THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

VOL. I.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL.
LIBRARY.
RAJA RAMMOHUNPUR.



Mahommed Akbar, Emperor of Hindostan;
Died A.D. 1605.

Published by Vernor & Hood, Poultry, February 1st 1805.

THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN;

TRANSLATED

FROM THE PERSIAN.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

TWO DISSERTATIONS;

THE FIRST CONCERNING THE HINDOOS, AND THE SECOND ON THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF DESPOTISM IN INDIA.

BY ALEXANDER DOW, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WALKER; WHITE AND COCHRANE; LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO.; BLACK, PARRY, AND KINGSBURY; J. NUNN; J. CUTHELL; R. LEA; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; AND J. FAULDER.

1812.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL. LIBRARY. RAJA RAMMOHUNPUR.

ST - VERF

11208
21 AUG 1965



TO THE KING.

SIR,

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

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

In the History of Hindostan, now offered to your Majesty, the people of Great Britain may see a striking contrast of their own condition;

and, whilst they feel for human nature suffering under despotism, exult, at the same time, in that happy liberty which they enjoy under the government of a Prince who delights in augmenting the security and felicity of his subjects.

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

Your Majesty's
most dutiful,
most humble,
and most devoted,
subject and servant,
ALEXANDER DOW.

PREFACE.

THOUGH, in an advanced stage of society, the human mind is, in some respects, enlarged, a ruinous kind of self-conceit frequently circumscribes its researches after knowledge. In love with our own times, country, and government, we are apt to consider distant ages and nations, as objects unworthy of the page of the historian. These prejudices are not confined to the vulgar and illiterate: some men of genius and reputation for philosophy, have entertained sentiments upon that subject too narrow and confined for the Goths of a much darker age.

Had the translator of the following History thought so meanly of the affairs of the East as these men affect to do, he might have saved a great deal of time and labour. To unlock the springs from which he has derived his knowledge was not so easy a task, that he would have undertaken it without an opinion, that the domestic affairs of India were, in some degree, worthy of being related. He has the satisfaction to find, from the encouragement given to the former edition, notwithstanding the uncouth form in which it appeared, that the History of Hindostan is an object of attention to many in Great Britain; and this has not

been his least inducement to render it now much less unworthy of the public eye. To translate from the Persian was not the primary view of the publisher of Ferishta's Epitome of the History of the Mahommedan Princes of India. To qualify himself for negotiation, was his first object in learning the language. As he proceeded in his studies, other motives for his continuing them arose. Though the manner of eastern composition differs from the correct taste of Europe, there are many things in the writings of Asiatic authors worthy the attention of literary men. Their poetry, it must be confessed, is too turgid and full of conceits to please, and the diction of their historians very diffuse and verbose: yet amidst the redundancy of the latter, we find that scrupulous attention to truth, and that manliness of sentiment, which constitute the very essence of good history.

The works of Mahommed Casim Ferishta of Delhi, who flourished in the reign of Jehangire, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, were put into the translator's hands by his teachers. As he advanced, a new field gradually opened before him. He found, with some degree of astonishment, the authentic history of a great empire, the name of which had scarcely ever travelled to Europe. Being, at the same time, honoured with the particular friendship of the Emperor, at whose court he had for some time lived, he was induced to listen to that Prince's solicitations, for giving to the English some idea of his predecessors on the throne of India.

Though our author has given the title of the History

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

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

The Mahommedans know nothing of the Hindoo learning; and had they even any knowledge of the

history of the followers of Brimha, their prejudices in favour of the Jewish fictions contained in the Koran, would make them reject accounts which tend to subvert the system of their own faith. The Shanscrita records contain accounts of the affairs of the western Asia, very different from what any tribe of the Arabians have transmitted to posterity: and it is more than probable, that upon examination, the former will appear to bear the marks of more authenticity and of greater antiquity than the latter.

But whether the Hindoos possess any true history of greater antiquity than other nations, must altogether rest upon the authority of the Brahmins, till we shall become better acquainted with their records. Their pretensions however are very high, and they confidently affirm, that the Jewish and Mahommedan religions are heresies, from what is contained in the Bedas. They give a very particular account of the origin of the Jewish religion in records of undoubted antiquity. Raja Tura, say they, who is placed in the first ages of the Cal Jug, had a son who apostatized from the Hindoo faith, for which he was banished by his father to the West. The apostate fixed his residence in a country called Mohgod, and propagated the Jewish religion, which the impostor Mahommed further corrupted. The Cal Jug commenced about 4887 years ago; and whether the whole story may not relate to Terah and his son Abraham, is a point not worthy of being minutely discussed.

Feizi, the brother of Abul Fazil the historian, was the only Mussulman we ever heard of who understood

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

The history of Ferishta being an abridgment of a variety of authors, who wrote distinct accounts of the different reigns of the Mahommedan Emperors of Hindostan, he, with a view to comprehend in a small compass every material transaction, has crowded the events too much together, without interspersing them with those reflections which give spirit and elegance to works of this kind: this defect seems however to have proceeded more from a studied brevity, than from a narrowness of genius in Ferishta. Upon some occasions, especially in the characters of the Princes, he shews a strength of judgment, and a nervousness and conciseness of expression, which would do no dishonour to the best writers in the West. What is really remarkable in this writer is, that he seems as much divested of religious prejudices, as he is of political flattery or fear. He never passes a good action without conferring upon it its due reward of praise, nor a bad

one, let the villainous actor be never so high, without stigmatizing it with infamy. In short, if he does not arrive at the character of a good writer, he certainly deserves that of a good man.

