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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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Jehangire.

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THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

JEHANGIRE. CHAP. I.

Observations—Death of Akbar—Accession of Selim, by the name of JEHangIRE—Rebellion of Sultan Chusero—Battle of Labore—Chusero's misfortunes—Rebellion quashed—Executions—War with Persia—A conspiracy.

THE great abilities of Akbar confirmed the house of Timur on the throne, and established tranquillity over all their vast conquests in India. Vigorous in his measures, without tyranny, he impressed the minds of men with awe, and checked that spirit of discord and private ambition, which had prevailed in more feeble reigns. Government becoming settled and uniform in its regulations, the arts of civil life began to increase and flourish, among a people naturally industrious and ingenious. The splendor of the court, the wealth of individuals, created a

A. D. 1605. Higer. 1014. General

THE





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general taste for pomp and magnificence; and the crowded levees of the great, where all endeavoured to excel in the art of pleasing, rendered the Indians equal in politeness to the nations of Europe. Learning was not unknown, if we exclude the abstruse sciences. The Arabian and Brahmin systems of philosophy were studied; and the powers of the mind were generally cultivated and improved.

observa-  
tions.

This character of civilization, it must be confessed, tallies not with the political conduct of the people. But necessity and self-preservation make a kind of apology for crimes under despotism, which would be unpardonable in a community governed by general and known laws. In states subject to arbitrary government, there is no security, no honour, no independence in private life. The nation is divided into two sorts of people, the oppressors and the oppressed. Every man of spirit, of family, and of fortune, must, in self-defence, endeavour to possess a share of the government under which he was born. When he starts forth from obscurity, he must adopt the political principles of his country, or be ruined in all his schemes, however repugnant these principles may be to the general dictates of humanity, and the particular disposition of his own mind. The greatest virtues therefore are often blended with the worst vices; and this circumstance gives a variety and strength of feature to Asiatic characters, unknown in the settled governments of the west.

Extent and  
revenues of  
the empire.

Though the empire of the Mahomedans in India was not so extensive under Akbar as it had been under some princes of the Patan Dynasty, it comprehended a vast tract of country, divided into twenty-two provinces; each equal to some kingdoms in wealth, fertility and extent\*. A small part only of the Decan or fourthern peninsula of India had been con-

\* Kandahar, Ghizni, Cabal, Cashmire, Lahore, Moulán, Outch, Sindi, Ajmere, Sirhind, Delhi, Duáb, Agra, Allahabad, Oud, Behár, Bengal, Orissa, Malava, Berár, Chandeish, Guzerat.

quered:





quered: yet the dominions of the family of Timur, in their northern and southern frontiers, fell under the thirty-sixth and nineteenth parallels of latitude; and they extended themselves, from east to west, about twenty-five degrees. The revenues, according to the Imperial register, were thirty-two millions sterling, received in the exchequer, exclusive of the customary presents, and the estates of the officers of the crown, which at their death reverted to the emperor, and amounted, at a medium, to twenty millions more of our money. These immense sums were expended in maintaining an army of three hundred thousand horse, as many of foot, in support of the splendor of the court, and in the salaries of civil officers.

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When the indisposition of the emperor Akbar rendered him incapable of attending to public business, the whole weight of government fell on Chan Azim, the Vicer. Selim, Akbar's only surviving son, notwithstanding the disputes which he had formerly with his father, was still looked upon as the heir of the empire. But the Vicer's daughter being married to Chusero, the eldest son of Selim, that minister was desirous of placing the reins of government in the hands of his son-in-law. He was supported in this scheme by many of the nobles; the most enterprising and powerful of whom was Raja Man Singh, whose sister was the mother of Chusero. The Raja, from the antiquity of his family, and his own address, commanded all the Hindoo interest in the empire; and he had, at that very time, twenty thousand of his native subjects of the Rajaput tribe in and near the environs of the capital, prepared to execute his orders. Selim being apprized of the powerful confederacy against him, waited upon his father Akbar, two days before his death, and laid before him all their schemes. The emperor called them to his presence, reprimanded them severely; and having publicly acknowledged Selim his law-

Intrigues a-  
gainst Sultan  
Selim.





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His accession  
to the throne.

ful successor in the empire, obliged the confederate lords to pay him homage, and to promise to support his title.

On the sixteenth of the second Jemmâd, in the year of the Higera one thousand and fourteen, the illustrious Akbar expired at Agra, amid the tears of his subjects; who loved him as their father, admired him as their leader, and feared him as their prince. The promise extorted by the emperor from the Vifier and Man Singh in favour of Selim, had no effect on their conduct. He was no sooner dead than they assembled their party in the house of the former, and renewed their deliberations in favour of Chusero, in prejudice of his father. Selim in the mean time was not idle. He convened all his friends in his own palace. Things remained in suspense for some hours. Ferid Bochari, who commanded the city-guards, took at length a spirited resolution. He ordered the gates to be shut, to prevent any troops from entering the city; and, taking the keys in his hand, hastened to the palace of Selim. He presented them on his knees, and saluted him emperor. All present followed his example. The news soon reached the house of the Vifier. The party of Chusero was struck with a sudden panic. They broke up from council, and made all possible haste to pay their respects to the new sovereign. The Vifier took care not to be the last. The hopes of Chusero were dashed in a moment. He was seized with fear, and fled down the river in a small canoe, with Raja Man Singh, and concealed himself in that prince's house till he obtained a pardon from his father. Ferid, for this signal service, was advanced to the rank of paymaster-general of the forces, by the title of Murtaza Chan; and many other distinguishing honours were at the same time conferred upon him.

His titles and  
age.

Selim was born at Sikri, near Agra, on Wednesday the seventeenth of the second Ribbi, in the nine hundredth and seventy-seventh





seventh year of the Higera. The most remarkable event of Selim's life, before his accession, was, his disobedience to his father's orders, rather than his rebellion against him, about two years prior to that monarch's death. Insolent at first, he refused to return to his duty, and was once actually at the head of seventy thousand men. Upon the death of the prince Daniâl, he, however, submitted, having then a nearer prospect of the throne; Akbar having upbraided him for his disobedience at first, and his pusillanimity afterwards, for throwing himself upon an enraged sovereign's mercy, when he was at the head of a great army, received him into favour. When Selim took the reins of government in his hands, he assumed the titles of Noor-ul-dien Mahommed JEHANGIRE, or Mahommed the Light of the Faith and CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD. He dated the commencement of his reign from the twentieth of the second Jemmâd 1014, which answers to the 21st of October 1605, being then in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Akbar was interred with great pomp at Secundra, near Agra; and the minds of men were distracted between grief and joy, funeral solemnity, and the festivity attending upon the accession of a new sovereign.

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Chan Azim, the discontented Visier, and the Raja Man Singh, were so formidable in the empire, that Jehangire thought it most prudent to accept of the offered allegiance of both, and to confirm them in their respective honours and governments, without animadversion upon their late conduct. Man Singh was dispatched to his subaship of Bengal; Chan Azim to that of Malava. The prince Chusero made his appearance at court; and his father, after a severe reprimand, took him at last into favour. The emperor in the mean time began his reign by a strict administration of justice, and by a minute inspection into the finances and resources of the state. He issued a public edict to confirm all the laws.

His prudent  
and wife  
administra-  
tion.





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laws and regulations in force. Many subas were removed from their respective governments into other provinces: some were dismissed to make room for the emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived governors repaired to court to restore themselves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some succeeded in their views: others were reduced to despair, through want of success. The latter began to form treasonable designs to recover the consequence and power which they had lost.

A conspiracy  
 in favour of  
 his son Chu-  
 fero;

To accomplish their purpose, the discontented lords turned their eyes upon Chufero, and hoped, by his means, to effect a revolution in the state. They pretended to have the greatest attachment to his person: they magnified the number of his friends, and his own merit. They roused his ambition by the praise of past actions, and animated it by the fair prospect of present success. But what had most weight with the prince, they intimidated him with pretended discoveries of the designs of his father against his life. The secrecy necessary to be observed in all arduous undertakings against despotic governments, rendered it difficult for Chufero to know the true state of things. The spies, whom the emperor had placed around him, in the mean time, increased, and confirmed his fears. Ambition, aided by timidity, at length prevailed over filial duty. He plunged therefore into danger, to take immediate possession of a throne, which he was born one day to mount, without the doubtful fortune of the sword.

who rejects a  
 proposal of  
 assassination.

Chan Azim, and the Raja Man Singh, had the address not to appear openly in the conspiracy. They were, however, known to be the life and support of the whole. They were still under the cloud of the emperor's displeasure, which, at a convenient season, might burst on their heads. The prince being so far involved in the plot, it would be dangerous for him to recede: and they,





justly considering the improbability of success by open force against the Imperial power, proposed the more speedy expedient of assassinating Jehangire. The proposal came to the ears of the prince. Though he was bent upon rebellion, he started at parricide. Nature was roused in his breast. "My father," said he, "may enjoy life without a throne; but I can never enjoy a throne stained with a father's blood. Let him try the fortune of the field. Let us throw away the daggers of assassins, and owe our advancement to our swords."

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The conspirators pretended to applaud the noble sentiments of the prince: but they, from that instant, were irresolute and embarrassed in their councils. Many, violent at the beginning, now awed by the greatness of the undertaking, shrunk back from their purpose, and began to shelter themselves behind one another. The emperor, in the mean time, was in part informed of the plot. He prepared to seize the prince: the latter was apprized of his father's designs. By a premature discovery, this conspiracy, like many of the same kind, failed. Fear took possession of the adherents of Chusero. He himself was afraid. They neglected to execute the daring stroke, which their situation and safety required. They began to remove themselves from immediate danger, as if the present were more to be feared than those which in future they had to oppose. They, however, did not altogether relinquish their designs.

The plot discovered.

On Monday the eight of Zehidge, six months after the accession of Jehangire to the throne of India, near one hundred of the conspirators assembled privately, in the evening, at the tomb of the emperor Akbar. Chusero having joined them, on pretence of paying his devotions at his grandfather's shrine, they proceeded, that very night, toward Delhi. About day-break, next morning, they had reached the city of Muttra, about thirty-eight miles from

First rising.

Agra;





A. D. 1606.  
 Hig. 1015.

Agra; and entered the town, when the troops, who garrisoned the place, were on the parade. They halted for refreshment; and they had the good fortune not to be suspected by the officer who commanded at Muttra. Husein Beg Chan Buduchshi, who had been governor of the province of Cabul during a considerable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the emperor, was on his way to court. Having travelled in the night on account of the heat of the weather, he happened to enter the city of Muttra at the opposite gate just when the prince arrived. They met in the market-place. Chusero was no stranger to the discontent of Husein; and esteeming him a great acquisition to his party, from his known bravery and popularity among the Tartars, who formed a great part of the imperial army, he called him aside, and having sounded him, laid open his whole plan. Husein being conscious of no crime against the state, thought himself highly injured by Jehangire. Possessed of no property but the sword, from the generosity of his disposition, which had lavished his fortune upon his friends, he required not much intreaty to espouse the cause of the prince.

Chusero  
 marches to  
 Delhi.

The retinue of Husein was but small. It consisted of two hundred Tartar horse, and three hundred Afgan foot. But his military fame was great; and he gave life to the conspiracy. The prince endeavoured to bring over the governor of Muttra to his party. That officer, perceiving his intentions, shut himself up in the citadel, and would listen to no terms. Chusero had neither time nor force to reduce him. He contented himself with enlisting as many as he could of the inhabitants and garrison into his service; and, leaving Muttra, continued his route to Delhi.

Ravages the  
 country.

The road between the two great cities of Delhi and Agra being crowded with travellers, and detachments of horse and foot going





on different services, the prince forced them to join his standard. Those who refused were, without mercy, put to the sword, after being plundered of all their effects. Small parties of horse were at the same time dispersed through the country on every side; and such as did not immediately take up arms in favour of Chusero were submitted to military execution, and all the severities of war. Many were compelled to join him, through fear. Others, from the same cause, fled into the woods; and saw from their retreats the smoke of their burning houses, and mourned over their infants and aged parents, who had not strength to avoid the flames. Some more resolute defended themselves against the rebels, and to their valour owed their lives. The orders of the prince, it must be owned, did not extend to such rigour and cruelty. But he found it impossible to restrain from excesses his undisciplined soldiers. He had set them an example of wickedness by rebellion; and it was not to be expected that they would submit to his commands in favour of humanity and justice.

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Such was the wasteful progress of Chusero to Delhi. His followers having greatly increased their numbers in the march, he laid the suburbs of that capital under contribution. The gates being shut, the city itself was preserved from pillage. The unfortunate people who lived without the walls, from their delay in raising the sum imposed upon them, had their houses consumed with fire. Many thousands were ruined. Many, to retrieve their affairs, joined the rebels, to make reprisals upon the world for the loss which they had sustained.

Lays the suburbs of Delhi under contributions.

At eleven o'clock of the same night on which Chusero left Agra, his father was informed of his flight by the captain-general, who was ordered to pursue immediately the fugitive. About an hour

The emperor pursues Chusero,





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after this officer's departure with a considerable body of horse, the emperor, suspecting his loyalty, dispatched his commands to him to return. Ferid Bochari, lately raised to the dignity of Murtaza Chan, and to the office of paymaster-general of the forces, was dispatched upon that service, with an additional number of troops. The whole under Ferid amounted to ten thousand horse, which greatly retarded his march. Chusero, of course, had the more time to harass the country, and to strengthen himself. In the morning, as soon as day-light appeared, the emperor mounted his horse; and having assembled all the forces in and near Agra, leaving a sufficient garrison in the place, marched with a great army toward Delhi. He was, upon the occasion, heard to repeat a verse, which implied, "That fortune depended upon expedition more than on counsel; and that his life should be darkened who put off till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day." The undutiful behaviour of a son, whom he loved, was a severe stroke to his mind. He refused to eat or drink, or to take rest for some time; and even opium, to which he was much addicted, he declined.

who takes  
 the route of  
 Lahore.

The governor and inhabitants of Delhi, having recovered from the first impressions which the sudden arrival and ravages committed by Chusero had made upon their minds, prepared for a resolute defence. Some troops, who were stationed in different parts of the country, had thrown themselves into the town. As there was a considerable quantity of the Imperial treasure lodged in the city, as well as the great wealth of private persons, the intentions of the prince were to have surprized Delhi, and to furnish himself with money sufficient to raise an army in the province of Punjáb. But the general terror which his rapacity had excited carried the news of his march before him, and disappointed his designs. Despairing of being able to force Delhi to surrender before





before the arrival of the Imperial army, having remained only two days in the suburbs, Chufero took the route of Lahore. Having been, on his march, joined by a great number of men, he attempted, immediately upon his arrival, to take that city by escalade. He was repulsed with some loss by the garrison; and being at the same time destitute of artillery, he was greatly disconcerted in his measures. He, however, invested the place.

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The Imperial troops stationed in the province threw themselves into Lahore. They sallied out on the besiegers nine successive days, but they were as often repulsed, and obliged to shelter themselves behind their walls. Chufero in the mean time had drawn together some artillery from small fortresses in the neighbourhood, which he had found means to surprize. Nothing could be effected against the place before the arrival of Ferid, the paymaster-general, with the emperor's advanced guard. The prince, with an army of thirty thousand horse and foot, but without order, without discipline, marched out of his camp to give battle to Ferid. The garrison of Lahore perceiving his motions, fell upon his rear. He left a part of his army to oppose them: With the remaining part he attacked Ferid. His troops behaved better than their discipline seemed to promise. He exposed his own person. He was at length deserted; and, pressing among the thickest of the enemy, he found himself with only a few of his principal adherents, who bravely fought by his side. In this situation he was surrounded by the Imperialists on every side. He was personally known to them all. They were tender of his life; and, in attempting to take him prisoner, they permitted him to make his escape. Great honours were conferred upon Ferid by the emperor, on account of this signal victory.

He is defeated by Ferid Bochari.

The unfortunate Chufero wandered all night through the woods, with a few attendants. His army was all dispersed. He came in

Fluctuating counsels of his adherents.





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the morning to a hut, where, quite overcome by fatigue, he laid himself down to rest. Some of his friends having discovered where he lay, assembled around him. They began to consult together on the present untoward situation of their affairs. They differed in opinion. Such of the chiefs as were natives of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, insisted upon taking the route of that quarter of India, by the foot of the northern mountains: they alleged, that the Raja Man Singh, who was then suba of Bengal, possessed great power, which he would not fail to exert in his nephew's cause\*: that the country was rich and populous: that it was an invariable maxim among the Hindoo princes, never to desert the interest of a stranger who should throw himself under their protection: Besides, that the Raja Man Singh joined the affection of a relation to the prince, to the natural faith of his nation to the suppliant and unfortunate. The natives of Chandesh and Malava were for trying their fortunes in their respective provinces. Chan Azim, the late Visier, father-in-law of Chusero, was governor of the latter; and they doubted not but he would support the dignity of his own family. They added, that Azim was possessed of a fine army, provided with artillery, and furnished with stores.

They dis-  
perfe.

Huffein Beg, who was in chief confidence with the prince, started objections to the different plans of his other adherents. He urged the distance of the march, and the impossibility of forcing their way through countries full of Imperial troops, who would be very active, since Fortune had forsaken the side of Chusero. He proposed that they should continue their route to Cabul; where he himself had interest sufficient to arm the whole province, together with his native country Buduchshân, in favour of the prince.

\* It was customary with the Mahommedan emperors of Hindostan to demand the daughters of Hindoo princes in marriage. The mother of Chusero was sister to the Raja Man Singh.

Chusero





Chufero, during the debate, fat filent. Having at length weighed each opinion, he declared in favour of that of Huffein; alleging, that the troops of the north were moft faithful to their chiefs. The obfervation difpleafed the other chiefs: they murmured, and left his prefence. They faw that their affairs were desperate, and they refolved to retreat to their refpective habitations; covering their fears under a pretended difguft at the preference given to the counfel of Huffein.

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Chufero in a few minutes found himfelf deserted by thofe who had made him the tool of their ambition and revenge. Reproaches were to no effect. He blamed his adherents for their timidity and perfidy; but he himfelf was not lefs culpable. His mind was agitated with various paffions. Rage againft his own folly was the moft predominant. Huffein was the only chief of note who remained of the confpirators. His followers, confifting of three hundred horfe, and a few of the prince's menial fervants, formed their whole retinue. With thefe they fet out for Cabul. Being forced to depart from the high road, they frequently loft their way, as they were obliged to travel in the night.

He arrives on  
the banks of  
of the Attoc;

Keeping their courfe through unfrequented paths and by-roads, they at length arrived on the banks of the river Attoc, the largeft branch of the Indus. It was impaffable without boats. It was then midnight. They moved down the river to the ferry of Choudera. Finding no boats at that place, though a much frequented paffage, they underftood that orders had been fent to conceal them. The ferryman and villagers were afleep. It was propofed to feize them, to force them to difcover where the boats were laid. Some were taken in their beds; others efaped, and, with their outcries, alarmed the country. The prince underftood from thofe that were taken, that orders from the Imperial camp had two days before been received by the zemindâr of the diftrict, to flop the paffage.

where, for  
want of  
boats,





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passage of the river; and that, in obedience to these orders, he had secreted the boats. Hussein in the mean time having dispatched some of his followers in quest of the boats, they found two, filled with wood, in a neighbouring creek. These were unloaded, and brought to the proper place. The zemindâr, being roused from sleep by the noise, had come by this time to the banks of the Attoc, attended by a concourse of people. He called to those who dragged the boats, that he had an Imperial mandate to prohibit all persons, under pain of death, to cross the river. They, intimidated by his threats, turned the head of the two boats across the stream. The prince's party fired upon them: some were killed, others plunged into the river; and a few expert swimmers, in the retinue of Chusero, brought one boat with difficulty to the shore.

he is in great  
distress.

The banks of the Attoc were in the mean time crowded with the country people. An officer arrived with a hundred horse to guard the passage. Other detachments came gradually in from every quarter. Chusero and Hussein resolved to save themselves in the boat. They placed their horses in the center, and they themselves took their seats in the stern. Their attendants, afraid of being left to the mercy of their enemies, threw themselves headlong into the vessel, and almost sunk her. They, however, pushed her from shore; threw some overboard, and cut off the hands of others who clung to her sides. Many were drowned. A few slain by the Imperialists. This was but the beginning of misfortunes. Most of the oars had been lost in the confusion; and the rudder, to complete the ruin of the unfortunate Chusero, had been inadvertently thrown overboard with the wood with which the boat had been found loaded. These inconveniences, joined to a want of skill in the rowers, rendered it impossible for them to manage the boat. She was carried down the stream. The confusion was great, and danger every moment increased.

The





The zemindâr, and the party who guarded the ferry, were not idle. They seized upon those left ashore. They fired at the boat, and followed her down the river. She struck at last on a sand-bank. Some plunged into the water to push her off: she remained immoveable. The fire continued. Many were killed. No resource was left. The sun was just rising. Casim Chan, who commanded the party of horse, seeing the unfortunate prince in this unextricable situation, stopt the fire. Being by this time joined by another officer who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, both mounted their elephants; and, riding in to the bank on which the boat lay, seized the prince. Casim placed him behind him on the elephant, while the other officer secured Hufflein. The few that remained of their attendants were carried ashore in another boat.

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He is taken  
prisoner.

