The History Of Hindostan; From The Earliest Account Of Time, To The Death Of Akbar; Translated From The Persian Of Mahummud Casim Ferishta Of Delhi

Together With A Dissertation Concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the Brahmins ; With An Appendix, Containing the History of the Mogul Empire, from its Decline in the Reign of Mahummud Shaw, to the present Times ; In Two Volumes

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London, 1768

Preface.

urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-2463

PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ſubſiſtance,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The captain-general.

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

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

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

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