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

It ought here to be remarked, that all the oriental historians write, in what they call in Europe, poetical prose. This false taste only commenced about five centuries ago, when literature declined in Asia, with the power of the Caliphs. The translator has now in his possession, books written in the Persian before that period, the diction of which is as concise and manly as that which descended from Greece and Rome to the writers of modern Europe. The learned and celebrated Abul Fazil, instead of correcting this vicious taste, encouraged it greatly by his florid manner, in his history of the reign of Akbar. But this great writer has, notwithstanding his circumlocutions, clothed his

expressions with such beauty and pomp of eloquence, that he seems to come down upon the astonished reader, like the Ganges when it overflows its banks.

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

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

A frequent repetition of proper names is unavoidable in a work of such brevity, and so much crowded with action. This defect is, in a great measure, remedied in this edition; the titles of the great men are, for the most part, omitted; and the pronouns are more frequently used. The translator, in short, has given as few as possible of the faults of his author; but he has been cautious enough, not wittingly at least, to substitute any of his own in their place.

Ferishta, with great propriety, begins the history of the Patan empire in Hindostan from the commencement of the kingdom of Ghizni. The Mahommedan government, which afterwards extended itself to India, rose originally from very small beginnings among the mountains which divide Persia from India. The Afgans or Patans, a warlike race of men, who had been subjects to the Imperial family of Samania, who, having revolted from the Caliphat, reigned for a series of many years in Bochara, rebelled under their governor Abistagi, in the fourth century of the Higera, and laid the foundation of the empire of Ghizni, known commonly in Europe by the name of Gazna. Under a succession of warlike Princes, this empire rose to a surprising magnitude. We find, that in the reign of Musaood I., in the beginning of the fifth century of the Higera, it extended from Ispahan to Bengal, and from the mouths of the Indus to the banks of the Jaxartes, which comprehends near half of the great continent of Asia.

In less than a century after the death of Musaood, the Charizmian empire arose upon the ruins of the

dynasty of the Siljokides, on the confines of Persia and Great Tartary. It extended itself over Tartary and the greatest part of the Persian provinces; the Kings of the Ghiznian Patans were obliged to relinquish their dominions in the north, and to transfer the seat of their empire to Lahore, and afterwards to Delhi.

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

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

Our author has not been careful to mark the extent of the empire in every reign. We can only form a general idea of it, from the transactions which he records. The empire we find sometimes reduced to a

few districts round the capital, and at other times extending itself from the bay of Bengal to Persia, and from the Carnatic to the great mountains of Sewalic. In short, the boundaries of the Patan Imperial dominions varied in proportion to the abilities of those Princes who possessed the throne. When the monarchs discovered great parts, the governors of provinces shrunk back from their independence into their former submission; but when a weak Prince sat on the Musnud, his lieutenants started up into kings around him.

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

In a government like that of India, public spirit is never seen, and loyalty is a thing unknown. The people permit themselves to be transferred from one tyrant to another, without murmuring; and individuals look with unconcern upon the miseries of others, if they are capable to screen themselves from the general misfortune. This, however, is a picture of Hindostan

in bad times, and under the worst Kings. As arbitrary government can inflict the most sudden miseries, so, when in the hand of good men, it can administer the most expeditious relief to the subject. We accordingly find in this History, that the misfortunes of half an age of tyranny are removed in a few years, under the mild administration of a virtuous Prince.

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

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

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

The King has the extraordinary power of nominating his successor by will. This part of royal prerogative is not peculiar to the monarchs of Hindostan. We find that our own nation, so remarkable for their political freedom, were, not above two centuries ago, made over like a private estate, and that without asking their consent, by the will of a Prince, who neither deserved to be beloved nor admired. According to the opinion of the Indians, the right of succession is vested in the male heir, but the last will of the King very often supersedes this idea of justice. Notwithstanding this prejudice in favour of the first-born, there is no distinction made between natural children and those born in lawful wedlock; for every child brought forth in the haram, whether by wives or concubines, are equally legitimate.

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

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

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

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

The Mahommedans of Hindostan have no written laws, but those contained in the Koran. There are certain usages founded upon reason, and immemorial custom, which are also committed to writing. By the latter some causes are determined, and there are officers appointed by the crown, under the name of Canongoes, who, for a certain fee, explain the written usages to the people. In every district or pergunna, there is

* Judge of Judges.

a cutchery, or court of justice, established. These courts are extremely venal, and even the legal fees for determining a cause concerning property, is one fourth of the value of the matter in dispute. Their decisions were, however, very expeditious; and through fear of the displeasure of the King, who invariably punished with the utmost severity corrupt judges, the Casys were pretty equitable in their determinations.