Such was the end of a rebellion begun without any just cause, concerted without judgment, and carried on with very moderate abilities, by a prince scarce more unfortunate than he deserved to be. The emperor was at the time encamped in a garden near Lahore. He received the news of the seizure of the prince with excessive joy. He ordered him to be brought before him, with a golden chain from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of his ancestors, Zingis and Timur. Hufflein, loaded with iron chains, was placed on the right hand of Chusero; Abdul Rahim, another of the principal rebels, on his left. Jehangire sternly asked his son, "What could induce thee, Sultan Chusero, to rebel against thy sovereign and father?" Chusero was silent: the emperor began to relent. He then, in a softer tone, questioned him about his advisers and abettors in rebellion. Chusero burst into tears. His father was surprized: for till then he had remained firm. "Father," said the prince, with a broken voice, "my crime is great; but let me suffer for it alone. When you  
accused

His behav-  
our before  
his father.





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accused me, I was sensible of my faults; and, as I was reconciled with the loss of life, I behaved with dignity. But when you raise the remembrance of my friends, I am troubled at their fate. Let them escape as they can; I will never become their accuser."

Execution of  
 his adhe-  
 rents.

Jehangire stood silent; and, by his pressing him no farther, seemed to applaud his sentiments. Any information from the prince would be unnecessary. The conspirators had impeached one another; and three hundred of the chiefs were already seized. The prince was delivered over, in close confinement, into the hands of the paymaster-general. Hufflein was sentenced to be sewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and to be thrown in that condition into the street. The hide was soon contracted by the heat of the sun; and he expired in a few hours. Abdul Rahim did not so easily escape. Finding that Hufflein was dead sooner than they expected, those appointed to superintend the executions, kept the afs's hide in which Rahim was inclosed, constantly moist with water. He lived for several days in that miserable condition. Three hundred pales in the mean time were set up in two rows along the public road. The rebels, to that number, were drawn alive on the pales. Chusero was brought every day, as long as any of the unhappy wretches breathed, under their tortures, to view the horrid sight. He was led in chains through the midst of them, whilst he watered the ground with his tears. Some of them had been his dearest companions; others his faithful servants, who had followed his fortunes, merely to shew their fidelity to a master whom they loved.

Candahar in-  
 vaded by the  
 Persians.

These barbarous executions were scarce over at Lahore, when news was brought to the Imperial camp, that the Persians had invested Candahar with a numerous army; that Shaw Beg, the governor of that city and province, had, by his rashness, suffered  
 a very





a very considerable loss in a sally; yet that he continued, without any necessity, to expose the garrison. His conduct could only be accounted for by an absurdity bordering on madness. He was as careless of his own life as he was of his duty. Dissolute beyond example, he ordered an awning to be spread over the gate-way most exposed to the enemy's fire. He sat under it all day, conversing with common prostitutes, whom, much against their inclination, he forced to attend him. The emperor, fearing more from his negligence and debauchery, than he hoped from his fidelity and courage, sent Sirdir Chan, an old Omrah, to supersede him in his government, with orders to defend Candahar to the last extremity. Ghazi Chan, an officer of great reputation, was, at the same time, dispatched with twenty-five thousand horse, to harass the enemy. Jehangire himself, with the remaining part of the Imperial army, marched to Cabul.

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Ghazi had scarce advanced within six days march of Candahar, when the Persians raised the siege, and retreated towards Chorassan. No reason could be assigned for these hostilities on the side of Persia, except the favourable opportunity offered, by the rebellion of Chusero, for seizing the city of Candahar, which was, in some measure, the key to the Persian empire. Shaw Abas of Persia pretended, that his lieutenants in the provinces of Scistan and Chorassan had taken this step without his orders; and that it was his positive commands which raised the siege.

The siege  
raised.

Jehangire placed little faith in the professions of Abas; being satisfied, that the death of Akbar, and the rebellion of Chusero, were the true motives of the invasion. He, however, admitted the excuses of the Persian, which were brought by his ambassador Hussein. Several small forts near Candahar, which had been taken by the Persians, were evacuated, and peace between the two

A peace with  
Persia.





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formidable powers was re-established. Shaw Beg, deprived of the government of Candahar, was made Suba of Cabul: for, notwithstanding his absurd behaviour, he had displayed both ability and spirit in the defence of the city. The emperor, after these transactions, returned toward Lahore.

A conspiracy.

Sultan Chufero was still in close confinement, which his active and vehement disposition could very ill endure. The usage he met with deprived him of every hope of a reconciliation with his father. The marks of affection shewn by the emperor to his younger sons, Purvez and Churram, confirmed the suspicions of Chufero. It was also currently reported, that Jehangire was to appoint one of the two favoured princes, his successor. Nothing but disappointment, and even death, presented to Chufero's mind. His friends were still numerous in the army. He founded them, by his emissaries: some moved by his misfortunes, many in love with novelty, began to form treasonable designs against the emperor's life. It was concerted to fall upon Jehangire at the chace, and, having dispatched him, to raise Chufero, from his prison to the throne.

Discovered.

Some writers doubt, whether Chufero was at all privy to this conspiracy: others deny the whole. The first argue from the humanity of Chufero; the latter say, that it was a fiction of Sultan Churram, third son of Jehangire. This much is certain, that the first intelligence of the conspiracy came, through prince Churram, to the emperor's ears. He informed his father, that five hundred of the nobility were engaged in a plot against his life. Jehangire was startled, and knew not how to act: he considered, that, should he seize some, the rest would be alarmed; and that danger might arise from their power. As it was difficult, therefore, to secure them all at once, he thought it most prudent





prudent to send all on different services. Four of the principals he reserved, whom he ordered to be seized. They were tried for treason; sufficient proofs could not be found. They were kept in confinement: Chusero was more narrowly watched; and became daily more and more obnoxious to his father.

A. D. 1606.  
Hig. 1015.

J E H A N G I R E.

C H A P. II.

*Disturbances in Bengal—Story of Chaja Aiafs—His flight from Tartary—Distress in the desert—Birth of the Sultana Noor-Mábil—Marriage with Shere Afkun—Persecution—and murder of that Omrah—Her marriage with the emperor—Promotion of her family.*

JEHANGIRE, having resettled the affairs of the provinces to the north-west of the Indus, marched toward the capital. When he was crossing the Attoc, letters were received from Illam Chan, governor of Behâr, with intelligence, that Shere Afkun, a native of Turkomania, who commanded in the district of Burdwan, had, with his own hand, killed Kuttub-ul-dien Koka, Suba of Bengal, together with several other officers, who had set upon Shere Afkun, with an intention to assassinate him. Jehangire was much afflicted at the death of his favourite Kuttub; but he derived some comfort from the Suba's success against the life of Shere Afkun. The circumstances of the unhappy fate of this chief are in themselves extraordinary; and the knowledge of them is necessary for elucidating the sequel of the history of Jehangire. To trace things to their source, we must, for some time, lose sight of the unfortunate Shere.

Disturbances  
in Bengal.





Story of  
Chaja Aiafs.

About twenty years before this period, Chaja Aiafs, a native of the western Tartary, left that country to push his fortune in Hindostan. He was descended of an ancient and noble family, fallen into decay by various revolutions of fortune. He, however, had received a good education, which was all his parents could bestow. Falling in love with a young woman, as poor as himself, he married her; but he found it difficult to provide for her the very necessaries of life. Reduced to the last extremity, he turned his thoughts upon India, the usual resource of the needy Tartars of the north. He left privately friends, who either would not or could not assist him, and turned his face to a foreign country. His all consisted of one sorry horse, and a very small sum of money, which had proceeded from the sale of his other effects. Placing his wife upon the horse, he walked by her side. She happened to be with child, and could ill endure the fatigue of so great a journey. Their scanty pittance of money was soon expended: they had even subsisted, for some days, upon charity, when they arrived on the skirts of the Great Solitudes, which separate Tartary from the dominions of the family of Timur, in India. No house was there to cover them from the inclemency of the weather; no hand to relieve their wants. To return, was certain misery; to proceed, apparent destruction.

His distress

They had fasted three days: to complete their misfortunes, the wife of Aiafs was taken in labour. She began to reproach her husband for leaving his native country at an unfortunate hour; for exchanging a quiet, though poor life, for the ideal prospect of wealth in a distant country. In this distressed situation she brought forth a daughter. They remained in the place for some hours, with a vain hope that travellers might pass that way. They were disappointed. Human feet seldom tread these deserts: the sun declined a-pace. They feared the approach of night: the  
place





place was the haunt of wild beasts; and should they escape their hunger, they must fall by their own. Chaja Aiafs, in this extremity, having placed his wife on the horse, found himself so much exhausted that he could scarcely move. To carry the child was impossible: the mother could not even hold herself fast on the horse. A long contest began between Humanity and Necessity: the latter prevailed, and they agreed to expose the child on the high-way. The infant, covered with leaves, was placed under a tree; and the disconsolate parents proceeded in tears.

When they had advanced about a mile from the place, and the eyes of the mother could no longer distinguish the solitary tree under which she had left her daughter, she gave way to grief; and throwing herself from the horse on the ground, exclaimed, "My child! my child!" She endeavoured to raise herself; but she had no strength to return. Aiafs was pierced to the heart. He prevailed upon his wife to sit down. He promised to bring her the infant. He arrived at the place. No sooner had his eyes reached the child, than he was almost struck dead with horror. A black snake, say our authors, was coiled around it; and Aiafs believed he beheld him extending his fatal jaws to devour the infant. The father rushed forward. The serpent, alarmed at his vociferation, retired into the hollow tree. He took up his daughter unhurt, and returned to the mother. He gave her child into her arms; and, as he was informing her of the wonderful escape of the infant, some travellers appeared, and soon relieved them of all their wants. They proceeded gradually and came to Lahore.

The emperor Akbar, at the arrival of Aiafs, kept his court at Lahore. Asiph Chan, one of that monarch's principal Omrahs, attended then the presence. He was a distant relation to Aiafs,

in the desert.  
His arrival,  
and good  
fortune at  
Lahore.

and





and he received him with attention and friendship. To employ him, he made him his own secretary. Aiafs soon recommended himself to Afiph in that station; and, by some accident, his diligence and ability attracted the notice of the emperor, who raised him to the command of a thousand horse. He became, in process of time, master of the household; and his genius being still greater than even his good fortune, he raised himself to the office and title of Actimâd-ul-Dowla, or high treasurer of the empire. Thus he, who had almost perished through mere want in the desert, became, in the space of a few years, the first subject in India.

Character of  
his daughter  
Mher-ul-  
Niffa.

The daughter, who had been born to Aiafs in the desert, received, soon after his arrival at Lahore, the name of Mher-ul-Niffa, or the Sun of Women. She had some right to the appellation; for in beauty she excelled all the ladies of the East. She was educated with the utmost care and attention. In music, in dancing, in poetry, in painting, she had no equal among her sex. Her disposition was volatile, her wit lively and satirical, her spirit lofty and uncontrôled. Selim, the prince-royal, visited one day her father. When the public entertainment was over, when all, except the principal guests, were withdrawn, and wine was brought on the table, the ladies, according to custom, were introduced in their veils.

She capti-  
vates Sultan  
Selim:

The ambition of Mher-ul-Niffa aspired to a conquest of the prince. She sung—he was in raptures: she danced—he could hardly be restrained, by the rules of decency, to his place. Her stature, her shape, her gait, had raised his ideas of her beauty to the highest pitch. When his eyes seemed to devour her, she, as by accident, dropt her veil; and shone upon him, at once, with all her charms. The confusion, which she could well feign, on  
the





the occasion, heightened the beauty of her face. Her timid eye by stealth fell upon the prince, and kindled all his soul into love. He was silent for the remaining part of the evening: she endeavoured to confirm, by her wit, the conquest which the charms of her person had made.

Selim, distracted with his passion, knew not what course to take. Mher-ul-Nissa had been betrothed, by her father, to Shere Afkun, a Turkomanian nobleman of great renown. He applied to his father Akbar, who sternly refused to commit a piece of injustice, though in favour of the heir of his throne. The prince retired abashed; and Mher-ul-Nissa became the wife of Shere Afkun. The latter, however, suffered in his prospects in life, for not having made a voluntary resignation of the lady to the enamoured prince. Though Selim durst make no open attack upon his fortunate rival, during the life of Akbar, men in office worshipped the rising sun, and threw accumulated disgrace on Shere Afkun. He became disgusted, and left the court of Agra. He retired into the province of Bengal, and obtained from the Suba of that country, the superintendency of the district of Burdwan.

Marries Shere  
Afkun;

The passion for Mher-ul-Nissa, which Selim had repressed from a respect and fear for his father, returned with redoubled violence when he himself mounted the throne of India. He was now absolute; no subject could thwart his will and pleasure. He recalled Shere Afkun from his retreat. He was, however, afraid to go so much against the current of the public opinion, as to deprive that Omrah of his wife. Shere was inflexible: no man of honour in India can part with his spouse, and retain his life. His incredible strength and bravery had rendered Shere extremely

who is per-  
secuted by  
Selim.





popular. He was naturally high-spirited and proud; and it was not to be expected, that he would yield to indignity and public shame.—His family, his former reputation was high.—Born of noble parents in Turkomania, he had spent his youth in Persia; and had served, with uncommon renown, Shaw Ismaël the third of the Sufvi line. His original name was Afta Jillô, but having killed a lion, he was dignified with the title of Shere Afkun, or the Overthrower of the Lion. Under the latter name he became famous in India. In the wars of Akbar, he had served with great reputation. He had distinguished himself, in a particular manner, under Chan Chanan, at the taking of Sind, by exhibiting prodigies of personal strength and valour. Preferments had been heaped upon him; and he was highly esteemed at court, during the life of Akbar, who loved in others that daring intrepidity for which he himself was renowned.

He is called  
to court.

Jehangire kept his court at Delhi, when he called Shere Afkun to the presence. He received him graciously, and conferred new honours upon him. Shere Afkun, naturally open and generous, suspected not the emperor's intentions. Time, he thought, had erased the memory of Mher-ul-Niffa from Jehangire's mind. He was deceived. The monarch was resolved to remove his rival; but the means he used were, at once, foolish and disgraceful. He appointed a day for hunting; and ordered the haunt of an enormous tiger to be explored. News was soon brought, that a tiger of an extraordinary size was discovered in the forest of Nidarbari. This savage, it was said, had carried off many of the largest oxen from the neighbouring villages. The emperor directed thither his march, attended by Shere Afkun, and several thousands of his principal officers, with all their trains. Having, according to the custom of the Mogul Tartars, surrounded the ground for many miles, they began to move toward the center,

on





on all sides. The tiger was roused. His roaring was heard in all quarters: and the emperor hastened to the place.

The nobility being assembled, Jehangire called aloud, "Who He attacks,  
 "among you will advance singly and attack this tiger?" They looked on one another in silence: then all turned their eyes on Shere Afkun. He seemed not to understand their meaning: at length three Omrahs started forth from the circle, and sacrificing fear to shame, fell at the emperor's feet, and begged permission to try singly their strength against the formidable animal. The pride of Shere Afkun arose. He had imagined, that none durst attempt a deed so dangerous. He hoped, that after the refusal of the nobles, the honour of the enterprize would devolve in course on his hands. But three had offered themselves for the combat: and they were bound in honour to insist on their prior right. Afraid of losing his former renown, Shere Afkun began thus in the presence: "To attack an animal with weapons is both  
 "unmanly and unfair. God has given to man limbs and sinews  
 "as well as to tigers: he has added reason to the former to conduct  
 "his strength." The other Omrahs objected in vain, "That  
 "all men were inferior to the tiger in strength; and that he could  
 "be overcome only with steel." "I will convince you of your  
 "mistake," Shere Afkun replied: and, throwing down his sword and shield, prepared to advance unarmed.

Though the emperor was, in secret, pleased with a proposal full and kills an enormous tiger.  
 of danger to Shere, he made a shew of dissuading him from the enterprize. Shere was determined. The monarch, with feigned reluctance, yielded. Men knew not whether they ought most to admire the courage of the man, or to exclaim against the folly of the deed. Astonishment was painted in every face. Every tongue was silent. Writers give a particular, but incredible





dible detail of the battle between Shere Afkun and the tiger. This much is certain, that, after a long and obstinate struggle, the astonishing warrior prevailed; and, though mangled with wounds himself, laid at last the savage dead at his feet. The thousands who were eye-witnesses of the action, were even almost afraid to vouch for the truth of the exploit, with their concurring testimony. The fame of Shere was increased; and the designs of the emperor failed. But the determined cruelty of the latter stopt not here: other means of death were contrived against the unfortunate Shere.

Defeats a  
design against  
his life.

He had scarce recovered from his wounds, when he came to pay his respects at court. He was caressed by the emperor; and he suspected no guile. A snare, however, was prepared for him. Jehangire had meanly condescended to give private orders to the rider of one of his largest elephants to waylay his rival, in one of the narrow streets, when he next should return to court, and there to tread him to death. As accidents of that kind sometimes happen, from the rage of those animals in the rutting season, the thing might have passed without suspicion. Shere was carried in his palanky. He saw the elephant in his way. He gave orders to the bearers to return back: the elephant came forward. They threw the palanky, with their master, in the street, and fled to save their lives. Shere saw his danger. He had just time to rise. He drew a short sword, which always hung by his side: with this weapon he struck the elephant across the root of the trunk, which he cut off with one blow. The animal roared, turned from him, fell down and expired. The emperor was looking out at a window. He retired with amazement and shame. Shere continued his way to the palace. Without any suspicion of treachery, he related the particulars to Jehangire. The latter disguised his sentiments, but relinquished not his designs. He





praised the strength and valour of Shere, who retired satisfied and unsuspecting from the presence.

Whether the emperor endeavoured to conquer his passion for Mher-ul-Niffa, or felt remorse from his own behaviour, is uncertain; but, for the space of six months, no further attempts were made against the life of Shere, who now retired to the capital of Bengal. The former designs of Jehangire were no secret. They were the subject of common conversation, little to the advantage of the character of a great prince. Absolute monarchs, however, are never without men who flatter their worst passions, and administer to their most pernicious pleasures. Kuttub, Suba of Bengal, was one of these convenient sycophants. To ingratiate himself with the emperor, though perhaps not by his express commands, he hired forty ruffians, to attack and murder Shere, when an opportunity should offer. Shere was apprized of the intentions of Kuttub. He continued within doors: but such was his confidence in his own strength and valour, that at night he would not permit his servants to remain in his house. They, according to custom, retired each to his own home. An old porter only remained of the men servants, under the same roof with Shere. The assassins were no strangers to a circumstance common in India. They made their observations upon the house. They found that there was a room, on the right hand, within the principal door, which Shere used, as a writing-chamber. This room communicated, by a narrow passage, with the sleeping apartments. When it was dark, they took advantage of the old porter's absence, and conveyed themselves, without discovery, into the house.

The principal door being bolted at the usual hour, Shere and his family went to bed. Some of the assassins, when they thought





he was fallen asleep, stole silently into his apartment. They prepared to plunge their daggers into his body, when one of them, who was an old man, being touched with remorse, cried out with a loud voice: "Hold! have we not the emperor's orders? Let us behave like men. Shall forty fall upon one, and that one asleep!" "Boldly spoken," said Shere; starting that instant from his bed. Seizing his sword, he placed himself in a corner of the room. There he was attacked by the assassins. In a few minutes, many of the villains lay, weltering in their blood, at his feet. Scarce one half escaped without a wound. The old man, who had given warning, did not attempt to fly. Shere took him by the hand, praised and thanked him for his behaviour, and, having enquired about those who had hired the assassins, dismissed him, with handsome presents, to relate the particulars abroad.

He is murdered.

The fame of this gallant exploit resounded through the whole empire. Shere could not stir abroad for the mob, who pressed around him. He, however, thought proper to retire from the capital of Bengal, to his old residence at Burdwan. He hoped to live there in obscurity and safety, with his beloved Mher-ul-Niffa. He was deceived. The Suba of Bengal had received his government, for the purpose of removing the unfortunate Shere; and he was not ungrateful. After deliberating with himself about the means, he, at last, fell upon an effectual expedient. Settling the affairs of his government at Tanda, which was, at that time, the capital of Bengal, he resolved, with a great retinue, to make the tour of the dependent provinces. In his rout he came to Burdwan. He made no secret to his principal officers, that he had the emperor's orders for dispatching Shere. That devoted Omrah, hearing that the Suba was entering the town in which he resided, mounted his horse, and, with two servants only, went to pay his respects. The Suba received Shere with affected politeness,





politeneſs. They rode, for ſome time, ſide by ſide; and their converſation turned upon indifferent affairs. The Suba ſuddenly ſtopt. He ordered his elephant of ſtate to be brought; which he mounted, under a pretence of appearing with becoming pomp in the city of Burdwan. Shere ſtood ſtill, when the Suba was aſcending; and one of the pikemen, pretending that Shere was in the way, ſtruck his horſe, and began to drive him before him. Shere was enraged at the affront. He knew that the pikeman durſt not have uſed that freedom without his maſter's orders: he ſaw plainly, that there was a laid deſign againſt his life. He turned round upon the pikeman; and threatened him with inſtant death. He fell on the ground and begged for mercy. Swords were drawn. Shere had no time to loſe. He ſpurred his horſe up to the elephant, on which the Suba was mounted; and having broke down the amari or caſtle, cut him in two; and thus the unfortunate Kuttub became the victim of his own zeal to pleaſe the emperor. Shere did not reſt here: he turned his ſword on the other officers. The firſt that fell by his hands, was Aba Chan, a native of Caſhmire; who was an Omrah of five thouſand horſe. Four other nobles ſhared the ſame fate. A death attended every blow from the hand of Shere. The remaining chiefs were at once aſtoniſhed and frightened. They fled to a diſtance, and formed a circle around him. Some began to gall him with arrows; others to fire with their muſquets. His horſe, at length, being ſhot with a ball in the forehead, fell under him. The unfortunate Shere, reduced to the laſt extremity, began to upbraid them with cowardice. He invited them ſeverally to ſingle combat; but he begged in vain. He had already received ſome wounds. He plainly ſaw his approaching fate. Turning his face toward Mecca, he took up ſome duſt with his hand; and, for want of water, threw it, by way of ablution, upon his head. He then ſtood up, ſeemingly unconcerned. Six balls  
entered.





entered his body, in different places, before he fell. His enemies had scarce the courage to come near, till they saw him in the last agonies of death. They praised his valour to the skies: but in adding to his reputation, they took away from their own.

