, and dispose the people to peace and tranquillity. The Sultan, says Birni, answered in an angry tone, "That he had no son whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their insolence, whatever might be the event."

who advises
him to resign
the crown to
his son.

He rejects the
advice.

The Sultan, soon after this conversation with Zeai Birni, fell sick at Kondal. He had previously sent Chaja Jehan and Amad ul Mulk to Delhi, on account of the death of Malleck Kabire, the viceroy,

Falls sick,

* Now Joinagur.

A. D. 1751.
Higer. 752.

Recovers and
marches to-
wards Tatta.

Dies.

His execrable
character.

viceroy, and called most of the principal men of the empire, to the royal camp. Having recovered a little from his disorder, he mustered his army, and sent to collect boats at Debalpoor, Moultan, Ouch and Sewistan, which he ordered towards Tatta. Marching then from Kondal, he arrived on the banks of the river, which he crossed in spite of Tiggi; and was on the other side joined by five thousand Mogul horse. From thence he took the rout of Tatta, to chastise the Sumrahs, for giving the rebel protection. Arriving within thirty crores of that city, he halted to pass the first days of the Mohirrim; and when that fast was over, having eat fish to excess, he was seized with a fever. He would not however be prevailed upon to stop, but, getting into a barge, he proceeded to within fourteen crores of Tatta, and upon the banks of the Sind, on the twenty first of Mohirrim, in the year 752, this tyrant was conquered by death, and shut up in the dark dungeon of the grave. He reigned twenty seven years; during which time, he seems to have laboured with no contemptible abilities, to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men.

SECTION XVIII.

The Reign of Sultan Moazim Mohizzib FIROSE SHAW,
the son of Sallar Rigib.

Firose Shaw.

FIROSE Shaw was nephew to the Emperor Yeaz ul dien Tughlick Shaw; and the late Sultan Mahummud, having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and for that purpose, recommended him upon his death-bed, to the Omrahs. Upon Mahummud's demise the army fell into the utmost confusion.

confusion. Firose Shaw having gained over the majority of the Omrahs to his party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp, to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience.

A. D. 1351.
Higer. 732.

Amir Norose, an Omrah who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu Chan, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that now was the time to plunder the late Emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu Chan was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in very great confusion, and after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Firose Shaw, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries.

Designs of the
Mogul mer-
cenaries.

The Omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Firose Shaw, and intreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favoured the Omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed Sultan.

Firose Shaw
mounts the
throne.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who, during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta: and upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country.

Defeats the
Mogul mer-
cenaries.

The Sultan, soon after, directed his march to the fort of Bicker, and gladdened the face of the court with princely presents, and gave

A. D. 1351.
Higer. 752.
His liberality,

benevolence,
and charity.

very liberally to the Zemindars of Bicker and Sewistan. He from thence sent Amad ul Muluck and Amir Ali Ghorî against Tiggi, with a part of his army, and marched himself towards Outch, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity.

Chaja Jehan
sets up, at
Delhi, his
own adopted
son.

At Outch the Emperor received advices from Delhi, that Chaja Jehan, a relation of the late Sultan, now about ninety years of age, had placed upon the throne, a boy whom he had adopted, by the name of Sultan Yeas ul dien Mahummud, and had massacred a number of the citizens who had refused to pay him allegiance.

The Sultan
sends to ex-
postulate with
him.

Firose Shaw sent Seif ul dien Shanapil, to expostulate with the old man, who, he thought, was now in the dotage of years, with promises of forgiveness and favour, if he would relinquish his ridiculous scheme. The Emperor himself in the mean time remained with the army, to regulate the territory of Outch. He was soon after joined by Malleck Muckbul Amud ul Muluck vizier of the empire, who received a Chelat and a confirmation of his former dignity.

Chaja Jehan
sends an em-
bassy to the
Sultan,

Firose Shaw having reached Hassi on his way to Delhi, met an ambassador from Chaja Jehan, acquainting him, that now the empire was in the hands of Sultan Mahummud's family, and therefore, that it would be no more than justice in him, to acknowledge the title of the young King, and act as Regent, during the minority. The Sultan immediately convened the Omrahs before the ambassador, and asked them whether they knew any of the male issue of Mahummud. They all declared, that unless Malana Cumal ul dien, an Omrah then present, knew of any, they were perfectly strangers to any surviving issue of Mahummud. Molana made answer, that though one should remain of the issue of the former Sultan, it was now ad-

viseable

viseable to stand by what was already done. We have reason to believe from this circumstance, that the youth who was set up at Delhi, was actually a son of Sultan Mahummud, though it was, at that time, prudent in the Omrahs not to acknowledge him.

The Emperor, after the council, sent Daood Molana Zada the ambassador back to acquaint Chaja Jehan of what had passed, and to advise him to accommodate matters in an amicable way. When Daood arrived in the city, a number of the principal men in the place hastened to the camp of Firose Shaw, and made their submission. Much about the same time, advices were received from Guzerat, that Mahummud Tiggi was defeated by Amud ul Muluck: and that very day, a son was born to the Emperor, whom he named Fatte Chan. These fortunate circumstances concurred to strengthen the Sultan's interest.

Chaja Jehan, perceiving that he could not support the young King, made overtures towards an accommodation, to Firose Shaw. He sent some respectable Omrahs to intercede with the Sultan for his pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects in person. The Sultan consented, and accordingly the old man, with his head bare, and his turban hung round his neck, came, accompanied by some of the principal men of his party, to make his submission. The King, according to his promise, gave him his life, but ordered the Cutwal of Hassen to take him under his care, which was a kind of imprisonment. Malleck Chattab, one of Chaja Jehan's associates, was banished to Karkinda, and Sheck Zadda Gustami expelled the court.

Upon the second day of Regib, in the year 752, Firose Shaw marched into Delhi, and mounted the imperial throne. He immediately

A. D. 1351.
Higer. 752.

who desires to
accommodate
matters ami-
cably.

Chaja Jehan
submits.

Firose Shaw
arrives at
Delhi.

A. D. 1352. diately began to administer impartial justice to his people, who
Higer. 753. flocked from all quarters, with their petitions. He, in the mean
time, conferred offices and titles upon his Omrahs.

Hunts at
Sirmore.

Upon the fifth of Siffer, in the following year, he, in order to
hunt, removed his court towards the hills of Sirmore, and reduced
several Zemindars to obedience. He, in the mean time, had a son
born to him at Delhi, whom he named Mahummud Chan, and or-
dered great rejoicings to be made upon the occasion; distributing
his favours with a liberal hand.

Builds a
palace.

In the year 754, the Sultan hunted at Callanore. He ordered,
upon his return, a palace to be built upon the banks of the Surfuti;
and towards the end of the year, appointed Chan Jehan to the vice-
royship of Delhi. He himself, in the mean time, marched towards
Lucknouti, to subdue Elias Hadgee, who had assumed the title of
Sultan Shumse ul dien, and possessed himself of all Bengal and Behar,
even to Benaris. When he had arrived in the neighbourhood of
Gorukpoor, the Zemindars of that place, Odeysing and Rai Capoor,
having brought proper presents, were admitted to his presence.

Rebellion in
Bengal.

The Sultan having penetrated as far as Punduah, one of the resi-
dences of the princes of Bengal, Elias Hadgee retreated to a strong
post at Ackdalla, whither the Sultan pursued him. An action en-
sued, but Elias Hadgee secured himself in his post, which obliged
the Sultan to surround him, the place being almost inaccessible.

The Sultan
having in
vain tried to
force the re-
bels to battle,

Things having continued in this situation for twenty days, Firose
Shaw, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks
of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy imagining that
he meditated a retreat, advanced out of their post, and drew up in
order of battle. But when they saw that the Sultan was preparing
to attack them, they again retreated within their works, but with

such

such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants, and many standards, fell into the Sultan's hands. The rainy season coming on with great violence, a kind of peace was patched up between them, and the Sultan returned disappointed to Delhi.

A. D. 1253.
Higer. 754.

In the year 755, the Sultan built the city of Firoseabad, adjoining to that of Delhi; and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal 100 miles in length, from the Suttuluz to the Jidger. The King, in the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, cut a channel from the Gion or Jumna, which he divided into seven streams; one of which he brought to Haffi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew soon after, a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sirfutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kerah, upon which he built a city, named after him, Firoseabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Gion or Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage, from place to place.

Firose Shaw
employs him-
self in public
works.

An embassy about this time arrived, with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which the Sultan accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty. Bengal became in a great measure independent of the empire, paying only a small acknowledgment annually, by way of present. He exacted no other terms of the Decan; so that these two great members were now lopt off from the government of Delhi.

Bengal and
the Decan
become inde-
pendant.

In the year 759, the Sultan of Bengal sent a number of elephants and other rich presents, to Delhi, which was amply repaid in Arabian and Persian horses, jewels, and other rich curiosities. But when

the

A. D. 1357.
Higer, 753.

Invasions of
the Moguls.

the imperial embassy arrived at Behar, they received news of Shumse ul dien's death, and that his son Ascunder Chan had acceded to the throne. They thought proper not to proceed further, and returned to Delhi. The Sultan, being in the same year encamped at Semana, received advices that the Moguls had made an incursion as far as Debalpoor. He forthwith ordered Malleck Kabool, with a great army, against them; but the Moguls, before his arrival, had laden themselves with spoil, and had retreated towards their own country.

The Sultan
invades Ben-
gal.

Notwithstanding of the treaty of 757, the Sultan, in the year 760, resolved upon another expedition into Bengal. Having arrived at Zifferabad, he cantoned there his army, during the rains. When he lay at this place, Shech Zadda Bustami, who had been banished, returned ambassador from the Caliph of Misser, with a chelat; for which he was graciously received, and dignified with the title of Azim ul Muluck. An embassy having been, in the mean time, dispatched to Ascunder Chan, Sultan of Bengal, returned with another on his part, and with rich presents. The King not being satisfied with these concessions, marched, after the rains were over, towards Lucknouti, and on his way conferred the ensigns of royalty upon the Prince Fatte Chan his son. He gave him masters for his instruction, to whom the royal youth gave great attention.

A peace with
Ascunder,
Sultan of
Bengal.

The Sultan having arrived at Pundwah, Ascunder, after the example of his father, retreated to Ackdalla, and shut himself up in that place. Being however closely invested, and reduced to great straits, he sent 48 elephants, and other presents, to the Sultan, with overtures of peace. In a few days the terms were agreed upon, and the Sultan marched to Jionpoor, where he cantoned his army for another season, and then moved down behind the mountains, towards Jagenagur:

Firose

Firose Shaw having crossed the river Mendri, arrived at the capital of the Raja of Jagenagur, which was also called Benaris. The Raja, upon the Emperor's approach, fled towards Tilling. Having plundered the country, Firose Shaw returned, and, upon his way, was met by the Raja of Beerbhan, who presented him with 37 elephants, and other valuable presents, upon consideration of not ravaging the country. The Sultan having received the presents, changed his rout, and, as he passed through the woods of Puddmawitti, which abounded with elephants, he caught 33 of them, and killed a few in the chase. He then continued his march, and arrived at Delhi, in the year 762.

A. D. 1358.
Higer. 760.
Firose Shaw
ravages Jage-
nagur.

Firose Shaw, who had much at heart the improvement of his country, was informed, that near Hirdar there was a mountain from which there issued a great stream of water, which fell into the Suttuluz; and that beyond that place there was a small rivulet called Selima, divided only by a rising ground, from the large stream which we have just mentioned. The Sultan considered, that by making a cut through this eminence, the great stream might be carried into the rivulet, and so form a river to water the countries of Sirhind and Munfurpoor, from whence it might be carried to Sunnam, and so render great tracts of land fertile. He therefore marched immediately that way, and ordered fifty thousand labourers to be collected together to cut the passage. When the workmen were in this place employed in digging to great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and in another, those of a gigantic human form, the arm bones of which measured guzes. Some of the bones were in their natural state, and others petrified.

Scheme for
improving
the lands of
Sirhind.

The Sultan having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Firosepoor. He from that place marched towards the mountains of Nagracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail

Firose Shaw
reduces Na-
gracut.

A. D. 1362.
HIST. 502.

hail and snow. He however reduced the Raja of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions; changing the name of Nagracut, to that of Mahummud abad, in honour of the former Sultan. Firose Shaw was told here, that the Goddess, whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagracut, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Secunder, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamuckie. In the temple there was also at that time, a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes.

The Sultan ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the Persian language, and called it Dellael Firose Shawi *. The Sultan, after the conquest of Nagracut, moved down by Sind towards Tatta, where Jambani, who had been always a subject of Delhi, had rebelled and fortified himself. The Sultan invested the city; but as provisions and forage became excessively scarce, and the rains had set in with great violence, he was obliged to raise the siege, and march to Guzerat. He there spent the season in hunting, and after the rains, he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer Chan, and returned again to Tatta. Jambani capitulated, and delivered himself up to the Sultan, who carried him, and the principals of his faction, to Delhi; but after some time, he took him again into favour, and sent him to resume his former government.

which he reduces.

* Dellael Firose Shawi signifies the arguments of Firose Shaw. Some authors relate, that the image now worshipped at Nagracut, is not that of Noshaba, which, say they, Firose Shaw sent to Mecca, where it was buried before the door of the great mosque. It is not improbable, but Alexander, who penetrated to the Indies, might have left an image of one of the Grecian Goddesses, upon the frontiers of his conquests. The Brahmins might have, with less absurdity, converted this foreign Goddess into one of their own growth, than those holy persons at Rome, who have changed the statue of Jupiter Tonans into one of St. Peter; disgracing with a parcel of keys, that hand which formerly held the thunder.

In

In the year 774, Malleck Muckbool Chan Jehan † died, and his son was honoured with his titles. Nothing remarkable happened, till two years after, when the Sultan was plunged into the gulf of affliction, by the death of his favourite son Fatte Chan, a prince of great expectations.

A. D. 1372.
Higer. 774.
The Vizier
and Prince
Royal die.

Ferose Shaw, in the year 778, was informed that the revenues of Guzerat were greatly deficient of the collections. This induced him to listen to the proposals of Chaja Shumse ul dien Wamaghani, who offered to give one hundred elephants, forty lacks of rupees, four hundred Abassinian slaves, and forty Arabian horses, every year, over and above the present payment, should he be appointed to that government. The Sultan replied, that if the present viceroy, whose name was also Shumse ul dien, the successor of Ziffer Chan, who was dead, would consent to give as much, he should be continued. But to this the viceroy would not agree, and therefore the Sunnuds were granted to Wamaghani, and he forthwith set out for Guzerat. Not being able the next year to perform his promise, he withheld the revenue, and rebelled, which was a just punishment upon the Sultan for his folly and avarice. The rebel however, having greatly oppressed the people of his province, a conspiracy was formed against him, and, by the assistance of the Siddas, they seized him, and sent his head to Delhi. This was the only rebellion which happened during this Sultan's reign. The government of Guzerat was conferred upon Malleck Musirrah, with the title of Firhit ul Muluck.

Rebellion in
Guzerat
quashed.

There was a petty insurrection among the Zemindars of Ataya; in the year 779. It was however soon crushed, and the insurgents brought to punishment, while forts were built to keep them in proper subjection. In the year 781, the Sultan marched towards Samana,

An insurrec-
tion at Atta-
va.

The Sultan's
progress to
the mountains
of Saitoor.

† The Vizier.

VOL. I.

Y y

Amballa,

A. D. 1379. Amballa, and Shawabad, as far as the foot of the mountains of Saitoor, and after demanding his tribute from the Rajas of the hills, which they paid him, he returned to his capital.

Revenge too
severely the
death of Seid
Mahummud.

Much about this time information was brought to the Emperor, that the Zemindar of Kitter, whose name was Kirgu, had invited Seid Mahummud, Suba of Budaon, and a number of his family, to his house, where he basely assassinated them. The Sultan enraged at this villainy, marched immediately that way, and took severe vengeance upon the associates and kindred of the assassin, putting them without distinction to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Cumaoon, and was protected by the Rajas of those parts. The Sultan ordered a detachment of his army against them. They brought back near thirty thousand of those unhappy mountaineers, who were all condemned to slavery. The Sultan's justice in this case, degenerated into extreme severity. Neither did the misfortunes brought upon those miserable captives, satisfy his thirst for revenge. He returned, every year, under pretence of hunting, to that unhappy country; but the people, and not the beasts of the forest, were his prey. He by degrees cut off all the inhabitants, and converted whole provinces into a wilderness.

The Sultan
becomes aged
and infirm.

Age and infirmity began, in the year 787, to press hard upon Ferose Shaw. Chan Jehan the Vizier, having the sole management of affairs, became very powerful in the empire. The Sultan was so much under his direction in all things, that he had the effrontery

falsely to accuse Mahummud Chan, the King's son, of a design against his father's life, in conjunction with Ziffer Chan, Malleck Eacoob, Malleck Summa ul dien, and Malleck Kummal ul dien. He brought the old man firmly to credit this accusation, and obtained his authority to secure the supposed conspirators. Ziffer Chan was accordingly recalled from Mahoba, and confined.

His son false-
ly accused of
a design
against his
life.

A party

A party was sent to seize the Prince, who having previous intelligence of the design against him, began to provide for his security, placing guards, and fortifying himself in his own palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days; and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the King's Zinnana, he put on his armour, went into the clofe chair, and was carried into the Seraglio. When he discovered himself in that dress, the frightened women ran screaming into the Sultan's apartment, and told him, that the Prince had come in armour with a treasonable design. The Prince having followed them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him with great emotion, "That the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself. That he came therefore to receive it from his own hands. But first he begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the villainous charge which the Vizier had purposely contrived to pave his own way to the throne."

A. D. 1385.
Higer. 787.
The Prince's
contrivance
to undeceive
the Sultan.

Ferose Shaw, sensible of his son's sincerity, clasped him in his arms, and weeping, told him he had been deceived; and therefore desired him to proceed as his judgment should direct him, against the traitor. Mahummud upon this went out from the presence, and ordered twelve thousand horse to be in readiness. With this body he surrounded the Vizier's house that night; who upon hearing of the Prince's approach, put Ziffer Chan to death, and collecting his friends, came out to engage him in the street. Upon the first onset, the traitor was wounded, and drew back to his house. He fled immediately towards Mewat, and the Prince seized all his wealth, and cut off his adherents.

The Vizier
punished.

Ferose Shaw, immediately after these transactions, resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne.

The Sultan
resigns the
crown to his
son.

A. D. 1387.
Hijer. 789.

throne. The Prince assuming the title of Mahummud Shaw Nazir ul dien ul Dunia, ascended the throne in the month of Shaban 789; and immediately ordered the Chutba to be read in his own and his father's name. He settled the offices of state, and distributed Chelats among the Omrahs. Malleck Eacoob, an Omrah in great repute, was promoted to the government of Guzerat, with the title of Secunder Chan.

The Vizier
delivered up
and slain.

Secunder Chan having arrived at Mavat, upon his way to his government, Goga Chohan, with whom Chan Jehan the Vizier had taken refuge, fearing the Sultan's resentment, seized him, and sent him bound to Secunder Chan, who cut off his head, and sent it to Delhi.

The Sultan
hunts at Sir-
more.

Mahummud Shaw went with his army, in the year 790, towards the mountains of Sirmore, to hunt, according to the custom of sovereigns. When he was employed in the diversion of the chace, advices were received, that Firrhit ul Muluck, at the head of the Siddas of Guzerat, had risen in rebellion, defeated and slain Secunder Chan. The Sultan hastened to Delhi; but, as if all at once infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed to be insensible of the loss which he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When his old Omrahs attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he turned them from his presence, and filled their employs with pimps and court flatterers.

Bha ul dien
conspires
against the
Sultan.

The Sultan's nephew, Bha ul dien, resolved to rush upon him in the midst of his dream of pleasure. He, for this purpose, conspired with the disgraced Omrahs, and arming one hundred thousand slaves, erected the standard of rebellion. The Sultan immediately dispatched Malleck Zehir ul dien Lahori, to treat with the rebels. When he came to their camp, which was pitched without

without the city, the mob pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire, very much bruised and wounded. Mahummud seeing no hopes of a peaceable accommodation, began, at length, to bestir himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators, and, after a bloody contest, drove them into the city. They immediately possessed themselves of the palace, and again renewed the fight. The city became now a horrid scene of slaughter and confusion. During the space of two days and two nights, there was nothing but death in every street: friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were jumbled together without any possibility of distinction.

A. D. 1387.
Higer. 789.

A dreadful
massacre in
the city.

The slaves, upon the third day, brought out the old King, in his Palakie, and set him down in the street between the combatants. When the young Sultan's troops saw their former master, their affection returned, and, imagining that this was a voluntary deed of his, they, at once, deserted the prince, and crowded with shouts of joy to Firose Shaw. Mahummud fled instantly, with a small retinue, to the mountains of Sirmore. Both parties looking up to the aged Monarch, settled themselves into peace in his presence.

The old King
being placed
between the
combatants,

both parties
go over to
him.

Ferose Shaw, unable to govern, on account of the infirmities of age, placed, by advice of the Omrahs, Tughlick Shaw, the son of Fatte Chan, and his own grandson, upon the throne. The slaves, in the mean time, assassinated Amir Hassen, the Sultan's son in law, for having endeavoured to support Sultan Mahummud: and even the first orders issued by Tughlick Shaw, when he mounted the imperial throne, was to kill all the adherents of Mahummud, wherever they should be found.

Ferose Shaw
places his
grandson on
the throne.

Ferose Shaw, who had arrived at the age of ninety, died in the year 790. Though no great warrior in the field, he was, by his excellent

Ferose Shaw
dies.
His character.

A. D. 1383. Higer. 790. excellent qualities, well calculated for a reign of peace. His severity to the inhabitants of Cumaoon, for the assassination of the governor of Samana, is a great blot in his reputation. But to this he, perhaps, was prompted by a religious zeal and enthusiasm: for, the persons murdered were Seids or descendants of the prophet.

His publick works.

He reigned thirty eight years and nine months, and left many memorials of his magnificence in the land. He built fifty great sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanferas, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, an hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges; and the pleasure gardens he made were without number.

SECTION XIX.

The Reign of YEAS UL DIEN, TUGHLICK SHAW, the son of Fatte Chan, and grandson of Sultan Firose Shaw.

Tughlick Shaw mounts the throne.

TUGHLICK SHAW having mounted the throne in the palace of Firoseabad, ordered, according to custom, the Chutba to be read, and the currency to be struck in his own name. He appointed Malleck Firose Alli, his Vizier, by the title of Chan Jehan, and confirmed Firrhit ul Muluck in the government of Guzerat.

Sends a force against his uncle Mahummud,

He soon after sent an army under Chan Jehan and Bahadre Nahir Mewali, to expel his uncle Mahummud Shaw from Sirmore, and that prince, upon the approach of the imperial army, fled to the mountains. He there took possession of a strong post, and, securing the

the

the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the imperialists battle. He was however beat from post to post till he arrived at Nagracut, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, and therefore returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1388.
Higer. 790.

who takes refuge in Nagracut.

Tughlick Shaw giving reins to his youthful passions, and neglecting the affairs of state, vice, luxury and oppression began to rise up on every side. He was not blind to those misfortunes, but he mistook the cause, and admitted jealousy and mistrust within his mind. He confined and treated cruelly, his own brother, Sallar Shaw: and his cousin Abu Bicker Shaw, having reason to dread the Sultan's resentment, fled the court, and to secure himself, stirred up a faction against him. The conspirators consisted of Malleck Rukun ul dien, the Vizier's deputy, and many other Omrahs of high repute, with all the imperial slaves, many of whom, were in the highest offices at court.

Male administration of the Sultan.

A conspiracy.

Matters being ripe for execution, the conspirators rushed into the Divan, and assassinated Malleck Mubarick Kabir, the captain general of the forces. Tughlick Shaw being thus surprized, fled by the Jumna gate. Rukun ul dien pursued him, and having taken him and Chan Jehan the Vizier, they were immediately put to death. This event happened on the twenty first of Siffer, in the year 791: Tughlick Shaw, after a reign of five months and a few days, having fallen by the effects of the folly of youth.

He is slain.

SECTION XX.

The Reign of ABU BICKER SHAW, the son of Ziffer Chan, and grandson of Firose Shaw.

A. D. 1389.
Iliger, 791.
Abu Bicker
Shaw mounts
the throne.

THE conspirators having assassinated the King, raised Abu Bicker Shaw, the grandson of Firose Shaw, by a third son, to the Empire. Malleck Rukun ul dien, being appointed Vizier, took the reins of government in his own hands. But his ambition was not satisfied with that high employ. He formed schemes to cut off the new King, and to usurp the throne. Abu Bicker Shaw, having timely information of his intentions, was before hand with him, and ordered him and many of the principal slaves concerned in the conspiracy to be put to death.

A conspiracy,
discovered.

An insurrec-
tion in Sama-
na.

In the mean time, the Sidda chiefs of Samana assassinated the viceroy, Malleck Sultan Shaw, the fast friend of the reigning Emperor, and sent his head to Mahummud Shaw at Nagracut. They earnestly solicited him to come and assert his right to the empire. Mahummud Shaw accordingly, having collected his friends, advanced by the way of Jallendar to Samana, and proclaiming himself King at that place, advanced with a great army towards Delhi. After some repulses, Mahummud, as we shall see in the sequel, proved victorious, and sent Abu Bicker Shaw to his grave upon the twentieth of Zihige, in the year 792, when he had reigned one year and six months.

Mahummud
Shaw,
marches from
Nagracut.
Enters Delhi.

SECTION XXI.

The Reign of NASIR UL DUNIA UL DIEN MAHUMMUD SHAW, the son of Firose Shaw.

MAHUMMUD, as we have already seen, mounted the throne in his father's life time, in the year 789. How he was deposed and expelled by Baha ul dien and the other Omrahs, in confederacy with the Siddas of Guzerat, and the slaves of the household, and his transactions till he shut himself up in the fort of Nagracut, has been also related. When the chiefs of the Siddas had assassinated Malleck Sultan in Samana, Mahummud Shaw, according to their invitation, marched with great expedition from Nagracut, calling all his friends from Delhi. He soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand horse, with which he advanced towards the capital.

Upon the fifth of Ribbi ul Achir, in the year 792, he entered Delhi, and lighted at the palace of Jehan Numa. Abu Bicker Shaw, in the other quarter of the city, called Firoseabad, prepared himself for battle; and on the second of Jemmad ul Awil, the two armies engaged in the streets of Firoseabad. In the mean time Bahader Nahir, with a strong reinforcement, arrived, and joining Abu Bicker, they marched out of Firoseabad next morning, and drove Mahummud Shaw, with great slaughter, quite out of Delhi.

Mahummud retreated with two thousand horse only, over the Jumna; and immediately dispatched Humaioon Chan his son, and

A. D. 1389.
Higer. 792.
He sends to
raise forces.

several Omrahs to Sammana to recruit his army. He himself, in the mean time, remained in the town of Tillafar upon the banks of the Gang. Having experienced from first to last, that the slaves of Firose Shaw were his declared enemies, he gave orders to plunder all their estates in the neighbouring country, and to slay them wherever they should be found. The Zemindars fell upon some thousands, who had possessions in other parts of the empire, and massacred them; while the farmers in general, disgusted with Abu Bicker's government, which had been very oppressive, withheld their rents, and lifted themselves under Mahummud Shaw.

Being joined
by some
Omrahs of
note, he
marches to
Delhi,

In the mean time, the viceroy of Moultan, Chawas ul Muluck Suba of Baha, Raï Sir, and many Omrahs of note having joined Mahummud with their forces, he collected, in a few days, an army of fifty thousand horse, made the usual appointments in the empire to please his friends, and advanced, a second time, towards Delhi. Abu Bicker Shaw had remained inactive in that city, ever since his late victory. He, however, drew out his army at a village called Hindali to oppose Mahummud, and was so fortunate as to come off victorious once more. He drove Mahummud Shaw towards Tillafar, but contented himself with pursuing him three crores, and with taking his baggage, and then returned to his capital.

and is again
overthrown.

Humaion
Chan defeat-
ed.

Humaion Chan, not many days after the battle of Hindali, with the troops he had raised at Samana, made another attempt upon the capital, but succeeded no better than his father, being defeated at Paniput, and obliged to retreat towards Samana. But after all these successes, Abu Bicker Shaw thought it unsafe to leave the capital, being suspicious of a faction in the city, in favour of Mahummud Shaw. Having at length punished some of the most disaffected, he ventured to march about twenty crores towards Tillafar, where Mahummud Shaw was again collecting an army.

The

The latter having, by this time, concerted measures with his faction in the city, left the body of his army, with all his baggage, at Tillafar, and advanced with four thousand chosen horse, towards Abu Bicker. When Abu Bicker had drawn up his army, Mahummud made a quick motion to the left, and passing the enemy's line, pushed forward to the capital. He there engaged the troops of Abu Bicker who guarded the walls, and having set fire to the Budaon gate, forced his way into the city. He immediately entered the imperial palace, whither the citizens flocked to pay him their respects.

A. D. 1389.
Higér. 792.

Mahummud,
by a forced
march,

enters Delhi.

But Abu Bicker Shaw, having closely pursued Mahummud, arrived the same day before the city; and having forced the guards which Mahummud Shaw had placed at the gates, advanced to the palace, and drove Mahummud Shaw, whose troops had dispersed themselves, quite out of the city. He was obliged to retreat again to Tillafar, where he joined his army, having lost the major part of his detachment in the action.

Is again driven out by
Abu Bicker.

Some time having thus passed, without any decisive action, Mubushir Hagib, chief of the imperial slaves, known by the title of Islam Chan, disgusted with Abu Bicker, wrote to Mahummud, that if he would make another attempt upon the city, he would support him with the greatest part of the slaves, who were under his direction. Abu Bicker hearing that Mahummud was again in motion, and having also discovered the disaffection of the slaves, and others in his army, shamefully abandoned the capital, and fled with a small retinue to Mewat.

The chief of
the slaves invites
Mahummud to
Delhi.

Abu Bicker
abandons
Delhi.

Mahummud Shaw, in the month of Ramzan, entered Delhi and ascended the imperial throne. He gave the vizarit to Islam Chan,

A. D. 1390.
Higer. 793.

Mahummud
expels the
slaves.

Humaioon,
marching
against Abu
Bicker,

is attacked in
his camp.

Abu Bicker
surrenders
himself.

Rebellion in
Guzerat.

to whom he principally owed his restoration. When he found himself firmly established, he ordered all the elephants which belonged to the slaves of Firose Shaw, to be taken from them, and converted to his own use. The slaves, enraged at this injustice, fled the city that night; and hastened to join Abu Bicker. Mahummud, upon this desertion, turned out a few who remained, and ordered them upon pain of death, never to appear in the city, where they had acquired such dangerous influence. Notwithstanding of this decree, many slaves, unwilling to leave Delhi, concealed themselves: a search was ordered to be made, and such as were found, were massacred. Some of those poor wretches, upon this occasion, cried out for mercy, affirming that they were originally Turks. They were, upon this, ordered to pronounce the word Gurrigurri, by which they were immediately distinguished. All who sounded it with the accent of Hindostan, were put to death.

Mahummud Shaw, after having expelled the slaves, began to recruit his army, and sent Humaioon Chan his son, with a considerable force against Abu Bicker. When this army arrived at Kotluh, Abu Bicker, by advice of Bahadr Nahir, surprized Humaioon Chan in his camp. The prince, however, exerted his utmost efforts in opposing the enemy, being gallantly supported by Islam Chan, drove Abu Bicker, after a brave resistance, quite off the field. Mahummud Shaw marched at the same time, with great expedition, towards Mewat, where Abu Bicker Shaw, seeing no hopes left, surrendered himself, and was sent prisoner to the fort of Merat, where he died some years after.

Mahummud Shaw, returning to Delhi, received advices that Malleck Muffirru Sultani, governor of Guzerat, rebelled. Ziffer Chan was immediately dispatched with an army, to suppress the rebel-

rebellion; but for the particulars of this expedition, we must refer the reader to the history of the province of Guzerat *.

A. D. 1391.
Higer. 794.

In the year 794, intelligence was brought to Delhi, that Rai Nirsingh, Sirvadhone of Rhator, and Bireban of Bessu, chiefs of the Hindoos, had rose in arms against the Empire. Mahummud ordered Islam Chan, with a considerable force against Narsingh, the most powerful of the insurgents. Narsingh was defeated, made peace, and attended his conqueror to Delhi. The other two chiefs were subjugated at the same time.

Some Hindoo chiefs revolt, and are reduced.

The Zemindars of Attava, upon account of some grievance, rose at the same time in arms, and ravaged Bittaram and the adjacent Pergunnahs. The Sultan marched against them in person, and chastised them. The fort of Attava was levelled with the ground, and Mahummud took the rout of Kinnoge and Tillafar, in the last of which cities, he built a fort, which, from his own name, he called Mahummud-abad.

Rebellion in Attava quelled.

Advice came to the Sultan from Delhi, that Islam Chan the Vizier, was preparing to fly to Lahore and Moultan, to kindle in those provinces the flames of rebellion. Mahummud hastened to the capital, and charged Islam Chan with his treasonable intentions. The Vizier absolutely denied the fact, but Jaju, a Hindoo and his own nephew, swore falsely against him. The Sultan being either convinced of his Vizier's guilt, or instigated by a jealousy of his power, condemned him to die. Chaja Jehan, who was perhaps a no small promoter of the Vizier's fall, was advanced to his office. Muckurrib ul Muluck was, at the same time, appointed governor of Mahummud-abad.

The Vizier falsely accused of treason.

Is put to death.

* Our author's second volume in the original Persian, treats of the particular history of all the provinces of Hindostan.

A. D. 1392.
Higer. 795.
The Hindoo
chiefs rise
again in
arms.

In the year 795, Sirvadhone of Rhaton, and Bireban of Bislu, appeared in arms; and Muckurrib was ordered, with the troops at Mahummud-abad, against them.

The Sultan
falls sick.

Sultan Mahummud, about this time, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. Upon his return to Mahummud-abad, he was taken ill of a dangerous fever, which rendered him delirious for some days. When he was in this condition, news was brought, that Bahadr Nahir* had plundered the country to the gates of Delhi. The Sultan, though far from being recovered of his illness, hastened to Mewat. Bahadr Nahir, who headed the rebels, drew up his army at Kottilah, and gave Mahummud battle; but he was defeated, and fled to Jidger.

Defeats Ba-
hadr Nahir.

The Sultan
dies.

Mahummud, after this victory, returned to Mahummud-abad, and in the month of Ribbi ul awil of the year 796, sent his son Humaioon Chan, to crush Shicha Gicker, who had rebelled, and possessed himself of Lahore. But before the prince had left Delhi, news was brought to him of his father's decease; for the Sultan having relapsed into his former disorder, expired on the 17th of Ribbi ul awil, at Mahummud-abad. He reigned about six years and seven months, and his body was deposited at Delhi, with his fathers.

Humaioon
ascends the
throne.

Sultan Mahummud being mixed with the dead, his son Humaioon Chan ascended the throne, by the name of Secunder Shaw. He continued or confirmed all his father's officers; but being in a few days taken with a violent disorder, he went the way of his fathers, after a reign of forty-five days.

Dies.

* An adherent of Abu Bicker.

SECTION XXII.

The Reign of NASIR UL DIEN MAMOOD SHAW, the son of Mahummud Shaw.

WHEN Secunder Shaw yielded to the power of his fate, violent disputes arose among the Omrahs, about the succession. They at last fixed upon Mamood, an infant son of Sultan Mahummud, whom they placed upon the throne, by the name of Nasir ul dien Mamood Shaw ; while Chaja Jehan remained in the Vizarit, and absolute government of the state. The title of Muckirrib Chan was conferred upon Muckirrib ul Muluck, with the high employ of Amir ul Omrah, or Captain-General. Sadit Chan was appointed Barbeck *, Saring Chan governor of Debalpoor, and Dowlat Chan Debire, nominated to the office of Aziz Mumalick †.

A. D. 1393.
Higer. 796.
Mamood
Shaw an infant, placed on the throne.

Promotions at court.

The apparent debility of the Empire, arising from the King's minority and dissentions of the Omrahs, encouraged all the Hindoos around to kindle the flames of rebellion ; particularly those of the eastern provinces. Chaja Jehan, upon this occasion, assumed the title of Sultan Shirki ‡, and proceeded towards Behar, with a great army. He soon reduced that country to obedience, and having at the same time, forced the Prince of Bengal to pay him the customary tribute, he returned, and fixed his residence at Jionpoor.

Distractions in the empire.

While Chaja Jehan thus established himself, in opposition to his master, in the East, Saring Chan began to form an independency in the West. Having, as Suba of Debalpoor, collected the troops of the province of Moulтан, and the north-west division of the empire, he advanced against Shicha Gicker, who waited for him at Adjodin, about twelve crores from Lahore. A battle immediately ensued, and the Gickers being defeated, were obliged to take refuge among

The Vizier establishes himself at Jionpoor.

The Gickers defeated.

* Lord of the audience.
‡ King of the East.

† Representative of the provinces.

A. D. 1394. Higer. 777. the mountains of Jimbo. Saring Chan, after this victory, left his brother Adil Chan in the government of Lahore; and returned himself to Debalpoor.

The Sultan marches to Biana and Gualier.

Sultan Mamood this year, having left Delhi in charge of Muckirrib Chan, marched towards Gualier, and Biana, accompanied by Sadit Chan and many of the chief Omrahs. When the King had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualier, Mubarick Chan, the son of Malleck Raja, Mullu Eckbal Chan the brother of Raja Saring Chan, and Malleck Alla ul dien, conspired against the life of Sadit Chan. But Sadit having timely information of the plot, slew Mubarick Chan and Malleck Alla ul dien, while Eckbal escaped to Delhi. Though the conspiracy was thus quashed, the confusions which were the consequences of it, obliged the Sultan to return to the capital, without prosecuting the scheme of reducing those territories to obedience.

The gates of Delhi shut against him.

The distractions in the empire began now to multiply exceedingly. The Sultan arriving in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Muckirrib Chan came out to pay his respects. But having on his way understood, that Sadit Chan had sworn vengeance against him, for affording protection to Mullu Eckbal Chan, he fled back to the city, and shutting the gates against the Prince, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city in short was besieged for three months, till the King being assured that the war was commenced and continued on account of Sadit Chan, accommodated matters with Muckirrib, and in the month of Mohirrim 797, was admitted into Delhi.

He goes over to the besieged.

Another Sultan set up by Sadit Chan.

Muckirrib, encouraged by the coming over of his Prince, marched the next day out of the city, with all his force, against Sadit Chan; but he was beat back with great loss. The rains had now come on, and it being impossible for Sadit Chan to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Firose-abad. He immediately sent for Nuserit

Nuferit Chan, the son of Fatte Chan, and grandson of Firose Shaw, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mamood, by the title of Nafir ul dien Nuferit Shaw. Under the name of this prince Sadit Chan began to manage the affairs of the Sultanit.

A. D. 1293.
Higer. 796.

But a new faction breaking out in his government, disconcerted his measures. The slaves of Firose Shaw, disgusted with his behaviour towards them, prevailed upon the keepers of the elephants to join them. They forcibly placed Nuferit Shaw upon an elephant, advanced against Sadit Chan, and drove him quite out of the city of Firose-abad, before he had time to prepare for his own defence. To avoid one danger, the unfortunate Sadit fell into another; for having sought protection under Muckirrib Chan, he was by him put to death.

A faction expels Sadit Chan from Firose-abad.

He is slain.

The misfortunes of the state daily encreased. The Omrahs of Firose-abad, and of some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Nuferit Chan. Those of Delhi, and others, supported the title of Mamood. The whole empire fell into a state of anarchy, confusion, and distraction. A civil war was kindled in every corner, and a thing unheard of before, two Kings in arms against one another, resided in one capital. Things however remained in this unfortunate situation for three years, with a surprizing equality on both sides; for if one monarch's party had at any time a superiority over the other, it was in singularity of misfortunes. It was not a state of war, but a continued battle between the two cities: Thousands were killed almost every day, and the place of the slain was constantly supplied by reinforcements from different parts of the empire. Some of the Subas of the provinces took no part in this civil war. They hoped to see the empire so weakened by public calamities, that they themselves might become independant; and to lay a foundation for their future power, they withheld the customary revenues.

The uncommon misfortunes of the empire.

A. D. 1396.
Hger. 798.
Transactions
in the north-
west provin-
ces.

In the year 798, Saring Chan, governor of Debalpoor, having some differences with Chizer Chan, governor of Moulton, made war upon him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Saring. He immediately seized Moulton, became very powerful, and in the year following, advanced with a great army to Samana, which he reduced to his obedience. Nufirit Chan dispatched Tatar Chan, Suba of Panniput, and Malleck Almas, with an army against him. They engaged Saring on the first of Mohorrim, in the year 799, gave him a signal overthrow, and obliged him to fly to Moulton.

The grand-
son of Amir
Timur passes
the Indus,

Saring Chan received in that city, intelligence that Mirza Pier Mahumud Jehangire, the grandson of Amir Timur *, had built a bridge over the Sind †, and that, having crossed that river, he invested Outch. Saring immediately dispatched Malleck Tagge ul dien, his Naib, with other Omrahs, and the best part of his army, to reinforce Malleck Ali, Naib to the governor of Outch. Pier Mahumud hearing of this army, advanced to the Bea, fell upon them by surprize, just as they had crossed that river, defeated and drove them back into the stream; so that more were drowned than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army made the best of their way to Moulton.

Takes
Moulton.

Pier Mahumud kept close at the heels of the runaways, and obliged Saring Chan to shut himself up in Moulton. After a siege of six months, he was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; and being imprisoned, with all his army, Mahumud took possession of the city. Saring, in a few days, found means to escape: but the country remained in subjection to the Moguls.

Transactions
at Delhi.

But to return to the transactions at Delhi. Mullu Eckbal Chan being disgusted with Mamood, deserted him. He sent a message to

* Tamerlane.

† The Indus.

Nuferit Shaw, to desire leave to join him with his party. This offer was very readily accepted; they met, went to the palace of Seri, and, upon the Koran, swore mutual friendship, at the tomb of Chaja Cuttub ul dien Kaki. During these transactions, Mamood with Muckirrib remained in the old city. A. D. 1197. Higer. 799.

The perfidious Eckbal, about three days after his desertion, quarrelled with Nuferit Shaw, and not regarding his oath, began to form a conspiracy against him. Nuferit Shaw being informed of the plot, found himself constrained to quit the palace of Seri. The traitor fell upon him in his retreat, and took all his elephants, treasure and baggage. The unfortunate prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his Vizier at Panniput. Eckbal Chan's perfidy.

Eckbal took immediately possession of Firoseabad. His power daily increased, and he now employed it to expel Mamood and Muckirrib from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some Omrahs, peace was concluded between the parties. But Eckbal, peculiarly perfidious, broke through all the sacred ties of the treaty; and setting upon Muckirrib in his own house, by surprize, slew him. He immediately seized the young Sultan, and left him nothing but his life and the name of Emperor. A treaty between him and Sultan Mamood.

Eckbal, in the same year, marched from Delhi with Sultan Mamood, against Nuferit Shaw, and Tatar Chan at Panniput. Tatar Chan, leaving his elephants and baggage in the fort, passed, by forced marches, the army of Eckbal, arrived before Delhi and invested it. Eckbal trusting to the strength he left in Delhi, advanced and attacked Panniput, and took it the Ruins the affairs of Nuferit Shaw.
third

A. D. 1398.
Higer. 800.

third day, by escalade. He then hastened back to Delhi, and Tatar Chan having failed in his attempt upon that place, fled to his father in Guzerat. Eckbal entering the city, began to regulate the government, which had fallen into the utmost confusion. In the mean time, to compleat the miseries of the unhappy city and empire, news arrived, that Amir Timur had crossed the Sind, with an intention to conquer Hindostan.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.



From an Original Painting

Mahomed Akbar, Emperor of Hindostan; died A.D. 1604.

J. Taylor sculp.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N ;

FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME,

TO THE
DEATH OF AKBAR;

TRANSLATED
FROM THE PERSIAN OF MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA OF DELHI;

TOGETHER WITH
A DISSERTATION

Concerning the RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY of the BRAHMINS;

WITH
AN APPENDIX,

Containing the History of the MOGUL EMPIRE, from its Decline in the Reign of
MAHUMMUD SHAW, to the present Times.

By ALEXANDER DOW.

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MDCCLXVIII.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

S E C O N D V O L U M E .

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THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN FROM THE INVASION
OF TAMERLANE, TO THE FINAL CONQUEST OF THAT
COUNTRY BY SULTAN BABER; BEING A PERIOD OF
130 YEARS.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N.

P A R T IV.

The History of HINDOSTAN, from the Invasion of TAMERLANE, to the final Conquest of that Country, by Sultan BABER; being a Period of one hundred and thirty years.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the Progress of AMIR TIMUR, or TAMERLANE, in Hindostan.

A MIR TIMUR, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of Hindostan, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali*. He immediately dispatched Amir Shech Noor ul Dien to dispossess Shab ul Dien Mubarick, who had, in charge, the defence of the frontier districts. When Shech Noor

A. D. 1397.
Higerah 800.
Tamerlane
invades
Hindostan.

* A river on the frontiers of Hindostan.

A. D. 1397. ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Shab ul Dien Mubarick,
 Hig. 800. he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a strong hold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

Shech Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within their walls. Amir Timur himself advanced against the enemy, with his whole army. Shab ul Dien intimidated, by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain, by Shech Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Tamerlane
 lays Tulmu-
 bini under
 contribution.

Amir Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp, without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilst the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp, of the scarcity of provisions, orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers, upon this, hastened to search the town; but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was, that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

The inhabi-
 tants massa-
 cred.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the massacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient

cient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away should be burnt; having previously cut off Jifferit, the brother of Shuha Giker, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.
Shawnawaze
pillaged.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of Mirza Pier Mahummud, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moultan. The Solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers, for want of forage.

Mirza Pier
Mahummud
blockaded in
Moultan.

In this untoward situation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather, Amir Timur, entered Hindostan, who immediately reinforced Mahummud with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animosity against the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Amir Timur himself, to chastise the governor, selected ten thousand horse, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was shewn the tomb of Shech Ferid Shuckergunge, the poet, in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize.

Is relieved
by Timur.

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, crossing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched fifty crores to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into

who arrives
at Battenize,

A. D. 1327. the place, in such numbers, that half of them were driven out,
 Hig. 800. and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there
 and in wells it. attacked, the first day, by the king, and some thousands of them
 slain. Raw Chillige, who was governor of the place, seeing the
 enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed
 them without the town, in order of battle. The Moguls, how-
 ever, upon the first onset, drove him back within his walls, while
 the king himself pressed so hard upon the enemy's rear, that he
 possessed himself of the gates before they could be shut. Then
 driving the runaways from street to street, he became, in a few
 hours, intirely master of the place, except the citadel ; to reduce
 which, he ordered a party immediately to dismount, and begin to
 undermine it.

The city
 taken,

The garrison desired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed ; and
 the governor, having had an interview with the king, presented
 him with three hundred Arabian horses, and with many of the va-
 luable curiosities of Hindostan. Timur, in return, honoured him
 with a chelat ; and after the conditions were settled, sent Amir So-
 liman, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take possession of the gates, com-
 manding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place,
 and had before been active against his grandson Mirza Pier Mahum-
 mud. The rest, after being plundered, were ordered to be dis-
 missed.

and the inha-
 bitants put to
 the sword.

In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons, in
 a few minutes, were put to death. Those who remained still within
 the fort, were so struck with this massacre, that they set fire to the
 place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair,
 sought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became
 terrible indeed ! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end,
 cut off to a man ; they however revenged themselves amply, upon
 the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress ; some thou-
 sands

lands of the Moguls, having fallen by their hands. This so much exasperated Amir Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Battenize to be massacred, and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place, also, to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteâbad, he continued the same scene of barbarity, through that, and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained, he himself scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, but when they advanced, near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town with in five crores of Sammana.

Several cities taken by Timur, and the inhabitants massacred.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel * ; and, that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Amir Soliman Shaw, and Amir Jehan Shaw, to scour the country behind him to the south and south east of the city; whilst he himself that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

Arrives before Delhi,

which he reconnoitres.

Mahmood Shaw and Mullu Eckbal Chan, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-

* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armour.

seven.

A. D. 1397. seven elephants against him. Mahummud Sillif, an Omrah of
 Hig. 800. repute in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulsed and taken
 prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately
 beheaded, and after having made the observations which he design-
 ed, repass'd the river and joined his army.

He massacres
 100,000 pri-
 soners in cold
 blood.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where
 he was told, by the princes and generals of his army, that there
 were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who
 had been taken since he cross'd the Sind; that these unfortunate
 persons had, the day before, expressed great joy, when they saw
 him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely pro-
 bable, that, on a day of battle, they would join with their country-
 men against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found
 other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of
 fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred
 thousand men were massacred, in cold blood. This barbarity, to-
 gether with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the
 name of Hillâk Chan, or the destroying Prince.

Crosses the
 Jumna,

Upon the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, Timur forded the river with
 his army without opposition, and encamped on the plains of Firo-
 seabad; where he entrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffa-
 loes fronting the enemy, whom he fastened with ropes and picquets
 to their stations, placing, at the same time, strong guards, at proper
 distances, behind them.

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day,
 the king marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order
 of battle. Sultan Mamood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, with the ar-
 my of Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, ad-
 vanced towards him. But upon the very first charge of a squa-
 dron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were dis-
 mounted,

mounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back, and spread terror and confusion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them, with great slaughter, to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

totally de-
fats the
enemy,

The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Sultan Mamood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, deserted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Sultan Mamood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the Chutba in all the mosques, to be read in his own name. Upon the sixteenth of the same month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur Shaw to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering, immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

who desert
the city.

Timur

A. D. 1397.
1119. 800.

Timur was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, by one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

A general
massacre.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead; and, in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described.

The unparalleled
misfortunes of the
Delhians.

The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians, was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Hindoos had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others.

Nizam ul
Dien's ac-
count of the
massacre in
Delhi.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam ul Dien Ahmud, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part
of

of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within the walls.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

But the race of the Mogul prince take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments upon their side. The principal one is this, that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.

The king, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by Firose Shaw. The fine mosque, built by that prince, upon the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, being esteemed a master-piece of architecture and taste, took so much the fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered stone-cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand, to build one upon the same plan.

Timur enters
Delhi.

After having stayed fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a sudden resolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firoseabad, whither Bahadre Nahir sent him two white parrots, as curiosities from Mewat, with professions of subjection. The king sent Seid Shumse ul Dien Turmuzi to bring him to the presence, which

Re'olves to
return.
Marches to
Firoseabad,

A. D. 1397. summons he immediately obeyed; and Chizer Chan, who had lain
 Hig. 800. concealed in the hills, presented himself at court, and was favorably received.

and to Pani-
 put.

The king marching from Firoscabad arrived at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir Shaw Malluk, to besiege Merat, a strong fort, situated between the rivers, about thirty crores from Delhi. When Amir Shaw Malluk reached the place, upon reconnoitring its strength, and finding the garrison determined to defend it, he mentioned in a letter to the king, that they insulted him from the walls, by telling him he could succeed no better than Tirim-Seri Chan, the Mogul Prince, who had formerly attempted to take the place.

Besieges and
 takes Merat.

This had the desired effect upon the king, who immediately marched his army against Merat, and, without delay, began to sink his mines, and carry on his approaches; advancing his sap towards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the son of Moluna, Ahmud Jannafure, and Mulleck Suffi Kebire, defended the place with great resolution. But the Moguls having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling ladders, and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition; and, without waiting for a breach, by means of the mines, stormed the place, and put every soul within it to the sword. The mines, however, being finished, the king ordered them to be sprung, which blew the walls and bastions into pieces.

His progress
 towards the
 head of the
 Ganges.

Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing, then, the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by a zemindar called Zein Dund, whom he defeated and plundered.

He

He then continued his rout, taking several small forts in his way; ^{A. D. 1397.} having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who ^{Hig. 800.} was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Mussulman.

Jifferit, the brother of Shuha Gicker, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur Shaw, had by his brother been severely reprimanded for opposing the king; which having been represented to Timur, Shuha Gicker was admitted into his presence, and became a great favorite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the absence of Timur possessed himself of Lahore. The king having returned to Jimbo *, Shuha Gicker refused to submit to his authority. The sultan sent part of his army to besiege Shuha Gicker in Lahore, which being taken in a few days, he was brought prisoner to the king, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded. Shuha Gicker refuses to submit to Timur. Timur takes Lahore.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer Chan viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samurcand.

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

SECTION II.

The conclusion of the reign of MAHMOOD SHAW.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 800.

THE city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for the space of two months, when it was taken possession of by Nuserit Shaw, with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Shab Chan and Malleck Almas, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuserit Shaw sent immediately Shab Chan, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal Chan, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab Chan was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal Chan, and slain; Eckbal Chan pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab Chan's army.

Eckbal Chan
recovers
Delhi.

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal Chan, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to attempt the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit Shaw, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal Chan resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having still a natural hankering after their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place, in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.

A. D. 1399.
Hig. 802
The Subahs
revolt from
the empire.

Eckbal Chan possessed himself soon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now held of the capital. The subahs had rendered themselves independent, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confusion of the empire. Guzerat was seized upon by Chan Azim Ziffer Chan; — Malava by Delawir Chan; — Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Sultan ul Shirk Chaja Jehan; — Lahore, Dibalpoor,

balpoor, and Moultan, by Chizer Chan;—Sammana by Ghalil Chan;—Beana by Shumse Chan;—Mahoba by Mahummud Chan ben Malleck Zadda Firose; and so on with regard to the other provinces, the governors asserting their own independence, and styling themselves kings.

A. D. 1399.
Hig. 8c2.

In the month of Jemmad ul Awil, 803, Eckbal Chan marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumse Chan; whose troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narfingh, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was soon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted son, Kirrinphil, having assumed the title of Sultan Mubarick Shaw, held that government. Eckbal Chan being in alliance with Shumse Chan, governor of Biana, Mubarick Chan and Bahadre Nahir of Mewat, marched the same year against Kirrinphil.

A. D. 1400.
Hig. 803.
Eckbal Chan
defeats
Shumse
Chan.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Sere, and all the zemindars of that country, opposed him; but he defeated them, with great slaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Lucknouti. Upon his march, however, he was met by Mubarick Shaw, who opposed his crossing the Ganges so effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining some groundless suspicions of Shumse Chan and Mubarick Chan, assassinated them both upon their way back to their own governments.

Frustrated in
his designs
upon the pro-
vince of Jon-
poor.

A. D. 1401.
Hig. 804.
His perfidy.

Sultan Mahmood Shaw, in the year 804, being disgusted with Ziffer Chan at Guzerat, fled from him to Malava, and soon after, by the invitation of Eckbal Chan, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himself with a pension, fearing that his interfering

Sultan Mah-
mood returns
to Delhi.

in

A. D. 1401. in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived,
 Hig. 804. that Mubarick Shaw was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal Chan, taking
 along with him Sultan Mahmood, marched again towards Kin-
 noge; upon which Sultan Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick Shaw,
 who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the East
 to meet him.

His folly. When the armies were near one another, Sultan Mahmood, disfa-
 tisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Sultan
 Ibrahim would acknowledge him king, and abdicate the throne for
 his sake, escaped, one day, when he was out hunting, to the army
 of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mah-
 mood, he even with-held from him the necessaries of life, and inti-
 mated to him to quit the camp. Sultan Mahmood returned, in
 great distress, to Kinnoge, and was left, by Eckbal Chan, in the
 Made gover- government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on
 nor of Kin- the part of Sultan Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however,
 noge. put up with this insult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal
 Chan retired to Delhi.

A. D. 1402. In the year 805, Eckbal Chan marched against Gualier, which
 Hig. 805. had fallen into the hands of Narfing, during the invasion of Timur,
 Eckbal Chan and had now, upon Narfing's death, descended to his son, Byram
 marches a- Deo Rajaput. The fort being very strong, he could effect no-
 gainst Gua- thing against it, but plundering the district around, he returned to
 lier, Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this disappointment, he, in a short
 time, marched a second time against Gualier. Byram Deo fallied
 out of the place, and engaged Eckbal Chan, but he was soon driven
 back into the fort, the siege of which Eckbal Chan was again
 obliged to raise; and having plundered the country as before, he
 returned to Delhi,

Eckbal

Eckbal Chan, in the year 807, drew his army towards Atava, A. D. 1404,
Hig. 807. and having, in several battles, defeated Rai Sibbiri, Rai Gualier, Atava, Rai Jallar, and others, who possessed that country, he raised contributions there. He then turned his arms against Sultan Mahmood, in Kinnoge. and Kinnoge. The Sultan shut himself up in the city, and Eckbal Chan invested it for some time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raised the siege, and marched towards Sammana.

Byram Chan, a descendant of one of the Turkish slaves of Firose Byram Chan, Shaw, had fixed himself in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal Chan, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal closely pursuing him, encamped at the skirts of the mountains. Seid Alim ul Dien came to mediate matters, and a peace was soon patched up between the contending parties, and both joining their forces together, marched towards Moulton, against Chizer Chan. At Tilbundi they were opposed by Rai Daood, Camal Mai, and Rai Hubbu, who were defeated and taken prisoners. The perfidious Eckbal Chan, after this victory, without any apparent reason, except a desire of aggrandizing himself, seized upon Byram Chan, and ordered him to be flay'd alive. is flay'd alive.

The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenged. Eckbal arriving near Adjodin, Chizer Chan met him, with the troops of Moulton, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of Jemad ul Awil the two armies engaged; Eckbal Chan was slain, and Eckbal Chan slain. the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain.

Dowlat Chan Lodi and Actiar Chan, who commanded in Delhi, A. D. 1406.
Hig. 809. being informed of this event; called Sultan Mahmood from Kinnoge. Sultan Mahmood reitor-ed. The Sultan, coming with a small retinue to Delhi, reasumed the throne; but, laying aside any further efforts to reduce Moulton, he sent Dowlat Chan with an army against Byram Chan, who,

A. D. 1406.
Hig. 809.
Flies from
Kinnoge.
Pursued by
Sultan Ibra-
him.

who, upon the death of the former Byram Chan, possessed himself of Sammana. The emperor himself returned back, in the mean time, to Kinnoge; Sultan Ibrahim marched against him, and, after some skirmishes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The Sultan's spiritless behaviour lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed themselves.

Sultan Ibrahim, having received intelligence of this desertion, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi, with great expedition. When he had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Chan Azim Ziffer Chan of Guzerat, had taken Alip Chan, Saba of Mindu, and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

A. D. 1407.
Hig. 810.
Byram Chan
defeated by
Lodi.

In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Chan Lodi and Byram Chan, the Turk, came to battle near Sammana. Byram Chan was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlat Chan; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himself beat back to Delhi, by Chizer Chan. Sultan Mahmood, in the following year, marched against Keiwan Chan, who, upon the part of Chizer Chan, commanded the fort of Firofa. The Sultan, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer Chan, upon advice of these transactions, marched against Delhi, and besieged Sultan Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in Firoseabad. But fortune, for this time, supplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer Chan being in want of forage and grain, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor.

The Sultan
besieged in
Ferozeabad.

A. D. 1411.
Hig. 814.
Chizer Chan
besieges
Mahmood in
Delhi.

Chizer Chan, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the way of Rhotuck, a country then in the possession of Sultan Mahmood, where Malleek Esteriz and Mubariz Chan, declining hostilities, submitted to his pleasure. He plundered the town of Nar-noul,

noul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood Shaw shut himself up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer Chan immediately besieged. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in Firoseabad, seeing the affairs of Mahmood in a desperate situation, joined himself to Chizer Chan, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took possession of the country on the opposite side of the river, and prevented all supplies from Sultan Mahmood.

A. D. 1413.
Hig. 816.

But that famine which they designed for the Sultan and his adherents, recoiled upon themselves; for a great drought had occasioned a scarcity of provisions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; insomuch that Chizer Chan was, a second time, forced to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor. Mahmood Shaw being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to strengthen himself against a future attack. He took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was seized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted slaves of Sultan Shab ul Dien Ghor.

But retires.

Mahmood dies.

The disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, lasted twenty years and two months. He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood, whose only virtue was, that his folly made him insensible, in a great measure, to those strokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The omrahs, soon after his death, elected, in his stead, Dowlat Chan Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private secretary, whom Sultan Mahmood had raised to the dignity of Aziz Munalick*.

His character.

* An officer something similar to our Secretary of state.

SECTION III.

The reign of DOWLAT CHAN LODI.

A. D. 1413.
Hig. 816.
Dowlat Chan
Lodi elected
emperor.

DOWLAT CHAN LODI being received upon the throne, struck the currency in his own name, and began his administration in the month of Mohirrim, 816. He was immediately joined by Malleck Esteriz, and Mubariz Chan, who abandoned the interest of Chizer Chan. He marched, in the first month of his reign, towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narfingh, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut Chan, of Budaoon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Sultan Ibrahim Shirki was besieging Kadir Chan, the son of Mahmood Chan, in Calpee, but as the sultan had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer Chan, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with sixty thousand horse, and a third time laid siege to the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Chan had retired. After a siege of four months, he obliged Dowlat Chan, upon the 15th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 817, to surrender himself and the citadel. The emperor was confined in the fort of Firofa, where he died soon after. He reigned one year and three months.

Is taken and
deposed by
Chizer Chan.

SECTION IV.

The reign of CHIZER CHAN BEN SOLIMAN.

THE most accurate historians of those times affirm, that A. D. 1414.
Hig. 817.
Chizer Chan
succeeds. Chizer Chan was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently, what the Islamites call a Seid. His father, Malleck Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of His family. Malleck Murdan Dowlat, a great omrah, and Suba of Moulтан, in the reign of Firose Shaw. Malleck Murdan Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck Shech; and he soon dying, Malleck Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer Chan from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Saring Chan, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur Shaw, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favor, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This accession of strength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

Chizer Chan, upon his accession, conferred the title Taze ul Malleck, upon Malleck Joppa, and made him Vizier; and that of Alla ul Malleck upon Abdul Rahim, the adopted son of Malleck Soliman, with the government of Fattepoor and Moulтан. He thus distributed favors, governments, and dignities among his other omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur Shaw: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of Mirza Sharock, mentioning the name of Chizer Chan after him. He even sent sometimes a tribute to Samarcand.

Does not assume the name of emperor. Pretends to hold of Timur.

A. D. 1114.
 Hig. 817.
 Sublues
 Kittar.

In the first year of his reign he sent Tage ul Malleck, with an army, towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narfingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narfingh was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut Chan, Suba of Badaoon, at the same time came to meet Tage ul Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence he marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellafar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, Malleck marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

The Turks
 expelled
 from Sirhind.

In the month Jemmad ul Awil of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram Chan, assassinating Malleck Siddic, governor of Sirhind, took possession of his country. Chizer Chan sent Zirick Chan, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick Chan pursued them thither; but those mountains being a continuation of those of Nagracot, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars, who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Chizer
 Chan's ex-
 pedition
 against Ah-
 mad.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Sultan Ahmud Shaw, of Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer Chan, mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud Shaw, declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer Chan had reached Hanir, Elias Chan, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligie, came out to meet him, and was honorably received. The Sultan proceeded from thence to Gaulier, where he levied the tribute upon the Raja, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim ul Mueluck. He after these transactions returned to Delhi.

In

In the year 820, Taan, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck Siddic, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick Chan, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick Chan having, in pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pacl, Taan consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck Siddic. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick Chan returned to Sammana, sending the hostage and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

A. D. 1417.
Hig. 820.

Turks again
expelled
from Sirhind.

The sultan, in the year 821, sent Tage ul Malleck against Raja Narfingh. Malleck, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in person, against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole. He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

Chizer in-
vades Kittar.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut Chan being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the king besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam Chan, Achtiar Chan Lodi, and all the old friends of Mahmood Shaw, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Awil, in 822, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were to a man assassinated.

Discovers a
plot against
his life.

The conspi-
rators assassi-
nated.

After

A D. 1419.
Hig. 822.
An impostor
appears at
Matchewar-
rah.

After the sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Maleck Sultan Sheh Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of Maleck Taan, governor of Jallender, of Zirick Chan, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck Cheir ul Dien, governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army deserted him, each man skulking as best he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further service to do, separated, and returned to their respective stations.

Is defeated.

He again ap-
pears,

and is over-
thrown.

But, in the year following, Saring Chan, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Maleck Taan, governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munshurepoor and Pael. The king sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

Chizer
Chan's expe-
dition to
Mewat.

Dies.

In the year 824, Chizer Chan marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. Tage ul Maleck dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The sultan turned from thence towards Gualier, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibbere, who then possessed that country. Falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of Jemmad ul Awil, of this year. He reigned seven years, and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

S E C T I O N V.