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

The imbecility of the Empire daily increasing, the nominal authority vested in the Dewan, was not sufficient to contend with the real force in the hands of the Nabob. Continual altercations subsisted between these officers in the province, and frequent complaints were transmitted to court. Ministers who preferred present ease to the future interest of the Empire, curtailed the

power of the Dewan, and, from being in a manner the commander in chief of the province, he fell into the simple superintendency of the collections. He had, it is true, the power to prevent new imposts, and innovations in the law.

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

It may, to an European, furnish matter of some surprise, how Eastern armies of two or three hundred thousand horse, and triple that number of soldiers and followers, could be supplied with provisions and forage upon their march, and in their standing camps. To account for this it is to be observed, that every provincial Nabob, upon his taking the field, appoints an officer

[a] The captain-general.

called the Cutwal, whose business it is to superintend the Bazars or markets, which may belong to his camp. Every commander of a body of troops obtains, at the same time, permission to hoist a flag for a Bazar, and to appoint a Cutwal of his own, under the direction of the Cutwal-general. These Cutwals grant licences to chapmen, sutlers, and corn-dealers, who gladly pay a certain tax for permission to dispose of their various commodities, under the protection of the different flags.

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

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING THE

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY,

OF

THE HINDOOS.

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

Excuses, however, may be formed for our ignorance concerning the learning, religion, and philosophy, of the Brahmins. Literary inquiries are by no means a capital object to many of our adventurers in Asia. The few who have a turn for researches of that kind are discouraged by the very great difficulty in acquiring that language, in which the learning of the Hindoos is contained; or by that impenetrable veil of mystery with which the Brahmins industriously cover their religious tenets and philosophy.

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

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

Having then no intention to quit India for some time, he resolved to acquire some knowledge in the Shanscrita language; the grand repository of the religion, philosophy, and history of the Hindoos. With this view, he prevailed upon his noble friend the Brahmin to procure for him a Pundit, from the university of Benaris, well versed in the Shanscrita, and master of all the knowledge of that learned body. But before he had made any considerable progress in his studies, an unexpected change of affairs in Bengal broke off all his

literary schemes. He found that the time he had to remain in India would be too short to acquire the Shanscrita. He determined, therefore, through the medium of the Persian language, and through the vulgar tongue of the Hindoos, to inform himself as much as possible concerning the mythology and philosophy of the Brahmins. He, for this purpose, procured some of the principal SHASTERS, and his Pundit explained to him as many passages of those curious books as served to give him a general idea of the doctrine which they contain.

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

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

The Bedas are, by the Brahmins, held so sacred that they permit no other sect to read them; and such is the influence of superstition and priestcraft over the minds of the other CASTS in India, that they would deem it an unpardonable sin to satisfy their curiosity in that respect, were it even within the compass of their power. The Brahmins themselves are bound by such strong ties of religion to confine those writings to their own tribe, that were any of them known to read them to others he would be immediately excommunicated. This punishment is worse than even death itself among the Hindoos. The offender is not only thrown

down from the noblest order to the most polluted CAST, but his posterity are rendered for ever incapable of being received into his former dignity.

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

Mahommed Akbar, being a Prince of elevated and extensive ideas, was totally divested of those prejudices for his own religion which men of inferior parts not only imbibe with their mother's milk, but retain throughout their lives. Though bred in all the strictness of the Mahommedan faith, his great soul, in his riper years, broke those chains of superstition and credulity with which his tutors had, in his early youth, fettered his mind. With a design to choose his own religion, or rather from curiosity, he made it his business to inquire minutely into all the systems of divinity which prevailed among mankind. The story of his being instructed in the Christian tenets, by a missionary from Portugal, is too well known in Europe to require a place in this Dissertation. As almost all religions admit of proselytes, Akbar had good success in his inquiries till he came to his own subjects the Hindoos. Contrary to the practice of all other religious sects, they admit of no converts, but they allow that every one may go to heaven his own way, though they perhaps suppose that theirs is the most expeditious method to obtain that important end. They choose rather to make a mystery

of their religion, than impose it upon the world, like the Mahommedans, with the sword, or by means of the stake, after the manner of some pious Christians.

Not all the authority of Akbar could prevail with the Brahmins to reveal the principles of their faith. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to artifice to obtain the information which he so much desired. The Emperor, for this purpose, concerted a plan with his chief secretary, Abul Fazil, to impose Feizi, then a boy, upon the Brahmins, in the character of a poor orphan of their tribe. Feizi being instructed in his part, was privately sent to Benaris, the principal seat of learning among the Hindoos. In that city the fraud was practised on a learned Brahmin, who received the boy into his house, and educated him as his own son.