Mher-ul-Niffa

The officer, who succeeded the deceased Suba in the command of the troops, hastened to the house of Shere. He was afraid that Mher-ul-Niffa, in the first paroxisms of grief, might make away with herself. That lady, however, bore her misfortunes with more fortitude and resignation. She was unwilling to adopt the manners of her country, upon such tragical occasions. She even pretended, in vindication of her apparent insensibility, to follow the injunctions of her deceased lord. She alleged that Shere, foreseeing his own fall by Jehangire, had conjured her to yield to the desires of that monarch without hesitation. The reasons, which she said, he gave, were as feeble as the fact itself was improbable. He was afraid that his own exploits would sink into oblivion, without they were connected with the remarkable event of giving an empress to India.

ill-received at court.

Mher-ul-Niffa was sent, with all imaginable care, to Delhi. She was full of the ambition of becoming the favourite Sultana. Her vanity was disappointed. Though she was received with great tenderness and affection, by Rokia Sultana Begum, the emperor's mother, Jehangire refused to see her. Whether his mind was then fixed on another object, or remorse had taken possession of his soul, authors do not agree. They, however, assert, with great improbability, that the emperor was so much affected with the death of his favourite, the Suba of Bengal, that he resolved to punish Mher-ul-Niffa, for an accident in which she had no concern. Be that as it will, he gave orders to shut her up in one of the worst apartments of the seraglio. He even would





would not deign to see her; and, contrary to his usual munificence to women, he allowed her but fourteen anas, about two shillings of our money, a-day, for the subsistence of herself and some female slaves. This coldness to a woman whom he passionately loved when not in his power, was at once unaccountable and absurd.

Mher-ul-Niffa was a woman of a haughty spirit, and could not brook this treatment. She had no remedy. She gave herself up, for some time, to grief, as if for the death of her husband; but it was disappointment only that preyed upon her mind. She was at length reconciled to her condition, from a hope of an opportunity of re-kindling the emperor's former love. She trusted to the amazing power of her own beauty; which, to conquer, required only to be seen. The emperor's mother, who was deeply interested for Mher-ul-Niffa, could not prevail upon her son to see her. He turned away from her in silence, when she spoke of the widow of Shere. An expedient, however, offered itself to Mher-ul-Niffa. To raise her own reputation in the seraglio, and to support herself and slaves with more decency, than the scanty pittance allowed her would admit, she called forth her invention and taste in working some admirable pieces of tapestry and embroidery, in painting silks with exquisite delicacy, and in inventing female ornaments of every kind. These articles were carried, by her slaves, to the different squares of the royal seraglio, and to the harems of the great officers of the empire. The inventions of Mher-ul-Niffa excelled so much in their kind, that they were bought with the greatest avidity. Nothing was fashionable among the ladies of Delhi and Agra, but the work of her hands. She accumulated, by these means, a considerable sum of money, with which she repaired and beautified her apartments,

Not seen by  
the emperor.





ments, and clothed her slaves in the richest tissues and brocades, while she herself affected a very plain and simple dress.

till the end  
of four years.

In this situation the widow of Shere continued four years, without once having seen the emperor. Her fame reached his ears from every apartment in the seraglio. Curiosity at length vanquished his resolution. He determined to be an eye-witness of the things which he had so often heard, concerning Mher-ul-Nissa. He resolved to surprize her: and communicating his resolution to none, he suddenly entered her apartments, where he found every thing so elegant and magnificent, that he was struck with amazement. But the greatest ornament of the whole was Mher-ul-Nissa herself. She lay half reclined, on an embroidered sofa, in a plain muslin dress. Her slaves sat in a circle round her, at work, attired in rich brocades. She slowly arose, in manifest confusion; and received the emperor with the usual ceremony of touching first the ground, then her forehead with her right hand. She did not utter one word; but stood with her eyes fixed on the ground. Jehangire remained for some time silent. He admired her shape, her stature, her beauty, her grace; and that inexpressible voluptuousness of mien, which it is impossible to resist.

Her nuptials  
with Jehan-  
gire.

Jehangire did not, for some time, recover from his confusion. He at length sat down on the sofa, and requested Mher-ul-Nissa to sit by his side. The first question he asked, was, "Why this difference between the appearance of Mher-ul-Nissa and her slaves?" She very shrewdly replied, "Those born to servitude must dress as it shall please those whom they serve. These are my servants; and I alleviate the burden of bondage by every indulgence in my power. But I that am your slave, O Emperor





“peror of the Moguls, must dress according to your pleasure and “not my own.” Though this answer was a kind of sarcasm on his behaviour, it was so pertinent and well turned, that it greatly pleased Jehangire. He took her at once in his arms. His former affection returned, with all its violence; and the very next day, public orders were issued to prepare a magnificent festival, for the celebration of his nuptials with Mher-ul-Niffa. Her name was also changed by an edict into Noor-Mâhil, or the Light of the Seraglio. The emperor’s former favourites vanished before her; and during the rest of the reign of Jehangire, she bore the chief sway in all the affairs of the empire.

The great power of Noor-Mâhil appeared, for the first time, in the immediate advancement of her family. Her father, who, in the latter end of the reign of Akbar, had been chief treasurer of the empire, was raised to the office of absolute visier and first minister. Ferid Bochari, who, under the title of Mortaza Chan, managed the affairs of the empire, had been, by a stroke of the palsy, rendered unfit for business, which opened the way for the promotion of the Actemâd-ul-Dowlat. The two brothers of Noor-Mâhil were raised to the first rank of nobility, by the titles of Acticâd Chan and Asiph Jah. Her numerous relations poured in from Tartary, upon hearing of the fortune of the house of Aias. Some of them were gratified with high employments, all with lucrative ones. Her father was not dazzled with the splendor of his high station. He was a man of probity in private life, of ability in office. He became a great and good minister. His name is revered to this day in Hindostan. The talents of her brothers were rather popular than great. They behaved with honour and moderation upon every occasion; strangers to insolence, and enemies to oppression. The invidiousness of their situation did not raise envy. Men allowed, that merit intitled

Promotion of  
her family.





them more to their high stations, than their relation to the favourite Sultana. The writers of the affairs of Hindostan remark, That no family ever rose so suddenly, or so deservedly, to rank and eminence, than the family of Chaja Aiafs; and this is our apology for the minute relation of their progress to greatness.

The change of the Sultana changed the mind of Jehangir from all public affairs. Easy in his temper, and naturally voluptuous, the powers of his soul were locked up in a pleasing enthusiasm of love, by the engaging conversation and exuberant beauty of Noor-Mahal. The late, however, did not suffer from the negligent indulgence of the emperor. An ample field was left for the virtue and abilities of the new Sultana, who turned his attention more to domestic improvements than to foreign conduct. Agriculture, which had been almost neglected, was encouraged. Many provinces, neglected by the former administration, and which were by degrees retaken and secured. Security of property was given to the farmer, the industry of the merchant was revived, and a new face was put on the empire. The Sultana was revered and loved in the empire. The Sultana

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J E H A N-





## J E H A N G I R E.

## C H A P. III.

*Prudent administration—Insurrections quelled—Bad success in the Decan—Emperor's progress to Ajmere.—Peace with the Rana—Prince Churram in favour—Character of Sultan Purvez—An English ambassador—His reception at Ajmere—Transactions at court—Power of the Sultana—Progress to Mando—To Guzerat—The emperor's return to Agra—Death and character of the Visier.*

**T**HE charms of the Sultana estranged the mind of Jehangire from all public affairs. Easy in his temper, and naturally voluptuous, the powers of his soul were locked up in a pleasing enthusiasm of love, by the engaging conversation and extraordinary beauty of Noor-Mâhil. The state, however, did not suffer from the negligent indolence of the emperor. An ample field was left for the virtues and abilities of the new visier; who turned his attention more to domestic improvement than to foreign conquest. Agriculture, which had been much neglected, was encouraged. Many provinces, desolated by former disturbances and wars, were, by degrees, re peopled and cultivated. Security of property was given to the farmer; the industry of the mechanic was protected. The country assumed a new face: the useful arts were revived and flourished in the cities. The visier even extended his improvements to desarts. Forests, formerly the haunts of wild beasts, were cut down; and villages and towns

Prudent administration.





A. D. 1611.  
Higer. 1020.

began to rise in solitudes. Infurrection and rebellion were not heard of, because there was no oppreffion: idleness being discouraged, robberies were things unknown. The revenues of the empire gradually increased: to prevent extortion in the collection, every Suba was obliged to transmit monthly to court, a state of the improvements and regulations made, in consequence of public instructions from Agra. When the improvements were not adequate to the taxes, the Subas were either severely reprimanded, or degraded. No distinctions were made, in the administration of justice, between the Mahommedan and Hindoo. Both were worshippers of God, each in his way; both members of the same community, and subjects of the same lord.

Afgans rebel.

When the father of the Sultana was thus employed, in internal regulations for the good of the empire, new commotions arose near its northern frontier. The Afgans, a fierce and untractable people, natives of the mountains beyond the Indus, always thirsting after slaughter and plunder, could not long endure peace. These barbarians were encouraged to infurrection, by the absence of Shaw Bec Chan, Suba of Cabul, from the capital of the province of that name. The Suba had been obliged to make a journey northward, to settle some affairs on the frontiers; and Majin-ul-Muluc, the deputy-governor of Cabul, suffered himself to be surprized in the city by the insurgents. They entered Cabul, with a considerable army, and began to exercise all the cruelties of war. The inhabitants, rendered desperate by misfortune, took arms against the plunderers. The city became a scene of slaughter and distress. Nadili Meidani, a gallant man, and an officer of rank in the province, hastened to the relief of Cabul. Some of the banditti fled: many were put to the sword. The fugitives were pursued to their mountains, and the rebellion quashed.





quashed. These transactions happened in the month of Siffer, of the sixth year of Jehangire.

A. D. 1611.  
Hig. 1020.

An insurrection happened in Bengal toward the close of the same year. Asman, an Afgan, descended of the race of the Patan princes, who reigned in India before the empire fell under the dominion of the house of Timur, stirred up a rebellion. He had formerly made many attempts to recover the throne of his fathers; but this was his most formidable and resolute effort. Sujait, an officer of rank, was dispatched against the rebel by Islam Chan, Suba of Bengal. Both armies soon came to an action. Sujait was on the point of being defeated. He drove his elephant, as the last resort of despair, through the thickest of the enemy, in search of Asman, who was mounted on a horse. The elephant having seized the horse, dashed him and his rider against the ground; but when the animal was about to tread the unfortunate Asman under his feet, one of his attendants came and wounded the elephant in the trunk. The elephant, with the pain of the wound, plunged in such a manner, that Sujait was thrown off, and fell headlong on the ground. His life was saved by his men; who seeing him exposing his person, became less careful about their own. In their effort to extricate their chief, they repulsed the enemy. Asman, bruised with his fall, was carried back to his tent, where he soon after expired. His death gave the victory to Sujait, and quashed the rebellion in Bengal. Sujait, for this signal service, was raised by the emperor to the title of Rustum Zimân, which signifies the Hercules of the Age.

An insurrection in Bengal.

The insurrection in Bengal was scarce quelled, when another of a more extraordinary nature happened in the neighbouring province of Behâr. A man of low degree, whose name was

Another in Behâr.





A. D. 1611.  
 Hig. 1020.

Cuttub, descended of the Rohilla tribe of Afgans, and a native of Atcha, found his way to Behâr. That province was possessed by a number of his nation, who had settled there under the Patan empire. He affirmed that he was the prince Chusero, the reigning emperor's son; and he accompanied his imposture with a probable story of his escape from prison. The misfortunes of Chusero had rendered him popular. Many believed the tale. Many, in love with innovation and spoil, joined the standard of Cuttub. He numbered, in less than a week, seven thousand among his followers. He assumed immediately the Imperial titles, and advanced, with his motley army of banditti, toward Patna, the capital of the province of Behâr. Affil Chan, the Suba of the province, was absent at Gazipoor, about one hundred and twenty miles from Patna; and his deputy commanded in the city, when Cuttub appeared before it.

Quashed,

The city of Patna was too large and ill-garrisoned with troops to make any defence. Cuttub entered it, with little opposition. He took possession of the palace, women, and wealth of the Suba; and, giving up Patna to plunder, divided the spoil among his adherents. Some, who were no strangers to the person of Sultan Chusero, endeavoured to expose the imposture. They suffered for their rashness, and were put to death. Some, conscious of the imposition, were afraid to own their folly; and, having gone so far, were unwilling and ashamed to recede. Affil himself, at first, gave some credit to a report brought from all quarters. He knew not how to behave. He affected the party of Chusero; and he feared the emperor. Ten days after Patna was surprized by Cuttub, Affil was convinced, by various letters, that the leader of the insurrection was not the prince. He hastened from Gazipoor, with all the forces he could collect. On the third day he presented



presented himself before Patna. Cuttub marched out and gave him battle. The insurgents were defeated and fled. In the hurry of their flight they neglected to shut the gates; and the enemy entered at their heels. The pretended prince, driven to the last extremity, shut himself up, with a few friends, in the Suba's house. He defended himself for some time. Affil, having lost twenty men in endeavouring to scale the walls, was so fortunate as to kill the impostor with a brick-bat; and thus a ridiculous kind of death put an end to the ambitious views of Cuttub.

A. D. 1611.  
Hig. 1020.

Intelligence of this insurrection arrived at the court of Agra, at the same time with the news of its being quelled. Fresh disturbances broke out in a different corner of the empire. Amar Sinka, prince of Odipour, in the Decan, setting suddenly upon the Imperial troops on the frontier, defeated them. The action happened near the city of Brampour, among the mountains of Balagat. The emperor was alarmed. He placed his second son, Purvez, at the head of thirty thousand horse; and gave him, at the same time, a commission to take the command of all the troops on the confines of the Imperial dominions and the Decan. The force, had it even been well conducted, was no more than adequate to the service. Amar Sinka, who went under the title of Rana, or THE PRINCE, by way of eminence, deduced his descent from the Imperial family, who reigned in the great city of Kinoge over all India for many centuries, before that empire was invaded by the followers of Mahommed. He added power to his noble birth. He possessed the greater part of the territories which compose the extensive dominions of the present Mahrattors; and the lawful heir of his family bears, to this day, the name of Prince among that powerful aristocracy.

Prince Purvez sent against the Rana.

Many





A. D. 1611;  
 Hig. 1020.  
 Feuds in the  
 Imperial ar-  
 my.

Many nobles of the first rank and renown attended Sultan Purvez in this expedition. The most considerable were Chan Jehan, descended of the Imperial family of Lodi, who reigned before the house of Timur, in Hindostan; Mirza Abdul Rahim, who derived his pedigree from Timur; and Chan Chanan, the son of the famous Byram, who had been regent during the minority of the emperor Akbar. These composed the prince's council. But they carried their former feuds into their deliberations. They were unanimous in nothing. Jealousy, in its most forbidding form, appeared in all their debates; and they could not even abstain from indecent reflections upon one another. The spirit of discord spread from the council of war to the army. Each of the great Omrahs had his partizans and abettors. Faction and tumult reigned in every corner of the camp. The prince was naturally mild; he wanted experience; and he was destitute of that intrepid firmness and severity, which is necessary to awe mankind into obedience. He descended to intreaty where he ought to command; and when he endeavoured to reconcile them, their passion became more inflamed, as every check was removed by his known softness of disposition.

Their distress  
 and retreat;

The army in the mean time advanced. Within a few days march of Brampour, the Imperialists came in sight of the enemy. Men generally become united at the approach of danger. It happened otherwise here. The spirit of Discord and Envy had been let loose; and the Omrahs feared the enemy less, than the success that might attend the advice of any one of themselves. Chan Jehan was for battle. Chan Chanan differed from him in opinion; as the enemy was too advantageously posted in the hills. Abdul Rahim, was for entering the Rana's country by another road. The prince was ready to adopt any resolution, upon which they all should agree. This was impossible. The  
 army





army lay inactive. The air in the camp became putrid. Fevers raged. The enemy hovered round on the mountains. Provisions and forage became scarce: the fields around were red with the fresh graves of the dead. But though the council of war disagreed about an attack, they concurred in a retreat. They fled with precipitation to Ajmere. The enemy hung on their rear. The Omrahs wrote separately letters to court, with accusations against each other's conduct. Chan Chanan was recalled to Agra, divested of all his employments; and he even thought himself happy in being able to save his life. The disgrace of this nobleman redounded not to the honour of Chan Jehan. That lord, through whose accusations Chan Chanan chiefly fell, rendered himself odious by ingratitude. He had been educated in the family of Chan Chanan: he had risen, through his influence, to all his honours and offices.

A. D. 1613.  
Hig. 1022.

Jehangire, alarmed at the bad success of his arms against the Rana, dispatched Mohabet Chan to take the command of the army. He could not have made a better choice. Mohabet was brave in action, intrepid in deliberation; full of dignity and spirit; under the absolute dominion of judgment and good conduct. Purvez was recalled to the presence. The unfortunate issue of the campaign was a severe blow to that prince. It affected his reputation; it lost him his father's affections; and even his prospect of succeeding to the throne.

Purvez recalled.

Though the choice which Jehangire had made of a general to command his forces against the Rana seemed to promise success, the event did not answer the emperor's sanguine expectations. The army was in too bad a condition, to be suddenly restored to discipline and order. Mohabet could not, with any assurance of victory, shew them to the enemy. Jehangire was naturally

Emperor's progress to Ajmere.





A. D. 1663.  
Hig. 1022.

impatient. On the second of Shabân, of the one thousand and twenty-second year of the Higera, he moved the Lefcar or Imperial camp, with a professed design of putting himself at the head of the troops employed against the Rana. The magnificence of the emperor's progress to Ajmere, deserves a brief description. When the monarchs of Hindostan take the field, their camps are a kind of moving cities. That of Jehangire, in his present progress, was in circumference at least twenty miles. The Lefcar is divided, like a regular town, into squares, alleys, and streets. The royal pavilion is always erected in the center: no man raises his nearer than the distance of a musket-shot around. Every man of quality, every artificer, knows his ground, the space allotted for him, on which side, how far from the emperor he must pitch his tent. The pavilions of the great officers of the court are, at a distance, known by their splendor; at hand, by marks which distinguish the various ranks of the owners. The shops and apartments of tradesmen are also known by rule; and no man is for a moment at a loss how to supply his wants. The Lefcar, from a rising ground, furnishes one of the most agreeable prospects in the world. Starting up, in a few hours, in an uninhabited plain, it raises the idea of a city built by enchantment: and fills the mind with delightful wonder and surprize. Even those who leave their houses in cities, to follow the prince in his progress, are frequently so charmed with the Lefcar, when situated in a beautiful and convenient place, that they cannot prevail with themselves to remove. To prevent this inconvenience to the court, the emperor, after sufficient time is allowed to the tradesmen to follow, orders them to be burnt out of their tents.

Prince Chur-  
rum sent to  
command in  
the Decan.

Though the emperor, at his departure from Agra, declared that he was to command in person his army in the Decan, that service





service was actually destined for Sultan Churram, his third son. That prince left Ajmere on the twentieth of Zicâda. He was more successful than his brother. Having superseded Mohâbet, he entered the mountains without hesitation. The enemy was seized with a panic, and fled before him. He made himself master of Brampour, the capital of the Rana's dominions, with little opposition. Several skirmishes were fought; but no decisive battle. The Rana sued for peace. His son Kinwâr Kirren came, with magnificent presents to the prince. Churram received him with apparent kindness and great distinction. The Rana himself, encouraged by Churram's reception of his son, came unexpectedly into the presence. He threw himself at the feet of Churram; who very courteously raised him, took him in his arms, and obliged him to sit on his right hand.

The Rana opened the conference, by excusing his own behaviour, the outrages committed by his people: and he extolled the clemency of the prince, who, though superior in the field, was willing to grant an equitable peace. Churram knew that the blame of the war did not rest on the Hindoos. He therefore replied, That excuses on the side of the Rana were unnecessary; that it was the duty of every prince to exert the power placed in his hands, in defence of his subjects and dominions; but as war had been kindled, and the fortune of the Mahommedans had prevailed, he thought it his duty to use his success with moderation; and that he was willing to put an immediate end to all differences, by a solid and lasting peace. The Rana consented to pay a tribute to the family of Timur. Some difficulties arose about the sum: the decision was left to Jehangire. To finish the treaty, as well as to be an hostage for the Rana's faith, Kinwâr Kirren, that prince's son, was dispatched to the Imperial presence. Jehangire, at the time, kept his court at Ajmere. He received Kinwâr with great

A. D. 1613.  
Hig. 1022.

The Rana  
offers terms.