The reign of MOAZ UL DIEN ABUL FATTE Sultan
MUBARICK SHAW.

WHEN Chizer Chan had, by the violence of his disorder, lost all hopes of recovery, he, three days before he expired; appointed his eldest son to succeed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the sultan's death, Mubarick Shaw ascended the throne, by the title of Moaz ul Dien Abul Fatte. The new emperor made the usual appointments, raising Maleck Buddir, his cousin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib ben Suldivi Nadir, to the government of Dibalpoor and Punjaab.

A. D. 1421.
Hig. 824.

Sultan Mubarick ascends the throne.

In the month of Jammud ul Awil, he received advices, that Jifferit, the brother of Shecha Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Sultan Ali, king of Cashmire, upon his return from an expedition against Tatta, presuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a resolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, invited into his service Maleck Taan, who had fled to the mountains, and appointed him Amir ul Omrah, or commander in chief of his troops. He soon over-run the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, seized upon Zirick Chan, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter besieged Islam Chan in Sirhind.

Jifferit invades the empire.

Sultan Mubarick Shaw, though the solstitial rains were then in their height, marched from Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jifferit raised the siege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirick Chan, at that place, found means to escape from him, and join the king. The emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jifferit, crossing the Suttuluz, encamped on the opposite bank; having first possessed

The sultan marches against him. Obliges him to fly.

A. D. 1421. felled himself of all the boats upon the river, which circumstance
 Aug. 825. obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water should fall at Kabulpoor, Jisserit, in the mean time, being determined to oppose his passage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Maleck Secunder Topha Vizier, Zirick Chan, Mahmood Hassen, Maleck Callu, and other omrahs, according to the sultan's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the Sultan himself following them close to support them with the body of the army. Jisserit, by this means, was thrown into confusion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept close to his heels, slew, in the pursuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Mubarick rebuilds Lahore, and returns to Delhi.

Jisserit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very distressed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the king's army to Bile, a strong fort into which Jisserit had thrown himself, he fled to another place, but was pursued with great slaughter, and Mubarick Shaw, in the Mohirim, of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Malleck Hassen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jisserit besieges Lahore without success.

Jisserit, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore for five months, without success. He then raised the siege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given assistance to the king; but the action, which ensued between them, being undecisive, Jisserit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army.

Is obliged to take shelter in the mountains.

In the mean time, Malleck Secunder Topha, who had been sent to succour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rigib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Islam Chan Lodi, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jisserit, and obliged him to cross the Ravi and Chinaab, and to take shelter among the hills. Secunder Topha marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Rai Bimé joined

joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, some thousands of that unhappy people were put to the sword, and Topha returned to Lahore. A. D. 1421.
Fig. 825.

These successes prevailed upon the king to appoint Topha vice-roy of Lahore, and to recall Hassen. But, in the year eight hundred and twenty six, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he dispatched against the Hindoos of Kittar. The emperor himself followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were subdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. The Sultan having settled affairs with Mahabut Chan, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march against the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took prisoners to a man. The Raja of Attaya having, at this time, withdrawn himself from the king's camp, Sultan Mubarick pursued him to that place, and besieged him there. But terms of peace were settled between them, and the Raja's son given as a hostage for his father's future good behaviour. The king, after these transactions, returned to Delhi. Sultan Mu-
barick in-
vades Kittar.

Malleck Hassen was, about this time, appointed Buxshi, or paymaster and commander in chief of the troops. Jifferit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raised again his head, and, having defeated and slain Rai Bimé, by a fresh acquisition of reputation and wealth, raised an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conquest of Delhi. Having ravaged the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very considerable plunder, but when Malleck Secunder Topha advanced against him, he did not chuse to risque a battle, and therefore retired, with his spoils, to the hills, where he busied himself in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time, Jifferit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul Omrah, a subject of Mirza Sharoch, who resided at Cabul.

A. D. 1423. He persuaded Amir Ali to make an incurſion into the territories of
 Hig. 827. Scistan, Backer, and Tatta, to draw off the king's attention from
 Delhi, and ſo to facilitate his own ſchemes. Malleck Alla ul Dien,
 regent of Moultan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir
 Ali's incurſion being noiſed abroad, the ſultan, without delay, ſent
 Malleck Mahumud Haſſen, with the army, towards Moultan.
 Sultan Hoſhung, raja of Malava, had, in the ſame year, inveſted
 Gualier, which obliged Sultan Mubarick Shaw to raiſe all the forces
 of thoſe provinces, and to march againſt him; levying, on his way,
 contributions upon Amir Chan, of Biana.

Defeated by
 Mubarick.

Sultan Hoſhung, upon the approach of Mubarick, croſſed the
 Chumbul, and fat down on the oppoſite bank. Mubarick Shaw
 having, in the mean time, found another ford, croſſed the river with
 great expedition, attacked Hoſhung in his camp, took many priſo-
 ners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The priſoners being
 found to be Mahommedans, were diſmiſſed by the king. Hoſhung
 thought it then adviſeable to compound all differences, by paying
 down a ſum of money to the ſultan; upon which he was permitted
 to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick Shaw having tarried for ſome
 time in that place, to levy contributions upon the neighbouring Ze-
 mindars, returned, in the month of Rigib, eight hundred and
 twenty ſeven, to Delhi.

Sues for
 peace.

The ſultan, next year, made a motion towards Kittar, where Rai
 Narſingh came to the banks of the Ganges, to pay his reſpects to
 him; but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory, for three
 years back, he was confined for a few days, till his accounts were
 ſettled, and then he was releaſed. The ſultan croſſed the river,
 chaſtiſed ſome riotous Zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did
 not remain there many days, before he drew his army towards

Muharick re-
 duces Mewat,
 and diſmiſſes
 his army.

Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and ravaging
 their country, returned to Delhi; and permitting his omrahs to re-

tire

tire to their jagiers, he gave himself up to pleasure and self-tivity. A. D. 1423.
Hig. 827.

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more desperate and distressed by the king's bad policy, in ruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infest all the adjacent countries. This circumstance obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and twenty nine, to collect again an army to subdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandsons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the passes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great distress, they surrendered themselves, were imprisoned, their country was again ravaged, and the sultan returned to Delhi. Disturbances
in Mewat.

But the distresses of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable subjects. The sultan, after a recess of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms against them, and to carry fire and sword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir Chan, his brother Mahummud held the chief sway. Upon the approach of the sultan, Mahummud shut himself up in the city, which he held out against the king sixteen days; but, upon the desertion of the greatest part of the garrison, he surrendered at discretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought into the presence. The sultan delivered the city to the care of Muckbul Chan, and sent Mahummud and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Cheir ul Dien Topha he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raised contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Mahummud Hassen from the government of Moultan to that of Firoza, bestowing the former upon Malleck Rigib Nadir. Mewat again
reduced.

A. D. 1423.
 Hig. 827.
 Mahummud
 Chan
 escapes, and
 raises disturb-
 ances.

Flies to Sul-
 tan Ibrahim
 Shirki.

During these transactions Mahummud Chan found means to escape, with his family, to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, took the city of Biana, in the absence of Muckbul Chan, on an expedition to Mahaban. The sultan dispatched Malleck Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahummud Chan from thence. Mahummud retired into the fort, when Malleck Mubariz took possession of the country. After a few days siege he left the defence of the place to some trusty friends, and, issuing out himself, escaped to Sultan Ibrahim Shirki, who was advancing with an army against Calpee.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occasion sent expresses to Delhi, for succours. Mubarick Shaw hastened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Malleck Mahummud Hassen, with ten thousand horse, against Mughtifs Chan, the brother of Sultan Shirki, who was in motion with a considerable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Mughtifs, drove him back to his brother, and Mahummud Hassen returned to the army.

Sultan Shirki advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and so on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick Shaw, in the mean time, crossing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within five crores of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of twenty-two days, during which time, slight skirmishes daily happened between them. Sultan Shirki, however, upon the seventh of Jemmad ul Achir, marched out of his camp, and offered battle to the king. Mubarick Shaw, though he declined to risque his own person, ordered out his army to oppose Shirki, under the command of his Vizier Surur ul Muluck, Seid ul Sadit, and Seid Sallam.

Sultan Shirki
 advances
 against Mu-
 barick.

The

The action commenced, with great fury, about noon, and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their respective camps. Sultan Shirki, however, marched off, in the morning, towards Jionpoor, while Mubarick Shaw, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, crossing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the usual presents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahummud Chan had again thrown himself, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he pleased. Mahummud Hassen was left in the government of that province; and on the fifteenth of Shaban, eight hundred and thirty one, Sultan Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there seized Malleck Kuddu Mewati, who had joined himself to Sultan Shirki, and ordered him to be put to death.

A. D. 1427.
Hig. 831.
The armies
engage.
A drawn bat-
tle.

Mubarick
returns to
Delhi.

In the month of Zicada the sultan received advices, that Jifferit had sat down before Callanore, after having defeated Malleck Secunder, who had marched against him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick Shaw sent an order to Zirick Chan, governor of Samana, and Ifflam Chan, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Malleck Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jifferit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

Jifferit be-
sieves Calla-
nore,

is defeated,

Sultan Mubarick Shaw marched to Mewat, in the month of Mohirrim, eight hundred and thirty two, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigib Nadir was dead, upon which, the sultan conferred the title of Ameid ul Muluck upon Mahummud Hassen, who had settled the affairs of Biana, and sent him governor to Moultan. The sultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged, and carried off some thousands of the poor inhabitants into slavery.

Sultan Mu-
barick sub-
dues Mewat.

Turning

A. D. 1429. Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wrested that country
 Hig. 833. from the son of Hasſen Chan, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldest son had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngest that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the custom of Hindostan, it should become the property of the king.

Ingratitude of the sons of Seid Allum. These favours, however, did not secure the faith of the sons of Seid Allum, for they sent Fowlad, a Turkish slave, to Tibberhind, to stir up privately, in their name, an insurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is said, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and so have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was discovered, and both imprisoned; while, in the mean time, Malleck Eufuph and Rai Ibbu, were sent to Tibberhind to confiscate their estates, and suppress the disturbance raised by Fowlad.

Rebellion of Fowlad. Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent security the imperial generals, and fallying one night from his fort, surprized their camp. He was, however, so warmly received by the king's troops, that he was soon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the same time making a great discharge of artillery from the works, which struck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to their heels, leaving their camp standing, with all their baggage. Sultan Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that disaster, was constrained to march towards Tibberhind in person. The rebel daily gathered strength, and the king was obliged to call Ameid ul Muluck from Moulton, and several other governors, to join him. Every thing for the expedition being prepared, the sultan stopped at Surfutti, and dispatched the greatest part of his army to invest the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad sent a message to the imperial camp, importing, that he had
 great

Mubarick marches against him.

great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and said, that if he should be sent with promise of pardon, he himself would deliver up the place. The sultan accordingly sent Ameid ul Muluck to Tibberhind, where Fowlad met him a little without the gate. Having accordingly received assurances of pardon, he promised to give up the place the next day. But one of Ameid ul Muluck's attendants, who was of Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that though Ameid ul Muluck was a man of strict honour, and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the king might not be so tender of preserving his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to punishment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repented seriously of his promise; and, therefore, as he had both money and provisions, he determined to hold out to the last.

A. D. 1429.
Hig. 833.

The sultan seeing that the taking of the place would be a work of time, and that there would be no occasion for so great an army to besiege it, he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with the forces of Moultan, and leaving Islam Chan Lodi, Cummal Chan, and Rai Firose, to carry on the siege, he himself retired to Delhi. Fowlad having held out six months, he was greatly distressed, and saw no means of extricating himself, but by an alliance with Amir Shech Ali, governor of Cabul, on the part of Mirza Sharoch, the Mogul king. He sent, for this purpose, messengers to him, with large promises for his assistance. As Sultan Mubarick Shaw had taken no pains to keep upon good terms with the Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and, being in his way joined by the Gickers, crossed the Bea, and ravaged the countries of those omrahs who carried on the siege; and advancing towards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped and fled. Fowlad, for this signal service, gave to Shech Ali two lacks of rupees, and other presents; and having given to him all the charge of his family, exerted himself in repairing the fortifications, and laying in provisions and ammunition.

Besieges him.
The siege
raised by the
Moguls.

Amir

A. D. 1429.
 Hig. 833.
 who ravage
 the country.

March to
 Moultan.

Amir Shech Ali, crossing the Suttuluz, committed cruel depredations upon the unhappy country, acquiring of plunder twenty times the value of the subsidy which he had received from Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raised the usual tribute from Secunder Tophu, then returned towards Dibalpoor, desolating the country wherever he went; insomuch that forty thousand Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a greater number carried away prisoners. Ameid ul Muluck posted himself to oppose Ali, at the town of Tilbanna, but he gave him the slip, and went to Chitpoor, when Ameid ul Muluck received the sultan's orders to retreat to save Moultan. The flight of the imperial army encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond the Ravi, and to lay waste the country, to within ten crores of Moultan. Ali defeated there Islam Chan Lodi, who had been left to stop his progress.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Cheirabad, within three crores of the city, and the next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan, they made an assault upon the place, but were beat back. They continued, however, from their camp to make daily excursions towards the city, putting all whom they could meet to the sword.

The sultan
 sends an ar-
 my against
 them.

The Moguls
 overthrown.

The sultan being informed of these transactions, sent Fatte Chan and Mubarick Chan of Guzerat, with Zirick Chan, Malleck Calla Shenipile, Malleck Eufoph, Kummal Chan, Rai Hibbu, and other omrahs of distinction, to succour Ameid ul Muluck; who, upon being joined by all these with their forces, went out, and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline it, and a furious conflict ensued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained some advantage. However, upon the death of Fatte Chan, the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the standards of Hindostan. Shech Ali, at one stroke, played away all his gains, escaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight.

Ameid

Ameid ul Muluck, having pursued the runaways to Shinnore, returned victorious to Moulton, and the omrahs, who had succoured him, repaired, by the king's orders, to Delhi; and soon after, the sultan, jealous of the success of Ameid ul Muluck, called him also to court. Jisserit took advantage of his absence, crossed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Malleck Secunder Topha, near Jilender, defeated and took him prisoner, with all his treasure and baggage. He forthwith advanced and besieged Lahore. Shech Ali, at the same time, at the instigation of Jisserit, made another incursion towards Moulton, and, having taken Tilbunna, by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, massacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins.

A. D. 1430.
Hig. 834.

Jisserit in-
vades the em-
pire.

Besieges La-
hore.

Fowlad, taking also advantage of these disturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country of Rai Firose, defeated him. Sultan Mubarick Shaw thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He, accordingly, upon the first of Jemmad ul Awil, eight hundred and thirty-five, took the route of Lahore, appointing Malleck Surûr, his vizier, governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. Malleck Surûr arriving at Sammana, Jisserit raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Shech Ali hastened back to Cabul, and Fowlad again shut himself up in Tibberhind. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nufirit Chan Birkandaz; then returning, encamped near Panniput, on the banks of the Jumna, sending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to suppress some insurrections about Gualier, and Malleck Surûr to besiege Tibberhind; he himself returning to Delhi.

Sultan Mu-
barick raises
the siege.

In the month of Zihidge, Jisserit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hostilities against Nufirit Chan, which obliged the sultan, in the year eight hundred and thirty-six, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death

Mubarick
marches
against Jisse-
rit.

A. D. 1432.
Hig. 836. of his mother, Muchdumâ Jehan, and he immediately returned, with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obsequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he suddenly changed his resolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Alleh Daad Lodi, who promised to expel Jisserit. But Jisserit, upon hearing of the sultan's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aspect, so that he was in a condition to receive Alleh Daad Lodi, whom he defeated.

The sultan having received the news of this overthrow, and also that Shech Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the rout of Punjaab, sending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the omrahs who were besieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Malleck Shech Ali, who stood in awe of him, laid aside his intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he surprized, and began a horrid scene of massacre and depredation. But hearing that the sultan had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garrison of two thousand men in the place, and retreated towards Cabul, ravaging the country in his way, and leaving his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore.

Shech Ali
takes Lahore,

which is re-
taken by Mu-
barick.

Shinnore ca-
pitulates.

The sultan, a second time advanced Malleck Secunder Topha, who had ransomed himself, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jillender, upon which he advanced and laid siege to the city. He took it by capitulation, and permitted the garrison to retire to Cabul. He immediately crossed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and invested Shinnore. Malleck Muziffer held up in that place the standard of opposition for a whole month, but being hard pressed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the sultan, and paying a great ransom for his liberty. Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a select body, marched himself to Moultan to visit the tombs of the saints, from whence he returned in a few days

days to his camp. He, at this time, turned Secunder Topha again out of his government of Lahore, and gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of Surûr ul Malleck, the vizier, he joined Kammal ul Dien with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people.

A. D. 1432.
Hig. 836.

Surûr ul Malleck became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittrie, Miran Sidder, deputy to the Aziz Muma-lick, Cafi Abdul Summud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king.

A conspiracy
formed
against the
sultan.

About this time, Mubarick Shaw had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it Mubarick Abad, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, and being presented with the head of Fowlad, he returned to Mubarick Abad. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Sultan Ibrahim Shirki, and Sultan Hoshung Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to Mubarick Shaw, who sought an opportunity to expel Sultan Shirki from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built at Mubarick Abad, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn

He is assassinated.

A. D. 1433. swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. Surûr ul Malleck
 Hig. 837. having previously settled matters with Sultan Mahummud, one of
 the grandsons of Chizer Chan, raised that prince to the throne.

His charac-
 ter.

Mubarick Shaw reigned thirteen years, three months, and six-
 teen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent,
 and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there
 is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy
 of a throne.

SECTION VI.

The reign of Sultan MAHUMMUD SHAW. BEN FERID CHAN
 BEN CHIZER CHAN.

Mahummud
 Shaw mounts
 the throne.

ACCORDING to the custom of the world, which cannot
 subsist without rule, the same day that Sultan Mubarick Shaw
 was sent to eternity, Mahummud Shaw was established upon the
 throne. The ungrateful assassin, Surûr ul Malleck, received the
 title of Chan Jehan, and seized upon the king's treasure, regalia,
 and other effects, discharging all the old omrahs from office, and
 appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious
 views.

The omrahs
 disguise their
 discontent.

Kummal ul Malleck, and other omrahs, who were in the camp,
 having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the king's
 death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country,
 to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new king, and to
 wait a more proper and more certain opportunity of taking revenge
 upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their com-
 pliments to Mahummud Shaw. The first preferments, which the

vizier

vizier gave away to facilitate his future schemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conspirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, with the title of Moain ul Malleck, was presented with a very considerable jagier. The son of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim Seid Chan, and the government of several countries were conferred upon him. But the omrahs, and dependants of Mubarick Shaw, were, by tricks and false accusations, killed, imprisoned, banished, robbed, or turned out of office.

A. D. 1433.
Hig. 837.
The vizier's
tyranny.

A slave of Surûr ul Malleck, whose name was Rana Shech, was sent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Eufoph Chan Lodi fought and slew him near that place. At the same time some of the omrahs of Mubarick Shaw and of Chizer Chan, who saw that there was a design on foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Malleck Chimun, governor of Budacon, Malleck Allah Daad Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Meer Ali of Gûzerat, and Amir Shech, the Turk, erected the spear of rebellion, upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of Kummal ul Malleck, gave him the command of the army, and sent Chan Azim Sidarin, and his own son Eufoph, along with him, to suppress the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal ul Malleck intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Eufoph, for the murder of the king. He therefore acquainted Malleck Allah Daad Lodi of his resolutions, who, for that reason, made no motion towards them. This design being, however, discovered to the vizier, he sent Malleck Hoshiar, his own slave, with a great army, under pretence of succours, with private instructions, to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal ul Malleck, however, had, at Ahare, joined his forces with Malleck Alla Daad Lodi, before the reinforcement, under the vizier's slave, arrived. Hoshiar, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no safety for him, and he, therefore, fled, with Eufoph and Sidarin, to Delhi. Kummal ul Malleck

The omrahs
rise in arms.

The vizier's
army revolts.

A. D. 1435. Malleck immediately sent to call the disaffected omrahs, who joined
 H. J. 837. him without delay, so that, upon the last of Ramzan, he moved,
 and march to Delhi. with a great army, towards Delhi.

The vizier besieged in the citadel. The vizier shut himself up in the citadel of Seri, which he held out three months; but as the party of Kummal ul Malleck daily gained strength and reputation, he was driven to great distress.

The sultan plots against him. Sultan Mahmud Shaw, perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier.

The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be beforehand with the sultan; accordingly, upon the eighth of Mohirrim, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and with some of his own adherents, he broke

His counter-plot. into the king's apartment. But Mahmud, having suspected him of such intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, rushed upon the conspirators. They immediately betook

Is slain. themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out of the door, and thus met the fate which he designed for his lord. The sons of Miran Sidder, and the rest of the assassins, were taken, and put to death, while Malleck Hoshiar and Malleck Mubarick, who were parties concerned, were publicly executed. The Kittries, and other adherents of Surur ul Malleck, afraid of themselves, rose up in arms. The king was obliged to

Punishment of the murderers of Mubarick. shut himself up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who, rushing in accordingly, began a dreadful massacre among the rebels, till they entirely subdued them. Such as remained alive were bound and sacrificed at the tomb of Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

The omrahs swear allegiance to Mahmud Shaw. Khumal ul Malleck, and the other omrahs, swore allegiance the next day, for the second time, to Mahmud Shaw; Malleck having

having the title of Kummal Chan, with the vizarit conferred upon him, Malleck Chimun being dignified with the title of Ghazi Malleck, and a jagier. The other omrahs were confirmed in their former offices, governments, and estates.

A. D. 1434.
Hig. 838.

When matters were completely settled at Delhi, the king, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Moultan, and encamping near Mubarickpoor, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the omrahs, being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial standard till Ameid-ul Muluck arrived from Moultan, adding power to enforce the royal commands, by a numerous army, which he brought with him. All the other provincial omrahs hastened to the camp, and were honored with dresses, and other marks of favor and distinction. The sultan moved towards Moultan, to make a parade with his army, and, having visited the tombs of the saints, returned to his capital.

The sultan
marches to-
wards Moul-
tan,

In the year eight hundred and forty, he marched towards Samana, and detached a part of his army against Jifferit, the Gicker, who was raising disturbances. The country of Jifferit was plundered, and the king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the sultan's luxurious indolence soon affected the state. Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Moultan, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, rose in rebellion. At the same time, Malleck Beloli Lodi, who, after the death of his uncle, Islam Chan, became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput.

and to Sam-
mana.

Gives him-
self up to in-
dolence and
pleasure.

A revolt in
Moultan.

The sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword, but Malleck Be-

Malleck Be-
loli defeats
the imperial
army.

loli

A. D. 1438.
Hig. 842. loli recruited his army, and, when the sultan's forces were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. The sultan, this time, sent Hissam Chan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Malleck Beloli wrote to the sultan, that if he would put Hissam Chan to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The sultan's
concessions to
the rebels,

alienate the
minds of his
subjects.

Confusions
in the empire.

The sultan was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam Chan. He also deprived Kummal Chan of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid Chan, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Chan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must have ensued in the state, with-held their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over, in the general confusion.

A. D. 1440.
Hig. 844.

The impolitic and cowardly behaviour of the king.

Sultan Ibrahim Shirki possessed himself of several districts adjoining to his dominions, and Sultan Mahmood Chillegi, king of Malava, made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year eight hundred and forty four, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahummud Shaw, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Malleck Beloli Lodi, to beg his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mahummud Shaw, though his army was greatly superior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himself, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the Haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Malleck Beloli leading the van.

When

When Sultan Mahmood Chilligi was given to understand, that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahummud, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Malleck Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Sultan Mahmood Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Sultan Mahummud, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to beg peace.

A. D. 1111.
Hig. 845.

A drawn battle.

A peace concluded.

Sultan Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Malleck Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Sultan Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of Chan Chanan, and adopted him for his son.

Mahmood Chilligi attacked and defeated by Beloli.

Beloli adopted by the sultan.

In the year eight hundred and forty five, the sultan marched to Sarmana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Malleck Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jifferit. He himself returned to his capital. Malleck Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of

He marches against Delhi.

A. D. 1446. fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to
 Hig. 850. seize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's
 power de-
 clines.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Sultan Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Sultan

He dies.

Mahummud fell sick and died, in the year eight hundred and forty nine, leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not sit with dignity himself. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla ul Dien succeeded him in the empire.

His charact-
 er.

S E C T I O N VII.

The reign of Sultan ALLA UL DIEN BEN MAHUMMUD
 SHAW.

Alla mounts
 the throne.

WHEN Sultan Alla ul Dien had placed his foot upon the musnud of Delhi, all the omrahs, excepting Malleck Beloli Lodi, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new sultan was in no condition to chastise. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumor propagated, that the king of Jionpoor was advancing towards Delhi, which, though false, brought back the sultan to his capital; though he was told by Hissam Chan, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier the sultan's displeasure.

This

This step, however, proved ruinous to the sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence, to divert him from which, the vizier took much pains, but only incurred more and more his displeasure.

A. D. 1447.
Hig. 851.
Loses his reputation.

His luxury.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the stile and dignity of kings; while Punjaab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, was possessed by Malleck Beloli Lodi. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within seven crores of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed Chan of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of the city, was possessed by Daria Chan Lodi; Kole, by Isah Chan; Rabari, by Cuttub Chan, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by Rai Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Chan Odi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

The state of Hindostan.

Decayed condition of the empire.

Malleck Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The sultan, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means to recover part of his lost empire, advising with Cuttub Chan, Isah Chan, and Rai Partab. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him, that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favorable aspect. The weak Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and dis-

Malleck Beloli makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Delhi.

A. D. 1448. Fig. 852. graced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Fixes his residence at Budaoon.

Alla accordingly, in the year eight hundred and fifty two, set out for Budaoon, leaving Hissam Chan in the government of Delhi. When the sultan arrived at this new capital, Cuttub Chan and Rai Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release him, and to escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the sultan's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

Or lets the vizier to be put to death,

who escapes to Delhi,

and places Sultan Beloli upon the throne.

The sultan put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, and vain excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Malleck Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amused the sultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Sultan Alla ul Dien, in the Chutba, in the year eight hundred and fifty four.

He gave the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, marched in person to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the same time, to Sultan Alla ul Dien, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised

promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon.

A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854.
Alla abdi-
cates in fa-
vour of Be-
looli.

Sultan Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Sultan Alla ul Dien remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eighty three; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty eight.

S E C T I O N VIII.

The reign of Sultan BELOLI LODI.

BELOLI LODI was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, which people, forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of Sultan Firose Shaw, Malleck Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Moultan. Malleck Ibrahim had five sons, Malleck Sultan Shech, Malleck Culla, Malleck Firose, Malleck Mahummud, and Malleck Chaja, who, on the death of their father remained in Moultan.

B. loli's fa-
mily.

When Chizer Chan was appointed to that government, Sultan Shech received the command of all his Afghan troops. In the action which Chizer Chan had with Eckbal Chan, Sultan Shech had the good fortune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a great favorite with Chizer Chan. He was accordingly appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Chan, while his brothers partook of his fortune. One of whom, Malleck Calla, the father of Sultan Beloli, had a district bestowed upon him by his brother.

A. D. 1450. brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own cousin, being smothered by the fall of a house, when with child, the father instantly ripped up her belly, and saved the life of the infant, who afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan Beloli.

Hig. 854.
Account of
his birth.

Distinguishes
himself in an
action.

Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle, Islam Chan, at Sirhind, and upon his distinguishing himself in a battle, his uncle gave him his own daughter in marriage. Islam Chan was, at this time, so powerful, that he retained twelve thousand Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service.

Islam Chan
recommends
Beloli to the
government
of Sirhind.

Islam Chan, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to succeed him. The troops upon this divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Malleck Firose, brother to Islam Chan, who had been made an omrah by the king of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub Chan, the son of Islam Chan. But Malleck Beloli, who was the most artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and encrease his own power.

Cuttub Chan
complains at
the court of
Delhi.

Cuttub Chan repaired to Delhi, and acquainted Sultan Mahumud Shaw, that the Afghans of Sirhind were establishing a power, which, unless it was soon prevented, would shake the empire. The sultan immediately dispatched Secunder Topha, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they disobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind.

Perfidy of the
imperial ge-
nerals.

Jifferit was also instigated to take arms against them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promise of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Malleck Firose left his son Shai Chan and Malleck Beloli with his army, and, with some attendants, went to Jifferit and Malleck Secunder Topha. They,

They, notwithstanding their promise, by the advice of *Cuttub Chan*, imprisoned him and slew all his attendants. They also dispatched part of their army to reduce *Beloli*, but he retreated to a place of safety, with the women and children. Before he could join *Shai Chan*, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army slain.

A. D. 1450.
H. g. 854.

When *Jiffirit* had retired to *Punjaab*, *Beloli* collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raise contributions, or plunder wherever he could, and as he was extremely generous in dividing the spoil among his followers, he soon became very powerful. Some time after *Malleck Firose* fled from *Delhi*, and joined him; and *Cuttub Chan*, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to *Beloli*. *Beloli* soon after invaded *Sirhind*, and possessed himself of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of these transactions, *Sultan Mahummud Shaw* sent *Hissam Chan*, his vizier, with a great army against him. *Malleck Beloli* took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly encreased.

Beloli becomes powerful.

We are told, that when *Beloli* was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous *Dirvesh* of *Sammana*, whose name was *Sheidai*. When he sat in a respectful posture before him, the *Dirvesh* cried out, in an enthusiastick manner, "Who will give two thousand rupees for the empire of *Delhi*?" Upon which *Malleck Beloli* told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the *Dirvesh*. The *Dirvesh* accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of *Beloli*, saluted him king.

Is promised the empire by a *Dirvesh*.

The companions of *Beloli* ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied, "That, if the thing came to pass, he had

Reflection upon that tale.

"made

“ made a cheap purchase ; if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm.”

Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of superstition, this prediction of the Dirvesh might have great effect, in promoting its own end ; for when a man’s mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greatest difficulties will be often surmounted, by a steady perseverance. But to return from this digression.

A. D. 1450. After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the sultan, as
 Hig. 85+. before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion upon the vizier’s conduct towards him. When the sultan basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi so well, that he got the government of Sirhind, and other districts near it, confirmed to him in jagier ; which were the means that enabled him to mount the musnud, as we have already seen, in the former reign.

His sons and relations.

He had, at the time of his accession, nine sons, Chaja Baezid, Nizam Chan, who was afterwards Sultan Secunder ; Barba Shaw, Mubarick Chan, Sultan Alla ul Dien, Jemmâl Chan, Miah Jacob, Miah Mufah, and Jellâl Chan ; and of omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty six in the empire.

His stratagem against Hamid Chan.

As Hamid Chan, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence still in the state, he treated him for some time with honor and respect. Being one day in Hamid Chan’s house, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themselves appear as foolish and ridiculous as possible, that the vizier might consider them as
 silly

filly fellows ; that so he might be left upon his guard against them. When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment.

A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854.

Hamid Chan asked them the reason of that extraordinary custom. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid Chan laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest otter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and others to devour whole festoons of flowers, while the beetle stood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; some, who had eat large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the king and the vizier were almost bursting with laughter.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the king's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his house, was extremely pleased, and had no suspicion of men given to so much mirth. The next visit the king paid to Hamid Chan, a greater number of his attendants were admitted; but as Hamid Chan had still a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was necessary to gain admission for some more of the king's people, who were stopped without by the guards. The king having before instructed them how to proceed in this case, they began loudly to wrangle with the guard, and threw out bitter invectives against the king, for permitting them to be so unworthily treated. They even swore that they respected the vizier, and would see him.

A. D. 1451.
Hig. 855.

The vizier
seized in his
own house.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the king gave the signal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid Chan's servants to remain quiet, and they should come to no harm. Upon which two or three seized the vizier, and bound him. The king then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life, but that it was necessary he should retire from business, and spend the rest of his days in the cares of a future state. After this the king ruled without fear or controul.

Beloli regu-
lates the west-
ern provin-
ces.

Delhi be-
sieged.

The same year, the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the Higera, he left Delhi, under the charge of his eldest son, Chaja Baezid, and marched towards Moulton to recruit his army, and to regulate all these western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Sultan Mahmood Shirki, of Jionpoor, who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Sultan Beloli hastened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Beloli defeats
the army of
Sultan Shir-
ki.

Sultan Mahmood send thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Fatti Chan Herevi against him. When the action began, Cuttub Chan, who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Fatti Chan's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub Chan, in the mean time, advancing against Diria Chan Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, who had joined Sultan Mahmood, cried out—
“ For shame ! Diria Chan, where is your honor, thus to wage war
“ against your own kindred, and to invest your wife and family in
“ the city of Delhi, when you ought rather to defend them against
“ your natural enemies ? ” “ Pursue me not,” said Diria Chan,
“ and I am gone ; ” and he immediately wheeled off, followed by
all the Patans, or Afghans, in Fatti Chan's army.

The

The other troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Fatti Chan was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the sultan. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Sultan Mahmood raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

A. D. 1452.
Hig. 856.

The siege of
Delhi raised.

The sultanit of Beloli became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid Chan submitted himself to his authority. The sultan took seven pergunnahs from him, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria Chan Ledi, governor of Simbol, presented him with seven more pergunnahs, and submitted in like manner. He then took the rout of Koli, and confirmed Isah Chan in that government. He continued his progress to Barhanabad, and gave that province to Mubarick Chan, while Bowgaw was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub Chan Ben Haffin Chan shut himself up in the fort, but the sultan took it in a few days by capitulation, and again settled him in the same government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava, he regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba.

Beloli's pro-
gress through
several pro-
vinces.
Their sub-
mission.

Jonah Chan quitted, about this time, the court in disgust, and joined Sultan Mahmood Shirki, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Sultan Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Sultan Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in fight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing remarkable was done, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Sultan Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by Mubarick Shaw, and that Sultan Mahmood should hold all that was in the possession

Sultan Shirki
has designs
upon Delhi.

A peace be-
tween the
Sultans.

of Sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpoor; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Fatti Chan, and the latter turn Jonah Chan out of his government.

Shirki, of-
fended at
Beloli,
marches
against him.

Sultan Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Sultan Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Sultan Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where Cuttub Chan and Diria Chan Lodi surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of Cuttub Chan having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Sultan Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Sultan Mahmood had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mahummud Shaw; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahummud Shaw returned to Jionpoor, and Sultan Beloli took the rout of Delhi.

Dies.

Before the sultan arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shumsh Chatoon, the sister of Cuttub Chan, conjuring him, in the most tender manner, not to suffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break up the peace he had just concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahummud Shaw met him near Sirfutti. The younger brother of Mahummud Shaw, Hassen Chan, fearing his brother's resentment for some trespass, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal Chan, his other brother, soon followed him, but the detachment which Sultan Beloli had sent after Hassen Chan, met Sittal Chan on the way, and took him prisoner. The sultan determined to keep him as a ransom for Cuttub Chan.

In

In the mean time, the omrahs conspired against Mahummud Shaw, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen Chan, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Sultan Beloli, for what reason we know not, took no advantages of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Sultan Hassen Chan for the space of four years; Cuttub Chan and Sittab Chan being interchangeably released.

Beloli marches against Mahummud, who is assassinated.

Beloli returned towards Shumseabab, whither Bir-Singh, the son of Rai Partab, came to pay his compliments. But as his father had taken a standard and a pair of drums formerly from Deria Chan in an action, that base man thought to wipe off that dishonour by assassinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub Chan, the son of Hassen Chan, Mubariz Chan, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Sultan Hassen. Beloli, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Treachery of Deria Chan.

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moulton, and the disorders in Punjaab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that Sultan Hassen Shirki was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub Chan and Chan Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, hostilities continued without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years.

Beloli marches against Sultan Hassen.

A peace.

At the expiration of this truce, Sultan Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed Chan of Mewat, and Rustum Chan of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed Chan of Selwan, the governor of Biana, struck money, and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Sultan Beloli, no ways intimidated

Hassen marches towards Delhi.

A. D. 1478. intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him.
 Hig. 883.

The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they

A peace. again struck up a peace.

But this pacification was not permanent. Sultan Hassein advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Hassein advances towards Delhi.

Much about this time, the mother of Sultan Hassein, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Gualier and Cuttub Chan Lodi, went to console him upon that occasion. When in discourse, Cuttub Chan perceived that Hassein Chan was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in possession of Delhi, look on my word as nothing. He then, with much art, got leave to depart from Hassein's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Sultan Beloli that he had escaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Sultan Hassein, who was meditating a fresh war against him.

Sultan Alla dies.

About this time Sultan Alla ul Dien* died at Budaon, upon which Sultan Hassein went to settle matters at Budaon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick Chan, governor of that province, then marching towards Delhi, in the year eight hundred and eighty three, he crossed the river Jumna near Gutterritch. Sultan Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Sultan Hassein had, in general, the advantage.

Hassein marches to Delhi.

* The abdicated emperor.

Cuttub Chan dispatched a person to Hassein, informing him, that Sultan Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Sultan Hassein marched homeward. But Sultan Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and pursuing Hassein, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Sultan Hassein, such as Campul, Pattiali, Shumseabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under him. But when he had pursued Hassein as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Sultan Hassein proceeded to Raberi, and Sultan Beloli returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1478.
Hig. 383.

Beloli's per-
fidy.

Sultan Hassein could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Sultan Hassein was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage; which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Sultan Hassein having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon standing a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the raja of Gualier brought him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Sultan Beloli went, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim Chan, the brother of Sultan Hassein, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present
of

A. D. 1475.
Hig. 88j.

of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Sultan Hassein met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Muluck Chand of Buxar, coming over to Sultan Beloli, shewed him a passible ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Sultan Hassein, defeated him, and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Sultan Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Sultan Hassein again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Bibi Conzah, the daughter of Sultan Alla ul Dien, who was treated with great respect. Sultan Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Chan Lohani, leaving Cuttub Chan Lodi, Chan Jehan, and other omrahs, at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub Chan's death. Chan Jehan, Mubarick Chan, and other omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off the sultan's yoke.

Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Hassein, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbee Shaw, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Hamaion Ben Baizied. He directed then his march to Dolepore, raising a tribute upon the raja of that place, who began to rank himself among Beloli's subjects. The sultan went from thence to a place in the districts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli, being old and infirm, divides his dominions among his sons.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, giving
Jionpoor

Jionpoor to Barbeck Shaw; Kurrah and Manikpore, to Mubarick Chan; Byrage, to his nephew Shech Mahummud, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain; Lucknore and Calpee, to Azim Humaioon, whose father, Baezid, was assassinated a little before by his own servant; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old omrahs, and a relation; and Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers, to his son Nizam Chan, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

Some time after this division the sultan proceeded to Gualier, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Azim Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son, Nizam Chan, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: At the same time the sultan, by the advice of some omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam Chan was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk Chan, the vizier of Sultan Hassein Shirki, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time, the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in the year eight hundred and ninety four, having reigned thirty eight years, eight months, and seven days.

He falls sick.

Dies.

Beloli was, for those days, esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. When he

His character.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 874.

came to the empire, he divided the treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed upon to mount the throne, saying, "That it was enough for him, that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom eat at home. Though a man of no great literature himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery, that none could doubt it; at the same time, he was often cautious to excess, never chusing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly in negotiation.

SECTION IX.

The reign of Sultan SECUNDER BEN SULTAN BELOLI.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

The omrahs
variously
inclined.

Debate about
a successor to
Beloli.

THE omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Azim Humaioon, some to Barbeck, the eldest son of the sultan then living, and some to Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the sultan's bed, by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs, in favor of her son. Upon which Isah Chan, the nephew of Beloli, answered her, in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

Firmilli's
boldness.

Chan Chanan Firmilli, a stout daring man, took him up, and told him, That the sultan was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family ought

to

to be despised. Ifah Chan replied, That silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Upon which the other rose up, in a rage, and told him, he was, indeed, a servant of Sultan Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased king to Jellali, where he was met by Sultan Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

A. D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

Secunder mounts the throne.

Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Ifah Chan, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favors upon all his kindred.

Defeats and pardons Ifah Chan.

Secunder had, at this time, six sons, Ibrahim Chan, Jellâl Chan, Ishmaiel Chan, Hassein Chan, Mahmood Chan, and Shech Azim Humaioon; and likewise fifty three omrahs of distinction in his service.

Some time after his accession, Secunder marched towards Roberi, and besieged his own brother, Allum Chan, in the fort of Chundwar, for some days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Ifah Chan Lodi, at Pattiali. Sultan Secunder gave Roberi to Chan Chanan, went, in person, to Attava, and calling Allum Chan, his brother, to court, gave him possession of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Ifah Chan, wounded, and defeated him; after which Ifah Chan threw himself upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and soon after died of his wound.

Marches against his brother Allum.

Again defeats Ifah Chan.

Sultan Secunder, about that time, sent a trusty person to Barbeck Shaw, his brother, king of Jionpoor, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbeck rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbeck Shaw and Calla Par came out in order of

Marches against his brother Barbeck.

A. D. 1488. battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Sultan Hig. 894. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged he would look upon him as his son.

His policy.

Calla Par, confounded at this honor done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for such kindness, desiring to get a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of his favor. He was accordingly mounted, and he perfidiously sold his honor for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbeck Shaw; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbeck seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight: Barbeck Shaw did all that bravery could perform, but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaon, while Mubarick Chan, his son, was taken prisoner.

Barbeck
defeated,

Sultan Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbeck Shaw in Budaon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The sultan carried Barbeck with him to Jionpoor; but as Sultan Hassein Shirki was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbeck would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed jagiers and pergunnahs, to keep them firm in his own interest.

and taken;
used with
kindness and
respect.

Secunder
marches to
Calpie.

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from Azim Humai-oon, and gave it to Mahmood Chan Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and the governor, Talar Chan, paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office, and turning towards the fort of Gualier,

he

he sent Chaja Mahummiud with an honorary dress to Raja Maan, who dispatched his nephew with presents to accompany the king to Biana.

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 896.

Sultan Sherrif met the emperor, upon friendly terms, at Biana. The king ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellafar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Chan Serwani with him to put him in possession of the fort, but when he had got within the walls, he shut the gates upon Omar Chan, and prepared to defend himself.

Sultan Sherrif refuses to give up Biana.

The sultan despairing of reducing the place, went to Agra, where Hybut Chan Serwani, who held that fort for Sultan Sherrif, shut the gates against him, contrary to his expectation. This insult enraged the sultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sultan Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, returned himself, with the utmost expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately besieged. The siege proved long and bloody; however, Sultan Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year eight hundred and ninety seven, when that government was given to Chan Chanan Firmilli.

Secunder marches to Agra.

Reduces Biana,

The fort of Agra falling, about the same time, into the sultan's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an insurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and that they had already slain Sheri Chan, the brother of Mubarick Chan. Mubarick Chan himself being driven from Kurrah, was taken prisoner by Rai Bhede, of Battea, and Barbeck Shaw obliged to go to Barage, to solicit the assistance of Calla Par; so that the sultan, after twenty two days respite at Delhi, was under the necessity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbeck Shaw; and Rai Bhede hearing of the sultan's approach, released

and Agra.

An insurrection at Jionpoor.

Mubarick,

A. D. 1491. Mubarick Chan, and the zemindars dispersed themselves. The sul-
 Hig. 897. tan carried Barbeck Shaw to Jionpoor, and having left him there to
 The infer- punish the offenders, he spent a month in hunting about Oud.
 gents disperse upon Secun-
 der's ap-
 proach.

They rise a
 second time.

Barbeck Shaw
 imprisoned.

At Oud intèlligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars had risen again, and besieged Barbeck Shaw, in Jionpoor. He ordered immediately that Calla Par and Azim Humaioon Serwani, and Chan Chanan Lowani, by the way of Oud, and Mubarick Chan, by the way of Kurrah, should march against them, and send Barbeck Shaw prisoner to the presence. His orders were accordingly executed, and Barbeck was given in charge to Hybut Chan and Omar Chan Serwani, being esteemed an improper person for the government, and too dangerous to be trusted with his liberty.

Rai Bhede
 submits.

The sultan, after these transactions, marched towards Chinar, which was held for Sultan Hassen Shirki; upon his approach, the garrison made a sally, and were driven back into the fort; but the sultan, upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almost impregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Battea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea, and paid him homage, upon which the king confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede suspecting some design against himself, left all his retinue, and deserted the camp alone. The sultan sent him back his effects. He, however, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and crossing the river, by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he married the widow of Sheri Chan.

From Dilmow the sultan marched to Shumseabad, where he remained six months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from thence, in a few days, to Shumseabad, he plundered the town of Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti resided. Secunder spent the rainy season at Shumseabad.

In the year nine hundred, the sultan made another campaign towards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the son of Rai Bhede, at Car-rangatti, who fled to Battea; but, upon the sultan's approach, Rai Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. The sultan, after this victory, proceeded to Sezdewar; but provisions growing scarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Jionpoor, having, in this expedition, lost a great part of his cavalry by fatigue, bad roads, and the want of forage.

A. D. 1494.
Hig. 900.
Secunder
marches
against
Battea.

Lickim Chund, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to Sultan Hassein, of Bekâr, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Sultan Hassein to put his army in motion, and march directly against Sultan Secunder. Secunder hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did eighteen crores from Benaris: An obstinate battle was fought, in which Sultan Hassein was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Hassein sets
upon Secun-
der,

but is over-
thrown.

Sultan Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing Sultan Hassein was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He then marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Sultan Hassein left Malleck Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominions of Lucknouti*. Sultan Alla ul Dien, king of Bengal, called Hassein to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassein the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguished.

Secunder
marches to
Behar.

Sultan Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, sent a division of his army against Malleck Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled,

Behar eva-
cuated and
taken.

* Bengal.

leaving

A. D. 1494.
Hlg. 900.
Secunder
marches to
Bengal.

leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The sultan left Mohabut Chan with a force in Behar, and marched towards Turhat, the raja of which submitted himself to his clemency, and laying down a large sum, agreed to pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, the sultan left Mubarick Chan, and returned to Derveshpoor, and from thence went to visit the tomb of Shech Sherrif at Behar, and distributed presents to the dirveshes who lived there upon the charity of pilgrims.

A peace con-
cluded be-
tween Secun-
der and Alla.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal, but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Sultan Alla ul Dien sent Danial his son to oppose him. Sultan Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him, that he had no intention to subdue the country, but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he must esteem Alla, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies.

A dearth in
Hindoostan.

The sultan returned to Dirveshpoor. Mubarick Chan at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given to Azim Humaion, the son of Chan Jehan, and Behar was bestowed upon Deria Chan, the son of Mubarick. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country, but all duties being taken off by the sultan's order, that calamity was in a great measure mitigated. Secunder, in the mean time, reducing the districts of Sarin, which were then in the hands of some zemindars, gave the lands in jagiers to some of his omrahs; then returning by the way of Movilligur to Jionpoor, he resided there six months.

The

The sultan having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, Raja of Bateea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the Raja, in the year nine hundred and four, and marching to Bateea, sacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpoor, where he spent some time, in the civil regulations of the empire.

A. D. 1498.
Hig. 904.

Battea taken and destroyed.

About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Chan Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpoor, and a great ballance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. This severity greatly disgusted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick Chan was very much esteemed. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For, one day, as the sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut Chan, by accident, or design, fractured the skull of one Soliman, Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut Chan; so that, in a few minutes, the parties on either side, joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in one uproar and confusion.

Mubarick Chan Lodi's accounts inspected.

The omrahs dissatisfied.

Quarrels in the camp.

The sultan, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace, but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game, some days thereafter, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumse Chan, who begun it, was disgraced, and bastinadoed. But, the sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch.

The sultan suspects a conspiracy.

The king's jealousies were not groundless; for at that time, Hybut Chan, and two other chiefs, had proposed to Fatti Chan, the king's brother, to cut off the sultan, who, they said, was now disliked by

A plot discovered.

A. D. 1499. the generality of the omrahs, and to place Fatti upon the throne.
 Hig. 95. Fatti Chan desiring some time to consider of it, disclosed the secret to Sheeh Cabuli, and to his own mother, who advised him against so horrid an action; and, lest the affair should, by any other means, transpire, she desired him to acquaint the sultan of their proposal. This he did accordingly, and the conspirators were detached upon different services, where they were put to death by the sultan's orders.

The sultan retires for four years to Simbol. Secunder, in the year nine hundred and five, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing of some bad administration of Asghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawafs Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the sultan's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

A remarkable instance of religious persecution. At this time there happened a remarkable instance of religious zeal and persecution. A Brahmin, whose name was Bhodin, upon being abused by a Mahomedan, for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That he esteemed the same God to be the object of all worship, and, therefore, believed the Mahomedan and Hindoo religions to be equally good." The bigotted Mahomedan, for what he thought the impiety of this answer, summoned the Brahmin immediately before the casy. The affair making some noise, by the various opinions of the public, the king called together all the Mahomedan doctors of fame in the empire, to decide the cause. After many long disputes, the doctors brought in their verdict, that the Brahmin should be forced to turn Mahomedan, or be put to death. The Brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refused to apostatize, and

and accordingly died a martyr to his faith, which reflects no small dishonor upon the sultan and his inquisitors.

A. D. 1501.
Hig. 907.

When Chawafs Chan entered Delhi, he found an order from the emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he instantly complied. At the same time, Seid Chan Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious disposition, and commenced some treasonable projects, for which he, Tattar Chan, and Mahummud Shaw, were banished to Guzerat.

Some factious omrahs banished.

In the nine hundred and seventh of the Higera, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, sent Nehal to the king with rich presents; but as this embassador talked in too high a strain, the emperor ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. But he was prevented from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Chan Chanan Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province, which succeeded his death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Chan Chanan, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawafs Chan. Sifdir Chan was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which was in the possession of Raja Benaecdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated the sultan, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Rai Benaecdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualier, but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the sultan to take possession of it.

Secunder's designs against Gualier. Disturbances in Biana.

He tarried there about a month, and then marched to Gualier. The raja of which place, changing his haughty stile, now humbly

Secunder marches to Gualier.

A. D. 1504.
Hig. 910.

sued for peace, sending him Seid Chan, Baboo Chan, Rai Ginish; and others, who had, at different times, fled from the sultan, and taken protection under him. At the same time, he sent his own son, Bickermegit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

Makes Agra the royal residence.

The sultan returned to Dolipoor, which he again bestowed upon Rai Benaedco; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there; and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the raja from his office, and gave it to Shech Kimir ul Dien. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

A. D. 1505.
Hig. 911.
An earthquake at Agra.

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Siffer, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their broad bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. The sultan, in the same year, moved towards Gualier, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the sultan was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had laid in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid Chan and Ahmed Chan, the sons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs put to the sword.

The

The sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year nine hundred and twelve, he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had despaired of reducing Gualier, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly, in a short time, taken, and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their places. This government was conferred upon Bickin, the son of Mujahid Chan, when some envious persons gave the king information that Mujahid Chan had taken a bribe from the raja of Awintgur, when they were marching against him, in order to divert the king from that resolution. This being proved, Mujahid Chan was imprisoned at Dolipoor; after which the king, returning towards Agra, on the way lost eight hundred men, in one day, for want of water.

A. D. 1506.
Hig. 912.
Secunder te-
sieges Awint-
gur, which is
taken.

The sultan, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a strong fort, in the district of Malava, then in the possession of the Hindoos. He ordered Jellal Chan, governor of Galpie, to advance before him, and invest the place, which was accordingly done. When the sultan arrived before Narvar, Jellal Chan drew up his army, out of respect, that the king might review them as he passed. This circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal, for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him.

Secunder
marches
against Nar-
var,

The sultan surrounded the place, which was eight crores in circumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now protracted eight months, when the sultan received intelligence, that a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal Chan and Sheri Chan were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of provisions, and the king remained, for the space of six months, at Narvar, breaking down
temples,

which he
takes.

A. D. 1509
Hig. 915. temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

Shah ul Dien, the son of Nasir ul Dien, king of Malava, being at this time discontented with his father, proposed to meet Secunder. The sultan immediately sent him a dress, and promised to support him in the government of Chinderi, against the power of his father. But circumstances so fell out, that it became unnecessary to take that unnatural step.

The sultan, in the month of Shuban, nine hundred and fourteen, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river, he began to consider that it would be proper to surround that fortress with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himself took the rout of Lohar. At that place he bestowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Chan Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl Chan. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Hitgat, sent a detachment against some rebels in that country, and destroyed all their habitations, placing small garrisons at proper distances to overawe them. About this time he received advices, that Ahmed Chan, the son of Mubarick Chan Lodi, governor of Lucknora, had turned idolater; upon which orders were dispatched to send him prisoner to court, and that his second brother, Sud Chan, should take the administration of affairs in his stead.

In the year nine hundred and fifteen, the king marched to Doli-poor, and ordered caravanseras to be built at every stage. Mahummud Chan Nagori having defeated Ali Chan and Abu Bicker, who had conspired against him, they fled to the sultan for protection. Mahummud Chan, fearing they would bring the sultan against him, sent presents by way of prevention, and ordered the chutba to be
read

read in Secunder's name. The sultan, pleased with his submission, sent him a dress of confirmation, and returned to Agra.

A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.
The sultan
returns to-
wards Agra.

He spent some months there in building, making spacious gardens, and in hunting, then returned to Dolipoor, ordering Miah Soliman, the son of Chan Chanan, to succour Hussen Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the king, that he could not prevail upon himself to leave the presence. This expression threw the sultan into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his service and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwise all his effects should be given to the soldiers as public plunder.

Secunder's
transactors
at Dolipoor.

Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor of Chinderi, who held that place of the king of Malava, seeing the weakness of his own prince, turned his face to Sultan Secunder. That monarch sent Amad ul Muluck to support Bogit in his rebellion. He soon after returned to Agra, and issued a proclamation bearing the submission of Bogit Chan, and his own consequent right to that country. He sent more troops and omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely settled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit Chan found matters carried on in his government in such a manner, that he was constrained to resign his office, and come to court.

Reduces
Chinderi.

After this, we find no transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty two. Ali Chan Nagori, saba of Suifuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat Chan, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Sultan Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. The sultan, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali Chan, who had been disappointed in some favors which he expected for bringing this matter to bear, resolved still to prevent the

Disappointed
in his designs
upon Rin-
timpore.

accom-

A. D. 1516.
Hig. 922.

accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise about giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the sultan's power. The sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali Chan, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rintimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

Returns to
Agra.

Dies.

To Agra the sultan summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, in the year nine hundred and twenty three, taken ill of a quinsy, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty eight years and five months.

S E C T I O N X.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM BEN SULTAN SECUNDER.

Sultan Ibrahim mounts the throne.

Proud and arrogant.

SULTAN Secunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim immediately succeeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the manners and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One foolish expression of his was, that king's had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs, who were always before honored with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy.

A conspiracy therefore was formed, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces,
and

and to place the prince Jellal Chan, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal Chan marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed Fatte Chan his visier, who brought over all the omrahs of these parts to his interest.

A. D. 1516.
Hig. 922.
The empire
divided.

Chan Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Sultan Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very high strain, began to blame the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal Chan could not yet be well established, to call him back, and so divest him of his new-assumed royalty. They accordingly sent Hybut Chan, with deceptive letters, to recal him, saying, that there was a scheme for him in agitation, and that it was necessary he should speedily come to support it.

Designs to
reunite it.

But Hybut Chan having over-acted his part, by flattery and importunity, Jellal Chan suspected a plot against himself, and wrote them a genteel excuse. They, however, not discovering his jealousy, sent Shah Zadda Mahummud Firmilli, Malleck Ismaiel Selwani, Casi Mudgeid ul Dien Hadjib, and Siffil Hadjib, to enforce the request of Hybut Chan; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations or intrigues.

The omrahs
endeavour
in vain to
inveigle Jel-
lal from Jion-
poor.

Sultan Ibrahim, and his omrahs, finding that these baits would not take with Jellal, issued a proclamation, declaring all the omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and envoys to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs, on the side of Jellal, were brought over from his interest, by degrees.

A. D. 1517.
 Hig. 923.
 Jellal has re-
 course to
 arms.

Is joined by
 Azim Hu-
 maioon,

The affairs of Jellal Chan declining in this manner, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly marching to Calpie, secured his family in that fort; and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of sultan Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent, at the same time, a trusty ambassador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Sultan Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpoor, and afterwards to think of affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched, with all expedition, against Mubarick Chan Lodi, suba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

who deserts
 him.

Jellal
 marches to
 Agra.

Sultan Ibrahim hearing of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Haffi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal ul Dien, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favorably received. A number of other omrahs, of those parts, joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against Jellal ul Dien. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, gave him the slip, and marched directly towards Agra; while Azim Humaioon laid siege to Calpie.

Deceived by
 Malleck
 Adam,

Jellal ul Dien had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder, the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Malleck Adam, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favor, till he sent him all his ensigns of royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal

the

the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

A. D. 1518.
Hig. 924.

Malleck Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the fultan having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal ul Dien, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. Karim Daad Twa was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Shah Zadda Mungu to Chunderi.

and flies to
Gualier.
Ibrahim re-
turns to Agra.

About this time, the king, without any apparent reason, conceived a disgust at Miah Boah, who was formerly visier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the same time great honours upon his son. He then formed a resolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Humaion to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim.

Sends an ar-
my against
Gualier.

Jellal Chan, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, invested the place, and in a few days Raja Maan Singh, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickermagit succeeded him in the rajaship. After the siege had been carried on some months, the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort, called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a Brazen Bull, which had been a long time worshiped there, and sent it to Agra; from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

Gualier be-
sieged.

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.

Jellal taken,
and assassi-
nated.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to Sultan Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the raja of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Haffi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are those charms in power, which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother?

Ibrahim's
cruelty.

Gualier
taken.

The rebel-
lion of Islam
Chan.

Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. He called Azim Humaioon Sirwani from Gualier, when just upon the point of taking the place, imprisoned him and his son Fatte Chan, turning out his other son Islam Chan from the subaship of Kurrah. But when Islam had heard of his father's and brother's imprisonment, and of his own disgrace, he erected the standard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed Chan who was sent to take his government.

The sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon Lodi and Seid Chan, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers at Lucknore; where, joining the interest of Islam Chan, they stirred up more disturbances.

Ahmed is
sent against
the rebels.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon Lodi, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam Chan. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kinnoge, Eckbal Chan, a dependent of Azim Humaioon Sirwani, rushed

rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.

The sultan was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favor, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, sending another army to support him.

The rebels were now about forty thousand strong in cavalry, besides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed Chan had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, Shech Raja Bochari, who was esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Humaioon should be set at liberty. Ibrahim would not hearken to these terms. He sent orders to Diria Chan Lohani, suba of Behar, to Nisir Chan Lohani, and Shech Zadda Mahummud Firmilli, to advance from that quarter, against the rebels. The insurgents foolishly permitted themselves to be amused till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly or fight upon equal terms. They treat
about a
peace,

which is
broke off.

They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair and resentment, they did justice to valor, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam Chan was killed, and Seid Chan dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents discouraging the troops, they stopped short, and soon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage fell at once into the hands of the king. The rebels
overthrown.

Ibrahim

A. D. 1519.
 Hig. 825.
 Ibrahim's
 tyranny and
 cruelty.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaion Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were, at the same time, assassinated, and fear and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to another rebellion. Diria Chan Lohani, suba of Behar, Chan Jehan Lodi, and Miah Haffen Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. The sultan having received intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to the shechs of Chunderi, to take off Miah Haffen Firmilli, suba of that country, and these holy persons accordingly assassinated him in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's baseness and tyranny served only to create him more enemies.

Another re-
 bellion.

Diria Chan, suba of Beria, died about this time, and his son of the same name, assumed the title of Sultan Mahummud, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the sultan's troops in repeated engagements.

Ghazi Chan Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the sultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies, by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father, Dowlat Chan, at Lahore. Dowlat, seeing no safety but in extremes, revolted from the sultan, and solicited Baber, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conquest of Hindostan. The first thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Sultan Baber, Alla ul Dien, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the service of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his measures, with his whole force, he reduced the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the omrahs of those parts, so that his army now consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he invested Delhi,
 Ibrahim

Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crores of Alla ul Dien's army, he was surprized by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to day-light, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Sultan Alla ul Dien. Sultan Ibrahim observing, in the morning, that the troops of Alla ul Dien were dispersed, in plundering his camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla ul Dien, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.

In the year nine hundred and thirty two, Zehir ul Dien Mahummud Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire to the family of Timur. Sultan Ibrahim reigned twenty years.

SECTION XI.

The history of ZEHIR UL DIEN MAHUMMUD BABER, before his invasion of Hindostan.

ABU SEID MIRZA dying in Ayrack*, left eleven sons, Of the family of Baber.
 Mirza Sultan Ahmed, Mirza Sultan Mahmood, Mirza Sultan Mahummud, Mirza Sharoch, Mirza Aligh Beg, Mirza Amer Shech, Mirza Aba Bekir, Mirza Sultan Murad, Mirza Sultan Chilili, Mirza Sultan Willid, and Mirza Sultan Amer. Four of the sons of Mirza

* One of the provinces of Persia.

arrived

A. D. 1525. arrived to the dignity of kings; Mirza Aligh Beg to the throne of
 Hig. 932. Cabul; Mirza Sultan Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Mirza
 Amer Shech to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and
 Mirza Sultan Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Buduchshan.

Eunus Chan, king of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four kings
 one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Aligh Beg. Mirza
 Amer Shech, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunus Chan, had
 a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and
 eighty eight. The relation between Timur * and Abu Seid, the grand-
 father of Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid was the son of Sultan
 Mahummud, the son of Miran Shaw, the son of Timur, Lord of
 Ages.

Mirza Amer, the father of Baber,
 lineally descended from Timur.
 Baber's uncommon genius.
 Succeeds his father.

Mirza Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a
 capacity so uncommon at that age, that Mirza Amer gave him the
 kingdom of Indija; and, when his father, upon Monday, the fourth
 of Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the Higera,
 fell from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was killed, Mirza Baber
 was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of Zehire ul
 Dien.

Besieged by Mirza Ahmed, &c.
 They are obliged to retreat.

Mirza Sultan Ahmed, and Sultan Mahmood, his uncles, led their
 armies against him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the
 war of his father against them, hoping by the advantage which
 the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms
 to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs.
 After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so
 great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were
 glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Sultan Ahmed
 died upon his way to Samarcand.

* Tamerlane.

The kings of Cashgar and Chutun soon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen Jacoob governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Baifinker. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet Sultan Mahmood, with whom he remained a few days, and returned to Indija.

A. D. 1495.
Hir. 931.
Baber reduces some rebellious governors.

Baifinker, king of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Omar Shech, Baber resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it, the very next season. Shech Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija.

Belezes Artaba to no purpose.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Sultan Alli, the brother of Baifinker Mirza, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign.

Marches towards Samarcand.

Returns.

Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Alli reached Samarcand first, and Mirza Baifinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's ar-

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 902.

Besieges Sa-
marcand.
The siege
raised.

rival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baifinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort, called Ashira, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters, till the ensuing season.

Sultan Alli returned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar. Shubiani Chan, upon his march from Turkistan, to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baifinkir quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baifinkir, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chusero Shaw, king of Kunduz, while Baber, seizing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and, in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the omrahs.

Baber takes
Samarcand.

Deserted by
part of his
army.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbid all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The Moguls, who were commanded by Ibrahim Chan Begehuck, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince, called Ozin Hassen, declared himself king of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija.

Baber

Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmost distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavor to reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they sent a party to way-lay the embassador, and cut him to pieces.

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 962

Deserted by
his whole
army.

Ali Dooft and Molana Casi, in the mean time, threw a garrison into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs sent advice to Baber of their situation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken so extremely ill, that, not able to swallow any thing, he barely existed by having moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the pressing situation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the risque of losing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Dooft, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor assassinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name.

His misfor-
tunes.

Indija taken.

This disagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samarcandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmost distress, having now lost both kingdoms. He sent, as his last resource, Amir Casim Cudgi to Tashcund, to entreat the assistance of Mahmood. That sultan hastened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emissary, at the same time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters so well, that Sultan Mahmood left his two nephews to settle their own differences, and returned to Tashcund. This unexpected blow had such an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now

Samarcand
revolts.

A. D. 1496. appeared so desperate, that of all his army, in a few days, only forty
 Nov. 902
 Baber, in the horsemen remained with him, to conquer two kingdoms.
 utra di-
 flect,

In this forlorn situation he retreated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahummud Haffein Gorgan Doghelat, at Artaba, acquainting him, that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Bishaer. Mahummud Haffein consented to this request; and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of, to join him.

He takes the field with a few. After a few were gathered round his standard, he considered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and resolved to employ them against his enemies. He, therefore, hastened to Barnilack, where he took some forts by assault, and some by stratagem. But these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very ruinous aspect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Alli Dooft Tighai, begging his forgiveness, and informing him, that he was in possession of the garrison of Marinaan, and if Baber should come to take possession of it, he would number himself among his slaves.