When Feizi, after ten years' study, had acquired the Shanscrita language, and all the knowledge of which the learned of Benaris were possessed, proper measures were taken by the Emperor to secure his safe return. Feizi, it seems, during his residence with his patron the Brahmin, was smitten with the beauty of his only daughter; and indeed the ladies of the Brahmin race are the handsomest in Hindostan. The old Brahmin saw the mutual passion of the young pair with pleasure, and as he loved Feizi for his uncommon abilities, he offered him his daughter in marriage. Feizi, perplexed between love and gratitude, at length discovered himself to the good old man, fell down at his feet, and grasping his knees, solicited with tears forgiveness for the great crime he had committed against his indulgent benefactor. The Brahmin, struck dumb with astonishment, uttered not one word of reproach. He drew a dagger, which he always carried on his girdle, and prepared to plunge it in his own breast. Feizi seized his hand, and conjured him, that if yet any atonement could be made for the injury he had done him, he himself would swear to deny him nothing. The

Brahmin, bursting into tears, told him, that if Feizi should grant him two requests, he would forgive him, and consent to live. Feizi, without any hesitation, consented, and the Brahmin's requests were, that he should never translate the Bedas, nor repeat the creed of the Hindoos.

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

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

The first credible account we have of the Bedas is, that about the commencement of the period called the Cal Jug, of which era the present year 1769 is the 4887th, they were written, or rather collected, by a great philosopher and reputed prophet, called Beäss Muni, or Beäss the inspired. This learned man is otherwise called Krishen Basdeo, and is said to have lived in the reign of Judishter, in the city of

Histanapore, upon the river Jumna, near the present city of Delhi.

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

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

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

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

The third is the JUDGER BEDA, which, as the word implies,

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

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

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

[a] Mr. Holwell; the author of the Dissertation finds himself obliged to differ almost in every particular concerning the religion of the Hindoos, from that gentleman.

A Specimen of the meafure of the Bedas.

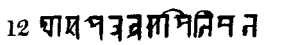
Feet

Rugh Beda

12  *Joidippi nabatti hani*

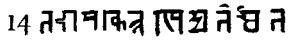
18  *Parakian chirritti basa bodat chan*

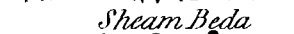
12  *Alsa mon jefso mitaeh muttah*

14  *Jodopi kela kidatti sheta.*

Sheam Beda

14 *Aiati jati punareti puna preati*

14  *Padang kourani bishenuti dunoli puckow*

14  *Udbeieniti succulani puddani juckon*

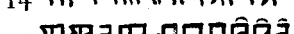
14  *Sari sati bolina bidatenati.*

Judger Beda

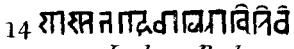
12  *Malla Maiah pugalla pindeh*

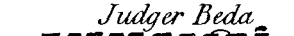
18 *Sukollo Sulleh dingkilisi soddeh*

16  *Luhi putti chulani hing janibo*

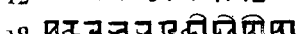
12  *Upa bimilla subabo.*

Obatar bah Beda

11  *Jaboda gummateta norrindiran*

11  *Saifsam baro gohaia mokinderan*

11  *Tabo debo crifsi crindro dedico*

8  *Stridifsa damo jogamo.*

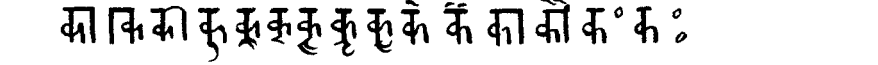
The Shanscrita Alphabet.





The first thirty four Letters are Consonants, and the last sixteen are used for Vowels, but never written as above except at the beginning of a proper Name or Paragraph; the manner of writing the common Vowels being different, as for Example.

Ka Ki Kii Ku Kuu Kri Krii Kli Klii Ke Ky Ko Koo Kang Kah



Published by Vernor & Hood, Poultry: Feb.y 16th 1803.

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

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

The Hindoos have, from all antiquity, been divided into four great tribes, each of which comprehends a variety of inferior

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

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

The name of Beise or Bise is given to the third tribe. They are for the most part merchants, bankers, and bunias, or shop-keepers. These are figuratively said to have sprung from the belly of Brimha; the word Beish signifying a provider or nourisher. The fourth tribe is that of Sudder. They ought to be menial servants, and they are incapable to raise themselves to any superior rank. They are said to have proceeded from the feet of Brimha, in allusion to their low degree. But indeed it is contrary to the inviolable laws of the Hindoos that any person should rise from an inferior cast into a higher tribe. If any therefore should be excom-

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

municated from any of the four tribes, he and his posterity are for ever shut out from the society of every body in the ation, excepting that of the Harri cast, who are held in utter detestation by all the other tribes, and are employed only in the meanest and vilest offices. This circumstance renders excommunication so dreadful, that any Hindoo will suffer the torture and even death itself rather than deviate from one article of his faith. This severity prevented all intermixture of blood between the tribes, so that, in their appearance, they seem rather four different nations than members of the same community.

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

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

Between the age of seven and ten, the children are, by their parents, given away in marriage. The young pair are brought together, in order to contract an intimacy with one another. But when they approach to the years of puberty, they carefully separate them, till the female produces signs

[c] A string which all the Hindoos wear, by way of charm or amulet.

of womanhood. She then is taken from her parents to cohabit with her husband: nor is she ever after permitted to visit them. It is not lawful among the Hindoos to marry nearer than the eighth degree of kindred. Polygamy is permitted, but seldom practised; for they very rationally think, that one wife is sufficient for one man.