A. D. 1614.  
Hig. 1023.

distinction. He presented him with arms, jewels, a rich dress for himself, and one for each of his principal attendants. He also gave to the prince an Imperial elephant, sumptuously caparisoned, and one hundred fine Persian horses. He created him by patent an Omrah of five thousand: but all these were splendid badges of slavery; and the means of degradation from his former independence and rank. Peace was finally settled, upon the terms proposed by Churram.

Prince Churram in great favour.

The success of the expedition into the Decan, raised to a high pitch the reputation of Churram. His father's affection for him grew with his fame. Men began to turn their eyes upon him, as the heir-apparent of the throne. Jehangire treated him, in his conversation, with the highest distinction; and he seemed anxious to express to the world his affection and regard. A court was appointed for him. Estates were settled upon him, for the maintenance of a body-guard of a thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, subject only to his commands. Sultan Purvez, in the mean time, declined in his father's esteem in proportion as Churram rose. The prince Chusero was still in close confinement; and a fair field was left for the ambition of Churram.

A whim of the emperor.

During the transactions in the Decan, a ridiculous whim rose in the emperor's mind. He ordered his ears to be bored; and then he hung them with large pearls. An edict was issued to forbid the court to all nobles who should not do the same. He, in the mean time, distributed a vast quantity of pearls and jewels among the nobility, to induce them to pay obedience to the edict. Many, however, were refractory. Ear-rings are the badge of slavery among the Indians; and the Mahommedans, though subject to despotism, wished to avoid the appearance of being slaves.





slaves. Jehangire himself gives a ridiculous reason for this innovation in dress. In his memoirs of the first twelve years of his reign, he excuses the introduction of ear-rings, from a motive of religion, to the superstitions of which, he was by no means often subject. His father Akbar, it was pretended, by the merit of a pilgrimage to Ajmere, to the learned and religious Chaja Moinul-dien, had been blessed with children. Jehangire was the first fruits of this piece of devotion: and he said, in the preamble to his edict, that he, who was brought into being by the prayers of Chaja, could do no less than become his slave, and wear the marks of servitude. His reasons appeared so absurd and superstitious, that some of the nobles taxed him with favouring idolatry. The effeminate custom was, however, introduced by the weight of the Imperial authority; and it still remains a blot on Jehangire's memory, and a lasting mark of the weakness of his mind.

On the twentieth of Mohirrim of the 1024, Sultan Churram returned to court, covered with laurels. He was received by Jehangire with marks of the highest esteem and affection, which the artful prince converted to means favourable to his schemes of ambition, and to gratify his passion for revenge. Chan Azim, already mentioned as the principal abettor of Chusero's rebellion, was accused by Churram of intended treason. He had long been excluded from the councils of state; and though his government of Malava had been continued to him, it was more from a fear of his influence, than from a respect to his character and person. Habituated to the high office of visier, in the reign of Akbar, he could not brook his want of power. He spoke incautiously of government; and it is said, that he actually meditated to render himself independent of the empire, in his own province of Malava. He was seized before his schemes were ripe for execution, carried to Gualiâr,

A. D. 1614.  
Hig. 1023.

Disgrace of  
Chan Azim,  
and death of  
Man Singh.





A. D. 1615.  
Hig. 1024.

Gualiâr, and imprisoned in that impregnable fortress. Raja Man Singh, the next great adherent of prince Chufero, died in the course of the same year, in his government of Bengal. He was chief of the Rajaput princes. His honour was great, his reputation high. In the wars of Akbar he signalized himself upon many occasions. He was very instrumental in the conquest of Bengal; the government of which, as a reward for his services, he retained to his death. His son Bao Singh succeeded him in his subaship; being raised by the emperor to the rank of an Omrah of five thousand horse, by the title of Mirza Rajagi.

Character of  
Sultan Pur-  
vez.

When Sultan Churram carried all things before him in the Imperial presence, his elder brother Purvez resided with all the pomp of royalty at Brampour, as governor of the dominion and province of Candeish. Chan Chanan, in some measure restored to favour, remained with Purvez, and managed, under him, the affairs of the province. In the end of the autumn of the 1024 of the Higera, Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the court of Agra, arrived at Brampour. Politeness and affability were natural to Purvez. Full of honour and good-nature, his virtues were of the milder cast: too indolent for the fatigues of business, diffident of his own abilities. He possessed the personal courage of a good soldier; but he was destitute of the conduct necessary to a great general. He followed implicitly the advice of others, when there was no disagreement in their opinions; when there was, he was embarrassed, and could not decide. His genius suited times of tranquillity; and had he lived to possess the throne, he might have rendered his people happy, from his invincible clemency and love of domestic quiet.

His cour-  
teous recep-  
tion of Sir  
Thomas Roe.

When the arrival of Sir Thomas at Brampour was announced, by the proper officer, to the prince, he sent him a polite message  
to





to come into his presence. The ambassador obeyed; and Purvez prepared to receive him in state. In the outward court of the palace, a hundred gentlemen on horseback formed a lane, through which the ambassador, conducted by the Cutwal, passed. In the inner court, the prince sat mounted in a gallery, under a royal canopy. The nobles, according to their rank, formed a line on either side. The chief secretary stood on the steps of the throne, and conveyed, in the concise terms, to the prince, whatever was addressed to him from below. The behaviour of Purvez was, upon the whole, courteous and obliging: he passed from the usual ceremonies required from ambassadors, and affected to treat Sir Thomas after the manner of his own country. A firmán was immediately issued, for a permission to an English factory to settle at Brampour. The prince invited the ambassador to a private conference, to thank him for his presents; insinuating, that he was anxious to throw off that state and distance, with which he was obliged to receive him, before so great an appearance of nobles.

Jehangire, in the mean time, kept his court at Ajmere. He seemed insane upon the article of paying honours to Chaja. He ordered a magnificent palace to be built, in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, for Hafiza Jemmâl, the faint's daughter: the holy man himself, from the austerity of his principles, not chusing, by an acceptance of presents, to depart from the simplicity of life and philosophical character which had raised his fame. The palace built for Jemmâl was remarkable for beauty and situation. Fine baths were erected over natural fountains; and extensive gardens were laid out around it, with great elegance and taste. Tranquillity prevailed over all the empire. The motions of the army in the Decan were rather parade than war. Luxury prevailed in every form. The magnificence of the favourite Sultana was beyond

A. D. 1615.  
Hig. 1024.

Transactions  
at the court  
in Ajmere.





A. D. 1615.  
 Hig. 1024.

beyond all bounds. Expensive pageants, sumptuous entertainments, were the whole business of the court. The voice of music never ceased by day in the street; the sky was enlightened at night with fire-works and illuminations.

The English  
 ambassador  
 arrives at  
 court.

In the midst of this festivity and joy, the English ambassador arrived at Ajmere. He was received by Jehangire with the utmost affability and politeness. He even prevented the ambassador with expressions of respect for his master, and felicitations to himself upon his safe arrival at court. The presents given by the ambassador were agreeable to the emperor; but a fine coach sent by King James pleased him most of all. He even had the impatience to go into it that very night, and to desire the ambassador's servants to draw him around the court of the palace. Sultan Churram, at the time, was all-powerful in the affairs of the state. To him the ambassador applied, as lord of Surat, to redress the grievances of the English at that port. The prince was courteous, and promised fair; but he was an enemy to all Christians, whom he called Idolaters; and most of all an enemy to the English. The emperor's favour for the ambassador prevailed, in some measure, over the prince's prejudices and obstinacy. In the month of January 1615, a firmân was obtained for the establishment of a factory at Surat. But it was worded with caution, defective and circumscribed.

Disturbances  
 in Guzerat.

In the end of the year 1024, two insurrections happened in the kingdom of Guzerat. The first was a rebellion excited by a youth, descended of the ancient kings of that country: the second was an extraordinary incursion of the Coolies, a race of robbers, who, from their defarts, infested the highways and cultivated country. The young rebel assumed the title of Bahadar Shaw. Before he could execute any thing material he died, and Guzerat was relieved from the threatened misfortune of a civil war. Ab-

dalla





dalla Chan was ordered, from the Decan, against the Coolies. He had commanded the Imperial army against the Rana, in the intermediate space of time between the recall of Mohâbet and the arrival of prince Churram. He was successful; but his glory was obscured by the superior reputation of the prince, who succeeded him. Jehangire was not insensible of the valour and abilities of Abdalla. To leave a fair field to his favourite son, he removed the general to Guzerat. The emperor departed from his usual humanity, in his instructions to Abdalla. The Coolies were a barbarous and cruel race of men: and Jehangire gave directions to extirpate the whole tribe, as enemies to the rest of mankind.

A. D. 1614.  
Hig. 1024.

Abdalla arrived with great expedition at Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat. Some chiefs who, from the hopes of booty, and through fear, had joined the Coolies, submitted to him in his march. With five hundred select men, the general left Ahmedabâd; and he made so much expedition, that he entered the mountainous and almost impervious country of the Coolies, before they had any intelligence of his march. The two principal chiefs of the banditti were Eder and Laël. Abdalla sat down suddenly before the castle of Eder. That chief, not intimidated, marched out and gave him battle. After an obstinate conflict of some hours, the Coolies were obliged to fly. Eder took the way of the desert; and left his castle and treasure to the victor. Laël, in the mean time, was on an excursion of depredation in another corner of Guzerat. He had robbed a great caravan of all its merchandize; and it was the news of this misfortune that directed Abdalla to the enemy. Laël had under him three thousand horse and twelve thousand foot: but Abdalla had been reinforced. The Coolies did not decline battle. The action was bloody. Victory declared for Abdalla; and the head of Laël,

Crushed by  
Abdalla.





A. D. 1615.  
Hig. 1024.

who was slain in the fight, was placed over one of the gates of Ahmedabâd.

Disturbances  
in Cabul  
quashed.

The insurrection at Guzerat was scarce quelled, when the Afgans, the natives of the mountains between India and Persia, revolted; and issuing from their hills, laid waste the neighbouring country, in the province of Cabul. Shaw Bec, governor of Cabul, marched against the insurgents. They had the folly to come to a regular battle with that Suba; and they were defeated. Shaw Bec made the best use of his victory. He pursued the fugitives beyond Candahar; and restored his province to its former tranquillity.

Bad success  
in the Decan.

During the residence of Sultan Purvez in Brampour, the capital of Chandesh, Chan Jehân, already mentioned, as an Omrah of great distinction, descended from the royal family of Lodi, commanded the Imperial army, in subordination to the prince; and pushed his expeditions into the unconquered kingdoms of the Decan. Maleck-Amber was at the head of the confederacy against the Imperial invasion. Nothing of consequence was done by Chan Jehân, on account of disputes between the officers of the army. The prince Purvez was ordered to take the command in person. Upon his appearance at the head of the Imperial troops, several chiefs submitted; and paid the accustomed tribute. Maleck Amber stood out alone. The Rana broke his treaty, and appeared in arms. The danger alarmed Jehangire. He had a better opinion of the military abilities of Sultan Churum, than of those of Purvez. The former was ordered to supersede the latter, which was at once reckoned unjust and impolitic; as Churum was as much detested by the soldiers, as Purvez was beloved.

In





In the month of June, one thousand six hundred and sixteen, according to our computation of time, the prince Churruum marched from Ajmere to the Decan. His father, before his departure, conferred upon him the title of Shaw Jehân, or KING OF THE WORLD. This name he retained even after his accession to the empire; and he was distinguished by it, during the remainder of his father's reign; that of Churruum being, from his going upon the present expedition, laid for ever aside. The friends of the family of Timur, represented to the emperor the danger of sending the younger to supersede the elder brother; considering the animosities which subsisted between them. "No matter," said Jehangire, "let them fight it out. The victor shall manage the war in the Decan: the vanquished may return to me." The speech of a lunatic, more than that of a prudent prince. Purvez, however, was of a milder disposition, than to push his resentment so far. He quietly resigned the command: and was succeeded by Shaw Jehân, much against the inclination of the army.

A. D. 1616.  
Hig. 1025.  
Sultan Churruum's name changed to Shaw Jehân.

Shaw Jehân having carried from Ajmere a great reinforcement, upon his arrival, set the army in motion toward the enemy. The princes of the Decan were intimidated; and they were divided among themselves. They retreated at Shaw Jehân's approach, and sent ambassadors to sue for peace. Shaw Jehân, glad of an opportunity of eclipsing Sultan Purvez, received their submission upon easy terms. Maleck Amber, again deserted, had the resolution not to accede to the pacification. Shaw Jehân, anxious to return with his laurels to court, left the war suspended by a partial truce, rather than finished by a solid peace. On the eleventh of Shawal, of the one thousand and twenty-sixth of the Higera, he arrived in the presence; accompanied by the princes

Forces the princes of the Decan to a peace.

H 2

who





A. D. 1616.  
Hig. 1025.

Cause of the  
former bad  
success.

who had submitted to his arms. Their respective tributes were soon settled, and they were permitted to return.

The success of this expedition was by no means the effect of Shaw Jehân's prudent and resolute conduct. The way to a pacification had been paved before he left Ajmere. The emperor, justly astonished at the small progress of his arms in the Decan, enquired minutely into the cause. Chan Chanan, who managed every thing under Sultan Purvez, was secretly in the pay of the enemy. He clogged every measure; and rendered every expedition of no effect. He long endeavoured, by his friends at court, to prevent the removal of Purvez. The emperor had taken his resolution. Shaw Jehân was destined for the command of the army; and Chan Chanan, to deprive him of the honour of a victory over an enemy, who had apparently resisted all his own and his pupil's efforts, persuaded the confederates to sue for peace, in the Imperial presence; without alleging their fear of Shaw Jehân as any ways conducive to their offers of pacification. The emperor, however, would not receive their submission, but through the hands of the prince; anxious to raise the consequence of his favourite son in the eyes of his subjects.

The emperor  
removes from  
Ajmere.

In the month of December of the year one thousand six hundred and sixteen, according to the Christian era, the emperor, with all the accustomed magnificence of his march, left Ajmere. His professed design was to approach nearer to his army on the frontiers, to give them spirit with his presence. After a tedious journey, he arrived at Mando, in the province of Malava; and took up his residence in that city. He did one very popular action on his march. Passing by the place where his son Chusero was confined, he ordered his coach\* to stop at the gate. The prince,

\* The same that was sent him as a present by our James I.





by his commands, was brought before him. His chains were struck off; and he was placed upon one of the Imperial elephants. The people were overjoyed at the release of Chusero. His affability, and the beauty of his person, recommended him to the vulgar; and they loved him on account of his misfortunes. Many causes concurred to make the emperor adopt this measure. He was informed, that some friends of Shaw Jehân were plotting against the life of Chusero. The minister, Afaph Jah, the favourite Sultana's brother, had also behaved rudely to the unfortunate prince, and betrayed symptoms of dislike and revenge. Shaw Jehân was probably at the bottom of all. His friends, without his permission, would scarce have attempted the life of his brother; and he had been lately married to the daughter of Afaph Jah. The emperor was enraged at their wickedness and presumption; and, by an act of power, frustrated, for the time, their designs.

A. D. 1616.  
Hig. 1025.

The power of Noor-Mâhil over the emperor's affections, had not in the least abated. She, for the most part, ruled over him with absolute sway: sometimes his spirit broke forth beyond her controul. Her brother's alliance with Shaw Jehan, kept her in the interest of that prince: and her aversion to Chusero and Purvez was equal to her regard for him. An edict was issued to change her name from Noor-Mâhil into that of Noor-Jehân, or the LIGHT OF THE WORLD. To distinguish her from the other wives of the emperor, she was always addressed by the title of SHAHE, or Empress. Her name was joined with that of the emperor, on the current coin. She was the spring which moved the great machine of the state. Her family took rank immediately after the princes of the blood. They were admitted, at all hours, into the presence; nor were they excluded from the most secret apartments of the seraglio. By her influence, Chan

Great power  
of the em-  
press.

Azim,





A. D. 1618.  
Hig. 1027.

Transactions  
at court du-  
ring its resi-  
dence at  
Mando.

Azim, the late vicer, was released from his confinement in Guahâr, and admitted into court.

It was after Jehangire's arrival at Mando, that the affairs of the Decan were settled. The English ambassador remained still at court. The affability and good-nature of Jehangire did not, for some time, overbalance Shaw Jehân's aversion to the English nation. An incident at Surat was magnified into an insult upon the Imperial power, by the prince and his party. The ambassador, however, removed the emperor's jealousy: and he had the address to gain, at last, the favour of the prince, the minister, and the empress; and obtained the privileges of trade, which were the object of his embassy. An ambassador from Persia was not so successful: he was received with little ceremony, and dismissed with a coolness little short of contempt. He came to negotiate a loan at the court of Agra; and Jehangire was in no humour to give any of his money away. The emperor even descended into meanness, on the occasion. The Persian had been served in all necessaries from court. A bill was ordered to be sent him, when he announced his design of departing. He was obliged to pay the last farthing; but the presents which he had brought for the emperor were valued, and deducted from the sum demanded.

Emperor's  
progress to  
Guzerat, and  
return to  
Agra.

The emperor, having settled the affairs of the Decan, and spent at Mando seventeen months, in hunting and other rural amusements, marched, with his Lescâr or great camp, into the kingdom of Guzerat. In the latter end of the Autump of the one thousand and twenty-seventh of the Higera, he arrived at Ahmedabâd, the capital of Guzerat. He took, from that city, the route of Cambait; where he had ordered ships and magnificent barges to be ready for him, to take his amusement on the ocean, with all his court. He was soon tired of the agitation of the vessels on the waves; and returned to Ahmedabâd on the second of Ramzan, of the





the year one thousand and twenty-seven. He did not long remain at Ahmedabâd. He took the route of Agra, and arrived in that capital after an absence of near five years.

A. D. 1618.  
Hig. 1027.

Soon after the court returned to Agra, the good old visier, Actemâd-ul-Dowla, the emperor's father-in-law, gave up a life, which, on account of his many virtues, had become dear to the people. Bred up in the school of Adversity, Actemâd-ul-Dowla had learned to subdue his passions, to listen to the dictates of Reason, to feel for the misfortunes of mankind. Having raised himself from servitude to authority, from indigence to honour and wealth, he knew the duties of every station. He was not less conversant with the world in practice, than he was from his extensive reading and the well-weighed reflections of his own mind. An œconomist in every thing, but in charity, he was only covetous of wealth to relieve the needy and the poor. He chose rather to maintain the dignity of his rank by the number of his friends, than by that of domestics, followers, and slaves. The people loved him as a father, but feared him as a father too; for he tempered severity with moderation, and lenity with the rigour of the laws. The empire flourished under his wise administration. No evil but luxury prevailed. That weed takes root in prosperity; and, perhaps, can never be eradicated from so rich a soil.---The empress was inconsolable for the death of her father. She proposed, at once, as a proof of her affection and magnificence, to perpetuate his memory in a monument of solid silver. The Imperial architect soon convinced her, that a metal so precious would not be the most lasting means of transmitting the visier's fame to posterity. "All ages," said he, "are full of avarice; and even the empire of the house of Timur, like all sublunary things, is subject to revolution and change." She dropt her purpose; and a magnificent fabric of stone still retains, in Agra, the name of Actemâd-ul-Dowla.

Death and  
character of  
the visier.

J E H A N-





## J E H A N G I R E.

## C H A P. IV.

*Disposition of the court—Expedition to Sewalic—The emperor in Cashmire—Disturbances in the Decan—Prince Chusero murdered—Rebellion of Shaw Jehân—He is repulsed at Agra—Defeated at Delbi—Pursued by his brother Purvez—Defeated at the Nirbidda—He reduces Orixa, Bengal and Behar—He marches toward the capital—Totally defeated by Purvez—Besieges Brampour—In great distress—His submission—Candabar lost to the empire.*

A. D. 1618.  
Hig. 1027.

Disposition  
of the court.

THE death of the old visier produced no alteration in the affairs of the court of Agra. Habituated, under his father, to public business, Asiph Jah was active in his high department; and Jehangire himself had acquired a considerable degree of experience and knowledge, in the past years of his reign. The favourite Sultana was not in the mean time idle. She even attended to transactions in which her own passions were not immediately concerned; and often gave seasonable advice to her consort. She had such an ascendancy over the emperor's mind, that he seldom durst attempt any material measure without her concurrence. She disposed of the highest offices at pleasure; and the greatest honours were conferred at her nod. Asiph was attentive to his sister's humours. He knew the pride and haughtiness of her disposition; and he forgot the equality which nature gives to a brother, in a profound respect for the empress.

Toward





Toward the close of the year, the Raja Bickermajit was sent, with a considerable force, to the mountains of Sewalic, to the north-east of the Ganges. In the numerous vallies which intersect that immense ridge of hills, many tribes lived, under their native princes, who had never been subdued by the arms of the followers of Mahommed. Safe in their inaccessible retreats, they often issued out, in a depredatory manner, from their fastnesses, and harassed, with incursions, the northern provinces. Bickermajit, after having encountered with great difficulties, penetrated into the heart of their country, and sat down before the fort of Eangurra, which was situated upon a rocky mountain, and thought impregnable. It fell soon into his hands; but the reduction of all the tribes was not finished till the close of the succeeding year. Twenty-two petty princes agreed to pay a certain tribute; and they sent hostages to Agra, as securities for their future obedience.