Baber invited to Marinaan.

Baber did not hesitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Alli Dooft at the gate, who put him into possession of the fort, and supplied his finances. Baber immediately sent Amer Caffim Codgi towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Vifs Laghiri towards Achsi, to endeavor to bring over friends to his party. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the interest of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Vifs Laghiri settled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or three more, who declared for Baber.

His affairs begin to wear a favorable aspect.

The

The negotiations of that prince succeeded, at the same time, at the court of his uncle, Sultan Mahmood Chan, of Bochara, who marched to join him. A. D. 1498.
Hig. 904.

Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinaan, and of the efforts of Baber to raise an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and sat down before it. He detached, at the same time, part of his army towards Achsi, who, falling in with Mahmood Chan, were defeated, with great slaughter. When Jehangire and Ozin Hassen received these advices, they were struck with embarrassment, and retreated to Indija. But Nasirbeg, the son-in-law of Ozin Hassen, who had now the government of that city, seeing the favorable aspect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Sultan Mahmood, and several parties of Usbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately sent a messenger to hasten Baber to take possession of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to disperse, while he himself took the way to Ost, and Ozin Hassen that of Achsi. Jehangire besieges him in Marinaan.

Retreats.

Denied admittance into Indija.

The affairs of Jehangire ruined.

Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took possession of that city, conferring honors upon his friends; and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, restored to its former administration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he set out for Achsi, where Ozin Hassen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hissaar, Casim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greatest part of Ozin Hassen's troops, who enlisted themselves under his victorious banners. Baber recovers his dominions.

But the forces of Hassen having, upon a former occasion, plundered several persons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were issued to restore the plunder

A. D. 1499. plunder to the proper owners. The Moguls, unwilling to comply
 Hig. 905. with this order, mounted their horses, and, to a man, set out for
 Is deserted by a great part of his army. Orgund, where they joined Mirza Jehangire and Ahmed Timbul,
 by which they were again in a condition to march against Indija.
 The deserters defeat Casim Cougi. The king sent Casim Cougi to oppose them, who was defeated with
 great slaughter, many of the king's principal omrahs being slain, and
 several taken prisoners.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid siege to Indija
 for the space of thirty days, but as they could effect nothing against it,
 they marched towards Ouse. The king having recruited his army,
 marched, in the year nine hundred and five, towards Ouse, while the
 enemy, by another road, made a push towards Indija. Baber, how-
 ever, trusting to his friends in that city, and the strength of the
 place, marched to Badwerd, a strong fort in the possession of Chilili,
 brother to Ahmed Timbul. Chilili defended the place with great
 resolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms
 of which, he was exchanged for the king's friends, who had fallen
 into the enemy's hands.

The enemy again attempt Indija, are overthrown by Baber. Ahmed Timbul, in the mean time, made an attempt to scale the
 walls of Indija in the night, but was repulsed with great loss. Ba-
 ber, by this time, returning to that place, took a strong post by
 the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the
 space of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp,
 though with great disadvantage. After an obstinate and bloody re-
 sistance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches, and dispersed.
 The king, after the victory, entered the city in triumph.

Baber was informed in Indija, that six thousand horse from Mah-
 mood Chan, whose policy it was to weaken both parties, had come
 to the assistance of Jehangire, and had sat down before Cashan:
 The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in severe frost and
 snow,

snow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Ahmed Timbul, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the king, in a situation where he could not escape, had not the night favored his retreat; by which means he went off with little loss. The king pursued him under the walls of Bishare, and encamped in fight.

A. D. 1499.
 Hig. 905.
 who raises
 the siege of
 Cashan.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Dooft and Cumber Alli, prevailed upon the king to make proposals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Mirza Jehangire should keep possession of all the country between the river Chajand and Achsi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the districts of Orgund, should remain to Baber; that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Samarcand, he should give up Indija to Jehangire.

A peace between Baber and his brother Jehangire.

After these terms of pacification were solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners upon both sides were set at liberty. The king returned to Indija, where Ali Dooft, who was a man of great wealth and power, had begun to exert unbounded authority. He banished some, and imprisoned others, without the king's permission; while his son, Mahummud Dooft, took a princely state upon himself. The king, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was constrained to dissemble his resentment.

The influence of Ali Dooft.

In the mean time, Mahummud Mazidli Chan, an omrah of Sultan Alli Mirza of Samarcand, apprehensive of danger from his master, joined Bijaan Mirza, the son of Sultan Mahmood, and carried him against Samarcand. Bijaan Mirza was defeated, returned, and sent an ambassador to Baber, inviting him to the conquest of that kingdom. Baber embraced the proposal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mahummud Mazidli Chan having joined Baber upon his march, it was resolved in council to send a person to sound Chaja

Baber's expedition to Samarcand.

Cuttub

A. D. 1495.
Hig. 905. Cuttub ul-Dien Eiah, who had almost the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for answer, that they might march towards the city, and whatever was found then most advisable, should be done.

In the mean time, Sultan Mahmood Dildai, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his post without any apparent reason, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correspondence with Chaja Eiah, which disconcerted their measures. His veteran troops crowded to the king's standard, making complaints against Alli Dooft. Baber, therefore, determined to dismiss him from his presence, so that he and his son went over to Ahmed Timbul, but in a few days he died.

Alli Dooft dies.

At this time Shabiani Chan had taken Bochara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Sultan Alli Mirza was advised to relinquish to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kith, and from thence to Hissar, where Mahammad Masidkir Chan, and the outrahs of Samarcand, despairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chasero-Shaw. Baber, after this desertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most part of his camels and horses. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

Baber deserted by his whole army.

Loss of camels and horses.

except two hundred and forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now despaired of success in his designs; but though he had left a kingdom to which he might have still returned, his ambition prompted him to run the risque of a young adventurer for another. He accordingly marched directly for Samarcand, with this small retinue, with an intention to get into that city, without being discovered. His hopes were, that he could raise a faction among his friends, while yet the city was in disorder.

His daring attempt upon Samarcand.

He

He entered Samarcand in the dusk of the evening, and went to Eurit Chan's house, but in a few minutes his arrival was whispered about, and the whole city began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his scheme was not ripe for execution, thought it high time to make his escape, which he did accordingly, without any loss.

A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.

Obliged to
retreat.

After he had got clear of the city, he looked back and repented of his precipitate flight. He immediately stopped in a grove, where, being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himself down upon the ground to sleep, as did the greatest part of his retinue. In about an hour he awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he saw Nasir ul Dien Abdalla, a dirvesh of great repute, coming towards his house. He thought that he invited the dirvesh to sit down, upon which his steward spread a table cloth before him, at which the dirvesh seemed greatly offended *, and rose to go away. The king begged he would excuse him, as the offence was committed by a servant. The dirvesh, upon this, took him by the arm, and held him up towards the sky, upon which he awoke, and calling up his attendants, related his dream, and determined to make an attempt immediately upon Samarcand.

In His dream,

Baber's small party having mounted their horses, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lover's Cave, which they scaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and falling upon the guard commanded by Casiter Chan, killed and dispersed them. They immediately set open the gate, and admitted the king and his small party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber as they passed through the streets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not

Returns to
Samarcand,
which he
surprizes.

* The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation; besides, these independent dirveshes live upon rice and water, and will not condescend to be entertained by princes.

A. D. 1500. knowing his strength, ran distracted from place to place to join their
 Hig. 926. leaders.

In a short time the alarm reached the house of Chaja Cuttub ul Dien Eiah, where seven thousand Usbecks were quartered. They rushed out and joined Shubiani Chan, who, with eight thousand Usbecks, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the rest to wait for orders, set out for the iron gate, but seeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by some thousands, who rent the sky with acclamations, followed him so close, that Shubiani Chan could not, either by words or example, make one of the Usbecks stand his ground. He therefore followed them out at the opposite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately submitted to Baber.

Samarcand
 submits.

This action, if we consider the strength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been spread in the evening, the small number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficulties, we must esteem it equal to the boldest enterprize in history. The authors who relate it, very justly give it the preference to any of the exploits of Timur.

Mahummud Musfidter Chan took this opportunity of wresting the forts of Kirshi and Heraz from the Usbecks; while Abul Hassien Mirza, from Muracufs, came and took Kole. Sultan Baber sent ambassadors to Sultan Hassien Mirza, and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to request their alliance, to drive Shubiani Chan out of Maver ul Nere. They either paid no regard to Baber's embassy, or sent such pitiful supplies, as served no purpose. Shubiani, by this means, recovered strength during the winter, taking Karacole, and other districts.

Sultan

Sultan Baber, in the month of Shawal, nine hundred and six, collected his whole force, and marched out of Samarcand, to engage Shubiani. He came up with him in the environs of Caridzin, and fought him. Baber exhibited, upon this occasion, all the good qualities of the general and brave soldier, but he was deserted by his allies, and soon after by his own troops. Only fifteen brave friends remained at last by his side, with whom, seeing it in vain to contend any longer with fortune, he made good his retreat to Samarcand. He lost in this action his principal omrahs, Ibrahim Tirchan, Ibrahim Saar, Abul Affim Ko, Hyder Cassim, Amir Kiam Cudgi, Choda Birdi, Chilili, the brother of Ahmed Timbol, and other princes of note.

A. D. 1501.
Hig. 907.
Baber de-
feated by
Shubiani.

Shubiani advanced, and laid siege to the city; the king taking up his quarters at the college of Aligh Beg, as being the most central place for sending orders, or assistance. The siege was continued with great obstinacy for many days, numbers being killed on both sides; during which time, Kutch Beg, Loma Kokultas, and Kelnizer Taghai, gave extraordinary examples of bravery. Four months had now passed in attacking and repulsing, when a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants eat their horses, and even the most unclean animals, while those who could not procure other provisions, subsisted upon the bark of trees.

Besieged in
Samarcand.

Though the king, at the commencement of the siege, had sent ambassadors to the kings of Chorrassan, Kundez, Buckqlan, and Mogulistan, all princes of the house of Timur, for succours, he received no hopes of their aid. He was, therefore, under the cruel necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about one hundred friends, in a dark night, in the beginning of the year nine hundred and seven. He escaped to Tashcund, whither his brother, Mirza Jehangire, came to pay him his respects. His uncle, Sultan Mahmood, comforted him in his distress, entertained him in

Forced to
quit the city
with one hun-
dred men.

A. D. 1592.
11ig. 988. a princely manner, and gave him the city of Artaba to reside in during the winter.

Besieged at
Artaba by
Shubiani.

His misfor-
tunes.

Aided by his
uncles.

Defeated by
Timbol.

The confede-
rates besiege
Indija.

The siege
raised.

But in the beginning of the spring, he was again attacked by Shubiani Chan, who, not being able to effect any thing against the city, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarcand. In this manner, the sultan, unable to raise his head from his misfortunes, lived for some time, Ahmed Timbol having taken possession of the kingdom of Indija, which Baber had resigned to his brother Jehangire, upon his taking Samarcand.

Sultan Mahmood Chan, and his brother, Sultan Ahmed Chan, were at length prevailed upon to support Baber in an attempt to recover the kingdom of Indija from Ahmed Timbol. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Ahmed Timbol marched out to oppose them. It was agreed, that Sultan Baber, with a small detachment of Moguls, should march towards Osh, to raise a party there, whilst his uncles opposed Ahmed Timbol. Baber accordingly took Osh, and was joined by some of the inhabitants of Orgun and Marinan, who expelled the garrisons of Ahmed Timbol. The king immediately marched towards Indija; and Ahmed Timbol decamped from before the confederate princes, and hastened back to cover Indija.

Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging, and defeated him. The king escaped, wounded, to Osh, while Ahmed Timbol threw himself into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied army of Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Ahmed appeared in sight, and sat down before the place, where they were joined soon after by Sultan Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achsi called the king, and put him in possession of that place; but the allied princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raised the siege.

In

In the mean-time, Shubiani Chan, fearing the success of Baber, advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achsi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obstinate and bloody, the fortune of Shubiani Chan prevailed, and both the uncles of Baber were taken prisoners. The King escaped to Mogulistan, and the kingdom of Tashcund fell into the hands of Shubiani Chan, which greatly augmented his power.

A. D. 1562;
Hig. 908.

Totally de-
feated by
Shubiani.

Shubiani, some time after, released the two brothers, but Sultan Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him, that Shubiani Chan had poisoned him, and begged to supply him with some famous Theriac of Chiita, as a powerful antidote against poisons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani Chan has poisoned me, indeed! he has taken my kingdom, which is not in the power of your Theriac to restore."

Sul an Ba-
ber's uncles
released.

Sultan Baber left Mogulistan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, where Amir Mahummud Backer, prince of that place, who was uneasy at the great power of the Uibecks, glad of Baber's alliance, who still had the command of an army, received him with great kindness and respect, and gave him large presents. Baber said to him, upon this occasion, That being a long time the foot-ball of fortune, and like a piece of wood on a chess-board, moved from place to place, yagrant as the moon in the sky, and restless as a stone upon the beach, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been so unsuccessful in his own resolves. Meer Mahummud Backer replied, That, however incapable he was to advise him, he would not withhold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubiani Chan was now in full possession of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more adviseable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere.

He asks ad-
vice of Ma-
hummud
Backer.

A. D. 1504. Hig. 910. elsewhere, particularly in Cabulistan, which was now in a state of anarchy.

Baber's in-
gratitude to
Chufero
Shaw.

The king followed this advice, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul. Passing, in his way, through the dominions of Chufero Shaw of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hospitality, for which, we are sorry to relate, our hero made a very bad return. During the time that Baber resided there, he stirred up a faction in Chufero's court, and gained over seven thousand of his troops to his own interest. This plot being discovered, Chufero, with a few servants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly to Biddulzeman Mirza, leaving his troops, his treasure, and every thing in the possession of Baber.

Marches to-
wards Cabul.

Baber did not fail to avail himself of these advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in possession of Mirza Abdul Rysaac, the son of Mirza Aligh Beg, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, disgusted the other omrahs, who assassinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mahummud Mokîm, the son of Amir Zulnôn, Prince of Garrimsere, took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Mirza Abdul Rysaac to take shelter among the Afghans: he himself took possession of that country, and married the sister of the former prince.

Confusions
of that coun-
try.

Baber seizes
upon Cabul-
istan.

Affairs being in this situation, Sultan Baber arrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mahummud Mokîm out of the field, forced him to take refuge in his capital, which Baber besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himself.

In

In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabulistan was thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes which laid most of the cities in ruins. Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in such a manner, by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new subjects.

A. D. 1506.
Hig. 912.
A dreadful
earthquake.

The restless genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aspiring disposition began to extend his views to conquest. He accordingly led an army against the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the strong fort of Killât, establishing an alliance with Mirza Buddiulzeman of Herât. He marched in the same year to Kufsluckât, which he brought into subjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminished into an inconsiderable province, to his brother Jehangire.

Baber in-
vades Can-
dahar.

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber marched towards Chorrassân to join Sultan Hussein Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behavior, and irritated, by fresh injuries from Shubiani Chan, now proposed to Baber, that they should join in alliance against him. But when Baber had reached Nîmrosa, he heard of Sultan Hussein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorrassân, and endeavored to stir up the princes and omrahs against the Usbecks. He was not able to effect his purpose, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herât, towards Cabul. The snows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his passage over the hills, which obliged him to cantoon his troops in Hazara.

Marches to
Chorrassân.

When Baber was thus constrained to remain at Hazara, Mahumud Haffein Gurgan, Birlafs, and other Mogul omrahs, joining with Chan Mirza his cousin, raised him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting false intelligence of the sultan's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government, and as soon as the season permitted his approach, flocked

Disturbances
in Cabul.

A. D. 1567. flocked to his standard; put all the garrisons into his hands except
 H. g. 513. the capital, where Chan Mirza and his adherents sustained a short
 Q. e. l. l. d. siege, and then capitulated. The principal persons concerned in
 the revolt, were expelled the country. About this time Nasir Mir-
 za, the sultan's youngest brother, who held the government of
 Baduchan, being defeated, by one of the generals of Shubiani
 Chan, took refuge at Cabul, and, as Mirza Jehangire had killed
 himself by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now con-
 ferred upon Nasir Mirza.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber marched against
 the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infested his country, and took
 from them one hundred thousand sheep, and some thousands of
 other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the house of Argon,
 Baber invited to Candahar. being greatly oppressed by the Usbecks, wrote to Baber, at this
 time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in
 possession of Candahar. The sultan did not hesitate to comply
 with their request. He immediately set out, and, as he was pas-
 sing Kilât, Chan Mirza begged the favor of being admitted into
 his presence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When
 he had reached the borders of Candahâr, he wrote to Shaw Beg
 and Mahummud Mokêm, that he was so far upon his way, ac-
 cording to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see
 them in his camp.

Since the time of their writing to Baber, some alterations in
 their politicks, had made them repent of the application they had
 made, so that instead of receiving the sultan in a friendly manner,
 they prepared for war, and desired he would return home. But
 the sultan determined not to suffer such an indignity with impunity.
 He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gil-
 lishack, near the city of Candahar, defeated them with great
 slaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled
 to

to Saul, and Mahummud Mokîm towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid siege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnôn, which he divided, by weight, amongst his officers and troops, according to their respective stations. He left Nafir Mirza in the government of Candahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul.

A. D. 1508.
Hig. 914.

Mahummud Mokîm having, this very year, complained to Shubiani Chan, prevailed upon him to engage in his behalf, and to march towards Candahar. Nafir Mirza, upon receiving this intelligence, shut himself up in the town, and sent expresses to his brother for assistance. Baber wrote him to defend the place as long as he could, but if he should be driven to great distress, to capitulate, and come to him at Cabul; for that, at this time, he was in no condition to dispute the field with Shubiani Chan, whose forces and finances were greatly superior; besides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overset all the projects he had formed of raising himself a kingdom in Hindostan. Nafir Mirza, according to these instructions, after he could hold out no longer with propriety, capitulated, and came to the sultan at Cabul. Shubiani Chan, after taking the place, gave it back to the sons of Zulnôn, and marched with his army towards Chorrassân. But, no sooner had Shubiani evacuated Candahar, than the Arguniah, made an incursion, and possessed themselves of the place. This was an agreeable piece of news to Sultan Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and the Usbecks.

which is
retaken by
Shubiani.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicât, Sultan Baber had a son born to him, in Cabul, whom he named Humaioon, who afterwards became emperor of Hindostan. The sultan, in the following year, took the field against the Memind Afghans; and, during his absence, the Moguls of Chusero Shaw, who had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and set up Abdul Rysâc, the son of Aligh

Humaioon
born.
Cabul, in the
absence of
Baber, re-
volts.

A. D. 1509. Beg, upon the throne. The sultan was immediately deserted by the
 Hig. 915. greatest part of his army, for hearing of the rebellion in Cabul, they
 Baber desert- hastened home, to protect their families, insomuch that out of
 ed by his ar- upwards of ten thousand horse, which he carried to the field, Baber
 my. had now scarce five hundred remaining in his camp.

His daring
 enterprize.

Notwithstanding of these misfortunes, Baber boldly resolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few trusty friends he had left. Abdul Rysaac, upon the sultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thousand strong. The sultan, with his small troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered them to halt. He himself rode close up to the rebel-army, and challenged Abdul Rysaac to fight; but, as he seemed to decline the combat, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were Alli Shubcore, Alli Seiftani, Niser Bahadur Usbeck, Jacob Tez Jung, and Usbeck Bahadar.

Kills five
 omrahs in
 single com-
 bats.

This heroic behavior struck the rebels with so much admiration and astonishment, that they refused to fight, by which means the usurper was taken. But so great was the sultan's clemency, that he pardoned him; but soon after, beginning to raise more disturbance, he suffered the just reward of a traitor.

War between
 Persia and
 the Usbecks.

The country of Chusero Shaw having fallen into the hands of the Usbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs sprung up in Buduchshan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder*, began to entertain hopes, and to take measures to raise himself to that kingdom. Having previously obtained leave of the sultan, he this year left Cabul; and, having raised a small

* Alexander the Great.

army,

army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchshan. But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kashgars, and carried off prisoner, while Chan Mirza himself was defeated, and obliged to give himself up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Eufoph Alli Kockultah, who had been an old servant of Mirza, formed a conspiracy against Zeiper, and assassinated him, and Chan Mirza was raised to the throne by the people.

A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.

In the year nine hundred and sixteen, Shaw Ismaiel Suffavi, king of Iran, wrote to Shubiani Chan to withdraw his troops from some of the skirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendship, whose blossoms shed the most grateful perfume. Shubiani Chan replied, That it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Shaw Ismaiel, though the son of a Turkuman Fakier, had raised himself to a kingdom, when there was no lord of seven nations around him, to oppose him; that therefore, it would be now adviseable for him to retire to his former obscurity, and that, for that purpose, he sent him a staff and a beggar's dish for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of possessing the bride of royalty, who durst kiss her through opposing swords.

Ismaiel Suffavi answered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it so often violated, till it fell to his lot? for his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to dispute with Shubiani; and that, though he himself had no opinion of contemptuous ostentation, yet in return for Shubiani's present, he had sent him a gridiron and spinning-wheel for his amusement. As for the rest, that Ismaiel would be his own messenger.

A. D. 1511.
Hig. 917.

Having dispatched this message, Ishmael immediately collected his army, and, marching eastward, subdued Chorrassân, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani Chan could make the least opposition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Ishmael, in the field, he shut himself up in Murve. But being severely reproached by Shaw Ishmael, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by Shaw Ishmael, and seeing no hope of escape left, he and his followers fought, refusing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Shubiani
overthrown
and slain.

Chan Mirza immediately dispatched this important news from Buduchshan to Sultan Baber, and went himself to Kunduz; informing him, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and seventeen, marched, with all expedition, towards Hissar, crossing the Amu* with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Usbecks being encamped near that city, they were obliged to retreat to Kunduz.

Baber
marches to
recover his
dominions.

Clemency of
Ishmael
Shaw.

Shaw Ishmael, at this time, sent Chan Zad Begum, the sultan's sister, who had been taken in Samarcand, by Shubiani Chan, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where she gave so favorable an account of the generous behavior of Shaw Ishmael, that Baber was induced to hope for his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpose, sent him an ambassador, with proper presents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the spirit of enterprize, he marched towards Hissar, where he still found the Usbecks greatly superior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he should recruit more forces. This being done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained

Baber solicits
his aid
against the
Usbecks.

* The Oxus.

a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed.

A. D. 1516
Hig. 917.
Baber over-
throws the
Uibecks.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed Sultan Sufi, Alli Chan Ostagelo, Sharock Chan Afshar, and a fine body of cavalry on the part of Shaw Ishmaiel, by which his army amounted to sixty thousand horse. With this reinforcement he marched towards Bochara, and, after several successful actions with Abdulla Chan, and Jani Beg Sultan, possessed himself of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the same year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him sovereign.

Takes Bo-
chara,
and Samar-
cand.

Baber fixed his residence at Samarcand, and appointed Nasir Mirza, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Shaw Ishmaiel to return home. But he had not possessed this throne above nine months, before the Uibecks, who had fled to Turkestan, advanced, under Timur Sultan, who had succeeded to Shubiani Chan, Jani Beg Sultan, and Abdulla Chan, who had divided Bochara between them. Upon receiving these advices, the sultan marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged these confederate princes, but being defeated, was obliged to shut himself up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again besieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman.

Loses Bocha-
ra, and Sa-
marcand.

About this time, Nigim Jani, of Ispahan, general of the Kifil-baches of Iran, advanced with an intention to possess himself of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to grasp at every thing favorable to the ruling passion of his soul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Nigim Sani having taken the fort of Kirish from the Uibecks, put the garrison, consisting of fifteen thousand, to the sword. He then laid siege to Gudgewan, in conjunction with

Makes an
alliance with
the Persian
general.

A. D. 1518. with the sultan, whither the princes of the Usbecks advanced against
 Hig. 924. them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being still the
 adversary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was
 Baber and his allies overthrown. slain, and the sultan obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few at-
 tendants.

A conspiracy
 against his
 life.

Nor did the misfortunes of Baber rise from the enemy alone. His attendants conspired against his life, for having blamed some of them for bad behavior. They rushed, in the night, into his tent, but being alarmed by the noise, he made his escape, naked, and reached the fort of Arick before morning, without one attendant; and the conspirators plundered his camp, and dispersed themselves. In this situation of affairs, the sultan saw no further hope in those northern regions, and therefore set out for Cabul with a small retinue, and upon his arrival appointed Nasir Mirza to the government of Ghizni.

He returns to
 Cabul.

In the year nine hundred and twenty four, he marched towards Sawad and Bejoar, possessed by the Afghans of Eusoph Zehi, who had been infesting his country. Having defeated those mountaineers, and carried some thousands of them into captivity, he gave the government of that country to Chaja Kallan.

SECTION XII.

The history of SULTAN BABER, from the year nine hundred and twenty four, to his decisive victory over SULTAN IBRAHIM LODI.

WHEN Sultan Secunder, the king of Hindostan, died, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by Sultan Ibrahim, in whose reign the Patan omrahs became so factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Sultan Baber reckoned this
 a good

a good opportunity to establish himself in Hindostan, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs.

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.
Meditates
the conquest
of Hindostan.

Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty five, marched his army as far as the Nilaab, or Sind. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjaab, raising heavy contributions for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah, Moulana Murshid with an embassy to Sultan Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and so prevent the war from being carried further into his country.

Invasions Hin-
dostan.

Reduces
Punjaab.

At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another son, whom he named Hindal Mirza. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab, and marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Doost Beg, the sultan's general, while he himself cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul.

Marches
against the
Gickers.

Returns to
Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year, Baber returned again to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some Patans of the tribe of Eusoph Zehi, who disturbed his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Sind. He there received intelligence, that Sultan Seid, Chan of Kashgar, was marching into Buduchshân, which obliged him to return, leaving Mirza Mahummud Sultan, one of the descendents of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in that country. He had

His second
expedition
into Hindos-
tan.

A. D. 1519
Hig. 926. had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that Sultan Scid Chan had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer Cheil, who began to make depredations upon Cabulistan in his absence, and severely chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned to Cabul.

Baber's third
expedition
into Hindos-
tan.

Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty six, marched a third time towards Hindostan, chastising the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country submitted, and saved their possessions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the standard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the sword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed, by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded his country. He marched against them, drove them out of the field, and invested their capital.

Returns and
besieges Can-
dahar,

He, in the mean time, received advice of the death of Chan Mirza, in Buduchshan, and appointed his son Humaioon to that government. Shaw Beg, the prince of Candahar, held out with great bravery against Baber for the space of three years, during which time the siege lasted. But in the year nine hundred and twenty eight, Baber, who was obstinate in his resolution, at length reduced it, and all the country of Garrumfere, appointing prince Camirân to the government.

which is
taken.

Baber's
fourth expe-
dition into
Hindostan.

Soon after the surrender of Candahar, Dowlat Chan Lodi, apprehensive of Sultan Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Sultan Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year nine hundred and thirty, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of Lahore, where Par Chan Lodi, Mubarick Chan Lodi, and Bicken Chan Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Punjaab, joined their
forces,

forces, and opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the Bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls.

A. D. 1523.
Hig. 930.
Lahore
taken,

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender, but as the garrison forced him to risk an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Chan Lodi, with Alli Chan, Ghazi Chan, and Delawir Chan, his three sons, joined him at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Punjaab, which rendered him very powerful.

and Debal-
poor.

This Dowlat Chan Lodi was a descendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Sultan Baber information, that Ismaiel Jelwani, Mai Jelwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Kharah; that it would, therefore, be advisable to dispatch a force against them. The sultan agreed to this proposal, and prepared to send a detachment that way. In the mean time, Delawir Chan, the youngest son of Dowlat Chan, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favorite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put some plan which they themselves had concerted, in execution. The sultan, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat Chan Lodi, and his son Ghazi Chan, into confinement. He then crossed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there released the prisoners, and gave them jagiers. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deserted the camp, and fled to the hills. The sultan, upon this, gave to Delawir Chan the title of Chan Chanan, and both their jagiers; but as the father and son's desertion greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways advisable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, accordingly, returned to Lahore,

Dowlat Chan
Lodi

suspected,

confined,

escapes.

A. D. 1524. and, having appointed governors to the different countries in his
 113. 931. possession in Hindostan, set out for Cabul.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Chan Lodi found means to seize his son, Chan Chanan, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Sultan Alla ul Dien and Baba Kifka, and defeating them, subdued that country. Sultan Alla ul Dien fled to Cabul, and Baba Kifka to Lahore. Dowlat Chan sent five thousand Sirwani Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Abdul Aziz, of Lahore; immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Sultan Ibrahim, of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Chan and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidjwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favor in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Sultan Alla ul Dien, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his omrahs of those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Sultan Baber espoused the cause of Alla ul Dien, who was the very person they themselves would chuse to raise to the throne of Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the Musnud.

The omrahs, having first obtained a grant for Sultan Baber, of A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. all the countries beyond the Sind, permitted Alla ul Dien to join Joins the two Lodis. the Lodis himself, without complying further with the sultan's orders. When accordingly he arrived in their camp, Dowlat Chan and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, Sultan Ibrahim advanced against him from Agra, and was surprized, in the night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular behavior of Sultan Alla ul Dien's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Sultan Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in Besieges Delhi. great distress, to Punjaab. When Sultan Baber heard of the defeat of Alla ul Dien, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury, which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring, of the year nine hundred and thirty two, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his Overthrown by Ibrahim. son Humaion, with a good force, from Buduchshan, and Chaja Baber's fifth expedition into Hindostan. Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and so had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his omrahs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

Upon the first of Rubbi ul Awil, Baber crossed the Sind, and Crosses the Sind. upon the banks of that river, mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand choice horse. Crossing then the Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Sultan Alla ul Dien met him, and likewise Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, governor of Cullanore, and Chaja Haffin, the dewan for those provinces.

A. D. 1525.
Hi. 932.

Pets to fight
the two Lo-
dis.

Dowlat
taken.

Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan, who reckoned themselves publicly in the service of Alla ul Dien, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi Chan to the skirts of the hills. Sultan Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat Chan, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before, he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Sultan Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the sultan forgave all his crimes, and took him into favor.

When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The sultan, by this means, saved the honor of Dowlat Chan's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat Chan being a poet and a man of learning. Baber marched from thence the next day, and pursued Ghazi Chan, when Chan Chanan, Ghazi Chan's brother, found means to escape to him, and was honorably received. Chapihoon Chan, who was detached in front, having fallen in with Ghazi, defeated him, and pursued him so close, that he was obliged to fly to Sultan Ibrahim Chan, at Delhi. Dowlat Chan died upon this march.

Ghazi de-
feated.

Baber
marches to-
wards Delhi.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Fatan troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Sultan Ibrahim. When he had reached

reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that Hamid Chan, go-
 vernor of Firofa, was waiting to oppose him in front, with the
 troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent Humaicon, Kallan
 Beg, Sultan Daldi, Jehan Beg, Chusero Beg, Hindo Beg, Abdul
 Aziz, and Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, to drive Hamid from his post,
 which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this
 was the first battle in which prince Humaicon commanded, his fa-
 ther was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firofa and
 Jallender. Two days after, Meian, an omrah of the party of Ibrahim,
 appeared in fight, and desired to join Baber's colours, with three
 thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

A. D. 1525.
 Hig. 932.

Humaicon
 defeats a
 Patan army.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received in-
 telligence that Sultan Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out
 of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood Chan and Hatim Chan,
 formed his vanguard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sul-
 tan immediately detached Chin Timur Sultan, Muedi Chaja, Ma-
 hummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Mirza, with all the troops of
 the left wing, and the squadrons of Sultan Juneid Birlafs, and Shaw
 Haffein Birlafs, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell
 in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate
 conflict, put Daood Chan and Hatim Chan to flight, but the latter
 fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great
 number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he,
 we are sorry to relate such barbarity, put them to death, by way of
 striking terror into his enemies.

Baber arrives
 at Shawabad.

Defeats the
 van of Ibra-
 him's army.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days,
 ordering chains to be made to link the carriages of his guns together,
 to prevent the horse breaking through them. The army of Sultan
 Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and
 a thousand elephants; that of Sultan Baber, of thirteen thousand
 only. When Sultan Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered five
 thousand

Preparations
 for a general
 engagement.

A. D. 1525. thousand horse to storm his camp in the night; but finding the
 Hig. 932. enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempt-
 ing any thing.

This retreat hastened Sultan Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he
 marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the same time, ad-
 vanced within six crores of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day
 after, being the seventh of Rigib, the two armies came in sight of
 each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand
 divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light
 horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was com-
 manded by Prince Humaicon, with the squadron of Chaja Cullan
 Beg, Sultan Mahummud Dewilde, Hindo Beg, Willi Beg Chazin,
 and Pier Kulli Seiftani. The first on the left was under the orders
 of Mirza Mahummud Sultan, with the squadrons of Meridi Chaja,
 Ghazi Sultan, Sultan Suneid Birlafs, and Shaw Haffein Birlafs. The
 second, on the right towards the center, was commanded by Chin
 Timur Sultan, Mirza Mahummud Kokultash, and Shaw Munfoor.
 The second, to the left towards the center, by Meer Chalifa, Tirdi
 Beg, and Mihib Alli Chalifa. Chusero Kokultash, Mahummud Alli
 Jungjung, and Mirza Soliman, were appointed to command the
 light horse, or herawils, in the front. Abdul Aziz and Bar Tirrah,
 in the rear of the right, and Kirrah Keri Bahadur and Willi Kizil,
 in the rear of the left. Besides which, there was a reserve in the
 rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Malleck Casim,
 and that on the left by Alli Bahadur. The king himself took his
 post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given or-
 ders to his generals.

Ibrahim draws out his army. The battle begins. The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no
 regular order of battle, but drew up his army in one great line, or
 column, of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul
 army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down by numbers.

But

But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unweildy column began to break and turn thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the center of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the center, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Afghans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.
The Indian
army broken.

Sultan Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Sultan Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the course of that river with blood; for so far did Sultan Baber continue the pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

Sultan Ibrahim charges
the Moguls
in person.

Ibrahim killed.
A total overthrow of his
army.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Afghans killed in this action, though most of the Indian authors say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race, afterwards made many efforts,

The fall of
the Patan
and empire.

A. D. 1525. and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of
 Hig. 932. Humaioon.

Sultan Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent Mahummud Sultan, and three other omrahs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered that city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein Sidder; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of Raja Bickermagit, of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of his arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty four ruttys*, which was formerly the property of Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligi. Sultan Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to carry away all her wealth.

Baber enters Delhi, and assumes the empire.

Arrives before Agra,

which submits.

Reflections upon the conquest of Hindostan by Baber.

This conquest of Hindostan, as Baber himself writes in his Commentaries †, was certainly superior to that of any former conqueror. Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Shab ul Dien Ghorî brought an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men with him, when the king-

* A ratty is seven eighths of a carat.

† The Commentaries of Baber are still extant, and reckoned one of the best performances of the kind in the East.

dom was not so powerful. The like may be said of Timur, who ravaged Hindostan when it was torn to pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Sultan Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Sultan Ibrahim, who possessed all the countries between the Sind and Behar, and could bring five hundred thousand men to the field; while Baber only possessed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchshan, and Candahar, the revenues of which were very inconsiderable.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conquest, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their subsistence, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil discords had totally effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honor to murder, and no scandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of shame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a herd, without unanimity, order, or discipline, should fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked both by private and public oeconomy.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharooh *, besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorrassan,

Baber's generosity.

* A silver sharooh is in value about a shilling sterling.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. Kathgur, Ayrac, Mecca, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Mufhad, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, got Baber the name of a Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provincial omrahs refuse to submit.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Alli Chan Formalli, in Mewat; Mahummud Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar Chan, in Gualiêr; Huffein Chan Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub Chan, in Atava; Allum Chan, in Calpee; Nizim Chan, in Biana; besides Nasir Chan Lohani, and Maroof Furmalli, on the other side of the Ganges. All these omrahs refused to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the son of Diria Chan Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mahummud; and, rendezvousing at Kinnoge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time, Mai, the Afghan chief, who had joined Baber, now deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

Raise Mahummud to the throne.

Baber's distressful situation.

His resolute behavior.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his omrahs, advising him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in taking, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in Hindostan; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and dangers

dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only those whose valor would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country.

The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behavior, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him; all, except Chaja Callân, whose bravery was too well established to be disputed, though he was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great services which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him; first, Shech Gurin, with three thousand horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Alli Chan Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose Chan and Shech Baizid Chirmali, with their whole dependents.

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Hig. 933.

Some Patan
chiefs come
over to his
party.

Much about this time, an address was received from Casim, of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was besieging him in his fort, and that if the sultan would send him succours, he would lift himself among his servants. The king sent Kokultash, with a detachment, that way, who engaged Bein, the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Casim put the Moguls in possession of the fort. The king then sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kinnoge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fatie Chan, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favor, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

Casim of
Simbol sub-
mits.

Humaioon
marches
against the
confederate
omrahs.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Nizam, go-
vernor of
Biana, sub-
mits.

Nizam Chan, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himself master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Sultan Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

The gover-
nors of Gua-
lier propose
to submit.

Tatar Chan and Saring Chan, who were in possession of the fort of Gualier, being besieged by Muckit Roy, raja of that country, in the same manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched Rehim Daad and Shech Gurin, with a detachment, which defeated the raja, but Saring Chan recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philosopher whose name was Shech Mahummud Gose, who had a great number of students under him, and who wrote to Rehim Daad, to endeavour to get permission to come himself into the fort, and that he would find means of accomplishing the rest of his desires.

Gualier
taken by a
stratagem.

Rehim Daad, for this purpose, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garrison, for fear of a night assault, and that he might be permitted the honor of paying the philosopher a visit in the garrison. This being agreed to, Rehim Daad was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occasion to send frequent messages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the governor so often for leave, that he desired Rehim Daad to send one

of

of his own servants, to point out such necessary people as he might want to have free ingrefs and egress.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The officer of the guard, who was a disciple of the philosopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himself of this order, and permitted every body Rehim Daad's servant pointed out, to pass, by which means all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Saring Chan was told to give up the place, and threatened with instant death, in case of refusal; so having satisfied himself of the circumstances, he made a virtue of necessity, and replied, That had he not intended giving up the place to the king, he would never have been so unguarded as to permit his party to take this advantage, and accordingly submitted without resistance, going in person to Agra, and entered into the king's service. Mahummud Zeiton, at the same time, arrived from Dolepoor, and had a command conferred upon him.

Not long after these transactions, Hamid Chan, Saring Chan, and other Afghans, raised, by a family quarrel, a great disturbance in the castle of Firofa. The king sent Chin Timur Sultan, Abul Fatte Turkuman, and others, against them, who chastised both parties.

In the year nine hundred and thirty three, Chajagi Affid, who had gone ambassador from Cabul to Shaw Tamas of Irack, returned, accompanied by Solimân, and brought various curiosities. But that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favorite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administered in some hare-soup; but the king, after eat-

An attempt
to poison Ba-
ber.

ing

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The confpi-
rators pu-
nished.

ing a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediately vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Sultan Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Sultan Ibrahim's sons was sent, at the same time, to Cabul, where he remained in banishment.

Prince Hu-
maioon de-
feats the con-
federate om-
rahs.

Prince Humaioon, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Sultan Sumeid Birlafs to keep those provinces in awe, and returned himself to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum Chan, governor of Calpec, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

Baber alarmed
by a con-
federacy
against him.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that Rana Sinka, Hassen Chan Mewati, Raw Dedive of Backeri, Medini Raw of Chunderi, Mahmood Chan, the son of Sultan Secunder Lodi, and other omrahs and rajas in alliance, whose force exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan omrahs, who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls, hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the sultan's small army. Hybat Chan Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen Chan joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Mahuminud Sherif a little add to the general consternation.

Marches
against them.

His van de-
feated.

A general
consterna-
tion.

This

This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput * was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council A council of war. of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that, as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was adviseable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab.

Baber, with a discontented aspect, fixed his eyes, in silence, upon the ground. He, at length, sternly asked the omrahs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud The intrepid conduct of Baber. in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But, as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honor, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, as if inspired by one soul, cried out, at once, "War! War!"

The sultan, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made Prohibits the use of wine in the camp. a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious. Orders were immediately issued to prohibit the sale of wine in the camp: not so much from superstition, as to keep the mind cool for action.

Upon the ninth of Jimmad ul Sani, of the year nine hundred and thirty three, which happened to be Norose †, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order

* The planet Mars.

† New-Year's Day.

A. D. 1526. he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of three
 Hig. 933. crores. But after he had advanced one crore he halted, and en-
 Marches to- wards the enemy. camped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out, under the command of Mahummud Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The enemy
 advance to
 attack him.

The sultan, next day, advanced another crore, and marked out his camp at the village of Kara; but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the shock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam ul Dien Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ablest general, and this order of battle being, on account of circumstances, different from the former, we shall relate it at large in this place.

The order of
 battle.

The line which, upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life guards in the center, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the sultan placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry.

Arrangement
 of the troops.

The brigade immediately to the right of the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of Soliman Shaw, Shaw Munfur Birlas, Durvesh Mahummud Sarban, Abdulla Kitabdar, and Dost Aisheck Aka. The brigade to the left of the center was under the immediate orders of Allum Chan, the son of Sultan Beloli, and composed of his own troops,

troops, and those of Sheick Zein Chani Siddir, Mahumud Ali Tirdi-Beg, Shere Afgan, Araish Chan, and Chaja Haffein. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by Prince Humaioon, and of these the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Haffein Sultan, Ahmed Eufoph, Hindo Beg Cochin, Chufero Cokultash, Mallec Casim, Kawam Beg, Awird Shaw, Willi Chazin, Mirza Combuzli, Peer Kulli Seiftani, Chaja Pulwan Buduchshi, Abdu Shukur, Soliman Aká, the ambassador of Irack, and Haffen, the envoy of Seistan. The left hand battalion of Prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Meer Shech, Mahumud Kokultash, Chajagi Afid, Chan Chanan, the son of Dowlat Chan Lodi, Malleck Daood Kirrani, and Shech Gurin.

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Prince Humaioon commands the right wing.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whose division was composed of the troops of Mahumud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Adbul Aziz, Mahumud Alli Jung-jung, and Kuttulack Kaddim. The right hand brigade was made up of the troops of Amir Angi Mogul, Jan Beg Atka, Sittal Chan, Kumal Chan, of the race of Alla ul Dien, Sultan Alli Chan, Shech Zadda Chermilli, and Nizim Chan Biana. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg, Mumin Atka, and Rustum Turkuman; and those of the left wing by Mahmood Casim, Jifferat Chan, and Chan Bahadur. Sultan Mahumud, Buchshi*, took post before the king, with all his yeffawils †, and a choice body of horse.

Seid Chaja the left,

Baber himself the center.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and made them give ground. But Chin Timur, by the sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took

The battle begins.

* Captain-General.

† Aids de Camp.

A. D. 1526
 Hig. 933.

Baber's army
 surrounded.

up their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the sultan, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli Rumi, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

He over-
 throws the
 enemy.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Chin Timur and Allum Chan, and charging them like a lion rushing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen Chan, of Mewat, was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive Rai, Chunder Ban Chohan, Mannuk Chand Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead.

The sultan
 assumes the
 title of Gha-
 zi.

The sultan, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi *; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

Reduces Ma-
 vat.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched towards Mavat, where Nihar Chan, the son of Hassen Chan, seeing no other means of safety, submitted himself and the country to the king. The government of Mavat was conferred upon Chin Timur Sultan.

* Ghazi signifies a warrior.

After these transactions, Baber returned to Agra, from whence he sent his son Humaioon to Cabul, with orders to add Balich to that province, and to rule both in his own name. Mahummud Alli, Tirdi Beg, and Kotch Beg, were ordered against Haffein Chan and Diria Chan, who still kept possession of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Haffein Chan was drowned in crossing the Jumna, while Diria Chan escaped. Mahummud Sultan Mirza was detached at the same time to Kinnoge, against Bein Afghan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad.

A. D. 1527.
Hig. 934.
Humaioon
sent to Ca-
bul.

Upon the twenty ninth of Zihidge, in the year nine hundred and thirty four, the king marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chase for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Me- deni Rai had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out, and attacked the king, but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner. They placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves about the honor of being first slain. The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and fought after that death, which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Baber invests
Chinderi.

The besiegers
defeated in a
fally.

Murder their
wives and
children,

and are all
slain.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been sent against the omrahs of the East, was defeated. The king,

Baber defeats
the omrahs of
the east.

A. D. 1528,
Aug. 935. kings, therefore, left Ahmed Shaw, the son of Mahumud Shaw, and grandson of Sultan Nasir ul Dien Malavi, who had now joined him, in the government of Chinderi, and marched in person towards Kinnogi. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he threw over it a bridge of boats. Chin Timur was ordered to cross in the front, the enemy being then on the opposite shore. After a faint resistance, the Patans gave way; but Chin Timur pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

The king, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Arrives at Agra. Mahumud Zeman Mirza, the son of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza, of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty five, marched himself to survey the country. He first took the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone elephant, and the palace of Raja Man Sing. He then visited the gardens of Rehim Daad, and ordered some flowers and plants, of Makes a progress towards Gualier. an uncommon kind, to be transplanted to Agra. He went to worship in the great Musgid, built by Sultan Shumse ul Dien Altumsh, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra. Returns to Agra, and

falls sick. The sultan, soon after his return to Agra, was seized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some superstitious people advised him, during his sickness, to write a poem in praise of Chaja Abud Ahrar, one of the saints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the faint, actually wrote the poem, in the measure of Mowlani Jami, or Rimel Mussiddis.

The king detached a division of his army to advance to the Gang, and

The king recovered from his disorder about the eighth of Ribbi A. D. 1528.
 ul Awil. He offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of Ilig. 935.
 his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distribu- Recovers.
 ted magnificent presents among the omrahs and foreign ambassadors,
 and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During
 this festival, Chandamire, the author of the Habib al Sier, Mow-
 lana Shab Mammai, and Mirza Ibrahim Canooni, who came from
 Herât, and were esteemed the greatest geniusses of that age, were
 introduced to the king: He loaded them with his favors, and or- His genero-
 dered them places near his own person. sity to
learned men.

Mirza Ashkari, who governed Moultan, was, this year, ordered
 to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was
 commanded to go against Nuferit Shaw. Nuferit, hearing of the Mirza Ash-
 approach of the Moguls, sent an ambassador to the king, subjecting kari sent
 himself to the royal authority. Barhan Nizam Shaw Beri, prince against Nufe-
 of Ahmednagar, at the same time sent to congratulate Baber on his rit Shaw,
 good fortune, and proffered obedience. who submits.

Baber, towards the close of this year, received advices that Sul- Insurrections
 tan Mahmood, the son of Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself of in Behar and
 the province of Behar, and that Bellocha had erected the standard Moultan.
 of rebellion in Moultan. The king sent orders to his omrahs in the
 north-west, concerning the affairs of Moultan, and marched in per- Baber
 son towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Sultan Jellal'ul marches to
 Dien Shirki prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was ho- Behar.
 nored with his presence. Mahummud Zeman Mirza was detached
 from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar. He soon drove Sultan Defeats the
 Mahmood out of the field. enemy.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting them-
 selves together a second time, advanced to the Gang, opposite to Hi-
 deri. The king detached Ashkari Mirza with a division of the
 troops

A. D. 1529.
Hig. 936. troops to oppose them, and next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Chin Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Mirza Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Sultan Junied Birlafs to prosecute the war in conjunction with Nufirit Shaw, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra. He visited, upon his way, Shech Eiah, at Monier, the father of Shech Sherrif Moniri, and carried him to court.

Transactions
in Cabul.

Humaioon having left Mirza Hindal to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Cabul to visit his father. Sultan Seid Chan of Argund, took this opportunity of invading Buduchshan, and sent Mirza Hyder Dughelaff, to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was besieged. Sultan Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchshan was bestowed upon Soliman Mirza, who set out immediately for that province with a letter from the king to Sultan Seid Chan, expressing his surprize at hostilities, for which he could not account, but by some misbehavior of Mirza Hindal; that, therefore, he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. When Soliman Mirza arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took possession of the government, which his family have kept to this day. Mirza Hindal returned to Agra.

The sultan
falls sick,

In the year nine hundred and thirty six, the sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon,

maoon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and thirty seven, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.

A. D. 1530.
Hig. 937.

and dies.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and he carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshipers of his virtue.

His character.

His humanity and generosity.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy for the benefit of the superficial judges of things. He was a master in the arts of Poetry, Writing, and Music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber.

His religion.

His genius for the fine arts.

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

To

A. D. 1530.
Hig. 937.
His justice.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Ferghana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

Addicted to
pleasure.

Notwithstanding his great vigor in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road measured after him. This custom obtains with the emperors of Hindostan to this day. He made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnabs to one crore, each tinnab being forty guz*.

His talents
for war.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he for-

* A guz is not quite an English mile.

get himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul.

A. D. 1530.
Hig 937.

We have already traced Baber's descent from Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynasty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Chingez Chan, the son of Pissuka, the son of Pirna, had four sons of renown, who were all kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai Chaân, Chigittai Chan, Judgi Chan, and Tooli Chan. Though Oktai Chaân was not the eldest son, yet he was, by his father, appointed his successor, and ruled in Kirrakerim and Kilwarân, which were the original territories of Chingez Chan. Oktai Chan died, by excess of wine, in the year six hundred and thirty nine.

His genealogy.

Chigittai Chan, the second son, possessed the kingdoms of Maverulnere, Tarkistân, Balich, and Buduchshan, and became the greatest of the family. Kirrachar Nuain, who was the fifth ancestor of Timur, was one of his omrahs, and, at length, captain general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur, the son of Amir Jiraghai, the son of Amir Birkit, the son of Alingar Bahadur, the son of Abhil Luiân, the son of Kirrachar Nuain, the son of Sagungi, the son of Ibumgi Berlaß, the son of Katchuli Badahur, the son of Jumnai Chan, the son of Bacfinker Chan, the son of Kidu Chan, who, by the mother's side, was descended from Bafinger, a lady, from whom Chingez Chan derived his pedigree.

The family of Timur, or Tamerlane.

Y R O S T I H

M A T O O S I H

L A B I T

The History of the Life of Mr. ...
the Countess ...

I D B A I

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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
H I N D O S T A N.

P A R T V.

The History of the Life of HUMAION,
the Son of BABER.

S E C T I O N I.

The reign of HUMAION, till his expulsion from
H I N D O S T A N.

NASIR ul Dien Mahummud HUMAION, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in Hindostan. He was a great astronomer, and took much delight in judicial astrology. He fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. He even endeavored to suit the people, who came to pay their respects, to the supposed influence of the planet, which presided over the time of their attendance. In the house of the

A. D. 1530.
Fig. 937.
Mahummud
Humaion
a great astro-
nomer.

A. D. 1531. Moon met foreign ambassadors, travellers, and poets. Military men †
 Dig. 938. attended him in the house of Brisput *, and judges, lawgivers, and
 secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven †.

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon
 to follow long these innocent whims. Such only suited the days of
 peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmless follies. He scarcely
 had ascended the throne, when his brother, Mirza Camiran, who
 was then in Cabul, formed a design of making himself master of
 Punjaab. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was go-
 ing to Hindostan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his accession.
 The king being, however, apprized of Camiran's views, by his be-
 havior in those countries through which he passed, and being ex-
 tremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, consented to let
 him govern Punjaab, Pishawir, Lemghan, Cabul, Candahar, and
 Biana. This effectually stopped the progress of Mirza Camiran.

Promotions. The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat
 upon Mirza Hindal, his brother, and appointed Mirza Askari to that
 of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the possession of the
 former fubas.

Humaioon besieges Callinger. Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty eight, led an
 army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place.
 While the king carried on the siege, Mahmood, the son of Sultan
 Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein Afgan, took possession of
 Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the east. Humaioon,
 having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from
 before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle over-
 threw the Afghans, and reinstated Juneid Birlas in his former go-
 vernment of that province.

* China is a very strong to the province of O...
 † The planet Mars † Mercury.

The sultan, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed chelats upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, dispatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded possession of the fortrefs of Chinâr *, which being refused, the sultan marched his army that way. When Humaioon lay before Chinâr, he was informed, that Sultan Bahadur, of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of his spears. This obliged him to patch up a kind of a peace with Shere Chan, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub Chan, the son of Shere Chan, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means, on the way, to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chinâr.

A. D. 1531.
Hig. 938.

Demands
possession of
Chinâr.

173
mid 1514

Mahummud Ziman Mirza, the grandson of Sultan Huffein Mirza, aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned: But Humaioon finding him, a second time, meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortrefs of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mahummud Sultan and Nuherit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzerat. Mahummud Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Kinnoge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

A conspiracy
discovered.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, the governor of Kinnoge, and commanded him to deliver up Mahummud, but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of

Rebellion at
Kinnoge.

* Chinâr is a very strong fortrefs in the province of Oud, within seven crores of Benaris; Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

A. D. 1532.
Hig. 939.

Chitor from Rana Bickermagit. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana Bickermagit, despairing of relief, sent a crown, and a considerable sum of money, to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege.

Sultan Bahadur

Sultan Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation, by the reduction of Mendu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mahumud to great honors. He also prompted Sultan Alla ul Dien, the son of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to possess himself of the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, made Tatar Chan, the son of Sultan Alla ul Dien, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana; and advanced to the environs of Agra.

sends an army against Humaioon,

which is totally defeated.

This pressing danger awaked the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent Mirza Hindal, with a force, to oppose Tatar Chan. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved, with these, to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army, but he was totally overthrown, lost the most of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. Mirza Hindal, after this victory, retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur marches against Chitor.

Sultan Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a second time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Dien Panna. He, soon after, marched towards Saringpoor,

Saringpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as sultan of Guzerat, and wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king. Chitor, in the Persian language, signifies, *in what manner*; and upon this was founded the miserable witticism contained in the verses. The words were, “ O thou plunderer of the city of Chitor! *in what manner* canst thou conquer the idolaters? For when thou wouldst wish to conquer Chitor; thou know’st not *in what manner* the king comes to conquer thee.”

A. D. 1533.
Hig. 940.
Humaioon
sends him a
punning
letter.

Bahadur answered Humaioon in his own strain, and in the following words: “ I, who am the plunderer of Chitor, will conquer the idolaters by valor; and he who dares not succour Chitor, shall see *in what manner* he himself shall be conquered.” The wit is wretched on both sides; but he who began the pun is most to blame.

Bahadur’s
answer.

Sultan Bahadur, after sending the above billet to Humaioon, called a council of war. It was the opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the siege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters.

Calls a coun-
cil of war.

Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Sultan Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty one, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other, near Munsoor. Sultan Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer,

Takes Chitor
and marches
against the
emperor.

A. D. 1534. engineer, Romi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon
 Hig. 941. in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risk-
 Entrenches ing an attack, and both armies continued in fight of one another for the
 his army. space of two months. Daily skirmishes were, in the mean time,
 fought, with various success.

Humaioon cuts off his supplies. Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers.

Cowardice and flight of Bahadur. Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no sooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs dispersing themselves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mindu, and the place was closely invested.

His army is routed, and he himself besieged in Mindu.

Mindu taken by surprize. In a few days, three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands, such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his Amir ul Omrah, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favor. Sidder Chan, during the pursuit, saved Sultan Bahadur, when

Bravery of Humaioon and Sidder Chan.

when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such violence by the king, in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

A. D. 1534.
Hig. 941.

The king, three days after the taking of Mindu, renewed the pursuit after Sultan Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of Mahummud Abad and Chapanier, fled towards Amudabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the siege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Chaja Birlafs, continued to pursue Bahadur. The unfortunate sultan, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambait, but Humaioon pursuing him thither, he retired to the island of Deo, Humaioon arriving in Cumbait, the very evening of the same day in which Bahadur forsook it.

Humaioon
pursues Sul-
tan Bahadur.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that the sultan's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that siege. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had some years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies from a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood.

Returns to
the siege of
Chapanier.

The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the proceedings of Achtiar Chan, with regard to the provisions. He immediately seized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He persuaded, or rather commanded them, to carry him, in disguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a parcel of iron spikes to be made.

His frata-
gem.

A. D. 1535.
fig. 912.
By a gallant
exploit,
takes Cha-
panier.

He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards the different assaults. This furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides; and Humaioon, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! * and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it, and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtear Chan and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained a capitulation.

Divides the
boot among
his troops.

The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Room, Chitta, and Fring †, which had been there collected, to a vast amount, was delivered over to plunder.

Bahadur Sul-
tan levies
forces.

Sultan Bahadur having secured himself in Deo, sent Amad ul Muluck Chirkufs to Ahmedabad, to collect the revenues, and levy

* That is, God is greatest.

† The Turkish Empire, China, and Europe.

troops.

troops. He found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand men, and was daily gaining strength and reputation. Humaioon having intelligence of the transactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in person with his army towards Ahmedabad. Amad ul Muluck drew out his army to oppose him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperialists, commanded by Mirza Ashkari, he was defeated before the rest of the army could be brought up to the engagement.

A. D. 1535
Hig. 247

His army
overthrown.

The king, for this signal service, appointed Mirza Ashkari governor of the splendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched against Burhanpoor. Burhan Nizam Shaw, Amud ul Muluck, and the other princes of the Decan, apprehensive of his designs to reduce Chandez, wrote to him letters of submission and allegiance.

Humaioon
reduces all
Guzerat.

These letters had scarce arrived, when the news of the insurrection of Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Amud ul Muluck, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of Guzerat, began again to acquire strength, and marched, with an army, towards Ahmedabad.

The insur-
rection under
Shere Chan.

Humaioon, in the mean time, invested Chinar, and reduced it, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere Chan, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad*. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of that

* The paradisaical city.

A. D. 1539.
 Hig. 946. country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well as by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal at Agra, to return.

The brothers
 disagree.

Mirza Hindal, the King's brother, was sent to suppress Mahumud Sultan Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kinnoge. But instead of performing that service, he, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it.

The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire Beg and Ibrahim Beg to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahumud Zeman Mirza, who had formerly joined Sultan Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time, Shere Chan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Jossa *. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

Mirza Cami-
 ran mounts
 the throne in
 Agra.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother, Mirza Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched, with ten thousand horse, from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, Mirza Hindal prevailed upon him, to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege.

* Perhaps the Sone, or Carimnassa.

Fuchir ul Dien Alli, who commanded in the city, acquainted Mirza Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood; but, that, if he would first possess himself of the capital of Agra, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Mirza Camiran and his brother found him so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood, and time, they set out together for Agra.

A. D. 1539.
Hig. 946.

When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy, which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Mirza Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir, with five thousand horse, and three hundred elephants; and Mirza Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Sultan Humaioon endeavored, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere Chan, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Chigittai in one common ruin; that it was, therefore, adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were so blinded by ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoping that after Shere Chan had defeated Sultan Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere Chan; and each had the folly to suppose, that he should be able to exclude the other, and so reign alone.

Humaioon
endeavors to
bring over
his brothers
to his interest.

They reject
his proposals.

At this juncture, Shere Chan sent Sheeh Chelili, a dervish of great reputation, to Sultan Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which

Humaioon
makes peace
with Shere
Chan.

A. D. 1539. which the king accepted, with gladness, upon the following conditions: That Shere Chan should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

Treachery of Shere Chan.

When the conditions were signed and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaion, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere Chan aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprized the sultan's camp, before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the sultan had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a part of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaion, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was Mahummud Ziman Mirza. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaion in the year nine hundred and forty six.

Humaion totally overthrown.

Escapes to Agra.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Mirza Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother, Mirza Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behavior to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire Beg, and Ibrahim Beg, having left Bengal, and even Mahummud Sultan Mirza,

He is joined by his brothers.

Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general A. D. 1540.
Hig. 947. cause against the Afghans.

The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily consultations; Quarrels between the
brothers. but Mirza Camiran, who was not earnest in reconciling their different interests, brought all their councils to nothing, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which resolution he was very much instigated by Chaja Callan Bég. Sultan Humaioon used every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himself, or to give no assistance to his brother.

These impolitic disputes had lasted six months, when Mirza Camiran was seized with a false appetite, which he too much indulged, and consequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given him by his brothers. He immediately set out for Lahore, leaving a thousand horse with Secunder Sultan, under Mirza Cami-
ran forsakes
the king. presence of assisting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly discouraged at Camiran's departure, so that many of them, fearing the issue of the war, accompanied him. Mirza Hyder, disgusted with this behavior, staid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great service.

Shere Chan, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now Shere Chan
advances to
the Gang. advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching his son Cuttub Chan over the river, possessed himself of the adjacent provinces.

Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Cassim Haffein Sultan Usbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar Mirza and Secunder Sultan, against him, with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement was fought, The imperial
generals de-
feat and slay
CuttubChan. in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub Chan, with a great

A. D. 1540.
Hig. 947. great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, invited the king to come and have the honor of conquering Shere Chan in person.

Humaioon marches against Shere Chan. Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Gang, near Kinnoge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere Chan, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahummud Sultan Mirza, and his sons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the sultan into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, insomuch that the tents seemed afloat. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground.

Is deserted by a great part of his army,

and over-thrown. On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty seven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere Chan on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and some thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routs.

Shere Chan advances to Agra. Shere Chan, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the first of Rubbi ul Awil, of that year, joined the greatest part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere Chan still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the sultan, upon the first

Pursues the king,

first of Rigib, passed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta and Bicker. Mirza Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behavior, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948.
who takes
the route of
Tatta.

Humaioon having crossed the Sind, on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador, with a horse and dress to Mirza Shaw Haffein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzerat. Mirza Shaw Haffein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. Mirza Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Candahar, being invited thither, by Kirrachi Chan, governor of that province. Mirza Eadgar Nasir proposed, at the same time, to quit Humaioon, but this unfortunate king, took great pains to keep him firm to his interest, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no sooner taken possession of that place, than he began to strengthen himself, and to hatch treason.

His embassy
to the gover-
nor of Tatta.

His brother
Hindal de-
serts the
king.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid siege to Sewan, for seven months, without effect, when Shaw Haffein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army were soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Mirza Eadgar to join him, with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man chose rather to be prevailed upon to join Mirza Shaw Haffein, who promised him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. He immediately deserted the king's interest, at this dangerous crisis, and Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan, towards Bicker.

Humaioon
besieges
Sewan.

His great
distress.

He flies to-
wards Bicker.

A. D. 1541. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats, from his own per-
 Hig. 9+8. fidious subjects, to waft his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side:

Notwithstanding this accumulation of misfortunes, Humaioon had strength enough left to strike terror in Eadgar Nasir Mirza, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. The necessity of the times obtained his pardon; but, in return for Humaioon's clemency, he began to raise sedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own interest. This treason being communicated to the king, the traitor, upon being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops, in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction refused to attack their king, so that an action was prevented, when both parties were formed in order of battle.

The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own safety elsewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jasselmere, to Raja Maldeo, then the most potent Hindoo prince in Hindostan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was passing through the territories of Jasselmere, the raja of that country sent a force to oppose him. The king defeated them, and passed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and sent a messenger to the raja.

But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misfortunes. Maldeo, seeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon, found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore resolved, if possible, to seize the king, and send him to Shere Shaw. One of Maldeo's servants, who had formerly lived under Humaioon, having intelligence of this design, immediately informed the king.

Humaioon

Humaion mounted his horse, at midnight, and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his request. The troops of the raja being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Nidim Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on the camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948.
He flies.

The country, through which they fled, being an entire sandy desert, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaion ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family.

His great
distress.

Calamitous
situation of
his retinue.

Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Shech Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of Martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were, by the valor of this handful, put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

Gallant ex-
ploit of
Shech Ali.

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more distressed than before, there being no water for two days' journey. On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well,

The king's
dreadful situ-
ation for
want of
water.

A. D. 1542. which was so deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the castles when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some rolling out their tongues, rolled themselves in agony, on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends!

The next day, though they reached water, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tasted water for several days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

Arrives, and is humanely received at Amercot.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of distress, reached Amercot. The raja being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

Akbar born.

Humaion marches against Bicker.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, the prince Ackbar was brought forth, by Hamida Banu Begum. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Shech Ali, one of his principal

principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his way, joined by Byram Chan, from Guzerat. Mirza Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Kandahar from his brother, Mirza Hindal; and Mirza Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Mirza Shaw Haffein wrote to Mirza Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favor him; so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his son, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam Muckani, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorrassan. Mirza Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince Ackbar to Kandahar.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
is defeated,
and flies to-
wards Kan-
dahar.

Is obliged to
fly to Chor-
rassan.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Shaw Tamasp ul Huffeini, of Iran. He brought Humaioon to Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money he was worth, and furnishing the sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Hêrat, and was, in that city, met by Sultan Mahummud, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to court. In his progress towards the capital of Iran, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram Chan to the Persian king, at Ispahan, and waited his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan, during his exile.

