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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

Dow, Alexander

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Chap. I. Reflections - Accession of Shaw Jehan - Promotions - The emperor's children - State of the empire with regard to foreign powers - Incursion of the Usbecs - War in Bundelcund - Disgrace - ...

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S H A W J E H A N.

C H A P. I.

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

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

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Reflections.



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

Accession of
 Shaw Jehân.

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

Promotions.

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



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

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During these transactions at Agra, Asiph pursued his journey in very slow marches from Lahore. His sister, the favourite of the late emperor, being ruined in all her schemes of ambition, was left, in a kind of confinement at Lahore, in the Imperial palace. The four sons of the reigning emperor, Dara, Suja, Aurungzêbe, and Morâd, had been sent as hostages for their father's good behaviour to Jehangire. They were in the Imperial camp when that monarch expired; and Asiph treated them with kindness and respect. He arrived at Agra on the twenty-second of March, and presented his sons to the emperor, when he was celebrating the festival of the Norose, which is kept by the followers of Mahommed at the vernal equinox in every year. The emperor was so much rejoiced at the sight of his children, who had been all

Asiph arrives
at Agra.



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born to him by his favourite wife the daughter of Afiph, that he conferred upon their grandfather, the pompous title of THE FATHER OF PRINCES, THE STRENGTH OF THE REALM, AND PROTECTOR OF THE EMPIRE.

Children of
the emperor.

The Imperial prince Dara Shêko was thirteen years old at the accession of his father to the throne; Suja was in the twelfth, Aurungzêbe in the tenth, and Morâd in the fourth lunar year of his age. The eldest of the emperor's children, by the favourite Sultana, the daughter of Afiph, was the princess Jehânara, which name signifies THE ORNAMENT OF THE WORLD. She was fourteen years of age when Shaw Jehân mounted the throne. Sensible, lively and generous, elegant in her person, and accomplished in her mind, she obtained an absolute empire over her father. A similarity of disposition with the open and sincere Dara, attached her to the interest of that prince; and he owed, in a great measure, the favour of his father to her influence. Roshenrai Begum, or THE PRINCESS OF THE ENLIGHTENED MIND, was the second daughter of Shaw Jehân, and his fourth child by the favourite Sultana. Her wit was sharp and penetrating, her judgment sound, her manner engaging like her person; she was full of address, and calculated for stratagem and intrigue. She resembled the pervading genius of Aurungzêbe, and she favoured his designs. The emperor's third daughter was Suria Bânu, or THE SPLENDID PRINCESS; a name suited to her exquisite beauty. She was easy and gentle in her temper, soft and pleasing in her address, humane, benevolent and silent; averse to duplicity and art, full of dignity and honourable pride. She took no part in the intrigues which disturbed the repose of the state, devoting her time to the accomplishments of her sex, and a few innocent amusements.

Shaw



Shaw Jehân found himself in the peaceable possession of the extensive empire of his father, and he had abilities to govern it with dignity, justice and precision. Tranquillity was established at home; and there were no enemies to disturb him from abroad. Shaw Abas soon after died in Persia; and the scepter fell into the weak and inactive hands of his grandson Sefi; a prince, incapable of either governing his subjects with dignity, or of giving any disturbance to his neighbours. The spirit of the Uzbeks had declined; and they were exhausted by disputed successions and civil wars. The Indian nations, beyond the pale of the empire, were peaceable and unwarlike: incapable of committing injuries, and too distant from the seat of government to receive them. The Portuguese, though the most powerful European nation in India, were not formidable to the empire, though hated by the prince. Shaw Jehân, when in arms against his father, had solicited their assistance. They had not only refused him their aid, but, in a manly manner, reproached him for having demanded it against his parent and sovereign. He was sensible of the justice of the reproof, and therefore could not forgive it. The Sultana was their enemy. She had accompanied her husband to one of their settlements; and she was enraged beyond measure against them for the worship they paid to images.

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State of the
empire.

The disrespect shewn by Lodi who commanded in the Decan, to Nishar Chan the emperor's messenger, produced a superceding commission to the latter against the former. Nishar produced the Imperial mandate: but Lodi would not obey. Mohâbet was ordered with a force against the refractory general; and Nishar, on account of his not having acted with a proper spirit, was recalled. Chan Zimân, from his government of Malava, marched with all his forces to the aid of his father Mohâ-

Lodi submits.

bet.



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

Invasion

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

of the Usbecs.

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

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a general



a general assault. Mahommed, though repulsed, was not discouraged. He raised, with great labour, mounds to command the walls; and drove the besieged from the rampart. The breach, however, had been repaired, and the Ufbecs durst not attempt to scale the walls.

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The news of the invasion had, in the mean time, arrived at the court of Agra; and the emperor, finding that Mohâbet had settled the affairs of the Decan, ordered that general to the relief of Cabul. Having left his son in his command in the south, Mohâbet hastened with all expedition to the north. Twelve thousand horse attended him; and he was to take up the forces of Punjâb on his way. The siege had now continued three months; the Ufbecs had again made a practicable breach, and the ditch was almost filled, when the news of the march of Mohâbet arrived in the camp of Mahommed. He redoubled his diligence; and the garrison, who knew nothing of succour, began to despair. When, therefore, the Ufbecs began to prepare for a second general assault, the besieged sallied out with all their forces. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but Mahommed was at length obliged to give way; and the garrison hung on his heels beyond the frontiers of the province. Mohâbet, upon the news of this defeat, returned to Agra; and civil contests took up the attention of the Ufbecs at home.