A. D. 1618.  
Hig. 1028.  
Expedition  
into the  
mountains  
of Sewalic.

The eleventh of Zicâda was rendered remarkable by the birth of a son to the prince Shaw Jehân, by Sultana Kudfia, the daughter of Asiph Jah. Jehangire, who, from his affection to his son, was highly pleased with this increase in his family, called the infant AURUNGZEBE, or the Ornament of the Throne.—To avoid the approaching heat of the season, the emperor resolved to remove his court to the delightful country of Cashmire. Shaw Jehân accompanied his father in his progress. They entered the mountains of Sewalic, in their way, and visited the fort of Eangurra, which had some time before surrendered to Bickermajit. Jehangire, in a pretended zeal for religion, ordered all the images of the gods of the Hindoos, which were found in a temple within the fortrefs, to be broken to pieces; and he assisted in consecrating the place for the worship of God, after the manner prescribed in the Coran.

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.  
Aurangzêbe  
born.





A. D. 1617.  
Hig. 1028.

Return of the  
ambassador to  
Persia.

In his progress to Cashmire, the emperor was met by Chan Alum, from his embassy to the court of Persia. Jehangire, after reflecting upon the contemptuous treatment which he had given to the Persian ambassador, had resolved to remove any coldness which might arise on that account, between the two empires. He, for that purpose, had dispatched Chan Alum, with magnificent presents to Shaw Abas of Persia. This nobleman was received with every mark of respect. The treaties between the two crowns were renewed and confirmed; and the Persian loaded him with rich presents, accompanying them with a letter of friendship to Jehangire; without mentioning the injurious reception of his own minister at the Indian court.

The great  
roads im-  
proved.

Jehangire, fond of making progresses through his extensive dominions, made, this year, great additions to the convenience of travelling. Considerable sums were issued from the treasury, for mending the great roads of the empire. Wells were dug at the end of every two miles; and a building for the reception of wayfarers, was erected near each well. This improvement began on the road to Cashmire, where Jehangire arrived in the beginning of the year 1029. He was highly pleased with that most beautiful province. The principal valley of which it consists, being much more elevated than the plains of India, is cool and pleasant in the hottest season of the year. A profound tranquillity reigning over all the empire, Jehangire remained many months in Cashmire. He went daily to the chace; and wandered, after a variety of rural pleasures, over the face of that charming and flourishing country. He did not return to Lahore, till the month of Mohirrim of the year that succeeded his arrival at Cashmire.

The





The emperor had scarce arrived at Lahore, when he received advices, that the princes of the Decan, who had engaged to pay a certain tribute, had driven away, by force, the deputies who had been sent to receive it. The refractory tributaries backed this violent measure with an army of sixty thousand horse. They encamped at Ballapour. The chiefs of the confederates were Nizam-ul-Muluc, Adil Chan, and Cuttub. They were descended of the Mahommedan princes, who, at the fall of the Patan empire, had assumed the state and independence of princes in the Decan.

A. D. 1620.  
Higer. 1029.  
Disturbances  
in the Decan.

Jehangire, upon receiving this intelligence, immediately dispatched Shaw Jehân to Agra. He gave him a commission to command the Imperial army stationed in and near that city. The prince did not continue long at Agra. He marched, on the twentieth of Siffer, toward Brampour. His force consisted of forty thousand horse. Abdul Hufflein, an experienced officer, was his second in command. Letters came to the prince, on his march, from the Imperial governor of Mando, that a considerable detachment of the enemy had crossed the Nirbidda, and were laying waste the country. Abdul Hufflein was immediately detached against them, with five thousand horse. That general came up with the plunderers, defeated them, slew many on the spot, and pursued the fugitives to the hills. The prince himself continued his route to Brampour.

Shaw Jehân  
sent to quell  
the insur-  
gents.

Chan Chanan, who commanded at Brampour, was in a manner besieged in that city by the enemy. They had traversed the provinces of Berâr and Chandeish; and spread their devastations to the gates of Brampour. The Imperialists recovered their spirit, upon the prince's arrival with an army; and the hopes of the insurgents began to vanish. Some petty Rajas, who had

The rebels  
reduced.





A. D. 1620.  
Hig. 1029.

joined the confederates, took the first opportunity of throwing themselves at the feet of Shaw Jehân. They were pardoned, but obliged to pay the arrear of their tribute, which amounted to fifty lacks. The Mahommedan princes, being deserted by the Hindoo Rajas, their troops mutinied, and dissensions rose in their councils. They separated in disgust and despair, each to his own territory. Shaw Jehân divided his army into five parts, and followed the rebels. In the space of a few months, without any considerable action, he reduced the insurgents to their former obedience; forcing them to pay the arrears of their tribute, which was now settled at the annual sum of fifty-five lacks of roupees.

Chusero delivered into the hands of Shaw Jehân.

When Shaw Jehân had received orders from his father to quell the disturbances in the Decan, he requested that his brother, the unfortunate prince Chusero, might be put into his hands. He had often made the same request before, but to no effect. Jehangire justly doubted his sincerity, when he professed, that it was a regard for a brother that induced him to wish to have Chusero in his possession. He knew the ambition of Shaw Jehân: he still had an affection for Chusero. Asiph Jah, even the favourite Sultana had gone into the views of Shaw Jehân; but the emperor remained long inflexible. Shaw Jehân, for some time, seemed to drop his designs. He, in the meantime, grew daily in his father's esteem; and Chusero declined in proportion as his brother rose. When the alarming news from the Decan arrived at Lahore, the emperor's hopes rested all on Shaw Jehân. The artful prince, in the critical moment, renewed his request, with regard to Chusero, and he was delivered into his hands.

The Sultana suspects his designs.

Though Noor-Mâhil had been formerly in the interest of Shaw Jehân, she had lately many reasons to alter her opinion concerning that prince. Her penetrating eye had pierced the veil which





He had drawn over his designs: She saw the great lines of ambition, and an unrelenting perseverance in pursuit of power, in all his conduct. She communicated her suspicions to Jehangire: she told him, that Shaw Jehân must be curbed; that he manifestly aspired to the throne; that all his actions tended to gain popularity; that his apparent virtues were hypocrisy, and not the offspring of a generous and honest mind; and that he waited but for a convenient opportunity to throw off the mask of deceitful duty and feigned allegiance. The emperor was convinced; but it was too late. Chusero was already in the hands of Shaw Jehân; and the latter was at the head of an army. Silence now was prudence; and a melancholy anxiety succeeded to condescending weakness.

Chusero, though popular on account of the beauty of his person, and his misfortunes, was a prince of a haughty disposition. He was governed by furious passions. His mind was in a perpetual agitation, without pointing to any end. He was now volatile and cheerful; now dark and sullen. He often laughed at misfortune; he was often enraged at trifles; and his whole conduct betrayed every mark of an insanity of mind. His judgment was little; his memory weak. He always preferred the last advice, having no power of mind to distinguish propriety, no retention to make just comparisons. His designs were therefore often ill-founded; his actions irresolute and undecisive, and they always terminated in disgrace and ruin. Yet he had something about him that commanded respect in the midst of his infirmities. Nobody could look at his conduct without disgust; none observed his manner or saw his person without regard and a kind of esteem. Had he not been soured by misfortunes, he was naturally of a generous and tender disposition; but adversity

A. D. 1621.  
Hig. 1030.

Character of  
Chusero.

stopping





A. D. 1621.  
Hig. 1030.

He is assassinated.

Manner of his death.

stopping up the current of his mind, threw it out of its channel, and he, at last, became indifferent concerning his own fate.

Shaw Jehân, for some time, affected to treat the unfortunate Chusero with attention and respect. But this was a delusive gleam before a storm. His designs were not yet ripe for execution. To remove Chusero would be to no purpose, till other obstacles to his own ambition were removed. Fortune favoured his designs. His success in the Decan raised his reputation; the plunder of the enemy furnished the means of gaining for him the army. They expressed their inviolable attachment to his person and views. He threw off the mask at once. He disregarded the mandates of the court of Agra; and to complete his crimes, he ordered the unfortunate Chusero to be assassinated by ruffians, under the walls of Azere. He assumed, soon after, the Imperial titles; laying the foundation of his throne in a brother's blood.

Though all mankind were convinced, that Shaw Jehân was accessory to the murder of Chusero, he had taken previous measures to conceal the intended crime. When he had quelled the insurrection in the Decan, he became apparently melancholy, and pretended to fall into a disease. His friends were full of anxiety. One only was in the secret; and he began to insinuate, that the prince had received intelligence, that Jehangire had determined to raise Chusero to the throne. He expatiated upon the uncertain fate of Shaw Jehân; and upon the doubtfulness of their own fortune, as connected with that prince. One Raja Bandor, a notorious villain, understood the meaning of Shaw Jehân's friend. In hopes of a reward, he went at midnight to the tent of Chusero, and pretending a message from the emperor, he was admitted by the attendants of the prince, without suspicion.





picion. He found him fast asleep, and stabbed him to the heart. The favourite wife of Chusero, the daughter of the visier Chan Azem, came to her husband's tent in the morning. She found him cold in his blood; she filled the camp and the neighbouring city of Azere with her cries. She ran about distracted, and called down the vengeance of God upon the murderers. Shaw Jehân, who had removed to the country for the benefit of the air, returned upon the news of Chusero's death, and shewed such apparent symptoms of grief, that he was believed, for some time, innocent of the murder.

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1030.

The news of the death of Chusero came soon to the emperor's ears. Retaining still some affection for his unfortunate son, he was shocked at the murder, and gave himself up to grief. He suspected Shaw Jehân, but common fame had not yet fixed the crime on that prince. Jehangire wrote a public letter to him and his principal officers, signifying that he was determined to make a strict and severe enquiry concerning the assassination; and that he would punish the murderers with the utmost rigour. He ordered the body to be dug up from the grave, and examined. He openly accused Shaw Jehân; who, finding himself discovered, resolved to continue in his rebellion.

The emperor  
enraged at  
the murder.

The author of the life of Shaw Jehân, ascribes his rebellion to the violence and ambition of the favourite Sultana. That woman, says the writer, finding that the health of the emperor declined, was apprehensive that the crown would devolve on Shaw Jehân; who had, for some time, been the determined enemy of her influence and power. She, therefore, resolved to ruin the affairs of that prince; and to fix the succession in the person of Shariâr, the fourth son of Jehangire, who was married to her own daughter, by her former husband Shere Afkun. Her  
absolute

Apology for  
Shaw Jehân.





A. D. 1622.  
Hig. 1031.

absolute dominion over the emperor obtained credit to her aspersions. She actually procured a promise for an alteration of the succession: and it was the certain intelligence of this circumstance, continues his apologist, that drove Shaw Jehân to extremes.

He assumes  
the Imperial  
titles.

Though Shaw Jehân's designs upon the throne were no secret, he did not assume the Imperial titles till the twenty-seventh of the second Jemmâd of the one thousand and thirty-first of the Higera. He immediately, with a numerous army, took the route of Delhi, where, at that time, his father resided. The news of his march flew before him, and reached the ears of Jehangire. That monarch became anxious, irresolute, and perplexed; and to complete the confusion in his councils, advices were, at the same time, received, that Shaw Abas, king of Persia, at the head of a great force, had surpris'd Candahar. The emperor was thunder-struck at this double intelligence of approaching misfortune. The rebellious prince had the flower of the Imperial army under his command. Jehangire, as the last resort, had recourse to policy. Instead of arming for his own defence, he dissembled his knowledge of his son's intentions. He wrote him affectionate letters from day to day. He praised his former actions. He commended his present alacrity, in coming so expeditiously to his aid against the Persian. Shaw Jehân was not to be flattered out of his designs. He saw through his father's policy, and he gradually advanced; but being overtaken by the rains, he was obliged to halt some months at Mando, the capital of the province of Malava.

Is repulsed  
at Agra.

Shaw Jehân in his march made the first hostile attempt upon the castle of Agra. In that fortress was lodged a great part of the Imperial treasure. Upon the news of the prince's departure from Mando, the emperor sent Asiph Jah, the visier, to transport the





Asiph Jah, the visier, to transport the treasure from Agra to Lahore. Etabâr Chan, who commanded the fortrefs, was unwilling to risk the treasure on the road, as the news of Shaw Jchân's near approach was arrived. The importunities of Asiph prevailed. Etabâr with a party escorted the treasure: some of the enemy appeared in view. Etabâr immediately retired, with his convoy, to the castle of Agra; and Asiph made the best of his way to Delhi. Shaw Jehân, immediately upon his arrival, ordered the castle to be assaulted; but Bickermajît, who commanded the attack, was so warmly received, that he was glad to retire, with the loss of five hundred men. The prince, enraged at this disappointment, delivered up to plunder some of the nobility's houses at Agra; and then took the rout of Delhi.

A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.

The prince having advanced, formed his camp at Feridabâd. The city of Delhi was alarmed: the emperor perplexed. A letter, in the mean time, was brought to him from his rebellious son. Shaw Jehân demanded, That the command of all the Imperial troops should be given to him without reserve: that orders should be sent to the governors of the provinces to receive all their future instructions from his hands: that permission should be given him to receive, into his possession, all the warlike stores; that he should have access to the royal magazines and treasures to supply him with every necessary, for carrying on the war against Persia: and that the impregnable castle of Rentimpour should be placed in his hands, as a place of security for his family, against the machinations of the Sultana, during his absence in the north.

His demands  
on his father

Jehangire was enraged beyond measure at proposals which, if granted, would actually dethrone him. His resentment and pride got the better of his temporizing timidity. He issued out

refused.





A. D. 1632.  
 Hig. 1032.

an edict declaring his son a rebel, should he not disband his army, and return to his duty, by a certain day. Another edict confiscated all his estates, by recalling the grants which had been given him, for a magnificent subsistence. The estates were conferred upon Sultan Shariâr; who was, at the same time, invested with a commission to carry on, with the utmost vigour, the Persian war. Rustum Suffavi, an experienced and able officer, was placed next in command to the prince in the expedition. Rustum was himself a Persian, a near relation to Shaw Abas, and deduced his paternal descent from the Imperial family of Suffvi.

Preparations  
 against him.

The Imperial edicts made no impression on Shaw Jehân. The emperor flew from the pen to the sword. The troops stationed near the capital flocked to his standard: others joined him from the provinces. Afiph Jah and the Sultana had foreseen the storm, and the adherents of the emperor were on their march to Delhi, when the rebel prince was on his route from the Decan. Jehangire, in a few days, saw forty thousand horse under his command. Scarce ten thousand of these were of the standing force of the empire, so that Shaw Jehân had still a manifest superiority.

He endeavours to excuse his conduct.

The river Jumna, being in the dry season of the year fordable, the emperor crossed it; and both armies arrived at Belochpoor, and remained some days in hourly expectations of a battle. The prince, in the mean time, endeavoured to excuse his own conduct, by affirming, that he was driven to extremes, by the intrigues of the Sultana against his power. She carried, he said, all before her with the emperor; and to throw disgrace upon him, persuaded Jehangire to order him to the Persian war, without the necessary supplies of money and warlike stores. He, therefore, alleged, that his demands had been made in so peremptory a manner,





manner, merely because he did not consider his father as a free agent, swayed and commanded as he was by the pernicious counsels of a vindictive and ambitious woman. These allegations lessened his crime in the eyes of the superficial; and tended to strengthen in his army, the attachment to his interest, which he had purchased with donations.

A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.

The emperor was impatient to come to action with his son. Asiph Jah, the visier, opposed this measure, by affirming that it was imprudent to risque all, with a small force, while reinforcements were daily expected. The emperor suspected his fidelity; and he had some reason. Asiph was said to have provided against all events, by keeping up a correspondence with Shaw Jehân. His enemies affirmed, that it was his advice which hastened the prince from the Decan; though this agrees but little with the preparations which Asiph had made against Shaw Jehân from foreseeing his rebellion. Jehangire, however, believed his minister guilty. He gave himself up to rage and despair.

Distress of  
the emperor.

In the heat of his imagination upon the occasion, he fell asleep in his tent. He dreamed that he saw a pole fixed in the ground, before the Imperial palace. On the top of the pole, which almost reached the skies, a meteor seemed to play, and to lighten the whole world with its splendor. An elephant came from the west and overturned the pole. The meteor fell and expired on the ground, leaving the whole earth in profound darkness. Jehangire started from his bed. Naturally superstitious, he foresaw some coming evil in his dream. He related it, in the morning, to his Omrahs. None ventured to interpret it; and when they stood in silence in the presence, a courier arrived, with advice that Mohâbet Chan, with all the forces of Punjâb, was at the distance of a few miles from the Imperial camp. This sudden

His dream.





A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.

and unexpected reinforcement diffused an univerfal joy. The emperor cried out, That his dream was interpreted. Mohâbet joined the army in the evening; and private orders were immediately iffued to the officers to prepare for action by the dawn of day.

He prepares  
for battle.

The Imperial army was in motion while yet it was dark; and Shaw Jehân, apprized of their march, did not decline to engage. He advanced apace. The two armies came in fight of each other oppofite to Tuglick-abad. The Imperialifts were commanded in chief by Afiph Jah, the vifier, who was posted in the center. Mohâbet Chan had charge of the right wing; Nawafis Chan, of the left. Abdalla commanded the advanced guards, confifting of three thousand horfe. The Emperor himfelf stood behind the center; and to encourage the generals, fent to each fome pre-fents, as a mark of his confidence and favour.

The action  
begins.

Some of the rebel lords, who thought they were giving good advice to Shaw Jehân, prevailed upon him not to expofe his perfon in the field. He retired to a fmall diftance; and Raja Bicker-majît marshalled his troops in order of battle. The Raja placed himfelf in the center: Raja Bimé commanded the right, Darab Chan the left wing. The action was begun by the advanced guards on both fides. Thofe of Shaw Jehân were defeated, at the firft onfet, by a ftrange accident. Abdalla, who commanded the advanced guard of the Imperialifts, fpurring on his horfe among the enemy, with a few officers in the fecret, joined the rebels. His troops, miftaking their commander's perfidy for valour, rufhed forward to fupport him; and having engaged the enemy hand to hand, drove them back upon their own line.

Asiph





Asiph Jah took immediate advantage of the confusion occasioned by the flight of Shaw Jehân's advanced guard. He pressed forward with the center of the Imperialists, and came to action with Raja Bickermajît. The shock was violent, and the battle continued obstinate for some time. Both the commanders exerted themselves to the utmost. At length the fortune of Asiph prevailed. Raja Bickermajît fell, pierced through the head with an arrow. The center of the rebels immediately fled; and, at that instant, Mohâbet drove the left wing from the field. Raja Bimé, in the mean time, pressed hard upon Nawafis Chan, who commanded the right wing of the Imperialists. The dust was so great, that the contending armies were involved in darkness. They felt for each other with their swords. Nawafis was driven from the field. Many of his officers were killed, and some taken prisoners. Raja Bimé, imagining he was returning after a complete victory, fell in with the troops of Asiph Jah. They mixed undistinguished with each other. Slaughter and confusion reigned. Wounds were inflicted at random. Chance governed all. Every individual considered himself as in the midst of ten thousand foes. The armies retreated to their camps. The field was left to the dead.

A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.  
Shaw Jehân  
defeated.

Both parties, at first, claimed the honour of the victory, but the consequences declared it to belong to Jehangire. Though both the emperor and Shaw Jehân had been kept out of the line at the beginning of the action, by the assiduity of their friends, when the battle became hot, they mixed with their respective armies. Bickermajît, observing the emperor, pressed forward to seize him; but in the attempt was slain. The spirit of the rebels fell with their leader. Shaw Jehân presented himself to the runaways in vain. Neither threats nor promises would do. A panic had seized them; and though the prince cried aloud, That  
he

Circum-  
stances





A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.

he himself, as good and as brave an officer as Bickermajit, was alive, they listened not as they passed, and soon fled beyond the power of hearing.

during the  
battle.

Shaw Jehân became almost distracted with his misfortunes. He resolved seriously to prevent future misery and distress, by an immediate death. His adherents, however, prevailed upon him to retreat. He fled to the mountains of Mewat; his army falling off as he fled. Jehangire was the more astonished at his good fortune, the more it was unexpected. When the news of Abdalla's treachery was brought him, he had given all over for lost. He distrusted Asiph Jah; and he sent a messenger to recal him from the front, when that minister was upon the point of engaging the enemy. Fortunately for the emperor, the messenger did not come up to the visier till the affair was decided. The latter obeyed Jehangire, and brought him the news of victory.

Sultan Purvez  
arrives  
in the camp.

The battle was scarce decided, when Sultan Purvez, in consequence of his father's orders, arrived from Allahabad, in the Imperial camp. Jehangire received him with an excess of joy. The victory over his rebellious son had elevated his spirits, and dissipated all his fears. He sent his seraglio before him to Agra; and raised Purvez, under the tuition of Mohâbet, to the command of the army. Shaw Jehân, in the mean time, with a few adherents, pursued his way to the Decan; and Purvez was ordered to follow him with a considerable force. The fugitive prince stopt with his adherents, to refresh themselves at the river Genîva. Purvez, in the mean time, came up; a cannonade ensued, and the Imperialists having forced their passage, Shaw Jehân retreated with precipitation.