Is received
kindly by the
Persian go-
vernor of
Seistan,

and by the
king of Per-
sia's son.

He is
received
kindly
by the
king of
Persia's
son.

S E C T I O N

SECTION II.

History of SHERE SHAW, before his accession to the imperial throne.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
Shere Shaw's family,

THE original name of Shere Shaw was Ferîd. His father was Haffin, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh. When Sultan Beloli placed his foot on the musnud of empire, the grandfather of Shere Shaw, Ibrahim Soor, came to Delhi in quest of military service.

of the Afghans of Roh.

The original seat of the Afghans was Roh. This word, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extended, they say, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckurast, and in breadth, from Huslin Abdal to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many separate tribes; among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the princes of Ghor. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mahummud Soor, having left his native country, placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was esteemed the noblest among them.

Ibrahim Soor arrives at Delhi,

Ibrahim Soor, arriving at Delhi, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, Jemmal Chan an omrah was appointed suba of Jionpoor, who took Haffen, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him so much, that, in a short time, he gave him the pergunnahs of Schfarâm and Chawasspoor Tanda, in jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Haffen had eight sons; Ferîd and Nizâm of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

his son Haffen obtains a jagier.

Hassén had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferîd, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal Chan. Hassén wrote to Jemmal Chan * upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal Chan could say had no effect upon Ferîd. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Seharam; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, that he soon could repeat the works of Shech Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal Chan.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
Ferîd flies
from his fa-
ther's house.

Applies him-
self to letters.

After three or four years had passed, Hassén came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hassén gave Ferîd the charge of his jagier, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferîd, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

Is reconciled
with his fa-
ther.

Hassén coming to visit the pergunnahs, was extremely pleased with the management of his son, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a slave by whom he had three sons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her son Soliman was grown up,

who is pleas-
ed with his
behavior.

* Suba of Jionpoor.

and

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to teaze Haſſin for the ſuperintendency of the pergunnahs for Soliman. This gave the old omrah great concern, knowing the ſuperior abilities of Ferîd. The ſon, hearing that the domeſtic peace of his father was deſtroyed, by the importunities of his favorite, made a voluntary reſignation of his truſt, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman.

He reſigns
the manage-
ment of the
jagier.

Goes to
Agra.

Ferîd, and his brother Nizam, ſet out immediately for Agra, and entered into the ſervice of Dowlat Chan, one of the principal omrahs of Sultan Ibrahim. Ferîd, by his good behavior, ſoon inſinuated himſelf into his maſter's affection. Dowlat deſired him, one day, to tell him what he was moſt deſirous to obtain, and that he would uſe his intereſt with the ſultan in his favor. Ferîd replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful miſtreſs, who had deprived both himſelf and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their jagier for her own ſpurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his intereſt at court, procure the jagier-ſonnad in his name, he would promiſe to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horſe for the ſervice of the empire.

The emperor
refuſes to
grant him his
father's ja-
gier,

Dowlat Chan accordingly preferred this requeſt to the ſultan, who replied, That he muſt be a bad man indeed, who reviled and undermined his own father. Dowlat Chan retired in ſilence, and acquainted him of the anſwer he had received, but comforted Ferîd, by telling him that he would take another opportunity to urge his requeſt. In the mean time, the father of Ferîd died, and Dowlat Chan obtained the emperor's grant, with which the two brothers ſet out to Sehſaram with a grand retinue.

which, upon
his father's
death, he ob-
tains.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, evacuating the country, went off to Mahummud Chan Soor, who held the purgunnah of Chond,

Chond, and kept up a force of fifteen hundred horse, and complained of the behavior of Ferîd. Mahummud Chan told him, that Baber, having invaded Hindostan, a war between him and Sultan Ibrahim was unavoidable. That, therefore, if he should accompany him when called to the imperial army, he would endeavor to get him redress. Soliman was too impatient to wait so long in suspense. Mahummud Chan, therefore, sent a person to Ferîd, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferîd replied, That he was willing to give him a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he must be excused from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the same time, the old adage, That two swords could never rest in one scabbard.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.
His brother
Soliman
complains of
him to Ma-
hummud
Soor,

Soliman could not be satisfied with sharing the government, and therefore nothing was settled between the brothers. This irritated Mahummud Chan so much, that he resolved to compel him to the measures which he himself had proposed. Ferîd being informed of this resolution, began to provide for his own security; but news arriving of Sultan Ibrahim's death, the whole country was thrown into confusion. Ferîd resolved not to lie idle in the midst of the troubles which ensued. He joined Pâr Chan, the son of Diria Chan Lohani, who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Sultan Mahummud, or Mahmood. As the sultan was one day on a hunting party, he roused an enormous tiger; which Ferîd immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in the sultan's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Chan *.

who forms
designs a-
gainst him.

Ferid obtains
the title of
Shere Chan.

Shere Chan rose gradually to great influence and favor, in the sultan's service. He was even appointed tutor to the sultan's son, Jellal Chan. He, in the mean time, requested permission to go to his jagier, but he was detained there by business, till his leave of ab-

* Shere signifies a lion.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

He is accused
to Sultan
Mahmood.

fence expired. Sultan Mahummud, dissatisfied with this behavior, reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promise; and Mahummud Chan, an omrah, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favoring the interest of Sultan Mamood, the son of Sultan Secunder. The sultan was, by this means, so incensed against him, that he intimated, at the same time, a design to deprive him of his jagier, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty.

Proceedings
against him.

The sultan, however, having a great esteem for Shere Chan, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid aside the violent measure to which he was instigated by Mahummud. He, at the same time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuser to enquire into his father's estate, and make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mahummud Chan, glad of this order, sent one of his servants to Shere Chan to acquaint him, that his brothers, according to the sultan's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the estate which he had hitherto so unjustly with-held from them.

The nature
of tenures in
Hindostan.

Shere Chan returned for answer, that Mahummud was very much mistaken in this matter. That there were no heritable estates in Hindostan, among Mahomedans, for that all lands belonged to the king, which he disposed of at pleasure. That as he himself had a personal grant of his jagier, his brethren were entirely out of the question. That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere Chan
attacked.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahummud Chan, who was then at Jiond, he was enraged at so flat a denial, and raising all his forces, sent them against Shere Chan; under the command of Shadi, his adopted slave, accompanied by Soliman and Ahmed.

Ahmed. His orders were to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman, to protect him in the jagier. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

This resolution being quickly taken, Shere Chan had not time to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to Malleck Sook, his deputy in the pergunnah of Chawafspoor Tandah, to harrafs the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. But Malleck Sook, desirous to distinguish himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory. who determines to oppose him.

This disaster weakened Shere Chan so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahummud; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Juneid Birlafs, suba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, on the part of Sultan Baber. He made the suba a handsome present, was taken into favor, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahummud, who fled to the mountains of Rhotas, so that he not only possessed himself of his own country, but added several other pergunnahs to his jagier, which he now held of Sultan Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had assisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts. He flies to Kurrah. Returns and defeats Mahummud.

Shere Chan having thus established himself in his jagier, performed an act of generosity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honor. He recalled Mahummud Chan, who had fled, and put him in possession of his former jagier. This generous treatment converted his greatest enemy into one of his best friends. His generosity to him.

Shere having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor Juneid Birlafs, at

A. D. 1542. Kurrah. Birlafs was then going to Agra, and Shere resolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occasion, introduced to Sultan Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi.

Fig. 949.
Goes to
Agra.

After Shere had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the king himself, though a man of great parts, was
" but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindostan; and that
" the vizier, who held the reins of government, would be too much
" biassed in favor of his own interest, to mind that of the public.
" That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity among
" themselves, could be brought to mutual concord, the work was
" compleated; and should fortune ever favor him, he imagined him-
" self equal to the task, however difficult it might, at present, ap-
" pear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion.

His opinion
concerning
the Moguls.

His behavior
at the
King's table

Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, not to lose his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behavior. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghani is not to be disconcerted by
" trifles, and is likely to be a great man."

occasions a
reflection of
Baber.

He privately
withdraws.

Shere Chan perceiving, by these words, that the king had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own jagier. He wrote from thence to Juneid Birlafs, that as Mahummud Chan had prevailed on Sultan

Mahmood

Mahmood Chan, of Behar, to send troops against his jagier, he had in haste left the king's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He, by this means, amused Juneid Birlafs from chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Sultan Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favorite than before.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Is reconciled
with Sultan
Mahmood of
Behar,

Sultan Mahmood dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal Chan, a minor. The young prince's mother, Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere Chan. The sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into his hands.

who dies.

Shere Chan
manages the
government.

Muchdum Allum, the governor of Hidgeepoor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere Chan's protection. Sultan Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub Chan, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere Chan made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub Chan was slain, and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the designs of Shere Chan.

Overthrows
the army of
Bengal.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy, to take away his life. Shere discovered the plot, taxed Jellal Chan with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He told, on this occasion, to the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting quit of him, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either

A plot against
his life.

He offers to
resign.

A. D. 1542.
11g. 949. either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would, by no means, consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister.

Shere obliges his master, the Sultan of Behar, to fly.

Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, he fled to Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere Chan, who had usurped his throne.

Mahmood of Bengal assists him with an army,

Sultan Mahmood, joining his compassion for the young prince, to his personal hatred for Shere, sent Ibrahim Chan, the son of Cuttub Chan, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengaliens besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere Chan, being informed of this circumstance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim Chan was slain in the action, and the young prince fled in great distress to Bengal.

which is overthrown by Shere.

All Behar submits to him.

Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. Taje Chan was, at this time, governor of the strong fort of Chinâr, which he had held for himself ever since the death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. His wife Lade Mallecke, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they instigated their sons to make away with her. But one of the sons, who had undertaken the murder, missed his blow, and only inflicted a slight wound, Taje Chan, alarmed by her cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword to kill his son. The son, seeing no means to escape, assaulted his father, and slew him. The sons of Taje Chan were yet

too young to be entrusted with the government, and Lade Mallecke drew the reins into her own hands, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere Chan, informed of these transactions, set a treaty of marriage on foot with Lade Mallecke, which was soon concluded. Shere seized upon Chinâr and the dependant districts, which was a great acquisition to his power, there being a considerable treasure in the place.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Shere Chan, by marriage, obtains the possession of Chinâr.

Much about this time, Sultan Mahmood, the son of Sultan Secunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his assistance, and that of Hassen Chan Mewati, advanced against Sultan Baber, and were defeated, as we have already seen, at Janveh. Sultan Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the omrahs of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed king. He made himself soon master of all Behar. Shere Chan perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from the sultan's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, submitted to his authority, and, by that means, saved a part of Behar, which the sultan permitted him to retain. The sultan told him, at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them.

Sultan Mahmood Lodi possesses himself of Behar.

Shere Chan, some time after, obtained leave to return to Sheffaram, to levy troops, and Sultan Mahmood marching, with an army, against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed for some time, the sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a loose game, marched his army through his jagier on his way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Jionpoor. The troops of Humaioon evacuated the province upon their approach, so that the Afghans took possession of the country as far as Lucknore.

Shere Chan obtains leave to visit his jagier.

Humaioon

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

He betrays
Sultan Mah-
mood Lodi.

Humaioon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progress of the Afghans, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baezid, Shere Chan, who thought himself ill-used, betrayed his master, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself a servant of Baber's family, to whom he owed his advancement, and that he would be the cause of defeating the Afghans next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favored by Humaioon. Sultan Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, died in Orissa.

Refuses to
give up
Chinâr to
Humaioon.

Proposes
terms to
Humaioon,

Humaioon, after his victory, returned to Agra, and sent Amir Hindoo Beg to Shere Chan, to take possession of the fort of Chinâr. Shere excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaioon returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chinâr, and, having invested it, he received a letter from Shere Chan, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself one of the servants of the house of Baber, from whom he first obtained a government; and that he had expressed his fidelity, by being the occasion of the late victory. That, therefore, if the king would permit him to retain the government of the fort, he was willing to pay him the proper revenues of the lands which he held, and would send his son, Cuttub Chan, with five hundred horse, to be maintained at his own expence, in the sultan's service."

which are
accepted.

As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conquests of Sultan Bahadur, required the king's presence, and considering also the strength of Chinâr, Humaioon consented to these terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub Chan and Isay Chan Hajbil, with five hundred horse, he marched towards Sultan Bahadur. The king, however,

however, had scarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub Chan deserted with his horse, and returned to his father. Shere immediately raised what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not satisfied with this success, he pursued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country several sharp battles, before he could make himself master of the passes, which were defended a whole month.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Shere reduces Behar, and enters Bengal.

Sultan Mahmood of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, which Shere Chan for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Chawafs Chan to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Sultan Mahmood fled in a boat to Hadjepoor; and Shere Chan, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmood being necessitated to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Besieges Sultan Mahmood Lodi, in Gour.

Overthrows Mahmood.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzerat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere Chan. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chinâr. Jellal Chan, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi Soor, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Rumi Chan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place.

Humaioon turns his arms against him.

Takes Chinâr.

Humaioon left two hundred soldiers in garrison there, and marched towards Bengal. Sultan Mahmood, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere Chan, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere Chan had

Marches towards Bengal,

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949

sent Jellal Chan, Chawafs Chan, and a good detachment, to guard that pass. The king sent Jehangire Kulli Beg, and some other omrahs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal Chan fled to his father Shere Chan at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarchund, and began to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security.

forces the passes.

Drives Shere Chan to the mountains of Jarchund.

Shere Chan, by a stratagem, takes the impregnable fortress of Rhotas.

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, by which success might be hoped. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkifs, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, and told him, "That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would permit him to send his family and treasure into the place, with a few attendants." The raja at first rejected this request, but Shere Chan sent an artful ambassador to the raja, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treasure he requested the raja's protection: That should he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgments for the favor on his return; but if he should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and wealth should fall into his hands, than into those of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies."

The raja, permitting himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request. Shere Chan having provided covered doolies *, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the

* The same with sedan chairs.

same time, filled five hundred money bags with ball, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, to help the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the doolies, were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second dooly being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, so further examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time, busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the doolies had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the doolies. They easily mastered the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere Chan, who was encamped at a small distance. The rajah himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort.

A. D. 1542.
Fig. 949.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere Chan, together with much treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this stratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Afere, in the Decan, was, long before, taken in the same manner by Nasir Chan Faroki, governor of Chandez.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of one crore, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than five crores. In this space are contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the same manner, passes close to the

Description
of Rhotas.

A. D. 1541. other side, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render all access that way next to impossible.

Hig. 948.

Shere Chan had now a secure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures, at Gour, or Lucknouti. He there received advices that Mirza Hindal, his brother, had revolted in Agra and Mewat; that he had put Shech Phoul to death, and coined money in his own name. He therefore left Jehangire Kulli Beg, with five thousand horse, in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

Humaioon
marches back
towards
Agra.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers, on his march, by fatigue and want of forage. Shere Chan, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jossa, in a place by which the king must of necessity pass, and, by treachery, defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately push forward to the capital. Anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Jehangire Kulli Beg in several battles, defeated him, and, at length, cut him and his army to pieces.

Is totally
overthrown
by Shere
Chan.

SECTION III.

The history of the reign of **SHERE SHAW**, the Afghani.

Shere Shaw
assumes the
imperial ti-
tle.

SHERE SHAW, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, assumed the imperial title, struck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched, the next year, with a great army, towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was, by this time, deserted

by

by his brother Mirza Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkuman mercenaries. He, however, crossed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere Chan, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as we have already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshâb; from which place the king retreated towards Sind.

A. D. 1542.
Hig. 949.

Ifmaiel Chan, Ghazi Chan, Fatti Chan, and Billoche Dudai, all omrahs of that country, joined Shere Shaw. The sultan, observing a hill, among the mountains of Balnat, proper for a fortress, ordered one to be built, which he named Rhotas. Chawafs Chan, his faithful slave, to whose bravery and conduct he owed himself greatly indebted for his fortune, was now made Amir ul Omrah, with a pension of a tenth of the royal revenue.

Makes Chawafs Chan captain general.

Having left the Amir ul Omrah, and Hybut Chan Neazi, with a great army, in the north west, Shere Shaw returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed, that Chizer Chan Sirik, whom he left suba of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmood, the former sultan of that province, and held the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such behavior to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer Chan being unexpectedly surprized, submitted without trouble, and was imprisoned. Shere Shaw very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of omrahs, independent of one another, and appointed Kafi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

Reduces the suba of Bengal.

In the year nine hundred and forty nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja Chan Afghan, who had before invested the place, on the part of Shere Shaw, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim Beg, governor of

Gualier

A. D. 1543. Gualier for Humaion, and he delivered up that strong fortress into
 Hig. 250. his hands.
 Takes Gualier.

Reduces Malava. Shere Shaw having entered Malava, Mullu Chan, governor of that province, submitted without a blow. Being, however, a few days after, alarmed by something, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja Chan had also a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere Shaw having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullee Chan fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja Chan, but he was defeated. Suja Chan having acquired all the honor of the victory, Hadjee Chan was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rintimpore. Shere Shaw arriving before Rintimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress, from the governor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood Lodi, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra. He remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut Chan to wrest Moultan from the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected by defeating Fatti Chan Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaion conferred upon him.

He marches against Raja Paran, for keeping two thousand concubines. In the year nine hundred and fifty, Paran Mull, the son of Raja Suckdeo Parbia, having conquered some neighbouring pergunnahs, kept no less than two thousand concubines and dancing girls in his zinnana. The king, resenting this indignity, marched and invested him in the fort of Raifein. The siege being protracted for a long time, Paran Mull began to treat of a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honorable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treasure, family, garrison, and effects. Paran accordingly marched out with four thousand rajaputs, and, trusting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a small distance.

But

But Shere Shaw, who never kept the faith of treaties, was easily persuaded, by his base ministers, particularly by Amir Ruffi ul Dien Suffi, infamously to violate his honor. He surrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be massacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the assassins.

A. D. 1543.
Hig. 950.
His treachery
and cruelty.

Shere Shaw, after this infamous transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr. During his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security, as to exercise his troops, and make them expert in this necessary service. When he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the raja of Nagor and Todpoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful raja in Hindostan. He opposed the king, with fifty thousand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in fight of one another.

He marches
towards Mar-
wâr,

Shere Shaw would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Raja Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere Shaw forged a letter, in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if he would therefore, reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgement for the favor." On this letter Shere subscribed, as usual, in Persian, That they should fear nothing, desiring them

and, by a
stratagem,
deceives the
enemy.

A. D. 1544. them to persevere in their intentions, and that they might rest assured,
 Hig 951. that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of the raja, who, being always in dread of his omrahs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner the raja had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the raja's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, That the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which the raja had thrown upon their reputation, by his own blood, or the conquest of Shere Shaw, with his own tribe.

Gallant proposal of a Rajaput omrah.

He returns with his own tribe, and attacks Shere.

The raja continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men, turned back, with an intent to surprize Shere Shaw's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was fair day light before they saw the enemy. Shere Shaw immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Chan Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs with renewed vigor, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, were cut to pieces.

After an obstinate battle, the rajaputs are cut to pieces.

Remarkable saying of Shere Shaw.

Shere Shaw, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of barley, he had almost given the Empire of Hindostan to the wind." This grain,

grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, ^{A. D. 1545.} for which the inhabitants fought, with so much obstinacy. Raja ^{Hig. 952.} Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sødpoær.

Shere Shaw, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards ^{He takes} the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. ^{Chitor,} He then directed his march to Rintimpore, and gave that country in jagier to his son Adil Chan, who fixed his residence there. The sultan, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one ^{and sits down} of the strongest forts in Hindostan. The raja of Callinger, on ac- ^{before Cal-} count of the king's treacherous behavior to Paran Mull, would make ^{linger;} no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere Shaw, ^{besieges the} having drawn a line of circumvallation, begun to carry on his ap- ^{place.} proaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown ^{The king} up; the king, Shech Chalile, Mulla Nizam Danishmund, and Diria ^{burnt by the} Chan Serwani, were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were ^{blowing up,} carried for dead to their tents. ^{of powder.}

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great agonies; he, however, encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God," and expired. The death of Shere Shaw ^{He dies.} happened on the twelfth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred

A. D. 1545⁵ and fifty two. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

His character.

The character of Shere Shaw is almost equally divided between virtue and vice. Public justice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery dishonored the hands of the king. He seemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the musnud, he might have been just, as he was valiant and politic in war: Had he confined his mind to his jagier, he might merit the character of a virtuous omrah; but his great soul made him look up to the throne, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

His magnificence.

Shere Shaw left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to the Sind, or Nilab, which is fifteen hundred crores *, he built caravanferais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Imams. He ordered that at every serai, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste.

Was the first who established regular horse posts.

Horse-posts were placed at proper distances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in Hindostan. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and mer-

* About three thousand of our miles.

chants,

chants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

It is said that Shere Shaw being told that his beard grew white, replied, It was true that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: One he appropriated to public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation. He was buried at Sessaram, in a magnificent sepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great tank, or reservoir of water. His attention
to business.

S E C T I O N. IV.

The reign of SELIM SHAW, the SON of SHERE SHAW.

WHEN Shere Shaw was numbered with the dead, his eldest son, Adil Chan, whom he appointed his successor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger son, Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Phetah. The omrahs, who favored Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, pretended the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They, for that purpose, dispatched expresses to Jellal Chan, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Chan Hugab, and his party, mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, upon the seventeenth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and fifty two, and assumed the title of Ilam Shaw, which, by false pronounciation, was turned to that of Selim Shaw, by which name he is more generally known. Jellal Chan
mounts the
throne by the
name of Se-
lim Shaw.

Selim Shaw, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to his elder brother, in the following words: " Adil being at so great a distance, and I so near, to prevent disturbance, I took upon me He writes to
his brother.

A. D. 1545. "the command of the army till his return. 16 But my intentions are
 Hig. 952! "only to forward my brother's interest, and to support his authority."

He is placed
 a second time
 upon the
 musnud.

Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards
 Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawafs Chan, who renewed the
 ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim Shaw a second time on the
 throne, holding a magnificent festival upon that occasion. From
 Kurrah, Selim Shaw wrote another letter to his brother, begging in
 the most affectionate terms, that he would come and see him.

His brother's
 answer.

Adil Chan wrote to the omrahs of Selim Shaw, particularly to
 Cuttub Chan Naib, Ifah Chan Neazi, Chawafs Chan, and Jellal Chan
 Selwani, to know to what purpose he was invited, and what he was
 to hope from them. He, at the same time, returned to his brother
 for answer, "That, if he would send these four omrahs to him, with
 "proper assurances, he would come." Selim Shaw sent accordingly the
 four omrahs to Adil Shaw, to assure him, in the most solemn manner,
 that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first in-
 terview: But that, as the omrahs had invested him with the imperial
 power, he could not be so ungrateful as to desert them. However,
 to make some compensation to Adil, for the empire, he was deter-
 mined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier.

The inter-
 view of the
 brothers.

Their designs
 against one
 another.

Adil Shaw, upon these assurances, proceeded to Agra. When he
 had reached the village of Sikri *, Selim Shaw was out on a
 hunting party, near that place, and appointed carpets to be spread
 for their interview. Here the brothers dissembled the greatest af-
 fection for one another, and after some discourse set out for Agra.
 Selim Shaw, who wanted to seize his brother, gave private orders,
 that only a few of his retinue should be admitted into the citadel;
 but Adil Shaw had also given orders to his people to press in, at all
 hazards, which they accordingly did, in spite of all opposition.

* Now Fattepoor.

Selim Shaw saw, that, without running a great risque, nothing could be effected against his brother, who was so much upon his guard. He, therefore, had recourse to flattery and dissimulation. He even proceeded so far, as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil Shaw, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this proposal, knowing how little he had to trust from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim Shaw was well aware of all this, before he made this extraordinary offer.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.
Transactions
in the palace.

Just as Selim expected, so it fell out; Adil Shaw, intimidated by the disturbance which had been made at the gate, made a voluntary resignation of his birthright, and placing Selim Shaw on the throne, saluted him emperor. This was instantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the issue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in succession, and, according to their rank, presented their nazirs *, while others exhibited the ceremony of the isar †, crying out aloud, "We offer our lives and fortunes to the king."

Adil makes a
solemn resign-
ation of the
empire.

The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had passed their words to Adil Shaw, requested, that, as he had pitched upon Biana for his jagier, he, according to promise, should be regularly invested with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim Shaw consented, and all matters being settled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Isah Chan and Chawafs Chan.

Adil obtains
the province
of Biana in
jagier.

* Offerings made upon public occasions to the emperor.

† Isar, or Tefsiduck, is a ceremony used upon the accession of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be distributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

But

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Chawafs
Chan kindles
a rebellion in
favor of Adil.

But after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Mahli, one of his eunuchs, a pair of golden fetters, to go and bring Adil Shaw prisoner. Adil Shaw, having timely intelligence of this design against him, set out for Mewat, where Chawafs Chan then resided. He acquainted that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baseness. Chawafs Chan, whose honor was concerned in this affair, was roused with compassion for the unfortunate prince. He seized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the spear of rebellion against Selim Shaw.

He marches
towards
Agra.

The interest of Chawafs was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was soon raised, and Chawafs, with Adil Shaw and Isah Chan, marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan, who thought themselves dishonored by the king's behavior, assuring him of their assistance.

Selim in great
perplexity.

When the confederate omrahs arrived before Agra, Selim Shaw, at this unexpected visit, was thrown into the utmost perplexity. He called Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan to his presence, and reproached them for not dissuading him from that impolitic step which had drawn upon him such dangerous consequences. Cuttub Chan replied, "That the business was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to settle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim Shaw not suspecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately desired that they should go to Adil Shaw, and compromise affairs.

Proposes to
fly to Chinâr.

Is dissuaded
by Isah Chan,
and resolves
to stand his
ground.

When they were gone, Selim Shaw discovered to his friends his intentions of flying to Chinâr, where the treasure was lodged, and there to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at present in a condition to oppose. Isah Chan Hujâb dissuaded him from this resolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten thousand Chermalli Patans, who had served him before he ascended the

the

the throne, whom he could not suspect of disaffection, besides many other faithful servants. That therefore, it was the height of folly, to trust the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it instantly in the field. Do not, said Ifah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the season of distress. The wisest course for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of resolution on the field of war. This will secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy."

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Selim Shaw, encouraged by this bold advice, resolved to stand his ground. He immediately dispatched a message to Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had not yet set out, to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his presence. He told them, That having altered his mind, he was resolved not to trust his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain.

The omrahs, who had promised to favor Adil Shaw, seeing their king in the field, ashamed to betray him, were necessitated to fight, which greatly disconcerted Chawafs Chan, who, every minute, expected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bravery, but he was overthrown.

Engages the
enemy,
and over-
throws them.

Adil Shaw, after this unfortunate battle, fled towards Patna, but he soon disappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawafs Chan and Ifah Chan Neazi, fled to Mewât. Selim Shaw sent an army in pursuit of those omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firospoor. The imperial army being soon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim sent Cuttub Chan in pursuit of them, and he plundered all
the

Adil Shaw
disappears.

A. D. 1545. the countries lying about the skirts of the hills, without effecting any
 Hig. 952. thing against them.

Selim Shaw, after these transactions, marched to Chinâr. On the way, he was informed of the treasonable correspondence of Jellal Chan with Adil, before the late decisive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conspiracy. The king having arrived at Chinâr, he took out of that fortress all the treasure, sent it to Gualier, and returned himself to Agra.

Several sus-
 pected per-
 sons punish-
 ed.

Cuttub Chan, finding that Selim was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the late disturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut Chan at Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. Selim Shaw sent orders to Lahore, that Cuttub should be sent to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was sent prisoner to Gualier, with many other suspected persons, particularly Shebaz Chan Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whose eyes were put out. Azim Humaioon and Suja Chan, suba of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The first excused himself, and the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself of what he was accused, and so was reinstated in his government.

The king
 marches to
 Rhotas.

A rebellion.

The king, after these transactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi,

Suja

Suja Chan joined him with the army from Malava. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore.

A. D. 1547.
Hig. 954.
Selim
marches to
Lahore.

Azim Humaioon, Chawafs Chan, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before Selim at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with my honor to have any patience with a rebellious army;" and, at these words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them.

The rebels
meet him at
Ambatta.

It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawafs Chan insisted that search should be made for Adil Shaw, and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views. On this head, animosity and faction arose, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawafs Chan retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

Disputes
arising
among them,

they separate,
and are over-
thrown.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, the sultan narrowly escaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant omrah, with ten of his friends in armor, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: Yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped.

An attempt
upon the life
of Selim.

A. D. 1548.
 Hig. 955.
 He pursues
 the rebels in-
 to the moun-
 tains.

The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the mountains, Selim Shaw pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Weis Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, and from thence soon after proceeded to Gualier.

He is desert-
 ed at Gualier
 by Suja Chan.

Suja Chan going one day up to the fort before the king, one Ofmân, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassin rushed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to Baniswalla, he returned, leaving Isah Chan Soor, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty four.

Caja Weis
 defeated by
 the Neazi re-
 bels.

Caja Weis having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim Shaw hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners.

They are, in
 their turn,
 overthrown.

They throw
 themselves
 under the
 protection of
 the Gickers.

The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim Shaw, finding that he could never rest in peace with-

out

out effectually quashing this rebellion, marched in person towards Punjab, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers who supported the Neazies.

A. D. 1550.
Hig. 957.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the king, one day ascended the mountain of Mannickcot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, and killed the affassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Ackbal Chan.

An attempt upon Selim's life.

The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the king, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into Cashmire; but the king of that country, fearing Selim Shaw's resentment, opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, Seid Chan, and Shababs Chan to the king. Selim being now secured against further distur-

The rebels, driven from among the Gickers, are defeated and slain by the king of Cashmire.

bance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. Mirza Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother Sultan Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim Shaw. But he was very ill received, and fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Mirza Camiran ill-received by Selim.

Selim Shaw, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that Sultan Humaioon had reached the Nilâb. The king was at that instant drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped, that evening, three crores without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun required between one and two thousand men; yet, in this manner, he marched, with great expedition, to Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim

Selim marches against Sultan Humaioon,

who retreats.

A. D. 1551. Shaw returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where he took up his residence.
Fig. 958.

A plot
against Se-
lim's life.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chase, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush, to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached Bahā ul Dien, Mahmood Mudda, and others, who were immediately executed, after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put many to death upon small presumptions.

Chawafs
Chan affas-
sinated.

Chawafs Chan, a man justly renowned for personal courage, strict honor, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taje Chan Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and now governed Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim Shaw, basely assassinated him. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among their saints.

Selim dies.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim Shaw was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year nine hundred and sixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Sultan Mahmood, of Guzerat, and Buran Nizam ul Muluck Bheri of the Decan died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He, in some measure, suited the times in which he lived; and was rather a necessary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might stagger in the stream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim stood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers.

His charac-
ter.

vellers.

vellers. From Bengal to the Nilâb, he built an intermediate ferai, A. D. 1552.
Hig. 960. between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expence.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philosopher of Biana, made a great noise in the world, by introducing a new system of religion. He called himself Emam Mendi, whom we believe will be the last of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impostor having raised great disturbances in the empire, converted some thousands by force and persuasion. After being twice banished by Selim, he returned, and kindled fresh troubles, and was, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, scourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his disciples.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son, Feroſe Chan, Feroſe
mounts the
throne. was, at twelve years of age, raised to the throne, by the omrahs at Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubariz Chan, the son of Nizam Chan Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim Shaw's wife, and the uncle of Feroſe, assassinated the young prince. Mubariz assumed the title of Mahummud Shaw Adil *, to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened against Is barbarous-
ly murdered. pity. He tore the young prince from her arms, and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai; for saving his life, repeated times, when Selim, foreseeing his villainies, would have put him to death.

* Adil signifies the Just.

SECTION V.

The reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW ADILI.

A. D. 1552.
Hig. 960.
Mahummud
Adil is illite-
rate.
Raifes low
men to the
chief offices
of the state.

THE infamous Mahummud, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, a Hindoo Bunnia *, whom Selim Shaw had raised to be Cutwal of the Bazar, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

His foolish
prodigality.

The king, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former kings, particularly Feroze Shaw, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treasury, and lavished it on good and bad, without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head his arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon made away with the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Andili; which, in the Hindoo language, signifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Foolish.

The omrahs
discontented.

When the low-born Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan omrahs his enemies. They began to conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more despicable, every day, in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined.

* A shopkeeper.

Mahummud Adil giving, one day, public audience, and distributing jagiers among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Kinnoge to be taken from Shaw Mahummud Firmalli, and given to Sermust Chan Sirbunna. Secunder Chan, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the emperor, "Is my fortune, then, to be conferred on a feller of dogs?" The young man's father, who was also present, endeavored to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more: He charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family.

A. D. 1552.
Hig. 960.
Transactions
in the pre-
sence cham-
ber.

Sermust Chan, who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seeing this behavior to the king, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder Chan by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all those who endeavored to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder Chan pursuing him, had the door struck in his face, which stopped his course, till the king drew the bolt, and secured himself.

The rashness
and bravery
of Secunder
Chan.

The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon the sultan, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and running back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time, Ibrahim Chan Soor, the king's brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Chan Lohani killed, at the same time, the good old man, Shaw Mahummud, who could not have been blamed for his son's rashness.

He falls upon
the king's
minions.

Is slain.

The unfortunate Firmalli having met Taje Chan Kerrani, as he was going that day to the presence chamber, he asked that omrah whither he was going; to which the other replied, "That affairs had

Taje Chan
withdraws
from court.

taken

A. D. 1553.
Hig. 961.

taken such an extraordinary turn, at court, that he was determined to push his own fortune, and would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with him." Firmalli answered, "That he aspired to no fortune but what he possessed by favor of the king, for which he was going to pay his compliments; but such as we have seen was his reward."

Seizes upon
the public
money.

Taje Chan, as soon as he got out of the fort, took the way of Bengal, with all his dependants. Troops were dispatched to pursue him; they came up with him at Chuppera Mow, about forty crores from Agra, where he fought them, and made good his retreat to Chinâr. He, in his progress, seized the public money, and other effects belonging to the crown; and distributed one hundred elephants among his brothers, Amad, Solimân, Eliâs, and other relations, who had possessions in the province of Budgpoor. By their assistance he raised a formidable army, which obliged the king to take the field, and march towards Chinâr. The insurgents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges, above Chinâr, they were defeated and dispersed.

Is over-
thrown.

The king
jealous of
Ibrahim
Soor's popu-
larity,

The king, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Chan Soor, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the king, having heard of this design in the Mahl, told her husband of it. He fled from Chinâr to his father, Ghazi Chan, suba of Hindown Biana, and was pursued by Isah Chan Neazi, who coming up with him at Calpee, an engagement ensued, in which Isah Chan was defeated, and driven back from further pursuit.

who mounts
the throne at
Delhi.

Ibrahim Chan, soon after, raised a great army, and possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Adil

Adil Shaw marched from Chinâr to suppress this usurpation, and, on the way, received an embassy from Ibrahim Chan, promising that if he would send Huffein Chan, Par Chan Serwani, Azim Hummaoon, and other omrahs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim Chan, by presents, promises, and courteous behavior, soon drew them over to his own interest. Adil Shaw, finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chinâr, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim.

A. D. 1552.
Hig. 961.
Adil Shaw
advances
against him.

Is deserted by
his omrahs.

SECTION VI.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM.

SULTAN IBRAHIM had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in Punjâb. His name was Ahmed Chan Soor, nephew to Shere Shaw, and also brother-in-law to Adil Shaw. Ahmed having attached Hybut Chan, Nisib Chan, Tatar Chan, and other omrahs of Selim Shaw, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within two crores of that city. Sultan Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having, in this army, two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

A competitor
in Punjaab

assumes the
title of Se-
cunder Shaw,

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked, was the government of Punjâb. But Sultan Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own superiority, would grant him no terms,

A. D. 1554
Hig. 962.

and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder Shaw committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horse, took post among some trees, where he could not be discovered. Sultan Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder Shaw, rushing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before.

overthrows
Ibrahim,

who retreats
to Simbol.

Sultan Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder Shaw took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjâb, to oppose Humaioon; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions.

During the absence of Secunder, Sultan Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the same time, Adil Shaw dispatched Himu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinâr, with a view to recover his empire. Himu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a signal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was pursued by Himu, who besieged him in that city, for three months.

Is overthrown
by Himu.

The suba of
Bengal re-
bels.

Ibrahim
again defeat-
ed by Himu,
and by Raja
Ram.

In the mean time, Mahummud Chan Gori, suba of Bengal, rebelled, and led an army against Adil Shaw. This circumstance obliged that prince to recall Himu from the siege of Biana; and Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, pursued them, and coming up with Himu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle; but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father, at Biana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be still: He marched towards Bhetah, and engaging Raja Ram Churid, of that

that country, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was used with the utmost respect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war against Bage Bahadar, suba of Malava; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim still pursued him, he was beat, and fled to Orissâ. That province being conquered in the year nine hundred and seventy five, by Solimân Kerrani, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put to death.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

To return from this digression; when Himu joined Adil Shaw at Chinâr, he received advices that Humaioon had defeated Secunder Shaw, and possessed himself of Delhi and Agra. Himu, however, marched against Mahummud Chan, suba of Bengal, who gave him the slip, by crossing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the country of Bandelcund. He was pursued thither by Himu: The two armies came to action at the village of Chircut, fifteen crores from Calpee, and Mahummud Chan was slain.

Himu defeats
and slays the
suba of Ben-
gal.

Adil Shaw, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chinâr, to assemble more troops for carrying on the war with Humaioon. But he was soon after informed of that monarch's death; which induced him to send Himu, with fifty thousand horse, and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not daring to leave Chinâr himself, on account of the violent factions which then subsisted among the Patans.

Marches to
Agra.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs who were there, being too weak to oppose him, fled to Delhi. Himu pursued them thither, and Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle, was defeated, and fled to Punjaab, leaving Himu in possession of both the imperial cities*. Himu meditated the conquest of Lahore; but Byram Chan, the Turkuman, viceroy for Akbar, sent Chan Zemân, a Mogul, with all expedition, towards Delhi. He himself followed, with the young king.

Drives the
Moguls from
Agra,
and from
Delhi.

* Delhi, and Agra.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

Is over-
thrown,
taken and put
to death.

Himu marched out to meet Chan Zemân, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw them into disorder. But the Afghans, always more mindful of plunder, than of securing victory, were again attacked by the Moguls, and defeated. Himu was surrounded, and taken prisoner, and being carried before the king, condemned to death.

The fortune
of Adil de-
clines.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who had certainly great abilities, notwithstanding his mean descent, the fortune of Adil Shaw declined apace. In the mean time, Chizer Chan, the son of Mahummud Chan Gori, to revenge the death of his father, raised an army, and assuming the title of Sultan Bahadar, possessed himself of a great part of the eastern provinces. He led his army against Adil Shaw, defeated, and slew him. The anarchy and confusions in Hindostan, at this period, rendered it impossible to continue the direct chain of our history in the order of time. We therefore must turn back to what we have omitted of the history of Secunder Shaw, and Humaioon.

He is defeat-
ed and slain
by the suba
of Bengal.

S E C T I O N VII.

The reign of SECUNDER SHAW SOOR, and the fall of the Patan Empire.

Secunder
Shaw
his speech to
the omrahs.

SECUNDER SHAW having ascended the throne of Agra, in the year nine hundred and sixty-two, he made a magnificent festival, and calling together all his omrahs, spoke to them to this effect: "I esteem myself as one of you, having thus far acted for the common weal. I claim no superiority. Sultan Beloli raised the tribe of Lodi to an uncommon height of glory and reputation; Shere Chan, by unparalleled conduct and resolution, rendered the tribe of Soor famous to all posterity; and now, Humaioon, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to de-
"stroy

“stroy us all. If, therefore, you sincerely affect my government, A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.
 “and will throw aside private faction and animosities, our kingdom
 “will be adorned with all the flowers of prosperity. But if you
 “should think me incapable of that great charge, let an abler head,
 “and a stronger arm, be elected from among you, that I also may
 “swear allegiance to him; that with my life and fortune I may sup-
 “port him, and endeavor to keep the Empire of Hindostan in the
 “hands of the Afghans, who have ruled it for so many ages by their
 “valor.”

The omrahs, after hearing this speech, answered with one accord, They elect
him king.
 “We unanimously elect you, the nephew of Shere Shaw, for our
 “lawful sovereign.” Calling then for a Coran, all swore allegiance
 to the king, and to preserve unanimity among themselves. How-
 ever, in a few days, they began to dispute about governments, honors,
 and places. The flames of enmity were kindled higher than ever,
 and every one reproached his fellow with perfidy, of which he him-
 self was equally guilty.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched towards Punjâb. Tatar He is repeat-
edly defeated
by the Mo-
guls.
 Chan fled from the new fort of Rhotas, to Delhi, and the Moguls
 subdued all the country as far as Lahore. Secunder Shaw, upon re-
 ceiving these advices, sent forty thousand horse, under the command
 of Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, to expel the Moguls. But this ar-
 my was defeated, lost all their elephants and baggage, never draw-
 ing bridle, till they arrived at Delhi. Secunder Shaw, though
 sensible of the disaffection and factious state of his army, marched
 with eighty thousand horse towards Punjâb, and engaging Byrâm
 Chan, the Turkuman, the tutor of prince Akbar, near Sirhind, was
 defeated, and fled towards the mountains of Sewalic. The empire of
 Hindostan, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the house of
 Baber, and flourished; while, in the mean time, Sultan Adil died in
 Bengal.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

The transactions of HUMAIOON, from his arrival in Persia,
to his return to Hindostan.

A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951.
Humaioon
arrives in
Persia.

WE have already seen that Humaioon, having arrived at Kizvi in Iran, dispatched Byram Chan to the Persian monarch at Ispahan. That omrah accordingly waited upon Shaw Tamasp at Nilack Kidar, between Abher and Sultania, and received an answer which testified the king's great desire to have an interview with Humaioon. The unfortunate sultan accepted, with joy, of the invitation, and in the month of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and fifty one, had a conference with Shaw Tamasp, the son of Shaw Ismaiel Suffvi, and was royally entertained.

The king of Iran, one day, in conversation, asked Humaioon, By what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Humaioon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Persian then told him, "The political manner of treating brothers is not such as they received from you." And being, at that time, at table, as soon as Shaw Tamasp was done eating, Byram Mirza, his brother, who attended him, as a servant, came with the basin and ewer for him to wash *. When this was done, Tamasp turned to Humaioon, and resuming the discourse, said, "In this manner you ought to have treated your brothers." Humaioon, out of compliment to the king, seemed to assent to what he said; which so much offended Byram Mirza, the king's brother, that he never after could forgive him, while he resided at court. He took every opportunity to calumniate Humaioon to the king, and was ever harping in his ears, how much against the interest of Persia it was, that a prince of the line of Timur should sit

* To attend the sovereign in any menial office about his person, is the greatest honor that can be conferred upon a subject in the East,

upon

upon the throne of Hindostan. This maxim Byram Mirza took care A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951. to inculcate upon all who had the king's confidence. This circumstance greatly retarded the affairs of Humaion, and, at length, wrought so visibly upon the king's disposition, that the unfortunate fugitive began to fear death or imprisonment.

In the mean time, Sultanum Begum, the king's sister, and Cusi The king's
sister and
some omrahs
favor the
cause of
Humaion. Jehan of Kizvi, the high chancellor, in conjunction with Hakîm Noor ul Dien, one of the king's privy counsellors, taking compassion upon Humaion's distressed situation, joined their interests to work a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favor of the king. The wit of Sultanum Begum had a great effect upon this occasion. She, one day, produced a stanza of verses to the king, of her own composition, in the name of Humaion, extolling his devotion and happy turn of expression in the praise of Ali. This greatly pleased Tamasp, zealous for the sect of the Shiahs, who differ from the Sinnites, the sect whose tenets Humaion followed. The Shiahs hold Ali to be the only assistant of Mahommed in his apostolic function, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding Osman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali.

The king, in short, told his sister, That if Humaion should become a Shiah, and enforce that doctrine in Hindostan, he would assist him to recover his empire. Sultanum Begum having acquainted Humaion of these particulars, he was not so much wedded to a sect, as to lose a kingdom for an immaterial difference in a point of religion. He accordingly returned for answer, "That he had always privately favored the opinions of the Shiahs, which was partly the occasion of the animosity subsisting between him and his brothers."

Shaw Tamasp, soon after, had a private conference with Byram Chan, examined him concerning the policy and state of Hindostan; and when he had satisfied himself upon that head, he promised that his son Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai Chan

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.
The king
gives him
ten thousand
horse.

Chan, Cadjar, should accompany Humaïoon, with ten thousand horse, to chastise his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and Buduchshan. Every thing accordingly was, in a short time, got in readiness, and Humaïoon took leave of the Persian king. He told him, that he had long proposed to take a tour through Tibrez and Ardebicel, to visit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king consented to this proposal, and issued orders to all governors through whose territories Humaïoon was to pass, to supply him and his army with all necessaries, and treat him in a manner becoming his dignity.

Humaïoon
takes Gar-
rimfere.

Humaïoon having visited and paid his devotions at the shrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad, towards Candahar. He invested the fort of Garrimfere, took it, and read the chutba in his own name. Mirza Afhkari, who commanded at Candahar for Camiran, hearing of these proceedings, sent the young prince, the son of Humaïoon, Mahummuḍ Akbar, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a siege.

Humaïoon
invests Can-
dahar.

Humaïoon invested it upon the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. The siege had been carried on for six months, when Humaïoon sent Byrâm Chan with a message to Mirza Camiran, then at Cabul. A tribe of the Patans of Hazara, attacked Byrâm with great resolution, but they were defeated, and that omrah having obtained an audience of Mirza Camiran, according to his instructions made a demand of Candahar, and required a resignation of all those provinces which he had usurped from his brother Humaïoon. But it was not to be expected that Mirza Camiran would as yet listen to such a demand, and so the ambassador departed without effecting any thing.

The Persians
discontented.

The Persian kisselbaches* were now beginning to be discouraged by the length of the siege, and discontented at being commanded by

* Soldiers,

Moguls.

Moguls. This circumstance might have obliged Humaioon to raise the siege, had he not been joined by Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Aligh Beg Mirza, Cufim Huffein Sultan, Mahummud Mirick, Shere Afkun Beg, Fufil Beg, and other omrahs, who, disgusted with Mirza Camiran, had left his service. Some of the besieged deserted also, and joined the king. These favorable circumstances revived the sinking spirits of his army, and equally depressed those of the besieged. Mirza Afhkari desired to capitulate; his request was granted upon honorable terms; he gave up the place, and, much ashamed of his former behavior, waited upon the king.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

Candahar
taken by
capitulation.

The fort of Candahar, as had been stipulated with Shaw Tamasp, was given to his son Mirza Murad. The winter having now come on, the young prince Murad, Biddai Chan, Abul Fatte Sultan Afshâr, and Sufi Willi Sultan Aridmullu, took up their quarters in the fort, without admitting the Mogul omrahs. This so much disgusted them, that some, having no quarters, went off to Cabul, while Mirza Afhkari, with a view of raising more disturbance, also fled. Afhkari, however, was pursued, and brought back prisoner.

Put into the
hands of the
Persians.

Humaioon, finding inaction more dangerous to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul. On the way he heard of the death of the young prince Murâd, at Candahar, upon which he returned, with a view to retain that fort as a place of security, till he should make further conquests. Buddai Chan would not hearken to his proposal, which silenced the king, who could not, consistent with gratitude, or his own promise, compel him to deliver up the place.

The young
prince Murad
of Persia dies
at Candahar.

But the urgency of his affairs soon obliged Humaioon to depart from these punctilios of honor. He therefore tacitly permitted Byram Chan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Hadgee Mahummud Chan, to take what means they could to render themselves masters of the place. These omrahs, accordingly, sent Hadgee Mahummud Chan,

A. D. 1545. and a few enterprizing men, disguised like camel-drivers, among a
 H. G. 952. string of camels, which was then bringing provisions into the fort.
 Humaioon, by a stratagem, seizes They fell upon the guards, and dispatched them, while Byram Chan,
 upon Candahar. and Mirza Aligh Beg, rushed in with a chosen party of horse, and
 possessed themselves of the fort. Biddai Chan returned, by the
 king's permission, to Iran, and Byram Chan was appointed to the
 government of Candahar.

The king
 marches to
 Cabul,

The king marched immediately towards Cabul. Mirza Eadgar Nafir, the brother of Baber, flying, at this time, from Mirza Shaw Hufflein Arghu, to Cabul, in conjunction with Mirza Hindal, the king's brother, joined Humaioon. The king, encamping in the environs of Cabul, before the army of his brother, was every day joined by some of Camiran's troops, who deserted his standards. Even Kipla Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's principal omrahs, came over, with all his adherents. This so much weakened Mirza's army, that he was necessitated to shut himself up in the city. Humaioon invested the place; but as it was only slightly fortified, Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni.

invests and
 takes that
 city,

which he
 enters.

The king sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit of his brother, and, on the tenth of Ramzân, nine hundred and fifty two, entered Cabul, where he found his son Akbar, then four years old, with his mother Beguma, and, taking him in his arms, he repeated a verse to this purpose: "Joseph, by his envious brethren, was cast into a well; but he was exalted by Providence to the summit of glory."

Mirza Camiran, being shut out of Ghizni, flies to Dawir and Bicker.

The gates of Ghizni were shut against Mirza Camiran, and he was therefore obliged to take refuge at Dawir, among the Patans of Hazara. Being very ill received there, he went to Bicker, to Mirza Shaw Hufflein, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to support him.

Humaioon,

Humaioon, having left his son Akbar under the tuition of Mahummud Ali Tiggai, in Cabul, marched in person, in the year nine hundred and fifty three, to reduce Buduchshan. Mirza Eadgar Nafir having attempted to stir up a sedition in the royal army, was, upon conviction, sentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.
Humaioon
marches
against
Buduchshan.

Humaioon having passed Hinderkush and encamped at Neizikeran, Mirza Soliman, with the forces of Buduchshan, came before him, but they were defeated in the first charge. The king from thence turned towards Talichan, where he fell sick. He, however, recovered, at the end of two months, and all the factions which had begun to prevail in his army, soon subsided. Chaja Moazim, the brother of Chuli Begum *, having had a quarrel at this time with Chaja Refhid, killed him, and fled to Cabul, where he was ordered to be imprisoned by the king.

Defeats Mirza Soliman.

Mirza Camiran having heard that his brother had marched to Buduchshan, made an excursion to Ghorebund. On the way he fell in with a caravan of merchants, whom he robbed of all their camels, horses, and goods; and, coming to Ghizni, raised a faction among the populace, and cut off the governor, Zatrud Beg. Making from thence forced marches towards Cabul, he arrived there as they were opening the gates in the morning, and took the place by surprize. He killed Mahummud Ali Tiggai, the governor, as he stood in the bath, and put out the eyes of Fasil Beg and Mheter Vakila. The young prince Akbar, and the ladies of the Haram, were given in charge to some eunuchs; Hifam ul Dien Alli, the son of Meer Chalifa, was put to death.

Mirza Camiran seizes Ghizni, and surprizes Cabul.

Intelligence of these transactions coming to Humaioon, that prince gave the government of Buduchshan to Mirza Soliman, and that of Kunduz to Mirza Hindal. He himself returned to Cabul, defeated

* One of the sultanas.

A. D. 1545. the army of Camiran, which opposed him at Zohac Ghorebund; came
 Big. 957. to the town of the Afghans, called Deh Afghân, where Shere Af-
 kun Beg, and all the army of Mirza Camiran had again assembled to
 oppose him. But the king overthrew them there also, and slew Shere
 Humaioun, Afkun Beg in the action. He proceeded from thence to Cabul, and
 defeating his brother in fe- sat down before that city, skirmishing every day with the enemy.
 veral actions, fits down be-
 fore Cabul. Mirza Camiran, having received intelligence that a caravan was
 passing, wherein there was a great number of fine horses, sent Shere
 Alli, a bold enterprizing officer, with a strong detachment, to seize
 and bring it into the city. Humaioun marched round the walls, and
 cut off Shere Alli's retreat, so that, when he came to enter the city,
 he was attacked and defeated with great slaughter.

Several chiefs join the king. Mirza Soliman, from Buduchshan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Casim
 Hassin Sultan, with several chiefs from Byram Chan, had now joined
 the king, while Kirrache Chan and Baboos Beg deserted from the
 city to his army. Mirza Camiran, in the rage of despair, basely mur-
 dered the three sons of Baboos Beg, and threw their mangled bodies
 over the wall. He, at the same time, bound the young prince and
 Kirrache Chan's son to a stake, and raised them up to view upon the
 battlements. But he was given to understand, that if he put them
 to death, every soul in the place should be massacred.

He evacuates Cabul. Camiran thought proper to desist from his intended cruelty, and that
 very night, making a breach in the wall, evacuated the place, and fled
 towards the skirts of the hills, leaving Humaioun a second time, in
 possession of Cabul. Mirza Camiran, in his retreat, was plundered,
 and even stript of his cloaths, by the Afghans of Hazara; but when
 they discovered him, they conducted him to his garrison at Ghorebund.
 He, however, did not think himself secure there, and therefore he
 hastened to Balich, where Pier Mahummud Chan, governor of that
 city, joined him, and assisted him in subduing Buduchshan. They
 drove Mirza Soliman and his son Mirza Ibrahim towards Kolâb,

Seizes upon
 Buduchshan.

Kirrache

Kirrache Chan, Baboos Beg, and some other omrahs, being, about this time, disgusted with the behavior of Chaja Ghazi, the vizier, wanted the king to disgrace him, and appoint Chaja Casim to his office. Humaioon, satisfied of the integrity of this minister, would by no means consent, which irritated them so much, that they left the king's service, and went over to Mirza Ashkari in Buduchshan. The king pursued them in their flight, but not being able to come up with them, returned to Cabul, and called to him Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Hindal from their respective governments. The former having fallen in by accident with Timur Alli, one of those who had fled, cut him off, and brought his head to the king. Mirza Hindal having also met Shere Alli, brought him back prisoner.

A. D. 1545.
Fig. 952.

Several omrahs desert Humaioon.

Mirza Camiran having left Kirrache Chan at Kushum, went in person to Talickân. Humaioon detached Mirza Hindal and Hadgee Mahummud Koka, with a considerable force, to drive Kirrache Chan from thence. That omrah having received intelligence of their coming, acquainted Mirza Camiran, who, with great expedition, returned to Kushum, and fell in with Mirza Hindal, in crossing the river of Talickân, when his troops were divided. He defeated Hindal, cut off a great part of his detachment, and seized upon all his baggage.

Mirza Camiran defeats his brother Hindal.

Humaioon, in a few days, advanced with the army from Cabul, which obliged Mirza Camiran to fly towards Talickân, and leave all his plunder, as well as his own baggage. He was, the day after his retreat, invested in the fort, and as he despaired of the assistance of the Usbecks, to whom he had applied, he requested leave of his brother Humaioon, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Humaioon, with a good-natured weakness, consented, and both the perfidious Camiran and Mirza Ashkari came out of the place, and proceeded about ten pharsangs on their way. When they found that Humaioon did not send troops to seize them, nor attempt to detain them, as they

Flee before Humaioon.

Besieged in Talickân, and submits.

A. D. 1545. they imagined, they were ashamed of their own behavior, and
 Hig. 952. thought it more eligible to trust to his clemency, than turn mendicant pilgrims. With this resolution they returned.

He is treated
 with respect
 by Humai-
 oon.

The king having heard of their return, sent persons to congratulate them, and treated them with great respect. Humaioon, after these transactions, returned to Cabul. Pier Mahummud Chan, the Usbeck, having made some incursions into Humaioon's territories, in the year nine hundred and fifty six, the king determined to take, if possible, satisfaction for the affront. He, for that purpose, marched towards Balich. Mirza Camiran and Mirza Ashkari accompanied him, and begun again to hatch treason. The king perceived their treachery, but took no effectual steps to prevent its effect.

His treason-
 able designs.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balich, Shaw Mahummud Sultan came before him with only three thousand Usbeck horse, and stopt his progress. The Usbeck chief was, on the second day, reinforced by Pier Mahummud Chan, Abdul Aziz Chan, and the princes of Hassar, and was thus enabled to march out with thirty thousand horse to give battle. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Hindal, and Hadgee Mahummud Sultan, defeated the advanced parties, and pressed so hard upon Pier Mahummud and Abdul Aziz Chan, that they thought proper to retreat within the city.

Humaioon
 defeats the
 Usbecks ;

The king was desirous of pursuing the enemy. This resolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good effect, as the enemy were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king suffered his own better judgment to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who suggested their apprehensions from Mirza Camiran, and advised the king to incamp somewhere near the city, which would fall into his hands in the course of things. This pernicious advice was accordingly followed. No ground proper for incamping being near, the king was obliged to retreat to a small distance. The troops
 being

being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; when the enemy actually construed the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double mistake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Usbecks received fresh spirits. They immediately fell upon Mirza Soliman and Hufflein Cooli Sultan, who brought up the rear, forced them upon the main body, where the king commanded in person. He gallantly opposed them hand to hand, and with his spear dismounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolick Chan Couchi supported Humaioon with great bravery; but they soon found themselves deserted by all their troops, and were obliged to save themselves by flight.

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

and is, in his
turn, over-
thrown.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Cabul. The king, on his way, was deserted by the perfidious Mirza Camiran and Mirza Afhkari, who had not joined in the action. The king, justly resenting their behavior, wrote to Alli Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promises if he would seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; dispatching, at the same time, sent Mirza Soliman and Hindal in pursuit of him.

Retreats to
Cabul, and is
deserted by
his brother
Camiran.

Mirza Camiran, laying aside all his ensigns of state, attempted, by the way of Zohac and Bamia, to pass to Sind. The king, informed of his motions, sent a party to intercept him; but Kirrache Chan and Hafim Hufflein Sultan, who had remained with Humaioon, wrote privately to Camiran, and acquainted him with all that past. These perfidious omrahs, being now ashamed of no villainy, told Camiran, that, as the greatest part of the king's troops were detached from his person, if he would return, they would join him in the action. Camiran did not let this favorable opportunity slip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipchach, whither, the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle was no sooner begun, than Kirrache Chan, and his perfidious adherents, went over to him, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends, fought

A. D. 1545. fought with great resolution. Pier Mahummud Achtey, and Ahmed, Hig. 952. the son of Mirza Kulli, being slain by the king's side, and he himself wounded in the head, as well as his horse, he was forced to abandon the field, and to fly to Bamia, and from thence to Buduchshan, leaving Camiran to possess himself, a third time, of Cabul.

Humaioon in great distress. Humaioon was now in great distress, for money to pay the few troops, who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandize of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Shaw Biddagh, Toglich Chan Kouchi, Mudgnow Chan, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these, Toglick Chan alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Ibrahim, and his brother Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul.

Defeats Camiran. Mirza Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Pungur. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, to escape, in the disguise of a mendicant, to the mountains of Lingaan. Mirza Ashkari was taken prisoner, and the perfidious Kirrache Chan was killed in the engagement.

Returns to Cabul. Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him, that the restless Mirza Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while Hadgee Mahummud Chan and Baba Kishka fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Nilab; so that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul.

Mirza

Mirza Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he returned again among the Afghans to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time. He wrote to Byram Chan, at Candahar, to march against Hadjee Mahummud Chan, who fled to Ghizni, and invited Mirza Camiran to join him at that place. Camiran, by the way of Peshawir, Bungeesh, and Curvez, was then on his march towards Ghizni: But before his arrival, Byram Chan had come to Ghizni, and carried Hadjee Mahummud Chan prisoner to Cabul. Mirza Camiran, disappointed of his ally, returned again to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

A. D. 1551.
Hig. 958.
Camiran raises disturbances among the Afghans.

Transactions at Cabul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Hadjee Mahummud found means to escape, a second time, to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to return; no doubt, upon the most sacred assurances of pardon. Mirza Ashkari having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his releasement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now sent to Mirza Soliman, at Buduchshan, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year nine hundred and sixty one, in his way crossing the Arabian deserts.

Mirza Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Hadjee Mahummud. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched against Camiran; but he was surprized in his camp, near Chiber, the twenty first of Zicada, nine hundred and fifty eight, in the night; upon which occasion Mirza Hindal lost his life. Camiran, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among the Patans. The king, after this victory, returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had so well expiated his former disobedience, by his services and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rickia Sultana Begum, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred, at the same time, upon the royal pair, all the wealth of Hindal; and

Camiran's correspondence with Hadjee discovered.

Mirza Hindal killed and Camiran defeated.

A. D. 1552. appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his
 Hig. 959. government of Ghizni.

The Afghans
 rise in his fa-
 vor, and are
 forced to ex-
 pel him.

The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favor of Camiran. The king marched into their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword. Finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves by adhering to Camiran, they withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country.

He flies to
 Selim Shaw.

The desolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of Selim Shaw, whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Delhi, and, like a poor vagabond, sought protection from the raja of Nagercot. Being from thence hunted by Selim Shaw, he fled among the Gickers.

Mirza Ca-
 miran deli-
 vered up to
 the king.

Mirza Hyder, in the mean time, requested the assistance of Humaioon, to quell some disturbances in Cashmire. The king accordingly marched towards Hindostan, and crossed the Niláb. Sultan Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, for giving protection to Mirza Camiran, imprisoned the unhappy man, and acquainted the king, that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim Chan to Sultan Adam, and Mirza Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the king.

At the gene-
 ral requē of
 the army his
 eyes are put
 out.

The Chagittais, to a man, solicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more; but the king would, by no means, consent to embue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deserving he was of death. Humaioon, on account of his lenity, was threatened with a general sedition in his army, and every body openly complained of that merciful disposition in the king, by which his subjects were so often involved in misfortunes. He was, at last, though much against his will, necessitated to permit them to render Camiran blind, by means of antimony.

Some

Some days after this sentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to see him. Camiran immediately rose, and walked some steps forward to meet him, saying: "The glory of the king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate." Humaioon immediately bursting into tears, wept very bitterly: Mirza Camiran endeavored to comfort him, by confessing the justice of his own punishment, and, by way of expiating his crimes, requested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His request was granted, and he proceeded by the way of Sind. Having resided three years in Mecca, he died in that place, in the year nine hundred and sixty four. He left one son, Abul Carim, who was some time after his father's death assassinated, by the order of Akbar, in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters.

A. D. 1553.
Hig. 961.
The king visits him.

Camiran goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and dies there.

Humaioon being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions. He first turned his arms towards Cashmire. Selim Shaw having, at that time, advanced to Punjaab, his omrahs represented to Humaioon, that, if he should enter Cashmire, as there was but one pass through which he could return; that Selim Shaw might block up his rear, and reduce him to great distress. The king, however, would not listen to their representations; but marched towards Cashmire. Having advanced about half way, a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part of the omrahs refused to proceed; while others actually returned to Cabul. This obliged Humaioon to take a circuit, by the way of Sind, ordering a fort, called Bickeram, to be built in his rout. In Bickeram he left a garrison under Secunder Chan.

Humaioon marches towards Cashmire.

Returns.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he sent his son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under the charge of Jellal ul dien Mamood. In the year nine hundred and sixty-one, the king had another son born to him at Cabul, whom he named Mahummud Hakim.

Akbar sent to his government of Ghizni.

In the course of this year, Humaioon was rendered jealous of Byram Chan, by the calumny of some of his courtiers, who pretended, that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Persian govern-

A. D. 1554.
 Hig. 962.
 Humaïoon
 marches to
 Candahar.

ment. The King marched towards Candahar, by the way of Ghizni. Byram Chan, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the King's approach, came out, with five or six friends only, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The king soon plainly perceived that he had been abused, and satisfying Byram Chan with reasons for his coming, spent two months there in festivity. The calumniators of Byram Chan were disgraced, and he himself loaded with favors. Byram Chan was, however, afraid, that the repeated calumnies of his enemies might find way at last into the king's mind; he therefore earnestly requested, that the government should be bestowed on some other omrah, and that he might be permitted to attend his sovereign. But the king would by no means consent to a thing, which might have the appearance of a slur upon the conduct of his faithful servant. When they parted, Byram Chan obtained the district of Dawir for Bahadur Chan and Shubiani Chan, who remained with him.

The inhabi-
 tants of Del-
 hi and Agra
 invite him to
 Hindostan.

Much about this time an address was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaïoon, that Selim Shaw was dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: That it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. Humaïoon was in no condition to raise a sufficient army for that enterprize, and he became extremely melancholy.

Humaïoon
 communi-
 cates his un-
 easiness to
 his omrahs.

The king being one day upon a hunting party, told some of his omrahs, that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his designs upon Hindostan. Some of them, who were desirous to make the attempt, consulted among themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem to bring the king to an immediate resolution. They therefore told him, that there was an old method of divination, by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion, good or bad, might be formed, according to their meaning. The king, being naturally superstitious, ordered this to be done. He sent three horsemen in front, who were

A curious
 method of
 divination.

to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first horseman who returned told the king, that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlat*. The next brought advice, that he met a man who called himself Murád †. And the third, that he met with a villager, whose name was Sâdit ‡.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.

