

Supper Royal 1817

A
T R A N S L A T I O N
OF THE
MEMOIRS OF ERADUT KHAN,
A NOBLEMAN OF HINDOSTAN,
CONTAINING
INTERESTING ANECDOTES 1740
OF THE
EMPEROR AULUMGEER AURUNGZEBE,
AND OF HIS SUCCESSORS,
SHAW AULUM AND JEHAUNDAR SHAW,
IN WHICH ARE DISPLAYED
THE CAUSES OF THE VERY PRECIPITATE DECLINE
OF THE
MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

By JONATHAN SCOTT,
CAPTAIN IN THE SERVICE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY,
AND PRIVATE PERSIAN TRANSLATOR TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQUIRE,
LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BENGAL, &c. &c. &c.

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MDCCCLXXXVI.

T O
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

S I R,

PERMIT me to dedicate this Translation to you, who so amply patronized my attempts to make myself useful to my honourable employers, when in India. The distinction you were pleased to confer upon me, by an appointment in your family, and the favour of your friendship, I shall ever regard as honours of which I may reasonably boast: and I trust a time will come, when far more important pages than mine will acquire merit with the nation, from being adorned with the name of HASTINGS.

I am, S I R,

Your most obedient

And grateful humble servant,

LONDON,
12th May, 1786.

JONATHAN SCOTT.

ERRATA.

Page

- 29, line 20, *for* messuage, *read* message.
30, line 24, *for* Raujepoet, *read* Raujpoot.
51, line 2, in the notes, *for* mizid, *read* muzjid.
52, line 10, *for* Bahadar, *read* Bahadur.
54, line 2, *for* Soubadacy, *read* Soubadary.
83, in the notes, *for* Yemmum, *read* Yemmun.
89, line 8, *and* 22, *for* Downan, *and* Dowran, *read* Dowraun.

P R E F A C E.

ENcouraged by the generous attention of my honourable masters, the East-India Company, and of their representatives in Bengal, to every species of useful information from their servants, I was induced, during my residence in India, to study the languages and history of the country, with a view of recommending myself to their notice and favour. I also cherished the hope of laying up a fund of amusement from these studies for the hours of retirement, should I be so fortunate as to revisit my native country: nor was I without the ambition, of being able to add somewhat to the store of public information respecting the extensive empire of Hindostan, of which Great-Britain possesses so large a share. Rewarded by the accomplishment of my two first objects, I am now led to try the merit of the last.

The History of Hindostan, from the earliest Mahumedan conquests to the year 1669 of our æra, has been already presented to the public by the late Colonel Dow, who, had he lived, would in all probability have continued

it down to the present day ; but, unfortunately, his work concludes at a period, when the affairs of Hindostan were becoming most interesting to European curiosity. I mean the 11th year of Aulumgeer, commonly called Aurungzebe, the events of whose reign, and those of his successors, are to us more important, as nearer to our own times.

The celebrated Mr. Orme, when writing of this period in his Historical Fragments of Hindostan, regrets the want of information regarding it, and justly observes, “ the knowledge is well worth the enquiry ; for, besides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which arise in this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe their present condition to the reign of Aurungzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of its successors.”

It is the History of Dekkan, and the above-mentioned very important period, with which, if the following Translation is approved, I hope shortly to present the public. Of materials I have no want, but must confess myself unwilling to labour in their arrangement, without some prospect of such a task's proving acceptable. On this account, I have judged it prudent to offer first a specimen of my work, that, if unworthy of the public eye, I may keep the remainder of it in that privacy I shall then think

it only fit for, and save myself the pain of disappointed expectation.

The following Memoir is translated from the Persian of Eradut Khan, a nobleman of the court of Aulumgeer. The authenticity of the facts he relates is undoubted in Hindostan, and the simplicity of his style regarded as a strong proof of his veracity. I have studiously endeavoured to make him write English, in the same unaffected and plain manner that he has his native tongue; being more anxious for the fidelity of my translation, than desirous of praise for composition.

It now remains only to give a short introduction to the subject of my author. It is generally known, that the Emperor Aulumgeer reigned fifty years over Hindostan, and extended his empire, before too vast to be secure, over the southern peninsula of India, called Dekkan, in the reduction of which he spent the last five-and-twenty years of his life. In this period, he reduced the monarchies of Golconda and Beejapore; but though he could conquer enervated kings, he could not subdue the minds of their uncorrupted subjects. His zeal for the Mahummedan religion, led him to deprive the Hindoo princes of those indulgences which his less bigotted ancestors had allowed them: he destroyed their temples, and disgraced them by a capitation-tax. This tyranny weakened the affections of the

ancient vassals of the house of Timur, and raised such a spirit of resistance in the hardy natives of Dekkan that could never be effectually subdued. Sewajee and his successors, the Mharatta chiefs, though they could not wholly withstand the Imperial arms, yet so harraressed Aulumgeer by their predatory incursions, as to render his victories of no advantage. The treasures of the old provinces were dissipated in half-conquests of new territory, and the emperor's long absence from his hereditary dominions, occasioned a universal weakness in the powers of government. The nobility and army, tired with nearly thirty years of constant war, were grown remiss, and anxious for repose in the luxurious pleasures of Dhely and Agra. Aurungzebe's three sons, ambitious of empire, waited only the death of their father, to fight against each other for the important prize. Thus every circumstance combined to bring on the decline of the Mogul empire, and involve it in the miseries related by Eradut Khan, whom I shall now leave to speak for himself.

ORIGINAL

P R E F A C E.

THUS sayeth the compiler of these records and events, an humble and sinful slave, 'Moobaric Oollah · Eradut Khan 'Wazeh, son of the 'sheltered in mercy, 'Keffaiut Khan, writer of the 'Shekest: When I had finished the 'Kulmaut Alceaut, it entered my mind to draw up a concise relation of what events had happened to myself, while I was composing that work.

¹ Anglicè, Blessed of God.

² The author's title of nobility, signifying The Faithful Lord.

³ His poetical name, by which he chose to signify himself in his poems; Anglicè, Clear. Eastern authors always use one.

⁴ The Mussulmauns, when mentioning a deceased person, never say such a one who is dead, but such a one sheltered in mercy, received in pardon, or some similar expression. When mentioning a deceased prince, they say the prince whose seat is in Paradise.

⁵ Anglicè, The servicable.

⁶ The broken hand, generally used in business.

⁷ Anglicè, Sublime Discourses. This work I never could obtain, though I made strict enquiry after it.

I have

I have observed, that delightful scenes, and the society of friends, are not so striking at the time of enjoyment, as afterwards, when reflected in the mirror of recollection. On this account, I write down most passing occurrences; and whenever I peruse them, or ruminate upon them, a particular feeling, a surprizing pleasure and astonishing extasy, prevail in my mind. My writings also serve as a memorial to my friends.

During the short period of my age, which has this day arrived at the sixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy A.C. 1715. Hijhera, such wonders of time, such astonishing marks of the power of the Creator of night and day in the vicissitudes of worldly affairs, the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men, and rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by history to have occurred, in such number or succession, in a thousand years.

As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and what, to others, even information of must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight; and as I was a sharer, as well as spectator, of

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

My intention, however, not being to compile a history of kings, or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened within my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend, writing to a friend, would use for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation. I hope, therefore, that my readers will not loosen the reins of impartiality from their hands, nor call my modesty, ignorance.

TO THE
 R E A D E R.

IT will be necessary to remember, that Aurungzebe is the same person with Aulumgeer. He took the latter title on his accession to the throne, agreeable to the custom of the eastern princes, who always assume a new one on that occasion.

It is hoped that the number of notes will not prove tedious, nor perplex the reader's attention. Some, perhaps, may appear trivial to those whose local knowledge renders such assistance, to them, unnecessary; but, as their number is comparatively very small with those who require it, the translator requests the indulgence of the few, in compliment to the many.

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
M O G U L E M P I R E,
B Y
ERADUT KHAN WAZE H.

I SHALL begin my narration from the time of my removal from the command of the fortress of 'Imteeauz Gur. For the duties of that office I had entertained numerous followers, a tenth of a tenth of whom, the suddenness of my recall rendered me incapable of paying; but, as my life was yet to remain, I made my ¹ escape from among them in the best manner I could, with my family.

On account of my distressed circumstances, and the great distance of my late command from the Imperial camp, in order that I

* An important fortress in Dëkkan, or the southern part of Hindoostan. It is called Oodneh by the Hindoos, and is now in possession of the Mharattas, who retook it soon after the death of the Emperor Aulungeer.

* To be obliged to fly from their own troops, is frequently the case with the nobles of Hindoostan, on recall from office, or other emergency, as they generally keep up more than they can pay with regularity.

might take some repose, his majesty had conferred upon me the government of ¹Ahssunabad Koolburgah, where I remained one month; and then, leaving my dearest son, ²Huddaiut Oolla, as my deputy in that station, I proceeded with a few followers to the ³Stirrup. I had the honour of an audience in ⁴Pargur, while his majesty was engaged in the reduction of ⁵Kundaneh. He shewed me much favour, nor had any change taken place in his esteem and regard towards me. I was stationed, during the siege, four coos distant from the camp, on the only road of communication then left, as I had been successfully employed on the like service, since the commencement of the reduction of Dekkan, at ⁶Beejapore, ⁷Hyderabad, and other places. Though the enemy now was very numerous, and plundered even to the skirts of the camp, yet, by the divine assistance, I maintained my post with a very trifling force. For this service, I was honoured with much applause by his majesty, and my reputation with the public became high. Additional rank was also conferred, as a reward, on my dearest son, and other relations, at Koolburgah.

¹ A city, formerly the capital of the Bhamenee sovereigns of Dekkan, Ferishta's History of whom, and the succeeding Dynasties, has been translated, and will one day be offered to the public, should their approbation await this attempt. It is now of little note, and in possession of the Nizam.

² Anglicè, directed by God.

³ Meaning the emperor's person, when travelling.

⁴ A fortress in Dekkin.

⁵ Another in ditto.

⁶ Once the capital of the Adil Shawee Sultans of Dekkan, and celebrated for its magnificence. It was reduced by Aulumgeer, with all the dependencies, except what the famous Mharatta chief, Sewajee, who was a rebellious vassal of this monarchy, had wrested from it. It is now ruined, and in possession of the Mharattas. Europeans have generally written it Vissapour, but the Mussulmauns as above.

⁷ This city was the capital of Golconda and Koottub Shawee sultans, the last of whom was taken prisoner by Aulumgeer, and his kingdom reduced. It is now one of the capitals of the Nizam, who is however obliged to share the revenues with the Mharattas.

After the reduction of ¹ Kundaneh and ² Raujegur, the emperor moved to another quarter. He had desired several of the principal nobility to accept the command of the latter, as it was of importance, and but newly conquered; but it being a post only of difficulty, they had all requested to be excused. One evening therefore he sent for me, and my son ³ Moraud Khan, and when I had entered the presence, said, "I wish to send thee to Raujegur, art thou willing to go?" I replied, that his slave was ready; upon which he gave me part of the coffee before him, and ordered that, having drank it in the ⁴ Aubdar Khauneh, I should come back, and receive my dismissal. When I returned to the presence, his majesty gave me his blessing, two hundred mhors, and one coin weighing one hundred ⁵ mhors, with two horses to me and my son, and five for my bretheren. Two hundred bullock loads of grain were also ordered with me; and the following day, after morning prayer, I departed. At taking leave, his majesty promised that I should be relieved before the rainy season, then about two months distant.

By the auspices of the divine blessing, I arrived in safety at my station in eight days, and remained there forty; during which, from the solitude and romantic situation of the place, my leisure passed in pleasingly enthusiastic contemplation. ⁶ Munsoor Khan was then

¹ A fortress in Dekkan.

² Another in ditto.

³ Anglice, object of desire.

⁴ The place in which water, sherbets, &c. are cooled in ice or saltpetre.

⁵ Golden coins, of this and greater weight, were often given as marks of favour. Silver coins, of several hundred rupees value, were also in use; and there is one of them now in the British Museum, of which the ingenious Mr. Richardson has given a very full description, in his very learned work, the Persian and Arabic Dictionary.

⁶ Victorious. It is, perhaps, not yet quite unnecessary to mention, that every proper name or title of persons, in the Persian, and frequently in the Hindoo language,

then sent to relieve me, and his majesty wrote with his own hand on the firmaun of recall, that, agreeably to his promise, he commanded me to the presence; to which were added many gracious assurances of favour. I left Raujegur with the same force I had come; but as it was a great distance from the camp, and parties of the enemy were hovering abroad, at several places I was much pressed. On my arrival at the presence, I was received with great favour.

Being now again in the same situation as when I quitted Imteeauz Gur, (for my jagheer¹ had been ruined by various depredations,) I was much distressed in my affairs, when his majesty, who was informed of every thing public and private, sent 'Ameer Khan to me with a message, importing, that, as distress had invaded my affairs, I had better seek a little repose in some settled office, and that he would confer upon me the 'Kelladaree and 'Fojedaree of 'Mandou, then held by 'Nowazush Khan, who, though an ameer of three thousand, was unequal to the post.

My attachment and regard to his majesty were so great, that, observing his life verging to the close, I did not wish to quit the

is an epithet descriptive of some quality in them on whom it is conferred, or the donor supposes them to possess: but, of late years, titles of honour are become so common, as to lose their respect; and there are many victorious lords of Hindostan, who never saw a battle, or drew a sword against an enemy.

¹ Noble.

² Command of a garrison.

³ Military authority in a district, under which are the criminal courts of justice.

⁴ A very extensive fortress in the province of Malwa, of which it was the capital under the Patan sovereigns. It is now much decayed, and in possession of the Mharattas.

⁵ Possessing affability.

presence,

presence, fearful of never beholding him more, and therefore declined the offer; but, when my son and the women of my family heard of the refusal, they became immersed in grief, for the Soubah of Malwa was to them dear as their native place. The disappointment of my son was such, that he privately resolved to give up the service, and leave me; and my whole family were heartless and in despair. At length, overcome by their situation, and indeed they had justice on their side, I, in spite of my own grief, said to my son, "The power is in thy hands; I resign myself as a ransom for thy happiness." The soul of my life went the same evening to Ameer Khan, and informed him of my acceptance of this office. As that minister was pleased with my consenting on many accounts, he represented it to the emperor the same night, when the affair was settled. Alas! how can I express what passed within my own breast? The following morning, at the assembly of justice, his majesty bestowed upon me a horse and ¹ khelaut, and the same upon my son and grandson. It was also allowed me, at my particular request, to come daily to pay my respects at the presence, till the grants of my new office could be prepared; and though my posts of ² Meer Tozuk and ⁴ Darogah of the Dekkan cavalry were given to others, yet, from his majesty's gracious favor, I was permitted to exercise the duties of them till I left the camp.

¹ It was a custom of the Mogul emperors to sit daily once, for the purpose of hearing and redressing the complaints of the people, and often twice; but this noble usage was discontinued by the successors of Aulumgeer, which tended greatly to lose them the respect of their subjects.

² An honorary dress given always to persons entering into office, and frequently by a superior to an inferior, as a mark of esteem. It is varied, in richness of materials, and number of garments, according to the rank of the receiver.

³ A marshal, whose business it is to preserve order in a procession, or line of march, and to report absentees.

⁴ Superintendent, who examines the number of men and horses, to check false musters.

On the evening before my departure, the emperor opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, "Absence now takes place between us, and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive, then, whatever willingly, or unwillingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly, or otherwise, thou mayest have done against me." Upon hearing these expressions, my sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last, after his majesty had repeatedly pressed me, I made shift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and, after blessing me, ordered me to retire. Sorrow lay so heavy upon my mind, that, upon my arrival at Aurungabad, I was seized with a violent illness; but, as my borrowed life was not yet required, the soul and body did not separate. Until my arrival at Mandou, I was unable to move, without help, from my bed to my seat. My son remained in the fort with me only one night, and then departed for his command at Koterree Ferrayeh. I remained one year immersed in the same grief and sorrow.

The prince Mahummud¹ Bedar Bukht being appointed to the government of Malwa, I paid my respects to him at Oojein. In

¹ A considerable city, founded by Aulungeer before his accession to the throne, near the celebrated fortress of Dowlutabad in Dekkan. He named it Khojestehe Boonjaud, or The Happy Mansion; but the people called it Aurungabad, in compliment to his title of Aurungzebe, by which Aulungeer was distinguished before he seized the empire.

² A district in Malwa.

³ Signifying wakeful star, or propitious fortune. He was the eldest son of Azim Shaw.

⁴ Supposed to be one of the oldest cities in India, and is at present the capital of Malwa, and of Mahajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief.

a short time, such a friendship grew between us, that a greater between a prince and subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me: he would not eat of any thing, but he ^{took} a part of it: he did nothing of importance without asking my advice, and considered my opinion as religiously decisive. In short, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but, on this account, I became envied by all his dependants.