We





We must, for a moment, lose sight of the prince, in the misfortunes of his adherents. The Emperor in his extreme affection for Shaw Jehân, had, while yet he remained in his duty, submitted to his government an extensive division of the empire, consisting of several provinces. In that number was the rich kingdom of Guzerat. Bickermajit, who was slain in the action near Delhi, had been governor of that province; and when he joined the prince in his expedition against his father, Suffvi Chan was left in the superintendency of Guzerat. Abdalla, whose perfidy, in deserting his sovereign in the late battle, we have already mentioned, was rewarded, by the prince, for his treachery, with the government vacant by the death of Bickermajit. Unwilling to leave the prince in his distress, Abdalla dispatches his friend Offâder Chan to command, in the mean time, in that province. Offâder arriving with a small force at Ahmedabad, the capital, displaced Suffvi Chan, the Imperial governor. Suffvi fled to Hankfi. He wrote from thence to Nasir, the governor of Patan. Understanding that Suffvi was no stranger to the march of Sultan Dawir Buxsh the son of Chufero, under the tuition of his maternal grandfather Chan Azem, to command for the emperor in Guzerat, Nasir blamed him for his flight. He met Suffvi, with a force at Caperbenîz. They resolved to march to Ahmedabad: and setting forward in the evening, they arrived next morning under the walls of the city. Dividing their forces into three bodies; each body attacked a gate. The elephants broke them open: the Imperialists entered, and Offâder was seized.

A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.  
Affairs in the  
Decan.

Shaw Jehân, after the rencounter at the River Genîva, fled to Mando, the capital of Malava. News was brought to him in that city, that Guzerat was lost. He was much affected; but Abdalla made light of the matter. That Omrah marched toward Ahmedabad with seven thousand horse. When he arrived

Shaw Jehân's  
party de-  
feated in  
Guzerat.

at





A. D. 1623.  
Hig. 1032.

at Waffet, he found Suffvi, now the Imperial Suba, ready unexpectedly to receive him. This lord, finding that prince Dawir Buxsh and Chan Azem had lagged on their march, provided himself with an army. He posted his forces about twelve miles from Ahmedabad. Abdalla endeavoured to turn his rear. He was prevented by the vigilance of Suffvi; and he, therefore, resolved to come to battle. Dividing his army into three columns, he advanced, in that order, upon the enemy. Nasir Chan supported Suffvi, with his courage and conduct. The battle was obstinate. Many officers of rank fell on the side of Abdalla. He was routed, with great slaughter. He fled to Surat. The country people cut off the greatest part of the shattered remains of his followers in their retreat. He soon after, with a few troops, betook himself to Brampour.

Purvez de-  
feats Shaw  
Jehân at the  
Nirbidda.

The prince Purvez and Mohâbet, after the affair at the river Genîva, returned to the Emperor, who was encamped under the walls of Fattépour. The disturbances in Guzerat convinced Jehangire, that the flames of civil war could be only extinguished by the total ruin of Shaw Jehân. He, therefore, ordered Purvez and Mohâbet, at the head of the Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, to pursue the rebel and to take him alive. Shaw Jehân left Mando, with a resolution to try his fortune in a battle. He passed the river Nirbidda and threw up works to defend the ford. He was, by this time, reduced to great distress. His adherents gradually deserted him. He became tired of hostilities which promised no success. He sent to his brother Purvez, for very moderate terms. Purvez, by the advice of Mohâbet, amused him with hopes, without coming to any determined point. The usual precautions were neglected on the side of Shaw Jehân; and Mohâbet, who watched an opportunity, crossed the river and surprized him in his camp. He was defeated with great slaughter.

Shaw





Shah Jehân fled from the field, through Golconda; and then took the rout of Orixa, to Bengal. The governor of Orixa, Ahmed Beg, fled on the prince's approach. That province was given to Kulli Chan, one of Shaw Jehân's adherents; whilst he himself advanced to Burdwan, and took possession of that district. He did not continue long at Burdwan. Ibrahim, governor of Bengal, had collected all his forces to Raja Mâhil, to oppose the unexpected invasion; and Shaw Jehân marched toward the place.

A. D. 1624.  
Hig. 1033.  
Shaw Jehân  
flies to Orixa.

When the prince had arrived within a few miles of Raja Mâhil, the Suba abandoned that fortress as untenable. He retreated, in good order, to the fort of Tellia-Gurri; which had been built to defend the pass between the mountains and the Ganges. In the fort were a number of Europeans. He strengthened them with a reinforcement of his best troops, whilst he encamped his army on the opposite bank of the river. Shaw Jehân, upon his arrival, invested the fort of Tellia-Gurri. He made little impression; the Europeans being excellent gunners and engineers. He attempted to cross, but was repulsed, having but a few boats. A neighbouring Raja, however, provided the prince with a fleet of boats; and in these he transported two thousand horse. Ibrahim, finding that he was to be attacked in his camp, crossed the river in his turn. He drew up in order of battle, against the prince; but in the action his troops were defeated and he himself slain. Bengal fell, with the Suba, from the empire. Rumi, the chief engineer of Shaw Jehân, in the mean time, found means to carry a mine, under the fort of Tellia-Gurri, and blew up about twenty yards of the rampire. The place was taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword.

Enters Bengal, and defeats the Suba.

Shaw Jehân, after this great and unexpected success attending his arms, marched to Dacca, where Ibrahim, the late Suba, had

Bengal submits;





A. D. 1624.  
Hig. 1033.

deposited his own and the Imperial treasure. He no sooner appeared before Dacca, than it surrendered. Forty lacks of roupees were found in specie, besides jewels, much spoil, and warlike stores. Dacca was the last place in Bengal, that held out for the emperor. The Rajas, the hereditary governors of districts, and all those who held estates of the crown, crowded into the court of the prince; and with presents and proffers of allegiance, endeavoured to secure their possessions. The whole kingdom received a new sovereign; and Darab, the son of Chan Chanan, was raised to the high office of Suba under Shaw Jehân.

and Behâr.

The ambition of the prince was not to be confined to Bengal. He turned his eyes upon the adjoining province of Behâr. He scarce had permitted his army to breathe after the conquest of Dacca, before he led them into Behâr. Muchlis Chan, the Imperial governor of that province, fled to Allahabad, at the approach of the prince. The gates of Patna, the capital, were left open to receive him. He kept his court in the Suba's palace. The Zemindârs crowded, from all quarters, into the city, made their submission, and, with presents, obtained his favour. But what was of greater consequence to the prince, Mubârick, governor of the impregnable fort of Rhotas, which had never been taken by force, came and presented to him the keys. Shaw Jehân was exceedingly rejoiced at this piece of good fortune. He had now a place of security for his family; and he found his mind, as alleviated from care, fitter to encounter the dangers of the field and the vicissitudes of fortune.

He divides  
his army into  
three parts,

The prince having restored the civil government of Behâr, which had been ruined by his invasion, raised Nasir Chan to the office of Suba. He himself took again the field. He divided his army into three parts. The first he placed under the command





mand of Abdalla, who had been lately so unfortunate in Guzerat. He ordered that officer to proceed to Allahabad, with his division; to drive away the Suba of Behâr from thence, and to take possession of the place. Deria Chan was placed, by the prince, over the second division. That general was ordered to reduce the country round Jionpour. The third division Shaw Jehân, in person, commanded. He advanced, by very slow marches to Benaris, hearing complaints, deciding causes, and settling the government of the country, as he went.

A. D. 1624.  
Hig. 1033.

Fortune hitherto favoured the arms of the rebellious prince. Purvez with Mohâbet Chan had pursued the fugitives, from the affair at the Nirbidda, into the heart of Golconda. At Hydrabad they gave over the pursuit; and began to employ themselves in resettling the affairs of the Decan, which the rebellion of Shaw Jehân had very much deranged. The news of the loss of the eastern provinces alarmed Mohâbet: Even Jehangire, who passed his time in voluptuousness, with his favourite Noor-Mâhil, was roused from his lethargy. He dispatched express after express to Purvez. The march of Shaw Jehân toward the capital, determined Mohâbet to endeavour to intercept him on his way. He marched with Purvez through Malava and Behâr. He crossed the Jumna at Calpé, and the Ganges at Babere. The Imperial army came up with Deria, who commanded one of the three divisions of the rebels, at Manicpour. He was instantly defeated; and he fell back to Benâris. Abdalla, at the same time, evacuated Allahabad, and joined Shaw Jehân. A council of war was called. Their deliberation was short. They resolved to give immediate battle to Purvez and Mohâbet.

Purvez advances toward him.

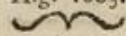
The resolution was scarce taken, when the Imperialists appeared in fight. No time was to be lost. Shaw Jehân drew up

Preparations for action.





A. D. 1624.  
 Hig. 1603.



his army on the banks of a brook called Tonish. Abdalla commanded the right wing; Nafir Chan the left; the prince himself took his post in the center. The advanced guards were commanded by Raja Bimè: and the whole field was marshalled by Sujait Chan, who was at the head of the reserve in the rear. The artillery, under the direction of Rumi was drawn up in one place before the center, instead of being disposed properly along the line. The army of the rebels exceeded forty thousand horse: the Imperialists were more in number.

The army of  
 Shaw Jehân

Mohâbet, in the mean time, was not idle. He formed in order of battle the army of Prince Purvez. His superiority in point of numbers, enabled him to out-flank the enemy. The particulars of his disposition are not related.--The action was begun by the artillery on the side of Shaw Jehân. But more than a thousand shot were expended before one took place: the enemy being yet at too great a distance, Mohâbet would not permit his artillery to play, till he was sure of doing execution. The cannonade continued near an hour. Some of Rumi's guns were dismounted, his men were driven from others. Shaw Jehân immediately ordered his advanced guard to charge a body of the Imperialists, who were coming forward, with hasty strides, to seize his artillery. The two advanced parties fought with great bravery. Those of Shaw Jehân at length gave ground. Raja Bimè, who commanded them, preferred death to flight. He stood, with a few gallant friends, and was cut to pieces.

totally de-  
 feated.

Mohâbet, observing the defeat of the enemy's advanced guard, came forward briskly, with his whole line; and fell, with great fury, on the center, where Shaw Jehân commanded in person. The shock was violent, but did not last. The prince was driven back from his guns, which were seized by Mohâbet. Sujait Chan, who



who commanded the reserve of the rebels, threw himself into the interval left by Shaw Jehân's retreat. He fought, for some time, with great bravery, and furnished the prince with an opportunity of rallying his broken squadrons. But Sujait was, in his turn, defeated; and driven back in great confusion. Shaw Jehân advanced to the charge: but advice was brought him, that Nasir was defeated on the left; and that some of the enemy, who had passed his flanks, were seen advancing in his rear.

A. D. 1624.  
Hig. 1033.

The desperate situation of the prince suggested to him a desperate resolution. He advanced as if he heard not the messenger, and plunged into the thickest of the enemy. He was followed by five hundred horse. This small body, devoting themselves to death with their leader, were irresistible. They effected more by despair than the whole army had done by courage. Mohâbet received a check, when he least expected it. He began to retreat: but Shaw Jehân was not properly supported. His officers considered the battle as lost, and refused to advance. Abdalla, who had hitherto maintained his ground on the right, received a message from the prince. He returned for answer, that all hopes of victory were gone, and that the best retreat they could make, was now the only thing left them by fortune. The prince was enraged. He resolved to die. His companions, seizing his horse by the reins, forced him from the field. He fled not, but he was carried to the fort of Rhotas. The rich plunder of his camp saved him from being pursued.

His bravery.

Sultan Purvez and Mohâbet, having stopt for a few days to refresh their army, after the fatigues of a long march and an obstinate battle, took the route of Bengal. Shaw Jehân left his family in the fortresses of Rhotas. He collected the remains of his defeated army. He marched to Patna, and prepared to defend that city. He, how-

He flies toward the Decan.

ever,





A. D. 1625.  
 Hig. 1034.

ever, evacuated the place at the approach of his brother. He fled through Bengal. Purvez was close at his heels. Shaw Jehân took the route of the Decan, by the way of Cuttack. Bengal, Behâr and Orixâ fell into the hands of Purvez. That prince and Mohâbet spent some time in resettling the government of the three provinces; and when the current of regulation and law was restored to its ancient channel, they marched after Shaw Jehân into the Decan, by the northern road.

Besieges  
 Brampour.

Though Shaw Jehân's affairs were, to all appearance, ruined, he found resources in his own active mind. During the time that Purvez and Mohâbet remained in the recovered provinces, he found means to attach to his party the Raja of Ambere. By the junction of the Raja's forces, he found himself in a condition to sit down before the city of Brampour. He had reduced it to great distress, when the Imperial army, under Purvez and Mohâbet, arrived on the banks of the Nirbidda. He had not a force sufficient to oppose them: he raised the siege, and took shelter in the mountains of Ballagat. In his retreat he made an attempt on the castle of Hasser. This is a strong fortress on the frontiers of Chandesh. It stands upon the top of a mountain: it has springs of water, and of good soil a sufficiency to maintain with its produce four thousand men. As all access to the fortress is impracticable, he might have waited there for the change which time might make in his fortunes. He was repulsed.

His affairs  
 ruined.

This latter piece of bad success completed the ruin of his party. His nobles first deserted him; and they were followed by the private soldiers. A thousand horse only remained. His spirits sunk within him; his misfortunes oppressed him; his guilt and folly were always present to his mind. Sickness was added to his other miseries. He was hunted, like a wild beast, from place to place.





place. All mankind were his enemies; and he was their foe. Where he thought he could not overcome, he fled: he spread devastation through places where he could prevail. He was, however, tired of rapine; worn down by contention and hostility. He wrote letters of compunction to his father. He enlarged on his own guilt; he even added, if possible, to his own wretchedness and misfortune. Jehangire was often full of affection; he was always weak. He was shocked at the miserable condition of a son, whom he once had loved. His tears fell upon the part of Shaw Jehân's letter which mentioned guilt; and his crimes vanished from memory.

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1034.

In the midst of this returning softness, Jehangire was not altogether void of policy. He wrote to his son, that if he would give orders to the governors of Rhotas, of Azere, and other places, which were still held out in his name, to deliver up their forts; and, send his three sons, Dara, Aurungzebe, and Murâd, to court, and at the same time accompany them, he would be forgiven for his past crimes. Shaw Jehân embraced the offer with joy. He delivered up the forts; he sent his children to Agra. He, however, found various pretences for not appearing in person at court. He alleged that he was ashamed to see a father whom he had so much injured; but he was actually afraid of the machinations of the favourite Sultana. He made excursions, under a pretence of pleasure, through all parts of the empire, attended by five hundred horse. He was sometimes heard of at Ajmere, sometimes at Tata on the Indus; and again, in the Decan.

He is pardoned.

In the rebellion of Shaw Jehân, we lost sight of the Persian invasion, under Shaw Abas. The sovereigns of Persia had long laid claim to the city of Candahar. They endeavoured often to

Candahar lost to the empire.





A. D. 1625.  
Hig. 1034.

obtain it by negociation, and often by force. They had failed in the first; and they were not successful in the latter, till the civil distractions of India furnished them with an undisturbed opportunity of besieging the place. When the Persian invasion happened, Candahar was but slightly garrisoned. The place, however, held out with vigour, till Shaw Abbas appeared before it in person. It surrendered to that monarch; and the news of the misfortune met Rustum Suffavi at Lahore, as he was on his march to relieve the besieged. The Persians, after the capture of Candahar, retreated; and Jehangire, having occasion for all his troops to quell domestic disturbances, sat silently down with the loss.

Irruption of  
the Usbecks.

Shaw Abbas had scarce retreated, when the Usbeck Tartars, encouraged by his success and the civil dissensions in Hindostan, invaded the province of Ghizni, and took several small forts. When the news of this invasion arrived at court, Chana-zâd, the son of Mohâbet, was sent from Cashmire, with some troops, to oppose the invaders. This young officer attacked them with vigour on all occasions, and, in general, with great success. They were, at length, after an obstinate and bloody war, which continued nine months, driven out of the empire. The conqueror pursued the fugitives, and laid waste a part of their country.

JEHANGIRE.





J E H A N G I R E.

C H A P. V.

*Mohâbet in favour—Accused of intended treason—Ordered to court—  
Machinations of his enemies—Indignities offered him—He re-  
solves to seize the emperor—He takes him in his tent—Defeats the  
visier—Condemns the Sultana to death—But pardons her—Governs  
the empire—Attacked by the citizens of Cabul—He lays down his  
power—Obliged to fly—Sent against Shaw Jehân—Death of prince  
Purvez—His character—Death of Chan Chanan.*

**T**HE valour and abilities of Mohâbet, in conducting the war against Shaw Jehân, raised sentiments of gratitude in the breast of Jehangire. His son, Channa Zâd, had been lately gratified with the government of Cabul; and others, his relations and friends, were advanced to lucrative and honourable employments. The great victory near Benâris confirmed the emperor's high opinion of Mohâbet, and the news of that important event filled him with excessive joy. His grateful feelings for his general rose in proportion to the decrease of his fears for his throne. These sentiments, however, did not long continue. Mohâbet had a great many enemies: his sovereign had but little firmness. The abilities of the former had raised envy; and nature had given to the latter a disposition too easy and pliant, to be proof against misrepresentation. To explain the causes of an event which almost transferred the empire from the house of Timur to other hands, we must look back to some circumstances prior to this period.

A. D. 1625.  
Hig. 1035.  
Mohâbet in  
high favour.





A. D. 1625.  
 Hig. 1035.

Accused of  
 intended  
 treason.

Chan Chanan, mentioned as the tutor of Purvez, in his government of Candeish, had, through some disgust, attached himself to the fortunes of Shaw Jehân, when that prince succeeded his brother in the command of the Imperial army in the Decan. It was by that lord's advice, that he cut off Chufero: by his advice he rebelled against his father. He accompanied the prince in his expedition to Agra and Delhi; and, though he took no part in the fatigues of the field, he ruled in the cabinet. When the affairs of Shaw Jehân became desperate, after his retreat to the Decan, he advised him to sue for a pardon, through his brother Purvez. He himself undertook to be his messenger to Purvez, to whose temper and character he could have been no stranger. When he arrived in the Imperial camp, he found no disposition in Mohâbet to relinquish by terms, the advantages which had been obtained by the sword. Having failed in his endeavours for the prince, he applied for himself. Mohâbet was shocked at this reiteration of treachery; and he persuaded Purvez to throw him and his family into prison. The latter were sent, under an escort, to Agra; he himself was detained, in close confinement, in the camp, and his estate was confiscated by an Imperial edict.

The grounds  
 of the accusation.

After the decisive battle near Benâris, the province of Bengal, which had been reduced by Shaw Jehân, fell at once into the hands of the conquerors. Purvez, who had a commission from his father to govern the eastern provinces, conferred the subaship of Bengal upon Mohâbet, who sent his son Channa Zâd, lately arrived in the army, to manage his government in his own absence. Dara the son of Chan Chanan, had been made suba of Bengal, by Shaw Jehân. That young lord was seized by the people, and delivered into the hands of Channa Zâd, as soon as he arrived at the capital of the province. He immediately sent

Dara





Dara to his father; who, having informed the emperor of that circumstance, received orders to put him to death, as an obstinate rebel. Mohâbet obeyed, and sent the unfortunate suba's head to Agra.

A. D. 1625.  
Hig. 1035.

Chan Chanan, though confined in the camp of Purvez, found means, by letters, to insinuate himself into the good graces of the Sultana, and her brother the visier. The two last had been long the enemies of Mohâbet; and the former imputed the death of his son to that lord, and was resolved to revenge the injury. He wrote to the Sultana: he sent letters to Afiph. He informed them that Mohâbet was forming designs to raise Purvez to the throne. This was carried to the emperor's ears. He ordered Chan Chanan to be released: and that Omrah, who remained with Purvez, accused Mohâbet, by letters to the emperor, of intended treason.

His enemies  
at court.

Jehangire, naturally suspicious, was alarmed. The spirit of jealousy and distrust took possession of his mind. He forgot the services of Mohâbet in his own fears. He ordered him to court; and raised Chan Jehân Lodi from the government of Guzerat to the command of the army under Purvez. Mohâbet, before the emperor's orders arrived, had set out with Purvez, for Bengal. He had been guilty of a neglect, which gave colour to the accusations of his enemies. The elephants taken in battle are Imperial property. These he had retained, together with the presents which his son Channa Zâd had received in resettling the province. A second peremptory order was sent to him. He was acquainted, that he was appointed to the subaship of Punjâb; but that the emperor deprived him of Lahore, which had been usually annexed to that government. He was thunderstruck at the sudden change in the emperor's mind. He resolved to obey. He went to take his leave of Purvez. The

The emperor  
alarmed.





A. D. 1625.  
 Hig. 1035.

Mohâbet  
 commanded  
 to court.

prince was cold and stately ; and seemed to forget his friend in the displeasure of his father.