The king discovered great joy upon this occasion, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into Hindostan. He left to Monim Chan the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Mahummud Hakim, and in the month of Siffer, nine hundred and sixty-two, began his march from his capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram Chan, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the Nilab §, he appointed Byram Chan his captain general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chaja Chizer Chan, Tirdi Beg Chan, Secunder Sultan, and Alli Koi Shubiâni.

Humaïoon
resolves to
invade Hin-
dostan.

Crosses the
Nilab.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar Chan, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place and fled to Delhi. Humâïoon pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram Chan to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place.

Rhotas eva-
cuated.
He enters La-
hore.

The king having received intelligence, that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shubas Chan and Nisir Chan, were assembled at Dibalpoor, he ordered Shaw Abul Mali, whom he used to honor with the name of son, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. The Emperor Secunder Shaw had, in the mean time, ordered Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse from Delhi, against Humâïoon; but Byram Chan, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, was determined to risque a battle, crossed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river of Bidwarrah.

Defeats some
Afghans at
Dibalpoor.

Secunder
Shaw sends
an army a-
gainst Hu-
maïoon.

* Fortune or prosperity. † Desire or inclination. ‡ Happiness.

§ The western branch of the Indus.

A. D. 1554.
Fig. 962.

It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram Chan observing, he crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse, and advancing near their camp without being discovered, began to gall those who crowded round the fires with arrows, which raised an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, instead of extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing the enemy, while the enemy had a fair view of them, by means of the light, threw on more wood. In the mean time, the whole of Byram Chan's army having crossed the river, fell upon the enemy from all sides, routed them, and took all their elephants, baggage, and a number of horses.

which is
overthrown
by Byram
Chan,

who possesses
himself of the
country to
the gates of
Delhi.

Byram Chan sent the elephants to the king, at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrak. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and possessed himself of all the country, almost to the walls of Delhi. The king was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram Chan the title of Chan Chanan, Ear Ofsadar, Humdum Ghungufar*.

Secunder
Shaw
marches a-
gainst the
Moguls.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar Chan, Secunder Shaw exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrah's, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjaab. Byram Chan thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder Shaw encamped before Sirhind, and Byram Chan sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaion accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Humaion
joins his ge-
neral Byram,
at Sirhind.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akbar was going the rounds of the camp, the Patans drew up their forces, and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly having obtained his father's permission, drew out the army. Humaion gaye

Prince Akbar
marshals the
Mogul army.

* These titles signify, the lord of lords, the grateful friend, and the grief-expelling companion.

the command of the right to Chan Chanan, and the left to Secunder Chan, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla Chan Usbeck, Shaw Abul Mali, Alla Kulla Chan Bahader, and Tirdi Beg Chan, who were to begin the action. He took post in person in the center, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action, however, continued warm for some time; Humaioon and his gallant general Chan Chanan displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akbar distinguished himself with acts of personal valor. The Moguls were so animated by the behavior of that young hero, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortal men. The enemy, at last, were driven off the field, with very great slaughter, and Secunder Shaw fled, with precipitation, to the mountains of Sewalic.

A. D. 1554.
Hig. 962.The battle
begins.The Patans
overthrown.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder Chan, the Usbeck, and some other omrahs were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without opposition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Punjaab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue Secunder Shaw.

The empire
transferred
from the Pa-
tans to the
Moguls.

In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi, in triumph, and became, a second time, Emperor of Hindostan. Byram Chan, to whose valor and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration; was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely jagiers assigned to him. Tirdi Beg Chan was appointed to the government of Delhi; the superintendency of Agra was given to Secunder Chan, and Alli Kulli Chan was made viceroy of Merat and Simbol; for which department he set out with a considerable force.

The king en-
ters Delhi.Promotions
at court.

As Shaw Abul Mali, on account of disputes with the omrahs in his army, had permitted Secunder Shaw to become daily more formidable, the king dispatched his son Akbar, under the direction of Byram Chan, against him. Much about this time, a man of low birth,

Akbar sent
against Se-
cunder Shaw.

A. D. 1555. birth, who became famous, under the name of Kumber Drivan, raised
 Hig. 963. a rebellion in Simbol, and, collecting a great force, plundered the provinces between the rivers. . He was, however, on the fifth of Ribbi ul Awil, nine hundred and sixty three, defeated and slain by Alli Kulli, and the insurrection totally quashed.

The king's death.

In the evening of the seventh of Ribbi ul Awil, Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library, and sat down there for some time to enjoy the fresh air. When the Emperor began to descend the steps of the stair from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformable to the practice of religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma*, then sat down upon the second step of the stair till the proclamation should be ended. When he was going to rise he supported himself upon a staff, which unfortunately slipt upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all their art: But in vain, for upon the eleventh, about sunset, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him, some years after, by his son Akbar. Humaioon died at the age of fifty one, after a reign of twenty five years, both in Cabul and Hindostan.

His character.

The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive: If there can be any excess in virtues so noble as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius, who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing: But the clemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince: Had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch.

* The Creed.

P A R T VI.

The Reign of SHAW JUMJA ABUL MUZIFFER,
GELLAL UL DIEN MAHUMMUD AKBAR
PADSHAW GHAZI.

S E C T I O N I.

The History of AKBAR, from his Accession to the Defeat
and Death of HIMU.

SHECH ABUL FAZIL, the most elegant writer of Hindostan, has given to the world the history of the renowned Akbar, in three volumes, called Akbar namma. From that historian, we shall chiefly extract the transactions of this reign.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

When Humaion became insensible after his fall, the Omrahs sent Shech Chuli express to Punjab, to acquaint Akbar of the accident which had befallen his father. Not many days after, the news of his father's death came to the prince at Callanore. The Omrahs, who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbar to the throne, on the

Mahummud
Akbar counts
the throne at
Callanore.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

second of Rubbi ul Sani, in the year 963, being then thirteen years and nine months old.

Byram's wife
administra-
tion.

Byram Chan, on the accession of Akbar, became absolute regent, and had the whole civil and military power of the empire in his hands. The first orders issued from the throne, after dispatching the letters of proclamation, were, to prohibit the exaction of Peshcush money, from the farmers; to let all goods pass toll-free; and to prevent the injurious practice of pressing labourers to the war.

Abul impri-
soned at La-
hore.

Not many days after the accession of Akbar, Shaw Abul Mali, who began to discover treasonable intentions, was seized and imprisoned in Lahore. He, however, found means, some time after, to escape; and Pulwan Gul, the Cutwal, to whose charge he was committed, killed himself.

Akbar de-
feats Secun-
der Shaw.

The king led his army towards the hills, with a view to exterminate the party of Secunder Shaw: he defeated Secunder, and obliged him to fly farther among the mountains; whither the imperial army could not pursue him. Akbar, in the mean time, subdued the country of Nagracot; received the Raja of that province into favor; and the rains coming on, took up his quarters at Jallender.

Mirza Soli-
mân rebels in
Buduchshan.

In the mean time, Mirza Solimân, who had been left governor of Buduchshan, threw off his allegiance, set up for himself, and marched against Cabul. That city was defended by Monim Chan, the tutor of Mahammud Hakim, the king's brother. Intelligence of this rebellion being brought to Akbar, he immediately detached Mahummud Kulli Chan Burlafs, Chan Azim, Chizer Chaja, and other Omrahs, to succour Monim Chan.

Some

Some of those Omrahs entered Cabul, while others encamped without, to harrafs the besiegers; which they continued to do for the space of four months. The garrison, in the mean time, became to be distressed for provisions; which obliged Monim Chan, to consent, that the chutba, for the kingdom of Cabul, should be read in the name of Solimân. The rebel, after this submission, raised the siege, and returned to Buduchshan.

A. D. 1557.
Higer. 963.

During these transactions at Cabul, Himu, the vizier of Mahummud Shaw Adili, of Bengal, advanced towards Agra, with thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants. He obliged Secunder Chan, the governor of that city, to retreat to Delhi. Shadi Chan, an Afghan Omrah of Shaw Adili, in the mean time, raised an army, and advanced to the banks of the Rehib; where Alli Kulli Chan Seiftani, entituled Chan Ziman, with three thousand horse, crossing the river, attacked him, but was defeated; and carried only two hundred of his army, alive, from the field; those who escaped the sword, being drowned in the river.

Événement
affinence
non

Cabul sub-
mits to him.

Himu, the
vizier of Shaw
Adili, takes
Agra.

Himu having taken Agra, marched towards Delhi, where Tirdi Chan commanded. Tirdi sent expresses to all the Omrahs around, foliciting succours, and was joined by Abdulla Chan, Lal Sultan Buduchshi, Alli Kulli Inderani, Merick Chan Kullabi, and others; and then he thought himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Chan Ziman; who, with several other Omrahs, and a considerable reinforcement, was marching to his assistance. Himu, who was a very valiant man, selected three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants, which he posted about his own person in the center; and with which he charged Tirdi Beg so violently, that he drove him quite off the field. Himu then fell, with great impetuosity,

advances to
Delhi,

defeats Tirdi
Beg, and takes
Delhi.

A. D. 1555.
1464.

upon the right wing, which he routed so that the flight became general. This victory was so compleat, that in consequence of it, the city immediately surrendered; and Tirdi Beg, flying to Sirhind, left all the country open to the enemy. Chan Ziman, having received intelligence of this disaster, at Merat, hastened also to Sirhind.

The king in great perplexity.

The king, during these transactions, was at Jallender; and, finding all his dominions, except Punjab, wrested from him,

Devolves his power upon Byram Chan.

was greatly affected with the news of Himu's success. He called to him Byram Chan, then distinguished by the name of Chan Chanan, and conferred upon him the honorable title of Chan Baba.* He told that able man, that he reposed his whole trust in his prudence and good conduct, in this perilous situation of affairs, and desired that he might take whatever measures he thought most conducive to retrieve his affairs. He, at the same time, assured Byram, in the most solemn manner, that he would give no attention to any malicious insinuations which might be suggested to the royal ear by his enemies. The young prince having thus expressed the genuine sentiments of his soul to Byram, he made him swear, by the soul of his father Humaison, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to the great trust, which was now reposed in him.

A council of war is called.

A council of war was immediately called, in which Byram Chan presided. The majority of the Omrahs were of opinion, that as the enemy consisted of above a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army scarce amounted to twenty thousand, it would be most prudent to retreat to Cabul. Byram Chan strenuously opposed this measure, and was almost singular in his

* Baba signifies father.

opinion,

opinion, which was to give battle instantly to the enemy: The young king joined Byram's sentiments with so much warmth and gallant anxiety, that the Omrahs cried out, in rapture, that their lives and fortunes were at his service.

A. D. 1555.
Higer. 963.

It is resolved to engage the enemy.

Immediate hostilities being resolved upon, Chaja Chizer Chan, who was married to the king's aunt, Gulbaddin-Begum, was appointed governor of Lahore, to act against Secunder Shaw; while the king himself prepared, in person, to chastise Himu. He marched to Sirhind, and was there joined by his defeated Omrahs, who had assembled at that place.

The king marches against Himu.

The king being out, one day, at the diversion of hawkking; Byram Chan, called Tirdi Beg to his tent, and ordered him to be beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself, and for other unmilitary crimes, with which he was justly charged. When Akbar returned, Byram Chan, waited upon him, and informed him of what he had done; he excused himself for not acquainting the king of his intentions, by insinuating, that he was certain his royal clemency was so great, that notwithstanding Tirdi's crimes, he would have forgiven him; which, at such a time, would be attended with very dangerous consequences, as the hopes of the Moguls rested upon every individual's strict performance of duty. He affirmed, that negligence was, in such a critical situation, as great a crime as treason, and ought to meet with an equal punishment. But that, on the other hand, desert should meet with reward: for a dangerous crisis, is the season of strict justice, in both respects. Without his reward, the soldier becomes languid and discontented; when he fears no punishment, he becomes negligent and insolent.

Byram Chan punishes Tirdi Beg.

The

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.

The king saw into the propriety of the measure, but he shuddered at the inhumanity of the punishment. He, however, thanked Byram for the service which he had done him ; and, indeed, though the policy of that minister was severe, it had the intended effect among the Omrahs. They saw that they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear from faction and bad behaviour ; and therefore, they became very obedient to the orders of Byram Chan.

Akbar marches towards Delhi.

The king soon after marched from Sirhind towards Delhi, detaching Secunder Chan, Abdulla Chan, Alla Kulli Inderani, Lal Sultan, Mahummud Chan Jellaher, Mudjenu Chan Cashkal, and others, under the command of Chan Ziman, Amir ul Omrah*, some miles in his front. Himu, who had assumed the title of Raja Bickermajit, in Delhi, having attached Shadi Chan, and other Afghan Omrahs to his interest, marched out of that city with all his forces; which, by the lowest computation, exceeded a hundred thousand horse, besides elephants and infantry, with a great train of artillery. He detached, in front, a great body of Afgans, with some artillery, which falling in with Chan Ziman, were defeated by that general, with the loss of all their guns, which proved a signal advantage to the king. Himu having arrived at Panniput, heard that the king was advanced very near him. He divided his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers.

The vanguard of the Afgans defeated.

Himu arrives at Panniput.

A general action.

In the morning of the second of Mohirrim, 964, Chan Ziman, who had been, by that time, joined by the whole army except a few, who remained to guard the king, drew up in order of battle, and waited the attack. Himu began the action with his

* Captain-general.

elephants,

elephants, in hopes of frightening the Mogul cavalry, who were not accustomed to those enormous animals. He, however, found that he was deceived. The Chigittai Omrahs, either from a fear of the fate of Tirdi Beg, or from a nobler cause, their own valor, attacked Himu, with such resolution, after he had penetrated the center of the Mogul army, where Ziman commanded, that the elephants, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, became quite outrageous, and submitting no longer to command, fell back and disordered the Afgan ranks.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.

The Afgans
broke.

Himu, who rode a prodigious elephant, still continued the action with great vigor, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very heart of the Moguls; being at last, pierced through the eye, with an arrow, the greatest part of his troops, fearing that his wound was mortal, forsook him. But that valiant man, drew the eye out of the socket, with the arrow; and, in that terrible condition, continued the fight with unequalled resolution and courage. He encouraged the few who remained by his side, and advanced through a bloody path which his weapons made; till Kulli Chan Mhiram stretched his spear to kill the driver of Himu's elephant: that timorous wretch, to save his own life, pointed to Himu, and addressing him, by name, said, he would carry him whithersoever he pleased. Kulli Chan, immediately surrounded him with a body of horse, and carried him prisoner to Akbar, whom Byram Chan, as upon him rested the hopes of all, detained in the rear.

The bravery
of Himu.

He is taken
prisoner.

When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram Chan told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in compliance to the advice of his tutor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head

and slain.

of

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 904.

of Himu, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre, severed Himu's head from his body.

Akbar arrives
at Delhi.

Akbar took, in this action, fifteen hundred elephants, and all the artillery of the enemy. He immediately marched from the field, and took possession of Delhi. From that city, he dispatched Mullu Pier Mahummud Shirwani, manager of the private affairs of Byram, towards Mewat, to seize the treasure of Himu, which was deposited in that place. This service was accomplished, with some loss on the side of the Moguls; and the empire, in some measure, returned to its former tranquillity.

SECTION II.

The History of SULTAN AKBAR, from the Death of
HIMU, to that of BYRAM CHAN.

The Persians
besiege and
take Kanda-
nar.

SULTAN HUSSEIN, the grandson of Shaw Ismaiel Suffvi advanced, this year, by the orders of Shaw Tamasp of Iran, and laid siege to Kandahar. After a sharp engagement, before the walls, with Mahummud Kandahari, who commanded in the place, as deputy of Byram Chan, the city fell into the hands of the Persians. Chizer Chaja Chan was, at the same time, defeated by Secunder Shaw, and obliged to fly to Lahore.

The king
marches to-
wards Punjab.

The king, having received intelligence of this double disaster, put his army in motion, and marched towards Punjab. Secunder Shaw, who had advanced as far as Callanore, retreated upon the
kings's

king's approach, to the fort of Mancot, which had been built by Selim Shaw. Akbar besieged Secunder, in that fortrefs, for the space of six months: he then began to treat about surrendering the place, upon conditions; and Chan Azim being sent into the fort to settle the terms of capitulation, Secunder proposed to that Omrah, to give his son, as a hostage to the king, for his future obedience, if he himself should be permitted to retire to Bengal. This being granted, on the part of Akbar, Sheck Abul Rhiiman, the son of Secunder Shaw, was, in the month of Ramzan, 964, brought to the king, with presents, consisting chiefly of elephants. Secunder Shaw was permitted to retire to Bengal, and Mancot was delivered up to Akbar. The king left a trusty governor in the place, and proceeded to Lahore.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 954.
Besieges Secunder Shaw in Mancot, and takes that place by capitulation.

Byram Chan, being privately disgusted at favors which the king had conferred upon some persons, whom he suspected to be enemies to himself, for some days, refused to come to court. The king, in the mean time, happened to amuse himself with an elephant fight, and the outrageous animals chanced to run over the tents of Byram Chan. The minister immediately suspected, that this was done designedly by the king, and he sent to acquaint him: "That he was sorry to see that he had disobliged the king: but that, if he deserved Akbar's dislike, he would be glad to know the crime he had committed, that he might be the better able to make his excuse, and then, retire for ever from the presence." The king was touched with an imputation, which his soul abhorred; but he condescended to acquaint Byram, that the circumstance, from which his ungenerous suspicions arose, was a mere accident. This, however, did not satisfy Byram Chan, who still continued to suspect that the king's mind was estranged from him.

Byram Chan disgusted with the king.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.
Vindictive
disposition of
Byram.

The king, soon after this transaction, marched from Lahore to Delhi. Chaja Callan, who was proud of his family, and of the signal services which he had rendered to the king, set himself up to oppose Byram Chan in his administration. That vindictive minister, to get rid of his antagonist, condemned him to death upon very slight pretences, which raised great commotions among the Omrahs. The king also expressed his dislike of this violent proceeding; for the whole had been done without his orders.

Breach between him
and the king.

Upon this occasion, high words arose between the king and his minister; and the former, in a few days, set out for Agra. Though the king did not discover what had passed between him and Byram, the cause of his journey was no secret at court. The people sided with their young king, in this quarrel, and the power of the minister began to decline visibly every day. The enraged Byram, in the mean time, endeavored to recover his authority by rigor and severity.

He punishes
the insolence
of Pier Ma-
humud.

Much about this time, Mullu Pier Mahummud, who had been formerly a retainer of Byram Chan, was, on account of his great abilities, preferred to the high office of tutor to the king. He soon engrossed a great share of the king's favor; and the pride of advancement began to swell in his heart. He used often to make the Omrahs, who attended his levee, to wait whole hours, and, at last, to send them word that he could not see them: which insolent behaviour gave great offence to many. Byram Chan himself was little better treated, one day, by Mahummud; and he took it so much amiss, that, by virtue of his own authority, he sent the tutor prisoner to Biana, from thence he banished him to Guzerat, and there shipped him off for Mecca, to prosecute his devotion.

The

The king was highly offended at this proceeding, as it seemed to debar him from even the liberty of disposing of his own private favors. The artful minister, perceiving the Sultan's rage, projected an expedition against Gualier, to divert the king's attention to another object. That fortress was then in the possession of Bibil, one of the slaves of Selim Shaw, who held it for Mahummud Shaw Adili. Bibil, hearing of Akbar's design against him, wrote to Ram Shaw, a descendant of Raja Man Singh, that as his ancestors had been masters of Gualier, and as he did not think himself capable to hold out the place against the king, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum.

A. D. 5556.
Higer. 964.
The king being offended, Byram projects an expedition against Gualier.

Ram Shaw, glad at this offer, immediately moved towards the fort: but Kika Chan, who possessed a jaghier from the king in the neighbourhood of Gualier, raised all his yassals, and attacking Ram Shaw, defeated and drove him into the dominions of Rama. Kika, immediately after this victory, returned and invested the fortresses. Bibil, seeing himself thus besieged, made overtures of capitulation. The king being informed of this circumstance, ordered Chaja Mahummud Chan, with a detachment, to give Bibil the terms he required, and to seize upon the fortresses. The traitor accordingly, being gratified with some money and a promise of future favour, delivered up the important castle of Gualier.

Gualier delivered up to Akbar.

In the course of the same year, Chan Ziman, to wipe off some aspersions under which he lay, exerted himself in a particular manner in the king's service; for he subdued all the provinces near Jionpoor and Benaris, which till then were in the hands of the Patans.

Actions of Chan Ziman.

A. D. 1556.
Higer. 964.
Transactions
at court.

Sheck Mahummud Ghori, the brother of Sheck Phul, who having been firmly attached to the Chegittai, or Mogul interest, during the late supremacy of the Patans, had fled to Guzerat, this year returned to court with his family, and was very favourably received by the king, who ordered Byram Chan to provide for him in a manner suitable to his dignity. Mahummud Ghori trusting too much to the king's authority, neglected to pay that court to Byram Chan which that haughty minister expected: Byram therefore took every possible means to avoid to serve Mahummud, and made things so very disagreeable to him, that he left the court and retired to his old family residence at Gualier.

An expedi-
tion against
Malava.

This being represented to the king, revived his former discontent against Byram Chan. The artful minister soon observed a visible alteration in the countenance of his sovereign. He therefore formed an expedition against Malava, to turn the king's active mind from the private politics of the court. Byram accordingly called Bahadur, the brother of Chan Ziman from Debalpoor, and gave him the command of the army destined to act against Baz Bahadur, who then ruled over Malava.

Transactions
at court.

The king much about this time went out upon a hunting party, and made a progress as far as Secundra, within forty miles of Delhi, between the rivers. Mahim his foster-brother joined him there, and told him, that his mother was extremely ill at Delhi, and was very desirous to see the king. He immediately set out for Delhi, and Shabul dien Ahmed Chan Neishapuri, an Omrah of five thousand, who then commanded in the city, came out to meet Akbar with presents: that Omrah was in great perplexity how to act. He was assured, that Byram Chan would impute the king's journey to Delhi to his intrigues,

Great power
of Byram
Chan.

and would not fail to get rid of him, as he had done of Mu-
 fuai Beg; he therefore acquainted the king of his apprehen-
 sions, and begged he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage
 to Mecca. The king was very much affected upon hearing this
 request; by observing how formidable the power of his minister
 was become to all his friends; but after he had considered the
 many obligations under which he and his family lay to that able
 man, he could not think of removing him: to lessen how-
 ever, in some measure, the apprehensions of Ahmed Chan, the
 king wrote Byram that he had of his own accord proceeded to
 Delhi, and not at the instigation of any person, but merely to
 pay his respects to his mother; that therefore a letter from him
 to appease the minds of those who were apprehensive of his
 displeasure, would be extremely necessary. Byram Chan re-
 turned for answer, that "he should never entertain resentment
 against any whom the king was pleased to honor with his
 favor." He moreover sent Hadjee Mahummud Seiftani and
 Tirdi Beg to Delhi, with assurances of his loyalty and absolute
 obedience to the king's royal pleasure.

A. D. 1557.
 Higer. 965.

In the mean time, Shabuldien Ahmed Chan finding the king
 disposed to protect him, and to hear accusations against Byram
 Chan, gave a loose to his tongue one day in public against that
 minister. He was joined by the whole court, whom he had
 previously attached to his interest. In short, so many crimes
 were alledged against Byram Chan, particularly his designs in
 favor of Abul Casim, the son of Mirza Cameran, that the king
 was alarmed and thought it necessary to curtail his authority.
 When therefore Hadjee Mahummud and Tirdi Beg arrived, in-
 stead of being admitted to an audience, they were immediately
 imprisoned.

A faction ac-
 cuses him to
 the king.

A breach be-
 tween him
 and the king.

This

A. D. 1557.
Higer. 965.
Transactions
at court.

This breach between the king and Byram Chan, is related with other particulars by Abul Fazil. One day at Agra, says that great man, one of the king's elephants in the rutting season, attacked an elephant of Byram Chan and killed him. Byram, for this offence, commanded that the keeper of the king's elephants should be put to death, without giving any notice to the sultan. Akbar was greatly displeased with this piece of cruelty, especially when he found that the poor man was innocent, having lost all his command over the outrageous animal. Soon after, continues Abul Fazil, as Byram Chan was taking his pleasure in a barge on the river, one of the elephants, which had been carried down to the water, run furiously against the barge, and had almost sunk it, before, by the uncommon efforts of the rider, he was brought to obedience. The minister, naturally of a suspicious and unforgiving temper, imagined that these were actually plots laid against his life; and he publicly petitioned the king to punish the rider of the elephant. The king, to appease Byram, and to remove all suspicions, ordered that the elephant-rider should be sent to him, to be punished at discretion. But Byram, either to make an example to others, or to gratify his resentment against the innocent man, who might even be said to have saved his life, ordered him also to be put to death.

The king was highly incensed by these two instances of Byram's presumption and cruelty. His displeasure became visible to the court; and there were not wanting many, who made it their business by private insinuations, to increase his resentment. The king, at length, came to the resolution of depriving Byram of the reins of government, which required some delicacy in the present situation of affairs. Some authors mention a scheme suggested

suggested to Akbar by his nurse*, upon this occasion, to get possession of the seals which were in Byram Chan's possession. They also say, that she discovered to him that minister's design to confine him, which she had accidentally heard, in a conversation between Byram and the queen-mother. This, say they, was the circumstance that determined Akbar to leave Agra. Abul Fazil mentions nothing of this affair; for that historian informs us, with greater probability, that the whole was concerted between Adam Chan and Mahim Anigah, on the part of the young king, who now began to be tired of a tutor, and thought he was capable of acting for himself. But to return from this digression.

A. D. 1558.
Higer. 966.

When it became public that the deputies from Byram Chan had been imprisoned by the king, every body predicted the ruin of the minister, and endeavoured to shake him off as fast as possible. They flocked daily to Akbar by hundreds to Delhi. That young prince immediately issued a proclamation throughout the empire, that he had taken the administration upon himself, and that henceforth no orders, but his own, should be obeyed, Byram Chan being dismissed from the regency.

Byram Chan is disgraced.

The king takes the administration of affairs into his own hands.

Shaw Abul Mali, who had been confined in Lahore, having before this time found means to escape, went to Cummâl Chan the Gicker, and engaged him in an expedition against Cashmire; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Mali flying to Debalpoor, joined himself with Bahadur Chan Seiftani, and stirred him up to rebel: but Bahadur Chan, repenting of his resolution, a quarrel ensued between them, and Abul Mali was driven to Sind. From that place he fled to Guzerat, and from

Shaw Abul Mali invades Cashmire.

He is defeated.

taken and confined.

* This was she that the king went to visit at Delhi.

thence

A. D. 1558.
Higer. 966.

thence to Jionpoor, from whence Chan Ziman, by the order of Byram Chan, sent him prisoner to Agra. He was sent to perpetual imprisonment in the fort of Biana.

Various
schemes of
Byram Chan.

Byram Chan, finding that he had no farther hopes from the king, began to form a resolution of going to Malava, to reduce that country, and found an independant kingdom. To accomplish his purpose, he proceeded to Biana, and called Bahadur Chan and other Omrahs, who had been sent upon the expedition to Malava before him. But perceiving that he was deserted by those Omrahs, in whom he placed his chief confidence, he began to despair of succeeding in that enterprize. He, therefore, released Abul Mali from his confinement, intending by his assistance and that of Chan Ziman, to attack the Patans of Bengal, and to fix himself in that kingdom. But before he had proceeded many days on this scheme, he changed his resolution, and took the way of Nagore, with a design to make a pilgrimage to Mecca; upon which, Bahadur Chan, Kika Chan, and many other Omrahs, who had determined to follow his fortunes, took leave of him. But so irresolute was the unfortunate Byram become, at a time too when firmness, constancy, and perseverance were absolutely necessary, that, like a person infatuated, he had no sooner reached Nagore, after having lost all his friends, than he changed again his resolution of going to Mecca, and began to assemble troops, with a view to conquer Punjab.

His irresolute
behaviour.

The king's
message to
him.

When the king was informed of this new scheme of Byram's, he sent Meer Abdul Latif Shufvini, his own preceptor, with a message to him to the following purpose. "Till now our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal pleasure, that you should be responsible for our empire. But as it is now our intention to govern

our

our people, by our own judgment and pleasure, let our well-wisher contract his skirts from the business of the world, and retire to Mecca, without thirsting after vanity and ambition."

A. D. 1538.
Higer. 966.

Byram Chan, upon receiving this letter, professed passive obedience, and sent his ensigns of state, elephants, banners and drums, by the hand of Hussen Kulli Beg Zul Kudder, to the king. He then returned to Nagore, to prepare for Mecca, being now abandoned by all his friends, except Willi Beg Zul Kuddur, Ismaiel Kulli Chan, Shaw Kulli Chan Merhum, Haffen Chan Tughlich, Shech Gaddai, and Chaja Muziffer Alli Jurbutti, the rest having joined the king. Among the latter, was Abul Mali, who, coming up to Akbar when hunting, neglected to dismount, when he made his obeisance, for which he was immediately confined.

Herefolves to
go to Mecca.

Byram Chan having proceeded on his pilgrimage as far as Bickanere, repented of his resolution, and returned again to Nagore, where he began to assemble troops. The king being informed of that proceeding, marched to Jidger. Mulla Pier Mahummud, being now returned from his banishment, to which he had been condemned by Byram Chan, was thought a proper person to carry on the war against him. He was accordingly dignified with titles by the king, and sent with an army towards Nagore. The king, in the mean time, returned to Delhi, and sent orders to Monim Chan, at Cabul, to repair to court.

Repents of
his resolution,
and levies
forces.

Byram Chan, upon the approach of Pier Mahummud Chan, set out for Punjab, and was closely pursued by that Omrah. When he arrived at the fort of Tibberhind, he threw all his baggage into that place, which was commanded by one of his adherents, by name Shere Mahummud; but this traitor no sooner had got Byram's effects into the place, than he began to reckon

He returns to-
wards Punjab.

A. D. 1559.
Higer. 967.

upon them as his own, and turned out the guard which the unfortunate minister had sent to take charge of his baggage. Byram Chan set out from thence for Debalpoor, which was then governed by one of his old friends, Dirvesh Mahummud Usbeck. When he came near the place, he sent his secretary, Chaja Muziffer Ali, to wait upon him, but that ungrateful man, pretending to be affronted at Byram's request, confined the secretary, and sent him to the king. Byram Chan, who had conceived great hopes from his friendship, was astonished at a behaviour so common to men in adversity, and set out, in great perturbation of mind, towards Jallender.

Defeated.

The king had, by this time, recalled Pier Mahummud Chan, and appointed Chan Azim to reduce Punjab, and to quell the rebellion of Byram Chan. Chan Azim coming up soon after with Byram Chan, at Matchiwarrah, a battle ensued, which was maintained with great bravery on both sides; Chan Azim's line being broke by the enemy: but at length, several of Byram Chan's principal officers being killed, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains of Sewalic.

Flies to the
mountains of
Sewalic.

After this victory, the king appointed Chaja Abdul Mugid Hirrivi to the government of Delhi, by the title of Afiph Chan, and marched in person to Lahore. When Akbar had reached Ludhana, Munim Chan met him, in his way from Cabul, and being graciously received, was honoured with the title of Chan Chanan, and made prime minister of the empire.

The king pur-
sues him into
the moun-
tains.

The king's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalic, a detachment of light horse entered the hills, where the Zemindars of that country, had convened in support of Byram Chan to guard the passes: but they were driven from post to post;

upon which, Byram Chan, in great distress, sent his slave Jemmal Chan to the presence, to represent his unfortunate situation, and to implore the king's mercy.

A. D. 1560.
Higer. 968.
O. 1. 1. 11

Akbar immediately dispatched Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri, with assurances of his clemency, and to bring the unhappy Byram to court. Accordingly, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, he was received, at some distance from the camp, by a considerable number of Omrahs, whom the king had ordered to meet him. He was brought into the presence with every possible mark of favor and distinction. When he appeared within sight of the king, he hung his turban round his neck, and suddenly advancing, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. The king instantly stretched forth his hand, ordered him to rise, and placed him in his former station, at the head of the Omrahs. To dispel at once his uneasiness and grief, the king honored him with a splendid chelat; and spoke to him after the following manner. "If Byram Chan loves a military life, he shall have the government of Calpé and Chinderi, in which he may exercise his martial genius: if he chuses rather to remain at court, our favor shall not be wanting to the great benefactor of our family: but should devotion engage the soul of Byram to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, he shall be escorted in a manner suitable to his dignity."

Byram Chan submits.

Is received with every mark of distinction by the King.

Byram Chan replied: "The royal confidence and friendship for me, must be now diminished; nay, they are past the hopes of recovery. Why then should I remain in the presence? The clemency of the king is enough for me, and his forgiveness for my late errors, a sufficient reward for my former services. Let then the unfortunate Byram turn his face from this world to another, and pursue his pilgrimage to Mecca." The king assented to his

He resolves on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

A. D. 1560, request, and ordered a proper retinue for him with 50,000 rupees a year, to support his dignity. Byram soon after took leave of the king, who with a few attendants left the camp and went to Agra.

Takes the way of Guzerat.

Byram Chan took the way of Guzerat, with an intention to proceed by sea to Mecca. When he arrived in the suburbs of the city of Guzerat, which was then governed by Mufi Chan Lodi, on the part of Actemad Chan sovereign of the country, he was accosted by Mubarick Chan Lohani, whose father in the battle with Himu, Byram Chan had killed. The wretch pretended to embrace the unsuspecting Byram, drew a dagger and basely stabbed him to the heart. A mob of Afgans fell immediately upon Byram's retinue, and plundered them. This murder happened on the 24th of Jimmud ul Awil, in the 968th of the Higerah.

Is basely assassinated by an Afgan chief.

SECTION III.

The Transactions of AKBAR from the Death of BYRAM CHAN, to the total Defeat of the rebellious USBECK Omrahs.

Akbar sends an army against Malava.

TOWARDS the close of the year 968, Sultan Akbar appointed Adam Chan and Pier Mahummud to command an army destined for the conquest of Malava. Bas Bahadur in whose hands that country was then, spent his time in luxurious pleasures at Saringpoor, when he was informed of the expedition which the Moguls meditated against him: but the enemy had

had advanced within ten crores of his capital, before he could prevail with himself to quit the pillows of indolence; and then in the best manner the time and his own confusion would permit, he prepared for action. But the bold Chigittai upon the first onset shook his order of battle, and sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Burhanpoor.

A. D. 1560.
Higer. 966.

Which is reduced.

Adam Chan after the victory distributed the spoil and the governments of Malava among his Omrahs, reserving the treasure, royal ensigns, and the ladies of the Haram for himself. He sent nothing except a few elephants to the king of what was customary on those occasions. Akbar fearing from this behaviour, that he entertained treasonable intentions, put the royal standard in motion towards him. When the imperial ensigns appeared before Shakeran, the governor of that fort on the part of Bas Bahadur, delivered it up to the king. The Sultan from thence made a sudden excursion by night, and in the morning arrived before Saringpoor. He met Adam Chan coming out with an intention to besiege Shakeran: he permitted that Omrah to pay his respects, and then he carried him back to the city. Adam Chan suspecting the king's displeasure and the cause of his visit, laid all the treasure and spoil at his feet: he excused himself by alledging, that he reserved every thing till he should have the honour of presenting them to Akbar in person. The king saw through his designs, but preferring clemency to rigour, he drew the pen of forgiveness over his crime.

The king suspecting Adam of treasonable intentions, marches towards him.

He submits, and is pardoned.

The king soon after returned towards Agra; hunting one day on the way near Narvar, a great royal tygres with five young ones took the road before him. Akbar advanced to the animal, while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king having meditated his blow, spurred

Akbar kills an enormous tygres.

on.

A. D. 1561. on his horse towards the fierce tygres, whose eyes flamed with
Higer. 969. rage, and with one stroke of his sabre, cut her across the loins
and stretched her dead upon the ground. The Omrahs who
were present, in excess of joy, ran to kiss his royal stirrup, and
offer up their thanks to God for his preservation.

The son of
Shaw Adili
invading Jion-
poor is over-
thrown by
Chan Ziman.

The king having remained some months at Agra, Sheri Chan
the son of Mahummud Shaw Adili, with 40,000 horse, advan-
ced from Bengal to reduce the province of Jionpoor. He was
opposed by Chan Ziman with 12,000 horse, and received a total
defeat. Bahadur Chan the brother of Chan Ziman, distinguished
himself in a very particular manner in this action; so that the
two brothers were esteemed the boldest warriors of the age:
but reckoning too much on their services, they neglected to
send to the king the elephants which they had taken in the
battle, which were always considered as royal property.

The king dis-
satisfied with
Chan Ziman.

The king, though he gave to the brothers all due praise for
their valour, would by no means permit any violation of his laws
or encroachment upon his prerogative: this determined him to
march towards Jionpoor, but when he had arrived at Kurrah,
the brothers, sensible of his resolution and their own misbehaviour,
advanced to congratulate him with all the spoils which
they had taken, and other suitable presents. The king, whose
generosity and clemency could be only equalled by his spirit,
returned all, except what belonged properly to the exchequer.
At the same time he gave them a gentle reproof for their neglect,
and afterwards engaged their affections by his princely bounty
and gracious favour. The king returning to Agra, on the third
day's march gave the brothers permission to go back to Jion-
poor.

Who submits
himself to his
royal clemen-
cy.

By the time that the king had reached Agra, Chan Azim viceroy of Punjab, and Adam Chan governor of Malava, arrived at court according to orders, with suitable presents. The king gave the government of Malava to Pier Mahummud Chan, and the office of prime minister to Chan Azim.

A. D. 1561.
Higer. 969.
Promotions at
court.

The king after these transactions in the year 969, made a progress to Ajmere, to visit the shrine of Chaja Moin ul Dien: when Akbar arrived at Sumbre, Raja Birbil of that country gave his daughter to him in marriage, and listed himself and his son Bowan Dafs, among the number of the king's Omrahs. When Akbar had reached Ajmere, and had performed his devotions, he sent Mirza Shirrif ul dein Hufsein, governor of Ajmere, to invest the fort of Mertah, which was in the territories of Raja Maldeo of Marwar. He himself returned in three days and nights, with a retinue of six persons only to Agra, which was a distance of more than one hundred and thirty crores.

The king
makes a pro-
gress to Aj-
mere.

Mirza Hufsein having advanced near Mertah, Jig Jal and Dewan Dafs, who were principal Omrahs of that country, threw a detachment into the place and prepared for a siege. Mirza Hufsein invested the fort, and began to carry on his approaches. In a few days he extended one of his mines under a bastion, and sprung it, by which a practicable breach was made. He advanced in person with a select body of troops to the assault, while the enemy bravely filled the breach to oppose him. Tho' fresh supplies of troops mounted from time to time, they were so warmly received, that Hufsein was obliged to found a retreat, and the next morning he found that the breach was filled up by the Rajaputs, who had continued to work, notwithstanding the fire he had kept up the whole night. The siege being prolonged for some months, the brave garrison were unable to hold out longer,

Mirza Huf-
sein besieges
Mertah.

A. D. 1561.
Hig-r. 969.

Which is
taken.

longer, and desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and the terms were, that they should march out with all their arms and horses.

Jig Jal according to these terms left all his money and effects, and marched forth; but Dewan Dafs, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison together, and having burnt all their effects, they rushed out of the place. Mirza Hufflein having heard of this breach of the capitulation, ordered them to be attacked, and the Rajaputs on the other hand fought with such valour, that they cut their way through the Mogul army with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number. Among the slain was Dewan Dafs, whose head his friends carried away when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Mirza Hufflein after having possessed himself of the fort, wrote an account of his victory to the king, and was honoured with particular favours.

Transactions
in the pro-
vince of Ma-
lava.

Pier Mahummud Chan *, a man of resolution, took up his residence in Shadi-abad-mendu, and carried on the war with Bas Bahadur with such success, that he entirely possessed himself of his dominions. He took the strong fort of Bijanagur, and put all the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risque an assault. Bas Bahadur having taken protection under the governor of Brampoor on the borders of Chandez, he sometimes by the aid of that Omrah, made incursions into the territories of Malava, and kept the country in a state of hostility. Pier Mahummud Chan was obliged to march against Brampoor, and having taken it, ordered a cruel massacre of all

* Governor of Malava.

the inhabitants, among whom was a number of philosophers and learned men, who resided in the place.

A. D. 1561.
Higer. 969.

Before Mahummud had left this place, Bas Bahadur having prevailed upon Miran Mubarick Shaw and Tiffâl Chan, the former prince of Candez, and the latter of Berar, to join him, advanced with a great army towards the Mogul, upon which he retreated to Bijanagur, his Omrahs being all averse to engage. However he resolved to halt at Bijanagur contrary to all their opinions, and to give battle to the enemy. He did it, but not being supported by his officers, he was defeated, and being dismounted by a camel that attacked his horse in crossing the rapid river Narbudda, he was drowned. The enemy continuing the pursuit, drove the Moguls from place to place, as far as Agra, without being able to make one stand before them: so that Bas Bahadur in the year 969, recovered his whole dominions of Malava.

The Mogul governor of Malava overthrown and slain.

Malava lost to the empire.

The king immediately after this disaster, appointed Abdulla Chan Usbeck governor of Calpee, to carry on the war against Bas Bahadur. This Omrah drove him a second time out of his country among the mountains of Comilmere. Abdulla Chan possessed himself of Mindu, and fixed his residence in that city.

Malava recovered.

Seid Beg the son of Mufum Beg Suffavi, absolute agent for the king of Persia, arrived much about this time at the court of Agra, in the character of an ambassador, with valuable presents, and received a present for himself of two lacks of rupees from the king.

An embassy from Persia.

Chan Azim Atkah Chan had by this time acquired great influence in his ministerial office. Adam Chan envying his greatness,

Designs of Adam Chan against the prime minister.

A. D. 1561.
Hger. 969.

He basely af-
falinates him.

ness, attempted to bring about his ruin, as some courtiers had before done that of Byram Chan: but the intrigues of Adam were discovered, and his calumnies reverted upon his own head. Stung with disappointed malice, he at last determined to act the assassins himself. He accordingly one day in the audience chamber, while the minister was reading the Koran, stabbed him under pretence that he took no notice of the salutation which Adam made him at his entrance, though he well knew, that at such a time it was not customary to make or return any compliments. Adam after having committed this horrid murder, ascended one of the terraces, and stood there in hopes of the king's pardon, though he might possibly have escaped.

Adam is
killed by the
king.

The king who had been asleep in the Haram, hearing the noise that was made on this occasion, asked the cause. When they informed him of what had happened, he arose, and without changing his sleeping dress, went up to the terrace in a great rage. He was struck with horror when he saw the blood of his Vizier. Having approached the murderer with a sword in his hand, he drew it half out, but reflecting upon his own dignity, he returned it again into the scabbard, and sternly asked the assassin, Why have you killed my Vizier? The wretch, fearing that the king was going to kill him, seized his hands. This behaviour so enraged Akbar, that disengaging himself, he struck him a blow with his fist, and stretched him senseless at his feet. In this rage he ordered one of his attendants to throw the wretch over the wall, which was forty guzes * in height. Mahim Anigah, this unfortunate man's father, died with grief about a month after, and Monim Chan who was an abettor of the assassination of the Vizier, fled to Lahore, where he was seized and sent to Agra: but as the proofs against him were not

* A guze is about a yard English.

sufficient,

sufficient, he was acquitted by the king, and had afterwards the address to work himself into favour.

A. D. 1562.
Higer. 970.

The king conferred all the honours and estates of his father upon Mirza Aziz, the eldest son of the deceased Vizier, excepting the offices of the Vizarit and Vakilit *. Sultan Adam prince of the Gickers, disturbing the peace of Punjab, the Omrahs of that country were ordered to reduce him, and place Kummal Chan one of the same nation, upon the musnud. Kummal Chan had been once miraculously preserved from death. Selim Shaw ordered a prison, wherein he was at Gualier, with some hundreds of Gickers who had been taken prisoners, to be blown up with gunpowder. This was done, and Kummal was thrown to some distance, without receiving any considerable hurt. The same year Kummal Chan by the aid of the Omrahs marched against the Gickers, reduced that fierce nation, and took Sultan Adam prisoner.

The Gickers
reduced.

Chaja Moin the father of Shirrif ul Dein Hussein, came about this time from Turkestan to Lahore: he was there met by his son and brought to Agra, the king himself going out to congratulate him, as he was of the race of Chaja Shakear nasir ul Dein Abdulla, one of the greatest saints in Turkestan. Not long after these transactions, Mirza Hussein either struck with madness, or some unknown apprehensions, fled to Ajmere with all his forces. This revolt occasioned great disturbances in that country, to quell which Hussein Kulli Chan ul Kuddir, the nephew of Byram Chan, was nominated to the government of Nagore, and ordered to proceed thither with a great force. Mirza Hussein having received intelligence of his march, left

Rebellion of
Mirza Hus-
sein.

* The Vizarit and Vakilit are often joined in the same person, but the latter is reckoned the first office in the empire.

A. D. 1563. Higer. 971. Ajmere in charge of one of his friends, and retreated to Jalore on the frontiers of Guzerat. Hufflein Kulli Chan proceeded to Ajmere, and possessed himself of that place by capitulation.

Abul Mali joins Hufflein.

Shaw Abul Mali, who had been released from his confinement upon promise of proceeding to Mecca, hearing of the rebellion of Mirza Hufflein on the way, returned and joined him. He marched by his command with a body of horse towards Narnoul, and there committed hostilities. Hufflein Kulli Chan detached Ahmed Beg and Eufuph Beg against him, while he marched in person against Mirza Hufflein. Shaw Abdul Mali lay in ambush for the troops which were sent against him. They fell into the snare and were defeated with great slaughter, the two generals being slain in the action.

Defeats the Imperialists.

Flies to Cabul.

The king at that time taking the diversion of hunting at Muttra, received intelligence of the defeat of his troops, and sent another army against Mali. The rebel fled before the imperial forces to Punjab, and from thence to Mirza Mahummud Hakim, the king's brother at Cabul. Hakim gave to Mali his sister in marriage, and raised him to the first office in that kingdom, for which he by that time paid little or no homage to Akbar.

His villainy.

The ungrateful refugee, however, had not been many months in station, before he aspired to the kingdom of Cabul, and basely assassinated Mirza Mahummud Hakim's mother, his own mother-in-law, who was a woman of uncommon abilities, and might with truth be said to have ruled that kingdom. He then pretended to act as regent for the young prince, who was still in his minority, with a view to get rid of him as soon as he could conciliate matters with the Omrahs. In the mean time

Mirza

Mirza Soliman, prince of Buduchshân, came against him, and cut off the opening flower of his ambition, by depriving him of his life. Mirza Sherrif ul dein Hufsein having heard of the retreat of Shaw Abul Mâli, fled to Ahmedabad, in Guzerat.

A. D. 1563.
Higer. 971.
and death.

The king, about this time, made a progress towards Delhi. As he was passing by the college of Mahim Annigah, a slave of the rebel Mirza Hufsein, by name Kuttlick Fowlad, who had been sent to assassinate the king, fixed an arrow in his bow and pointed it towards the sky. The royal retinue, imagining that the villain was going to shoot at some bird flying overhead, gazed upward: he immediately lowered his aim to the king, who was at some distance upon his elephant, and let fly his arrow, which lodged itself some inches deep in Akbar's shoulder. In a moment a thousand swords were drawn, and the people cut one another, each anxious to kill the assassin, who was in a moment hewn to pieces. The surgeons being called, the arrow was, with great difficulty, extracted on the place, before all the people; the king not shrinking once at the operation: in about ten days the wound was closed up, Akbar returned to Agra, and soon after appointed Afaph Chan Herdi Suba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor.

An attempt
against the
king's life.

The king did not rest many days at Agra, before he set out for Narvar to hunt elephants. He had ordered Abdulla Chan Usbeck, governor of Malava, to send his trained elephants to assist in this amusement, which he neglected to do. The king was very much enraged at his disobedience, and made a sudden incursion into Malava, though the periodical rains were at their height. Mahummud Casin Chan Neishapuri, governor of Saringpoor, joined the king by the way. When Akbar had reached Ugein, Abdulla Chan, with all his forces and treasure, fled to Guzerat: the king pursued him about twenty-five crores,

The governor
of Malava re-
volts;

he flies to
Guzerat.

with

A. D. 1563.
Higer. 9, 1.

The king of
Chandez, in
the decan,
submits to
Akbar.

with a small body of cavalry: the rebel stood his ground, and fought with such success, that Akbar thought proper to return from the pursuit to Mindu, where he surveyed the buildings erected there by the princes of the race of Chillige. While Akbar remained in that city, Mira Mubarick Shaw, king of Chandez paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The king conferred the government of Malava upon Shirra Bahadur, and returned towards his capital.

The king, upon the way, near the village of Sipiri, fell in with a great herd of wild elephants. He ordered his cavalry to surround them, and he drove them, with great difficulty, into a kedda or fold constructed for that purpose: one of the male elephants, of a prodigious size, finding himself confined, strode over the ditch, bore down the wall and the pallisadoes before him, and made his way into the plain. Three trained elephants were sent after him: he stood to fight, and before they could overcome and take him, he afforded very great diversion to the king; who was remarkably fond of the boisterous contention of those enormous animals.

Transactions
at Agra.

In the year 972, Chaja Moazim, the brother of Chuli Begum, and husband to the king's aunt, for some impropriety of behaviour, was thrown into prison, where he died. The same year, the old fort of Agra, which was built of brick, was demolished, and the foundation of the new one of red freestone laid; and though a great and magnificent work, was finished in four years.

The Usbeck
Omrahs rebel.

By the intrigues of Abdulla Chan, the Usbeck, there was a report propagated, that the king, on his account, had taken a dislike to all the Usbeck race, and proposed to confine all the
Omrahs

Omrahs of that nation who were in his service. This calumny gained so much credit, that Secunder Chan, Ibrahim Chan Usbeck, and others, who had governments about Jionpoor and Behar, turned their heads from obedience, and drew over Chan Ziman, Bahadur Chan, and Shubiani Chan to their party: Afaph Chan Hirrevi, who held the government of Kurrah, on account of some disputes with the collector of the king's revenues, took part in their rebellion. In a short time, their army consisted of thirty thousand horse, with which they possessed themselves of all the territories near Behar and Jionpoor.

A. D. 1554.
Higer. 972.

News of this rebellion being brought to the king, he seemed to take no notice of it. He ordered his troops to attend him on a hunting party towards Narvar, in the opposite direction to the enemy. He accordingly employed himself in taking elephants for some days; during which time, Asherif Chan, a scribe, was sent privately to Secunder Chan, to endeavor to bring him over from his faction. Lashkar Chan Bukshi, was sent with a great body of horse to seize the treasures of Afaph Chan, upon whom the king had a large demand, which was the sole cause of that Omrah's rebellion.

The policy of
Akbar.

It seems, that when Afaph Chan was made an Omrah of five thousand, and obtained the government of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country called Gurrah or Kattuck, lying between the provinces of Rintimpore, Malava, Behar and the Decan. At that time, the kingdom of Gurrah* was governed by a queen, whose name was Durgautti, famous for her beauty and accomplishments: her dominions were about one hundred and fifty crores in length,

A digression
concerning
Afaph Chan's
war with the
queen of Gur-
rah.

* Now part of Orissa and Bundel-cund.

and

A. D. 1564.
Hijer. 972.

and about fifty in breadth : yet so flourishing was the country, that in this small tract, there were about seventy thousand towns and villages well inhabited ; which had the good fortune never to have fallen under the dominion of foreigners.

Asaph Chan, having heard of the riches of this country, disturbed the peaceable inhabitants, unaccustomed to the sound of war, with constant depredations ; he at length marched against them with six thousand horse, and about double that number of infantry. The queen, with fifteen hundred elephants, eight thousand horse and some foot, prepared to oppose him. Like a bold Heroine she led on her troops to action, cloathed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, mounted in a howdar, on an elephant, with her bow and quiver lying by her side, and a burnished lance in her hand. Though her troops had not been accustomed to action, the love of liberty, and the example of their queen, inspired every breast with a lion's courage. Their eagerness to engage, made them march in disorder towards the enemy, which the queen observing, commanded them to halt, and forming her line anew, gave her troops strict orders to march on slowly, as compact as possible, and to observe the signal to engage, when it should be displayed from the elephant of the royal standard.

In this manner she received the enemy, whom she quickly repulsed, and pressing upon them, laid six hundred Mahomedan horsemen dead on the field ; she pursued the rest till the evening, with great slaughter. When night came on, the queen halted with her army, and gave them orders to wash and refresh themselves, that they might be prepared for a night attack upon the enemy, before they could recover from their consternation. But her vizier, and the rest of her chiefs, less daring, and consequently

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

quently less prudent than this heroine, opposed this salutary measure, and seditiously insisted on returning to the field of battle to bury their friends. She, accordingly, returned unwillingly; and, after the dead were burnt, again addressed her chiefs, and solicited them, one by one, to accompany her to storm the Mahomedan camp: none of them, however, had the spirit to second her in this daring enterprize. They vainly imagined, that the enemy would of their own accord evacuate the country.

The Omrahs of Gurrah, soon found that they were fatally frustrated in their hopes. Afaph Chan, to wipe away the disgrace which he sustained the day before, and finding what enemy he had to deal with, advanced in the morning towards the queen, with his artillery; which, in the preceding action, he had left behind him, on account of the badness of the roads. The queen, upon Afaph's approach, advanced to a narrow pass, and prepared to oppose him. The Mogul, scouring the pass with his artillery, soon opened to himself a way into the plain beyond it, where the queen's army were drawn up in order of battle. Raja Bier Shaw, the queen's son, a young prince of great hopes, as soon as the Mahomedan army came into the plain, made a resolute charge, and exhibited prodigies of valour. He repulsed the enemy twice, but in the third attack, being wounded, he became faint with loss of blood. When he was just falling from his horse, his mother, who was mounted on an elephant in the front of the battle, observed her son ready to expire. She immediately called to some of her people to carry him back to the rear; many of them accordingly crowded around him, some with a friendly intention to serve him, but more to have an opportunity to quit the field. The loss of the Raja, in short, together with the retreat of so many with his body, struck a panic into the rest, so that the unfortunate queen was left with only three hundred men in

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

in the field. The heroine, however, seemed no ways affected by her desperate situation ; she stood her ground with her former fortitude, till she received an arrow in her eye ; she endeavoured to extricate it from the wound, but as she tugged it, part of the steel broke short, and remained behind. In the mean time, another arrow passed through her neck, which she also drew out, but nature sinking under the pain, a dimness swam before her eyes, and she began to nod from side to side of the howdar*. She, however, recovered from her fainting by degrees ; and a brave officer of her household, by name Adhar, who drove her elephant, singly repulsed numbers of the enemy whithersoever he turned the outrageous animal ; begged permission, as the day was now irretrievable, to carry the queen from the field. She rejected the proposal with a noble disdain : “ It is true, said she, we are overcome in war, but shall we ever be vanquished in honor ? Shall we, for the sake of a lingering ignominious life, lose that reputation and virtue which we have been so solicitous to acquire ? No : let your gratitude now repay that service for which I lifted up your head, and which I now require at your hands. Haste, I say ; let your dagger save me from the crime of putting a period to my own existence.”

Adhar burst into tears, and begged, that as the elephant was swift of foot, he might be permitted to leave the field, and carry her to a place of safety. In the mean time, the queen, finding that the enemy crowded fast around her, and that she must be taken prisoner, she, suddenly leaning forward, seized the dagger of Adhar, and plunging it into her bosom, expired. The death of the queen, rendered Asaph Chan's victory complete. Six Hindoo chiefs, upon their elephants, still stood firm : and ashamed

* A wooden tower on the back of the elephant.

of being outdone by a woman, dedicated their lives to revenge the death of the queen.

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

Afaph Chan, a few days after this battle, laid siege to Joragur, where all the treasures of this noble family had been for ten generations deposited. The hopes of gain rendered the Moguls desperate; they began to attack the fort with uncommon resolution, till the place was taken. The young Raja, bravely exerting what little strength he had left, lost his life in defence of his independence and kingdom. The unfortunate garrison, according to their barbarous custom, had performed the joar*. This dreadful ceremony was performed after this manner: a house was filled with wood, straw and oil; the unfortunate victims were forced in, and fire set to the horrid pile. When the bloody conquerors, who had brought this dreadful calamity upon the miserable Hindoos, entered the place, they found two women still alive, and untouched by the flames; one of them was called Camellawilli, the sister of the deceased queen, and the other the daughter of the Raja of Biragur, who had been brought to be espoused by the young Raja of Gurrah. These two ladies were reserved by Afaph Chan, for the king. The riches of Joragur, in gold, silver, jewels and precious effects were invaluable; of gold alone, there were found, in one treasury, one hundred and one chests of mhers. When Afaph Chan had glutted his avarice and ambition with the blood and treasure of this brave, though peaceable family, he took up his residence in that country. His view was to maintain his conquest against the king; and he, therefore, did not return to his government of Kurrah. That avarice, which prompted him to this public robbery, prevented him from presenting the king with his part of the plunder. Out of a thousand

* The joar, is a general massacre of the women and children.

A. D. 1564.
Higer. 972.

elephants, which he had taken, though all should fall to the share of the king, he sent him only two hundred of the worst, and sent no part of the jewels and treasure. It was therefore this just demand which the king had upon Afaph, that made that ambitious Omrah join in rebellion with the disaffected Usbecks.

The king
marches
against Afaph
Chan: falls
sick and re-
turns.

The king having found that Lashkar Chan could effect nothing against Afaph, he determined to march in person into Gurrah. Having therefore left Narvar, he continued his rout for some days towards Gurrah. Akbar being seized with a fever on account of the heat, which in that sandy soil was excessive, he returned to Agra, dispatching Shahim Chan Sellaori, Shaw Biddai Chan, Mahummud Amin, and other Omrahs, against Secunder Chan, by whom they were defeated, and the two last taken prisoners. The king apprized of this disaster, sent Menim Chan Chanan with an army some days journey in front, and in the month of Shawal 973, followed in person with all the forces that he could raise,

His generals
defeated.

The king
marches
against Luck-
now.

When the king had arrived at Kinnoge, he selected a body of horse, and made an excursion toward Lucknow, to surprize Secunder Chan, who was in that place: but Secunder Chan being informed of his approach evacuated Lucknow, and fled to Chan Ziman, with whom he crossed the Ganges. The king proceeding to Jionpoor, Afaph Chan sued for pardon, and by the mediation of Mudgenu Chan, was admitted to the presence, and again restored to favor, upon settling his accounts concerning the plunder of Gurrah.

Afaph Chan
submits.

A few days after Afaph Chan was detached with five thousand chosen horse, against the enemy. He came to the ferry of Nirhin,

him, and was opposed in crossing the river, but instead of making any dispositions to gain the passage, he sat down and passed the time in riot and foolish negotiations, for which he had no authority. The king being informed of Afaph's negligence, stripped him of his Jagier. Afaph with his brother Vizier Chan, relinquished his troops, and set out with great expedition to Gurrah.

A. D. 1565.
Higer. 973.
His misbehaviour,

and flight to
Gurrah.

The king sent Chan Chanan to take charge of the army which Afaph had forsaken; and the rebels in the mean time under Secunder Chan and Bahadur Chan crossed the Jumna, and raised disturbances in the provinces between the rivers, while Chan Ziman opposed the Imperial army at the Ganges. The king being informed of these motions, detached Shaw Biddaw Chan and other Omrahs, under the command of Meer Moaz ul Muluck, to stop the progress of Bahadur Chan; but in the mean time Chan Ziman repenting of his disloyalty, sent a number of elephants and other presents to the king, and Monim Chan interceding for his pardon, the king was prevailed upon to receive him into favor, and draw the pen of oblivion over his crimes. He confirmed him in all his estates and honors, which he had forfeited by his rebellion.

Motions of
the rebels.

Chan Ziman
submits.

Meer Moaz ul Muluck having come up with Secunder Chan and Bahadur Chan, was upon the point of engaging them, when he received a letter from Bahadur Chan, acquainting him that his brother Chan Ziman, had sent his mother with presents to the king to intercede for pardon, and therefore that he would be glad to avoid extremities, till he heard the consequence of that negotiation. Meer Moaz ul Muluck, who had heard nothing of this matter, thinking it to be a political fetch to gain time or lull him to security, paid no regard to it, but drew out

The Imperial
army under
Moaz ul Mu-
luck over-
thrown by the
rebels.

in

A. D. 1565.
Higer. 973.

in order of battle. Secunder Chan who commanded the van of the rebel army, made the best disposition the time would permit to receive him, but was obliged to retreat with great loss towards the body of the army, which by this time was formed by Bahadur Chan. The Imperialists, who from the flight of Secunder Chan, concluded the victory already their own, pursuing in an irregular manner, were received so warmly by Bahadur Chan, that they were repulsed in turn, and would never more shew their face to the pursuers, so that the rebels gained a compleat victory and great spoil. Meer Moaz ul Muluck fled with the scattered remains of his army to Kinnoge.

Chan Ziman,
upon the news
of this defeat,
again rebels.

Akbar in the mean time as peace was concluded with Chan Ziman, went to take a view of the fortifications of Chinari and the city of Benaris. When the news of the late defeat of the Imperialists arrived in the royal camp, Chan Ziman, though so lately pardoned, being destitute of every principle of gratitude, loyalty and honor, again deserted and took possession of Ghazipoor and the adjacent territories. The king enraged at this baseness, flew into a violent passion with Chan Chanan, by whose mediation he had pardoned Ziman. He immediately ordered Ziman's mother to be confined, and with all expedition marched towards the traitor, who upon his approach fled to the hills. Bahadur Chan taking advantage of the king's absence from Jionpoor, entered that place, and took the citadel by escalade, where he released his mother, and confined Asherif Chan the governor, with all the principle persons in the garrison.

The rebels
take Jionpoor,

which is re-
taken by the
king.

The king hearing of the taking of Jionpoor, gave over the pursuit of Chan Ziman, and returning towards that city, issued out orders to all the viceroys of the provinces to join him with all their forces. Upon Akbar's approach, Bahadur Chan evacuated

evaded Jionpoor and fled towards Benaris. Chan Ziman now seeing such preparations against him, in all the provinces which remained firm in their allegiance, began again to despair of success, and had the confidence to address the king a second time for pardon, which by a strange perversion of policy, and an unjustifiable act of clemency, or rather weakness in the king, he obtained, as well as a confirmation of all his estates and honors. The king after passing his royal word for all these favours, ordered Ziman to come to court: but the traitor excused himself, by pretending that shame for his past offences would not permit him to appear in the presence, till time should erase his behaviour from his majesty's mind; that as soon as the king should return to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur Chan, would accept the honor which the royal benevolence intended to confer upon them.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.
Chan Ziman
pardoned a second
time.

It surprizes, it even disgusts the friends of the memory of the renowned Akbar, to find that he should admit of this excuse, or trust to the oath of a man already perjured: but the sincere mind of Akbar, could not suspect in others that baseness which was a stranger to his own soul. He returned to Agra, and left this snake to collect fresh poison. When Akbar had arrived at Agra, he sent Mendi Cassim Chan with four thousand horse, to drive Asaph Chan out of his government of Gurrah, which he had usurped.

The king's
weakness.

Chan Ziman, as might have been foreseen, took this opportunity to strengthen his party. Treason still fermented in secret within his soul, and he invited Asaph Chan to join him. Asaph accepted of the proposal, and left Gurrah in possession of Cassim Chan. Ziman in the mean time forgetting his oath to wait on the king at Agra, during six months maintained himself in a princely

Chan Ziman
again revolts.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

princely independance over all the eastern provinces. Afaph Chan who had by this time joined him, finding himself neglected and treated with contempt, fled to Kurrah his original Jagier, was pursued by Bahadur Chan, defeated and taken prisoner. In the mean time his brother Vizier Chan, who escaped in the action, rallied the troops, and returning, surprized the conquerors, and rescued Afaph Chan out of their hands. The brothers then fell upon Kurrah, and possessed themselves of that country.

An embassy
from Cabul.

An ambassador about this time arrived from Mirza Mahumud Hakim the king's brother, who governed Cabul, acquainting him, that Mirza Soliman of Buduchshan, ever since he had defeated and killed Shaw Abdul Mali, continued to read the Chutba of Cabul in his own name; that he had appointed Mirza Sultan to act in that city in his behalf, which had obliged Hakim to expel him from that office; for which affront Mirza Soliman was again preparing to invade Cabul: he therefore earnestly entreated Akbar's aid to oppose him.

The king if-
sues orders to
aid his bro-
ther at Cabul.