Soon after this, the illustrious prince Mahummud 'Azim Shaw, coming from Guzarat to visit the emperor, passed through Malwa, on his route to 'Ahmednuggur. From the favour he had beheld me in with his father, my attention to himself, and the unbounded praises of his son Bedar Bukht, he behaved to me in such a gracious manner, as to relate would occasion prolixity. When he had gone through Malwa, the government of Guzarat was conferred on Bedar Bukht, who departed for that province, and took me with him as far as the frontiers, beyond which I dared not pass without leave from the emperor. How shall I express his manner of parting? He made me promise to write him weekly, and said, that he would favour me as often with letters under his own hand, including every important occurrence, in order to have the benefit of my advice for his conduct. This sort of correspondence was kept up between us regularly, till the life of his majesty shadow of God arrived at an end. I must now relate some particulars of that important event*.

The

* Signifying great king. He was the third by birth, but second surviving son of Aulungeer.

² A considerable city of Dekkan, once the capital of the Nizam Shawce sultans, reduced to the Mogul yoke under Shaw Jehaun, but now under the Mharattas.

³ An epithet common to majesty, with all the orientals.

⁴ It may not be amiss to insert here two letters written by Aulungeer to his sons, Azim Shaw and Kaum Bukht, a few days before his death.

A.H. 1118.
A.C. 1707.
Feb. 21st.

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MEMOIRS OF THE

The emperor, a few days before his death, with a strictness of command seldom to be enforced by monarchs at such a season,
 dispatched

To SHAW AZIM SHAW.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my sin's sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Beejapore, is still near; and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shaw Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAUM BUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion.

dispatched the prince Azim Shaw towards Malwa, and Kaum Bukht to his government of Beejapore. His reason for this proceeding was, that no feuds might arise upon his death, in an enemy's country, between his sons, to endanger the repose of his subjects. Had the two princes remained together in the camp, such would have been the case, as occurred afterwards on the death of Shaw Aulum, whose four sons were together in the camp, when, though not in an enemy's country, the families, fortunes and honour of a world became plunged in the depth of ruin.

Azim Shaw, though knowing the dangerous illness of his father, dared not disobey the orders of march. He departed from the camp, but his motions were slow and cautious; nor did the emperor press him to expedition, after the three first marches. He

The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shaw is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekko, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.

A. H. 1118.

A. C. 1707.

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even said to ' Hummeed ad dien Khan, to whom he had committed the charge of his funeral rites, " Three days after my death, one " of my sons will arrive in camp, and send my remains to Aul- " gabad in a proper manner." On Friday the twenty-eighth of Zeekaud, his majesty performed his morning devotions in company with his attendants; after which, as was frequently his custom, he exclaimed, " O that my death may happen on a Friday, for " blessed is he who dieth on that day !" Soon after, he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun the ² tiummum, as was always his custom till water for the ³ wuzzoo could be brought, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his most pure spirit fled from the narrowness of corporeal confinement, to the boundless expansion of the Most High. We are from God, and to God we must return. His hands remained clasped, and in motion, for some time after he had ceased to breathe. How can I express my own feelings? This much I know, that the kindness, favour and distinction, for fifty years, of that atom-cherishing sun to me, his humble slave, his great actions, his glory, his piety, his perseverance in virtue from youth to age, the revolutions of his reign, and all the wonderful events of time, rushed upon my memory at once in a sea of grief, and overwhelmed my heart, so that I forgot myself, and knew not what passed around me.

Azim Shaw, being informed of the event by his agents, and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the third

¹ Anglicè, Aider of the faith.

² A purification by sprinkling of dust over the body, ordered by Mahumud for the convenience of his followers inhabiting the dry deserts of Arabia, where water is too valuable for the poor to use on slight occasions.

³ Ditto with water.

of 'Zeenudge at the camp at Ahmednuggur. He omitted no shew of affection and respect to his deceased father, but, like the orphans of those in humble life, shed many tears.

Many of the chief imperial servants, as ²Muttullub Khan, ³Khoddabundeh Khan, ⁴Terbeut Khan, and others, had a real attachment to Azim Shaw. Some neither loved or hated him; and a few, though they disliked, yet, from inability to oppose, prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mogul chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance, ⁵Feeroze Jung, his son Cheen Koollich Khan, and ⁶Mahummud Ameen Khan.

On the tenth of Zeehug, 1118, Azim Shaw ascended the throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. Here I must be permitted to mention one or two instances of the wonderful accomplishment of the decrees of Providence. While he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to Azim Shaw, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire; but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, from his own conduct. He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Shaw Aulum, relin-

² The twelfth month of the Arabian year.

³ Anglicè, Object of the wish.

⁴ Slave of God.

⁵ Accomplished in manners and morals.

⁶ Fortunate in war.

⁷ Faithful in Mahummud.

quishing to him such a vast empire as Hindostan, without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime. At the same time, he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedar Bukht, whose favour with the late emperor had displeased him. He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly, that they were not fit for his service. He removed Terbeut Khan, a veteran and loyal general, from his command of the artillery, in the most insulting manner, without any notice, and conferred that important station on a young man of low rank among his creatures. In short, I cannot enumerate all the ill omens to the fortune of Azim Shaw, which proved the will of Providence to have decreed heaven bestowed empire to, Shaw Aulum. He who prided in himself is ruined. When the will of God hath decreed an event, all things aid the accomplishment.

Mahummud Kaum Bukht received intelligence of the emperor's death, on his third day's march from Ahmednuggur, and was immediately deserted by Mahummud Ameen Khan, and all the Toorance Moguls, though they had been purposely appointed for his protection, at this crisis, by Aulumgeer. In addition to this misfortune, Zoolfeccar Khan, his bitterest enemy, who had once confined him at the siege of ^a Linjee, lay in his route with a considerable army, so that it was probable his person would be seized by this nobleman, in order to obtain the favour of the new emperor. Azim Shaw had dispatched orders to that effect; but Zoolfeccar Khan, either from policy or compassion, did not obey them, and Kaum Bukht arrived in safety at Beejapore, which he was al-

^a Anglicè, Lord of the destroying weapon. This was the name of a scymetar belonging to Ali, son-in-law to the prophet.

^a A celebrated fortress in the Carnatic.

MOGUL EMPIRE.

lowed to keep, as his brother, being eager to quit Dekkan, did not endeavour to remove him.

Azim Shaw now proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Agra, by regular stages, as if the principal of a caravan, and taking the route of Toomree, quitted the broad and easy road of Akberpore, on his left; proving, by this imprudent step, that, when destiny is unfavourable, man always doeth that which is wrong. The route of Toomree was hilly, full of woods, and, for many long spaces, void of water; so that, during two days march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals, perished through fatigue and thirst. It was remarked by numbers, at the time, that this foreboded evil to the fortune of Azim Shaw; for he had rashly neglected the example of his father Aulumgeer, who, when marching against ' Dara Shekkoh, had chosen the route of Akberpore.

I must now return to the affairs of Bedar Bukht, whom it was my fortune to join. This prince, on the death of Aulumgeer, received orders from his father, Azim Shaw, to march immediately from Guzarat, and proceed towards Lahore, to prevent the advance of Shaw Aulum from Cabul. Bedar Bukht had the greatest and most sincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him; and on that account the father and son became jealous of each other. Upon receipt of the melancholy news, he was overwhelmed with real grief, which dwelt long upon his mind; for, when I saw him afterwards at Oojein, he would frequently weep at recollection of his loss. In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Guzarat without delay, at the head of only three thousand

* A most excellent and authentic account of this prince's adventures and misfortunes may be seen in Bernier's Travels, which are bound up in Churchill's and Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. Dow also details them; but I prefer Bernier's account, as more artless.

M E M O I R S O F T H E

horse, his own dependants, and carried with him about thirty lacks of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch twenty lacks in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a crore of rupees from the bankers and renters, by way of loan, without oppression, as did Moraud Buksh, when he marched from this province against Dara Shekkoh.

On the eve of his march, he dispatched a letter to me and several others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers, who had orders to search all messengers, and inspect letters. As the prince expected me on the frontiers of Malwa, he was much disappointed on his arrival there, and repeatedly exclaimed, "What can have happened, to prevent the coming of Eradut Khan?" My enemies, and several envious persons, took occasion to defame me, saying, that I would never join him; for, knowing the jealousy between him and his father, who was now emperor, I was gone to court his favour. In this manner did my enemies address him, till he arrived near Oojein; when, not finding me there, in spite of his regard and reliance upon me, suspicion found room in his mind of my fidelity.

¹ Two hundred thousand pounds.

² One million ditto.

³ Anglicè, Accomplisher of the wish. Youngest son of the emperor Shaw Jehaun, and brother to Aulumgeer, who, having made use of him to attain the defeat of his elder brothers, confined him in the fortress of Gualiar, and afterwards had him put to death, on his being tried and condemned for murder, on the accusation of a dependant, whose father he had executed for some crime, when in power. Aulumgeer was obliged to displace the first judge before whom the cause was brought, as he refused to give sentence, saying, that a prince putting a man to death in the exercise of his authority, for a crime, ought not to be accounted murder.

At length, on the first of 'Mohirrim, the prince's letters were brought me altogether, and immediately after, having loaded a small tent and some necessaries on two trained camels, I departed from Mandou, leaving the fortress in charge of my dear relation and friend, Meer Sunjir.

A.H. 1119.
A.C. 1707.

The prince had been for some time encamped near Oojein, waiting for the lucky day to make his entry into that city, so that by chance I reached the camp at the instant of good fortune. He was moving in his ² nallekee towards the town, when he perceived me at a distance, and said to his attendants, "Is not that Eradut Khan that I see?" And was scarcely answered, when I came up. He stopped his train, and opening wide his arms, cried, "Come, come my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been stretched, even to dimness." I kissed his feet, and presented my offering. He pressed my head to his bosom, and taking off his ³ neem-asteen, put it on my shoulders. His first words were lamentations mingled with tears, for the deceased emperor his grandfather, for whom he knew the sincerity of my grief. He then ordered me to mount my horse, and ride near him; and, as we proceeded to the city, related all that had happened to himself, and his anxiety at not meeting me on the borders of the province. When I had satisfied him for my delay, he commanded those who had spoken against me to quit his presence, with much displeasure, and refused to admit them again for many days.

¹ The first month of the Arabian year.

² A canopied litter peculiar to the princes, and allowed now and then to some few great officers of state. It is generally of rich materials, and often entirely of silver. It is carried on the shoulders of twelve or sixteen bearers, on three poles, one on each side, like our sedans, and the third running under the middle of the machine.

³ An upper robe with half-sleeves, commonly made of gold or silver tissue. For a prince, or person of high rank, to confer any part of his own dress on an inferior, is accounted a very great honour to the receiver.

Bedar Bukht did not remain in the palace of Oojein ; but, after viewing the city, pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a cofs distant. Here he was attended by ' Abdoollah Khan, the foubadar of Malwa, and continued one month and twenty days, expecting the arrival of his father, when that rash prince wrote him the following firmaun :

“ Why have you not hastened on, nor sunk the boats in the
 “ ‘ Suttulludge, to prevent the approach of the enemy ? Though
 “ he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect.”

Soon after my arrival in camp, the prince sent a ¹ Nisshaun, with the following words in his own hand, to my dear son
 ‘ Huddaiut Oollah Khan, then Fojedaur of a district of about two days journey from Oojein.

“ Your father, one of my most esteemed dependants, attends
 “ the stirrup. I am surprized that you have not as yet come to the
 “ prefence.”

My son, in reply, wrote to the prince, that he should shortly seek the honour of an audience ; but privately to me, desiring that I would represent to his highness, what respect would not permit him to mention himself. This was, that though I had no force under me, yet my attendance and advice might be of use ; but that he, unless at the head of troops, could do no service ; that he had then with him two thousand veteran soldiers, all his followers for twenty years, who would accompany him without the limits of his

¹ Slave of God.

² One of the five great rivers between Cabul and Lahore.

³ The letters of the emperor are styled firmauns, those of princes, nisshauns.

⁴ Directed by God.

government. Of these he had sent a return to the prince, whom he would immediately attend, on the advance of a month's pay to enable him to march; but without that they must be excused.

His highness, in answer to this message, said to me, "To give Huddaiut Oollah this sum, or much greater, I would not hesitate; but, alas! should I call in such a force, as your attachment to me has been represented to my father in a suspicious view by interested persons, he would instantly, on the junction of your son's troops, be convinced of my disloyalty, and turn his arms from Shaw Aulum against me. Write this to your son." I did so; and he declined coming to the camp, writing to me the following words: "I resign you to the protection of a gracious God, since I am prevented by my ill-fortune from paying my duty in person. I wish you could leave the party with which you are engaged, as I see destiny will to it prove unfavorable." God be praised, that from his prudent caution, my dear son remained secure from the ensuing troubles.

Bedar Bukht, agreeable to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the presence by Zoofseccar Khan, Ram Sing Harrah, zemindar of Koteh, and Dulput Bodedela, also Amaun Oolla Khan, who were sent by Azim Shaw,

* A principal zemindary in Malwa, now much circumscribed by the Mharattas, who allow the raja, a descendant of Ram Sing's, but a very small proportion of his lands.

* The Bodedela tribe of Rajapootes are the possessors of Bonedelcund, an extensive tract, lying partly in the Agra, and partly in the province of Allahabad. Their proper chief, the raja of Oorcha, descended from Ber Sing Deo, the founder of the family importance, possesses but little territory, far the greatest part having been wrested from his house by Chutterfaul, one of a younger branch of the Bodedelas, whose descendants now hold his estates jointly with the Mharattas, who have a third part of the lands, and produce of the diamond mines of Pirna.

as much to guard the prince's motions as to assist him. * Meerza Raja Jey Sing, * Khan Aulum a Dekkan chief, with his brother * Munnower Khan, and other officers, also joined from the presence, with about six thousand horse.

The prince, * Mahummud Azeem Oosshawz, who had, by Aulumgeer's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had reached the vicinity of Agra, when he heard of the emperor's decease; upon which he marched to secure that city for his father, Shaw Aulum. * Mukhtar Khan, the foubadar, who was attached to Azim Shaw, and father-in-law to Bedar Bukht, hoping to impede his progress, sunk all the boats in the Jumna, and placed guards at the nearest fords. But, alas! what power had such a vassal to face the son of his decreed sovereign? The prince moved higher up, and having crossed the river, took him prisoner; but regarding his former services, and those of his

* Zemindar of a considerable territory in the province of Ajmere, named Ambeer; but since this prince's founding a new city called Jeypore, the rajaship has also taken that name. Jeypore is reckoned the most regular built city in Hindostan; and Europeans, who have seen it, speak highly of its magnificence. Jey Sing was a great encourager of science, and built several observatories for astronomical studies. He also erected a caravanferai and market in every province of Hindostan, for the convenience of travellers, at his own expence. The present raja of Jeypore, his grand-nephew, possesses the city, but not much territory, part of which has been seized by vassals of his family, and part by the Mharattas and Mogul chiefs, to both of whom he is tributary. Jeypore is the great mart for horses from Persia and the northern provinces of Hindostan; and the old citadel of Ambeer, close to it, is said to contain vast wealth laid up by Jey Sing. This will probably one day fall into the hands of the Mharattas, if they are not soon diverted from their operations in this part of India, by troubles in Dekkan, that shall furnish them employment nearer home.

* Anglicè, Lord of the world.

* Enlightened lord

* Anglicè, Of high dignity; second son of Shaw Aulum, the eldest surviving son of Aulumgeer.

* Anglicè, Powerful lord.

family,

family did not offer him personal injuries. It had as yet been the usage of the princes of this illustrious house, though a nobleman according to his connections with one of them, appeared against another in the field, that the victor did not put him to death, or disgrace him. On the contrary, the fidelity and valour displayed by him, in the cause of a defeated rival, were sure recommendations to the conqueror's favour. The princes knew that the stability of power and regulation of empire rested on the support of an experienced nobility, and they would frequently observe, "that their enmity was not to the throne; for whenever a prince became fixed upon it, they were faithful subjects. If then we destroy them, through whom can we administer the government." By this wise policy of the Imperial family, the rules and order of the extensive empire of Hindostan remained uninjured by the quarrels of the princes.—But to return to my subject.

When Mahummud Bedar Bukht approached the banks of the ¹Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived near ²Gualiar, Azeem Ooshawn detached a considerable body from Agra, under ³Motushum Khan, to guard the fords. Bedar Bukht was fond of enterprize, jealous of his honour, and of high mind tempered with prudence. A rivalry for glory had always subsisted between him and his father, Azim Shaw, who was of rash courage, and never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the ⁴whisker-twisting vaunters

¹ A river in the province of Agra.

² One of the most celebrated fortresses of Hindostan, an elegant plate of which, with the account of its capture by a detachment under colonel Popham, in 1780, has been given to the public by major Rennell; but another, on a larger scale, with a more minute description of the place, is now preparing by the ingenious Mr. W. Hodges, well known for his drawings under Captain Cook, and for his views of places in India, taken by himself on the spot.

³ Dignified.

⁴ The twist of the whiskers in India, and the outrageous cock of the hat in England, are alike characteristic.