Sensible of his own abilities, conscious of his honour, elevated by his reputation in war, Mohâbet was disgusted, beyond measure, at this return for his services. He resolved to retire to his castle of Rintimpour : but an order arrived to deliver that fortress into the hands of one of the Sultana's creatures. This latter circumstance confirmed what his friends at court had written to him before, that his life was in danger, should he trust himself in the Imperial presence. He wrote to Jehangire. He expressed his astonishment at his displeasure. He declared his perfect confidence in the honour of his prince ; but he expressed his well-grounded distrust of his advisers. The letter produced nothing but an order for his immediate appearance at court. To refuse was to rebel. He wrote again to the emperor. " I will," says he, " serve my sovereign with my life against his enemies, but I will not expose it to the malice of his friends. Assure me of safety, and I will clear myself in the presence." Jehangire, upon receiving this letter, was enraged. He dispatched a courier, with his last commands for his appearance. He at length resolved to obey. Five thousand Rajaputs, in the Imperial pay, from an affection for their general, offered him their service to conduct him to court. Escorted by these, he took the rout of Lahore, where the emperor, at the time, resided.

He obeys,

On the eighteenth of April 1626, Jehangire set out from Lahore toward Cabul. News was brought to the Imperial camp that Mohâbet had sent before him the elephants taken at the battle of Benâris ; and that he himself followed, with a retinue of five thousand Rajaputs. The Sultana and the visier were struck with a double terror. They were afraid of a reconciliation :





ciliation: they were afraid of his force. They persuaded the emperor not to admit him into the camp. When, therefore, he arrived near the tents, he was ordered to stop, till he accounted for the revenues of Bengal, and the plunder taken at the battle of Benâris. Mohâbet was enraged: he dispatched his son-in-law to the emperor, to complain of an indignity so unworthy of his fidelity and services. He could not have chosen a worse messenger. The emperor had been much offended with Mohâbet, for giving his daughter in marriage without his consent; and he had resolved to be revenged. When, therefore, the young lord alighted from his elephant in the Imperial square, he was suddenly seized; he was stript of his clothes, covered with rags, bastinadoed, and sent out of the camp riding backward on a sorry jade, amid the shouts of the whole army.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

The intelligence of this gross affront came to Mohâbet, before the dishonoured youth appeared. He bore it with seeming patience. He was shocked at the weakness of the emperor, which had yielded so much to the malice of a vindictive woman. He separated, by degrees, his retinue from the camp. He found he could not trust himself in the hands of his enemies; and he took at once a bold resolution. The emperor was on his march to Cabul, and he resolved to watch his motions. He hovered, during the night, round the skirts of the camp; and the morning presented a favourable opportunity for the execution of his scheme.

His messenger grossly affronted.

When Mohâbet arrived, the Imperial army lay encamped on the banks of the Behat or Gelum, at the end of the bridge, on the high-road which led to Cabul. The advanced guard began to move over the bridge in the morning, and was gradually followed by the other troops. The emperor remained in the old

He surprises the emperor in his tent,

camp.





A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

camp. He was not in an enemy's country, and he used no precautions. When the greatest part of the army had passed, Mohâbet suddenly advanced with his faithful Rajaputs. He seized the bridge, and set it on fire; leaving two thousand of his men under the command of his son, to defend the flames, and to stop the return of the enemy. Having made this disposition, he rode with great speed to the Imperial square. He was first observed by the officers of the household, passing by the haram in seeming disorder. His countenance was pale, but determined. They were alarmed; and he rushed forward to the emperor's tent.

takes him

The writer of the Acbal Namma, who was then lord of the wardrobe, suspecting that Mohâbet meant to assassinate the emperor, drew his sword, and followed him with great speed. The Omrahs in waiting did the same. When they had advanced to the Imperial tent, they found Mohâbet surrounded by five hundred Rajaputs on foot, standing at the door, with swords by their sides and pikes in their hands. The lords were immediately seized and disarmed. The emperor, hearing the noise and confusion without, cut his way through the screens, and entered the bathing-tent, which was behind his sleeping apartment. Mohâbet alighted and entered; not finding the emperor, he pressed forward with forty Rajaputs, to the bathing-tent. Some of the Imperial guards stood at the door. The officer who commanded them, sternly asked Mohâbet, Why he presumed to intrude on the emperor's privacy? He answered him, by putting his hand upon his sword and frowning upon him, with a determined countenance. A panic seized the guards. They made way for him to pass. In the outer apartment of the bathing-tent, stood many Omrahs of high rank. They drew their swords; but the Rajaputs surrounding them, they thought proper to deliver up their arms.





The news of this insult was carried to the emperor by some of the women who attended him in the inner tent. He seized his sword, and was about to assault Mohâbet, when he saw his guards and nobles disarmed. He dropt his point; and said, "What dost thou mean, Mohâbet Chan?" Mohâbet touching the ground and then his forehead with his hand, thus replied: "Forced by the machinations of my enemies, who plot against my life, I throw myself under the protection of my soveraign."—"You are safe,"—answered the emperor; "but what would these, who stand armed behind you?"—"They want full security," rejoined Mohâbet, "for me and my family; and without it, they will not retire."—"I understand you," said Jehangire: "name your terms, and they shall be granted. But you do me an injustice, Mohâbet; I did not plot against your life. I knew your services, though I was offended at your seeming disobedience to my commands. Be assured of my protection: I shall forget the conduct which necessity has imposed upon you."

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.  
prisoner.

Mohâbet, without naming his conditions, observed to the emperor, that it was now time to take his daily amusement of hunting. Without waiting for a reply, he ordered his own horse to be brought. Jehangire declined mounting him: Mohâbet seemed not to listen. "Then, Mohâbet Chan," said the emperor, "if still I have a horse of my own, I will mount him." One was brought him. They rode slowly away together, surrounded by the Rajaputs. When they had advanced beyond the skirts of the camp, Mohâbet observed to the emperor, That it would be prudent for him to mount an elephant, to avoid any accident that might happen in the confusion which was likely to ensue. Jehangire had now no will of his own. He mounted the elephant; and three Rajaputs, under a pretence of defending him, mounted by his side.

and carries  
him

The





A. D. 1626.  
 Hig. 1035.  
 to his own  
 camp.

The emperor had scarce placed himself on the elephant, when Muckirrib Chan, one of the officers of state, pressing through the Rajaputs, climbed up the elephant's side, and sat down by his sovereign. He was threatened by the Rajaputs. He was obstinate, and would not stir. One slightly cut him on the forehead with his sabre; but he was not to be moved. They had now proceeded near a mile from the camp, when some of the officers of the household, mounted upon elephants, came up, and placed themselves on the road before the emperor. Mohâbet ordered them to clear the way: they refused, and were cut to pieces. He then continued his rout, without further obstruction, to his own camp. The emperor was brought to his tent: and all spectators being removed, Mohâbet explained himself to him, protesting, that he had formed no designs neither against his life nor his power. "But," concluded he sternly, "I am determined to be safe."

Cuts off  
 Sujait Chan.

Asiph, the visier, had crossed the bridge in the morning with the Imperial army. The Sultana, when Mohâbet was busy in securing the person of the emperor, made her escape to her brother. He considered, that nothing was done, so long as that haughty woman remained out of his power. He resolved to prosecute his plan, with the same resolute boldness with which it was begun. He returned with the emperor to his former camp, on the bank of the Gelum. Sujait Chan, an Omrah of high reputation, had arrived that instant to join the Imperial army. He knew the situation of affairs; and loudly inveighed, in the presence of the Rajaputs, against Mohâbet. That lord was at once enraged and alarmed. He ordered his troops to fall upon Sujait and his retinue, and every man of them was put to the sword. The other Omrahs, who had hitherto hovered round,





round, struck with the fate of Sujait, fled across the river, and joined the Imperial army.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

Noor-Jehân was the messenger of the disaster, which befel the emperor, to her brother Asiph. He immediately called the Omrahs together: and the Sultana vehemently accused those who had been left with Jehangire, of negligence and cowardice. A debate arose about the best method of rescuing their sovereign out of the hands of Mohâbet. The measure was full of peril; but it must be taken. They agreed to assemble their forces by the dawn of next morning; and to endeavour to repass the river against the rebel. The emperor was apprized of their intentions. He began to fear for his life. Repeated messages were sent to the visier to desist from his purpose; but that minister did not think himself obliged to obey the commands of an imprisoned monarch, who was under the influence of the man who had seized his person.

The visier determines to rescue the emperor;

Asiph begun his march with day. When he came to the bridge, he found it burnt down. He resolved to ford the river; but the water was so deep, that many were drowned. Those who gained the further shore, had to fight the enemy at a manifest disadvantage. They were cut off as fast as they ascended the bank. A succession of victims came to the swords of the Rajaputs. The action continued for some hours. The rear of the Imperialists pressing into the river, prevented the front from retreating. The Sultana was not a tame spectator on the occasion. Mounted on an elephant, she plunged into the stream with her daughter by her side. The young lady was wounded in the arm: but her mother pressed forward. Three of her elephant-drivers were successively killed; and the elephant received three wounds on the trunk. Noor-Jehân, in the mean time, emptied

But is defeated





A. D. 1626.  
 Hig. 1035.

four quivers of arrows on the enemy. The Rajaputs pressed into the stream to seize her; but the master of her household, mounting the elephant, turned him away, and carried her out of the river, notwithstanding her threats and commands.

with great  
 slaughter,

Whilst these things happen in the river, Fidai Chan and Abul Hassen, with some other gallant nobles, forming a squadron of gentlemen in the rear of the Imperialists, plunged into the river and gained the opposite shore. The shock between them and the Rajaputs was violent. The latter gave way, and fled toward the tents of the prince Shariâr, where the emperor remained under a guard. They stopt, and the action became bloody. The arrows and shot piercing through the tents, the emperor was in imminent danger: but Muchlis Chan, who stood near him, covered him with shields. In the mean time, Mohâbet re-established the ranks of the fugitives behind the tents. He turned them, and fell upon the flank of the Imperialists. Visier Bec, Attalla, and several gallant lords were killed: Fidai was covered with wounds. The spirit of his followers began to sink. Mohâbet pressed hard upon them; and at length they fled. The field was covered with dead bodies; and a complete victory remained to the Rajaputs.

and taken  
 prisoner.

The runaways, gaining the opposite side of the river, found their troops diminished and completely ruined. They gave up all thoughts of further resistance: each fled to his own home. The army, in the space of a few hours, was dissipated. Afiph fled to his estate; and shut himself up, with five hundred men, in the castle of New Rhotas, on the Attoc. The Sultana found means to escape to Lahore. Mohâbet dispatched a messenger to Afiph, with assurances of safety, should he return to the camp. The visier would not trust himself in his hands. Meer Berwir, the





the son of Mohâbet, with a detachment besieged the fort of Rho-  
tas. Asiph was soon reduced to distress; and, on the arrival of  
Mohâbet before the place, that lord, with his son Abu Talib,  
surrendered at discretion. Noor-Jehân had scarce returned to La-  
hore, when she received letters from the emperor. He acquaint-  
ed her, that he was treated with respect by Mohâbet; and that  
matters were amicably settled between them. He conjured her,  
therefore, as she regarded his peace and safety, to lay aside all  
thoughts of hostile preparations. He concluded, with command-  
ing her to follow him to Cabul, whither, of his own free choice,  
he then directed his march. Noor-Jehân did not long hesitate.  
She set out from Lahore, and soon came up with her lord. When  
she arrived, troops were sent out by Mohâbet, by way of doing  
her honour. But they were her keepers, and not her guards.  
They surrounded her tent, and watched all her motions.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.  
The Sultana  
seized.

Mohâbet, who carried every thing before him in the presence,  
accused her publicly of treason. He affirmed, that she had con-  
spired against the emperor, by estranging from him the hearts of  
his subjects: that the most cruel and unwarrantable actions had  
been done, by her capricious orders, in every corner of the em-  
pire: that her haughtiness was the source of public calamities,  
her malignity the ruin of many individuals: that she had even  
extended her views to the empire, by favouring the succession of  
Shariâr to the throne, under whose feeble administration she hoped  
to govern India at pleasure. He therefore insisted that a public  
example should be made of so wicked a woman; as a sign to man-  
kind, that crimes in the most exalted persons ought to meet with  
no more favour, than iniquities in the mean and low. "You,  
who are emperor of the Moguls!" said Mohâbet, addressing him-  
self to Jehangire, "whom we look upon as something more than  
human,

Condemned  
to death.

N a human,





A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

Saved at the  
request of the  
emperor.

human, ought to follow the example of God, who has no respect for persons."

Jehangire was too well acquainted with his situation to contradict Mohâbet. He owned the justice of the accusation, and he signed a warrant for her death. Being excluded from his presence, her charms had lost their irresistible influence over him; and when his passions did not thwart the natural bias of his mind, he was always just. The dreadful message was delivered to the Sultana. She heard it without emotion. "Imprisoned sovereigns," said she, "lose their right to life with their freedom; but permit me for once to see the emperor, and to bathe with my tears the hand that has fixed the seal to the warrant of death." She was brought before her husband, in the presence of Mohâbet. Her beauty shone with additional lustre through her sorrow. She uttered not one word. Jehangire burst into tears. "Will you not spare this woman, Mohâbet?" said the emperor; "you see how she weeps."—"The emperor of the Moguls," replied Mohâbet, "should never ask in vain." The guards retired from her, at a wave of his hand; and she was restored that instant to her former attendants.

March to  
Cabul.

The friends of Mohâbet disapproved of his generosity, and he had cause to repent of it himself. The Sultana lived not to thank her forgiver, but to revenge herself. The Imperial camp moved to Cabul. Mohâbet, without appearing to command, directed every thing at court. The emperor implicitly followed his advice; and he even seemed to harbour no resentment against him for the past. He had long known his abilities; he was now convinced of his integrity and generosity. Naturally fond of indolence and pleasure himself, he could not wish to have left the affairs of the state in better hands. The attention paid him by Mohâbet,





Mohâbet, eradicated every idea of bondage: and the weight which his edicts carried, from their precision and wisdom, reconciled his situation to his pride, by the obedience which was paid to them over all the empire.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

Six months had passed in Cabul in an apparent harmony between the monarch and his minister. The busy spirit of Noor-Jehân was, in the mean time, hatching mischief. She concealed her schemes so effectually, that they escaped the penetrating eyes of Mohâbet. The emperor resided in his palace at Cabul: the minister lay every night in the camp of his Rajaputs, without the walls. When he came one morning to pay his respects at court with his retinue, the citizens, at the instigation of the Sultana, attacked him from both ends of a narrow street. Some, posted in windows on either side, fired upon him with muskets. He turned back, and forced his way to his camp. He arrived among the Rajaputs unhurt: his followers were all either wounded or slain. The citizens did not rest here. They fell upon the guards, which he had placed round the emperor; and put five hundred to the sword.

Designs of  
the Sultana  
against Mo-  
hâbet

Mohâbet, enraged at the perfidy of the Cabulians, prepared to take ample revenge. He blocked up the city, with his army. The massacre within was discontinued. Fear succeeded to rage. The principal inhabitants, laying the whole blame upon the rabble, came out in the most suppliant manner to Mohâbet. Jehangire, who disclaimed all knowledge of the tumult, interceded for them; and the enraged minister spared the city, after having punished the most notorious ringleaders of the insurgents. He, however, declared, that he would never enter the perfidious city of Cabul: he gave directions to the emperor to quit it the next day,

defeated.





A. D. 1636.  
Hig. 1035.

Mohâbet re-  
signs his  
power.

He is obliged  
to fly.

day, and, having made the necessary preparations, the Imperial camp moved in a few days toward Lahore.

On the way to Lahore, Mohâbet took a sudden resolution to throw up his power. He had no intentions himself upon the empire; and he had triumphed over his enemies, and served his friends. He exacted, and obtained from Jehangire, the most solemn promises of oblivion for the past; and he restored that prince to all his former consequence and power. He promised to assist him with his advice; and to shew his sincerity, he dismissed the greatest part of his guards and attendants. This conduct was noble; but he had gone too far to retreat. Gratitude is not so strong a passion as revenge. The weak forget favours; but the haughty never forgive indignities. The Sultana kept fresh in her memory her disgrace; she remembered her danger from Mohâbet. She applied to Jehangire for his immediate death. She urged specious arguments to strengthen her request. "A man," said she, "who is so daring as to seize the person of his sovereign, is a dangerous subject. The lustre of royalty must be diminished, continued the Sultana, in the eyes of the people, whilst he who pulled his prince from the throne, is permitted to kneel before it with feigned allegiance." Jehangire was shocked at her proposal. He commanded her to be silent.

She was silent, but she did not drop her design. She resolved to take off by private treachery the man whom she failed to bring to a public death. She contrived to place one of her eunuchs behind the curtain, with orders to shoot Mohâbet, when he should next come to pay his respects in the presence. Jehangire overheard her commands to the slave. He acquainted Mohâbet with the snare laid for his life; insinuating that his power was not sufficient to protect him from private treachery, though he was resolved





resolved to save him from public disgrace. Mohâbet was alarmed. He escaped from the camp. The army lay that day on the banks of the Gelum, in the very spot where the emperor had seven months before been seized. Mohâbet, after having the whole power of the empire in his hands, was obliged to fly from that very place, without a single attendant. He carried nothing with him but his life: his wealth was left in the Imperial camp, and became the property of Noor-Jehân. His flight had scarce become public, when an edict was issued by the Sultana's procurement, to all the governors of provinces to make diligent search for him. He was declared a rebel, and a reward was put upon his head.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

Asiph disapproved of his sister's violence. He knew the merit of Mohâbet: he was not forgetful of his kindness to himself, when under his power. He was tired, besides, of the weakness of Jehangire, and of the Sultana's tyranny. He, however, observed a cautious silence. His power depended upon his sister; and she was haughty as well as vindictive. Mohâbet flew from place to place. He took, at first, the route of Tatta; but the unfortunate have enemies every where. The boldness, which had lately raised him to the summit of power, forsook him not in his distress. He mounted his horse; and rode solitary near four hundred miles, to throw himself into the conversation of Asiph. That minister, at the time, was in the Imperial camp at Karnal, on the road between Lahore and Delhi. Mohâbet, in a mean habit, entered the camp when it was dark; and about nine o'clock placed himself in the passage, which led from the apartments of Asiph to the Haram. The eunuch, who stood at the door, questioned Mohâbet. He knew that lord by his voice; but he assured him of his fidelity. Mohâbet told him, that he wished

His conference





A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

to speak to his lord on affairs of the last moment. The visier came.

with Afiph

When Afiph saw the low condition into which he, who lately commanded the empire, was fallen, he could scarce refrain from tears. He took him in his arms: they retired in silence to a secret place. Mohâbet, after mentioning the ingratitude of Noor-Jehân, complained of the imbecillity of the emperor, and plainly told the visier, that, low as he was reduced, he was determined to raise up another sovereign in India. "Purvez," continued Mohâbet, "is a virtuous man, and my friend. But he is easy and pliant; and we must not change one weak prince for another. I know the merit of Shaw Jehân; I have fought against him; and when I conquered, I gained not a victory but my own life. He suits the times. He is ambitious, and sometimes severe; but he will aggrandize the empire abroad, and add vigour and precision to the laws at home."—Afiph was overjoyed at this declaration. He was connected in friendship as well as in affinity with Shaw Jehân. "You must go hence with speed," said Afiph; "and I will endeavour to procure your pardon. The emperor, who is not averse to you, will listen to my request; especially as Shaw Jehân, with whom you alone are able to cope in the field, is in arms. I shall procure for you an army, which you shall use as the circumstances of the time will demand."

in favour of  
Shaw Jehân.

The two Omrahs, having sworn fidelity to one another, parted. Mohâbet, mounting his horse, dived into the night: Afiph went into the presence. The emperor was much alarmed at the news from the Decan, that his rebellious son had collected an army. He regretted the loss of Mohâbet, and Afiph took that opportunity of suing for his pardon. The emperor, in the warmth  
of



of his zeal against his son, ordered an edict of indemnity to be forthwith issued, which restored Mohâbet to his honours and estates. A commission was given him to command the army against Shaw Jehân; and the ceremony of giving thanks in the presence, was dispensed with in his favour, as he could not trust his life to the mercy of Noor-Jehân.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

An event, however, happened, which rendered these preparations against Shaw Jehân unnecessary. That prince desisted from his new enterprize without the interposition of force. When Mohâbet carried all before him at court, his friend and pupil, the prince Purvez, remained at the head of the army, and commanded all the eastern and southern provinces in great tranquillity. He took no notice of his father's confinement; and he used no means for his releasement. He knew that Mohâbet had no designs upon the empire; and he was rather pleased, with a check upon the emperor, which might prove an excuse to himself, from being bound by his commands. In the midst of the insensibility and tranquillity of Purvez, he was seized by an apoplexy, which carried him off in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Death of  
Purvez.

Sultan Purvez was one of those harmless men that pass without either envy or fame through life. Destitute of those violent passions which agitate the animated and ambitious, he was never completely happy, nor thoroughly miserable. Ease was his only comfort; toil his sole aversion. Though battles were gained in his name, he was rather an incumbrance to an army, than the spring which should move the whole. Without ambition to command, he thought it no indignity to obey. He approved of the counsel of others, without ever proposing his own. He was in short an useful engine in the hands of an able general. There was a kind of comity in his manner, which com-

His charac-  
ter.





A. D. 1625.  
Hig. 1035.

manded respect, where he impressed no awe; and even men who knew his weakness, listened with attention to his commands. His constitution was feeble and lethargic; his life a perpetual slumber. Had he lived, he was destined for the throne; and, as he had no passions to gratify, the happiness or misery of his reign would depend on those whom chance might place around him. His death was regretted, more, perhaps, than that of an abler man might have been. He never committed injuries, and mankind gave him credit for benevolence. Mohâbet mourned him as a good-natured friend; Jehangire as a dutiful son. The contrast which the character of his brother presented, justified the sentiments of both.