The king fearing more from the encroachments of his northern enemies, than from the soft sons of the eastern provinces, immediately ordered the Omrahs of Punjab, and Mahummud Kulli Chan of Moulton, to assist Mirza Mahummud Hakim, as soon as ever they should be certain of the enemies attempts upon Cabul. Feredoon Chan Cabuli who was one of the king's Omrahs, was also sent from the presence with what troops he retained in pay to succour Hakim: but before the royal orders arrived either at Punjab or Moulton, and consequently long before any succours could reach Cabul, Mirza Soliman had invested that city. Mirza Mahummud Hakim evacuated it in a few days and retreated to the Nilab, where he

met Feredoon Chan coming to his assistance. This treacherous Omrah, proposed to Hakim to sieze upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in a war with the Usbeck Omrahs: that after he should be possessed of that rich and powerful province, he would find little difficulty in driving Mirza Soliman out of Cabul.

A. D. 1566.

Higer. 974.

Mirza Mahummud Hakim insensible of the baseness of this project, ungratefully began to take measures to put it in execution, and marched to Lahore in conjunction with Feredoon Chan. Hakim's design upon Lahore being noised abroad, the Omrahs of Punjab, particularly Cuttub ul dein Annigah, and Pier Mahummud Chan, threw all their forces into the city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Mirza Mahummud Hakim sat down before the place, and used every art and persuasion to bring over those Omrahs to his interest, but without effect.

Hakim's designs upon Lahore.

Besieges that city.

The king enraged as well as alarmed at this rebellion, laid aside his intended expedition against the Usbecks, and turned his arms towards Lahore. He began his march towards that city on the 14th of Jimmad ul Awil 974, leaving Agra under the government of Monim Chan Chanan. Akbar having arrived at Sirhind, the news of his approach reached Lahore. The citizens immediately began to beat their drums, to sound their trumpets, and to make every demonstration of joy. This unusual noise waked Mirza Hakim, who was asleep in his tent: he asked the meaning of that uproar, and was told that the king was come expeditiously from Agra. Mirza Hakim believing that the king was already at his heels, mounted his horse without delay, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Cabul: he

The king marches towards Lahore.

Hakim retreats with precipitation.

A. D. 1566,
Higer. 974.

came very opportunely to that city, and took it by surprize, Mirza Soliman having retired to Buduchhan during the winter.

Akbar arrives
at Lahore.

The king in the mean time advanced to Lahore, where he spent a few days in hunting: he then sent back Mudginu Chan, to possess himself of Kurrah and Manneckpoor, which Afaph Chan had seized. Much about this time the sons of Mirza Sultan governor of Simbol, rose in rebellion. This insurrection was crushed in the bud by the other Jagierdars of the adjacent territories, who defeated the young rebels and drove them towards Malava. They however possessed themselves of that country without much opposition, there being at that time no imperial forces in that province. Mirza Sultan upon account of the rebellion of his sons, was seized and imprisoned in Biana, where he soon after died.

The king
marches a-
gainst the Uf-
beck Omrahs.

The Usbeck Omrahs improved the king's absence to their own advantage, and extended their conquests on all sides. This obliged the king to return to Agra, before which city he ordered all his forces from the provinces to rendezvous. He was in a few weeks ready to take the field against the rebels, with two thousand elephants and above a hundred thousand horse. Chan Ziman at that time besieging Eusoph Chan in the fort of Sherigur, hearing of the king's approach, retreated to Kurrah, in which place Bahadur Chan had invested Mudgenu Chan. The king closely pursued Ziman, but when he had reached Raibarrili, he heard that the rebel was crossing the Ganges, with an intention to march to Malava, and join the sons of Mahummud Sultan, or to make an alliance with the king of the Decan.

The king
swims across
the Ganges
on his ele-

The king hastened his march and arrived at the ferry of Manneckpoor in the evening. No boats could be procured, and Akbar, impatient

impatient to engage the rebels, mounted his elephant, and contrary to the advice of all his Omrahs, took the river which was then very deep, and had the good fortune to pass over in safety: one hundred horse plunged into the stream and swam after the king. Akbar in the morning came before the enemies camp with his hundred horse, and Mudgenu Chan and Afaph Chan joined him immediately with all the garrison of Kurrah.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

phant, accom-
panied with
100 horse
only.

The enemy not suspecting that the king would attempt to cross the river without his army, had spent the night in festivity, and could hardly believe their senses, when they heard the royal drums beating the imperial march. They at length in the utmost confusion began to form their line, but before they were in compleat order, Akbar charged them with great violence: Baba Chan Cashkal at the head of the king's light scouts, penetrated through the camp of the rebels as far as the tents of Chan Ziman, where he was repulsed by Bahadur Chan, and driven back with precipitation among the king's ranks, which occasioned some disorder among the files of Mudgenu Chan. Bahadur Chan in the mean time turned towards the center, where the king commanded in person: Akbar observing him, came down from his elephant, and mounting a horse, pressed towards him; but by this time an arrow having killed Bahadur Chan's horse, he was obliged to retreat on foot, among his own troops. The king immediately commanded his few elephants to advance: those animals engaging furiously with those of the enemy, killed some of them upon the spot, and drove back the rest among their own ranks.

He comes be-
fore the rebel
army.

Charges
them.

Chan Ziman encouraging his men, still continued the action with great bravery, till his horse having received two wounds, he was obliged to quit him, and while he was mounting another,

The rebels te-
tally over-
thrown.

A. D. 1566.
Higer. 974.

he was trodden to death by an elephant. The rebels now fell into confusion: distracted for want of orders, they turned their face to flight. Bahadur Chan was taken prisoner, and carried before the king; What evil had I done to you, said Akbar, thus to provoke you to draw the sword of treason against me? He ordered that particular care should be taken of Bahadur; but some of the Omrahs, as soon as the king's back was turned, fearing that his clemency would pardon that consummate rebel, prevented it by putting him immediately to the sword. Akbar, though it is highly probable that he would have forgiven Bahadur, made no inquiries concerning his death. The heads of the brothers were sent to Punjab and Cabul. Jan Alli Beg Ufbeck, Ear Alli, Mirza Beg, Chushal Beg, and Mier Shaw Mahummud Buduchsi, were also taken prisoners and carried by the king to Jionpoor, where they were trodden to death by elephants. This decisive action happened upon the first of Zihidge, 974, and is an instance of the daring intrepidity of the renowned Akbar.

The king settles the eastern provinces and returns to Agra.

The government of Kurrah was conferred upon Chan Chanan, and soon after Secunder Chan, who was besieged in the fort of Jud, fled to Gorrickpoor. The rebellion of the Ufbecks being thus quashed, and the peace of the eastern provinces restored, the king in the month of Mohirrim 975, returned in triumph to Agra.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 975, to the total Reduction of the Kingdom of Guzerat in 981.

DURING the rebellion of the Usbeck Omrahs, Rana Uday Singh had taken great advantage of the king's distress. This determined Akbar, without remaining long at Agra, to march against him. The king having arrived before the fort of Suifoob, the governor evacuated the place and retreated to his master Surjun Raja of Rintimpore. Akbar left a garrison in Suifoob, and proceeded to the fort of Kakeran, on the frontiers of Malava. The sons of Sultan Mahummud Mirza, who had possessed themselves of Mindu, hearing of the emperor's progress, were greatly distressed. To compleat their misfortunes, Aligh Mirza died at that time, and his adherents fled with precipitation towards Guzerat.

The king left Malava under the charge of Shab ul dein Ahmed Shaw Neshapuri, and marched from Kakeran to expel the Rana from Chitor. The Rana left eight thousand disciplined Rajaputs, with a great store of provisions in the fort of Chitor, which is built on a mountain, and retired himself with his family to an inaccessible place. The king immediately invested Chitor, and set five thousand pioneers to work in throwing up trenches, and carrying on approaches to the place. When he had completed two batteries, and carried two mines under different bastions, he endeavoured to spring them at once: but one of them going off before the other, blew up one of the bastions and made a practicable

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

Akbar marches against Rana Sing, and reduces Malava.

The king invests Chitor.

An accident in carrying on the siege.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

a practicable breach. Two thousand men who were prepared to storm, advanced immediately, upon a supposition that both of the mines had been sprung. They divided into two bodies in order to enter at once both breaches: one of the parties advancing near the bastion, perceived that the mine had not been sprung, but before they could retreat it blew up, and killed above five hundred of the Moguls, and about double that number of the enemy who were crowded on the bastion. Among the latter were fifteen Omrahs of distinction. The explosion so terrified those who were entering the breach, that they retreated in the utmost consternation.

The king kills
the governor
of Chitor
with his own
hand.

Another mine was immediately carried on by the king, but as he was one day standing in one of the batteries, he perceived Jeimal the governor of the place very assiduous in filling up the breaches, and giving orders for the defence: the king immediately called for a fuzee, and took so good an aim that he lodged the ball in Jeimal's brains, and laid him dead on the spot.

Chitor
stormed.

The spirit of the besieged fell with their chief, and in the utmost despair, they performed the horrid ceremony of the Joar, put all their wives and children to the sword, and burned their bodies with that of their governor, on a prodigious funeral pile. The Imperial army perceived what was going on by the light of the fire: they advanced under the cover of night to the breach, which they found abandoned, so that they entered the place without opposition. It was day-light before a number sufficient to attack the enemy could enter: then the king in person led on his men, and the unfortunate garrison devoting themselves to death, had retired to their temples. Akbar perceiving that he must lose a great number of his troops in case of a close attack, ordered a distant fire to be kept up upon the desperate

Rajaputs, till he had introduced three hundred elephants of war, which he immediately ordered to advance to tread them to death.

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.

The scene became now too shocking to be described. Brave men rendered more valiant by despair, crowded around the elephants, seized them even by the tusks, and inflicted upon them unavailing wounds. The terrible animals trode the Rajaputs like grasshoppers under their feet, or winding them in their powerful trunks, tossed them aloft into the air, or dashed them against the walls and pavements. Of the garrison, which consisted of eight thousand Rajaputs and of forty thousand inhabitants, thirty thousand were slain, and the most of the rest taken prisoners. A few escaped in the confusion, by tying their own children like captives, and driving them through the king's camp. They by this means passed undiscovered, being taken for some of the followers of the camp.

A dreadful slaughter.

The government of the strong fort of Chitor was given to Asaph Chan Hirrivi, and the king returned towards his capital. On the way a tyger happened to be roused before him: he gave orders that nobody should touch the animal, and riding forward himself, he began to wound him with arrows. The terrible animal stood growling on a rising ground near the king, and being enraged by his wounds, he ran directly towards the king, who stood to receive him with his lance. One of his attendants called Adil, fearing the consequence, rushed between Akbar and the tyger, and aimed a fortunate blow at the animal, but he himself was tossed under his paws, and would have in a moment expired, had not some others rushed to his assistance, and given the tyger a deadly wound, which both saved the king and Adil from imminent danger.

The king returning towards Agra, is in danger from a tyger.

Akbar

A. D. 1567.
Higer. 975.
Disturbances
in Guzerat
quelled.

Akbar having arrived at Agra, received advices that Ibrahim Hussein and Mahummud Hussein Mirza, had revolted from Chingez Chan prince of Guzerat, and were again returned to Malava, having commenced hostilities with the siege of Ugein. The king dispatched Killitch Chan Indijani and Chaja Yeas ul dien Kifvini, to expel them. Upon the approach of this army, the Husseins raised the siege, and retreating precipitately to the Nirbudda, crossed that river and fled again towards Guzerat.

Akbar invests
Rintimpore.

In the month of Regib, in the year 976, the king marched from Agra with an intention to reduce Rintimpore, where Raja Surjan, who had bought that strong fort from Hujaz Chan one of the dependants of Selim Shaw, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. On the 22d of Ramzan 976, the king invested the place, and having properly reconnoitered it, ordered a great battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Rin: he with great difficulty dragged up his heavy artillery to this eminence; two of the pieces being capable to receive a stone ball of six or seven maunds, or one of iron of thirty maunds*. In a few days a part of the wall and a great number of the houses were laid in ruins, and at the end of the month the garrison driven to difficulties, solicited to capitulate. The conditions proposed by them were, to have the liberty of retiring unmolested, leaving all their wealth and effects to the king. These terms were accordingly accepted, and the king took possession of Rintimpore.

Which he
takes by capi-
tulation.

Returns to
Agra.

Akbar after this conquest made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Chaja Moin ul Dein at Ajmere, and from thence returned to

* The size of these guns might be reckoned incredible, did there not remain to this day in India pieces of as extraordinary a bore: particularly one at Arcot, and another at Dacca.

Agra. From that city he went to visit Shech Selim Chifti in the village of Sikri : he questioned him according to the ceremonies, and was told, it is said, that he would soon have issue that would live and prosper; all the children which were born to him before that time, dying in their infancy. Soon after, the favourite Sultana became pregnant, and upon the 17th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 977, she was brought to bed of a son, who was named Sultan Selim. Upon this occasion the king published an act of grace to all prisoners, and ordered a day of thanksgiving to the Almighty : soon after he performed a vow of pilgrimage on foot, to the shrine of Chaja Moin ul Dein, with his whole army in the procession, then returning by the way of Delhi, the king near that city took the diversion of the chase.

A. D. 1569.
Higer. 977.

A son born to
the king.

Raja Ram Chund, who had possession of the strong fort of Callinger, which he had taken from the dependants of Selim Shaw, hearing about this time, that the king meditated an expedition against him; fearing the fate of Rintimpore and Chitor, made terms for the delivery of the place, which was accordingly put into the hands of the king.

Callinger sur-
rendered to
the king.

Upon the 3d of Mohirrim 978, the king had another son born to him in the house of Shech Selim *, whom he called Mahummud Murad. He upon this account made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a stone wall. The Sultan from thence proceeded to Nagore, where Chundersein the son of Maldeo, and Rai Callianmill Raja of Bicanere, came out to meet him with valuable presents. The latter presented the king with his beautiful daughter. Akbar from Nagore marched to the town of Adjodin, and visiting the

Who makes a
progress
through his
dominions.

* It seems the king had left some of his beautiful mistresses in the house of Shech Selim, to receive the benefit of the prayers of that holy man.

A. D. 1570.
Higer. 978.

tomb of Shech Ferid Shukurgunge, proceeded to Debalpoor, where Mirza Aziz Koka who was Jagierdar of that place, presented him with a large Pishcush. The king from thence passed to Lahore, Huffein Kulli Chan a Turkuman, governor of that city and province, came also out to meet him in the same manner with great presents.

He returns to
Agra.

On the first of Siffer 979, the Sultan left Lahore, and returned by the way of Firofa to Ajmere, and from thence proceeded to Agra. Secunder Chan Usbeck who had been lurking about the woods of Bengal, and committing ravages on the inhabitants, was about this time seized by Monim Chan, and sent to the king, who according to his usual clemency forgave him.

The king in-
vades the
kingdom of
Guzerat.

The king esteeming the village of Sikri, fortunate to him, as two sons were born to him there, by the means of the prayers of the faints with whom he left his favorite mistresses; he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid there, which after the conquest of Guzerat, he called Fattepoor *. In the year 980, the kingdom of Guzerat being torn to pieces by intestine divisions, Akbar seized upon that opportunity to declare war against it. He therefore marched to Ajmere under a pretence of a pilgrimage, and from that place detached Chan Callan before him towards Guzerat. The king followed at some distance with the main body of the army. Akbar in his way appointed Rai Singh to the government of Joelpoor, the residence of Raja Maldeo, whom on account of some misdemeanor he deposed. When the emperor arrived at Nagore, he received advices of the birth of another son, on the 2d of Jimmad ul Awil, in the house of the holy Shech Danial, whom he with great propriety called Da-

* The city of Victory.

nial, as it was to the faint's prayers no doubt he owed this piece of good fortune*.

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.

The king appearing with his army on the confines of Guzerat, Shere Chan Fowladi, an Omrah of distinction who defended the frontiers, abandoned his post and fled with precipitation. The king took immediate possession of Pattan, and gave the government of it to Seid Ahmed Chan. He from that place moved his standard of victory towards Ahmed-abad; but before he had marched two stages, Sultan Muziffer came to meet him, and without a blow, surrendered his kingdom into the hands of Akbar, so that the king entered Ahmed-abad, the capital of Guzerat, in as peaceable a manner, as if he had been entering Agra. To account for this it may not be improper to say something concerning the state of Guzerat at that period.

Which submits without a blow.

Sultan Mamood king of Guzerat, having sometime before this event died, his Omrahs, particularly Seid Mubarik Actemad Chan, and Amad ul Muluck, who possessed all the power of the government during the minority of the prince Sultan Ahmed, the son and successor of Sultan Mamood, finding him begin to think for himself, were unwilling to part with their power, and found means privately to make away with him: but to keep up the appearance of loyalty, they raised a child of doubtful birth to the throne, on whom they imposed the name of Sultan Muziffer, and divided the kingdom among themselves in the following manner. Ahmed-abad, Cambait, and some other provinces, were possessed by Actemad Chan; Anduka, Dolukch, and some other countries, by Juil Chan the grandson of Seid Muba-

The state of Guzerat.

* One might be tempted to think, that as Akbar left his wives in charge of the Saints of Sikri, he owed some of his sons to more than the prayers of those holy persons: it being the opinion of the Mahommedan doctors, as well as of some grave divines among ourselves, that prayer is more effectual when the means are used.

A. D. 1572. rick ; Surat, Biroge, Birod and Japanier, by Chingez Chan the
 Higer. 980. son of Amad ul Muluck, while other Omrahs who had influence in the state, had the rest of the kingdom partitioned among them. The nominal king Sultan Muziffer was in the mean time cooped up by Actemad Chan in Ahmed-abad ; during this oligarchy, the government became very oppressive, by continual wars and civil dissensions. This made the unhappy people of Guzerat turn their eyes towards Akbar, to relieve them from their petty tyrants, who like vultures, gnawed the bowels of their country. The easy conquest of Guzerat was therefore no ways surprizing, as the nominal king tired of his situation, hoped more from the favor of a foreign prince, than from his own factious and independant Omrahs.

Akbar's transactions in Guzerat.

But to return from this digression. The second day after the king's entrance into Ahmed-abad, he was waited upon by the principal Omrahs of Guzerat, who hastened to make their submission. But Aligh Chan and Hujaz Chan, two Abyssinian Omrahs, were ordered into confinement, as they gave some evident signs of discontent. Ibrahim Huffein Mirza was still at the head of an army in Biroge, and Mahummud Huffein Mirza at the head of another considerable force near Surat. The king therefore resolved to reduce them : Aichtiar ul Muluck one of the Omrahs of Guzerat, having broke his parole of honor and fled at this time, all the other Omrahs were ordered into close confinement. When the king arrived at the port of Cambait, he appointed Chan Azim Mirza Aziz governor of Ahmed-abad.

Exploits of Akbar against Ibrahim Huffein.

Ibrahim Huffein Mirza, who we have already observed was in Biroge, hearing of Akbar's approach, and suspecting the fidelity of Rustum Chan Rumi, one of his principal officers, assassinated him, and discovered an inclination to march into

Punjab

Punjab to raise disturbances in that quarter. The king receiving intelligence of this design about midnight, left his camp in charge of Chaja Jehan and Calliche Chan, and with a chosen detachment marched himself that night with all expedition to cut off Ibrahim's retreat: the next day he reached the river Mhenderi, which runs by the town of Sirtal, with only forty horse, the rest having lagged behind with fatigue. The enemy being encamped on the opposite bank of the river, and in fight, the king thought it prudent to proceed no further, till the rest of his detachment should arrive. Had Ibrahim therefore known any thing of the art of war, he might have easily taken Akbar prisoner. But that unenterprising officer made no attempt of that kind, till the king was joined by a fresh detachment, which had been ordered some days before to Surat, and happened to be then encamped at a little distance.

A. D. 1572
Higer, 980.

This small party consisted only of seventy horse, at the head of which there happened to be five principal Omrahs, Seid Mahmood Chan Baherra, Raja Buguan Dafs, Raja Man Singh, Shaw Kulli Chan Myram, and Raja Surjun of Rintimpore. With these the king, without waiting for more troops, took the desperate resolution to attack the enemy, one thousand of whom commanded by Ibrahim Huffein, waited to receive him, while the main body of the army pursued their march. It happened very fortunately for Akbar that the enemy instead of permitting him to come into the plain, opposed him between two hedges, where not above six horsemen could fight abreast. The king in this narrow pass put himself upon the footing of a private trooper, and performed extraordinary feats of personal valour: which however avail little to wipe away the folly of this piece of his conduct. At last the courage which Akbar's behaviour naturally raised in his followers, made them as desperate as himself,

He attacks
1000 of the
enemy with
70 horse.

Whom he
totally over-
throws.

A. D. 1572.
Hger. 980.

himself, so that after a long engagement with the enemy sword in hand, they beat them back, and at last totally defeated them, with the loss only of one Omrah, and a few private men.

Akbar be-
siegues Surat.

Ibrahim Hufsein fled to his army, but such was their consternation and opinion of Akbar's prowess, that the greatest part of his forces deserted him, which was all the advantage that could be gained by such a victory. The king contenting himself with what he had done, desisted from the pursuit, and waiting till his army came up, marched and invested Surat. In the mean time the Omrahs of Guzerat collected themselves in the environs of Pattan, and held a council how to proceed. They agreed that Ibrahim Hufsein Mirza should prosecute his scheme of raising disturbances in Punjab, and that Mahummud Hufsein Mirza, Shaw Mirza, and Shere Chan Fowladi, should invest Pattan. They expected by these means to draw the king from the siege of Surat.

Ibrahim to-
tally defeated
by Rai Sing
at Nagore.

Ibrahim Hufsein Mirza having arrived at Nagore, Rai Sing governor of Jodpoor, who had pursued him, came up with him one day towards the evening, at a place where there was no water to be found, but what Ibrahim possessed. This made the troops of Rai Singh, who were in great distress for water, call out to attack the enemy. This favorable disposition and the necessity of the attempt, made Rai Singh, though much inferior to the enemy, join battle. Ibrahim's horse being killed, and he himself dismounted in the first charge, his army imagining that he was actually slain, gave ground. The enemy took such advantage of their confusion, that the whole efforts of Ibrahim were not capable to recover the disorder, and he was totally routed: he fled with great precipitation towards Delhi, and from thence to Simbol.

In the mean time Mahummud Huffein Mirza and the other Omrahs carried on the siege of Pattan, which was defended by Seid Ahmid Chan Barhey. Mirza Aziz Koka coming to his relief with the army from Ahmed-abad, the Omrahs raised the siege, went out to meet him, and gave him battle. Aziz Koka had at first the disadvantage, both his wings being thrown into disorder, but his troops continuing steady in the centre, he at last gained ground, and improving the advantage, put them to flight towards the Decan.

A. D. 1572.
Higer. 980.
The Omrahs
of Guzerat de-
feated before
Pattan.

The king in the mean time made a breach in the walls of Surat, and had raised several mounts, from which he battered the city and commanded the streets. When he was preparing for a general assault, the garrison desired to capitulate. Their terms were agreed to, the city delivered up, and the king returned to Ahmed-abad; he distributed all the governments of Guzerat, among the friends of Mirza Aziz Koka, his foster-brother, and on the 2d of Ziffer, in the year 981, returned by the way of Ajmere to Agra.

Akbar takes
Surat.

SECTION V.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 981, to the Reduction of Cabul in 989.

IBRAHIM HUSSEIN MIRZA, arriving at Simbol, as we have already mentioned, heard that the Omrahs of Punjab under Huffein Kulli Chan, were besieging the castle of Nagra-cot, he therefore marched into Punjab, which he expected to find

Ibrahim Hus-
sein Mirza
flies to Pun-
jab.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

He is expelled
out of Punjab,
and totally
defeated near
Tatta.

find unguarded, and after plundering it he had resolved to join his friends in Guzerat, by the way of Sind.

Hussein Kulli Chan was therefore under the necessity of raising the siege, and marching after Ibrahim through all Punjab, without being able to come up with him, till he reached the environs of the city of Tatta upon the Sind. There Hussein Kulli attacked his camp as he was one day out hunting, at some distance from his line of march. Musaood Hussein Mirza, Ibrahim's brother, who commanded in his absence, was obliged therefore to form the line, sending in the mean time an express to his brother concerning his situation. But before Ibrahim arrived his brother was defeated and taken prisoner, having lost some thousands of his men in the engagement. Ibrahim returning from hunting met his routed army, and rallying a part of them, renewed the combat: he was however repulsed with great loss, and obliged to fly towards Moultan.

He is defeated,
taken, and put
to death in
Moultan.

In Moultan the unfortunate Ibrahim was again attacked by the Billochees, wounded, taken prisoner, and delivered up to Muchuse Chan, governor of Moultan, who beheaded him. Muchuse Chan in conjunction with Hussein Kulli Chan, carried his head and all his effects to Agra, to present them to the king. Akbar ordered the head to be set up above one of the gates of Agra, and his brother Musaood Hussein to be confined in the fort of Gualier, where he soon after died.

An insurrec-
tion in Guze-
rat.

In the Ribbi ul Awil of the same year, advices arrived from Mirza Aziz Koka, that Aichtiar ul Muluck Guzerati, and Mahumud Hussein Mirza, were joined with considerable armies, had possessed themselves of several countries in Guzerat, and had invested him in Ahmed-abad.

As it was now the rainy season, and to march a great army impracticable, with that expedition which the urgency of the situation of affairs required, the king selected two thousand horse, and sent them off before him; then with three hundred Omrahs and officers mounted upon camels, he proceeded at the rate of four stages every day*, and came up with the detachment of horse at Pattan, where he was joined by a thousand more. His whole force then consisted of three thousand horse, and three hundred camels. With this small army he continued his march with the same expedition to Ahmedabad, and upon his arrival within four miles of the city, ordered the Imperial drums to beat his own march, which was the first news the enemy had of his approach. This struck the soldiers with such a panic, that it was with difficulty their officers could keep them from immediate flight. They however formed at length the line, while Mahummud Husein with a few horse went to the banks of the river to reconnoitre.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.
The king sets out for Guzerat, with great expedition.

Husein saw at some distance Suban Kulli, who had been sent on the same business by the king. He asked him across the river, what army that was? Suban Kulli replied, that it was the army of the king of kings. The other said, "that is impossible, for it is yet but fourteen days since one of my spies saw the king at Agra, and I perceive no elephants, which always attend the emperor." Suban Kulli then told him, "It is but nine days since the king put his foot in the stirrup, and it is well known, elephants cannot march at that rate; but all the cavalry are come up."

Arrives unexpectedly before the enemy.

Mahummud Husein returned immediately to his camp, and sent Achtiar ul Muluck with five thousand horse, to watch the gates of Ahmedabad. He himself marched with seven thousand

Comes to battle with them,

* Each stage is about twenty English miles.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

horse against the king: Akbar had by this time reached the banks of the river, and discovering the enemy, he drew up to receive them, expecting every moment to be joined by the troops in the city: but they were blocked up by the enemy. He then saw, that his whole dependance must rest on his own troops; to render them more desperate, by cutting off all hopes of retreat, he crossed the river, and drew up before the enemy on the plain. Mahummud Hufsein Mirza placing himself in the centre with his Moguls, Shaw Mirza on his right with the Afghans and Rajaputs, and Shere Chan Fowladi on his left with the Abaffinians and the horse of Guzerat, advanced to the charge.

And totally
defeats the
enemy.

The king having also drawn up his small army in three divisions, commanded by their several officers, he posted himself with his body guard, consisting of a hundred horse in the rear of the centre. The battle now being joined with great fury on both sides, the king with his guard wheeled round his right flank, and fell furiously on the left flank of the enemy. His troops observing their king thus exposing himself in the midst of danger, made an uncommon effort of valor and charged the enemy so warmly, that they were repulsed with great loss. Mahummud Hufsein Mirza who was wounded in the action, attempting to leap over a hedge with his horse, fell from his saddle, and was taken prisoner. Several persons contending about the honor of taking Hufsein, the king asked him who was the man who took him? Hufsein replied, "Nobody: the curse of ingratitude overtook me."

The king in
imminent
danger.

When the king's forces were warm in the pursuit, he himself remained on a rising ground, with about two hundred horse. On a sudden a great body of troops appeared moving towards him. He immediately dispatched a person to know who they were: he

he brought back intelligence, that they were the forces of Achtiar ul Muluck, who had been left to guard the gates of Ahmedabad. The troops who were with the king began to be very uneasy at their situation, and gave many intimations of their desire of retreating. But Akbar would by no means desert his post: he ordered them instantly to prepare to charge and break through the enemy; at the same time commanding the drums to beat up the royal march.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

The enemy hearing the drums, made no doubt but the whole army was behind the hill, and retreated with great precipitation. The king pursued them to some distance, to keep up the panic which had seized them. Whilst these things happened where the king commanded in person, Rai Singh to revenge some former quarrel, basely embued his hands in the blood of Mahummud Husein Mirza, who had been left in his possession. Achtiar ul Muluck having also fallen from his horse in his flight, was killed by one of the king's guards, who was pursuing him with great eagerness.

He charges
5000 of the
enemy with
200 horse.

Chan Azim Aziz Koka, finding now that the blockade was withdrawn from the gates, came out to meet the king. Akbar entered Ahmedabad the same day, and continued Chan Azim in his government, then by the way of Ajmere, hastened towards Agra, after having performed a service, which, though glorious, reflects more honor upon his intrepidity, than upon his conduct.

In the course of the same year, Daood ben Soliman governor of Bengal, drew his neck from the yoke of obedience. Monim Chan Chanan was sent against him, who brought him to a treaty after some successful engagements. The king dissatisfied

The Suba of
Bengal rebels.

A. D. 1573.
Higer. 981.

with this peace, committed the affairs of Bengal to Raja Jodermul, and sent him with orders to expel Daood entirely out of his government, or to oblige him to pay a certain yearly tribute, superior to the small acknowledgement which he had formerly made. Daood being threatened at the time with a civil war by one Lodi, who discovered an inclination to usurp the kingdom, consented upon Jodermul's appearance to pay the tribute demanded. He then found means to seize upon Lodi, whom he put to death. Daood relieved from that domestic danger, broke the treaty with the king, and advancing against Chan Chanan and Raja Jodermul, engaged them at the confluence of the Sool, Gang and Sirve, where being defeated, he lost his fleet of boats and all his baggage. Chan Chanan crossed immediately the river, and laid siege to Patna.

He is over-
thrown.

The king sets
out for Bengal.

The king informed of these transactions, set out from Agra in the middle of the rains, with as many troops as could be contained in a thousand boats: he halted a few days at Benaris, where he was joined by the forces which marched overland: he immediately embarked the whole, and fell down to Patna, and on his way he received the news of the reduction of Becker by Jesu Chan, who had been sent against that place. Akbar having arrived within a few miles of Patna, heard that Isah Chan Neazi, one of the enemies principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Chan Chanan, but that he was defeated and lost his life, so that the place was upon the point of being evacuated. The king therefore sent Chan Allum with three thousand horse, to possess himself of the fort of Hadgeepoor, on the opposite bank of the river, and to endeavour to harrass the enemy in their retreat, should they be already gone, if not, to stop them. Chan Allum accordingly took that place by assault, and made Fatte Chan the governor, and the garrison prisoners: Daood intimidated

dated by this, sent a herald to the king to beg terms of accommodation.

A. D. 1574.
Higer. 982.

The king returned him for answer, that he granted him his life; but that he must trust every thing else to his clemency; after making his submission; but if he should be obstinate enough to hold out some few days merely to give him trouble, he could have no reason to hope for pardon; "and though," said the king, "I have a thousand in my army as good men as you; rather than fatigue my troops with a siege, I will put the whole upon the issue of a single combat between you and me, and let him take the fort who shall best deserve it." Daood did not chuse to accept the challenge, nor even to put him to farther trouble, but took boat at the water-gate that night, and fled down the river: soon after all his army evacuated the place. The next morning the king pursued them and took four hundred elephants, and the greatest part of their baggage. He then returned to Patna, conferred the government of that place and its dependencies upon Chan Chanan, then returned without pursuing his conquest farther to Agra.

The king challenges the Suba of Bengal to a single combat.

Who declines and flies.

Chan Azim from Guzerat and Chan Jehan from Lahore, came to pay their respects to the king, and returned afterwards to their respective governments. Akbar at the same time conferred the title of Muziffer Chan upon Chaja Muziffer Alli, and appointed him to command a force against the fort of Rhotas in Behar: he himself made a tour to Ajmere, where having bestowed great charities, he returned to Agra.

Transactions at Agra.

In the mean time Chan Chanan had orders to carry the war further into Bengal against Daood. That general having forced the pass of Killagurry, Daood fled into Orissa, whither he was pursued

The war in Bengal, and the reduction of that province.

A. D. 1575.
Higer. 983.

purfued by Raja Jodermul, with part of the king's army. Junied the fon of Daood defeated Jodermul in two battles, which obliged Chan Chanan to march to his aid: both the Mogul generals having joined their forces, engaged Daood.

Kudgera, an Afghan chief of great bravery, who commanded Daood's vanguard, attacked the vanguard of Chan Chanan commanded by Chan Allum, and defeated and killed that Omrah. The Afgan purfued the run-aways through the center of their own army, which were by that time drawn up in order of battle. Chan Chanan observing the diforder hastened himself with a small body to renew the ranks, Kudgera attacked him in person, and wounded him in feveral places, fo that he was obliged to quit the field, and he was soon followed by his army. The valiant Kudgera being killed by an arrow, Chan Chanan rallied his troops, and being a little recovered, led them back to the charge: he found Daood's army intent upon the plunder, and soon put them to flight, taking all their elephants.

Raja Jodermul being detached to purfue the enemy, came up with Daood on the banks of the Chin, which he could not cross. The rebel finding no means for escaping, faced about to defend himself, Raja Jodermul did not chufe to provoke Daood too far, and immediately fent intelligence of what had paffed to Chan Chanan. That Omrah, notwithstanding his wounds which were very bad, hafted to that place: Daood furrendered himself upon terms, and was permitted to retain Oriffa, after which Chan Chanan returned. The city of Gore, which had been the capital of Bengal till the time of Shere, who on account of the badness of the air, had made Chawaffpoor Tanda, the metropolis, was now greatly decayed. Chan Chanan admiring the antiquity and grandeur of that place, gave orders to repair the
4.
palaces,

palaces, and made it his residence : but he soon fell a victim to the unhealthy air of Gore and died. He was succeeded in his government by Husein Kulli Chan Turkuman, to whom the king gave the title of Chan Jehan.

A. D. 1575.
Higer. 983.

Mirza Soliman prince of Buduchshan, being expelled by his own grandson Mirza Shaw, was about this time obliged to seek protection at the court of Agra. He soon after took leave of the king, to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he returned to Buduchshan, and found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. Some Omrahs at court who envied the greatness of Mirza Aziz Koka, viceroy of Guzerat, accused him to the king of treasonable intentions: they so far prevailed upon him, that he recalled him from his government and confined him. Koka's readiness to comply with the imperial order, convinced Akbar that he was no ways guilty; but that the whole proceeded from the malice of his enemies: however, Shab ul Dein Ahmed Chan Neishapuri, who was advanced to the government of Guzerat, had sufficient interest at court to retain his office after his predecessor was acquitted.

Transactions
at court.

Before Chan Jehan had taken possession of his government of Bengal and Behar, the Zemindars of those provinces had risen in favour of Daood, and invested Chawasspoor, which they took. Daood found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand horse, and in possession of the greatest part of those countries. Chan Jehan having assembled all the Imperial Omrahs in that quarter, advanced against Daood, and that chief retreated beyond the passes, which Chan Jehan forced, and killed above a thousand of the enemy, who attempted to stop his march. The enemy on account of the narrowness of the defile, had not time to escape: Chan Jehan immediately marched towards Daood's camp, and on the 15th of Shawal 983, drew up his army in order of battle near

Rebellion in
Bengal.

A. D. 1575.
Higer. 983.

near to the enemy, who stood ready to receive him. Callapar, an Omrah famous in the army of Daood for personal strength and valor, made a resolute charge upon the left of the imperial line, and threw it into disorder; while Muziffer Chan, who commanded the right of Chan Jehan's army, had the same advantage over the enemy on the left; in this situation they fought in a circle, when Chan Jehan made a home charge upon the center of the enemy, which was sustained with great bravery. At length however the gale of victory blew on the imperial standards, and the enemy were dispersed like leaves before the autumnal wind. Daood being taken prisoner, was according to the barbarous custom of war when the king was not present, put to death by the conqueror in cold blood upon the field: his son Juneid, a youth of great bravery, died in a few days of his wounds. Chan Jehan took immediate possession of all Bengal, and sent all the elephants and other spoils to the king,

Muziffer Chan in the year 984, set out against Rhotas, and sent Mahummud Masoom to expel Hussein Chan, an Afghan, who was hovering about with a flying party in that quarter. Masoom Chan having engaged him, defeated him and took possession of his Pergunnahs; but Callapar in the mean time with eight thousand horse, surrounded him and thought to have obliged him to surrender. Masoom Chan breaking down the wall of the town in which he was shut up, rushed out unexpectedly upon the enemy. In the action which ensued Masoom Chan's horse was killed by a stroke of the trunk of the elephant. Callapar immediately rode up and he himself was in the most imminent danger of being crushed to death, had he not wounded the elephant with an arrow in the eye, which rendered the animal so unruly, that he would obey no command: he therefore rushed back through the Afghan troops, carrying off Callapar, which

which made his army believe that he fled, and they quickly followed him. Callapar was soon overtaken and slain.

A. D. 1576.
Higer. 984.

Masoom after this victory returned and joined Muziffer Chan, who left Shabafs Chan Cumbo to blockade the fort of Rhotas, and marched against Raja Chander Sein, from whom he took the fort of Savana. From thence he directed his march against Raja Gudgeputti, from whom he took the fort of Keregur, situated in the woods between Behar and Bengal.

The Afghans in the fort of Rhotas being destitute of provisions, were prevailed upon by promises and a favorable capitulation to give up the place: Shabafs Chan left Rhotas under the command of his brother, and went himself to court.

The king this year made a progress towards Ajmere, and sent Shabafs Chan against Comilmere, a strong fortress in the possession of the Rana; he took the place, and in the mean time the king made a tour towards the borders of the Decan: Murtaza Nizam Shaw prince of Ahmednagur, was at that time become melancholy mad and confined to his apartments; Akbar thought this a proper opportunity to seize upon that country; but he was diverted from his purpose by some domestic affairs which occurred at that time, and he returned towards Agra by the way of Ajmere, where he appointed Muziffer Chan to the high office of the Vizarit. From Ajmere the Sultan marched to Delhi, and from thence he took the rout of Cabul. When he was upon his way, a comet of an extraordinary magnitude appeared in the west. The king having reached Adjodin, visited the tomb of Sheck Ferid Shuckergunge, and quitting his resolution of going to Cabul, returned to Agra.

The king
makes a pro-
gress through
his dominions.

A. D. 1579.
Higer. 987.

The great mosque at Fattepooor was finished in the year 986. The prince of Chandez in the same year imprisoned Muziffer Hussein Mirza by the king's commands, and sent him to Agra. In the course of the same year Chan Jehan died in Bengal. In 987 a great fire happened in Fattepooor in the wardrobe, which consumed effects to a prodigious amount. After the death of Chan Jehan, the Afghans began to recover in that quarter-strength, and to raise disturbances. To suppress their insurrections the king sent Chan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka, with a considerable army to that kindgom.

Disturbances
in Bengal.

The king's
brother be-
sieges Lahore.

Mirza Mahummud Hakim the king's brother, took the opportunity of these troubles to make an attempt upon Lahore. He sent Shadiman his foster-brother with a thousand horse, by way of advanced guard before him. This officer crossing the Nilab, was attacked by Shoor Man Singh an Omrah of Punjab, and routed. When Mirza Mahummud Hakim had reached Rhotas in Punjab, Man Singh retreated to Lahore, whither he was pursued by the prince. He arrived before that city upon the 11th of Mohirrim, in the year 989, and invested it.

Akbar forces
him to raise
the siege.

The place was gallantly defended by Seid Chan, Baguandafs, and Shoor Man Singh, till the king marched from Agra to their relief. Upon the approach of the royal standard, Mirza Mahummud Hakim retreated to Cabul: the king pursuing him to Sirhind. Intelligence was brought to him at that place, that Shaw Munfoor Shirazi one of his Omrahs had been carrying on a correspondence with the enemy, for which he ordered him to be impaled.

Pursues him
to Cabul.

The king having crossed the Nilab, continued his march towards Cabul, and detached his son Murad in front with the van guard:

guard: his son Selim he left at Jellalabad. When Murad had reached Shuttergurdan, within fifteen crores of Cabul, Feredoon Chan attacked Murad in that pass, and having repulsed the prince, seized upon all his baggage. Mirza Mahummud Hakim upon the 2d of Siffer 989, drew up his army before the king in order of battle.

A. D. 1581.
Higer. 989.

The elephants which were with the prince Murad being ordered to advance, fired the small field pieces that were mounted upon them, and by mere accident three of the chiefs who stood by Mirza Mahummud Hakim were killed: that pusillanimous prince immediately left the field, and was pursued with great slaughter. The king without farther opposition entered Cabul upon the 7th of Siffer, and Mirza Mahummud Hakim fled to Ghorebund: he from thence sent an embassy to the king begging forgiveness, which was granted him.

Totally over-
throws him.

The king having resigned his conquest of Cabul to Hakim on the 14th of Siffer, returned towards Agra. He on his way ordered a fort to be built upon the Nilab, which he called Attock, which means in the Indian language Forbidden; for by the superstition of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful to cross that river. The king having arrived at Lahore upon the 19th of Ramzan, gave the government of that province to Raja Baguandaf, and in a few days set out for Agra.

the king

The king having crossed the Nilab, continued his march to- wards Cabul, and detached his son Murad in front with the an-

to Cabul

SECTION VI.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 989, to the Rebellion in Cashmire, in the 1000th of the Higerah.

A. D. 1581.
Higer. 989.

The king re-
inforces his ar-
my in Bengal.

THE troubles in Bengal still continuing, the king sent Shabâs Chan Cumbô, with a considerable force to reinforce his army in those parts. In the year 991 he made a progress to Priag; where he ordered the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges.

Sultan Muziffer of Guzerat, who had been kept a prisoner at large since the reduction of his kingdom, began now to exhibit great loyalty and affection for the king. Akbar upon this account rewarded him with a large Jagier, and he became a great favourite at court.

But indulgences of this sort could not gratify the ambition of the conquered king: he made his escape to Guzerat, while Akbar was at Allahabad, and by the assistance of Shere Chan stirred up a rebellion in that kingdom. The king upon the first intelligence of this insurrection, sent Actemad Chan in quality of governor to Guzerat, and recalled Shab ul Dien, who was suspected of favouring Sultan Muziffer. After the arrival of the new governor, Shab ul Dien came out of Ahmedabad, and halted some days at Pattan to prepare for his journey, during which time a great part of his army deserted to Sultan Muziffer. This enabled that prince to march towards Ahmedabad.

Actemad

Actemad Chan the governor left an officer and part of his troops to defend the city, and with the rest marched out to Pattan, where Shab ul Dien was encamped. Sultan Muziffer in the mean time, with very little opposition, possessed himself of Ahmed-abad. The new governor then prevailed upon Shab ul Dien to accompany him, and marched back to retake the place. Sultan Muziffer who came out to battle, defeated the two governors, and drove them back to Pattan. Actemad sent an express from Pattan, to acquaint the king of his misfortune.

A. D. 1582.
Higer. 990.

Akbar being informed of the untoward situation of affairs in Guzerat, dispatched Abdul Rustum, commonly called Mirza Chan, the son of the great minister Byram Chan, together with the Omrahs of Ajmere, to restore the tranquility of that province; but before Mirza Chan had reached Guzerat, Sultan Muziffer had reduced the fort of Biruderra, which was defended by Cuttab ul Dien Mahummud, Jagierdar of Beroche, and had there taken fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the king, and ten crores of rupees of the property of the governor, who lost his life on the occasion. This immense acquisition of treasure enabled him to recruit a great army at Ahmed-abad, whither Mirza Chan marched to attack him with eight thousand horse.

Mirza Chan having arrived at the village of Sirgunge, within three crores of the city, Sultan Muziffer on the 15th of Mohirrim 992, marched out to meet him with thirty thousand horse, and drew up in his presence. The Imperial general noways intimidated by his numbers, encouraged his men, charged the enemy vigorously sword in hand, defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them quite through the city. Being soon after joined by the Omrahs of Malava with a considerable force, he marched after Sultan Muziffer towards Combait, and drove him

Mirza Chan
engages and
defeats Sultan
Muziffer.

A. D. 1584.
Higer. 992.

him among the mountains of Nadout. Muziffer faced about to oppose the Moguls in a narrow defile, but he was driven from his post by the artillery of Mirza Chan, and fled towards Jionagur, taking refuge with Jame, a Raja of these parts.

Mirza reduces
Guzerat.

Mirza Chan thinking it unnecessary to pursue Muziffer further, returned to Ahmed-abad, and sent Callehi Chan to besiege the fort of Baroche, which he took from Nasire Chan, the brother-in-law of Sultan Muziffer. Nasire held out the place seven months, and at last made his escape to the Decan.

Muziffer
makes several
attempts upon
Guzerat.

Sultan Muziffer soon after by the aid of Jame, and Ami Chan Suba of Jionagur, advanced to a place called Mabi within sixty crores of Ahmed-abad. Mirza Chan marching out to oppose him, he was struck with a sudden panic, and made a precipitate retreat: but strengthened by new alliances, he made a third attempt to recover his dominions, and engaging the king's army at Siranti, he was defeated and obliged to take refuge with Rai Singh, Raja of Jallah.

Transactions
at court.

Mirza Chan five months after this last victory over Muziffer, was recalled to court; but as the fugitive Sultan began to raise his head again in his absence, the king conferred the titles of of Chan Chanan upon him, and ordered him back to Guzerat. This year Burhan Nizam ul Muluck, the son of Husein Nizam Shaw, fled from his brother Murtiza Nizam Shaw king of the Decan, and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciously received; and not long after Shaw Fatte Allah Shirazi, the most eminent man of that age for learning, came also from the Decan, and had an honorable office near the king's person conferred upon him.

In the ensuing year Seid Murtiza Subwari, and Choelawind Chan, Omrahs of the Decan, being defeated by Sullabit Chan took refuge at Agra; and as the king had a long time entertained thoughts of conquering the Decan, he sent them to Mirza Aziz Koka, who then possessed the government of Malava. He ordered that Omrah to raise all the forces of Malava, and of the adjacent territories, and carry war into that country: and having conferred the title of Azid ul Dowla upon Shaw Fatte Alla Shirazi, sent him to assist Chan Azim in that expedition, as he was thoroughly acquainted with the different interests and policy of that country.

A. D. 1585.
Higer. 993.

The king's
designs upon
the Decan.

Koka having according to orders recruited a great army, marched to the borders of his government, and found that Raja Alli Chan of Chandez was inclinable to join the king of the Decan. He immediately dispatched Shaw Fatte Alla to endeavor to bring him over to the Mogul interest; but that Omrah returned without accomplishing any thing. Mirza Mahummud Tucki Nizire and Bezaul Muluck, in conjunction with the Raja of Chandez, by the orders of the king of the Decan marched against Koka, who was encamped in the province of Hindia. Koka however did not think it proper to engage them in that place, but giving them the slip, he entered the Decan by another rout, and advancing to Elichpoor, plundered that place for the space of three days. The generals of the Decan, and their ally the Raja of Chandez, in the mean time returned and threw themselves into the suburbs of Elichpoor, which obliged Koka, rather than risque a battle, to evacuate the Decan.

Koka advances with an
army towards
the Decan.

But is obliged
to retreat.

While these things were transacted in the Decan, orders were sent to Chan Chanan of Guzerat to come to court. He forthwith obeyed, and Sultan Muziffer taking advantage of his absence, advanced

Disturbances
in Guzerat
quelled.

A. D. 1585.
Higer. 993.

advanced towards Darul Malleck, the deputy governor of the country, but he was again defeated.

Transactions
at court.

Mirza Sharoch, prince of Buduchshan, being expelled from his dominions by Abdulla Chan, the Usbeck, came this year to court, and ranked himself among the king's Omrahs; at the marriage of the daughter of Raja Baguandafs to Sultan Selim, in the year 994, the king kept a great festival on the Norose *, and a few months after Mirza Mahummud Hakim, the king's brother, who reigned in Cabul, died. Akbar having appointed Chan Chanan a second time governor of Guzerat, and Shaw Fatte Alla, Sidder or high-priest of that country, set out for Punjab. On his way he appointed Sadei Mahummud Chan to the government of Bicker, and Man Singh the son of Baguandafs, was sent to Cabul. That Omrah brought the children of Mirza Mahummud Hakim, who were very young, to Lahore, and left his own son with Chaja Shumse ul Dein Chani, invested with the chief authority in Cabul.

The king
sends an army
to reduce
Cashmire.

The king having arrived at the fortrefs of Attock, he detached Mirza Sharoch, Chaja Baguandafs, and Shaw Kulli Chan Myram, with five thousand horse to reduce the kingdom of Cashmire. He at the same time dispatched Zein Chan Koka, with another considerable detachment against the Afghans of Jawad and Bejere. A few days after he sent Man Singh with a detachment to rout out the Afghans of Roshnai, who were idolaters of the Zendeika sect, and followers of an Hindoo, who called himself Pier Roshnai. This impostor had converted to his system of religion great numbers of the inhabitants of those countries, who after his death adhered to his son, and taking up arms, raised great disturbances in Punjab and Moultan. The king

* The day upon which the sun enters Aries.

being

being fully informed of the strength of the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar, sent a reinforcement to Zein Chan. But that Omrah was notwithstanding defeated, and Chaja Arib Buchshi, Raja Berbul and Mulluh Seri, with many other persons of distinction, with eight thousand men, were killed in the action.

A. D. 1585.
Higer. 994.

Man Singh, who was detached against the Roshnai-Afghans, met with better success; he defeated them at Kotil Cheiber with great slaughter. The king returning from Attock to Lahore, ordered Koor Man Singh to proceed to Cabul, and take upon him the government of that kingdom, and at the same time to chastize the Afghans. The daughter of Rai Singh was also married this year to Sultan Selim.

Man Singh
defeats the
Roshnai-Af-
ghans.

The army which had been detached to Cashmire, being reduced to great distress by the snow and rain, as also by a scarcity of provisions, were under the necessity of making a peace with the Cashmirians. The conditions were a tribute of saffron to Akbar, and the regulation of the mint, the coin being struck in his name: but the king dissatisfied with this peace, sent Mahummud Casim Chan, with another army to reduce that kingdom entirely to his obedience. This that General easily accomplished, on account of civil dissensions then raging among the chiefs of that country. Mirza Soliman, the grandfather of Mirzah Sharoch, came this year from Cabul, and had an interview with the king. The ambassador of the king of Turan, who came to court while Akbar was at Attock, was much about the same time dispatched with great presents to his master.

The army in
Cashmire in
distress.

Cashmire re-
duced.

In the year 996, Jilal Afghan began to become formidable, having defeated and killed Seid Hamid Bochari, and driven Man Singh towards Bungish. The king therefore sent Abdul Mut-

Disturbances
among the
Afghans.

A. D. 1587.
Higer. 996.

talib Chan with an army against him, who gave him a signal defeat near Cheiber, and cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Chufero born
to Sultan Se-
lim.

Sultan Chufero the son of Sultan Selim was born this year of the daughter of Raja Buguandafs, and the king made a great festival upon the occasion. Mahumriud Sadoc Chan, governor of Bicker, according to the orders he received from court, invested the fort of Sewan upon the Sind, and obliged Jan Beg prince of Tatta, to acknowledge the king's authority, and to send him great presents and letters of homage. Mahummud Sadoc Chan was soon after ordered back to Bicker.

Governors of
several pro-
vinces chang-
ed.

In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, Zein Chan Koka was appointed to the government of Cabul, and Man Singh recalled to Lahore. At the same time Chan Chanan and Shaw Fatte Ulla, were ordered from Guzerat; as also Mahummud Sadoc Chan from Bicker, for it was a maxim with Akbar, to change the governors of the provinces every three years, to prevent their acquiring too much influence in the countries under their command, and to show the people that the royal authority prevailed through all departments of the empire. Singh was immediately appointed to the government of Behar, and the viceroyship of Cashmire was conferred upon Seid Eufuph Chan Mushiddi, Mahummud Cafim Chan the former governor being called to court; Mahummud Sadoc was in the mean time sent against the Afghans of Sawad and Bajore, and Ismaiel Chan who was in that country, recalled and sent to Guzerat.

The king
goes to Cash-
mire,

In the year 997, upon the 23d of Jimmad ul Sani, the king set out on a tour to Cashmire, being captivated with the praises which he had heard of the beauty of that country, from every person who had seen it. When he reached Bimber, at the
entrance

entrance of the mountains, he left his army and family behind, and with a small retinue, set out to Serinagur the capital of that kingdom. Shaw Fatte ulla Shirazi who accompanied him died there, and the king was greatly afflicted for his death, having a particular affection for that Omrah.

A. D. 1588.
Higer. 997.

The king having gratified his fancy with a sight of all the beauty of Cashmire, resolved to proceed to Cabul. On the way Hakim Abul Fatte Gilani, a man famous for learning, and one of the king's companions died, and was buried at Hassen Abdal. Akbar having arrived at Attock, detached Shabas Chan to drive away the Afghans of Eusoph Zei, who infested the roads, and then proceeded, march by march, to Cabul. To that city Hakim Humam and Meer Sidder Jehan, who had been sent on an embassy to Abdulla Chan, king of Maver ul Nere, were just returned with an ambassador on the part of that monarch. The king having remained two months at Cabul viewing the gardens of pleasure, and distributing justice and charity among the inhabitants, conferred the government upon Mahummud Casim Chan, and on the 20th of Mohirrim 998, returned towards Lahore. At Lahore he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Chan Azim, and ordered him from Malava to proceed thither, while Shab ul Dien Ahmed Chan succeeded him in his presidency.

And to Cabul.

Chan Azim having arrived at Guzerat, led an army against Jâm, a Zemindar of great power in that province, who in alliance with Dowlat Chan, the son of Ami Chan prince of Jionagur in the Decan, came out to meet him with twenty thousand horse. A sharp engagement ensued: Mahummud Ruffi Buduchfi, Mahummud Hussein Shech, and Meer Sherrif ul Dien, Omrahs of distinction in the empire, were killed on the Mogul

Disturbances
in Guzerat
quelled.

A. D. 938.
Hijer. 997.

side, and a great number of men, while the enemy lost the eldest son of Jame, and that prince's Vizier, with four thousand Rajaputs on the field of battle. Victory declared for the Moguls, and many more Rajaputs fell in their flight.

The king re-
sides at La-
hore.

Abdulla Chan the Usbeck, having about this time taken Buduchshan, and infested the borders of Cabul, Akbar resolved to take up his residence for some time in Lahore, fearing an irruption of Usbecks from the north. Mirza Jani governor of Sind, notwithstanding the king's vicinity, and his orders to him to repair to court, continued refractory, and prepared for war. Akbar dispatched Chan Chanan with many Omrahs of distinction, and a well appointed army against him.

Affairs of Ma-
lava.

In the year 999, Shab ul Dein Ahmed Chan died at Malava, and was succeeded by the king's appointment by the Shaw Zadda * Murad Pari, under the tuition of Ishmaiel Kulli Chan. When the Shaw Zadda arrived upon the confines of Gualila, he heard that Mudkar, a Zemindar of power in those parts, disturbed the peace of the country. He immediately marched against him: the enemy opposed him with resolution, but at last he obtained the victory, and drove the rebel to the woods, where he died in a few days of his wounds. The Zemindar's son Ram Chund, submitted himself, and after paying a proper Peshcuish, was confirmed in his paternal territories. The prince marched from thence, and soon after arrived at Malava.

The king
sends em-
bassies to the
four states of
the Decan.

The king in the mean time sent four ambassadors to the four princes of the Decan. Shech Feizi, the brother of the learned Abul Fazil, to Afere and Burhanpoor; Chaja Amin ul Dein to Ahmednagur; Meer Mahummud Amin, Mashadi to Bejapoor,

* The king's eldest son.

and

and Mirza Mufaood to Bagnagur; principally with a design to be informed of the state of those countries, upon which he had fixed an eye of conquest.

A. D. 1590.
Higer. 999.

Chan Azim governor of Guzerat, who had orders to seize every opportunity of enlarging his province, hearing that Dowlat Chan prince of Jionagur was dead, marched his army to reduce that country, and after a siege of seven months, made himself master of the capital and all its dependencies.

Chan Azim
invades the
Decan.

In the course of the same year Chan Chanan laid siege to the fort of Suvan, on the banks of the Sind. Jani Beg with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery in boats, advanced against him, and having arrived within seven crores of the place, he sent a hundred boats full of armed men, and forty larger ones mounted with swivels, to annoy the besiegers from the river: but Chan Chanan having armed twenty-five boats, sent them against this fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, put the rest to flight. Mirza Jani Beg after this defeat, with his whole fleet, advanced to the place, and in the month of Mohirrim in the year 1000, landed on a spot of ground, which was surrounded by a muddy channel, in which part of the river ran when high. Here he maintained his post against all the attempts of Chan Chanan, and keeping his communication open by water, was well supplied, while he took such methods to prevent provisions from coming to the Moguls, that a great dearth soon ensued in their camp.

Chan Chanan
besieges the
fort of Suvan.

Chan Chanan reduced to this perilous situation, found himself obliged to leave a part of his army before the place, and to march towards Tatta with the rest. Soon after his departure, Mirza Jani attacked the detachment which was left to carry on the

The Moguls
in distress.

A. D. 1591.
Higer. 1000.

the siege; but they defended themselves till Dowlat Chan Lodi joined them from the main army, which was by that time at the distance of eighty crores, with a considerable reinforcement. So expeditious was Lodi upon this occasion, that he marched the eighty crores in two days. Mirza Jani was then obliged to retreat to a strong post, and throw up lines for his further security. Chan Chanan in the mean time returned, and shut him up on one side, while Dowlat Chan Lodi in a manner blockaded him on the other. He was therefore reduced in turn to the extremity of eating his cavalry and beasts of burthen, for want of provisions. This distress obliged Mirza Jani to sue for peace, and having given his daughter in marriage to Mirza Erich, Chan Chanan's eldest son, he prepared to set out for court to make his submission to the king in person, as soon as the rains should be over,

The enemy
submit.

SECTION VII.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year
1000, to his Death.

Rebellion in
Cashmire.

S EID EUSOPH CHAN had about this time by the king's orders, left his brother Mirza Eadgar at Cashmire, and presented himself at court. Mirza Eadgar in the mean time married the daughter of one of the princes of Cashmire, and by the advice of the chiefs of that country, exalted the standard of rebellion, and read the Chutba in his own name. To support him in his usurpation, he raised a great army; and Cafi Alli Meer the Dewan of the country, Huffein Beg and Shech Omri Buduchshi

Buduchshi, who were collectors of the revenues on the part of the king, levied what troops they could upon this occasion, and gave the rebels battle: but Casi Alli was slain and the rest of the Mogul Omrahs driven out of Cashmire.

A. D. 1591.
Higer. 1000.

The king receiving advices of this rebellion, nominated Shech Ferid Buchshi to carry on the war in those parts. That General forthwith marched with a considerable army towards Cashmire. Mirza Eadgar as the Mogul advanced came out to meet him, but upon the night before the expected engagement, Mirza Eadgar was treacherously attacked by Sharoch Beg and Ibrahim Kakor, two of his own chiefs, and flying naked out of his tent was murdered, and his head sent to Shech Ferid. The rebel army was dispersed, and Cashmire reduced without further trouble.

Which is
quelled.

The king soon after made a second tour to that delightful country, where he spent forty days in rural amusements. He conferred the government of Cashmire upon Seid Eusoph Chan, and turning towards Rhotas, he was met in that place in the year 1001, by Mirza Jani and Chan Chanan from Tatta. Chan Chanan was immediately ranked with the Sihazaris or Omrahs of three thousand, which was at that time a high dignity, and his government of Sind reduced to the form of a province of the empire.

The king
makes a tour
to Cashmire.

Chan Azim was this year obliged to take the field against Kinkar, a powerful Zemindar of Guzerat, who gave protection to Sultan Muziffer. He obliged the Zemindar to deliver him up; and that unfortunate prince, wearied out with adversity, put an end to his own life with a razor, as they were carrying him prisoner to Ahmedabad.

Muziffer of
Guzerat being
taken, kills
himself.

Raja

A. D. 1592.
Higer. 1001.
Oriffa re-
duced.

Raja Man Singh led in the course of this year the troops in Bengal against Cullulu the Afghan, and defeating him, reduced all the province of Oriffa, and sent one hundred and twenty elephants which he had taken to the king.

Prince Murad
appointed to
the govern-
ment of Gu-
zerat.

Chan Azim being called to court to give some account of his administration in Guzerat, did not chuse to risque the enquiry, but putting his family and wealth on board some ships, sailed for Mecca. The king having received advices of Azim's departure, ordered the prince Murad from Malava to that government, and appointed Sadoc Mahummud Chan, absolute manager of public affairs under him. Mirza Sharoch was in the mean time appointed to the government of Malava, in the Shawzadda's place, and he released Shabas Chan Cumbo, who had lain six years in prison, and appointed him his minister.

Sometime before this period, the sect of Roshnai-Afghans had again begun to raise disturbances about Cheiber, but they were defeated by Mirza Jaffer Kifvini, who had been lately honored with the title of Afaph Chan, and their chief Jellali, and his brothers, taken and sent prisoners to court,

The king
makes war
upon the prin-
ces of the De-
can.

The ambassadors which the king had dispatched to the Decan, having about this time returned, brought advices that their proposals were rejected with contempt by the princes of that country. The king therefore resolved to reduce them to obedience, and for that purpose ordered prince Danial, in the year 1002, with a great army towards the Decan: but before Danial had reached Sultanpoor, the king changed his mind and recalled him, giving the command of the same army to Chan Chanan, with orders to proceed.

Mirza Rustum prince of Candahar, being driven this year to difficulties by his own brothers and the Usbecks, came to court and presented the king with the fort of Candahar, for which he had the government of Moultan conferred upon him, and was ranked among the Omrahs of the empire.

A. D. 1593.
H. ger. 1002.

Chan Chanān in the mean time having arrived at Mindu, Burhan Shaw sent Anact Chan with professions of entire submission, but falling sick at the same time, he died in the year 1003. His son Ibrahim succeeding him in the kingdom of Berar, was killed soon after in battle against Adil Shaw. Miah Munju-Jan Beg his Viziér, set up Ahmed, a young child of the family of Nizam ul Muluck, upon the throne: but the Omrahs dissented from this measure, rebelled against him, and besieged Miah Munju in Ahmednagar. The viziér finding himself driven to distress, sent a person to Ahmedabad with an ambassy to the prince Murad, inviting him to come to his assistance, and he would put him in possession of the fort. Murad having at that time received orders from his father to march into the Decan, with the army from Guzerat, gladly embraced this proposal, and set out with great expedition. When Chan Chanān, who had been lying all this time idle at Mundu, heard of the prince's march, he began to bestir himself, and with his own army and those of Mirza Sharoch governor of Malava, Shabas Chan Cumbo, Raja Jaggernot, Raja Durga, Raja Ram Chund, and others, marched towards the Decan, and on his way induced Raja Alli Chan prince of Chandez, to join him with six thousand horse. He soon after joined his force with that of prince Murad at Callenach on the borders of the Decan, and this numerous army, march by march, continued its rout to Amednagar.

The Mogul
army enters
that country.

Prince Murad
invited to Ah-
mednagar.

A. D. 1594.
Higer. 1003.
Ahmednagar
besieged by
the Moguls.

Miah Munju had by this time quelled the rebellion, and repented of his having called the prince: he therefore laid in a store of provisions in the place, and committed it to the government of Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husein Nizam ul Muluck, with a strong garrison, and retreated himself with the remainder of his army and a large train of artillery, towards the borders of Adil Shaw's dominions. Prince Murad and Chan Chanan laid siege to Ahmednagar in the month of Ribbi ul Sani 1004: they employed themselves in carrying on approaches, raising mounts, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chand Bibi defended the place with a manly resolution, and wrote to Adil Shaw for assistance. At the end of three months, the besieged had carried five mines under the wall and bastions: the besiegers destroyed two of the mines by counter-mines, and continued to search for the others.

Bravery of
the garrison.

The prince upon the first of Regib, having prepared for the assault, set fire to the trains, upon which the three charged mines taking effect, blew up fifty yards of the wall: but when the Moguls waited in expectation of blowing up two mines, the besieged recovered from their surprize, and defended the breach with great bravery. The valiant female leader appeared veil'd, at their head, and gave orders with such prudence and spirit, that the assailants were beat off in their repeated attempts: the heroine stood all night by the workmen, and the breach was filled up before day, with wood, stones, earth, and dead bodies.