MEMOIRS OF THE

of Hindostan, if his son made any delay on his march, he would jest and sneer, attributing it to cowardice, and dread of the enemy. On this account, Bedar Buhkt resolved to cross the Chumbul immediately, and attack the posts of Motushum Khan; but this proceeding was strongly opposed by Zoofeccar Khan, an experienced general of approved conduct; upon which a strange contention took place, which is worthy of relation.

A number of low-minded persons, vain and imprudent, such as are too frequently the favorites of princes, who thought themselves capable antagonists for the nobility of Azeem Oshawn, regarding this as a fit opportunity to shew their loyalty and attachment, interfered in the conduct of affairs. As Zoofeccar Khan, in the opinion of some, was suspected of treachery, they seized this occasion to persuade the prince that he corresponded with Shaw Aulum, and wished to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his designs of desertion to his cause. God only knows the heart, and perhaps it might have been so; but, in the eye of understanding, good policy alone seemed to influence his conduct in this affair.

When he was informed that the prince had resolved on crossing the river the next morning, he repeatedly represented, through the proper officers, that such a step was by no means adviseable at the present crisis; but the prince refused to take his opinion. Upon this, Zoofeccar Khan went himself to his highness's tents, and requested an audience, setting forth, that he had affairs of importance to communicate; but the prince would not admit him, and sent word, that nightly council was unlucky, therefore he must wait till the morning. I had heard of Zoofeccar Khan's advice during the day, and of the prince's dissent, but knew not what had passed at night; for I made it a rule never to go to his councils, unless

unlike called upon; and his highness had never failed, till now, to find for me. It happened, that I had been this day to visit Zoolfeccar Khan, at his earnest request, but not a word on the affair in debate passed between us. Some envious persons, however, took this occasion to persuade the prince, that I was a partner with the general; and, notwithstanding his conviction of my fidelity, his highness, in his present humour, believed them. Hence it is, that the ancients observed, “ We should never rely on the favour of
“ princes; for when their minds are disgusted, though without
“ cause, a thousand years of confidence may be destroyed in one
“ instant of suspicion.”

The day following, suddenly, before morning prayer, the march of battle was sounded, and the prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of action. I was at my devotions, when I heard the drums; but dressing myself in haste and astonishment, I speeded to attend him. He had moved some distance from the tents before I came up. I found him, with an angry countenance, and contemptuous exclamation, uttering reproachful terms of Zoolfeccar Khan, as deceiver, traitor, false wretch, and the like, to some servile attendants round his elephant; but, on perceiving me, he became silent, and looked more displeased. According to custom, I alighted from my horse to make my obeisance, of which he took no notice, nor spoke, nor smiled upon me as he was wont to do, but turned his head another way. Though much hurt at this slight, I took my station as usual on his right hand, close to the ear of his elephant, and ruminated on the change in his behaviour, while my enemies, who during the night had formed this ¹telism, were rejoicing all around at my distress. Though his highness did not speak to them after my

¹ Charm, or talisman.

arrival, yet I judged, by their exulting, and winking to one another, that somewhat highly pleasing to them had happened.

Just then, Zoofeccar Khan sent an officer to request I would attend him; for he hoped that, at my desire, the prince would alter his intention of passing the river. I informed his highness of the officer's coming, for I never visited any of the nobility without permission. Upon this, he angrily exclaimed, "Go! Your quiver also hangs at his belt!" I then desired the officer to return, and tell what he had heard, as I could not go; but the prince, with a furious aspect, cried out, "Be gone! Why don't you go to your friend?" At beholding this, a giddiness seized my brain, and I became distracted; for I never expected such words from him, whose favour I thought sincere, and prided myself on deserving, by my fidelity. I became raging, rash, and impetuous, and said, "What business can I, the humblest of the humble, have with nobles of Zoofeccar's exalted rank? He was the first general of your grandfather; but your father has now detached him under your command, and certainly the power is at present in your hands, to treat him as you please." His highness, upon this, more angrily than ever, exclaimed, "Surely the emperor hath not made you my tutor!" What shall I say? Heaven and earth seemed to fall at once upon my shoulders, and I wished to die that instant; but these words involuntarily slipped from my tongue: "What is my ability, to become tutor to a prince like your highness? Yet, should the trust be offered me, I would rather fly from society with a thorn head, than accept it." To this he made no reply, and I quitted his person without ceremony.

* An idiomatical expression, signifying that he was attached to his party.

I had not gone far, when the generous, forbearing, patient and benevolent prince, cherisher of his friends, sent to me the 'daroga of ^{the} Khowaus, to say, as from himself, "What troublesome dreams hath my friend seen, to disorder his imagination, and make him rave? Know you not, that spies have prejudiced my father against you, as my adviser? Therefore, as much contention passed last night, between me and Zoolfeccar Khan, and I have just now insulted that deceitful traitor, I spoke angrily to you also, to remove suspicion of my treatment of him proceeding from your counsel, not supposing you could misapprehend me." Upon this, I stopped till the prince came up, when he called me to him, and smiling, whispered in my ear, "I have beheld your deep penetration." I replied, "I did not expect such expressions from your highness." He answered, "I also wished to try your patience, my friend, who pretend to so much prudence, with such heat and passion." Having said this, he took from his neck a large cornelian of ^aYemmun, on which were engraved some prayers in a beautiful character, and giving it to me, said aloud, "Admire this graving!" at the same time nodding that I should keep it; but I returned it, signifying privately, that the gift was improper before so many envious witnesses. At length, my late exulting and mean-spirited enemies, seeing me again in favour, retired to a distance, and left me to converse with his highness; who then said, "Surely you must have forgotten what my father wrote to me, concerning you, three days since, and my answer to his majesty!" That affair I will relate.

The prince had three days before received a firmaun under his father's own hand, and I went with him to meet it, agreeable to custom. About midnight, he sent for me again, and carried me

* Overseer of domestic attendants.

^a Arabia Felix.

into the sleeping apartment of his 'mahal, where he had been sitting with the mother of ^a Bedar Dil, who retired as I came in, to another chamber. He gave me the firmaun, and desired me to read it. In it was written, in Azim Shaw's own hand, the following sentence: "You are day and night consulting with Eradut Khan; "I wish to know for what purpose!" When I had returned the paper, his highness asked what was fit to write in answer.

I replied, "I am your servant. Dismiss me for the present, "and when my duty is requisite, I will instantly return." He exclaimed, "You must not leave me; but some answer must be "written. I will attempt one; but you must also compose "another, and we will send that we both approve." He then gave me pen, ink and paper, from his standish, and seated me at a lamp. He wrote, and I wrote. When we had finished, it appeared, on comparison, that we had both written the same, almost without the difference of a word, as follows:

"It must be remembered in the sacred mind, that your majesty, "in passing through Malwa to the presence of the 'Shadow of "God, said to your slave, *Eradut Khan is our household servant, "truly loyal, wise and experienced. I give him to you, that, when "important affairs shall come in agitation, you may consult with him.* "Health to your majesty! What crisis of affairs can be more important than the present? According to the orders founded in "benevolence, I do consult with him daily, on all affairs public "and private. I know not what suspicions those admitted to the "presence may have formed of this faithful servant, but, were "they communicated to me, I could remove them to the satisfaction of your majesty."

^a The ladies apartments.
emperor Aulumgeer.

^a His son; Anglicè, Vigilant mind.

^a The

The prince applauded me much, and said, "with this able judgement and the similarity of our dispositions, how can I avoid giving you my esteem?" But to be sincere in this affair, justice was on the side of Azim Shaw; for Bedar Bukht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the service of Azim Shaw, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son.

Being alone with him one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast, said, "If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-defence? Have you a precedent for it?"

I replied, "Such a question is unnecessary. The behaviour of your grandfather to his father is a sufficient precedent; and sovereigns are forced to expedients which are not justifiable in other men."

Conversation of this sort often passed between us; and one evening he asked me, how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father. I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus: When he has gained the victory over Shaw Aulum, you will be the first to congratulate him. The troops will then be separated here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead and wounded; and, as the tents will not be ready, your father will be only under a ¹ shaumianeh, surrounded by a few ² kanauts,

¹ Alluding to Aulumgeer's dethronement of Shaw Jehaun:

² A canopy of cotton cloth.

³ Walls of cotton cloth, which are always pitched round the tents of all who can afford them. The principal chiefs have them, enclosing ground of a great extent round theirs. They have a very splendid appearance. Bernier gives a good description of a Mogul camp, to which the curious may refer.

“ You will be admitted to audience, attended by such of your followers as may have deserved notice in the action by their gallant conduct; and, at such a time, they will be allowed their arms. It is probable your father will not have many persons with him between the kanauts. Then is your time.” The prince eagerly exclaimed, “ You have spoken well! Dare you, at such a time, strike the blow?”

I replied, that though the act was easy, yet a sacred oath rested upon our family never to shed the blood of a prince unless by chance in battle, if engaged in the cause of a rival, when it would be excusable. I then said, “ Your other opportunity will be thus: should the enemy fly, an army will be sent in pursuit, and probably under your command, while your father, setting his mind at ease, will be employed, without suspicion, in pleasure and rejoicing. You may return suddenly upon him, and gain your wishes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldest son and have seen much service, he will certainly appoint you to the government of Dekkan. You will have then a powerful army at your disposal. As your father’s behaviour is disgusting to the people, and many of the courtiers dislike him, they will aid your pretensions. Use open force, and try for whom God will decide.”

Bedar Bukht, having crossed the Chumbul at an unobserved ford, the troops of Azeem Ooshaun, who were stationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery in the various posts, and fled to Agra, happy to save their lives. Zoolfeccar, who had advised the prince to remain on the other side, seeing he had crossed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the success of his march. This submission pleasing his highness, he resolved on the morrow to honour him with a visit,

in order to atone for his late behaviour. Zoofeccar Khan, hearing of his intention, sent a message to me, desiring that I would persuade him to lay it aside, as his highness's visit would occasion various reports, and the cause be inserted in the intelligence of the spies, with remarks that would injure the prince and himself in the opinion of Azim Shaw.

I was preparing to execute the commission; but before I could leave my tent, Zoofeccar Khan passed by, having resolved to go himself to the prince. Begging pardon for his boldness, he presented a garland of flowers to his highness, who, softened with his humility, shewed him more favour than was consistent with his own dignity. It was a rule of Aulumgeer's, never to shew such condescension to the nobility, as to make them think themselves too necessary to him, but he conducted himself so as to be held in respectful veneration by those even nearest his person. Certain it is, that too much humility in a sovereign loses him the object for which it is assumed. The prince, having honoured him with the robe he had on, and a rich sirpeach of jewels, dismissed him with numerous professions of kindness.

Zoofeccar Khan the same evening made another visit, when I only was sitting with the prince, and thus began to offer his advice: "Since your highness has crossed the river, as the prince Azeem Ooshaun is near, it is proper to march towards him immediately, lest your father should conceive evil suspicions, or the army

* Garlands made of the chumbeely, a sort of double jasmine, are always introduced with the betel at entertainments, and presented to the guests; also tassels of the same for the turban, and sometimes leaves of gold and silver foils, are interwoven with the flowers.

* The sirpeach is a jewel for the turban. A kulgher, or egret, is generally worn with it.

“suppose that you fear to engage him.” The prince did not answer him, but nodding to me, said, “Have you heard what he observed?” I replied, “Yes; and he is an experienced general and faithful servant; yet there are some points to be considered. Though engaging Azeem Ooshaun is no hazardous enterprize, yet he is also a prince; and if, now your highness has crossed the river to meet him, he does not march this way, the reproach of delay will rest on him. Let us consider also who is nearest to us, Azim Shaw, or Shaw Aulum. If the former, let us march: yet Azeem Ooshaun, if defeated, has the city of Agra for a refuge, to reduce which must require some days. His father may also arrive with his vast army, said to be an hundred thousand horse, and he has already with him thirty thousand. If Zoolfeccar Khan judges he can, without the aid of your father, engage these two armies, and a prince of Shaw Aulum’s experience and valour, what can we dread? Let us march.” Zoolfeccar Khan, in reply to this, only said, as was his manner when pleased, “Good! good! good! He hath spoken well.”

Some days after this, Azim Shaw approaching near, Bedar Bukht moved a coss in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father’s tents; and the morning of his arrival, went two coss from the camp to meet him. Azim Shaw loved him as a son, though, from the attention shewn him by Aulumgeer, he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him, after long absence, paternal fondness for the infant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely *khelaut*, with the *chaurkub*, a sword set with jewels, elephants and horses. The prince, after the interview, asked me if I would not pay my respects to his father: to which I replied, that I did.

* An upper robe, never conferred but on princes of the royal family, the vizier of the empire, and Ameer al Amra.

not wish it, having no desire to engage his notice, or embrace his service; but, upon his observing that my declining it would occasion much suspicion, I consented, and was introduced. Azim Shaw, upon seeing me, said, "Are you also come?" I replied, "Yes, but without orders. I left my station, though far distant from the route of your majesty. Who else has done so?" He conferred the usual khelaut upon me, and gave orders for my being employed.

Empire having been decreed to Shaw Aulum, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azim Shaw, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of Toor and Sullum, durst not meet him in the field. Hence, those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth; as was formerly the case with the emperor Humaioon, during the rebellion of the Afghan Shere Shaw. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.

At length Shaw Aulum having reached Muttra, sent by a celebrated divvesh the following message to Azim Shaw. "By the divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent

¹ Vast armies, mentioned in the Koraun.

² Father of Akber. See his reign in Dow's History.

³ A city about eighteen coss N. of Agra, much venerated by the Hindoos, it being the birth-place of their god Kishen. There were formerly very rich temples in it; but one, more celebrated than the rest, and erected by Ber Sing, deo raja of Oorcha, cost thirty-six lacks of rupees. It was razed by Aulumgeer, who built a mosque on the site with the materials. Muttra, however, has still many temples, which are visited by pilgrims from all parts of India.

"to shed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder, I will leave the choice in your power." Azim Shaw, vain-glorious and haughty, replied, that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this, the messenger departed. Azim Shaw marched the next morning, and encamped between Iajoo and Agra, on a barren plain void of water, so that the army was much distressed. Intelligence arrived during this day, that Shaw Aulum was encamped seven coss distant, and intended moving on the morrow, but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned, that my design is not to write the history of kings, but of myself, and what I have seen. Accordingly, of the battle between the brothers, I shall only relate such circumstances as I was an eye-witness of.

Sunday, the
18th of Ru-
bee al awul,
A. H. 1119.
A. C. 1707.

The morning dawned; but what a dawn! Darting fire, and tinged with blood; of whose horrors the last day can only prove an imitation. Call it not morning; it was the day of judgment! Call it not dawn; it was the evening of death! Call it not day, but the gloomy eve of the woes of time!

Mahummud Bedar Bukht, who commanded the advanced corps of the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march. He was mounted upon his favorite elephant, and his most valued attendants were near his person. Zoofeccar Khan with the two Rajepoet chiefs, Ram Sing and Dulput Roy, also Amaun Oollah Khan, followed them, inclined somewhat to the left of the prince. The main body of the army marched next, in the center of which rode Azim Shaw, surrounded by his courtiers and a numerous band of Mogul, Afghan and Hindostanee munsubdaurs, of

* Anglicè, Holding rank. Persons of family, but without titles of nobility.

approved valour. We had not as yet learned the position of the enemy, or what was the design of Shaw Aulum.

• Mahummud Bedar Bukht had reached a village, near which was a stream of clear water; and some wells were also round about it. The troops at this time were much separated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he chose. Seeing which, I represented to the prince, that the main body was far behind; that the country in his front was destitute of water for some miles, and the day promised to be distressingly hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he hasten? I remarked the scattered march of his followers; Zoolfeccar Khan obliques so far to the left as scarcely to be visible, and other chiefs equally distant in every quarter. I observed, that, if he halted here till some news arrived of the enemy, there was sufficient water to refresh the troops, the artillery would come up, the emperor have time to join, and order be restored in the line; also that, should the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is just. Go, and inform my father I shall follow it."

It happened also, that Shaw Aulum had no advice of the route of our army; and, as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning dispatched his main body under • Monauim Khan, while he, with his sons and personal attendants, hunted along the bank of the Jumna. His • peeshkhaneh, with the usual escort under • Roostum-dil Khan, was coming on in front of the army, in the same route as our line.

* Anglicè, Fortunate. He was chief minister to Shaw Aulum.

* Anglicè, Advanced house. The Hindostanee chiefs have always two sets of tents, &c. one of which is always dispatched, in front of the army, to the next ground of encampment, and pitched for their reception.

* Anglicè, Of heart like Roostum, the celebrated champion of Firdosi's Shaw-nammeh, or History of Persian Kings.

Upon the delivery of my message to Azim Shaw, he replied, "It is very well. Go, and inform my son I am coming up." I returned to the promised place of halt; but what did I behold! The prince had marched on, and left the village unguarded. I speeded after him, and, upon gaining the line, saw a joyful scene of congratulation on victory. When the prince saw me, he eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory!" I replied, "How comes victory, without a battle?" Upon which his highness, turning to a courier, said, "Tell Eradut Khan what you have seen." This foolish wretch then affirmed, that he had seen the 'Sewarree elephant of Shaw Aulum, without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off towards Agra. The prince then said, that our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage. The cause of this imaginary victory was thus: The advanced baggage of Shaw Aulum falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and, the escort being small, soon taken. The elephant seen running away, belonged to Roostum-d Khan, who commanded the escort.