The extraordinary custom of the women burning themselves with their deceased husbands, has, for the most part, fallen into desuetude in India; nor was it ever reckoned a religious duty, as has been very erroneously supposed in the West. This species of barbarity, like many others, rose originally from the foolish enthusiasm of feeble minds. In a text in the Bedas, conjugal affection and fidelity are thus figuratively inculcated: "The woman, in short, who dies with her husband, shall enjoy life eternal with him in heaven." From this source the Brahmins themselves deduce this ridiculous custom, which is a more rational solution of it than the story which prevails in Europe; that it was a political institution, made by one of the Emperors, to prevent wives from poisoning their husbands, a practice, in those days, common in Hindostan.

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

The Hindoos have a code of laws in the NEA SHASTER. Treason, incest, sacrilege, murder, adultery with the wife of a Brahmin, and theft, are capital crimes. Though the Brahmins were the authors of those laws, we do not find that they

have exempted themselves from the punishment of death, when guilty of those crimes. This is one of those numerous fables which modern travellers imported from the East. It is however certain, that the influence of the Brahmins is so great, and their characters as priests so sacred, that they escape in cases where no mercy would be shown to the other tribes.

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

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

When this naked army of robust saints direct their march to any temple, the men of the provinces through which their road lies, very often fly before them, notwithstanding the sanctified character of the Fakiers. But the women are in general more resolute, and not only remain in their dwellings, but apply frequently for the prayers of those holy persons, which are found to be most effectual in cases of sterility. When a Fakier is at prayers with the lady of the house, he leaves either his slipper or his staff at the door, which, if seen by the husband, effectually prevents him

from disturbing their devotion. But should he be so unfortunate as not to mind those signals, a sound drubbing is the inevitable consequence of his intrusion.

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

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

Many other foolish customs, besides those we have mentioned, are peculiar to those religious mendicants. But enthusiastic penances are not confined to them alone. Some of the vulgar, on the fast of Opposs, suspend themselves on iron hooks, by the flesh of the shoulder-blade, to the end of a beam. This beam turns round with great velocity, upon a pivot, on the head of a high pole. The enthusiast not

only seems insensible of pain, but very often blows a trumpet as he is whirled round above, and, at certain intervals, sings a song to the gaping multitude below; who very much admire his fortitude and devotion. This ridiculous custom is kept up to commemorate the sufferings of a martyr, who was in that manner tortured for his faith.

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

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

[d] Shaster literally signifies Knowledge; but it is commonly understood to mean a book which treats of divinity and the sciences.

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

This commentary opens with a dialogue between Brimha[d],

There are many Shasters among the Hindoos; so that those writers who affirmed that there was but one Shaster in India, which, like the Bible of the Christians, or Koran of the followers of Mahommed, contained the first principles of the Brahmin faith, have deceived themselves and the public.

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

the Wisdom of the Divinity; and Narud[e] or Reason, who is represented as the son of Brimha. Narud desires to be instructed by his father, and for that purpose, puts the following questions to him.

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

Be not deceived, my son! do not imagine that I was the creator of the world, independent of the divine mover[g], who is the great original essence[h], and creator of all things. Look, therefore, only upon me as the instrument of the great WILL[i], and a part of his being, whom he called forth to execute his eternal designs.

NARUD.

What shall we think of God?

BRIMHA.

Being immaterial[k], he is above all conception; being invisible[l], he can have no form[m]; but, from what we behold

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

[f] Brimh. [g] The supreme divinity. [h] Pirrim-Purrus; from PIR first, and PURRUS essence or being.

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

[k] Nid-akar. [l] Oderissa. [m] Sirba-Sirrup.

in his works, we may conclude that he is eternal[n], omnipotent[o], knowing all things[p], and present every where[q].

NARUD.

How did God create the world?

BRIMHA.

Affection[r] dwelt with God, from all eternity. It was of three different kinds, the creative[s], the preserving[t], and the destructive[u]. This first is represented by Brimha, the second by Bishen[x], and the third by Shibah[y]. You, O Narud! are taught to worship all the three, in various shapes and likenesses, as the creator[z], the preserver[a], and the destroyer[b]. The affection of God then produced power[c], and power at a proper conjunction of time[d] and fate[e], embraced goodness[f], and produced matter[g]. The three qualities then

[n] Nitteh. [o] Ge-itch. [p] Subbittera-dirsi. [q] Surba-Birsi. These are the very terms used in the Bedang, in the definition of God, which we have literally translated in the text. Whether we, who profess Christianity, and call the Hindoos by the detestable names of Pagans and Idolaters, have higher ideas of the supreme divinity, we shall leave to the unprejudiced reader to determine.