The Moguls
come to a
treaty with
the besieged.

In the mean time it was rumoured abroad, that Joheil Chan, the chief eunuch of Adil Shaw was upon his march in conjunction with the forces of Nizam ul Muluck, with an army of seventy thousand horse, to raise the siege: there being at the same

same time a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp, the prince and Chan Chanan thought it adviseable to enter into treaty with the besieged. It was stipulated by Chand Bibi, that the prince should keep possession of Berar, and that Ahmednagur and its dependencies, should remain with her in the name of Bahader, the grandson of Burhan Shaw.

A. D. 1595.
Higer. 1004.

These terms being ratified, the prince and Chan Chanan marched towards Berar, and repairing the town of Shapoor, near Battapoor, took up their cantonments in that place. The prince espoused here with great magnificence the daughter of Bahader, the son of Raja Alli Chan, and divided the province of Berar among his Omrahs. Shabas Chan Cumbo being about this time disgusted with some indignities offered him by the prince, left Murad with all his forces, and marched without leave to Malava.

The siege is
raised.

Chand Bibi having resigned her command of Ahmednagur to Bahader, the grandson of Burhan Shaw, Abeck Chan an Abyssinian, and other chiefs, took up the reins of government, which he was too weak to hold with steadiness, and contrary to the advice of Chand Bibi, marched with fifty thousand horse towards Berar, to expel the prince. Chan Chanan leaving the prince and Mahummud Jadoe Chan in Shapoor, marched with twenty thousand horse to oppose the enemy on the banks of a river in that country, called the Gang. Having stopt for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, he forded the river and drew up on the opposite bank, on the 17th of Jimmad ul Sani 1005. Joheil Chan who commanded the succours sent by Adil Shaw, taking the chief command, drew up before the Moguls, the troops of Nizam ul Muluck on the right, those of Cuttub ul Muluck on the left, and his own in the cen-

The troops of
Ahmednagur
invade Berar.

A. D. 1595.
Heger. 1003.

ter. He then advanced, carrying in his face the insolence of his own prowess, mixed with a contempt for the enemy.

A drawn
battle.

Chan Chanan posted himself in the center to receive him: Raja Alli Chan and Raja Ram Chund being at the head of a body of Herawils in his front, to begin the attack. The charge was made with such intrepidity on the side of the Moguls, that they broke through the Herawils of the enemy, and fell upon Joheil Chan. They were however repulsed by a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms and rockets, which did great execution particularly among the Rajaputs and the troops of Chandez, who advanced under Raja Alli Chan and Raja Ram Chund. Both those chiefs were killed, with above three thousand of their horse. The center being broke, the Usbecks and Moguls on the left wing gave way also, and Joheil Chan remained master of the field on that side: but Chan Chanan, who had shifted his post to the right during the action, had made an impression there, and was pursuing the enemy, without knowing what had happened on the left. Night in the mean time coming on, and Joheil Chan equally ignorant of what had happened on his left, thought he had gained a complete victory: he however contented himself, as it was now dark, with keeping possession of the field, and permitted his troops to plunder the baggage. To secure their plunder, half of his army deserted to lodge their spoils in places of security. Joheil Chan with the remainder sat in the dark, without knowing whither to proceed.

Chan Chanan in the mean time returning from the pursuit, fell in with Joheil Chan's artillery, within a small distance of that General, and thinking the enemy entirely routed, determined to remain there till morning with the few that continued with him, for by far the greater part of his army
 thinking

thinking themselves defeated, had fled full speed to Shapoor. While things were in this perplexing situation, Joheil Chan's troops began to light up fires and flambeaus where they stood, having heard that Chan Chanan was near. The Mogul General being informed also by his spies, that the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he ordered some pieces of artillery to be loaded and fired among them, which threw them into great confusion. Joheil Chan immediately ordered all the fires to be extinguished, and shifting his ground, sent scouts all round to collect such of his troops as were dispersed over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

A. D. 1596.
H. ger. 1005.

In the mean time Chan Chanan blew his trumpets and beat to arms, according to his manner, which being heard by such of his troops as were dispersed over the field, they hastened towards him in small detachments. Several of the Moguls meeting with others of the enemy in the dark, they fought and formed such a scene of horror and confusion, as is not easy to be described; while Allah! Allah! resounded from all sides, and every eye was fixed upon the east in expectation of the dawn. When the day exalted his beams, Joheil Chan was seen marching towards the Moguls with twelve thousand horse. Though the army of Chan Chanan did not exceed four thousand, he determined once more to dispute the field, and formed his line to oppose the enemy. The battle now joined with redoubled fury on both sides, but Joheil Chan after exhibiting the most daring acts of valor, sunk at last under fatigue and wounds, and fell from his horse. A body of his dependants bore him instantly off: his army according to custom followed him, and left Chan Chanan master of a bloody field. Chan Chanan in no condition to pursue the run-a-ways, returned to Shapoor, to join the prince and the rest of his army.

Akbar

Akbar having about this time received advice of the death of Abul Hasan Chan the Usbeck, who had long threatened an invasion from the north, returned in security from Laliore to Agra. Having in that city heard of Chan Chanan's victory, he sent him a chelat and a fine horse, as marks of his particular favor. As private animosities had long subsisted between the prince and Chan Chanan, which being much inflamed by the intrigues of Mahummud Chan, now rose to a dangerous height; the king therefore thought it imprudent to leave them longer together: he dispatched Shech Eusoph Chan Muskhaddi and Shech Abul Fazil * to the prince, and in the year 1006, recalled Chan Chanan to the presence. But though the whole misunderstanding had plainly sprung from the prince's froward and jealous disposition, the king's resentment fell upon that great man, and he remained a long time in disgrace.

Chan Chanan recalled to court.

Transactions in Berar.

Prince Murad dies.

Seid Eusoph Chan, and Seid Abul Fazil, in a short time reduced the forts of Narnalla, Kavile, Kerlah, and others, in the province of Berar; but the prince Murad falling sick, died in the month of Shawal 1007, and was first buried in Shapoor, but by the king's orders the body was afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the side of his grandfather Humaioon. The king's grief for the death of his son, instead of extinguishing his desire of conquering the Decan, only enflamed it the more, to divert his mind from sorrow. In the mean time the Omrahs of Nizam ul Muluck having gained some slight advantages, defeated Shere Chaja one of the king's Omrahs, who possessed the country of Bere, and besieged him in his fort. Seid Eusoph Chan and Abul Fazil were so much inferior to the enemy in number, that they durst not venture upon an engagement.

* The celebrated historian.

The king alarmed at this disaster, restored Chan Chanan to favor, and required his daughter Jana Begum for his son Danial in marriage. He then dispatched him with that prince, and a well appointed army, to carry on the war in the Decan, and moved the Imperial standard that way in the roo8 of the Higerā, leaving his dominions under the charge of the Shaw Zadda, Sultan Selim. In the mean time the prince Danial and Chan Chanan, entered the Decan, and as Bahader, the son of Raja Alli Chan, was not found like his father, firm to his allegiance, and had shut himself up in Afere, they halted upon the banks of the Gang, near Pattan, and endeavored to persuade him over to their interest. In the mean time the king had reached Mindu, and dispatched orders to them to proceed to Ahmednagur, and invest that fort: for that he himself would take up Afere in his way.

A. D. 1598.
Higer. 1007.

Chan Chanan
sent against
the Decan,
and is fol-
lowed by the
king.

The prince and Chan Chanan accordingly marched with about thirty thousand horse towards Ahmednagur. Abhing Chan Buchsi and other Omrahs of the Decan, fled from that city, and left the Moguls to invest the place. The king first endeavored to bring over Bahader by fair means, but he would not listen to terms. Akbar therefore marched to Burhanpoor, and sent his Omrahs to besiege Afere, which lay only three crores from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air in the place on account of the number of troops which were cooped up in it, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept the Hindoos off in great numbers. Bahader, though he had still troops sufficient for the defence of the place, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores, and provisions in abundance, permitted despair to stain the current of his mind.

Chan Chanan
and prince
Danial invest
Ahmednagur.

A. D. 1600.
Hijer. 1009.
Ahmednagar
taken.

The siege of Ahmednagar was in the mean time carried on with great vigor, by Chan Chanan and the prince. The city was at length carried by a stratagem, executed by Chaja Abul Hussein Turbutti. This we shall have occasion to relate minutely in the history of the Decan. Ahmednagar was taken in the beginning of the year 1009: the strong fortrefs of Afere, some months after, was surrendered to the king: an immense treasure which had been accumulating there, for many ages, fell into Akbar's hands, with all the wealth of Ahmednagar.

Part of the
Decan sub-
mits.

Ibrahim Adil Shaw king of Bijapoor, one of the four principalities of the Decan, having solicited peace and paid homage, reconciled the king, who demanded Adil's daughter in marriage for his son Danial. Jummal Hussein Anjou was accordingly dispatched to bring the bride and Peshcuish from Bijanagar. The king reduced Afere, Birhanpoor, Ahmednagar, and Berar, into the form of a province, and conferred the government upon Danial, under the tuition and direction of Chan Chanan. The king after these transactions returned in triumph to the city of Agra, and in the year 1011, annexed his acquisitions in the Decan, to his other royal titles in a proclamation.

Death of the
historian Abul
Fazil.

Akbar having in the course of the year 1011, recalled Sheck Abul Fazil from the Decan, that great man was unfortunately attacked near Narwar, by a body of banditti of Orcha Rajaputs, who cut him off with a part of his retinue, merely to rob him of his wealth, and not at the instigation of prince Danial, as has been maliciously and falsely reported by some writers.

In the 1013 of the Higera, Jummal Hussein Anjou who had been dispatched to Bijapoor, returned with the royal bride,
and

and the stipulated tribute. He delivered the young Sultana to Danial, upon the banks of the Gang near Pattan, where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. Hufein Anjou the embassador, after the ceremony was over, proceeded to the king at Agra.

A. D. 1604.
Higer. 1013.

Upon the first of Zehidge of the year 1013, the prince Danial died of a debauch in the city of Burhanpoor. His death and the manner of it so much affected the king, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till upon the 13th of Jemmad ul Sani in the year 1014, he left that world through which he moved with so much lustre, after having reigned fifty-one years, and some months.

Prince Danial
dies.

Akbar dies.

Mahummud Akbar was a prince endued with many shining virtues. His generosity was great, and his clemency without bounds: this latter virtue he often carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and in many instances past the limits of that justice which he owed to the state; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition, and not from an effeminate weakness of mind.

His character.

His character as a warrior was rather that of an intrepid partizan, than of a great general: he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and often attempted capital points without using that power which at the time he possessed.—But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar: he brought about at once by desperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide, that Hindostan, ever subject to the convulsions of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall

of disciplined valor * against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his Omrahs with enterprize.

He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valor : he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is in truth the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse.—In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes ; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man.

* Soldiers.

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

FROM

Its decline, in the Reign of MAHUMMUD
SHAW, to the Present Times.

S E C T I O N I.

General Observations.---The Succession, from AKBAR to MAHUMMUD SHAW. The growing Imbecillity of the Empire.---Governors of the Provinces assume Independence. Their Intrigues at the Court of Delhi.---The Invasion of NADIR SHAW.

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA, the author of the preceding history, finishes his account of the kings of Delhi with the death of Akbar. The translator is still in hopes of being able to procure original and authentic histories of the empire of Hindostan, from that period down to the present times. He, therefore, will not break in

VOL. II. *Appendix.*

*A

upon

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the reigns of the posterity of Timur in India, by retailing the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe.

But as, to translate from the Persian language is a task of labor and difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history, to throw together the most material events, which happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahummud Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Rai Raiân, secretary of state to the present mogul.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding history and the reign of Mahummud Shaw, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, just to mention the succession of the kings,
from

from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated on the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Siffer, in the 1037 year of the Higera.

A. D.
1605

SULTAN KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allumgire*.

1627

ALLUMGIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months, and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagar, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera.

1648.

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Shekoh, Sultan Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad Bukh, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

- 1707 Mahummud Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of **BAHADAR SHAW**. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moaz ul Dien.
- 1712 Moaz ul Dien, under the title of **JHANDAR SHAW**, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of Azim ul Shaw, the second son of Bahadar Shaw, under the name of **Firrochsere**, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.
- 1713 **FIRROCHSERE**, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two **SEIDS**, upon the 12th of Jammad ul Sani, in the 1130 of the **Higera**.
- 1717 **RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT**, the son of Raffeih ul Shaw, the third son of Bahadar Shaw, was raised to the throne, by the ambitious **Seids**; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction, by whose interest he had obtained the crown.---His brother **RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT** succeeded him; but he died in a few days.
- 1718 **MAHUMMUD SHAW**, the son of Jehan Shaw, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the **Higera**.---Mahummud Shaw, having rid himself of the two **Seids**, Abdalla Chan, and Hassien Chan, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the **Haram**. The distractions, before Mahummud's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the **Seids**, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the **Omrachs**,
either

either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the apparent debility of the regal authority very much favored.

Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, being sensible of the weakness of Mahummud, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Hindoo Rajas and Mahrattor.* chiefs in awe. But the real design of this force was to found an independent kingdom for the Nizam in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw †.

To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam ul muluck began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Rajas. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least, permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

The weak Mahummud, instead of checking this insolence by the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to these despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces, which had been subject to their

* These are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Marattoes.

† This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla ul Dien.

depre-

depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahummud, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports government in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

Chan Dowran Sumsam ul Dowla was, at this time, Amir ul Omrah, or captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Chan Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan.

Chan Dowran was sly, artful, insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahummud was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful Omrah, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahummud was fickle and inconstant; and apt to be swayed to any thing, by every artful person near him.

Dowran made many unsuccessful attempts to persuade Mahummud to accompany him to the field. The dissolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the palace.

palace. The Mahrattors, in the mean time, continued their inroads. They ravaged the province of Guzerat, and raised the Chout as far as the Indus. They returned back from that river, by the way of Ajmere and Biana, and spread their devastations to the very gates of Agra.

The captain-general, though much against his inclination, found himself obliged to march against these plunderers. But, instead of chastising them, he ingloriously promised to pay them the Chout, upon condition they should immediately evacuate the provinces.

The barbarians, gaining courage by this submission, and trusting very little to promises extorted by fear, from Dowran, crossed the Jumna, near Calpee, with a design to plunder the province of Oud. Sadit Chan, who then possessed that subaship, opposed them, between the rivers in the district of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were closely pursued by Sadit, who had, on his way, joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were opposed, without the walls, by two imperial Omrahs, Hassen Chan and Amir Chan, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now possessed themselves of the suburbs, when Kimmir the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty to the Decan.

The king and his ministers, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favored the incursions of the Mahrattors, devised many schemes

schemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their designs, conceived an implacable resentment against Chan Dowran, who, he knew, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithstanding its growing imbecillity, was still sufficiently strong to reduce the Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it most prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previously, strengthened his interest at court, by a coalition with many great Omrahs, who were disgusted with the insolence of Dowran.

Cuttulich Chan, having taken a step so necessary for his own safety, set out for court, leaving his son Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch*, he expected to command Chan Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit Chan, Suba of Oud, pluming himself upon his success against the Mahrattors, aspired to the ministerial power. The king continued to favor Dowran, and to support him against the Nizam; for, however weak Mahummud was, he could not but see through that ambitious governor's designs, by his behavior for some years back. But, as the Nizam had, upon the spot, a force to protect his person, and a strong party at court; and as his son, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was assured, that to deprive Cuttulich Chan of his government, would occasion a revolt, which, in its consequences, might prove fatal to the royal house of Timur.

In the mean time, Sadit Chan, finding that he could not effect any thing against the united interests of the Nizam and vizier,

* For the nature of this office see the preface.

who had joined factions, was easily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier should force themselves into the management of the affairs of government, Sadit Chan should be appointed buckshi*, with the title of Amir ul omrah, which Dowran at that time possessed.

The accession of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier sufficiently strong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had absolute possession of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his interest. The faction of the malcontents was reduced to despair; and Nizam ul muluck, to gratify his resentment against Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the last stroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, was, at this juncture, in the province of Candahar. The disaffected Omrahs resolved to invite him to Hindostan. They foresaw that a Persian invasion would occasion confusions and distractions in the empire, which must facilitate their own schemes of independence in their respective governments; it must, at any rate, ruin Chan Dowran, which was a very capital object to men possessed of such inveterate animosities against that minister.

Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itself, admits of some doubt. Many sensible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depose Mahummud; and, to secure his conquest, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himself, that as it was not probable that the Persian would fix his residence in Hindostan, he hoped, for his services, to secure to himself the vice-

* Paymaster-general of the forces,

A. D. 1738. royship of that empire; and that afterwards, time and circumstances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full of these ambitious projects, and at the same time to avenge himself of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an answer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to surmount in the proposed invasion. He represented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peshawir, which provinces Nasir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afgans: that should he even force his way through the government of Nasir, there were five great rivers to cross in Punjâb, where Zekirriah Chan, subadâr of Lahore, would certainly oppose him; and that even should he get over those obstacles, the imperial army still remained to be defeated.

Nizam ul muluck, and his colleague in treason, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by assuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themselves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. Nadir Shaw began his march from Candahar, with a
 March. great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higerâ. He took the rout of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with presents, and submitted himself and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the usual revenues to Persia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately invested. Shirza Chan, an omra of seventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being summoned, he

he refused to surrender, and made the proper dispositions for an obstinate defence. A. D. 1738.

The king of Persia finding that neither fair promises nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, assaulted the place for six days together. In this desperate manner, many of the bravest foldiers, who suffer most upon these occasions, fell; without making any impression on the besieged: upon the seventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party Nafir Chan, governor of the province of Cabul, the son of that Nafir, who was, for twenty years, subadâr of Peshawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, presented himself at that gate of the city which was opposite to the side of the attack, and sent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requested immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; insinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garri-son, would be a match for the Persians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not suspecting the treachery of the young Omrah, consented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but insisted that the troops should encamp before the gate, till they should consult together what was best to be done upon this urgent occasion.

The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard, and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Nafir. No sooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Persia began a general assault; while one Abdul Rahim, an officer of the traitor Nafir, seized upon Shirza, and confined him.

A.D. 1738. The two sons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmness and resolution; till one of them was killed by that part of Nafir's army that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this desperate situation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppose, while the garrison, struck with terror and confusion, deserted their posts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panick, forced open the gates, took the place, massacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza Chan and his son.

The king of Persia found in the treasury of Cabul two crores of roupees, and effects to the value of two crores more: in these were included four thousand complete suits of armour, inlaid with gold; four thousand of polished steel; four thousand mails for horses, and a great quantity of fine tissues and dresses, deposited in Cabul by Shaw Jehan. Nadir Shaw remained at Cabul seven months, before he would attempt to cross the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correspondence with the conspirators in Delhi, and maturely settled his plan of operations. He, at length, put his army in motion, and directed his march to Pishawir.

Nafir Chan, subadar of Pishawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for succours; but Chan Dōwran, in his answers, affected to despise the king of Persia; and insinuated, that it was impossible he could meditate the conquest of Hindostan. He, however, promised, from time to time, that he himself would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Persia. The disaffected Omrahs wrote, at the same time, to Nafir, to make the best terms he could with Nadir Shaw;

Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced with any part of the royal army. A. D. 1738,

Nafir Chan, finding himself neglected by the court, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to the king of Persia, upon the 20th of Shabân. He was soon after taken into favor by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, crossed the Attock or the Niláb, one of the most considerable of the five branches of the Indus. He issued out an order to ravage the country, to spread the terror of his arms far and wide. Novemb: 20.

Daily advices of the approach of the Persians came to Delhi. A general consternation among the people, and a distraction in the councils of the government ensued. The king and his minister, Dowran, were so weak, that either they did not suspect the treachery of the disaffected Omrahs, or took no measures to prevent their designs. New obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought, that the procrastination which they had occasioned, had sufficiently weakened the imperial cause.

Upon the first of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam ul muluck, and Dowran, incamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during these transactions, crossed the Bea, and on the first of Shawal appeared before Lahore. Zekeriah Chah, governor of the city and province, who was incamped with 5000 horse before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Persians. A general rout of his army was the consequence, and the conquerors were so close to the heels of the run-aways, that they possessed themselves of the gates.---Zekeriah
December 1.
1739.
January.

A. D. 1739. keriah waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a nazir of half a lack of roupees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preserved from being plundered.

February 14. The king of Persia continued his march towards Delhi, and, upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in sight of the imperial army. Mahummud Shaw was incamped upon the plains of Karnal; so that only the canal, which supplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only possessed themselves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in person, consisted of 150,000 horse, exclusive of irregular infantry. This unweildy body of militia was composed of all sorts of people, collected indiscriminately in the provinces, by the Omrahs, who thought that a sufficient number of men and horses was all that was necessary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private foldier, as well as the Omrah, acted only by the impulse of his own mind.

The Persians, though not so numerous as the Moguls, were under some degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers was determined; and his own commands were instantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to excess, he pardoned no neglect or disobedience in his Omrahs. He has even been known to send an *essawil* * to a general, at the head of 5000 horse; with orders to make him halt and receive corporal punishment, for a misdemeanor, in the front of his own men. Though this rigor may be thought in Europe too tyrannical and repugnant to a military spirit; yet, in a country where the principles of honor are

* A mace-bearer.

little known, fear is the strongest motive to a strict performance of duty. A. D. 1739.

Sadit Chan, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Just as he was receiving an honorary dress from Mahummud Shaw, advice came that the Herawils of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit Chan requested of the king to be permitted to march out against the Herawils. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favor of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Persians battle. February 14.

But so little did Sadit regard Mahummud's orders, that, as soon as he had quitted the presence, he issued out with 10000 horse, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced, between Sadit and a part of the Persian army; who were ordered to retreat before him. He sent repeated messages, from the field to the king, requesting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Persia.

Mahummud, justly incensed at the disobedience of Sadit, would not, for some time, permit any succours to be sent to him. Chan Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15000 men, to support Sadit. When Chan Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Persians, and permitted himself to be taken prisoner. His design was to get the start of his partner in treason, Nizam ul muluck, in engaging the Persian monarch in his interest.

In

In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being strangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Chan Dowran, and continued the engagement. Chan Dowran was immediately attacked on all sides, by the bulk of the Persian army. He, however, for some time, maintained his ground with great firmness and resolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had received a wound which soon after proved mortal, by three repeated messages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance.

Mahummud Shaw was, with good reason, apprehensive that Nizam ul muluck, who was then in the camp, was preparing to seize him, which made him so anxious for the presence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him the situation of affairs, and earnestly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, consisting of 36000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my request," said he, "and you shall never see me return but in triumph."

The king was now perplexed beyond measure. He dreaded the designs of the Nizam, should Dowran be absent, and, at the same time, he durst not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he should join the Persians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and hesitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favorable concurrence of events.---He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preservation of himself and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained still their ground, under Muzziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the scale of victory in their favor.

When

When Chan Dowran quitted the field, the command of those Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muzziffer. That brave Omrah made a violent charge upon the Persian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being supported from the camp, Muzziffer, Affil Ali Chan, Dowran's son, Raja Gugermull, Meer Mullu, Eadgar Chan, and twenty-seven officers of distinction, covered one small spot of ground with their bodies. Ten thousand common Mogul soldiers were slain in this desperate action; which had almost proved fatal to Nadir Shaw, for his whole army were upon the point of giving way; several great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments*.

Chan Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam ul muluck. It was agreed, that the whole army should next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Persians in their camp. But when the morning came, Chan Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was so much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification ensued, which was then attributed to something applied to the wound by a surgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India still continue in the same belief. Be that as it will, Chan Dowran expired that night, amidst the tears of his sovereign, who had a great friendship for him.

February 18.

* Frazer says, that only 4000 Persians were engaged; but we have reason to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from several persons, who were present in the action.

A. D. 1739.

When this brave Omrah, on whom alone the hopes of Mahummud Shaw rested, was dead, Nizam ul muluck stood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midst of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to dispose of the king at any time, according to his own pleasure, set a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Persia. So little hopes had the Persian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful sum of fifty lacks of roupees to evacuate Hindostan.

Sadit Chan, who, we have already observed, was in the Persian camp, hearing of these transactions, used all possible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof against the lucrative offers of Sadit. That Omrah promised to pay to the Persian two crores of roupees out of his own private fortune, upon condition he should reduce the Nizam, and place himself at the head of the administration. In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed Amir ul omrah, by Mahummud, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high strain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Persians, to which the king strenuously urged him. But the active spirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during these transactions. He possessed himself of several strong posts, round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their supplies of provisions. The Nizam perceiving that he must act with great disadvantage, if he should march out of his lines and attack the Persians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw.

Mahummud,

Mahummud, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making separate bargains, about himself and his empire, and that he even had not the shadow of authority in his own camp, took a sudden resolution to throw himself upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared enemy," said he to the few friends who still adhered to him, "is by no means to be dreaded so much as secret foes, under the specious character of friends." Having, therefore, previously acquainted the Persian of his intentions, he set out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a small retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp.

A. D. 1739.
February 20.

The king of Persia, upon the Mogul's approach, sent his son, Nisir Alla Mirza, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few steps from his Mufnid, and embraced Mahummud, and, sitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The substance of their conversation has been already given to the public by Frazer: and, therefore, we shall only observe here, that Nadir Shaw severely reprimanded Mahummud, for his pusillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for suffering himself to be invested in his camp, in the very center of his dominions, without making one single effort to repel the invasion.

Nadir Shaw, after this conversation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and consulted with him what was best to be done with Mahummud, in this critical situation. The vizier told him, that, should he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himself; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, should the king be permitted to return to the camp with assurances of friendship and pro-

A. D. 1739. tection, a party would join Mahummud; that would, at least, be a ballance against the influence of the Nizam.

Nadir Shaw saw the propriety of what his vizier advised. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahummud, that, as hitherto the imperial house of Timur had not injured the Persians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahummud Shaw of his kingdom. "But," said he, with a determined look, "the expence of this expedition must be paid, and, during the time of collecting the money, my fatigued army must refresh themselves in Delhi."

February 24. The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's discourse. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Persian began to lay schemes to seize the Nizam. One Casim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many protestations of friendship, and obtained a promise, that he would visit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, set out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Persian lines, seized, and, together with some great Omrahs who attended him, confined.

February 26. Mahummud Shaw, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himself, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Persian with more security, determined to pay a second visit to Nadir Shaw.---That monarch had, by this time, secured most of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when Mahummud, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahummud was carried into his tent, and left for some time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily; without betraying any symptoms of being affected with his unhappy situation.

situation. Nadir Shaw was greatly astonished when he heard of A. D. 1739, Mahumud's behavior, and exclaimed: "What kind of man
 " must this be, who can, with so much indifference, give his
 " freedom and empire to the wind? But we are told, by the
 " wife, that greatness of mind consists in two extremes: to
 " suffer patiently, or to act boldly; to despise the world, or to
 " exert all the powers of the mind to command it. This man
 " has chosen the former: but the latter was the choice of Nadir
 " Shaw."

Though Mahumud was hindered from returning to his own camp, he was permitted to have all his domestics about him, who amounted to three thousand. A thousand Kiffelbash horse mounted guard upon him; but this pretended honor, which was conferred upon him, was a certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the mean time, Kummir ul dien, the vizier, Surbullind Chan, Nizam ul muluck, and all the principal Mogul omrahs, were kept in the same kind of honorable confinement. The Persian had now nothing to fear from an army without officers. He entered the camp, seized upon the ordnance, the military chest, the jewel-office, the wardrobe and armory.---He ordered three months pay to be immediately advanced to his troops, and the best of the artillery he sent off to Cabul.

Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved from Karnâl towards Delhi. The emperor, guarded by ten thousand men, marched a few miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the same time, ordered to march in two irregular columns, one on each side of the Persians, the front of whose column was advanced two miles beyond the other two. By continued marches, Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the suburbs of the city. He himself, at the head of 12000 horse, entered the city next day.

March 2.

The

A. D. 1739

The king of Persia, finding himself in possession of Delhi, called Nizam ul muluck and Sadit Chan into his presence, and addressed them in the following extraordinary manner: "Are not you both most ungrateful villains to your king and country; who, after possessing such wealth and dignities, called me, from my own dominions, to ruin them and yourselves? But I will scourge you all with my wrath, which is the instrument of the vengeance of God." Having spoke these words, he spit upon their beards, and turned them, with every mark of indignity, from his presence.

After the traitors were thrust out into the court of the palace, the Nizam addressed himself to Sadit Chan, and swore, by the holy prophet, that he would not survive this indignity. Sadit Chan applauded his resolution, and swore he would swallow poison upon his return home; the Nizam did the same; and both determined in appearance upon death, retired to their respective houses.

Sadit Chan, in the mean time, sent a trusty spy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam should take his draught. The Nizam, being come home, appeared in the deepest affliction: but having privately intimated his plot to a servant, he ordered him to bring him the poison. The servant acted his part well. He brought him an innocent draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam, after some hesitation, and having formally said his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadit's spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead.

The spy hastened back to his master, and told him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadit, ashamed of being outdone in a point of honor by his fellow in iniquity, swallowed a draught of
real

real poison, and became the just instrument of punishment to his own villainy. The Nizam was not ashamed to live, though none had greater reason. He even prided in that wicked trick, by which he had rid himself of his rival, and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies.

A. D. 1739.

The Persian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no person whatever to pass in or out without his special licence. These strict injunctions were given to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the same time, issued his commands, that no person whatsoever should be molested; but he demanded twenty-five crores, as a contribution for sparing the city.

Whilst the magistrates were contriving ways and means to raise this enormous sum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off. Upon the 10th Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and sold rice at a certain price. This occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Persian kiffelbush in this market, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized by force upon his basket. The fellow, to whom the pigeons belonged, made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage.

March 10.

The mob immediately fell upon the Kiffelbush, who was protected by some of his own countrymen. A great tumult arose, and some persons, bent upon more mischief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Persians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried
arms,

A. D. 1739. arms, drew their swords, and began to cut to pieces the Persians, wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through every street in Delhi; and all places were filled with tumult, confusion, and death. It was now dark, and the Persians, who had been straggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thousand who were killed by the mob.

About twelve o'clock at night, the king of Persia was informed of these transactions. He immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himself at their head, marched out as far as the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light should appear. He, in the mean time, sent for the Nizam, Sirbillind Chan, and Kimmir ul dien, and threatened to put them to instant death, charging them with fomenting these tumults. They swore upon the Coran, that they were innocent, and he pardoned them.

March 11. When day began to appear, a person from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his side. The king was so enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally subsided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead their squadrons through the streets, and some musqueteers to scour the terraces, and to commence a general massacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with so much rigor, that, before two o'clock in the afternoon, above 100,000, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was visited by the sword. Such was the panic, terror and confusion of these poor wretches, that instead of bravely opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter.

One

One Persian foldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells and were drowned; death was seen in every horrid shape; and, at last, seemed rather to be fought after than avoided. A. D. 1739.

The king of Persia sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. None but his slaves durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahummud Shaw, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw sternly asked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahummud said not a word, but the tears flowed fast from his eyes. The tyrant sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of Mirza Mahummud, I forgive."

No sooner had he pronounced these words than, according to our author, the massacre was stopt; and so instantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cause of the tumult. Seid Neaz Chan, the superintendant of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kifrah Chan, a brave Omrah, for having defended his house against the Persians who came to massacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.

A. D. 1739. The tyrant's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied. He sent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. Six thousand of the inhabitants of Mogulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He sent a party into the royal market, where the tumult first arose, and ordered seven hundred persons to be seized indiscriminately, and to cut off their noses and ears.

When now all disturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Persia had leisure to pillage the city at pleasure. He seized upon the public treasure and the regalia of Mahummud Shaw. In the treasury several vaults were discovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treasury was found in specie, three crores of roupees: in the private vaults near two crores more. The Jewaer Channa* was estimated at twenty-five crores, including the Tucht Taoos, which alone cost ten. The royal wardrobe and armory were valued at five crores. Six crores were raised in specie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about eight crores in jewels; all which, together with horses, camels and elephants, amount to about fifty crores, or sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money.

Great cruelties were exercised in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it necessary to conceal their wealth. Some Omrahs, therefore, who had very little were taxed very high, whilst others who were rich came off with a moderate sum. Many of the former, under the supposition, that they actually possessed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were

* The jewel-office.

worth in the world, tortured to death; whilst others, to avoid pain, shame and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to their miserable existence. A. D. 1739.

Upon the 21st of Mohirrim, the king of Persia celebrated the nuptials of his son, Mirza Nasir Alli, with the daughter of Ezidan Bukh, the son of Kaam Bukh, and grandson of the famous Aurangzebe. The Shaw himself discovered a violent desire to espouse the beautiful daughter of Muziffer Chan*, but he was prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the furious spirit of Nadir Shaw, which the rest of the world could not controul.

During all these transactions the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more; but the Shaw was deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki to ask what he wished should be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and said, "O king, command the gates to be opened, that the poor may not perish." His request was granted, and half the city poured out into the country; and the place was supplied in a few days with plenty of provisions.

The king of Persia, having now raised all the money he could in Delhi, reinstated Mahummud Shaw in the empire, upon the third of Siffer, with great solemnity and pomp. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hand, and presented him with a rich chelat; distributing, at the same time, forty more among the Mogul omrahs. He then gave to the emperor some instructions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he

* The brother of Chan Dowran. He was slain in the battle at Karnal.

A. D. 1739. added some general maxims of government. He put him upon his guard against the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aspired above the rank of a subject. "Had not I," said the king of Persia, "foolishly passed my word for his safety, the old * traitor " should not now live to disturb Mahummud."

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for Nadir Shaw's return to Persia, strict orders were issued to his army to carry no slaves away, nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahummud formally to cede to the crown of Persia, the provinces of Cabul, Peshawir, Kandahâr, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or, in general, all those countries which lie to the north-west of the Indus and Attoc. The whole of the treasure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindostan, amounted, by the best computation, to eighty millions of our money.

When this destructive comet, to use the expression of our Indian author, rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his rout with devastation and death. "But before he disappears behind the mountains of Persia," says our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, "it may not be improper to throw some light on the character of this scourge of Hindostan." Nadir Shaw, together with great strength of body, was endued with uncommon force of mind. Innured to fatigue from his youth, struggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigor from opposition, and a fortitude of soul, unknown in a life of ease. His ambition was unbounded and undisguised: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his superior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deserved it; had he conti-

* The Nizam was near ninety years of age.

nued a subject, his glories would have been less dazzling, but more permanent and pure. A. D. 1739.

In a country where patriotism and honor are principles little known, fear is the only means to enforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw so cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general punishments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he possessed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miseries, had his soul shuddered at murder, had his breast glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injustice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir*.

* Wonderful.

SECTION II.

The Conclusion of the Reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW.

THE king of Persia having evacuated Hindostan, the Nizam began to discover his own ambitious designs. His rivals were now all removed; some by his villainy, and others by favorable accidents. Without opposition, the management of affairs fell into his hands. Though he ingrossed, in fact, the whole power, he delegated the great offices of state to others. The name of vizier was retained by Kimmir ul Dien, and that of Buckshi, or captain-general, was conferred upon the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien Chan. He appointed Emir Chan subadâr of Allahabad, which so disgusted Mahomed Chan Bunguifh, to whom that government was promised by the former administration, that he left the court without leave, and repaired to his Jagier at Ferochabad.

The government of Oud being vacant by the death of Sadit Chan, that subaship was conferred upon an Omrah, called Seifdar Jung, together with the title of Burhan ul muluck. The Nizam, having nothing to fear from the subas of the other provinces, continued them in their employs. Notwithstanding the severe blow which the empire had just received, no measures were taken to revive the declining power of the crown. This was, by no means, the interest of the Nizam, who now assumed every thing of the king, but the name.

Mahummud Shaw having suffered himself to be divested of his power in his capital, it could not be expected that his authority should be much regarded in the provinces. The nabobs

and rajas, throughout the empire, paid now little attention to the firmâns of the court of Delhi. Each of them entertained ideas of independence, and actually possessed a regal authority in their governments.---The Mahrattors, who had, for some time back, made large strides to establish the ancient Hindoo government in India, in the year 1153, made an incursion into the Carnatic with an army of eighty thousand horse, under the command of Ragojee. Having forced the passes of the mountains, they fell unexpectedly upon Dooft Ali, nabob of that province, in subordination to the Nizam, who was governor-general of the Decan. The forces of Dooft Ali were defeated, and he himself, together with his son, Haffin Ali, fell in the action, after having exhibited extraordinary feats of bravery and firmness. A. D. 1740.

Sipadar Ali, the son, and Chunder Saib, the son-in-law of Dooft Ali, had still considerable armies under their command. But both having views upon the government of the province, instead of opposing the Mahrattors, committed hostilities upon one another. The consequence was, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in places of strength, the first in Velour, and the latter in Trichinopoly. The enemy were, by this means, permitted to ravage the province at their leisure, and to raise heavy contributions upon the inhabitants.

Sipadar Ali, finding he could effect nothing in the field against the Mahrattors, set a negotiation on foot with them, by the means of his father's minister, who had been taken prisoner in the action by those barbarians. It was at last determined in private, that, upon condition the Mahrattors should immediately evacuate the Carnatic, they should receive one hundred lacks of roupees, at stated periods; and that, as a security for the payment of this sum, they should be put in possession of the territory of

Trichi-

A. D. 1740. Trichinopoly. One of the terms was, that Sipadar Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic.

Ali, having thus strengthened himself with the alliance of the Mahrattors, his brother-in-law thought it prudent to pay him homage at Arcot; not knowing that Trichinopoly, and those districts which he possessed, had been made over to the Mahrattors. The barbarians, in the mean time, returned to their own dominions; but, about six months thereafter, they made a second irruption into the Carnatic, to take possession of the territories which had been privately ceded to them by Sipadar Ali. Chunder Saib shut himself up in Trichinopoly; and after sustaining a siege of three months, was, upon the seventh of Mohirrim, 1154, obliged to surrender at discretion.

These transactions in the Decan did not disturb the peace at Delhi. The king and his ministers continued in a profound lethargy ever since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and seemed indifferent about the affairs of the distant provinces. But a pressing danger at home roused them for a moment. A fellow, from the low rank of a grafs-cutter, raised himself to the command of a gang of robbers. As in the debilitated state of government, he committed, for some time, his depredations with impunity, his banditti, by degrees, swelled to an army of twelve thousand men. He immediately assumed the imperial ensigns, under the title of Daranti Shaw. This mushroom of a king was, however, soon destroyed. Azim Alla, a gallant Omrah, was sent against him with an army from Delhi. He came up with the rebels, cut the most of them to pieces, and slew Daranti in the action. This happened in the 1153 of the Higera.

In

In the month of Regib, 1154, Sipadar Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, was affaffinated by his brother-in-law, Mrtaz Ali, who immediately acceded to the Musnud. But a general mutiny arising in the army, the murderer was obliged to fly from his capital, in a female dress; and Mahummud Chan, the son of Sipadar, was proclaimed suba of the Carnatic. A. D. 1741.

The Nizam, who claimed the sovereignty of the Decan, seeing these repeated revolutions in the Carnatic, without his concurrence, began to prepare to leave the court of Delhi. He settled his affairs with the ministry, and returned to Hyderabad. He immediately collected an army, and, in the month of Ramzan, 1155, marched towards the Carnatic with near three hundred thousand men. In the Siffer of 1156, the Nizam arrived at Arcot without opposition; and found the country in such anarchy and confusion, that no less than twenty petty chiefs had assumed the titles of Nabob. The Nizam made a regulation, that whoever should take the name of Nabob, for the future, without permission, should be publickly scourged; and raised immediately Abdulla Chan, one of his own generals, to the subaship of Arcot; ordering the son of Sipadar Ali into confinement. He, at the same time, possessed himself of the city of Trichonopoly by means of a sum of money which he gave to Malhar Raw, who commanded there on the part of the Mahrattors.

The Nizam, without drawing the sword, thus settled the affairs of the Carnatic. He returned in triumph to Golcondah, whither Abdulla Chan, the new governor of Arcot, accompanied him. Abdulla, returning towards his government, was, the first night after his taking leave of the Nizam, found dead in his bed; not without suspicion of poison from Anwar ul Dien Chan, who succeeded him in the nabobship of Arcot, in the year 1157.

A. D. 1741. The Nizam in this absolute manner disposed of the provinces of the Decan, without the concurrence of the court, and actually became king of that country, though he never assumed that title. In the mean time, the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien Chan, overawed Mahummud Shaw at Delhi, and left that indolent prince no more than the mere shadow of royalty.

Whilst the Decan, that great limb of the Mogul empire, was cut off by the Nizam, Aliverdi Chan usurped the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This fellow was once a common soldier, who, together with his brother Hamed, came from Tartary in quest of service to Delhi. In that city they continued for some time in the service of the famous Chan Dowran, and afterwards became menial servants to Suja Chan, nabob of Cattack. Suja Chan, after the death of Jaffier Chan, succeeded to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The two Tartars, being possessed of good natural parts and some education, rose gradually into office, and were greatly favored by the nabob. Hodjee Hamed had, in a manner, become his prime minister, and, by his political intrigues in the Haram, obtained the place of Naib, or deputy of the province of Behar, for his brother Aliverdi, who was then a captain of horse.

Aliverdi was not long established in his high employ, when he began to tamper with the venal ministry of Delhi, for a separate commission for the province, which he then held of Suja Chan. Money, which has great influence in every country, is all powerful in Hindostan. Aliverdi strengthened his sollicitations

tions with a round sum, and, by the means of Chan Dowran, A. D. 1747 became independent suba of Behar.

Suja Chan dying soon after, was succeeded in the subaship of Bengal by his son Sirfaraz Chan. We do not mean to insinuate, that he had any right of inheritance to his father's government, or that the subadary had been established in his family by any grant of the crown, which was contrary to the established laws of the empire: but the government was now so weak, that the nabobs took upon themselves to bequeath their governments to their sons, which were afterwards, through a fatal necessity, generally confirmed to them from Delhi.

Sirfaraz, being a man of a haughty and imperious disposition, soon lost the affection of all his officers. He disgraced Hodjee Hamed, and tarnished the honor of the powerful family of Jagga Seat. Hamed, however, took advantage of the general disaffection to Sirfaraz's government. He formed a conspiracy against the nabob, and invited his brother Aliverdi to invade Bengal. Aliverdi accordingly marched from Patna, in the month of Ramzan 1154, and entering Bengal, defeated and killed Sirfaraz Chan, at Geriah, near Muxadabad, and, without further opposition, became suba of the three provinces.

The weak emperor, instead of chastising the usurper with an army from Delhi, fell upon an expedient, at once disgraceful and impolitic. The Mahrattors threatened Mahummud for the Chout, which, before the Persian invasion, he had promised to pay them; and he gave them a commission to raise it themselves upon the revolted provinces. The Suu * Raja, the chief of the Mahrattors, sent accordingly an army of 50000 horse, from

* Suu, in the Shanscrita language, signifies *Glorious*.

A. D. 1742. his capital of Sattara, to invade Bengal. This force, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit, ravaged, with fire and sword, all those districts which lie to the west of the Ganges.

Aliverdi, who was a brave foldier, defended himself with great resolution. But he owed more to his villainy than to his arms. Having found means to assassinate the leader of the Mahrattors, he forced them to retreat.---When the news of this horrid murder reached the ears of the Suu Raja, he ordered two other armies into Bengal; one by the way of Behar, and another by that of Cattack. The first was commanded by Balla Raw, and the latter by Ragojee.---Aliverdi, not being able to cope with this great force in the field, had recourse to art. He sowed dif-fention between the two chiefs; set a private treaty on foot with Balla Raw; who, having received two years Chout, evacuated the provinces, leaving his colleague to make the best terms he could for himself. The scale was now turned against the Mahrattors. Ragojee retreated to Cattack, and, with constant incursions and flying parties, greatly harrassed the provinces. The good fortune of Aliverdi at length prevailed, and he saw himself independent sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa: though, to quiet the minds of the people, he pretended to possess grants from the court, which he himself had actually forged.

We have been purposely succinct on the manner in which the Decan and Bengal were dismembered from the empire, as the facts are already pretty well known in Europe. We return, now, to the affairs of the interior provinces. This subject has hitherto been touched by no writer, and very few Europeans in Asia have made any considerable enquiries concern-
ing it.

During

A. D. 1744.

During these transactions, nothing happened at Delhi, but the intrigues and factions of a weak and corrupt administration. In the year 1157, Ali Mahummud, a Patan of the Rohilla tribe, Zemindar of Bangur, and Awla, began to appear in arms. Ali was a soldier of fortune, and a native of the mountains of Cabulistan, who, some years before his rebellion, came to Delhi, with about three hundred followers of his own tribe, and was entertained in the service of Mahummud Shaw. Being esteemed a gallant officer, the command of a small district, upon the road between Delhi and Lahore, was conferred upon him; where he entertained all vagrants of his own clan, who came down in quest of military service, from their native mountains. In this manner Ali expended all the rents of his district, and he was hard pressed for the payment of the crown's proportion of his income; by the fogedar of Muradabad, to whom he was accountable.

Hernind, the fogedar, despairing to get any part of the revenue from Ali Mahummud, by fair means, prepared to use force. He raised 15000 of his own vassals, with a design to expel or chastise the refractory Zemindar. Ali, by the assistance of his northern friends, who lived upon him, defeated the fogedar, with great slaughter, and thus laid the foundation of the Rohilla government, now so formidable in Hindostan.

Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, upon receiving intelligence at Delhi of this blow to the regal authority, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnu, a youth of great bravery, with an army of 30000, against the rebels. Meer Munnu, crossing the Jumna, advanced to a place called Gurmuchtisher, on the banks of the Ganges, and found that Ali Mahummud had acquired so much strength since his late victory, that he feared the issue of an engagement. A negotiation, therefore, was set on foot, and after the

A. D. 1745. the armies had lain three months in fight of one another, a treaty was concluded. The conditions were, that Ali Mahumud should keep possession of the countries, formerly comprehended in the government of Hirhind, upon paying the ancient revenues to the crown, and that, in the mean time, one year's payment should be advanced in four months.

After this treaty was ratified, Meer Munnu returned to Delhi: but the appointed time elapsed, without any payments on the part of Ali Mahumud. He continued to strengthen himself, annexed more districts to his government, and ravaged the neighbouring countries to subsist his army. He, in short, became formidable enough to rouse the indolent Mahumud Shaw from his lethargy. That monarch took the field, with fifty or sixty thousand horse, and, in the year 1158, crossed the Jumna.

Ali Mahumud, upon the king's approach, retreated across the Ganges, and shut himself in Bangur, a place of some strength, where the imperial army invested him. The rebel, for the first two nights, made successful sallies, and killed many in the camp of Mahumud Shaw. The king, however, having drawn lines of circumvallation round the fort, after a short but bloody siege, obliged the garrison to capitulate. Ali made terms for his own life, and he was brought prisoner to Delhi, where he remained in confinement for six months.

The Patan chiefs, who were always, in private, enemies to the government of the Moguls, casting their eyes upon Ali Mahumud, as a very proper person to raise their own interest, solicited the emperor for his release. The weak monarch granted their request; but the Patans, not yet satisfied, obtained for Ali Mahumud

humud the fagedarship of Sirhind.---This was such wretched A. D. 1747.
policy in the court of Delhi, that nothing but downright infatuation, folly, and the last degree of corruption in the ministry, could ever have permitted it to take place. The consequence was, that Ali Mahummud collected his dispersed tribe, kept possession of Sirhind, of several districts between the rivers and beyond the Ganges, without remitting one roupee to court.

We have already seen, that all the provinces to the north-west of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shaw. When that conqueror was assassinated in Persia, Achmet Abdalla, a native of Herat, who had raised himself in his service, from the office of Chobdar, or mace-bearer, to that of Chazanchi, or treasurer, found means, with the assistance of his own tribe, in the confusion which succeeded the Shaw's death, to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, to the mountains of Afsanistan. This treasure enabled Abdalla to raise an army, and to possess himself by degrees of the districts of the mountains, Herat, part of Chorassan, and all the provinces ceded by the crown of Hindostan to the king of Persia. Thus Abdalla laid the foundation of an empire, in those countries, which formerly composed the great monarchy of Ghizni.

Achmet Abdalla, perceiving the declining state of the Mogul government in Hindostan, crossed the Attock, in the beginning of the year 1160, and raising contributions upon his march, advanced towards Delhi, with 50000 horse. The poor Delhians were struck with universal panic. The king himself was sick; and there were distractions in the councils of the ministers. The pressure of the danger cemented all their differences. Ahmed Shaw, the prince royal, Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, Seid Sul-

A. D. 1747. Iahit Chan, and Seifdar Jung, took the field, with 80000 horse, and marched to oppose the invader.

The imperial army left Delhi upon the 18th of Siffer, and advanced to a place called Minoura, ten crores beyond Sirhind. Abdalla's army were here in fight; and both, afraid of the issue of a battle, strongly entrenched themselves. In this situation they remained for thirty days; sometimes skirmishing, and at other times negotiating; but Ahmed Shaw having no money to give, Abdalla would not retreat.

Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to advance some pieces of artillery, which bore upon the flank of the imperial army. In the evening the vizier, being at prayers, received a shot in the knee, and died that night. As he was very much esteemed by the army, which in reality he commanded, though the prince bore the name, it was proposed to Ahmed Shaw, by Meer Munnu, the vizier's son, to conceal his death, lest the troops, who depended upon his courage and capacity, should be affected by that accident. The prince, seeing the propriety of this measure, called together a few of his principal Omrahs, and held a council of war. It was resolved, that the body of the vizier should be mounted upon his own elephant, in the Howadar, supported with pillows; and that in the morning, by day-break, they should issue out of the camp and engage the enemy.

Orders were accordingly given that night to the Omrahs, to hold their troops in readiness, and their respective stations appointed to each. In the morning, before day, the imperial army was in motion; but Abdalla, having previous notice of their intentions, had prepared to receive them in his camp. The young prince Ahmed led the attack with uncommon bravery,

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and

and was gallantly seconded by Meer Munnu, who performed surprizing feats of personal valour.---The Persian defended himself with equal resolution, for the space of three hours. At length, his entrenchments were trodden down by the elephants, and the imperial army poured into his camp. A. D. 1747.

An unfortunate circumstance, at this instant, totally changed the face of affairs. Iffur Singh, the son of Joy Singh, raja of Amere, who commanded twenty thousand horse, rode up to the vizier's elephant for orders, and discovered that he was dead. Iffur Singh was naturally a coward, and only wanted an excuse to hide his head from danger. He turned immediately his face from the field, and was followed by all his troops. The flight of so great a part of the army drew many after them, particularly Seifdar Jung, nabob of Oud. Abdalla not only recovered his troops from their confusion, but pressed hard upon the imperialists in his turn.

Meer Munnu, upon this urgent occasion, displayed all the bravery of a young hero, together with all the conduct of an old general. He formed in a column, and encouraging his troops, by words and example, bent his whole force against Abdalla's center. He, at the same time, dispatched a messenger to Iffur Singh and Seifdar Jung, assuring them that Abdalla was already defeated, and if they would return and assist him in the pursuit, he would permit none of them ever to repass the Indus. The stratagem had the desired effect. They returned in full gallop to the field, and renewed the charge with great bravery.

Abdalla, having almost assured himself of the victory, was, by this unexpected check, thrown into great confusion. Meer Munnu took immediate advantage of the enemy's consternation,

A. D. 1747. drove them off the field, and pursued them five crores beyond their camp. The loss was nearly equal on both sides; but a compleat victory remained to the Moguls; for which they were entirely indebted to the surprising efforts of Meer Munnu.

A single defeat was not enough to discourage Abdalla, who was a brave officer. He collected his discomfited army, disgraced some of his chief Omrahs, conferred their rank and honors upon others, rewarded those who had behaved well, and, with his sword drawn, riding through and through his troops, encouraged them again to action. The Moguls were not a little surprized, next morning, to see Abdalla, whom they prepared to pursue, with his army drawn up in order of battle before their camp.---This uncommon confidence in a defeated enemy, threw a damp upon the courage of the conquerors. They contented themselves with forming the line, and with standing in expectation of the charge.---Abdalla, as the prince had some advantage of ground, at the same time declined coming to action, and, in the evening, encamped at a small distance.

The second day was spent in skirmishes, and a distant cannonade: but, upon the third, to use a Persian expression, the interval of battle was closed, and the shock was very violent. Though irregular armies of horse make little impression upon a solid body of well-disciplined infantry; yet when they engage one another, upon equal terms, each trusts to the strength of his own arm, and the battle is in general extremely bloody. This irregular kind of attack, it must be allowed, requires a greater degree of personal courage, where man to man is opposed, than to stand wedged in a close battalion, where the danger may indeed be as great, but not so apparent.

The young prince Ahmed distinguished himself in a particular manner in this action; and Meer Munnu, tenacious of the glory he had already acquired, was not to be resisted. Abdalla, after an obstinate resistance, was again driven off the field, and pursued across the Suttuluz. Here Abdalla, in spite of his misfortunes, like an able and gallant commander, put the best face upon his affairs. He had lost all his artillery and baggage, and being now less incumbered than the imperial army, he made a forced march, and, taking a circuit to the right, repassed the river, and next day, to the astonishment of the prince and Meer Munnu, was heard off eighteen crores in their rear, in full march towards Delhi.

Intelligence of Abdalla's march being received in the capital, every thing fell into the utmost confusion, and a general panic prevailed. Ghazi ul Dien, the nizam's son, being at court, collected what forces he could, and marched out of the city to oppose Abdalla. The enemy hearing of this army in their front, would proceed no further. His troops, with one voice, told Abdalla, That, before they advanced towards Delhi, it was necessary to defeat the imperial army which was behind them. He was therefore constrained to march back towards the prince and Meer Munnu, who expected a third battle; but Abdalla thought it prudent to decline it; and, by night, repassed the Moguls, and continued his rout to Lahore.

A change of affairs at the court of Delhi happening at this time, prevented the prince and Meer Munnu from pursuing Abdalla. They encamped on the banks of the Suttuluz, where Ahmed Shaw proposed to confer the subaship of Lahore upon any of his Omrahs who would undertake to recover it from Abdalla. After this offer had been declined by all of them, it

A. D. 1747; was accepted upon these terms by Meer Munnu; who, with a division of the army, marched towards Lahore, while Ahmed Shaw returned with the rest to Delhi. Mahummud Shaw had an inviolable friendship for his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan. In the tottering state of the regal authority, all his confidence was reposed in that minister. When therefore the news of Kimmir's death came to him at Delhi, he immediately considered his own affairs as desperate. He retired to a private apartment, and wept bitterly all night. In the morning he mounted the throne as usual, to give public audience; and, whilst every flattering courtier was running out in praise of the deceased, the emperor seemed much affected. He, at last, exclaimed: "O cruel fate! thus to break the staff of my old age.---Where "now shall I find so faithful a servant?"---With these words he fell into a fit, to which he was sometimes subject, and expired sitting upon his throne.

The death of Mahummud Shaw happened upon the 8th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the 1160 year of the Higerah, after a disastrous reign of thirty years. The court endeavored to conceal his death till his son prince Ahmed should arrive. He accordingly, upon the 7th day after his father's decease, entered Delhi; being sent for by express from Ghazi ul Dien Chan, who was supposed by the ignorant vulgar, who are always ready to ascribe sudden deaths to violence, to have made away with Mahummud Shaw.

MAHUMMUD SHAW was remarkably comely; of a stately stature and affable deportment. He was no small proficient in the learning of his country; and he wrote the Arabic and Persian languages with the greatest elegance and propriety. He was personally brave; but the easiness and equality of his temper made his actions appear undecisive and irresolute. Good-natured.

natured to a fault; he forgave, in others, crimes which his own soul would abhor to commit; and thus he permitted his authority to become a victim to an ill-judged clemency. Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His passions therefore took no determined course of their own; but were easily diverted into any channel, by whatever person was near him.--- “The soul of Mahummud,” said a Mogul who knew him well, “was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by any storm, but which settle immediately after the winds are laid.” If his easiness or irresolution in politicks led him into many errors, he bore with indifference, if not with fortitude, the misfortunes which were their natural consequence.

A. D. 1747.

Born in the sunshine of a court, brought up in the bosom of luxury, confined within the walls of a zennana, and, in a manner, educated among eunuchs, as effeminate as those whom they guard, we are not to wonder that the princes of the East should degenerate in a few generations. If to these obstructions to the exertion of the manly faculties of the soul, we add the natural lenity of Mahummud, a common but unfortunate virtue in the race of Timur, it ought not to surprize us, that in a country like India, his reign should be crowded with uncommon misfortunes. Had his fate placed Mahummud in Europe, where established laws supply the want of parts in a monarch, he might have slumbered with reputation upon a throne; and left behind him the character of a good, though not of a great, prince.

SECTION III.

The History of the Reign of AHMED SHAW.

A. D. 1747.

UPON the 17th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the year 1160 of the Higera, AHMED SHAW, the son of Mahummud, mounted the throne of Delhi. The first act of this reign, was the appointment of Seifdar Jung, the irresolute suba of Oud, to the vizarit. This fellow was originally a merchant of Persia, known there by the name of Abul Munfur. He travelled to India to sell his commodities; and was retained there as an accomptant, by the famous Sadit Chan, governor of Oud. He behaved so much to his master's satisfaction in that station, that he advanced him to a command in the army, and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage. His alliance with Sadit so much raised his interest at the court of Delhi, that, upon the death of his father-in-law, he was raised to the subaship of Oud. Though he was a very bad soldier, such was the smoothness of his tongue and plausibility of behavior, that he passed upon the weak as a man of considerable parts; which, together with some knowledge in the finances, paved his way to the high employ of vizier. Ghazi ul Dien continued bukshi; and no other material changes in the administration happened upon the accession of Ahmed.

The war with Abdalla, which was now carried on in Punjab by Meer Munnu with various success, ingrossed the attention of the court of Delhi; for the greatest part of the imperial army was employed in that service. Advices, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, of the death of the famous Nizam ul muluck, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age; and

that his second son, Nafir Jung, acceded to the government. A. D. 1747. It may not, perhaps, be out of place here, to give a short sketch of the character of the Nizam, who for a long time made so great a figure in India.

The Nizam, though no great warrior, was reckoned a consummate politician, in a country where low craft and deceit, without any principles of honor and integrity, obtain the appellation of great parts. The dark designs of his mind lay always concealed behind an uncommon plausibility and eloquence of tongue. His passions were so much under his command, that he was never known to discover any violent emotion even upon the most critical and dangerous occasions: but this apathy did not arise from fortitude, but from deep diffimulation and design. It was with him an unalterable maxim to use stratagem rather than force; and to bring about with private treachery, what even could be accomplished with open force. He so habituated himself to villainy, that the whole current of his soul ran in that channel; and it was even doubtful whether he could for a moment divert it to honesty to bring about his most favored designs. If the Nizam shewed any tendency to virtue, it was by substituting a lesser wickedness for a greater. When fraud and circumvention could accomplish his purpose, he never used the dagger or bowl. To sum up his character in a few words; without shame, he was perfidious to all mankind; without remorse, a traitor to his king and country; and, without terror, a hypocrite in the presence of his god.*

* Nafir Jung, the Nizam's son, having rebelled, was at the head of a great army. The deceitful old man counterfeited sickness so well, and wrote such pathetic letters to Nafir, requesting to see him before he died, that the young fellow was taken in the snare, visited his father, and was imprisoned.

When

A. D. 1743.

When the news of Nizam ul muluck's death came to Delhi, Ghazi ul Dien, who was his eldest son, applied to the king for his subaship. But Nasir Jung, being possessed of his father's treasure, raised a great army, and marched from Aurungabad towards Delhi; not on pretence of war, but to pay his respects to the emperor. Ahmed dreaded nothing more than this ceremonious visit from a man at the head of so great a force. He judged that Nasir Jung, under that specious pretext, covered a design to extort from him a confirmation of the subadary of the Decan. He therefore durst not favor the pretensions of Ghazi to the provinces of the Decan, and consequently was reduced to the necessity of confirming Nasir Jung in his usurpation. Thus the storm was diverted, and the new Nizam returned to Aurungabad.

In the year 1161, Caim Chan Bunguish, jagierdâr of Ferochabad, having differed with Ali Mahummud, a neighbouring Zemindar, they both drew out their vassals and dependents, and fought about ten crores above Ferochabad, and Caim Chan was defeated and slain. Seifdar Jung, the vizier, being informed of these transactions, sent orders to Raja Nevil Roy, his deputy in the province of Oud, to confiscate the estate of Caim Chan. The deputy rigorously executed the vizier's orders. He seized upon Caim Chan's five sons, together with five of his adopted slaves, confined, and afterwards assassinated them at Allahabad. Ahmed Chan, another son of Caim Chan, remained still alive; and, in order to revenge the death of his brothers, raised the Patan tribe, of which he was now acknowledged chief, and marched against Nevil Roy, who had collected all his forces to oppose him.

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In the beginning of the year 1162, the two armies met at a place near Lucknow, called Callinuddi. The Patans were scarcely four thousand strong; but the army of the deputy of Oud consisted of at least twenty thousand. The Patan chief, inspired by revenge, and vigorously supported by his friends, attacked in person Nevil Roy in the very center of his army, and slew his enemy with his own hand. The army of Nevil Roy, seeing him fall, immediately quitted the field. Their artillery and baggage, and soon after almost the whole province of Oud, fell into the victor's hands. A. D. 1748.

When the news of this disaster arrived at Delhi, Seifdar Jung, the vizier, talked in a very high strain, and requested of the emperor, that he might be permitted to lead an army against Ahmed Chan. The sultan consented; but the season being far spent before the army was levied, the expedition was deferred till the solstitial rains should be over. In the month of Mohirrim, 1163, the vizier, with an army of eighty thousand men, marched from Delhi; and, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, put all the Patans he could find to the sword. Ahmed Chan was not intimidated by this great force. With scarce twelve thousand men he marched from Ferochabad, and met the imperialists at Shuru Sahawir, near that city.

The day happened to be very windy, and Ahmed improved that circumstance to his own advantage. He wheeled to windward, and the dust flew in such clouds in the face of the imperial army, that they did not discover the motions of Ahmed; but ascribed the darkness which involved themselves to the effects of a whirlwind, common at that season of the year. The enemy, however, like a thunderbolt, issued from the bosom of this storm, and at once struck the Moguls with terror and dismay.

A. D. 1749.

The Patans made such good use of their swords, that they soon covered the field with dead; and the cowardly Seifdar Jung, without making one effort, was the first of his army who fled. The Jates and Rohillas, though thus shamefully deserted by their general, made head against Ahmed Chan, and found means to carry off the greatest part of the artillery, which consisted of twelve hundred pieces of various bores. But neither of those tribes returned the guns to the king: they carried them to their own forts, to strengthen themselves against his authority.

This overthrow was a dreadful stroke to the tottering empire. The greatest part of the province of Oud was lost; the Jates, a numerous tribe of Hindoos, who possessed a large territory near Agra; and the Rohillas, a Patan nation, who inhabited the greatest part of the country between Delhi and Lucknow, seeing the whole imperial force baffled by a petty chief, began to throw off their allegiance. Seifdar Jung, in the mean time, arrived with a small part of his army at Delhi; and Ghazi Chan advised the king to put him to death for the disgrace which he had drawn upon his arms. This punishment would not have been too severe for the vizier's bad behaviour: but that minister had strengthened his interest by a coalition with Juncid Chan, the chief eunuch.

The queen-mother, Begum Kudfia, being a woman of gallantry, had, for want of a better lover, fixed her affection upon the chief eunuch. She had the address to direct the weak monarch in every thing, and to keep him in leading-strings upon the throne. Juncid Chan, though in no public employ, by means of Kudfia's favor, held the helm of government; and, by his influence, not only saved the vizier's life, but continued him in his office.

In the course of the same year, a treaty was concluded with the Mahrattors, who were spreading their devastations over the southern provinces. The Chout was stipulated to be regularly paid by the empire to those troublesome barbarians. Ahmed Shaw ordered an army to be levied, to recover the province of Oud; and it was soon compleated by the accession of forty thousand Mahrattors, who enlisted themselves in the imperial service. But instead of putting himself at the head of his forces, the weak emperor, by the advice of his mother and her gallant, gave the command of it to his vizier, that he might have an opportunity to retrieve his lost honour.

Raja Sourage Mull, prince of the Jates, by the acquisition of the Mahrattors to the imperial army, judged it prudent once more to join the vizier with all his forces; so that the minister's army now consisted of no less than one hundred thousand men. Seifdar Jung marched from Delhi, in the year 1164, against Ahmed Chan: but the Raja of the Jates, instead of aiding him, found means to frustrate all his designs. Having spent a whole campaign without coming to action, he patched up a very dishonorable peace, and returned to Delhi with the Mahrattor mercenaries at his heels, mutinous for want of their pay.