The prince, however, now ordered me to go and inform his father of the victory, supposing that my being the bearer of good news would give me favour in his mind. I declined going, and observed, that I could not carry intelligence so very ridiculous and groundless; upon which the prince was angry, and exclaimed, "What do you mean?" I replied, "Let us reason on the subject. Is not Shaw Aulum the son of Aulumgeer, and claimant of the throne? Has he not advanced from Cabul to Agra, with four sons, valiant like himself, and a great army? Can then any person of judgment even suppose, that he should basely fly without a battle, or even having seen his enemy? What dread

^a That on which he usually rode.

" can have seized him, who was a valiant leader in the wars of Dekkan, against ' Samba, ' Sunta, and ' Dhunna? Accidents will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boasted victory is no more. Your troops have plundered his advanced tents; but woe to those who have been thus employed! If important service should now offer, they will be useless, confused as they are, and encumbered with spoil." To these remarks the prince angrily exclaimed, " You are always apprehensive, and foreboding ill!" He then ordered Casim, the [†]darogah of his divan, to carry the intelligence of victory to Azim Shaw.

Scarcely half an hour after this had elapsed, when a great dust arose upon our right. Upon this, I said to the prince, " Behold the consequence of our victory, and the flight of Shaw Aulum! " Yon cloud precedes at least fifty thousand horse." Just as I had concluded, another dust arose, which certified a second body of troops approaching. I desired his highness to prepare for action, while yet the enemy was at some distance. He then said, " Will you now go, and inform my father of the enemy's approach?" To this I replied, " Though I wish not to quit your highness's person, yet, as I am ordered, I must obey;" and, having said this, I rode off with speed towards Azim Shaw. On my way, I beheld strange disorder. Amaun Oollah Khan, a reputed good officer, who acted as [†]herauwul to the prince [¶]Wallajah, I met with only two or three hundred straggling horse. Azim Shaw was

[†] Son to the celebrated Mharatta chief Sewajee, whom he succeeded; but was taken prisoner, and put to death by Aulumgeer.

[‡] Another son of Sewajee.

[§] A famous Mharatta chief.

[¶] Superintendant of the hall of audience.

[§] Leader of the advanced corps.

[¶] Anglicé, Of high rank. He was younger son to Azim Shaw.

a coss and a half farther in the rear, and his troops become separated into three divisions, so that I could not easily distinguish the royal post; for the train of artillery had been left in Dekkan, and the standard elephants were out of their stations, so that there was nothing to mark the emperor from a distance. When Terbeut Khan was removed from the command of the artillery, and his successor applied for orders concerning it to Azim Shaw, he was much enraged, and passionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle? I will not even draw the sword, but bruise his head with a staff."

At length I perceived the imperial umbrella, and hastened towards it. Some of the courtiers, who always first received intelligence, that they might accommodate it to the humour of their master, demanded my business; but, not listening to such weak flatterers, I rode on. When Azim Shaw saw me, he made a signal for me to advance; but, such was the crowd, I had scarce ability to push through it. At length, having come near to his travelling throne, I alighted from my horse, and said, "The prince informs your majesty of the enemy's near approach." What shall I say? Azim Shaw, starting as if stung by a scorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his custom when angry, pulling up his sleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears." He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner whirling a crooked

* Alluding to the bullocks used for the draft of the artillery, universal in Hindostan.

† The umbrella is one of the imperial ensigns; and, when the etiquette of the court was kept up, no subject dared to carry one.

‡ A seat, or rather small couch, fixed on three poles, like the nallekee described in a former note.

§ A short crooked staff, about three feet in length, not unlike a crozier, used by fakerees to lean on when they sit, and often by persons of rank as an emblem of humility, and having declared themselves disciples to some holy man.

staff, stood upright in his throne, and tauntingly said, "Be not alarmed! I am coming up to my son." Hurt at this insult to the spirit of my prince, I said, "His highness is son to yourself, aylum of a world, and knoweth not fear. He only represents the enemy's approach, that your majesty may advance with the troops, and take the post usual for the emperor in the day of battle."

Having said this, I rode off to rejoin Bedar Bukht; but such crowds surrounded me to ask for news, that I could not disengage myself till within a rocket's flight of the prince. Just as I had reached him, the enemy began to cannonade, and a ball struck the breast of an attendant close to his person.

As I had not been undressed for the last two nights, and was exceedingly fatigued with hard riding, the sun and wind being burning hot, my strength now failed me, and I fainted away. My brother, seeing this, lifted me from my horse, laid me on the ground, and loosened my armour, but could get no water to revive me. The prince, observing my distress, generously sent me a small vessel from his elephant, which gave me new life. I untied the folds of my vest, and poured some of the water on my breast, but was still too faint to rise. By this time, Azim Shaw was come up; but, contrary to the custom of the emperors, whose station is the rear of the center, pushed on towards Bedar Bukht, and his attendants crowded after him without order. Ameer Khan passing by, and seeing me on the ground, offered me a seat with him on his elephant, as did others of my friends; but I refused them all. At length my own elephant arriving, I mounted, and lay with my breast bare upon three skins of water, which luckily for me were in the seat, to prevent my fainting a second time. The train elephants of Azim Shaw, those of his women, of the treasury, and

the jewel office, now pushed between me and Bedar Bukht, so that I was removed some distance from him.

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a 'rocket's flight of our line. One of these was headed by the prince Azeem Ooshaun, the other by Monauim Khan, with whom were also the princes 'Moiz ad Dien Jhaundar Shaw and Jhaun Shaw. Our line was so pressed upon on each flank, and in the rear by baggage elephants, cattle and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops, and render them useless. Shaw Aulum's artillery played upon us incessantly, and did great execution; and his sons advancing, fired showers of musquetry, which fell like hail. A line of rockets extending in front of our army, was repeatedly discharged with great effect. The sun, obscured by dust and smoke, was in the meridian, and the heat excessive. At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge. This being told me by my brother, who supported me on the elephant, I raised myself as much as I could, adjusted my armour, and observed the motions. I saw Khan Aulum move towards the enemy with great rapidity, upon which I waved my handkerchief as a signal for the prince Bedar Bukht to follow, which he did, so that I shortly could see only the top of his 'amaury. As to myself, I could not move, being wedged in by the crowd of elephants around me.

* The rocket in India is used in war, and the chamber being made of iron, does execution wherever it strikes, but cannot be sent in true direction. It will reach from three to four hundred yards.

² Anglicè, Respector of the faith, king possessing the world; eldest son of Shaw Aulum.

³ King of the world; youngest son of Shaw Aulum.

⁴ A canopied seat for an elephant. An open one is called howzah, or howdah.

As Khan Aulum advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above three hundred stuck by him to the charge. When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant of Azeem Ooshaun, and hurled his spear at the prince, but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant; when the prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khan Aulum, and he died on the instant. His brother, Munnower Khan, was so wounded. Their followers fell back in the utmost confusion, and fled, as did the greatest part of our right wing, leaving the prince Wallajah in a manner alone; but, notwithstanding this desertion, he heroically kept his post. Amaun Oollah Khan, seeing his danger, hastened to support him, when unluckily a rocket lighting in the pad supporting his seat on the elephant, it took fire, and burnt so furiously as to pain the animal, who turned back. The khan, half burnt, fell to the ground; and his troops, thinking he was killed, fled in disorder. The prince Wallajah, upon this, retreated for shelter towards Bedar Bukht.

A body of the enemy, under Bauz Khan Afghan, now attacked Zoolfeccar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded; but, by the decrees of Providence, Ram Sing Harra, and Dulput Raow Bonedelah, on whose valour and conduct Zoolfeccar Khan most depended, were both killed at the same instant by a cannon shot, upon which their rajepoots lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zoolfeccar Khan, however, yet remained firm with his own followers; but, upon being charged by the whole of Azeem Ooshaun's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Syed Muzuffir, and retired to the rear of Azim Shaw's post with Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and, having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horse-

back to Gualiar, where he was received by his father, 'Assud Khan. His flight determined the rout of our army.

The principal followers and personal attendants of Azim Shaw now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to wait the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. Syed Abubella, and his brother Houssein Ali Khan, of the illustrious house of Barreh, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their fires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and great slaughter on both sides. Houssein Ali Khan received several wounds, and fell down faint with the loss of blood. Amaun Oolla Khan was killed. Terbeut Khan, Muttullub Khan, and Khoodabundeh Khan, having expended all their arrows, used their sabres; but the former was soon killed by a musquet ball, and the two latter fell down faint with many wounds. Suffawee Khan, of the royal house of Persia, Meerza Abdoolla, and a numerous band of great officers of Azim Shaw, were slain, after each had shewn the valour of Roostum in his defence. At last a musquet ball, and several arrows, struck the prince Bedar Bukht, and he sunk down dead upon his elephant. I saw him fall, and in the agony of grief exclaimed, "Hadst thou not, O God, created ambition of crowns and thrones, the head of my prince had not been thus humbled in dust and blood!"

Azim Shaw, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shaw Aulum. From this now issued Monauim Khan with a select band, the princes Azeem Oofhaun, Moiz ad dien Jechaundar Shaw, and Jechaun Shaw. Azim Shaw soon received a mortal wound from a

* Anglicè, Lion; signifying like one in valour.

musquet ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The prince Wallajah also sunk down in the sleep of death. I now made my escape towards Agra, not chusing to go to the enemy's camp, though I had many friends, who would have given me protection.

Roostum dil Khan, who, as already mentioned, commanded the escort of Shaw Aulum's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to Azim Shaw, and had continued near his elephant during the battle, till his death, with great firmness. Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse, and hastened to the camp of Shaw Aulum. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the prince's feet; but the compassionate Shaw Aulum, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave him nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten.

Monauim Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate princes, and treated the ladies of their harems with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. He could not dismount from his elephant without help and was obliged, no pallekee being at hand, to be carried in a cloth to the presence of Shaw Aulum. His eldest son, Nyeem Khan, also was dangerously wounded by a ball in the neck, and was recovered with difficulty. Shaw Aulum passed the night under a shau-miangh on the field of battle, and the next day, having attained the important object of empire, with his mind freed from the
dread

MEMOIRS OF THE

dread of a rival, moved in triumph to the gardens of Dhara, round which his army encamped.

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Shaw Aulum; his march from Cabul, and other proceedings, to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother Azim Shaw.

Some time before his death, Aulumgeer had appointed Monauim Khan to be ¹ ~~the~~ ² ~~deputy~~ ³ ~~manager~~ to Shaw Aulum, who then held the government of Calul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He soon arranged the prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendancy of unworthy favourites. Dissolute and oppressive, they, from self-interested motives, interfered with the duties of a dewan, and prevented him from doing justice. A superfluous soldiery was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and, being consequently ill paid, was ever mutinous and discontented. At the same time the household of the prince was distressed. Monauim Khan, respected from the esteem in which he was held by the emperor, and his already established character of great ability, soon gained the perfect confidence of Shaw Aulum. He diminished the prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness. When he had thus reformed affairs at Cabul, he left his son as his deputy there, and removed to Lahore, the collections of which province were full of abuses. He had resolved to amend them, and succeeded, so as to render the majority of all ranks pleased with his administration. When he heard of Aulumgeer's illness, in order

¹ About three coss, or six miles, from Agra.

² Manager of the revenues.

to prevent cabals in favour of Azim Shaw, he circulated a report that Shaw Aulum would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by a flight to Persia. Shaw Aulum had himself, indeed, made this declaration long before; and with such apparent resolution, that it was believed, and dreaded even by his sons, who resided with him. Monauim Khan related to me afterwards the following anecdote, in these words :

“ When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities, had properly impressed Shaw Aulum’s mind, and that he was convinced I was a prudent, faithful and secret servant, being alone one day with him, conversing on the affairs of the empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him : *It is reported that your highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence, that even the princes, your sons, assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.* He replied, *In this rumour there lies concealed a great design, to forward which, I have spread it abroad, and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement ; and, should he even now think I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother, Mahummud Azim Shaw, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report, my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security ; but, by the Almighty God who gave me life, laying his hand on the Koraun by him, and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azim Shaw in single combat, wherever he may be. This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it !*”

To proceed. When the news of Aulungeer's death reached Monauim Khan at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shaw Aulum, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, as he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery, with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies. Shaw Aulum, by long marches of ten and twelve coss each day, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and Monauim Khan entered that city with a select party. The officers of Azim Shaw were alarmed, and either fled, or concealed themselves in disguises. Mahummud Ear Khan, the kelladar of the palace, a cautious person, and ever looking into futurity, though he knew most of the great ameers had embraced the cause of Azim Shaw, yet was so awed with the vizier's gallantry, and the arrival of Shaw Aulum, that he saw no security for himself but in resigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treasures of Hindostan, collected from the reign of Akber to the present times. Thus was Shaw Aulum, by the activity and resolution of his servant, made master of funds to support (if he chose) all the troops to be levied in the empire. The army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid. Monauim Khan advanced with some chosen troops before the prince to Agra, and though Bedar Bukht was at the Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived at Gualiar, he was not alarmed, but encamped immediately before the citadel. Baukee Khan, an old imperial ser-

* Anglicè, Friend of Mahummud.

* Anglicè, Constant.

vant,

vant, and governor of the fortress, which he had refused to resign to Azeem Ooshawn, being certified that Shaw Aulum was approaching, did not chuse to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Monauim Khan would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command. He accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him. As he had made a forced march from Muttra, of twenty coss, he now lay down to take a few hours rest, till all his followers arrived. After this refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit Azeem Ooshawn, who was encamped at the distance of six coss, to whom he offered much friendly advice for his conduct to his father, who was jealous of his loyalty. When the news of the surrender of the citadel of Agra reached Bedar Bukht at Dholepore, his spirit was broken, and the crimson of his hopes faded into pale despair. I was with him at the time, and perceived that he regarded every thing as lost. He immediately sent an account of the event to his father, who had not yet heard of Shaw Aulum's arrival at Muttra, as his weak servants, fearful of his displeasure, and the usual gross abuse, dared not to inform him. At length Shaw Aulum made the proposal of a division of the empire, which was refused, and two days afterwards the conflict ensued, as above-mentioned.

Without doubt, Shaw Aulum's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister; yet he never set forth himself as having done any extraordinary service, but would often say to his majesty, that empire was the particular gift of God, and that no obligation could be

* A town on the bank of the Chumbul, in the province of Agra.

laid on sovereigns; so that, if any one thought himself conducive to their success, it was, in them, vanity and folly. To me, from whom he kept not his inmost thoughts, he would say, "Kings, through the blaze of splendor, cannot see impartially; therefore, if any person presumes upon services, and would shew that he thinks them an obligation on his master, the jealous disposition of royalty cannot bear it, and rejects the claim, as was clearly proved in the proceedings of the emperor Mahummud Akber, and Beyram Khan, his assuming minister."

It is now necessary to say something of the four sons of Shaw Aulum, their dispositions and behaviour, both in public and private.

* Moiz ad Dien Jhaundaur Shaw, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about state affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons, and employing them in public affairs; for, as his sons were ambitious, of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooshawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure,

* Beyram Khan, on the death of Humaioon, became regent during the minority of Akber, who, at the age of seventeen, not chusing longer to be governed by a subject, displaced him.

* Anglice, Respector of the faith.

an considerable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father; and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the causes would be useless proximity.

¹ Ruffeh Oofhawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music, and the pomp of courtly shew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even those of his own household.

² Khojeste Akhter jehaun Shaw had the greatest share of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne; after which, the whole administration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his interest, was appointed vizier.

When Shaw Aulum had reposed from the fatigues of war, he took measures to reduce Kaum Buksh, who had assumed the imperial titles in Dekkan. It was not supposed that he could make much opposition, but in the opinions of the wise and understanding prejudged, that his behaviour would of itself ruin him in that country.

Monauim Khan now called together, by attention and consoling behaviour, the unfortunate nobility of Azim Shaw, who had escaped from the late battle to different places. Zoolfeccar Khan had fled to his father, ³ Assud Khan, who had the charge of Azim

¹ Anglicè, Of high rank.

² Of happy star; king of the world.

³ Anglicè, Lion.

Shaw's baggage in Gualiar. The vizier had taken pains to convince his master, that the ancient nobility were the pillars of the state, and that the welfare of the empire depended on their persons, whose ancestors had held high offices, and acquired influence and respect with the people, so that it was proper and politic to employ them.

As the vizarut had been conferred on Monauim Khan, at his request, the most dignified office of vakeel muttulluk was entrusted to Asfud Khan, and that of ameer bukshi to his son Zoolfeccar Khan, with the title of Ameer al Amra. The second bukshiship was conferred on Meerza Shawnowaz Khan Suffawee. Monauim Khan, regardless of trifles, submitted to sit below Asfud Khan in the divans, and to shew him every respect as his superior in office. The government of all Dekkan was granted to the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who performed the duties by his deputy, Daood Khan Punnee, while he in person attended the court.