[r] Maiah, which signifies either affection or passion. [s] Redjogoon, the creative quality. [t] Sittohgoon, the preserving quality. [u] Timmugoon, the destructive quality. [x] The preserver; Providence is personified under the name of Bishen. [y] Shibah, the foe of good. [z] Naat. [a] Bishen. [b] Shibah. The Hindoos worship the destructive attribute of the divinity, under the name of Shibah; but they do not mean evil by Shibah, for they affirm, that there is no such thing but what proceeds from the free agency of man. [c] Jotna. [d] Kaal. [e] Addaristo. [f] Pirkirti, from *Pir* good, and *Kirti* action. God's attribute of goodness, is worshipped as a Goddess, under the name of Pirkirti, and many other appellations, which comprehend all the virtues. It has been ridiculously supposed in Europe, that PURRUS and PIRKIRTI were the first man and woman, according to the system of the Hindoos; whereas by Purrus is meant God, or emphatically, *the Being;* and by Pirkirti, his attribute of goodness. [g] Mohat. In other places of the Bedang, matter is distinguished by the name of Maha-tit, *the great substance*

acting upon matter, produced the universe in the following manner. From the opposite actions of the creative and destructive quality in matter, self-motion[h] first arose. Self-motion was of three kinds; the first inclining to plasticity[i], the second to discord[k], and the third to rest[l]. The discordant actions then produced the Akash[m], which invisible element possessed the quality of conveying sound; it produced air[n], a palpable element, fire[o], a visible element, water[p], a fluid element, and earth[q], a solid element.

The Akash dispersed itself abroad. Air formed the atmosphere; fire, collecting itself, blazed forth in the host of heaven[r]; water rose to the surface of the earth, being forced from beneath by the gravity of the latter element. Thus broke forth the world from the veil of darkness, in which it was formerly comprehended by God. Order rose over the universe. The seven heavens were formed[s], and the seven worlds were fixed in their places; there to remain till the great dissolution[t], when all things shall be absorbed[u] into God.

God seeing the earth in full bloom, and that vegetation[x] was strong from its seeds, called forth for the first time, In-

[h] Ahankar. The word literally signifies self-action. [i] Rajas. [k] Tamas. [l] Satig. [m] A kind of celestial element. The Bedang in another place, speaks of akash as a pure impalpable element, through which the planets move. This element, says the philosopher, makes no resistance, and therefore the planets continue their motion, from the first impulse which they received from the hand of Brimha or God; nor will they stop, says he, till he shall seize them in the midst of their course. [n] Baiow. [o] Tege. [p] Joal. [q] Prittavi. [r] Dewta; of which Surage the Sun is first in rank. [s] The names of the seven heavens are, Bu, Buba, Surg, Moha, Junnoh, Tapu, and Sutteh. The seven worlds are, Ottal, Bittal, Suttal, Joal, Tallattal, Rissatal, and Pattal. The author of the Dissertation, by a negligence which he very much regrets, forgot to get the proper explanation of those names, or the uses to which the seven heavens were converted. [t] Mah-pirly. [u] Mucht. [x] Birgalotta.

tellect[y], which he endued with various organs and shapes, to form a diversity of animals[z] upon the earth. He endued the animals with five senses, feeling, seeing, smelling, tasting, and hearing[a]. But to man he gave reflection[b] to raise him above the beasts of the field.

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

NARUD.

What dost thou mean, O Father! by intellect?

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

What becomes of it after death?

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

The souls of men are distinguished from those of other animals; for the first are endued with reason[e], and with a

[y] Mun. [z] Jount. [a] The five senses are, Suppursina, Chowkowna, Nasiga, Rissina, Kurnowa. [b] Manus. [c] *Nir* and *Madda* signify male and female. [d] Purmattima literally signifies the *great soul*. [e] Upiman.

consciousness of right and wrong. If therefore man shall adhere to the first, as far as his powers shall extend, his soul, when disengaged from the body by death, shall be absorbed into the divine essence, and shall never more re-animate flesh. But the souls of those who do evil[f], are not, at death, disengaged from all the elements. They are immediately clothed with a body of fire, air, and akash, in which they are, for a time, punished in hell[g]. After the season of their grief is over, they re-animate other bodies; but till they shall arrive at a state of purity, they can never be absorbed into God.

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

Thou sayst, O Father! that unless the soul is perfectly pure, it cannot be absorbed into God: Now, as the actions

[f] Mund. [g] Nirick. The Hindoos reckon above eighty kinds of hells, each proportioned to the degree of the wickedness of the persons punished there. The Brahmins have no idea that all the sins that a man can commit in the short period of his life, can deserve eternal punishment; nor that all the virtues he can exercise, can merit perpetual felicity in heaven. [h] Muchti. [i] It is somewhat surprising, that a state of unconsciousness, which in fact is the same with annihilation, should be esteemed by the Hindoos as the supreme good; yet so it is, that they always represent the *absorbed state*, as a situation of perfect insensibility, equally destitute of pleasure and of pain. But Brimha seems here to imply, that it is a kind of delirium of joy.

of the generality of men are partly good, and partly bad, whither are their spirits sent immediately after death?

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

What is time[k]?

BRIMHA.

Time existed from all eternity with God; but it can only

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

be estimated since motion was produced, and only be conceived by the mind, from its own constant progress.

NARUD.

How long shall this world remain?

BRIMHA.

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

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

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

[l] The same with Shibah, the destroying quality of God.
[m] Nisht. [n] The wisdom of God.