The demand of the Mahrattors amounted to fifty lacks of rupees, which the government was in no condition to pay: and the sum gradually increased with the delay. Ghazi ul Dien, who had been for some time soliciting for a royal commission for the subaship of the Decan, promised to pay off the Mahrattor debt, upon condition he should receive from the emperor that appointment. Ahmed Shaw was glad upon any terms to get rid of those clamorous and dangerous mercenaries, and accordingly issued out the imperial sunnuds to Ghazi. That Omrah having

A. D. 1751. satisfied the Mahrattors in their demands upon Ahmed, engaged them immediately in his own service; and having added to them a great army of other troops, obtained his own office of buckshi for his son Ghazi, a youth of fifteen years of age, and marched towards the Decan.

The elder Ghazi's brother, Nasir Jung, suba of the Decan, and his son Muziffer, who had succeeded him in the government, were both dead. Sillabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, now sat upon the Musnud, which Ghazi claimed by the right of primogeniture. In the month of Zehidge, 1165, he, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, arrived in the environs of Aurungabad. The forces of his brother, Sillabut Jung, the reigning suba, were somewhat inferior in number, but they were strengthened by a body of French mercenaries, which, in all probability, would insure to him the victory. Sillabut Jung, however, was afraid of the issue of a general battle; and, after some slight skirmishes, he found means to prevail with his uncle's wife to take off his competitor with poison. Thus did the perfidious Sillabut Jung secure to himself the empire of the Decan, without a rival.

But to return to the transactions of the court of Delhi: Seifdar Jung, the viziér, finding that his own influence declined, and that Juneid Chan, the favorite eunuch, carried all before him, invited him to an entertainment, and, contrary to the laws of hospitality, and altogether forgetful that he owed to Juneid his own life and fortune, assassinated him by the hands of Ishmael Chan, one of his adopted slaves. Ahmed Shaw, being informed of this presumptuous villainy, flew into a violent rage, degraded Seifdar Jung from the vizarít, and banished him the court. This was the effect of a fit of passion; for the unfortunate king was

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in no condition, in fact, to exert so far his authority. The per- A. D. 1751.
fidious vizier, finding that he had nothing to hope from submis-
sion, broke out into open rebellion. He soon after, by the
assistance of the Jates, advanced to Delhi, and besieged Ahmed
Shaw and young Ghazi, the buckshi, in that city.

The son of Kimmir ul Dien, who, in the reign of Mahummud,
held so long the vizarit, was raised, under the title of Chan
Chanan, to the vacant employ of Seifdar Jung, and began to
shew some abilities in his new office. Young Ghazi, who was a
youth of extraordinary parts, defended the city with great reso-
lution for three months. The rebels were at last so dispirited,
that Ghazi ventured to attack them in the field, and gained a
complete victory. Seifdar Jung fled towards his former subaship
of Oud, and left his allies, the Jates, under Raja Sourage Mull,
to extricate themselves from the perilous situation to which he
had brought them.

The rebellion of Seifdar happened in the year 1166. The
Jates being deserted by him, were in no condition to keep the
field against Ghazi. They fled before the imperial army under
Akebut Chan, to their own territories near Agra. That general
invested the strong fortrefs of Billemgur, which he took by capi-
tulation; but so little did he regard his plighted faith to the gar-
rison, that he put them all to the sword. The Jates, in the
mean time, came before the imperial army; but diffident of
their own strength in the field, they separated their forces, and
shut themselves up in their forts. The imperial general also
divided his army into detachments, and laid at once siege to the
two strong forts of Dieg and Combere, lying in the territory
between Agra and Delhi.

Ghazi

A. D. 1532. Ghazi ul Dien, in the mean time, to carry on more effectually the war against the Jates, obtained permission from the emperor, to call in forty thousand Mahrattors, under their two chiefs, Jeiapa Malhar Raw, and Raganut Raw. By this acquisition of strength, the imperialists were enabled to carry on the sieges with vigor. At Delhi, young Ghazi and the new vizier contended for the command of the army. This contest was afterwards fatal in its consequences; but for the present Ghazi ul Dien prevailed. He marched with a reinforcement from Delhi; and, upon his arrival in the country of the Jates, took the command of the imperial army.

The sieges continued two months after the arrival of Ghazi, and the garrisons were reduced to the last extremities. The imperialists, in the mean time, had expended all their ammunition; and Ghazi was, upon that account, obliged to dispatch Akebut Mahmood to Delhi, with a good force, to bring him the necessary stores. The vizier seeing that the strong holds of the Jates must soon fall into the hands of Ghazi, should he be supplied with ammunition, and being extremely jealous of any thing that might throw honor upon his rival, poisoned the mind of the weak king against his buckshi, by means of forged letters and villainous insinuations, that the young Omrah aspired to the throne. The enterprizing genius, and great abilities of Ghazi, gave some color to suspicions of that kind; and the unfortunate Ahmed, instead of promoting his own cause against the Jates, took every measure to prevent the success of Ghazi.

The king accordingly began to levy forces in Delhi, and wrote a letter to Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates, to make an obstinate defence, and that he himself would soon relieve him: that, under pretence of joining the army under Ghazi, he would attack

attack that general in the rear, and at the same time display a signal to the Raja, to sally from the fort of Combere.---Thus the king, as if infatuated by his evil genius, planned his own ruin. His letter fell into the hands of Ghazi, whose friends at court had informed him of the intrigues of the vizier. Struck with the king's ingratitude, and urged on by self-defence, he immediately resolved upon open hostility. He raised the sieges, and crossed the Jumna, to oppose Ahmed Shaw and his vizier, who were marching down between the rivers.

The king, hearing of Ghazi's approach, halted at Secundra, and endeavoured, by fair promises, to bring back that Omrah to his duty. Ghazi, in answer to the king's message, returned to him his own letter to Raja Sourage Mull. He wrote him, at the same time, that "he could place no confidence in a man, " who plotted against his life, for no crime; if to serve the state " was not one. What mercy," continued Ghazi, " can I expect from Ahmed, in the days of rebellion, when he treated " me as a traitor, in the days of loyalty and friendship? A prince, " that is weak enough to listen to the base insinuations of every " sycophant, is unworthy to rule over brave men; who, by the " laws of God and nature, are justified to use the power which " providence has placed in their hands, to protect themselves " from injustice."

The king perceived, by the strain of this letter, that Ghazi was resolved to push him to the last extremity. He, however, durst not engage him in the field. He made the best of his way to Delhi, and was so closely pursued by Ghazi, that that Omrah possessed himself of one of the gates; upon which Ahmed Shaw and the vizier shut themselves up, with a small party, in the citadel. Ghazi immediately invested the place; and the

A. D. 1753. king, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself. Ghazi, after reproaching him for his intentions against his life, committed him and the vizier to the charge of Akebut Mahmood. The unfortunate sultan was deprived of sight, the next day, by the means of an hot iron. It is said, by some, that this was done by Akebut Mahmood, without orders, to shew his zeal for the service of his patron; but, from the general character of Ghazi, we have no reason to doubt his being concerned in this crime.

Thus ended the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw: a prince, who, in his first exploits, appeared with some lustre. When he mounted the throne, as if action degraded royalty, he altogether gave himself up to indolence. To save the trouble of thinking, he became the dupe of every specious flatterer, and at last fell the unlamented victim of his own folly. He possessed all the clemency of the house of Timur; but that virtue was now, in some measure, a vice, in a country so corrupt, and in an age so degenerate. Though Ahmed was not defective in personal courage, he may truly be said to be a coward in mind: dangers appeared formidable to him, through a troubled imagination, which, upon trial, he had fortitude to surmount.---He sat upon the throne of Delhi seven lunar years and one month; and was deposed in the month of Jemmad ul awil, in the 1167 of the Higera.

The power and extent of the empire were very much diminished in the reign of Ahmed Shaw. All the provinces, except those between the frontiers of the Jates, a few miles to the east of Delhi, and Lahore to the west, were, in fact, dismembered from the government of the house of Timur, though they paid a nominal allegiance. The rich kingdom of Guzerat was divided between the Mahrattors and a Patan tribe, called Babbé; the

Decan was usurped by the Nizam ul muluck's family; Bengal, A. D. 1753. Behar, and Orissa, by Aliverdi Chan, and his successors; Oud, by Seifdar Jung; Doab, by Ahmed Chan Banguish; Allahabad, by Mahummud Kuli; and the countries round Agra, by Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates.---Budaon, and all the provinces to the north of Delhi, were in the hands of Mahummud Ali, Sadulla Chan, and other chiefs of the Rohilla tribe of Patans. A number of petty Rajas started up into independent princes in Malava: Bucht Singh seized upon the extensive territory of Marwar, and Madoo Singh reigned in the provinces round Joinagur and Amere.

The gallant Meer Munnu still opposed the torrent of invasion from the north. He maintained the war with success, against Abdalla, for the provinces of Moultan and Punjab, and, for a short space of time, supported the declining empire. Every petty chief, in the mean time, by counterfeited grants from Delhi, laid claim to jagiers and to districts: the country was torn to pieces by civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendships and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

SECTION IV.

The History of the Reign of ALLUMGIRE SANI.

A. D. 1753.

UPON the same day that Ahmed Shaw was deprived of fight, Ghazi ul Dien released from confinement Eaz ul Dien, the son of Moaz ul Dien, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, the son and successor of the famous Aurungzebe. This prince was placed by Ghazi upon the throne, by the name of ALLUMGIRE. To begin his reign with an act of beneficence, he ordered seventeen persons of the imperial house of Timur to be released from prison, to grace his coronation. It may not be improper here to say something concerning the inauguration of the Mogul emperors.

When a prince is, for the first time, seated upon the throne, with the royal umbrella over his head, the Omrahs, according to their dignity, are ranged in two lines before, one upon his right, the other to his left hand. A herald then proclaims his titles; and the Omrahs, each in his station, advance with an offering in gold, which he himself receives from their hands. The superintendant of the kitchen brings then a golden salver, with bread, confections, and other eatables, over which the king, joined by the whole court, repeats a form of grace; and then he eats a little, and distributes the remainder, with his own hand, among the nobility. This latter is an ancient Mogul ceremony, introduced by the family of Timur. The emperor mounts then his state-elephant, and, attended by all the court, moves slowly towards the great Musgid, throwing, as he advances, gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, among the populace. In the Musgid he repeats a prayer, and afterwards divine service is performed by

the Sidder ul suddûr, or the metropolitan of Delhi. The Chutba, A. D. 1753. or the genealogy and titles of the king, are then read, and he returns to the palace with the same magnificence and pomp. The Mogul emperors are never crowned: but upon some festivals they sit in state, under a large golden crown, which is suspended by a chain to the roof of the presence-chamber, and serves the purpose of a canopy.

Allumgire found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne, as he was formerly in his confinement. He was not a man of parts sufficient to extricate himself from the toils of that power, to which he owed his advancement; but had he made no efforts to acquire some authority, the empire might have been, perhaps, restored to its original dignity and splendor, by the very extraordinary abilities of Ghazi ul Dien.---That Omrah now possessed the office of the vizarit. Allumgire, without the capacity of guiding the operations of government himself, began to turn all his mean parts to thwart the schemes of the vizier. Without considering whether the measure was right or wrong, it was sufficient that it came from the vizier, for the emperor to oppose it by his minions.

This aversion in the king to Ghazi, did not long escape the penetrating eyes of that young Omrah. He knew that he was surrounded by many enemies, and therefore was unwilling to resign an employ, from which he derived protection to his own person. In the mean time all business was suspended, and the two factions, like armies afraid of the issue of a battle, watched the motions of one another.---Nothing remarkable happened at Delhi, during the first year of Allumgire, but the assassination of the former vizier, about six months after his imprisonment, by the orders of Ghazi ul Dien.

A. D. 1754.

But, in the course of this year, the empire received a severe blow on its frontiers, by the death of the gallant Meer Munnu, by a fall from his horse. He had, in many engagements, defeated Abdalla, and recovered from him the whole province of Lahore. No sooner was this brave Omrah dead, than Abdalla reconquered all he had lost; and, advancing to Lahore, confirmed his son, then an infant, in the government of that place, under the direction of an experienced Omrah.

The great success of Abdalla, in the north-west, began to rouse the court of Delhi. It was at last resolved, that Ali Gohar*, Allumgire's eldest son, should, in conjunction with Ghazi ul Dien, the vizier, march with the imperial army against the Persians. The treasury was now empty; and the few provinces, subject to the empire, were grievously oppressed for money to raise a force for this expedition.

In the beginning of the year 1169, the imperial army, consisting of 80000 men, under the prince and young Ghazi, took the field. They advanced to a place called Matchiwarra, about twenty crores beyond Sirhind. They found Abdalla so well established in his new conquests, that they thought it prudent to proceed no further. The whole campaign passed in settling a treaty of marriage, between the vizier and the daughter of Meer Munnu. It seems that Omrah, to strengthen his interest at the court of Delhi, had, before his death, promised his daughter to Ghazi; but, after that event, both the young lady and her mother were extremely averse to the match. When the imperial army lay at Matchiwarra, the vizier inveigled both the ladies from Lahore to the camp, and finding all intreaty was in vain to obtain their consent, he, with peculiar baseness, closely confined them, to intimidate them into a compliance. This together with op-

* The present emperor.

pressing the provinces, through which he marched, comprehended the whole exploits of Ghazi on this expedition. After spending all the public money in this vain parade, the prince and vizier, without striking a blow, returned to Delhi. A. D. 1755.

The cause of this inaction of the vizier proceeded from advices which he daily received from court. The king and his faction gained strength during his absence; and he foresaw his own ruin, in case he should meet with a defeat from Abdalla. Upon his return to Delhi, he found it necessary, in order to support his declining authority, to act with great rigor and tyranny. Some Omrahs he removed with the dagger, and others he deprived of their estates. He confined the king in the citadel, and did whatsoever he pleased, as if he himself was vested with the regal dignity.

Allumgire, finding himself in this disagreeable situation, adopted a very dangerous plan to extricate himself. He wrote privately to Abdalla, to advance with his army, to relieve him from the hands of his treacherous vizier. He promised, that upon his arrival on the environs of Delhi, he should be joined by the bulk of the imperial army, under the command of Nigib ul Dowlah, a Rohilla chief, to whom Ghazi had delegated his own office of buckshi, when he rose to the employ of vizier. Thus the weak Allumgire, to avoid one evil, plunged headlong into greater misfortunes.

Abdalla, having received these assurances from the king, marched from Cabul, where he then kept his court, entered Hindostan with a great army, and, in the year 1171, appeared before Delhi. The vizier marched out with the imperial forces to give him battle; but, in the field he was deserted by his friend,

A. D. 1757. friend, Nigib ul Dowla, with the greatest part of his army. The ignorance of Ghazi ul Dien of a plot so long carried on, is a great proof of his extreme unpopularity. The consequence was, that Ghazi was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of Abdalla, who had sworn vengeance against him, should he ever fall into his hands. But such was the address of the vizier, that he not only found means to mollify the Persian, but even to make him his friend. He was, however, at first turned out of his office, but he was soon after restored by Abdalla himself, who now disposed of every thing, as if he was absolute king of Delhi.

Abdalla entered the city, and laid the unfortunate inhabitants under a contribution of a crore of roupees; a sum now more difficult to raise than ten crores, in the days of Nadir Shaw. The Persian remained two months in Delhi. The unhappy Allungire, not only found that his capital was robbed, but that he himself was delivered over again into the hands of a person, who had now added resentment to ambition and power.

The Persian, after these transactions, took the prince, Hedad Buxsh, brother to the present emperor, as hostage for Allungire's future behavior; and, having forced Meer Munnu's daughter to solemnize her marriage with Ghazi, marched towards Agra. He, on his way, laid siege to Muttra, took it by assault; and, having sacked the place, put the inhabitants to the sword, for the enormous crime of attempting to defend their lives and property. After this scene of barbarity, Abdalla advanced to Agra, which was held on the part of the king * by Fazil Chan. This Omrah defended the city with such resolution, that Abdalla,

* Though the Jates had all the country round Agra, they had not yet possessed themselves of that city.

after sustaining some loss, thought it prudent to raise the siege ; A. D. 1757. but, being exasperated at this repulse, he spread death and devastation through the territories of the Jates, who, unable to cope with him in the field, had retired into their strong holds ; from which, they at times issued, and cut off his straggling parties.---The Persian returned to a place called Muxadabad, about eight crores from Delhi. Allungire came out to pay his respects to him ; and, by his conduct, seems to have been perfectly infatuated. When the cries of his distressed people reached heaven, that contemptible monarch, instead of endeavoring to alleviate their miseries, either by force or negotiation, was wholly bent on the gratification of a sensual appetite. The cause of his visit to Abdalla, was to obtain his influence and mediation with Sahibe Zimany, the daughter of Mahumud Shaw, whom he wanted to espouse ; the princess herself being averse to the match. When kings, instead of exerting their talents for the protection of their people, suffer themselves to be absorbed in indolence and sensuality, rebellion becomes patriotism, and treason itself is a virtue.

In the mean time, the news of some incursions from the western Persia, into the territories of Abdalla, recalled that prince from India. Malleké Jehan, the widow of Mahumud Shaw, and her daughter Sahibe Zimany, claimed his protection against Allungire. He carried them both to Cabul, and some time after espoused the daughter himself.---The Persian having evacuated the imperial provinces, the vizier became more cruel and oppressive than ever : he extorted money from the poor by tortures, and confiscated the estates of the nobility, upon false or very frivolous pretences. To these tyrannies he was no less driven by the necessity of supporting an army to enforce his authority, than he was by the natural avidity and cruelty of his own unprincipled mind.

The

A. D. 1753. The king and his eldest son, Ali Gohar, were, in the mean time, kept state prisoners. The latter made his escape in the year 1172, and levying six thousand men at Rowari, began to raise the revenues of the adjacent territories. After he had continued this vagrant kind of life for nine months, the vizier, by the means of insidious letters, in which Ittul Raw, chief of the Mahrattors, Raja Dewali Singh, Raja Nagor Mull, and many other Omrahs, swore to protect him, inveigled him to Delhi. But, in violation of all oaths and fair promises, he was instantly confined by Ghazi, in the house of Alla Murda Chan, where he remained for the space of two months.

The vizier having received intelligence that the prince was privately attaching some Omrahs to his interest, and fearing that, by their means, he might again make his escape, determined to remove him to the citadel. He ordered a detachment of five hundred horse to execute this service. The prince not only refused to comply with the vizier's orders for his removal, but ordered the gates of the house to be shut, and, with a few friends, betook himself to arms. The houses of the nobility in Hindostan are surrounded by strong walls; and, in fact, are a kind of small forts. The vizier's troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He was besieged closely for two days; and, finding that he could not defend himself much longer from the thousands that surrounded the house, he formed the gallant resolution to cut his way through the enemy.

He imparted his intentions to his friends, but they shrunk from his proposal as impracticable. At last, six of them, seeing him resolved to attempt this desperate undertaking alone, promised to accompany him. On the morning of the third day,
they

they mounted their horses within the court. The gate was suddenly thrown open, and they issued forth sword in hand, with the prince at their head. He cut his way through thousands of Ghazi's troops, with only the loss of one of his gallant followers. Raja Ramnat, and Seid Ali, were the two principal men concerned in this extraordinary exploit; the other four being common horsemen. Seid Ali was wounded, but four and the prince escaped without any hurt. A. D. 1758.

The prince having thus forced his way through the vizier's army, issued out of the city, and arrived at a place, called Vizierabad, about six crores from the suburbs. Ittul Raw, the Mahrattor chief, lay encamped with ten thousand horse at Vizierabad. Ittul had been hired as a mercenary by the vizier, to support him in his tyrannical proceedings: but resenting Ghazi's breach of promise to the prince, and not being regularly paid, he now thought of plundering the country under the sanction of Ali Gohar's name. He received him, therefore, with very great respect, and promised to support him.

The prince, and Ittul Raw, accordingly continued, for the space of six months, to raise contributions on the provinces to the south of Delhi: but as the petty chiefs of villages had, during the confusions of the empire, constructed mud forts, whither they retired with their families and effects, at the approach of danger, the Mahrattors found great difficulty in supporting themselves, as none of those forts could be reduced without a regular siege, in which they were very little skilled. Ittul Raw, tired of this kind of unprofitable war, proposed to the prince to retire to Gualiêr, where the Mahrattors had now established a government, promising to give him a tract of country for his maintenance.

A. D. 1759. Ali Gohar thanked the Mahrattor for his generous proposal, but declined to accept of it.

His eyes were now turned to another quarter: Nigib ul Dowla, who had, at the king's request, betrayed Ghazi ul Dien to Abdalla, was, upon the reinstatement of the vizier in his office, obliged to fly to his jagier of Secundra, between the rivers, about forty crores below Delhi. The prince looked upon him as the most proper person to conduct his affairs. He accordingly took leave of Ittul Raw, crossed the Jumna, arrived at Secundra, and was received with great respect by Nigib ul Dowla, who, however, did not think proper to join heartily in his cause.

To return to the transactions at Delhi: Ahmet Abdalla had no sooner settled his affairs, than he prepared for another expedition into Hindostan. He resolved to support his army with the plunder of that country, and to keep them in action there for other enterprizes more arduous. He accordingly marched from Candahar, and, in the month of Ribbi ul awil, 1174, arrived in the environs of Delhi. The unhappy Allungire applied to him for relief; and, if possible, exaggerated his own misfortunes, and the unheard-of villainies of his vizier. He, at the same time, by his emissaries, stirred up factions in the army of Ghazi, who had marched out of the city to give battle to Abdalla. The discerning mind of that minister soon penetrated into the king's machinations against him. He did not for a moment hesitate what to do; his hands had already been imbrued in blood, and he started not at murder. He resolved to take off the king, and then to let future events direct his line of action.

Though

A. D. 1760

Though the king was in some measure a prisoner, he was permitted to keep his guards and a great retinue of servants. They pitied his misfortunes, and became firmly attached to his interest. Abdalla, who was near with his army, seemed to give some encouragement to Allumgire, and that prince's party acquired strength every day. The vizier saw himself hemmed in upon all sides by enemies; he, therefore, thought it high time to assassinate his master.---He knew the weakness and superstition of the mind of Allumgire. He, therefore, trumped up a story concerning a Fakier, who prophesied and wrought miracles at the Kottulah of Feroze Shaw. The poor enthusiastic king, just as Ghazi expected, expressed a great desire to see the holy Fakier. As it would derogate from the reputation of the pretended saint, to pay a visit, even to a king; Allumgire resolved to confer upon him that piece of respect.---But he had no sooner entered the apartment where the holy impostor sat, than two assassins started from behind a curtain, cut off his head with a scimitar, and threw his body, out of a back window, upon the sands of the Jumna. It lay there two days without interment; none daring to pay the last office to the remains of their unfortunate king. This tragedy was acted at Delhi, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, 1174.

Such was the end of Allumgire, who, in an age of peace and tranquillity, might have lived with some reputation, and have died with the character of a saint. But the times required uncommon abilities in a king, and the most vigorous exertion of the manly faculties of the soul; neither of which that unhappy monarch in any degree possessed. His struggles, therefore, against the ambition of Ghazi, were puerile and impotent. Had he employed the assassin against the breast of that treacherous minister, justice would have warranted the blow; had he possessed

A.D. 1760. courage to have aimed it with his own hand, a thousand opportunities were not wanting. What then can be said in favor of a man, who durst not make one manly effort for his authority, or resent indignities which he daily received in person ?

The perfidious vizier ordered the body of the king, after lying two days exposed on the sand of the Jumna, to be privately interred. He then took another prince of the blood, and placed him upon the throne, by the name of Shaw Jehan.

SECTION V.

Transactions at the Court of Delhi, from the Death of ALLUMGIRE SANI, to the present Times.

NIGIB UL DOWLA, who had, some time before the A. D. 1761, assassination of Allumgire, made up matters with the vizier, had the address to retain the office of buckshi. Shocked at the villainy of Ghazi, or desirous to transfer to himself the whole power, he again betrayed that minister, and went over with all his forces to Abdalla. Ghazi, in consequence of this desertion, found himself obliged also to make peace with the invader.

These factions proved fatal to the unhappy Delhians. Abdalla laid the city under heavy contributions, and enforced the collection with such rigor and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms. The Persian ordered a general massacre, which, without intermission, lasted for seven days. The relentless Durannies * were not even then glutted with slaughter, but the stench of the dead bodies drove them out of the city. A great part of the buildings were, at the same time, reduced to ashes, and many thousands, who had escaped the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine, sitting upon the smoking ruins of their own houses. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which, in the days of its glory, extended itself seventeen crores in length, and was said to contain two millions of people, became almost a heap of rubbish.

* The tribe, of which Abdalla is the chief, are distinguished by that name.

A. D. 1761.

The miseries of the unfortunate Delhians were not yet at an end. The Mahrattors, who now, without intermission, traversed the empire for plunder, advanced to partake of the spoils of Delhi with Abdalla. Jincow and Malharraw, accordingly, occupied the environs of the city. The Persian marched out against them, and both armies joined battle at a place called Mudgen Tuckia, two crores from the depopulated capital. The Mahrattors were defeated, and pursued one hundred and fifty crores from the field; but they, in the mean time, gave Abdalla the slip, turned his rear, and set out in full march for Delhi. The Durannies, however, were so close to their heels, that, before they could attempt any thing against the city, they were a second time obliged to retreat.

In the mean time news arrived, that the Mahrattor chiefs were advancing with another very numerous army from the Decan, with a professed design to re-establish the ancient Hindoo government. Bisswals Raw, Baow, and Ibrahim Chan Ghardi, commanded this force, which, independent of the army of Mahrattors, whom Abdalla had already defeated, consisted of one hundred thousand horse. The Mahommedans were struck with terror; they thought it necessary to join Abdalla, to support the faith: Suja ul Dowlat, who had succeeded his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, in the province of Oud, Ahmed Chan Bunguish, chief of the Patans and all the petty chieftains of the Rohillas, hastened with their forces to Delhi.

The Mahrattors had now entered the territories of the Jates, and summoned Raja Sourage Mull to join them. Though Sourage Mull, as a Hindoo, wished for the extirpation of Mahommedism in India, he was too jealous of the power of the Mahrattors, to obey their orders. Enraged at his obstinacy, they

they carried fire and sword through his dominions, and compelled him at last to join them with fifty thousand men. A. D. 1761.

The Mahrattors now consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and the Mahommedans, whom Ahmet Abdalla commanded in chief, of near one hundred and fifty thousand. The eyes of all India were now turned towards the event of a war, upon which depended, whether the supreme power should remain with the Mahommedans, or revert again to the Hindoos. Upon the approach of the Mahrattors, Abdalla evacuated Delhi, and, having crossed the Jumna, encamped on the opposite bank.

The Mahrattors immediately entered the city, and filled every quarter of it with devastation and death. Not content with robbing the miserable remains of Abdalla's cruelty of every thing they possessed, they stripped all the males and females quite naked, and wantonly whipped them before them along the streets. Many now prayed for death, as the greatest blessing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.---Famine begun to rage among the unfortunate citizens to such a degree, that men fled from their dearest friends, as from beasts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children, while some mothers, of more humanity, were seen dead in the streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts.---But let us now draw a veil over this scene of horror.

Ghazi ul Dien found, by this time, that Abdalla was become his enemy, and inclined to the interests of Nigib ul Dowla. He therefore endeavoured to make up matters with the Mahrattors, but his proposals were rejected. He then turned himself to the Raja of the Jates, who was in the field an unwilling auxiliary to the Mahrattors, and persuaded him to desert their cause, and retire

A. D. 1761. retire to his own country, whither he himself accompanied him. Thus ended the public transactions of Ghazi ul Dien, who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery. Though he did not possess the Decan, the fruits of his grandfather's uncommon crimes, he may truly be said to have been the genuine heir of the parts and treasons of that monster of iniquity and villainy.

The Mahrattors, when they entered Delhi, confined Shaw Jehan, who had borne the title of royalty for a few weeks; and, to quiet the minds of some Mahommedan omrahs, who aided them, raised to the throne Jewân Bucht, the eldest son of prince Ali Gohar, who had by this time assumed the title of Shaw Allum in Behar. But this young prince, had he even abilities to reign, had now no subjects left to command; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital.

Abdalla being informed of the desertion of the Jates, was extremely desirous of repassing the Jumna, and to come to battle with the Mahrattors. He, for this purpose, marched up along the bank opposite to the enemy, to Kungipurra, a place of some strength, possessed by Nizabat Chan, an independent Rohilla chief. The Persian summoned him to surrender, which he refused, and the place was consequently taken by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword.---The Mahrattors, at the same time, marched up upon the side of Delhi, and, too confident of their own strength, permitted Abdalla, without opposition, to cross the Jumna, by the ford of Ramra: but observing him more bold in his motions than they expected, they became somewhat afraid, and intrenched themselves at

Karnâl, in the very fame ground which was occupied formerly by Mahummud Shaw, while Abdalla chose the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shaw. A. D. 1761.

Both armies lay in their entrenchments, for twelve days, skirmishing at times with small parties. Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to cut off some Mahrattor convoys, with provisions, and, by the vigilance and activity of his Durannies, to prevent all supplies from coming to the enemy's camp.---As famine began to rage among the Mahrattors, they were necessitated to march out of their lines, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, 1174, and to offer battle to Abdalla, which he immediately accepted. The first shock was extremely violent: the Mahrattors advanced with great resolution, and charged Abdalla sword in hand with such vigor, that he was upon the point of being driven off the field, when Suja ul Dowlat, well known to the British in India, and Ahmed Chan Banguish, the Patan chief of Doab, fell upon the flank of the Mahrattors, with ten thousand horse.---This circumstance immediately turned the scale of victory. Abdalla recovered from his confusion, renewed the charge, and drove back the enemy. Should we credit common report, fifty thousand Mahrattors fell in this action, and in the pursuit: but be that as it will, the battle was extremely bloody, for all the generals of the vanquished, excepting Malhar Raw, who fled upon the first charge, were slain.

Abdalla, after having pursued the Mahrattors for the space of three days, returned to Delhi. He wrote from thence letters to prince Ali Gohar, who had proclaimed himself king in the province of Behar, under the title of Shaw Allum, requesting him to return to Delhi, and to take upon him the management of the affairs of government. Shaw Allum was too prudent to

A. D. 1751. trust himself in the hands of Abdalla, and therefore that prince, whose affairs on the side of Persia required his presence, confirmed Jewan Bucht*, upon the throne of Delhi, under the tuition of Nigib ul Dowla, from whom he exacted an annual tribute. Abdalla, after these transactions, returned to Cabul.

No sooner had Abdalla evacuated Delhi, than the Jates commenced hostilities against Nigib ul Dowla. They seized upon Camgar Chan, Zemindâr of Ferochagur, and appropriated to themselves his wealth and territory. The minister, upon this, took the field. The Jates advanced against him, with a great army, under the conduct of their chief, Raja Sourage Mull. The Jates being much superior to the force of Nigib ul Dowla, became confident of success; so that, when the armies approached within a few miles of one another, near Secundra, the Raja went carelessly out, with some of his officers, upon a hunting party. Nigib ul Dowla, being informed of this circumstance by means of his spies, immediately detached a party of five hundred horse, under Seidu, a bold partizan, in quest of the Raja. Seidu fell in with Sourage Mull, whose party consisted of about three hundred. They engaged sword in hand, with great resolution on both sides; but, at length, the Jates were cut off to a man, and the Raja's head was brought to Nigib ul Dowla, who was then upon his march to attack the enemy. The unexpected appearance of Nigib, in the absence of their prince and best officers, struck the Jates with universal panic; when, at that very instant, a horseman advancing at full speed, threw the Raja's head into their line. This circumstance completed their confusion, so that Nigib ul Dowla defeated them with ease, and pursued them, sword in hand, some crores from the field of battle.

* The present emperor's eldest son.

The minister, after this victory, returned to Delhi. But he had not long remained in that capital, before Joahir Singh, the son and successor of Sourage Mull, hired twenty thousand Mahrattors, under Malhar Raw, and advanced with all his forces to Delhi. Nigib ul Dowla was not capable to cope with the Jates and their auxiliaries in the field. He shut himself up in the city, where he was besieged for three months, and at last reduced to great distress. However, a handsome present to Malhar Raw saved him upon this critical occasion. The Jates, finding themselves betrayed by their mercenaries, were obliged to patch up a peace, and retire into their own country. These transactions happened in the year 1175 of the Higera. Nigib ul Dowla has been since frequently attacked by the Jates to the east, and the Seiks to the west, but he still maintains his ground with great resolution and ability.

A. D. 1762.

But to return to the adventures of the prince Ali Gohar, who, under the title of emperor, now reigns in the small province of Allahabad: we have already observed, that he, after parting with the Mahrattors, threw himself upon Nigib ul Dowla at Secundra. He could not, however, prevail upon that Omrah to take up arms in his favor. He, therefore, left Secundra, with a small retinue of servants, who lived at their own expence, in hopes of better days, with their prince. With these he arrived at Lucknow, one of the principal cities of the province of Oud, where Suja ul Dowlat kept then his court. Suja ul Dowlat received the king with seeming great respect, and paid him royal honors; but this was only the false politeness of an Indian court; which is always less deficient in ceremony than in faith. It was not the interest of Suja ul Dowlat, who, by the villainies of his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, had become an independent prince, to revive the power of the empire, he therefore declined

all connection with the affairs of Ali Gohar. He, however, made him a Nasir of some elephants, horses, and half a lack of rounpees in money, and insinuated to him, to leave his court.

Ali Gohar, in this distressed situation, turned towards Allahabad. Mahummud Kuli Chan, at that time, possessed that city and province. Mahummud received the prince with friendship as well as respect; for being a man of an enterprizing genius, he entertained great hopes of raising himself with the fortunes of the Shaw Zadda*. After maturely deliberating upon the plan of their future operations, it was resolved, that, instead of relieving the unfortunate Allungire from the tyranny of Ghazi at Delhi, they should endeavor to possess themselves of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, the revenues of which might enable them to support a sufficient army to restore the power of the empire. Though the Shaw Zadda was the undoubted heir of the empire, yet, to take away every pretence of right from Jaffier Ali Chan, whom the British, on account of his villainies, had raised to the government of Bengal, he obtained a private grant of the subaships of the three provinces from his father at Delhi:

Every thing being now concerted, public orders were issued to the neighbouring rajas and fagedars, to repair to the standard of the Shaw Zadda; while Mahummud Kuli Chan raised all the troops of Allahabad. Camgar Chan, one of the principal fagedars of Behar, Pulwan Singh, raja of Budgepoor, Bulbidder, raja of Amati, and many other, both Hindoo and Mahomedan

* Shaw Zadda literally signifies the king's son; a title by which Ali Gohar was distinguished during the life of his father Allungire Sani.

chiefs, obeyed the summons, and joined the prince. Soldiers of fortune, in the mean time, flocked to him from all quarters, so that Ali Gohar found himself soon at the head of sixty thousand men.

In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, of the year 1173, the Shaw Zadda marched from Allahabad towards Bengal. The particulars of this war are well known. Let it suffice to mention here, that the prince was unsuccessful in all his attempts upon Bengal; and was, at last, obliged to surrender himself to the commander of the British forces, at Geiah in Behar. He received intelligence, soon after, of the assassination of his father at Delhi. He was accordingly proclaimed emperor at Patna; but nothing being done for him, by the British, the unfortunate prince found himself obliged to throw himself into the hands of Suja ul Dowlat, who, in the absence of Kuli Chan, had seized upon the province of Allahabad. The villainy of Suja ul Dowlat did not rest there: he invited Kuli Chan to a conference, and basely assassinated him.

Suja ul Dowlat, having possessed himself of the king's person, closely confined him. He, at the same time, mocked the unhappy man with a farce of royalty, and obliged him to ratify all grants and commissions, which might serve his own purposes. Under the sanction of these extorted deeds, Suja ul Dowlat made war upon the neighboring states, in which, however, he was not very successful. When Cassim Ali Chan was driven from the subaship of Bengal, Suja ul Dowlat joined him, in order to recover his government. He was defeated at Buxar, by the British, and the king being, in his flight, left behind him, threw himself a second time under our protection.

He

A. D. 1764.

He hoped, now, that as Suja ul Dowlat's dominions fell into the hands of the British, in consequence of this victory, that they would confer them upon him. But the unfortunate prince deceived himself. He had no money, and consequently had no friends. Suja ul Dowlat was still possessed of wealth: and the virtue of the conquerors was by no means proof against temptation. They restored to him his dominions, and, by a mere mockery of terms, called injustice by the name of generosity. A small part of the province of Allahabad was allotted to the king, for a subsistence, and the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar enjoys the extensive province of Oud, as a reward for a series of uncommon villainies.---But the transactions of the BRITISH SUBAS in India, will furnish materials for a distinct history. We shall not, therefore, break in upon that subject in this place; as to mention them slightly would be, in some measure, detracting from the fame, which those GREAT MEN have so justly acquired.

SECTION VI.

Of the present State of HINDOSTAN.

THE short sketch which we have given in the preceding sections, of the History of Hindostan, may serve to throw light on the decline of the great empire of the Moguls in that part of the world. We saw it gradually shrinking into itself, till the race of Timur are, at last, confined within the narrow limits of an insignificant province. It must, however, be allowed, that the uncommon misfortunes of that family, proceeded no less from their own weakness, than from the villainy of their servants. Had a man of parts succeeded the debility of Mahumud Shaw's government, the ancient glory of the empire might have been still restored. The revolted subas were not, then, well established in their independence; and the gallant resistance which Abdalla met with, in the reign of Ahmed, shewed that the Moguls could still defend themselves from foreign invasions.

A. D. 1764.

This, like other great states, fell into pieces, more by domestic factions, than by foreign arms. Even the ministers of the unfortunate Mahummud were men of parts; those who managed the affairs of Ahmed were possessed of great abilities; and, in the reign of Allungire Sani, young Ghazi displayed an uncommon and enterprizing genius. But virtue had fled from the land: no principle of honor, patriotism, or loyalty, remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of individuals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion.

As

A. D. 1764.

As from the ruins of the extensive empire of the Moguls, many independent governments have started up of late years, it may not be improper, in this place, to take a cursory view of the present state of Hindostan. To begin with the northern provinces. We have already observed, that Candahar, Cabul, Ghizni, Pishawir, with a part of Moultan and Sind, are under the dominion of Ahmet Abdalla. That prince possesses also, upon the side of Persia, the greatest part of Chorrassân and Seistan, and all Bamia, on that of Tartary. Abdalla, in short, reigns over almost all the countries which formed the empire of Gliizni, before it descended from the mountains of Afganiâtân to Lahore and Delhi. It is highly probable that, as Kerim Chan has settled the western Persia, he may soon extend the empire to its ancient boundaries towards the east, and drive Abdalla into Hindostan; so that a third dynasty of kings of India may arise from among the Afgans:

The revenues of Abdalla are very considerable, amounting to about three crores of roupees. But as he is always in the field, and maintains an army of 100,000 horse, to defend himself from the Persians and Tartars, he is in great distress for money. This circumstance obliges him, not only to oppress his own subjects, but also to carry his depredations to foreign countries. During the competition of the seven conspirators for the throne of Persia, Abdalla had little to fear from that quarter. But as Kerim Chan has established himself, by the defeat and death of his rivals, it is extremely probable, that Abdalla will soon feel, as we have already observed, the weight of his arms, as Chorrassân and Seistan are properly provinces of the Persian empire.

However,

However, Abdalla is, at present, at peace with Kerim, and has taken that favorable opportunity for invading Hindostan. He had, in April 1767, defeated the Seiks in three different actions, and advanced to Sirhind, about forty crores from Delhi, with an army of fifty thousand horse. It is supposed that Nigib ul Dowla, who, in the name of the present emperor's son, manages the affairs of Delhi, had, as he himself was hard pressed by the Seiks and Jates, called in Abdalla, to take upon him the government. Nigib ul Dowla, by our best intelligence, marched out of the city to meet his ally, with forty thousand men. The armies lay in sight of one another, and they were busy in negotiation, and in settling a plan for their future operations. Abdalla, in the mean time, wrote circular letters to all the princes of India, commanding them to acknowledge him KING OF KINGS, and demanding a tribute. Suja ul Dowlat, in particular, had received a very sharp letter from him, upbraiding him for his alliance with INFIDELS, and demanding the imperial revenues, which that suba had converted to his own use for some years back.

Such was the situation of the affairs of Ahmed Abdalla, by our last accounts from Delhi. This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic, and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shaw, he supports his authority with no less rigor, and he is by no means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India, to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi.

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

The SEIKS border upon the Indian dominions of Abdalla. That nation, it is said, take their name of SEIKS, which signifies DISCIPLES, from their being followers of a certain philosopher of Thibet, who taught the idea of a commonwealth, and the pure doctrine of Deism, without any mixture of either the Mahommedan or Hindoo superstitions. They made their first appearance about the commencement of this century, in the reign of Bahadar Shaw, but were rather reckoned then a particular sect than a nation. Since the empire began to decline, they have prodigiously increased their numbers, by admitting profelytes of all religions, without any other ceremony than an oath, which they tender to them, to oppose monarchy.

The Seiks are, at present, divided into several states, which in their internal government are perfectly independent of one another, but they form a powerful alliance against their neighbors. When they are threatened with invasions, an assembly of the states is called, and a general chosen by them, to lead their respective quotas of militia into the field; but, as soon as peace is restored, the power of this kind of dictator ceases, and he returns, in a private capacity, to his own community. The Seiks are now in possession of the whole province of Punjâb, the greatest part of Moultan and Sind, both the banks of the Indus from Cashmire to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahore to Sirhind. They have, of late years, been a great check upon the arms of Abdalla; and, though in the course of the last year they have been unsuccessful against that prince in three actions, they are, by no means subdued, but continue a severe clog upon his ambitious views in India.

The chief who leads at present the army of the Seiks, is Jeffarit Singh; there is also one Nitteh Singh, who is in great esteem

esteem among them. They can, upon an emergency, muster 60000 good horse; but, though in India they are esteemed brave, they chuse rather to carry on their wars by surprize and stratagem, than by regular operations in the field. By their principles of religion and government, as well as on account of national injuries, they are inveterate enemies to Abdalla, and to the Rohilla powers.

To the east of the dominions of the republic of the Seiks lie the countries which are possessed by the Rohilla Afgans. Nigib ul Dowla, whose history is comprehended in the preceding sections, is, from his power, as well as from the strength of his councils and his own bravery, reckoned their prince. He possesses the city of Delhi, in the name of the family of Timur; together with a considerable territory around it, on both the banks of the Jumna, and his revenues amount to one crore of roupees. He publickly acknowledges the unfortunate Shaw Allum, at Allahabad, king, and allows a pension to his son Jewan Bucht, who, without any power, maintains a kind of regal dignity at Delhi.

Nigib ul Dowla has been known, when hard pressed by his hostile neighbors, to raise 60000 horse; but his revenues are not sufficient to support one tenth part of that number. He continues to take the field under the name of buckshi, or captain-general of the Mogul empire; and though he has not the power, or perhaps the inclination, to assist the king, he keeps up a friendly correspondence with him, and, without any necessity, professes obedience and a shew of loyalty.

Besides Nigib ul Dowla, there are chiefs of the Rohilla race, who are perfectly independent; but when danger presses, they unite with him their forces. The most respectable of these chiefs

is Hafiz Rhimut, who possesses a considerable district between the rivers. The next to him, in power, is Doondi Chan; and with him we may number Mutta Husein, Jacob Ali Chan, Fatte Chan Zurein, and others of less note, who command independent tribes beyond the Ganges to the north of Delhi.

The whole power of the Rohillas may amount to 100,000 horse, and an equal number of infantry, upon an emergency; but these are so wretchedly appointed and ill paid, that they furnish more of ridicule, than they can impress of terror in the field. Their infantry are armed with rockets, pointed with iron, which they discharge in volleys among cavalry, which frighten more with their noise and uncommon appearance, than by the execution which they make. The Rohillas are remarkable for nothing more than their natural antipathy to the Mahrattors, which might be turned to advantage by the British in their future views upon Hindostan: but the truth is, that the Hindoos and Mahommedans so equally ballance one another in that country, that by supporting one, we may, with great facility, command both.

There is a small government of the Patans to the east of the Rohilla tribes. Their district is bounded by the dominions of the present king, by those of Suja ul Dowlat, and by the territories of the Jates. The capital of this petty principality is Ferochabad, which is situated upon the banks of the Ganges, a few crores above the ruins of the celebrated city of Kinnoge. Ahmed Chan Banguish, who made a great figure against Seifdar Jung, the father of Suja ul Dowlat, rules over this district. Ahmed is more distinguished by his abilities and personal bravery, than by the extent of his power. His revenues do not exceed fifty lacks; but he always keeps a standing force of two or three thousand

good

good horse, which he pays well; and, upon an emergency, he raises all his vassals, who consist of about 20000 men. His country is full of forts; and he has, consequently, been hitherto able to defend himself against the Mahrattors, Jates, and Sujaul Dowlat, who have respectively invaded his dominions.

The city of Agra, and a very considerable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna, from forty crores below that city to within five of Delhi, and stretching back to Gualier and Barampulla, are now in the hands of a Hindoo nation, called the Jates. The raja who, commands the Jates, is descended of the ancient race of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni. From their prince, the whole body of the Jates, though made up of many distinct tribes and sects, take their name; but others, with less probability, trace it to JATE, which in the Hindoo language signifies a labourer.

The Jates made no figure in the Mogul empire, as a nation, till the reign of Allumgire, commonly known in Europe by the name of Aurungzebe. In that monarch's expedition to the Decan, they were first heard of as a gang of banditti, under an intrepid fellow, called Chura Mun. They were then so daring as to harraß the rear of the imperial army. After the death of Allumgire, the Jates took advantage of the growing imbecility of the empire, and fortifying themselves among the hills of Narvar, spread their depredations to the gates of Agra. Mokun Singh, who, after the death of Chura Mun, commanded the Jates, took upon himself the title of Raja. Their power increased under Bodun Singh and Sourage Mull, which last was dignified with titles from the emperor.

Joahir

Joahir Singh, the son of Sourage Mull, now reigns over the Jates, and is a very weak prince. His revenues do not exceed two crores of roupees; his dominions, like the rest of India, being harrassed by the Mahrattors. He may, upon some occasions, be able to bring into the field sixty or seventy thousand men, but he cannot keep long in pay one third of that number. The dominions of the Jates abound with strong fortresses, such as Dieg, Cumbere, and Aliver; in one of which their prince frequently resides, though he spends the most part of his time at Agra.

To the south-west of the Jates, Mudoo Singh, a rajaput raja, possesses a very considerable territory, and resides for the most part at Joinagur. He is the son of Joy Singh, a prince famous for his knowledge in astronomy, and other mathematical sciences. He entertained above a thousand learned brahmins for some years, in rectifying the kalendar, and in making new tables for the calculation of eclipses, and for determining the longitude and declination of the stars.---The revenues of Mudoo Singh are not very considerable, being reckoned only eighty lacks; his dominions being woody, mountainous, and consequently ill cultivated. He can, however, raise forty thousand men; and he himself is esteemed a good soldier.

Bordering upon Mudoo Singh, upon the frontiers of the Decan, is the extensive country of Marwar, ruled, at present, by Bija Singh, the son of Bucht Singh, and grandson of Jessawind Singh. Marwar, when the empire was in a flourishing condition, yielded annually five crores of roupees: at present its revenues do not amount to half that sum, on account of the incessant depredations of the Mahrattors, its next neighbours.

The next Hindoo government to Marwar, is that of Odipour. The raja of this country is distinguished by the name of Rana.

That

That prince, more from his nobility of family than from his power, assumes a superiority over all the rajahs of Hindostan. His dominions were formerly very extensive, but, of late years, they have been circumscribed within narrower bounds. His territories abound with mountains and forests, and are almost surrounded by the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat. His revenues are inconsiderable, and he cannot bring into the field above fifteen thousand men.---In the vallies between the mountains of Odipour, there are many petty independent rajahs; Bundi, Cottu, Rupnagur, Jeffelmere, and Bianere, being governed by their respective princes, each of whom can muster six or eight thousand men.

The Mahrattors are the most considerable Hindoo power in Hindostan. The principal seat of their government is Sattarah, and sometimes Puna, on the coast towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60000 men, yet, from their superior bravery and success in depredation, thousands of all tribes enlist themselves under their banners. These, instead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increases like a river, the farther it advances; so that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thousand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they destine to plunder.

The present chief of the Mahrattors is Ragenot Raw, the son of Bagiraw. He possesses one half of Guzerat, and all the territories between that province and the Decan. He has, of late years, extended his conquests to all the provinces of Malava, and to a part of Allahabad; having reduced Himmur Singh, raja of Gualier, Anarid Singh, raja of Badawir, Anarid Singh, of Chunderi, and the princes of Ditea, Orcha, Elichpoor, Bandere, and

and Jassej; all of whom have become tributary to the Mahrattors. They have, moreover, possessed themselves of Orissa, which ought, in propriety, to be annexed to the subahship of Bengal, according to the late grant of the king to the British. Thus the dominions of the Mahrattors extend quite across the peninsula of India, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambait or Cambay.

The amount of the revenues of the Mahrattors cannot easily be ascertained. They must, however, be very considerable. They subsist their armies by depredations on their neighbors, and are become the terror of the East, more on account of their barbarity than their valour. They never want a pretence for hostilities. They demand the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of any province; and, in case of a refusal, they invade, plunder, and lay waste the country. Their horses being very hardy, their incursions are sudden, unexpected, and dreadful. They generally appoint a place of rendezvous, and their invasions are carried on by detached parties. Should a considerable force at any time oppose them, they decline coming to action; and, as they invigorate their hardy horses with opium, their flight, like their incursions, is very expeditious.

The armies of the Mahrattors do not, like the troops of other Indian powers, incumber themselves with bazars or markets. They trust for their subsistence to the countries through which they march. They are armed with firelocks, some with matchlock guns, and others with bows, spears, javelins, swords and daggers. They have, within three years back, made some advances towards forming a disciplined army of infantry. They have, accordingly, at present, ten or twelve battalions of Seapoys, uniformly clothed and armed.---All the powers of India being now sensible of the advantages which the British have gained by disciplined infantry, turn their thoughts to a similar regulation in
their

their armies, and to improve their artillery, which was formerly too unweildy and ill-mounted, to be of any service in the field.

To the east of Malava, and to the south of Allahabad, is the country of Bundelcund, governed by Hindoput. His territories are of a considerable extent and very fertile, and he moreover draws great wealth from his diamond mines of Hieragur and Punagur. He also claims a right to the mines of Sommelpour, but another raja possesses them at present.---The annual revenues of Hindoput amount to near two crores of roupees, including the profits arising from his mines. These he farms out to merchant-adventurers, who purchase a certain number of superficial feet of ground, and they are permitted to dig down perpendicularly as far as they please. Diamonds beyond a certain weight are the property of the prince, who has inspectors, to superintend the works.

The raja of Bundelcund possesses the impregnable fortress of Callinger and several other considerable strong holds. He has, notwithstanding, been obliged to compound for a certain tribute with the Mahrattors, who generally paid him an annual visit. Between Bundelcund and Cattack, in Orissa, lie the rajaships of Patna and Sommelpour, which are not very considerable; the country being mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, and the inhabitants barbarous in every respect.

Part of the province of Allahabad is now possessed by SHAW ALLUM, by birthright and title, though nothing less so in power, emperor of Hindostan. He keeps the poor resemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few ruined Omrahs, in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his service, still exist the ragged pensioners of his poverty, and burthen his gratitude with their presence. The districts of Korah and Allahabad, in the king's possession, are rated at thirty
VOL. II. *Appendix.* *M lacks,

lacks, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Instead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many respects, has the mortification to see his poor subjects oppressed by those who farm the revenue, while he himself is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the stipulated sum. Besides the revenue arising from Allahabad and Korah, which we may at a medium estimate at twelve lacks, the British pay to the king twenty-six lacks out of the revenues of Bengal; which is all Shaw Allum possesses to support the dignity of the imperial house of Timur.---It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, to delineate, in this place, the character of that unfortunate prince.

SHAW ALLUM is robust in his person, and about six feet high. His complexion is rather darker than that which was common to the race of Timur, and his countenance is expressive of that melancholy which naturally arose from his many misfortunes. He possesses personal courage; but it is of the passive kind, and may be rather called fortitude to bear adversity, than that daring boldness which loves to face danger.---He has been so often dismounted in the course of ambition, that he now fears to give it the rein; and seems less desirous to make any efforts to retrieve the power of his family, than to live quietly under the shadow of its eclipsed majesty.---His clemency borders upon weakness, and his good nature has totally subverted his authority. He is daily induced, by importunity, to issue out orders which he takes no means to enforce, and which, he is certain, will not be obeyed. From this blemish in the character of Shaw Allum, arose the half of his misfortunes; for the great secret of establishing authority, is to give no orders which cannot be enforced, and rather to suffer small injuries, than shew resentment, without the power of punishing.

His

His generosity is more than equal to his abilities; and, too often, ill bestowed. He is too much addicted to women; and takes more pains to maintain his Haram, than to support an army.---But though we cannot call him a great prince, we must allow him to be a good man. His virtues are many; but they are those of private life, which never appear with lustre upon a throne. His judgment is by no means weak; but his passions are not strong: the easiness of his temper is therefore moulded like wax by every hand; and he always gives up his own better opinion for those of men of inferior parts.---He is affable in his conversation, but seldom descends to pleasantry. Upon the whole, though Shaw Allum is by no means qualified to restore a lost empire, he might have maintained it with dignity in prosperous times, and transmitted his name, as a virtuous prince, to posterity. It is with great regret that the author, from his regard to truth, cannot speak more favorably of a prince, to whom his gratitude and attachment are due, for repeated testimonies of his esteem and friendship.

The territories of Suja ul Dowlat, who possesses the province of Oud, border upon those of the king. His revenues amount to near two crores of roupees, out of which he pays nothing to the emperor, though he pretends to recognize his title as his sovereign. Since his defeat at Buxar, Suja ul Dowlat attends very much to the discipline of his army, and the proper regulation of his finances. He has already formed ten battalions of Seapoys, and has made great improvements in his artillery. When the news of Abdalla's late invasion came, he levied twelve thousand horse, upon a better footing than is generally practised in Hindostan. He is now the ally of the British in India, and as his revenues will never enable him to support himself in the field against them, it is probable his principle of

fear, for he has none of honor or gratitude, will make him stand to the letter of the treaty.

Suja ul Dowlat is extremely handsome in his person; about five feet eleven inches in height, and so nervous and strong, that, with one stroke of the sabre, he can cut off the head of a buffalo. He is active, passionate, ambitious; his penetrating eye seems, at first sight, to promise uncommon acuteness and fire of mind; but his genius is too volatile for depth of thought; and he is consequently more fit for the manly exercises of the field, than for deliberation in the closet.---Till of late he gave little attention to business. He was up before the sun, mounted his horse, rushed into the forest, and hunted down tigers or deer till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath, and spent his afternoons in the Haram among his women. Such was the bias of Suja ul Dowlat's mind till the late war. Ambitious without true policy, and intoxicated with the passions of youth, he began a wild career, in which he was soon checked. Stung with the loss of reputation, his passions have taken another course. His activity is employed in discipling his army, and he now spends more time at the comptoir of his finances, than in dallying with the ladies of his seraglio. His authority, therefore, is established, his revenues increased, and his army on a respectable footing. But, with all his splendid qualities, he is cruel, treacherous, unprincipled, deceitful: carrying a specious appearance, purposely to betray, and when he embraces with one hand, will stab with the other to the heart. Together with being heir to the fruits of his father's crimes, he inherits all his latent baseness of mind; for, if we except personal courage, he possesses not one virtue more than Seifdar Jung.

The province of Oud is situated to the north-east of the Ganges, bordering upon Behar, from which it is, on the one side, divided by the river Deo, or Gagera, and on the other by the

the Carumnassa. The country is level, well-cultivated and watered. It is divided, on the north, by a chain of mountains from Thibet. In the vallies, which intersect that immense ridge of hills, there are several independent rajas, too inconsiderable to be formidable to Suja ul Dowlat.

The provinces of Bengal and Behar are possessed by the British East-India company, in reality, by the right of arms, though, in appearance, by a grant from the present emperor. This is not a proper place to enter into particulars concerning those provinces: it may suffice to observe, that Bengal and Behar, including what is called the company's lands and duties upon merchandize, yielded in April, 1766, 133,025,968 Sicca roupees. The expences of government, the tribute to the king, and a pension to a nabob, set upon account of the villainies of his father, amounted to 22,450,000 roupees, and consequently the ballance in favor of the company was 10,575,968 roupees, or 1,321,994l. of our money.---The British force in Bengal consists of three battalions of Europeans, and thirty of Seapoys, regularly armed, disciplined, and uniformly clothed; so that we are much superior, even upon that establishment, to any other power at present in Hindostan.

In the Decan the British are almost as powerful as in Bengal. We support Mahommed Ali, as nominal nabob of the Carnatic, while, in fact, we govern the country without control, having the possession of the garrisons and the disposal of the revenues. The power of the Nizam, who resides at Hydrabad, though he possesses all the province of Golconda, is, of late, very much circumscribed. He, however, still maintains an army of 60, or 70000 men; but without discipline, and ill paid they are by no means formidable. He, some time ago, entered into a treaty with the British, but he has, of late, shewn no disposition to adhere to it long.

Hydernaig,

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

Hydernaig, a soldier of fortune, who, by his personal merit, raised himself from a common Seapoy, to be sovereign of almost all the coast of Malabar, threatened, last year, to attack the Nizam, if he did not break his unnatural alliance with the British. The part which the Nizam will take upon this occasion, will entirely depend on the spirit of the councils of the British on the coast.---As Hydernaig had also threatened Mahommed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, it was judged prudent to march an army against him in March, 1767; but what success may have attended the expedition, has not hitherto reached Europe.

Hydernaig is said to have thirty disciplined battalions of Seapoys, twenty thousand good horse, and a great train of artillery, wrought by five hundred European renegadoes. This prince having served in person in European armies, models his troops upon their plan, pays punctually, and enforces discipline with rigor. Together with being an able politician, he is a daring, active, and impetuous soldier, and if he is not immediately crushed, he may prove the most dangerous enemy that the British have hitherto met with in the East. He is, at present, the most formidable prince in all India, and he will, no doubt, take advantage of the divided state of that country, and endeavor to extend his conquests.

Thus have we, in a few words, endeavored to give a general idea of the present state of Hindostan. The reflexions which naturally arise from the subject, might swell this work into a volume. It is apparent, however, from what has been said, that the immense regions of Hindostan might be all reduced by a handful of regular troops.---Ten thousand European infantry, together with the Seapoys in the company's service, are not only sufficient to conquer all India, but, with proper policy, to maintain it, for ages, as an appendage of the British crown.---This position may, at first sight, appear a paradox, to people unac-

quainted with the genius and disposition of the inhabitants of Hindostan: but to those who have considered both with attention, the thing seems not only practicable, but easy.

That slavery and oppression, which the Indians suffer from their native princes, make the justice and regularity of a British government appear to them in the most favorable light. The great men of the country have no more idea of patriotism, than the meanest slaves; and the people can have no attachment to chiefs whom they regard as tyrants. Soldiers of fortune are so numerous in India, that they comprehend one fourth of the inhabitants of that extensive country. They are never paid one third of the stipulated sum, by the princes of Hindostan, which renders them mutinous and discontented; but they would most certainly approve themselves obedient, faithful, and brave, in the service of a power who should pay them regularly.

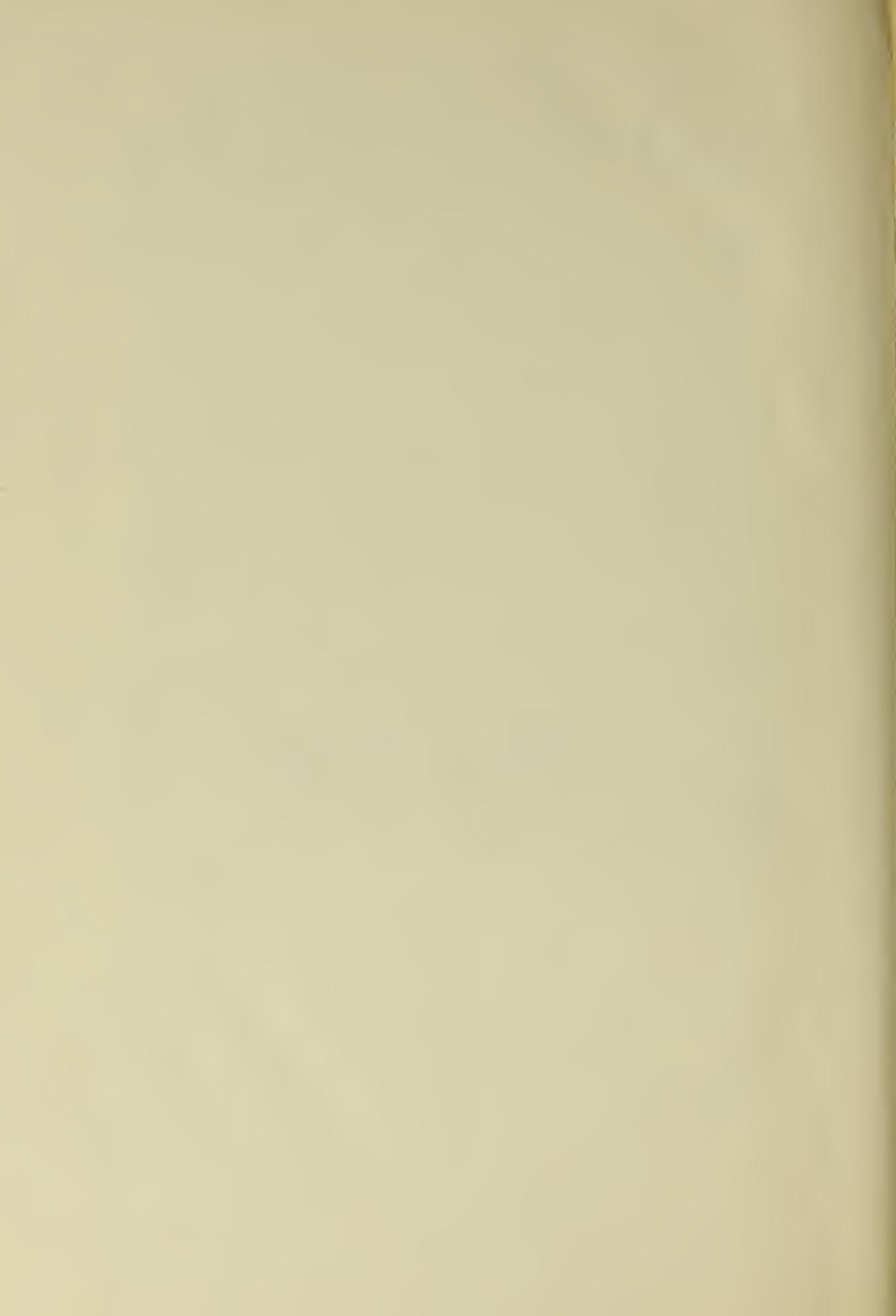
In a country like India, where all religions are tolerated, the people can have no objection to the British, on account of theirs. The army might be composed of an equal number of Mahomedans and Hindoos, who would be a check upon one another, while a small body of Europeans would be a sufficient check upon both. The battalions ought to be commanded altogether by European officers, who, if they do their duty properly, and behave with justice to their men, may attach them to their persons, with stronger ties than any troops born in Europe. But if justice is not observed to soldiers, human nature, in this, as in all countries, will and must revolt against oppression.

At present, the black officers of the Seapoys must rise from the ranks. This is sound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumstance, from entering into the service. These officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never desert a people, among whom
alone

alone they can have any power; for no acquired discipline will give weight to a mean man, sufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians.

The advantages of a conquest of Hindostan to this country are obvious. It would pay as much of the national debt, as government should please to discharge. Should the influx of wealth raise the price of the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor, on the other hand, by being eased of most of their taxes, would be more able to purchase them.---But, say some grave moralists, how can such a scheme be reconciled to justice and humanity?---This is an objection of no weight.---Hindostan is, at present, torn to pieces by factions. All laws, divine and human, are trampled under foot.---Instead of one tyrant, as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thousands; and the voice of the oppressed multitude reaches heaven. It would, therefore, be promoting the cause of justice and humanity, to pull those petty tyrants from the height to which their villainies have raised them, and to give to so many millions of mankind, a government founded upon the principles of virtue and justice.---The task is no less glorious than it is practicable; for it might be accomplished with half the blood which is often expended, in Europe, upon an ideal system of a ballance of power, and in commercial wars, which must be attended with little eclat, as they are destitute of striking and beneficial consequences.

F I N I S.



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