Monauim Khan, sincerely loyal, generous in mind, and full of zeal for the service of his master, never preferred the gratification of his own passions to the welfare of the state, or honour of the sovereign. He both advised and acted what was for his glory. For example, most of the ameers of Aulumgeer had accompanied Azim Shaw, and fought against Shaw Aulum in the late contest, consequently were liable in justice to whatever evils or punishments he chose to inflict upon them; but Monauim Khan became their general intercessor, representing to the emperor, that they were

¹ Anglicè, Universal agent. This is an office superior to that of vizier. It is seldom filled up, but in time of great emergency; but it was lately conferred on the infant Peishwa, by his present majesty of Dhely, though it cannot be considered now but as an empty honour. It seems to have been no more to Asfud Khan.

² Chief paymaster.

³ Anglicè, Favoured by the king.

excusable, having only obeyed an heir who sat upon the throne, which, as affairs were circumstanced at that time, they could not avoid; that, after they had become his friends, 'eaten of his salt, and made new compacts and declarations in addition to their former vows of allegiance, they could not in honour abuse his confidence by treachery or desertion. He observed, that the empire of Hindostan was a state not to be kept in order by one or two persons; that, like the magnificent pavilion of Soleyman, many strong pillars and powerful cords were required to support it, and keep it on a lasting footing; that the noble families, who from generation to generation had the benefit of experience, a knowledge of the customs of the empire and rules of government, were alone suited to high employments; that most of the present nobility had also held for many years important offices, and required wisdom and knowledge. He said, that, if they were not still entrusted with the posts of greatest confidence, there would not remain a possibility of supporting the rules of the empire, or obtaining able statesmen or good generals. He used his majesty to reward amply those persons who had joined his standard from every quarter, and done good services, agreeable to their merits; but without exalting them beyond their abilities, observing that many of them had only been dependants on the princes and nobility, others again only servants to sejedaur and governors of towns. Where then could they have acquired judgment in politics and knowledge of government, dignity of manner, or fortitude to support the power of command? He observed, that such accomplishments were inherent to noble birth and liberal education, the natural consequence of such advantage. Such was the vizier, of whose master (worthy of him) I now speak.

¹ This expression implies a very strong connection in the original idiom.

² According to Mahummedan tradition, Solomon had a very sumptuous pavilion made for him by the Genii.

Shaw Aulum was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not superior, to their merits; so that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor. Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion; but it is a fact, that the deserving of every profession, and worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame. His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unequal to relate. His valour was such, that he had resolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat. His son, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered constantly to be near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aulumgeer. To what I represented, he wrote a wise and just reply, which, by God's permission, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the sons of those princes, who had fallen in battle against him, to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chase, unguarded, and shared in all his diversions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his sons, grandsons, and nephews,

nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following : — On his right hand, Jehaundaur Shaw, his eldest son, with his three sons, his third son Ruffeh Ooshawn with his three sons, and Bedar Dil, son to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahummud Azeem Ooshawn with his two sons, and Jehaun Shaw with his son. Ali Tibbar, the only surviving son of Azim Shaw, sat on the right hand of Azeem Ooshawn, and a little to the right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Mahummud Kaum Bukh. Behind the royal princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda ; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene ? On the 'eels, and other festivals, his majesty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours, were truly royal. When in private, he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself, in the

¹ Anglicè, Of high descent.

² The Mahummedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the conclusion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniversary of the day on which Abraham consented to sacrifice his son. On these days, tents are pitched about a mile distant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great state to pray, and on his return receives presents from his ameeers, on whom he confers honorary dresses according to rank. The same ceremony is observed in every town, by the governor. At the last eede, after prayers, a camel is sacrificed, and a small part of it dressed, and eaten on the spot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavalcades which I chanced to attend on each of these days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and served to give an idea of the astonishing splendor which must have graced these in the flourishing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the procession at Lucnow, on the first eed in 1784, as he was present, and took a sketch of it.

grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an assembly of the religious, or learned men. He himself related traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free-thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account, some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the influence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun, how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part; therefore I shall desist, and now relate, as briefly as possible, the expedition of his majesty to Dekkan, against the death-devoted Kaum Bukh.

It has been already mentioned that the late emperor, a few days before his death, dispatched Kaum Bukh to Beejapore. This prince was of an excellent memory, learned, and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached near to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but, for some misbehaviour, he was reprov'd, degraded, or confined; and some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. When he arrived at Beejapore, he immediately proclaimed himself in the *khootba*, and struck coins in his own name. What follies

* Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

* The *khootba* is a form of prayer, in which the souls of all departed patriarchs and prophets are first prayed for, beginning with Adam, and ending with Mahumud. The souls of the reigning family's ancestors are then recommended to mercy, and the whole

folly was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind, and the confidence he put in lying visionaries! These wretches had hailed each of the princes with a prophecy of succession to the throne, swearing they had conversations in their reveries with God, his prophet, and the pious saints, who had promised their assistance, so that human force was unnecessary. They assured Kaum Buksh, that he need not levy any troops for his support; for, though an enemy should march against him with all the myriads of 'Toor and Sullum, they would not dare to face his fight, much less engage in battle. Flattered by this, and impelled by madness, the weak youth regarded himself as emperor, and invincible in his single person; to prove which, he would often relate, in a raving manner, strange prognostics and divine greetings shewn to himself. His prophets having told him, that his eldest son would also one time become emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated to put him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aulumgeer: however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments on the ladies of his haram, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw, nor ear had heard.

Notwithstanding these blots in his character, as he was a son of Aulumgeer, and that part of the empire had been given to him, at first most of the chiefs of Dekkan, whether Mussulmauns or Hin-

whole concludes with a prayer for the prosperity of the monarch on the throne, and the welfare of his subjects. It is read every Friday in the mizid jamée, or grand mosque of all towns, and on the eeds or grand festivals.

¹ Two great hosts, mentioned in the Koran.

doos, crowded to his standard, and the Imperial officers, as Syef Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, and others of all ranks, joined in acknowledging him emperor. Leaving his foster-brother, Meer Mullung, a debauched youth of neither birth or merit, at Beejapore as governor, he marched himself to Hyderabad, then commanded by Roostum Dil Khan, who had succeeded his father, Jan-sippar Khan, by Aulumgeer's orders, in that government. In this province he reduced some powerful zemindars to his obedience, and displaced others.

^a Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadar Firose Jung, who had acquired a most powerful influence in Dekkan, was chief of the Tooranee moguls, and kept on foot a great army, had withdrawn himself from Azim Shaw. He was also much in dread of Shaw Aulum's resentment, he having advised that prince's being confined, when Aulumgeer was before Golconda. The late emperor had strenuously endeavoured to attach the Tooraneees to Kaum Buksh, and for this purpose had appointed for ~~that~~ prince's preceptor, Syed Oughlan Seyadut Khan, the agent at court, and bosom confidant of Ghazee ad Dien Khan, venerated also by all the Toraneees of every rank. He had also charged them with the protection of his person; but such was the temper of the unhappy prince, that at a time like this, when he claimed the throne, and, favourably for his cause, Ghazee ad Dien Khan dreaded Shaw Aulum, he could not make him his friend: on the contrary, he did many acts to displease him, and excite his alarms. This chief was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wishes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an emperor, yet he soon saw the follies of Kaum Buksh, and declined his cause, as ruinous and

^a Anglicè, Life-resigning.

^a Anglicè, Champion of the faith; valiant and fortunate in war.

10. In a short time too, the chief zemindars of Dekkan, who had in general joined his standard, displeased at his conduct and heedless shedding of human blood, his inconstancy of mind and breach of treaties, left him, and retired to their own countries, where they took care to secure themselves, till the disputes for the throne should be decided.

Thus, though the pretensions of Kaum Buksh were of no great importance, yet he was a son of Aulumgeer, and claimed a right to the empire. The behaviour of Ghazee ad Dien Khan also demanded consideration. 'Ajeet Sing, hereditary zemindar of Jodepore, and Jey Sing, of Ambeer, did not shew that obedience and respect to the throne which had been observed by their ancestors, and meditated rebellion. All these circumstances made his majesty resolve on marching to Dekkan. The Khan Khanan opened a correspondence with Ghazee ad Dien Khan, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if his majesty would forget the past, and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission, and retire from business to a life of devotion. His only son, 'Cheen Koolich Khan, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, 'Hamid Khan, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him, and gone over to the presence. The Tooran chiefs of his household also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service. All these events

¹ Son of the celebrated Jeffwunt Sing, who acted so capital a part in the competitions of Aulumgeer and his brothers.

² Lord of Lords. Monauim Khan is meant by this title, which he received from Shaw Aulum.

³ Anglicè, Sword-drawing lord. He was afterwards famous as Nizam al Mulluck.

⁴ Anglicè, Assisting.

made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister, and thankfully accept the soubadacy of Ahmedabad Guzarat. He accordingly crossed the Nerbudda, and left Dekkan without trouble, but his fears prevented his coming to the court. He had not been in that of Aulumgeer since his loss of sight, which that generous and forgiving prince, out of regard to his former services, and from motives of policy, had excused.

Shaw Aulum began his march to Dekkan with an army superior to that of any of the former emperors, and a splendor till now unseen, having in his train all the princes, and a great concourse of nobility of every rank. The prudent and able Monauim Khan took such measures for the supplies of this mighty force, exceeding Aulumgeer's by an hundred thousand men, that the emperor had no trouble or difficulty, though only in the beginning of his reign, when the revenues of the provinces had not yet been received, nor respect for the throne been properly impressed in different quarters. When his majesty had arrived at Aurungabad, before he would advance towards Hyderabad, where the frantic Kaum Buksh then was, he wrote him several kind letters and friendly admonitions, to this effect:—"Our ever-honoured father resigned to you only Beejapore; but we give you, in addition, Hyderabad. These two extensive countries, long famous for their great kings, producing a revenue more than half of Hindostan, we leave to you, without interference or reluctance, and shall esteem you dearer than our own children. Think not then of contention, nor consent to shed the blood of the faithful, nor disturb the repose of our government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this advice, we will farther confer upon you the nizamat of Dekkan, if agreeable to you; and, after visiting the sacred tomb of our father, we will return to Hindostan."

There

There was no treachery or deceit in this generous offer, for Shaw Aulum always shewed tenderness, liberality and affection, in his conduct to his brothers. Kaum Buksh, weak and self-conceited as a child, bent on error, paid not the smallest attention to his brother, and continued to add fresh affronts to his authority. Roostum Dil Khan, Syef Khan of the Imperial servants, and others of no family or note, on whom he had bestowed titles of nobility, with about twenty thousand horse and foot, were now with him, but, disgusted at his behaviour, meditated opportunities to quit him. Monauim Khan, with his usual prudence, had sent them letters, assuring them of the emperor's forgiveness and favour; so that all, even to Meer Mullung, Kaum Buksh's foster-brother, had resolved to come over, and embrace his protection; but the prince, suspecting their intentions, put to death Roostum Dil Khan, Syef Khan, and Meer Mullung, and plundered their families of all they possessed, on the same day, and in the same place. He had after this no officer of consequence with him, and his treasure being expended, all his troops deserted, except about ten thousand of the worst Dekkan horse, and his small artillery; yet he still resolved to hazard a battle. When Shaw Aulum arrived within twelve coss of Hyderabad, the unfortunate Kaum Buksh lost daily his followers in crowds, and most of the zemindars of Dekkan retired to their homes; while the remainder mutinied for arrears, and hourly threatened to plunder his effects. Will it be believed, that he yet determined to resist, and expected victory? He even quitted the asylum of the city walls, and encamped upon a plain about the distance of three coss, with his small force, within sight of the emperor's army; so great was his enthusiastic belief in the prophecies of his deceiving, and perhaps self-deceived, devotees.

Shaw Aulum, from compassion to his brother, and the hope of yet reducing him by gentle means, would not permit his troops to attack;

attack; but Kaum Buksh interpreted the inactivity of the Imperial army into fear, from his belief that the prophecies in his favour were now on the point of accomplishment; for he had been assured by visionaries, that, though alone, mighty hosts would never prevail against him. Accordingly, though deserted by almost all his followers, he yet obstinately refused to pay allegiance to his brother. At length the ameer al amra Zoofseccar Khan, who had a keen enmity against the misguided prince, and wished to shew his zeal for his new patron, resolved to seize him. He accordingly obtained leave to march, under the pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, and moved towards him with his own followers, a division from the troops of Monauim Khan, and a body of Mharattas under the chief Neema Sindia. The unfortunate prince prepared to withstand such superior force; but, being charged at once on all sides, was instantly deserted by all his followers, except a few personal attendants. Notwithstanding this, he continued, as long as he had strength, to use his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he sunk down on his seat, through loss of blood from several wounds. He was then taken prisoner by Daood Khan, and carried to the prince Jehaun Shaw, who, with his brothers, had stood at some distance during this extraordinary skirmish.

A. H. 1120.
A. C. 1708.

The captive prince was conveyed immediately to the Imperial tents, and being laid upon a bed in the ³ tushbeh khaneh, near the private apartments, was visited by his brother, the emperor, who endeavoured to comfort him by every expression of affectionate concern. The physicians and surgeons also attended, but he would not allow his wounds to be dressed, though earnestly entreated by his majesty and his sons. He spoke but little; but when the prince Ruffeh Ooshawn tenderly asked, why he had refused offers of

³ An oratory, where prayers are said.

favour, he replied, " His majesty was very gracious; but how could I submit to meet him in any other way than this?" Upon Jehaun Shaw's repeating the question, he exclaimed, " I have done wrong; do not you follow my example!" One of the princes asking him if he had more than a thousand followers when taken, he angrily answered, " No; but had there been less than five hundred, I could with equal ease have brought myself here." He then turned to the emperor, and said, " There are, in a casket upon my elephant, some jewels of our father and my own, of which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this he grew faint, and languished in silence, without uttering a single groan, till nine at night, when he resigned his soul to the Creator of life. We are from God, and to God we must return.

When Shaw Aulum had thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, he did not chuse to remain longer in Dekkan, though the affairs of that country required much arrangement, to insure its future dependance on the empire. Perhaps he dreaded the fate of his father, who, after the reduction of Beejapore, Hyderabad, and the taking of Sambah, remained to finish some objects which then appeared easily attainable, but afterwards extended in such a chain, that he could not quit Dekkan for the remainder of his life. He had often lamented this necessity, and the relaxation which his absence occasioned in the government of Hindostan; and would frequently say to his confidants in private, " My disloyal subjects have imposed upon me this play-thing, that they may enjoy commands and honours." But I am wandering from my subject. Shaw Aulum, in the height of the rains, began his march from Hyderabad, leaving as deputy-governor of Dekkan, Daood Khan Punnee, a native of the country, and a nobleman of great military fame. When he recrossed the Nerbudda, it was intended to employ all the powers of government to settle, in a proper manner,

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manner, the Rajapoote countries, which had been disaffected ever since the accession of Aulumgeer; who, though offended at the behaviour of the rajas Ajeet Sing and Jey Sing, over whose territories he had appointed Imperial governors, yet was not able, from the wars in Dekkan, to punish them effectually. They had indeed visited Shaw Aulum, but had left his camp without permission, and now openly shewed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other; to bind which, Jey Sing had espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing. At this crisis, intelligence arrived that the Sikhs had risen in rebellion. This sect of infidels, known also by the names of Nannukkea and Gooroh, had long been established in the soubah of Lahore, by a teacher styled Nannuk. Of his descendants was the present chief, to whom had flocked great crowds of all ranks, resigning to his disposal, with blind fidelity, their lives and properties. Thus supported, he excited sedition, and took arms to extend his errors, and overturn the basis of the true faith. He engaged Vizier Khan, the sojedaur of Sirhind, who was killed in the action, with numbers of his followers; after which the gooroh possessed himself of the town of Sirhind, and many districts of Doaub, as far as Boreah, Saarunpore, and Shawdourah, on both banks of the river Jumnah, where he committed unlimited excesses, razing all public edifices, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums, and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity. The oppressions of these wretches were every day increasing, and there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Dhely against them. Asoph ad Dowlah Asfud Khan, who governed that capital, shewing

¹ They now possess the provinces of Lahore, Multan, and part of Dhely, plundering as far south annually as Rohilcund.

² A considerable town, about fifty coss N. of Dhely.