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

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

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

" Brimha, offended at the men, destroyed them, and produced four persons from his own breath, whom he called by four different names. The name of the first was Sinnoc [p],

[o] The providence of God. [p] Body.

of the second, Sinnunda[q], of the third, Sonnatin[r], and of the fourth, Sonninkunar[s]. These four persons were ordered by Brimha, to rule over the creatures, and to possess for ever the world. But they refused to do any thing but to praise God, having nothing of the destructive quality[t] in in their composition.

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

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

[q] Life. [r] Permanency. [s] Intellectual existence. [t] Timmugoon. [u] The weeper; because he was produced in tears. One of the names of Shibah, the destructive attribute of the divinity. [x] The significations of these ten names are, in order, these: Reason, Ingenuity, Emulation, Humility, Piety, Pride, Patience, Charity, Deceit, Mortality. [y] The Inspired. [z] Fortune. [a] Misfortune. [b] Appetite. [c] Love. [d] Shame.

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

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

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

The opinion of this philosopher, that the soul, after death, assumes a body of the purer elements, is not peculiar to the Brahmins. It descended from the Druids of Europe, to the Greeks, and was the same with the εἴδωλον of Homer. His idea of the manner of the transmigration of the human soul into various bodies, is peculiar to himself. As he holds it as

a maxim that a portion of the GREAT SOUL, or God, animates every living thing; he thinks it no ways inconsistent, that the same portion that gave life to man, should afterwards pass into the body of any other animal. This transmigration does not, in his opinion, debase the quality of the soul: for when it extricates itself from the fetters of the flesh, it re-assumes its original nature.

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

Before we shall proceed to the doctrine of the NEADIRSEN SHASTER, it may not be improper to give a translation of the first chapter of the DIRM SHASTER, which throws a clear light upon the religious tenets common to both the grand sects of the Hindoos. It is a dialogue between Brimha, or the wisdom of God; and Narud, or human reason.

NARUD.

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

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

BRIMHA.

BRIMH; who is infinite and almighty.

NARUD.

Is he exempted from death?

BRIMHA.

He is: being eternal and incorporeal.

NARUD.

Who created the world?

BRIMHA.

GOD, by his power.

NARUD.

Who is the giver of bliss?

BRIMHA.

KRISHEN: and whosoever worshippeth him, shall enjoy heaven[f].

NARUD.

What is his likeness?

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

What image shall we conceive of him?

BRIMHA.

If your imagination cannot rise to devotion without an

[f] Krishen is derived from Krish giving, and Ana joy. It is one of the thousand names of God.

image; suppose with yourself, that his eyes are like the Lotos, his complexion like a cloud, his clothing of the lightning of heaven, and that he hath four hands.

NARUD.

Why should we think of the almighty in this form?

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

What things are proper to be offered unto him?

BRIMHA.

Those things which are clean, and offered with a grateful heart. But all things which by the law are reckoned impure, or have been defiled by the touch of a woman in her times; things which have been coveted by your own soul, seized by oppression, or obtained by deceit, or that have any natural blemish, are offerings unworthy of God.

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

God neither eats nor drinks like mortal men. But if you love not God, your offerings will be unworthy of him; for as all men covet the good things of this world, God requires

a free offering of their substance, as the strongest testimony of their gratitude and inclinations towards him.

NARUD.

How is God to be worshipped?

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

True: the mind is stronger than an elephant, whom men have found means to subdue, though they have never been able entirely to subdue their own inclinations. But the ankush[ε] of the mind is true wisdom, which sees into the vanity of all worldly things.

NARUD.

Where shall we find true wisdom?

BRIMHA.

In the society of good and wise men.

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

If they cannot be overcome by reason, let them be mortified by penance. For this purpose it will be necessary to

ε Ankush is an iron instrument used for driving elephants.

make a public and solemn vow, lest your resolution should be shaken by the pain which attends it.

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

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

NARUD.

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

BRIMHA.

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

[h] Heaven. [i] Hell. [k] The island of Ceylon.

thousand forms; yet continue the same unchangeable, in his divine nature.——

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

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

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

Goutam does not begin to reason *a priori*, like the writer

of the Bedang. He considers the present state of nature, and the intellectual faculties, as far as they can be investigated by human reason; and from thence he draws all his conclusions. He reduces all things under six principal heads; substance, quality, motion, species, assimulation, and construction[l]. In substance, besides time, space, life, and spirit, he comprehends earth, water, fire, air, and akash. The four grosser elements, he says, come under the immediate comprehension of our bodily senses; and akash, time, space, soul, and spirit, come under mental perception.

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

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

He then proceeds to explain what he means by his second principle, or Goon, which, says he, comprehends twenty-four things; form, taste, smell, touch, sound, number, quantity,

[l] These are in the original Shanscrita, Dirba, Goon, Kirmo, Summania, Bishesh, Sammabae.

[m] A system of sceptical philosophy, to which many of the Brahmins adhere.

gravity, solidity, fluidity, elasticity, conjunction, separation, priority, posteriority, divisibility, indivisibility, accident, perception, ease, pain, desire, aversion, and power[n]. Kirmo or motion is, according to him, of two kinds, direct and crooked. Sammania, or species, which is his third principle, includes all animals and natural productions. Bishesh he defines to be a tendency in matter towards productions; and Sammabae, or the last principle, is the artificial construction or formation of things, as a statue from a block of marble, a house from stones, or cloth from cotton.