Repulsed.

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

War with the

out:



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

Raja of Bundelcund.

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



and his forces being cut off, he himself came into the hands of the captain-general.

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

He is taken
prisoner.

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

Mohâbet re-
moved from
the head of
the army.



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Hig. 1038.

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

Irruption of
the Usbees.

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

Story of
Chan Jehân
Lodi.

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



throne of India. Shaw Jehân, in his march to Agra, applied to him for a passage through his government, which he absolutely refused. He added contempt to his refusal; by sending a thousand rousees, a horse, and a dress to the prince, as to a person of inferior dignity to himself. The messenger of Lodi, however, had not the courage to deliver the humiliating present. He gave the rousees, the dress, and the horse to a shepherd, when he got beyond the walls of Brampour, where Lodi resided. He, at the same time, desired the shepherd to return the whole to Lodi; and to tell him, That if the presents were not unworthy of him to give, they were too insignificant for his servant to carry to a great prince. Having given these directions to the shepherd, the messenger proceeded to Shaw Jehân. The prince approved of his behaviour, thanked him for having such a regard for his honour; and after he was settled on the throne, raised the messenger, as a reward for his services, to the rank of a noble.

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Shaw Jehân, being in no condition to force his way through the government of Lodi, took a long circuit round the hills, through wild and unfrequented paths. Lodi became soon sensible of his error. The defeat and death of Shariâr, the imprisonment of the Sultana, the murder of Dawir Buxsh, and the accession of Shaw Jehân to the throne, came successively to his ears. He thought of submission; but an army was on its march to reduce him to obedience. Zimân, the son of Mohâbet, was at the head of this force; but Lodi being in possession of an army, and an extensive and rich province, the emperor gave to his general a commission to treat with that refractory Lord. He soon closed with the terms. He was appointed to the government of Malava, upon his resigning the Imperial division of the Decan. The emperor, however, was not sincere in the pardon which

Cause of the
emperor's re-
sentment



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

against that
Omrah.

Lodi was not long in possession of the government of Malava, when he received orders to repair to court. As his resignation of the command of the army might be construed into obedience, rather than attributed to fear, he was under no apprehensions in making his appearance in the presence. An edict of indemnity had been promulgated to all the Omrahs who had opposed the accession of Shaw Jehân to the throne; and Lodi thought that there was no probability of his being excluded from the indulgence granted to others. He was, however, convinced of his error, on the first day of his appearance at court. The usher, Perist, obliged him to exhibit some ceremonies of obedience, inconsistent with the rank which he held among the nobility. He was somewhat refractory, but he thought it prudent to submit. His son, Azmut Chan, was introduced after his father. The youth was then but sixteen years of age. He thought that the usher kept him too long prostrate upon the ground; and he started up before the signal for rising was given. The usher, in a rage, struck Azmut over the head with his rod, and insisted upon his throwing himself again on the ground. Azmut, full of fire and valour, drew his sword. He aimed a blow at the usher's head; but one of the mace-bearers warded it off, and saved his life.

He is disgraced in the
presence.

A sudden murmur spread around. All fell into confusion; and many placed their hands on their swords. Lodi, considering the blow given to his son, as the signal of death, drew his dagger to defend himself. Hussein, his other son, followed his father's example. The tumult increased, and the emperor leapt from his throne. Lodi and his sons rushed out of the presence. Their



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

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

His distress,

sons;



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Hig. 1938.

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

and flight.

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

His gallant
behaviour,

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



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

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

even:



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His distress
and bravery.

even his followers were, by that time, slain; and the victors, with shouts of triumph, possessed the further shore.

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

Uneasiness of
the emperor.

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



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

A. D. 1629.
Hig. 1038.

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

Death and
character of
Shaw Abas.



A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1040.

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

Preparations
for war.

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

Emperor arrives in the
Decan.

The sudden arrival of the emperor with such a great force, was, however, premature for the affairs of Lodi. He had not yet



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

A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1040.

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

He detaches

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A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1040.
armies from
the Imperial
camp.

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

Success in
Golconda,

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

Lodi commands the
confederates.

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



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

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

A. D. 1661.
Hig. 1640.

Affairs at
court.



A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1040.

of them on service, his place was immediately supplied from another corps who, though not dignified with titles, were equipped in the same manner, only that their ornaments were of silver. They also attended the emperor on horseback, when he rode abroad.

An action.

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

Afgans repulsed.

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



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

The slow progress made by Eradit, against the conduct and abilities of Lodi, induced the emperor to think of superseding him in his command. He had promised to himself success, from the great superiority of his army in point of numbers, and the disappointment fell heavy on his ambition and pride. To place himself at the head of the expedition, was beneath his dignity; and his presence was otherwise necessary at Brampour, as the place most central for conveying his orders to the different armies in the field. Besides, the civil business of the state, the solid regulation of which he had much at heart, required his attention and application. He therefore resolved to send his visier Afiph into the field. His name was great in the empire; and his abilities in war were, at least, equal to his talent for managing the affairs of peace.

A. D. 1631.
Hig. 1040.

Eradit superseded in the command of the army.

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The emperor's army was divided into three parts. One part was sent to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. The emperor himself remained at Brampour, to direct the operations. The army of the north was defeated by the Afgans, and the emperor's army was driven back to the south. The emperor's army was then defeated by the Afgans, and the emperor himself was driven back to Brampour. The emperor's army was then defeated by the Afgans, and the emperor himself was driven back to Brampour. The emperor's army was then defeated by the Afgans, and the emperor himself was driven back to Brampour.

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