³ These districts are now held by Zabtah Khan, a Rohilla chief, who however pays a tribute to the Sikhs, and it is said has entered into their sect.

great signs of fear, the inhabitants were alarmed, and began to fly, with their families and effects, towards the eastern provinces, for shelter from the impending storm. All this being represented to the emperor, in the highest colours, his majesty thought it best to march in person against the insurgents: for this reason, he resolved for the present to lay aside the design of totally expelling the rajapootes, and to confirm their allegiance, by winking at their offences, till a more convenient opportunity of punishment. These zemindars had, for generations, been used to obey, and had not, in fact, either fortitude or ability to oppose openly the emperor of Hindostan, whose appearance against them in arms would have been sufficient to curb their insolence; but the khankhanan, alarmed at the insurrection of the Sikhs, did not properly reflect on that circumstance, and descended to shew the rajapootes such favours as were inconsistent with good policy, as well as the dignity of the sovereign: but he was not alone to blame, as there were other agents in this business. The four princes were constantly intriguing against each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occasioned much delay and confusion in business, so that the khankhanan thought it happy to steer his vessel safe through four such 'great seas; and could not act so independently for the public good as he wished, being obliged to attend to the capricious interests of others, among which he found it difficult to preserve his own. Among the remarkable occurrences of the expedition into Dekkan, was the decline of Jehaun Shaw's influence with his father, and the rise of that of Azeem Ooshtawn, of whom till now the emperor had ever been suspicious. The prince Jehaun Shaw was of haughty and independent spirit, ready to take fire on the smallest neglect. This, with the behaviour of his servants, alarmed and displeased the khankhanan, who, for his own safety, watched

* Meaning the power and influence of the four princes.

an opportunity to destroy his influence in public affairs: a task of no great difficulty, to one well acquainted with the disposition of Shaw Aulum, almost equally warm with his son, who had more than once displeased him by his behaviour, so that he had expressed to him his dissatisfaction. The prince, upon this, thought to prove his disinterestedness and independence, by neglecting to frequent the durbar, and engage in business as usual. Azeem Ooshawn, who had reaped experience in office, and was well versed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolness taking place between Jehaun Shaw and the khankhanan, paid so much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave still more offence to Jehaun Shaw, who had too much pride to expostulate, but neglected the minister in return. He soon after fell sick, and his indisposition continuing a long time, gave Azeem Ooshawn ample opportunity of acquiring influence over Shaw Aulum, and the favorites whom his majesty trusted with the fullest confidence; while he continued to be pleased with them, but, on the smallest disgust, or in their shortest absence, he forgot them altogether.

Azeem Ooshawn having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the minister, employed it in softening the rigour of government against those who laboured under its displeasure; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cause, whenever the death of his father should give him a claim to the empire. It was from this hope, that he advised indulgence to the refractory rajas, and condescended to repair to their camp, and conduct them from thence to his father, permitting them to be accompanied by all their troops armed. Such unusual indulgence was far from answering the end expected by the prince, who should have seen, that it could only tend to display publicly the fears of government, and consequently
must

must reflect dishonour on its adviser, and render him weak in the eyes even of those to whom such uncommon honours were allowed. In short, the two rajas, attended by all their followers, paid their respects to his majesty on the line of march, were gratified with his assent to whatever their insolence demanded, and dismissed to their homes with rich presents and assurances of favour.

When this affair was finished, the emperor marched without delay towards Lahore, not even stopping to make an entrance either at Agra or Dhely. In a short time he arrived at Sirhind, which the rebels deserted on his approach, and retired to Daber, the original residence of their gooroh or chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Though this insurrection was not of such importance as to disturb the general repose of the empire, yet his majesty, defender of the faith, hearing that the malice of the rebels was directed at religion, thought it his duty to go against them in person; in this, copying the example of Aulumgeer, who, in the latter part of his reign, appeared at the siege of every fort belonging to unbelievers; otherwise, what ability had a wretched and infatuated rabble to dare the presence of such a glorious monarch? The exertions of one of the principal ameers, or, at all events, of the princes, would have been equal to the extinction of the rebellion, and explosion of the schism.

The imperial army soon arrived within sight of the gooroh's camp, which lay round the walls of Daber on different heights, commanding the passes to that fortress, situated on a summit, surrounded by hollows, craggy rocks; and deep paths. Shaw Aulum had resolved to lie inactive before the enemy for some time, in hopes by this to render them confident, and tempt them to an

* At the entrance of the Sewalic mountains, which connect Hindostan with Thibet.

engagement; on which account he issued positive orders to the princes and all the ameers, not to advance nearer the goorroh's lines on any pretence, however favourable. Some days passed in inactivity, when at length the khankhanan entreated permission of his majesty to advance, with his own followers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position: which was granted, on condition that he should not commence an attack without further orders from the presence. However, when he had arrived within shot of their lines, the enemy began a warm cannonade from their works, while bodies of their infantry on the heights galled him with rockets, musquetry, and arrows. His soldiers, enraged, were not now to be restrained; and the khankhanan, more jealous of his military fame than fearful of the emperor's displeasure, ventured for once to disobey, by giving directions to attack. He dismounted from his horse, and led his brave troops on foot up the most difficult heights, driving the rebels from them with the greatest rapidity and success. This scene passing within sight of the royal camp, the chiefs and soldiers, emulous of glory, waited not for orders, but hastened to join the attack in great numbers; while the emperor and the four princes viewed the fight from the squares of their encampments, with a mixture of anger and satisfaction. At last the enemy were driven from all their works, to the narrow summit round the fort of Daber, where they continued to defend themselves in a desperate manner, but without even the hope of escape from general slaughter; when night coming on, rendered friends and foes undistinguishable to each other. The khankhanan, sure of having the goorroh in his power, gave orders for his troops to cease the attack, and lie upon their arms in their present position, till the morning should enable him to finish it with success. He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was satisfied that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted.

posted. The goorroh, a man of great art, generally appeared in the dress and splendor of a prince, when he wished to be public; but, if occasion required privacy, he disguised himself in the habit of a jogie or synassee, in such a manner, that few, even among his own people, could know him. During the night, he, without acquainting his followers of his intentions, changed his habit, and left the fort undiscovered. The khankhanan, about dawn, renewed the attack, and gained the place, after a short struggle, sword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the goorroh dead or alive to the emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders, would by this service be changed to approbation: but who can relate his weight of grief and disappointment, at finding that his promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace behind him? The goorroh's speed of foot was uncommon, and he only acquainted with the paths and mazes through the hills that led to the snowy mountains, which he had marked for shelter. The khankhanan lost for an instant almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the emperor's anger, not without reason. As he was, agreeable to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph in his way to the royal tents, orders arrived, commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents; where he had the cruel mortification of learning every instant, from messengers, that his enemies exulted in his fall from favour, and openly condemned his conduct with malicious zeal in the presence of his majesty, who was highly enraged against him. But though this did not continue long, and Shaw Aulum, regarding his former services, received him again into favour, after a few days, yet this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain he

* Sects of fakeers, or religious mendicants.

felt at seeing three of the princes and the ameer al amra using all arts to complete his ruin, stuck like a poisoned arrow in his breast. He lost all satisfaction from worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in his health; so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death; who never, in the uncounted ages of his office, seized on a soul more pure, or less defiled with the frailties of human nature.

A.H. 1124.
A.C. 1712.

While Shaw Aulum, just as a sovereign, and liberal as a man, reigned over the empire with a gentle hand, in perfect repose, Providence was preparing new revolutions, and Time hastening to disclose events of dreadful importance. The blossoms numerously shooting under the influence of the Imperial spring, were destined to be blasted by the storms of autumn, and only one unkindly fruit to remain on the royal tree. A deadly vapour, poisonous as the piercing venom of the snake, all at once infected the head and heart of Shaw Aulum with pains, violent as from the heavy stroke of the keenest weapon. So instantaneous was the fatal effect, that it gave full reason to imagine it proceeded from poison. He was all at once seized with faintings, which continued without intermission, till, on the 21st of Mohirrim, 1124, being Monday night, he deserted this vain world for that of eternity. He had been, from the first instant of his illness, given over, and the princes and ladies of the haram made continual and loud lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Mahummud Moiz ad Dien and Azeem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Moiz ad Dien, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic. He started

started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with all the speed and hurry possible. This occasioned much alarm in the camp, and I, among many others, hastened towards the 'durbār. I met the prince, with his attendants, pushing on his elephant with frantic haste; upon observing which, I endeavoured to pass unobserved; but he knew me, and sent a messenger to call me to him. As I had previously attached myself to Azeem Ooshawn, I did not obey the mandate, but passed on to the emperor's tents, where I sat down in the guard-room of *Mahabut Khan, third bukhi, which was close to that of the ameer al amra, who did duty there in person. He sent for me, and I found with him Mirza Shaw-nowaz Khan Suffawee. I had before interested myself, at the desire of both, in bringing about a connection between Azeem Ooshawn and the ameer al amra; for which purpose I had employed Shekh † Coodderut Oolla as a messenger, and sometimes my grandson, ‡ Einaiut Oolla. The ameer al amra now desired me to send the latter to Azeem Ooshawn, to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and slight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of an hundred. It was written in Shekh Coodderut Oolla's (confidant to the prince) own hand, as follows: "As
 " the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this
 " court, and most have already repaired to it, the ameer al amra
 " may also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception,

* The court of the emperor, or any other person in high authority.

† Anglicè, Commanding awe.

‡ Anglicè, Providence of God.

§ Gift of God.

“ in the presence.” When the ameer al amra read this, he shed tears, and said to me, with much emotion, “ You see the manners of the prince and his advisers ! Whatever is the will of God, must take place. Alas ! the errors of a favourite, unacquainted with government, often endanger the very existence of his master. When fortune frowns on any one, he is sure to do that which he should not.” After saying this, he immediately quitted the guard-room, collected his followers, and moved his tents and effects to the quarter of the prince Moiz ad Dien, where he thought his services more likely to answer his own interest.

The camp was so disposed, that the tents of the emperor were pitched along one bank of the river, and on the other opposite, those of the prince Azeem Ooshawn, at a considerable distance from the city. The three other princes were encamped nearer to it, but Moiz ad Dien almost close to the walls, and the greatest part of his train occupied the houses of the nearest streets. The influence, riches and power of Azeem Ooshawn, had long raised against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for their general safety, formed a compact to support each other. The ameer al amra had formerly been disgusted at Azeem Ooshawn, for preferring to himself, the khankhanan and Mahabut Khan ; from which time he had courted alternately Ruffeh Ooshawn and Jehaun Shaw. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azeem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.

Azeem Ooshawn, already in possession of the Imperial camp, treasury and jewels, had also a vast treasure of his own. Most of the principal noblemen had joined him, with their followers ; also

* Lahore, situated on the river Rawee, about 200 miles N. of Dhely.

the royal artillery. He had, besides, a very considerable army in his own pay; so that his brothers, though all leagued against him, would have formed but a weak enemy, if he had immediately attacked them. But he acted otherwise: he encamped on the plain, keeping the river to his rear, and began to throw up works to defend himself, instead of courting a general action. Probably this proceeded from tenderness to his brothers, who he thought would in a few days be deserted by their troops, for want of pay, as they possessed little or no money; and that they would either willingly acknowledge him emperor, to obtain settlements, or be delivered into his hands by some of their pretended friends, to gain his favour.

While he thus flattered himself with an easy conquest, the three brothers, by the advice of the ameer al amra, drew all the artillery from the fort of Lahore, and encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear. I happened to be encamped near Mahabut Khan, who immediately, on learning that the ameer al amra had attached himself to Moiz ad Dien, fearing to be plundered by his troops, lost no time in moving off with his family and effects to Azeem Ooshawn, leaving his tents and temporary buildings standing. No sooner was he gone, than the rabble took possession of his camp, which they set on fire, and levelled in an instant with the ground. As, on many accounts, I had resolved to embrace the fortunes of Azeem Ooshawn, I would have gone with him; but the camp being a standing one, I had neglected my tents, parted with my carriages, and erected temporary sheds for my family, so that I was obliged to remain in an alarming situation, almost alone, for four days. I wished to send my women to my house in the city; but the road to it led through the allied army, where it was probable they might be insulted or plundered. On the fifth day, I was eased of my fears, as a strong

escort came from the prince Azeem Ooshawn to conduct to him Shaw-nowaz Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and some other noblemen, who waited for this security to join him. With them I reached his camp in safety, where I happily got possession of a square walled about, but without any covering or shade: yet even this was as a palace at the time, as it served to protect my women and family. I now paid my respects to the prince, who received me graciously, conferred upon me many favours, and consulted me on all important occasions. Pecuniary rewards, and titles far above my ambition, were allotted for me, and getting ready to pass the seals: at the same time, orders were dispatched to summon my son, 'Hoshe-dar Khan, to the presence, from which he had been detached some time before on actual service, with a select force; and, to pay him, a large sum of money was sent to me. I refused it, however, as I had not people to secure its safety; and requested also, that the rank of five thousand, and title of Azim Khan, which was preparing for me, might not be confirmed, till the prince should become victorious over his enemies, as I had made a vow not to receive them till he should sit unrivalled on the throne of empire. In fact, I perceived in his weak politics, and want of resolution, the decline of his cause; and saw the burning blasts of summer hastening to destroy the season of spring, as the experienced husbandman can judge of his harvests from the changes of the atmosphere.

When Azeem Ooshawn had intrenched himself, and the three brothers began their approaches to his works on every side, his operations became highly blameable in the eyes of the nobility and officers of experience. It appeared to the public, that the superior force dreaded the inferior; and that those who sought to be the

* Anglicè, Endowed with judgment.

besiegers.

besiegers, were now the besieged. Such was the effect, for Azeem Ooshawn's army grew dispirited daily, while the enemy's gained ardor every hour, at finding that prospect of success, of which in the beginning they had almost despaired. Our soldiers at the works, tired with constant watchings and alarms, grew remiss in their duty; they first required unnecessary assistance, and at last began to desert their posts. The Imperial artillery, to whom a great sum of money had been given as a bounty, became disobedient to orders, and even mutinous, in which points they were followed by those of the household. This behaviour made Azeem Ooshawn change his opinion, that he could purchase victory with money only; so that he opened his treasury but sparingly to the old or new troops, giving, with much reluctance, only one hundred rupees to each trooper who came to offer service with his own horse, for which security was also demanded. At a crisis of this important nature, but few were tempted to quit the service of their old masters, for a sum but inconsiderable in itself, and only attainable with such difficulty. In short, the whole camp began to be alarmed, and even the boldest officers to feel a dread of the ill-consequences of being cooped up in unnecessary entrenchments. A cannonade was kept up on both sides for four days, in each of which the three brothers gained some advantage, by advancing their stations nearer to the works of the misguided Azeem Ooshawn.

On the fifth day, Azeem Ooshawn moved from his camp in order of battle, and his son, the prince 'Mahummud Kerreem, though commander of the advanced corps, was with him, instead of being dispatched in front, agreeably to the usual disposition of the line. This was ordered, lest, as the enemy were formed into three bodies, one might gain an advantage over him, and another

* Anglicè, favoured by Mahummud.

intercept his retreat to the grand line, before he could receive proper assistance. Such was the confusion in forming the troops, that the artillery was quite uselessly disposed, and many pieces, deserted by the men, lay overturned on the ground; while some of the chief officers were by their followers left almost alone, on their elephants, before the action began. Soleyman Khan Afghan first advanced to charge the division of Jehaun Shaw, but he was supported by so few of his followers, that he could effect nothing, and was killed in the onset, before he had reached the enemy's post. Jehaun Shaw moved steadily, in slow order, towards Azeem Ooshawn, whose terrified troops began to fall back from around him. The miscondacted, but truly brave prince, when he saw his fortune thus unfavourable, though he might have saved himself by mounting a horse and flying from the field, yet scorned to owe his security to dishonour, and would not move from his elephant, but advanced almost alone towards Jehaun Shaw. This action, and submitting to be sacrificed, was one and the same. His elephant driver was killed in the instant, and the few till then remaining friends to his person deserted him to a man. He received many wounds from arrows and shot, so that he soon sunk down fainting upon his seat; while his elephant, without a driver, and furious with pain, ran through the enemy, who pursued him in vain for some hours, and during that time the unfortunate prince died of fatigue and loss of blood*. Suldaun Mahummud Kerreem, his son, in the height of the confusion, threw himself without hurt from his elephant, and mounting a horse brought him by an attendant, escaped from the field of battle; but only to suffer, shortly after, a worse fate than dying in action.

* Ameen ad Dien Sumbullee says, his elephant rushed with him into the Rawee, and was drowned.