Affairs at  
Court, and  
in the Decan.

When Mohâbet fled, Noor-Jehân governed the empire without controul. While yet he held the reins of government, he had sent orders to his son Channa-Zâd, Suba of Bengal, to send him the surplus of the revenues of that country. Twenty-two lacks, under an escort, were advanced as far as Delhi, when the flight of Mohâbet happened; and the same messenger, who brought the news of the treasure to the emperor, brought him also intelligence of the death of Purvez. Jehangire was affected, beyond measure, at the loss of his son: he never had disobeyed his commands, and his manner was naturally engaging and pleasing.—The command of the army devolved upon Chan Jehân Lodi. He was ordered to send his family to court as hostages for his faith.—An unexpected war furnished a field for the abilities of Lodi. The Nizam raised disturbances; but he was reduced, without battle, to terms.

Death of  
Chan Chan-  
nan.

Chan Chanan, who, after his release from confinement, had remained with Purvez in the camp, did not long survive that prince. He attained to the seventy-second year of his age; and, though in his latter days he was accused of treachery, he had

covered





covered the former part of his life with renown. He performed many memorable actions, under the emperor Akbar. He reduced the kingdom of Guzerat; he defeated with twenty thousand horse, an army of seventy thousand, under the confederate princes of the Decan. He was a scholar, as well as a soldier. He was the most learned man of his time: shrewd in politics, eloquent to a proverb. He translated the commentaries of the emperor Baber into the Persic, from the Mogul language. He understood the Arabic, the Pehlvi, and all the dialects of India. He was also a good poet, and many of his pieces have come down to our time. In abilities he yielded not to his father, the famous Byram; though he possessed not his integrity and unfulfilled virtue.

A. D. 1626.  
Hig. 1035.

When Michael fled, Nour-Jehan governed the empire without control. While yet he held the reins of government, he had sent orders to his son Channa-Nad, Subs of Bengal, to send him the plus of the revenues of that country. Twenty-two lakhs, under an escort, were advanced as far as Delhi, when the light of a lightning was received with extraordinary violence, and the news of the happened; and the same messenger, who brought the news of the disturbance, brought him also intelligence of the death of Purvez. Jehangire was affected, beyond measure, at the loss of his son: he never had disobeyed his commands, and his manner was loved to leave upon the world a name that would be a model of a monarch. The command of the army de- mandably that was his desire. He was ordered to send his army to court as hostages for his father. An unexpected war took place, and the father of both. The news reached the court, when it

Affairs in Court and in the Decan.

J E H A N G I R E .

Chann Chann, who after his death remained with Purvez in the court, prince. He attended to the court, though in his father's

Death of Chann Chann.





## J E H A N G I R E.

## C H A P. VI.

*Schemes of Mohâbet and Afiph—Death of the emperor—His character—Anecdotes of his private life—His religion—His violence—Severe justice—and humanity—The son of prince Chusero raised to the throne—Defeat of Shariâr—Shaw Jehân marches from the Decan—Young emperor deposed, and murdered—Children of Jehangire—State of Persia.*

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

Schemes of  
Mohâbet.

**M**OHABET, after his conference with Afiph, made the best of his way to the dominions of the Rana. He had been recommended by letters from the visier, to that prince; and he was received with extraordinary marks of distinction. A circumstance, omitted in its place, will contribute to throw light on the sequel. A correspondence, by writing, between Mohâbet and Afiph would be a measure full of peril to both. They had resolved to seize upon the accidents that might arise in the course of time, for the service of Shaw Jehân. The visier was to be the judge, as having the best access to know the period fit for their purpose, from his residence at court and intimate knowledge of its affairs. Mohâbet left a ring in his hands, which, when it should be sent, was the signal for him to espouse openly the interests of the prince.

Death of the  
emperor.

The edict of indemnity to Mohâbet had scarce been promulgated, when that lord understood from court, that the emperor began



began to decline visibly in his health. The prospect of his approaching dissolution rendered it unnecessary to wrest from him by force a scepter which he was soon to resign to death. Mohâbet remained quiet with the Rana; who, holding a friendly correspondence with Shaw Jehân, took an opportunity of informing that prince, that his noble guest was no enemy to his cause.—Jehangire had, for seven years, been troubled with a slight asthma. His disorder increased toward the end of the preceding year; and he resolved to make a progress to Cashmire, for the benefit of the air. The autumn proved very severe in that elevated country. He was seized with a violent cold, which fell upon his lungs. The sharpness and purity of the air rendered his breathing difficult. He complained of a kind of suffocation; and became impatient under his disorder. He commanded the camp to move, with slow marches, toward Lahore. He was carried in a litter as far as the town of Mutti, which stands about half way on the road from Cashmire. At Mutti his difficulty of breathing increased. He was growing worse every day, and the army halted. On the ninth of November of the year 1627 he expired; having lived fifty-eight and reigned twenty-two lunar years and eight months.

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

Oct. 27th.

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

Jehangire was neither vicious nor virtuous in the extreme. His bad actions proceeded from passion; and his good frequently from whim. Violent in his measures without cruelty, merciful without feeling, proud without dignity, and generous without acquiring friends. A slave to his pleasures, yet a lover of business; destitute of all religion, yet full of superstition and vain fears. Firm in nothing but in the invariable rigour of his justice, he was changeable in his opinions, and often the dupe of those whom he despised. Sometimes calm, winning, and benevolent, he gained the affections of those who knew him not; at other

His character.

times,





A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

times, morose, captious, reserved, he became terrible to those in whom he most confided. In public, he was familiar, complaisant, and easy to all; he made no distinction between high and low; he heard, with patience, the complaints of the meanest of his subjects; and greatness was never a security against his justice: in private, he was thoughtful, cold, and silent; and he often clothed his countenance with such terror, that Aliph Jah frequently fled from his presence, and the Sultana, in the plenitude of her influence over him, was known to approach him on trembling knees. His affection for his children bordered on weakness. He was as forgetful of injuries as he was of favours. In war he had no abilities; he was fond of peace and tranquillity; and rather a lover than an encourager of the arts of civil life. Naturally averse to tyranny and oppression, property was secure under his administration: he had no avarice himself to render him unjust, and he was the determined and implacable enemy of extortion in others. He was a man of science and of literary abilities; and the memoirs of his life, which he penned himself, do him more honour as a good writer, than the matter, as a great monarch. Upon the whole, Jehangire, though not a faultless man, was far from being a bad prince: he had an inclination to be virtuous, and his errors proceeded from a defect more than from a depravity of soul: His mother was thought to have introduced a tincture of madness into his blood; and an immoderate use of wine and opium rendered sometimes frantic a mind naturally inflamed.

His private  
life and opi-  
nions.

Though Jehangire was often serious and distant among his domestics, he was fond of throwing off the character of the emperor, and of enjoying freely the conversation of his subjects. He often disappeared in the evening from the palace, and dived into obscure punch-houses, to pass some hours in drinking and talking with the lower sort. He had no enemies, and he was under no apprehensions.





apprehensions concerning the safety of his person. Being in the hall of audience, accessible to all ranks of men, after the performance of the usual ceremonies, he was often known in his nocturnal excursions. But the people loved his familiar openness, and did not by rudeness abuse the trust reposed in them by their prince. He often desired his companions at the bowl to ask no favours of him, lest SELIM, in his cups, might promise what JEHANGIRE, in his sober senses, would not chuse to perform. When the liquor began to inflame him, he was rather mad than intoxicated. He flew from one extreme of passion to another; this moment joyful, the next melancholy and drowned in tears. When in this situation, he was fond of arguing upon abstruse subjects. Religion was his favourite topic. He sometimes praised the Mahomedan faith, sometimes that of the Christians; he was now a follower of Zoroaster, and now of Brahma. In the midst of these devout professions, he would, sometimes, as starting from a dream, exclaim, That the prophets of all nations were impostors; and that he himself, should his indolence permit him, could form a better system of religion than any they had imposed on the world. When he was sober, he was divested of every idea of religion, having been brought up a Deist under the tuition of his father Akbar.

A. D. 1627.  
Fig. 1637.

The variety of opinions, on the subject of religion, which prevailed in India, occasioned great uneasiness both to Jehangire and his father Akbar. The tenets of Mahomedanism, which the family of Timur had brought along with them into their conquests, were the religion established by law; but the majority of their subjects were of different persuasions. The followers of the Brahmin faith were the most numerous, and the next were the Persian Guebres, who worshipped the element of Fire, as the best representative of God. The Christians of Europe and of Ar-

Scheme of  
establishing  
a new faith.

menia





A. D. 1627.  
 Hig. 1037.

menia possessed several factories in the principal cities and ports, and they wandered in pursuit of commerce over all the empire. The different opinions among all these sects, on a subject which mankind reckon of the last importance, were the source of disputes, animosities, and quarrels. Akbar was chagrined. He tolerated every religion; he admitted men of all persuasions into his confidence and service; and he had formed serious thoughts of promulgating a new faith, which might reconcile the minds of all his subjects. He esteemed himself as equal in abilities to Mahommed, and he had more power to enforce his doctrine. But, foreseeing the distractions which this arduous measure might occasion, he dropt his design; and, instead of establishing a new faith, contented himself with giving no credit to any of the old systems of religion. Jehangire in his youth had imbibed his father's principles. He began to write a new code of divine law; but he had neither the austerity nor the abilities of a prophet. He shewed more wisdom in relinquishing, than in forming such a visionary scheme.

His violence.

Jehangire was subject to violent passions upon many occasions. Complaints against his nobles, and even against his favourite sons, were received with an eagerness, and a rage against the offenders, more easily imagined than described. When his mind was heated with a relation of oppression, he often burst out into a loud exclamation, "Who in my empire has dared to do this wrong?" His violence flew before the accusation; and to name any person to him, was to convince him of his guilt. Shaw Jehân had been known, when in the greatest favour, to have come trembling before his father, at the accusation of the meanest subject; and the whole ministry, and the servants of the court, frequently stood abashed, pale, distant, and in terror for themselves, when a poor man in rags was relating his grievances to the emperor.

His





His excessive severity in the execution of impartial justice, was the great line which marks the features of the character of Jehangire. He had no respect of persons, when he animadverted upon crimes. His former favour was obliterated at once by guilt; and he persevered, with undeviating rigour, to revenge upon the great, the injuries done to the low. The story of Seif Alla remains as a monument of his savage justice. The sister of the favourite Sultana had a son by her husband Ibrahim, the Suba of Bengal, who, from his tender years, had been brought up at court by the empress, who having no sons by Jehangire, adopted Seif Alla for her own. The emperor was fond of the boy; he even often seated him upon his throne. At twelve years of age Alla returned to his father in Bengal. Jehangire gave him a letter to the Suba, with orders to appoint him governor of Burdwan. Alla, after having resided in his government some years, had the misfortune, when he was one day riding on an elephant through the street, to tread by accident a child to death. The parents of the child followed Alla to his house. They loudly demanded an exemplary punishment on the driver; and the governor, considering it an accident, refused their request, and ordered them to be driven away from his door. They abused him in very opprobrious terms; and Alla, proud of his rank and family, expelled them from the district of Burdwan.

A. D. 1627.  
 Hig. 1037.  
 An instance

Jehangire residing, at that time, in the city of Lahore, they found their way, after a long journey on foot, to the presence. They called aloud for justice; and the emperor wrote a letter to Alla with his own hand, with peremptory orders to restore to the injured parents of the child their possessions, and to make them ample amends for their loss and the fatigue of their journey. The pride of Alla was hurt, at the victory obtained over him; and instead of obeying the orders of his prince, he threw them into prison,

of his severity





A. D. 1627.  
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till they made submissions to him for their conduct. But as soon as they were released, they travelled again to Lahore. Alla was alarmed, and wrote letters to the Sultana and Asiph Jâh, to prevent the petitioners from being admitted into the presence. They hovered to no effect, for some months, about the palace. They could not even come within hearing of the emperor, till one day, that he was taking his pleasure in a barge upon the river. They pressed forward through the crowd; and thrice called out aloud for justice. The emperor heard them, and he recollected their persons. He ordered the barge to be rowed, that instant, to the bank; and, before he inquired into the nature of their complaint, he wrote an order for them to receive a pension for life, from the Imperial treasury. When they had explained their grievances, he said not a word, but he commanded Alla to appear immediately at court.

in the execu-  
 tion of jus-  
 tice.

Alla obeyed the Imperial command; but he knew not the intentions of Jehangire, which that prince had locked up in his own breast. The youth encamped with his retinue, the night of his arrival, on the opposite bank of the river; and sent a messenger to announce his coming to the emperor. Jehangire gave orders for one of his elephants of state to be ready, by the dawn of day; and he at the same time directed the parents of the child to attend. He himself was up before it was light, and having crossed the river, he came to the camp of Alla, and commanded him to be bound. The parents were mounted upon the elephant; and the emperor ordered the driver to tread the unfortunate young man to death. But the driver, afraid of the resentment of the Sultana, passed over him several times, without giving the elephant the necessary directions. The emperor, however, by his threats obliged him at last to execute his orders. He retired home in silence; and issued out his commands





mands to bury Alla with great pomp and magnificence, and that the court should go into mourning for him for the space of two moons.—“I loved him;” said Jehangire, “but justice, like necessity, should bind monarchs.”

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

The severe justice of Jehangire established tranquillity through all his dominions, when they were not disturbed by the ambition of his sons. The Subas of provinces avoided oppression, as the poor had a determined avenger of their wrongs, in their sovereign. He upon every occasion affected the conversation of the lower sort. They had immediate access to his person; and he only seemed pleased, when he was humbling the pride of his nobles, upon the just complaints of the vulgar. He boasted of his humanity, as well as of his justice. He had used to say, That a monarch should even feel for the beasts of the field; and that the birds of heaven ought to receive their due at the foot of the throne.

Of his humanity.

As soon as Jehangire expired, Afiph, at the head of the Imperial retinue, proceeded with the body to Lahore. When he arrived on the banks of the Gelum, he dispatched a Hindoo named Narfi, with the ring to Mohâbet, as the signal for that lord to espouse the cause of Shaw Jehân. The will of Jehangire had been opened immediately upon his demise. He had, at the instigation of the Sultana, named his fourth son Shariâr, as his successor in the throne; but that prince had, some weeks before, set out for Lahore. When the news of the death of Jehangire arrived at that city, the prince seized upon the Imperial treasure, and encouraged the troops to join him, by ample donations. The visier was alarmed. To gain time for the execution of his designs in favour of Shaw Jehân, he proclaimed Dawir Buxsh, the son of prince Chusero, emperor of the Moguls. His

Dawir Buxsh raised to the throne.





A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

frister disapproved of this measure; and endeavoured to raise a party in the camp in favour of Shariâr: but he put an end to her schemes, by confining her to her tent; and gave strict orders, that none should be admitted into her presence.

Shariâr de-  
feated, taken  
and blinded.

Shariâr, by means of the Imperial treasure, collected together a considerable force. Being ill of a venereal disorder himself, he appointed Baiéfâr, the son of his uncle, the prince Daniâl, to command his army. The troops of Afiph were inferior in number to those of Shariâr; but they were, in some measure, disciplined, and inured to the field. Shariâr had crossed the Gelum before the arrival of Afiph; who drew up his forces upon the first appearance of the enemy. It was rather a flight than a battle. The raw troops of Shariâr gave way, before they came to blows. He was not himself in the action: he stood on a distant hill, and fell in into the current of retreat. He shut himself up in the citadel of Lahore; which was invested the next day by the army of Afiph. The friends of Shariâr deserted him; and made terms for themselves. The unfortunate prince hid himself in a cellar within the haram. He was found, and dragged to the light by Ferosé Chan; and Alliverdi bound his hands with his girdle, and brought him to Dawir Buxsh. He was ordered to be confined; and the second day he was deprived of sight.

March of  
Shaw Jehân.

Narfi, the messenger of Afiph, arrived with the ring, after a journey of three weeks, at Chibîr on the borders of Golconda, where Mohâbet, at the time, resided, with Shaw Jehân. He informed the prince of the death of Jehangire; and acquainted Mohâbet of the plan, formed by the visier, to secure the throne for the former; and that Dawir Buxsh was only raised, as a temporary bulwark against the designs of the Sultana, and to appease the people, who were averse to Shariâr. Shaw Jehân, by the advice





advice of Mohâbet, began his march through Guzerat. Two officers were sent with letters to the vizier; and Nîshar Chan was dispatched with presents to Lodi, who commanded the army in the Decan.

A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

Lodi was always averse to the interests of Shaw Jehân. He was proud and passionate; of high birth, and reputation in war. Deriving his blood from the Imperial family of Lodi, he even had views on the empire. Many of his nation served under him in the army; and confiding in their attachment, he looked with secret pleasure upon the contests for the throne, which were likely to arise in the family of Timur. He had detached a part of his army to seize Malava, and all the Imperial territories bordering upon that province. The messenger of Shaw Jehân was received with coldness. The answer given him was undecisive and evasive; and he was dismissed without any marks either of resentment or favour. Lodi did not see clearly before him; and he was resolved to take advantage of events as they should happen to rise.

Suspicious  
conduct of  
Lodi.

Shaw Jehân having, as already mentioned, taken the rout of Guzerat, received the submission of that province. Scif Chan, who commanded for the empire, being sick, was taken in his bed; but his life was spared at the intercession of his wife, who was the particular favourite of the sister of the prince. Having remained seven days at Ahmedabâd, news arrived of the victory of the vizier over Shariâr. Chidmud-Perist was dispatched to the conqueror with letters. They contained expressions of the deepest gratitude to the minister; but he, at the same time, intimated, that dissention could not cease but with the life of the sons of Chusero and Daniâl.—The temporary emperor, Dawir Buxsh, had been dethroned and imprisoned three days before the arrival of Shaw

Dawir Buxsh  
deposed and  
murdered.

Jehân's.





A. D. 1627.  
Hig. 1037.

Jehân's messenger at Lahore. His brother Gurfhaſp, and Baiçfar and Hoſhung, the ſons of Daniâl, had been alſo confined. To ſhow his attachment to Shaw Jehân, the viſier delivered the keys of the priſon to Perift; and that chief, to gain his maſter's favour, ſtrangled the three princes that very night. Aſiph made no enquiry concerning their deaths. He marched the next day toward Agra, having proclaimed Shaw Jehân emperor of the Moguls.

Shaw Jehân  
arrives at  
Agra.

Shaw Jehân arriving at Ajmere, was joined, in that city, by the Rana and his ſon. They were dignified with titles; and ſeveral Omrahs were raiſed to higher ranks of nobility. The government of Ajmere, with many rich eſtates, were conferred upon Mohâbet; and the emperor, for Shaw Jehân had aſſumed that title, marched toward Agra, and pitched his camp in ſight of that capital, on the 31ſt of January 1628, in the garden which from its beauty was called the Habitation of Light. Caſſim, the governor of Agra, came with the keys, and touched the ground with his forehead before the emperor; who entered the city the next day, amid the acclamations of the populace. They forgot his crimes in his ſplendour; and recognized the right to the throne, which murder had procured.

Jehangire's  
children.

Seven children were born to the emperor Jehangire: five ſons and two daughters. The firſt were Chuſero, Purvez, Churrun, Jehandâr, and Shariâr; the daughters were Sultana Niſſa, and Sultana Bâr Banu. Chuſero, Purvez and Jehandâr died before their father: Shariâr fell a viçtim to his brother's jealousy; and Churrun, under the name of Shaw Jehân, ſucceeded to the empire. The prince Chuſero left two ſons, Dawir Buxiſh and Gurfhaſp: the firſt had obtained the name of emperor; they were both murdered, as has been already mentioned, at Lahore. The chil-





children of Purvez were a son and a daughter: the first, by dying a natural death soon after his father, prevented the dagger of Shaw Jehân from committing another murder; and the latter became afterwards the wife of Dara, the eldest son of Shaw Jehân.—The two sons of Daniâl, Baiçâr and Hofhung, had been confined during the reign of their uncle Jehangire. Strangers to the world, and destitute of experience, their nerves were relaxed by inactivity, and their minds broken by adversity. This state of debility did not secure them from the jealousy of the new emperor, by whose commands they were strangled at Lahore. The emperor, either by the dagger or bowstring, dispatched all the males of the house of Timur; so that he himself and his children only remained of the posterity of Baber, who conquered India.

A. D. 1628.  
Hig. 1037.

The state of Persia suffered no change during the reign of the emperor Jehangire in Hindostan. Shaw Abas, surnamed the Great, who was in his twentieth year on the throne of the family of Seifi at the death of Akbar, outlived Jehangire. He covered with splendid exploits, and a rigorous adherence to justice, the natural severity and even cruelty of his character; and acquired the reputation of a great, though not of an amiable prince. The Usbec Tartars of Great Bucharia, who had made encroachments on the Persian dominions during the interrupted reigns of the irmediate predecessors of Abas, lost much of their consequence in the time of that victorious prince. Domestic troubles and disputes about the succession converted the western Tartary into a scene of blood; and offered an object of ambition to Abas. He invaded Chorassan; he besieged the capital Balick, but he was obliged to retreat, by the activity and valour of Baki, who had possessed himself, after various vicissitudes of fortune, of the throne of the Usbecs. Baki, dying in the third year of his reign,

State of  
Persia and  
Usbekian  
Tartary.

was.