It happened that, at the beginning of the action, the three princes were drawn up nearly opposite that part of the camp where I unfortunately had placed my family in a wretched square, to which the enemy advanced still nearer, as the battle raged, and our troops began to fly. Mahabut Khan, Hummeed ad Dien, and other lords, had in the beginning sent their families across the river to places of safety, which precaution I was prevented from using, by being attendant on Azeem Ooshawn's person in the line. The river was about a rocket's flight from the square inclosure, and upon the rout of our line, Khan Zammaun, my friend, advised me, while the enemy's troops were yet employed in fight, to conduct my women out of danger to the other side; at the same time offering me a boat he had ready for his own security against pursuit, and a guard of one hundred and fifty persons, his own followers. Accordingly I placed my wife and daughter in two covered palankeens, with a sum somewhat exceeding four thousand gold mohors, a casket of jewels, betel plate of gold set with jewels, and other very valuable ornaments belonging to my daughter, designed for her marriage portion, leaving clothes and every thing else to chance. As Providence decreed it, the women's palankeens had just arrived at a narrow inlet of water, about an arrow's flight from the river, when Azeem Ooshawn's elephant, and Mahummud Kerreem's, were running towards it, pursued by the enemy. I was advanced a little in front to prepare the boat, when suddenly one of my attendants cried out, "Where are you going? Your honour is ruined!" I looked behind me, and saw the enemy near my women; upon which, in a state of furious despair, I hastened back with my grandson Meer Einat Oolla, as Khan Zammaun's people could not reach me in time for my assistance. We two had just joined the women, when the rapacious Moguls had begun to

* About six thousand pounds sterling, reckoning the mhor at fifteen Sicca rupees.

plunder; upon which I leaped from my horse, and seizing my wife and daughter by each a hand, rushed with them into the rivulet up to their waists, and covered the rest of their persons with a cloth, drawing my sword to defend them with my life from further insult: and, luckily for my honour, their faces were not seen by the eyes of a stranger. The Moguls, more attentive to gain than shedding of blood, after plundering the *pallekees* and other carriages of every thing, even to the coarsest outer coverings, rode off in search of other prey, without attacking me or my attendants, who were hid in different bushes and hollows. It was during this confusion, that I saw the prince Mahummud Kerreem jump from his elephant, mount a servant's horse, and escape. When the alarm was over, and friends and enemies had passed by, I was joined by my servants from their various shelters, and, having replaced my women in the *pallekees*, returned to my late miserable dwelling, which had been also plundered, even to foot-cloths and carpets. No pillows or seats were left us but the bare ground, and no apparel but that drenched in water on our backs; nevertheless, I gave grateful thanks to the Almighty for the preservation of my life and honour, with a sincere fervor. With the approach of night the confusion slackened, and about nine o'clock all was over, and quiet restored. I then said to myself, "What is gone, is gone!" and, with a calm mind, recited one hundred and twenty verses of the 'Mesnavi, besides an ode applicable to the present state of affairs.

The prince Jehaun Shaw, who had taken possession of the camp of the vanquished, in the morning sent covered carriages and other necessities to me, with a gracious message, desiring that I would come, and pitch my tents near his own. I went accordingly, and was introduced to him. He was sitting alone, under a canopy,

* The Mesnavi is a collection of moral poems, by Molewee Jellal ad Dien Roomi.

near his private apartments. When he saw me, he exclaimed, in a joyful voice, "Come, 'Azim Khan, for thy arrival is at a happy "season! I was anxious to see thee." He then took off the *khe-laut*, which he had put on just before, and gave it to me, with the *munsab* of ¹ six thousand, saying, "I have left one degree of rank "to confer upon you on the day of my accession to a throne." After which he dismissed me in a gracious manner, and I took up my station near that of ¹ Lutfoolla Khan Saduk, his first minister.

Jehaun Shaw, who had gained the victory over Azeem Ooshawn, judging, from the purity of his own intentions, that those of his two brothers and the *ameer al amra* were equally just towards him, though fortune had placed all the treasures of the vanquished in his power, scorned to use this advantage, contrary to his oath of alliance. He sent the body of Azeem Ooshawn to Moiz ad Dien; and, when all the plunder of his camp was collected, delivered the whole without delay into the hands of the *ameer al amra*, who, agreeable to treaty and his own oaths, was to make an impartial division of the provinces and treasures between the brothers. This strictness to his word was the cause of his ruin. The *ameer al amra* had privately resolved to seat Moiz ad Dien on the throne without a rival, as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrouled power. With this view, he, on various pretences, delayed making a division of the treasure, knowing that the troops of Jehaun Shaw and Ruffeh Ooshawn were already mutinously clamorous for the payment of their long arrears, and much

* *Anglicè*, Noble lord; the title which Azeem Ooshawn had offered to confer on him.

² Seven thousand was properly the highest rank of nobility. In the decline of the empire, rank of eight and ten thousand was conferred on powerful ministers.

³ *Anglicè*, God's mercy. Saduk, *Anglicè* True, was his family name.

disgusted at being deprived of the great plunder they had expected from the camp of Azeem Ooshawn, which had been seized from their grasp by the strict discipline and honour of Jehaun Shaw. The ameer al amra, with seeming attachment, visited the princes as usual, and three days passed over without their expressing distrust at his delay; but their friends clearly saw his designs, and warned Jehaun Shaw against his treachery; offering to prevent their completion, by putting him to death, when he should come next to pay his respects. The honourable and noble-minded prince refused his assent to such proposals, saying, "I cannot consent to such dishonourable and perfidious dealing, for which I should become heinously guilty in the eyes of God, and amongst men marked as a traitor and abuser of power. If empire is decreed me, I shall attain it without trouble; but, if not, of what avail is treachery, or unjust shedding of human blood?" At his next visit, he openly told the ameer al amra the suspicions entertained of his conduct, saying, "Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading that I may be putting thee to death; which, however politic, I scorn to do by fraud. Rise then, and go in peace to thine own house." The ameer al amra departed with a speed and precipitation declaring his guilt. The veil, with which he had covered his designs, became no longer of use; but, instead of feeling gratitude to Jehaun Shaw for suffering him to live, his enmity increased. He now openly avowed his destruction, and his intentions to support Moiz ad Dien. Though Jehaun Shaw, virtuous and religiously faithful to his word, was generous and just in this great action, yet the policy of government will not admit of such conduct being copied as an example of propriety. The world is deceitful, and cannot be commanded but by deceit. The thief, who should wake his sleeping prey, would only bring ruin on his own head. Virtue and vice being direct opposites, cannot exist in one dwelling. That, the foundation of which is evil, cannot be supported but by evil.

1

When

When the ameer al amra had openly refused to perform his agreement, Jehaun Shaw, furious at his behaviour, moved his camp opposite to the treacherous nobleman's, and prepared to offer battle without delay. He had just now the fairest prospect of every success; a fine army, attached to his person with one mind, good artillery, and a great character among his own and the enemy's troops. But—how uncertain is fortune! This night, by permission of God, a fire broke out in the artillery camp: all the rockets and stores of ammunition were destroyed, and our army rendered in one instant totally useless. The merit of this important mischief was afterwards claimed by Rajee Khan Maneckporce, who said the fire was purposely kindled by his spies, for a large bribe. This man was originally of low character and little esteem, but for this service he was gradually raised from a post in the artillery, by Moiz ad Dien, to the rank of six thousand. Immediately after this dreadful accident, Roostum Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan hastened to one of the Imperial powder-works, and obtained some fresh supplies; but the troops, much dispirited with their loss, now became clamorous for money, and began to desert in great numbers. In short, the spirit of the army was changed, so that, excepting Lutfoolla Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and a few others who remained faithful, all the chiefs forfeited their honours, and Jehaun Shaw, plainly perceiving the wavering of his followers, thought it most advisable to prevent worse consequences, by putting all to the hazard of an immediate engagement. The next morning at the dawn of day, (being Monday, *anno* 1124,) he formed his line, and began a cannonade, which was answered by the enemy, and kept up on both sides till mid-day with equal success. At length the fire of Jehaun Shaw began to slacken, and his troops to separate on various pretences, as want of water, guarding their baggage, and the like; so that near half the army deserted gradually, in spite of the prince's repeated orders to maintain the line.

A.C. 1712.

Observing this, he raised a report that the ameer al amra was killed by a shot, in consequence of which the enemy were alarmed, and that he should immediately charge them, in order to improve so favourable an event. As he founded the march of victory, his troops believed him, and returned most of them to their posts. He then commanded Janee Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, and Mukhlis Khan, to charge one flank of the enemy, and Lootfulla Khan and others in front, he himself heading this last division. It was now about four o'clock, when Jehaun Shaw, without looking behind him to see how he was supported by his troops, advanced on the enemy's center with a furious speed, where the ameer al amra was standing with a few followers, to reconnoitre. Moiz ad Dien had before retired to repose in his tents. Roostum Dil Khan and other chiefs rushed through all opposition to that quarter, gained the tents, and plundered even the ladies of the haram, among whom were many belonging to the late emperor. Moiz ad Dien, roused from sleep, without regarding their safety, fled to seek his own, undressed as he was, with the ameer al amra, who was engaged against Jehaun Shaw in unequal combat, as he had only with him three or four hundred horse. At this time Ruffeh Ooshawn, who seemingly supported Moiz ad Dien, but was waiting for an opportunity to destroy both him and Jehaun Shaw, appeared in the rear of the latter with his whole force. A corps of infantry also now opposed him in front, not only stopping his charge, but confusing his troops; who, seeing themselves likely to be surrounded, lost all spirit, and fled to a man on the right and left, leaving him exposed alone upon his elephant: and he was soon killed by a musquet shot. His son, 'Ferkhundeh Akhter, a prince of most promising bodily and mental accomplishments, who sat behind him, descended and fought with his scymetar, till he could stand no longer, and then fell down dead, covered with wounds. Both the bodies were

* Anglicè, Of fortunate star,

carried immediately to the ameer al amra, who ordered the march of victory to be sounded. Jehaun Shaw, heroic, just and benevolent, was all perfect; but still, as Providence opposed his fortune, all his plans turned out directly contrary to their proposed end, and what seemed to promise success, became the cause of misfortune. Men judge vainly from events, saying, if he had not done so, thus would or could not have happened: but, alas! in whose power are events? Our faculties, our strength, our thoughts, our friends, are all moved by the instigation of Providence. Nothing can happen without a cause, yet our ruin is often brought on by the very causes which had before occasioned our success; for God doeth that which pleaseth him, and effecteth that which he hath designed.

When the day of this sun of royalty had sunk in the evening of death, there now remained no other rivals than Moiz ad Dien and Ruffeh Ooshawn. The latter had the firmest reliance on the attachment and oaths of the ameer al amra, who, during the life of the late emperor, had been supported by him in the strongest manner against the khankhanan. He also had honoured him, at his own request, by the appellation of uncle, and exchange of turbans; so that he now hoped, as one sovereign seemed to be his choice, that it might rest upon him, in preference to his elder brother. On this account, he had resolved to wait as a spectator of the struggle, till the fall of one of his rivals, and then to rush upon the survivor, while flushed with victory, and unguarded against a new enemy. This design he now communicated to his followers, and desired them to support him in an immediate attack on Moiz ad Dien; but they would not consent, either through fear or treachery, pretending that the dawn of morning was more favour-

* The exchange of turbans, among the orientals, is the most sacred pledge of friendship, and any breach of it, after such ceremony, regarded with horror.

able than the present instant; so that the prince was obliged to stop, and wait their pleasure. He spent the night under arms, with sleepless impatience for the return of day; but some of his false advisers communicated his plan to the ameer al amra, and promised to assist in the destruction of their patron.

Just as the morning was beginning to appear, Ruffeh Ooshawn advanced silently towards the enemy, hoping to surprize them; but, before he had reached their camp, the commanding officer of his artillery, either through treachery or ignorance, fired a gun towards the quarter of Moiz ad Dien, which roused his sleeping troops. The alarm was immediately sounded, and the enemy's cannon soon began to play furiously. Who now would stand to support Ruffeh Ooshawn? The greatest number of his followers fled in confusion to the right and left, while Buddukshee, a chief in whom he had reposed the greatest confidence, and whom he had saved from being put to death by his father, whom he had raised to honours, and supported with a liberality unbounded, having privately agreed with the ameer al amra, ungratefully turned his arms against him at this instant. The unhappy prince was in a short time left alone, surrounded by his enemies on every side; but truly brave and spirited, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, he threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the sabre of glory from the scabbard of honour, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, more than sell one life at the expence of many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. May the Almighty shew mercy to his soul! We are from God, and to him we must return.

Such courage, I must with justice remark, never appeared among the descendants of Timur, as shewn by the offspring of Aulumgeer;

nor do the various histories I have read, record the like gallant opposition of a prince singly against numbers. True valour is proved in the extremity of danger ; but it is easy to assume the appearance of courage in the day of safety.

Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, by the assistance of Providence alone, now founded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Dhely, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the Imperial family. The mausoleums which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shaw.

Be it known to those of enlightened understandings, and to the acquainted with the usages of the world, that if, in the relation of the affairs of my liege and hereditary lord, the emperor Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, some observations and expressions should escape my pen, contrary to respect, and the examples of the historiographers of princes, they will not proceed from disaffection or a prejudiced mind. I know they are improper from the pen of a servant, and God forgive me ! but by them I mean no disaffection to his person, or disrespect to the family of Timur ; no vent of my own spleen ; no view to flatter a successor, by disparaging his rival, nor malicious abuse for the neglect or disappointment I may have suffered during this reign. I swear by God, and God is a sacred witness of oaths, that I loved him as my sovereign ; but, as it was incumbent on me to record the actions of the reigning prince, good or bad, wise or foolish, in public and private, if they were, without

without one exception, all unworthy, what can I say, as a faithful writer? Let it be remembered, that I was nourished for fifty years under the benignant shadow of the great and glorious emperor Aulumgeer. How sad the alteration I now beheld! Of this man, this wretched idiot, opposite to him in every quality, succeeding to the very same empire, sitting on the very same throne, and the actions he did, what can I say, or in what terms paint the disgraces they suffered by his accession?—I had beheld upon the throne an emperor. Warmth of expression operates in advice: the friends to the Imaums, from the ardor of their loyalty to the house of Ali, heightened their style, and represented with all the eloquence of zeal (for which they have been ever praised by good men) that the oppressed might draw the sword against a worthless tyrant. But I only mean a warning to the family of Timur; for the head of which, let his character be what it may, if I hesitate to sacrifice my life, may I be numbered with traitors, and abhorred by my friends!

When Jehaundar Shaw, by the intrigues and support of the ameer al amra Zoofeccar Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed. He was in himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person, fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and low vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtesan, which tortured the minds of worthy subjects loyal to his family. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute

* The two chief Imaums were the sons of Ali, by the daughter of Mahummad, and were put to death by the caliph Maweeah, one by poison, and the other in battle, with all their children except one, from whom descended the other ten Imaums, and the race of Syeds, so highly respected among the Mahummedans.

authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two corores of rupees annually were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeable to whim, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named ¹Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and

¹ About two millions sterling.

² The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day passing in a palankeen, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow street, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of servants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way; but, notwithstanding this, Zohera's servants were insolent to his attendants, and, as she passed by, she exclaimed, "Are you the son of the blind man?" This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeness. She complained to the mistress, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundar to take notice of it, and command Zoofseccar Khan to punish the nizam. The nizam had suspected this to happen, and had informed the minister of the affair. When Jehaundar Shaw spoke to him, he was answered, that, to punish the nizam for having corrected an insolent upstart, would enrage all the nobility, who would consider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundar, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundar Shaw's promoting one of his mistress's relations, a musician, to a high rank, Zoofseccar Khan, ameer al amra, out of sneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his seal of office to the patent, one thousand small tabors. The musician complained to Lall Koor, his patroness, of the indignity offered him; and she told the emperor, insisting that he should reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundar Shaw accordingly reproached the minister, who ironically replied, that, as music was the best recommendation with his majesty for promotion, he had asked the tabors to deliver out to persons of family, that they might, by practising upon them, qualify themselves for high office, and succeed as well as their inferiors, the musicians. Jehaundar Shaw felt the force of the satire, and, being afraid of his minister, withdrew the patent.

her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes : nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to the present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the Imperial palace, so that to pass through the street where they resided was a matter of difficulty, by reason of the throng. To do them justice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the use of their influence at court. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a pitch, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace. This scandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good subjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaundar and his abandoned favourites. He after this still more exposed his vices to the public, often, as he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar
superstition,

superstition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed only by a single cloth, in the fountain of the 'Lamp of Dhely, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood! The mistress had the insolence to abuse the princess Zebe al Nissa, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaundar Shaw, with expressions so vile as were unbecoming the meanest person. This princess had neglected to pay compliments to her, which she received from other ladies of rank; and Lall Koor, enraged at this, teized the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to shew attention towards her; but all was vain. However, he so far complied with her unreasonable entreaties, that he left off visiting the princess, and declined going to an entertainment she had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor. How shall I relate all his follies? The above-mentioned are sufficient to shew the sad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate.

The ameer al amra, Zoofeccar Khan, scater, nay even creator of emperors, with such an image of humanity in his hands, became absolute, and so proud, that Pharaoh and Shudad could not have obtained admission to his threshold. He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, or disgrace them, that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He established such exactions and abuses as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a

¹ A celebrated fakeer so entitled.

² Anglice, Ornament of the sex.

³ Pharaoh, and a king of Yemum, or Arabia Felix.

hand so sparing, that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jaghires to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers, were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindoos and Mussulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of an hundred years.

Kokultash Khan, foster-brother to the emperor, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of Khan Jehaun. His wife, daughter, and whole family, also possessed great influence with the emperor, and claimed from him performance of a promise he had made to them of the vizurut. At the same time, they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of the ameer al amra. With this view, all their relations and dependants were raised to high rank; and a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zoofeccar Khan, joined their party. They insinuated to the emperor, that the ameer al amra entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or, if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on 'Ali Tibbar, or another of the confined princes, more favourable to his will than his majesty.

The weak Jehaundar, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation; but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret. The intrigues of Kokultash Khan soon became evident to the whole court, and only served to awaken the vigilance of the ameer al amra, who took measures

* The only surviving son of Azim Shaw, son of the emperor Aurungzebe.

for his own safety, by removing his enemies. Roostum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and some others, were put to death, and a great number of the nobility laid under confinement on various pretences. The family of the late 'khankhanan was reduced so low as to want the common necessaries of life. In short, the disposition of the ameer al amra changed altogether from gentleness to the highest pitch of tyranny, so that he now punished with cruelty the persons who had years before knowingly, or otherwise, given him the slightest causes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of Bedar Bukht, and frequently warned the late emperor against his aspiring views, had also been the friend and confidant of his mortal enemy the khankhanan, and of a different party in the late struggle, had not a hope of escaping from his hands, or those of Jehaundar Shaw, who had commanded me to be searched for, and put to death. Thinking it in vain to attempt concealment in Lahore, I had written the following verses, and sent them to him by my grandson, Meer Einaiut Oolla, who was much in his favour.

“ My ancestors were attached to 'Ali without views of gain. I
 “ am of the family of Ali; thou art the 'Zoolfeccar of 'Hyder.
 “ Remember, I have no chief but thee. I repent of my faults in
 “ some degree, and am come ashamed to thy tribunal. Though I
 “ am meaner than words can express, yet I am of the 'family of
 “ which thou art head. Thou art now the guardian of our ho-
 “ nour: look not at me, but upon our mutual ancestors”

¹ The celebrated Monaim Khan.

² The son-in-law of Mohammad. Here it means Azeem al Shawn.

³ A two-bladed sword of Ali's.

⁴ A title given to Ali.

⁵ A syed, or descendant from the prophet's daughter Fatima, by Ali.

At first he did not trouble himself to open the paper, upon which I sent a second time, when he perused it with attention, and desired the messenger to call me to him; but I did not comply with his invitation, to which I answered, that he had prevailed with promises of safety on many to visit him, and afterwards confined or put them to death; that if such was his design towards me, there was no occasion to use art, as I would of my own accord put on my shroud, and come prepared for the worst before him. To this he answered, by solemn oaths, that he meant no injury towards me; so that I was satisfied, and went to visit him without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed, as usual, and he rose from his musnud to salute me, behaving every way with much kindness, and more than I expected; after which he dismissed me, with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but his majesty observed, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his service. The ameer al amra too made me promise, that I would not accept of any office in the state, otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with his desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants, and abusers of power.

During the nine months in which Jehaundar Shaw, like an embryo, lay in the womb of empire, I did not attempt to procure an office but lived in perfect retirement, except that I now and then unavoidably paid a visit to the ameer al amra, who would frequently ask my advice in public affairs, which I gave him to the extent of my understanding.

In the height of this power and authority, (while the claim of *I am, and no one else*, was gaining strength,) all at once a report was

heard that the prince Ferokhsere, son to the martyred Azeem Ooshawn, had marched from Bengal towards Bahar, intending to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne. Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra, though they feigned to disbelieve the intelligence, and despise the attempt, yet in their hearts were struck with dread. Great numbers of the Imperial servants wished secretly for the success of the rebellion. While the ameer al amra was fortunate, he saw affairs in a proper light: while at Lahore, he had repeatedly advised Jehaundar Shaw not to remain more than a week in Dhely, but to proceed to Agra, and, if necessary, to the eastern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impressed fully in the breasts of his subjects, while Ferokhsere refused to pay allegiance. Jehaundar Shaw, on his arrival at Dhely, fascinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his minister, and chose to remain, indulging himself in low pleasures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kokultash Khan and his party persuaded him that the ameer al amra had excited this rebellion, and engaged privately with Ferokhsere, to whom he would deliver his majesty a prisoner, should he prevail on him to march from the capital. These ideas served to increase the fears of the weak Jehaundar Shaw. He would often exclaim, "I did not kill Azeem Ooshawn: it was the ameer al amra, who must now go and answer the claims of his son, for satisfaction. What have I to do with the business?" The other plans of an emperor, who was thus overcome by fear, may easily be guessed, and need no explanation. The ameer al amra, offended at the distrusts of his master, did not attend as he ought to business, but employed his time also in pleasure, and forwarding his own immediate interest.

Syed Abdoolla Khan Bareah, and his brother Houffein Ali Khan, had gained great honour by their behaviour in the service of Azim Shaw,

Shaw, after whose death they had attached themselves to Azeem Ooshawn, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter of the province of Bahar. During the late contests for the empire, they had, for their own safety and that of the country, expended, without orders, considerable sums of the Imperial revenues in the maintenance of extraordinary troops, which had offended Jehaundar Shaw. On his accession to the throne, he appointed Rajee Khan Maneckporee to the government of Allahabad, who sent one of his relations, with a considerable force, to take possession; but he was opposed, defeated, and driven back by Abdoolla Khan. Ferokhsere's rebellion just then arising, the ameer al amra thought it advisable to dispatch an Imperial firmaun, approving Abdoolla Khan's conduct, and confirming him in his government, disclaiming also any assent to the attempts to remove him. Abdoolla Khan pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours, in order to avoid farther trouble from the court, but which he had resolved to serve no longer than he found necessary. When Ferokhsere arrived in Bahar, he was immediately joined by Syed Houssein Ali Khan, who was faithfully attached to him, as the son of his patron Azeem Ooshawn. The court of Dhely weakly imagined, that Abdoolla Khan would stop the progress of the prince at Allahabad. Firmauns of encouragement, and great promises, were dispatched to purchase his loyalty, instead of armies to secure it. While the rebellion was daily gathering force, the emperor's ministers, divided against each other, were undetermined how to act. Kokultash Khan refused to take the command of an army, if the ameer al amra remained at Dhely, pretending that the emperor was not safe in his hands; and the latter did not think it proper to quit the court, where, in his absence, such a dangerous rival must possess the whole power. Jehaundar Shaw did not dare to think, much less to fix, whom he should entrust with the command of the army; for so great was his

his fear, that one day, when the daughter of Kokultash Khan, presuming on her familiarity, insisted that her father should be declared vizier, and the ameer al amra be sent from Dhely, he replied with terror, " Hold your peace, or ' he will put us all to " death in an instant."

At last it was resolved that *Aiz ad Dien, eldest son of Jahaundar Shaw, should march at the head of an army against the rebels, under the tutelage of Khaja Houssain, Khan Downan, son-in-law to Kokultash Khan, a weak man, who never, unless in dreams, had seen a shot fired. The troops who marched with him did not amount to six thousand, though there were among the officers many ameers of the highest rank. On his arrival at Agra, he was joined by Jaats, Rajapootes, and great numbers of other rabble; also many Fojedairs, who covered ground, but were no better than droves of cattle to devour provisions; however, he had with him a fine train of artillery. From Agra, Aiz ad Dien marched without delay towards Jawa, and from thence to *Cudjwa, where Ferokhsere had arrived with the two Syeds, and near seventy thousand horse and foot, mostly adventurers, who served from the hope of benefiting themselves by a revolution.

The two camps being thus near, on the 29th of Showal, early in the morning, Syed Abdoolla Khan and others advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position. This brought on a skirmish, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which continued till night, without much execution; but Khan Dowran, a perfect stranger to

¹ Meaning the ameer al amra.

² Elder brother of the late, and uncle to the present emperor.

³ A large town on the Jumna, thirty coss to the eastward of Agra.

* A considerable town in the district of Kora, where Aurungzebe and Sultan Shujah formerly engaged.

war, was much alarmed at the dangers of his new profession. He thought he should do the state most service by saving the prince from (as he conceived) inevitable destruction. Accordingly, unknown to his officers, about midnight he fled with him in a woman's covered palankeen, stopping not till he arrived at Agra, from whence he dispatched to court accounts of his gallant service, and zealous care of the heir-apparent. The officers of his army, in the morning, finding their chief had fled, laid aside all thoughts of resistance, and each provided for his own safety. Most went over to the service of Ferokhsere, and the remainder returned precipitately towards Agra. Syed Abdoolla Khan would not allow them to be pursued, and, what has often perplexed my understanding to account for, advised Ferokhsere to halt some time in the camp of the fugitives, instead of following his success with rapidity. The news of the defeat reaching Dhely, threw the court into such confusion, that no other plan was at first resolved on than to wait the enemy's approach in the vicinity of the city, at hazard all in one engagement, as it was expected time would allow of more distant operations. Accordingly, Rajee Khan was ordered with the Imperial artillery to Feridabad, where ground was chosen for the general camp, and preparations made for the emperor's march.

As soon as it became known that Ferokhsere had not advanced beyond the field of battle, Jehaundar Shaw altered his resolution of remaining at Dhely, and began his march towards Agra. On his arrival there, the ameer al amra opened the royal treasures, which had been for ages laid up, disposing of money, jewels, plate, and valuable effects, to the amount of two corores of rupees, among the troops, who now were seventy thousand horse, and foot without number. Most of them too were veteran soldiers, but little affected

About three cofs from the city.

to the royal cause, as they had experienced flights in the days of peace, and knew this profuse bounty to proceed only from the necessity of the times. The Imperial army encamped at first near the gardens of Dehera; but, upon intelligence arriving that Ferokhsere had advanced to Eatimadpore, near the river, intending to cross, it was thought advisable to move along the opposite bank to prevent him. Both armies remained a week thus, in sight of each other; and people of judgment decided, in their own minds, that victory would be to that prince who should first cross and attack his rival.

On the night of the 13th of Zeekaud, intelligence was received that the Syeds had, by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gaow Ghaut, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all the artillery; also that Ferokhsere, with his whole army, intended to follow the next day. I was present when this news was brought to the ameer al amra, who, on hearing it, was visibly affected and alarmed, as were all the nobility then present in his train. Orders of march were issued for the next morning, to meet the enemy, whose camp was, by the late manoeuvre, removed ten coss distant. Jehaundar Shaw moved accordingly, but halted before he had sight of the enemy, encamping on the broken ground and hollow ways on the banks of the Jumna. This dispirited the troops, who judged that their generals had chosen a strong position, more from fear of a sudden attack, than proper caution and judgment of the ground. The next morning, however, the Imperial army continued the march to Secundra, and the day after to Gaow Ghaut, where the enemy's troops were still crossing, and Ferokhsere had not as yet come to this side. The ameer al amra, with a number of nobility, advanced in front to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, as did also the emperor, when he arrived with the main army. The Syeds, notwithstanding their inferior force, drew up

A. H. 1124.
A. C. 1712.

to receive them, but the ameer al amra chose to defer taking advantage of his present situation, as it was now late in the afternoon, and the fall of night, during an action, would create much confusion and disorder. With this idea, he chose to encamp on the banks of a rivulet which ran between him and the enemy.

Early in the morning of the next day, which began with heavy clouds and rain, I went to visit the ameer al amra, who was just come from the emperor's tents, and preparing to take some refreshment; upon which, I asked my dismissal, and returned to my own tents, intending to sleep. By this time the clouds had dispersed, and the sun shone very bright. A little after mid-day, I was alarmed by the drums beating to arms, and a confused noise, when running to my door, I saw the ameer al amra mounting his elephant with great haste, and undressed; upon which I got ready my attendants, about forty persons, and followed him with all possible speed. Upon my arrival, he was standing upon elevated ground, looking round him. I asked what had caused the alarm, when he replied, that the enemy were drawing out their line, seemingly with intentions to cannonade. Our troops now hastened to form, the ameer al amra in front, and upon his right Kokultash Khan. In the center stood the emperor, Jehaundar Shaw, attended by Rajee Khan, with the royal artillery. To the left were the troops of Mortuzza Khan Bukshi, and many other amras. The enemy's army advanced slowly till within reach of cannon-shot, when they played upon us with their artillery and rockets, which were answered with great fury by Rajee Khan. Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurungzebe a long account of one

of his battles with Dara Shekkoh. The emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described. In short, I shall only relate what I saw. After a cannonade of some time, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge our's, one with a red, and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Raja Jubbeeleh Ram, and the latter of Syed Houffsein Ali Khan. Observing that our right flank was much exposed, I remarked it to the ameer al amra, who immediately dispatched orders for Abdul Sumnud Khan to move with the mistress's troops to that quarter. The first body of the enemy charged directly on Kokultash Khan, and the other pushing through the line of our artillery, which was deserted as it approached, attacked the center, in which was Jehaundar Shaw. Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place, as the men, elephants and horses, became entangled among the ropes of tents, carriages and baggage. Numbers fled, but the ameer al amra remained firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness; but he was ill-supported, though Syed Houffsein Ali Khan fell wounded in the field, and Jubbeeleh Ram was not more successful in his charge on Kokultash Khan. It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful; but just then Syed Abdoolla Khan, with a great body, charged Jehaundar Shaw, who stood with his troops, already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the ameer al amra. They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides, while the women's elephants, those of the jewel office and treasury, ran here and there, carrying disorder along with them. Jehaundar Shaw hastily joined the corps of Kokultash Khan, and was pursued by the enemy, who thus forced him between two fires, Ferokhsere having

having now come to the assistance of Jubbeeleh Ram, who had renewed the attack in front. Kokultash Khan was killed after a short struggle, his troops dispersed, and Jehaundar Shaw disappeared from his elephant. This made the rout general, and only the ameer al amra kept his ground. When he could hear no tidings of the emperor, and it became dark, he retired slowly to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of his sovereign, with the hopes, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and making one more effort the next day; but all in vain. Jehaundar Shaw could not be found; upon which he thought proper to provide for his own safety, and marched away towards Dhely. Thus, in the space of a few hours, was this government destroyed, and another possessed of absolute authority. The robe of empire graced the august person of Ferekhfere, who sounded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the service of any one, and had no enmity to either party, yet I remained in the field till the ameer al amra had retired, when thinking it best to provide for my own safety, I entered the city with about a hundred persons who sought my protection, and retired to one of my own gardens, where I enjoyed perfect repose from my fatigues. In the morning, I wrote to Syed Abdoolla Khan, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendship, expressing my desire of leave to visit him, and be introduced to the new emperor. He replied to my letter with much kindness, and I paid my compliments to him as he passed by my dwelling the following day, when he carried me with him to his own house. The emperor Ferokhfere entered the city the next morning, to pray in public at the tomb of Akber, on his return from whence I was allowed to pay him my respects. Syed Abdoolla Khan marched towards Dhely the day after, and chose to take me with him, which I did not think proper to decline. As yet, it was not certainly

tainly known to what quarter Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra had fled. Affud ad Dowlah, father to the latter, was in the command of Dhely, and had in his power the confined princes. It was apprehended that the ameer al amra would retreat to Dekkan with his master, but he not finding that prince, thought proper to go to Dhely. Jehaundar Shaw, who had shaved his beard and whiskers to prevent being known, arrived a short time before the ameer al amra, at the palace of Affud ad Dowlah. This was soon known throughout the city; upon which the friends to the family of Azeem Ooshawm surrounded the house, and demanded the delivery of the royal fugitive into their charge. Affud ad Dowlah was obliged to confine him, to suppress their clamours. Making a virtue of necessity, he wrote a petition to Ferokhsere, implying, that he had imprisoned Jehaundar in his own house, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his disposal. In return, firmauns were dispatched applauding his conduct, forgiving all past offences, and continuing him in the vizarut, with Syed-Abdoollah Khan as his deputy, to whose care Jehaundar Shaw was for the present to be entrusted. All these gracious assurances satisfied Affud ad Dowlah, and had such an effect on the ameer al amra, his son, that he thought it best to remain at Dhely, and wait the emperor's mercy, which he hoped would spare his forfeited life and fortune.

When Ferokhsere arrived near Dhely, he commanded Affud ad Dowlah and his son to be brought into his presence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank; after which, the former was allowed to return in safety to his own house, but the latter was led to a private tent, and, after a few questions had been asked him, he was strangled, as a punishment for his crimes, and an example to others. His body was afterwards tied with the head downwards on an elephant, together with that of Jehaundar Shaw, who had been put to death in prison, and exposed in the

new

new emperor's train, when he made his triumphant entry to the palace, after which, both bodies were thrown into the street, before the great mosque, and remained some days a spectacle to the mob. The estates of the father and son were confiscated, and their family, which had filled for above two hundred years the highest offices of the state, was thus in an instant levelled with the dust, and, like that of Bermekee, totally ruined. Some other traitors were also punished with death, which impressed the subject with respect for government, and proved that however, for a time, treasons might be attended with success, at length the prosperity of the house of Timur would be prevalent over all opposition.

Such is the first beaming of the heaven-given fortune of his majesty, which, by divine blessing, is ascending to the zenith of glory and renown. Praise be to God, by whose favour the conclusion of my book is auspicious! and mercy upon the chosen of mankind, Mahummud, his descendants, his friends and followers, for evermore! Amen.

* Known in Europe by the name of Barmecides, as mentioned in the life of Haroon al Rasheed, in the History of the Caliphs.

F I N I S.

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