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

The second eternal principle is the Jive Attima, or the vital soul, which he supposes is material, by giving it the following properties; number, quantity, motion, contraction, extension, divisibility, perception, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, accident, and power. His reasons for maintaining that the *vital soul* is different from the *great soul*, are very numerous, and it is upon this head that the followers of the Bedang and Neadirsen are principally divided. The first affirm that there is no soul in the universe but God, and the second strenuously hold that there is, as they cannot conceive

[n] The twenty-four things are, in the Shanscrita, in order, these: Rup, Ris, Gund, Supursa, Shubardo, Sirica, Purriman, Gurritte, Dirbitte, Sinniha, Shanskan, Sangoog, Bibag, Pirrible, Particca, Apporticta, Addaristo, Bud, Suc, Duc, Itcha, Desh, Jotna.

[o] These properties of the divinity are the following in order: Nidakaar, Akitta, Oderisa, Nitte, Apparticta, Budsirba, Suck, Itcha, Jotna.

that God can be subject to such affections and passions as they feel in their own minds; or that he can possibly have a propensity to evil. Evil, according to the author of the Neadirsen Shaster, proceeds entirely from Jive Attima, or the vital soul. It is a selfish craving principle, never to be satisfied; whereas GOD remains in eternal rest, without any desire but benevolence.

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

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

"The same vital soul," continues Goutam, "which before associated with the Purman of an animal, may afterwards associate with the Purman of a man." This transmigration is distinguished by three names, Mirt, Mirren, and Pirra-purra-purvesh, which last literally signifies *the change of abode*. The superiority of man, according to the philosophy of the Neadirsen, consists only in the finer organiza-

tion of his parts, from which proceed reason, reflection, and memory, which the brutes only possess in an inferior degree, on account of their less refined organs.

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

The author of the Neadirsen teaches, for the purposes of morality, that the sins of the parents will descend to their posterity; and that, on the other hand, the virtues of the children will mitigate the punishments of the parents in Nirick, and hasten their return to the earth. Of all sins he holds ingratitude[q] to be the greatest. "Souls guilty of that black crime," says he, "will remain in hell while the sun remains in heaven, or to the general dissolution of all things."

"Intellect," says Goutam, "is formed by the combined action of the senses." He reckons six senses: five external[r],

[p] The acquainted with their former state.

[q] Mitterdro.

[r] Chakous, Shraban, Rasan, Granap, Tawass.

and one internal. The last he calls Manus, by which he seems to mean conscience. In the latter he comprehends reason, perception[s], and memory: and he concludes, that by their means only mankind may possibly acquire knowledge. He then proceeds to explain the manner by which these senses act.

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

Goutam defines hearing in the same manner with the European philosophers, with this difference only, that he supposes, that the sound which affects the ear is conveyed through the purer element of akash, and not by the air; an error which is not very surprising in a speculative philosopher. Taste he defines to be a sensation of the tongue and palate, occasioned by the particular form of those particles which compose food. Smell, says he, proceeds from the effluvia which arise from bodies to the nostrils. The feeling which arises from touching, is occasioned by the contact of dense bodies with the skin, which, as well as the whole body, excepting the bones, the hair, and the nails, is the organ of that sense. There runs, says he, from all parts of the skin, very small nerves to a great nerve, which he distinguishes by the name of Medda. This nerve is composed of two different coats, the one sensi-

[s] Onnuman, reason. Upimen, perception.

tive and the other insensitive. It extends from the crown of the head down the right side of the vertebræ to the right foot[t]. When the body becomes languid, the soul, fatigued with action, retires within the insensible coat, which checks the operation of the senses, and occasions sound sleep. But should there remain in the soul a small inclination to action, it starts into the sensitive part of the nerve, and dreams immediately arise before it. These dreams, says he, invariably relate to something perceived before by the senses, though the mind may combine the ideas together at pleasure.

Manus, or conscience, is the internal feeling of the mind, when it is no way affected by external objects. Onnuman, or reason, says Goutam, is that faculty of the soul which enables us to conclude that things and circumstances exist, from an analogy to things which had before fallen under the conception of our bodily senses: for instance, when we see smoke, we conclude that it proceeds from a fire; when we see one end of a rope, we are persuaded that it must have another.

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

The philosopher refutes these atheistical opinions by a long train of arguments, such as have been often urged by European divines. Though superstition and custom may bias

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

reason to different ends, in various countries, we find a surprising similarity in the arguments used by all nations against the BOAD, those common enemies of every system of religion.

"Another sect of the BOAD," says Goutam, "are of opinion that all things were produced by chance[u]." This doctrine he thus refutes. "Chance is so far from being the origin of all things, that it has but a momentary existence of its own; being alternately created and annihilated at periods infinitely small, as it depends entirely on the action of real essences. This action is not accidental, for it must inevitably proceed from some natural cause. Let the dice be rattled eternally in the box, they are determined in their motion, by certain invariable laws. What therefore we call chance is but an effect proceeding from causes which we do not perceive."

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

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

"Generation," says he, "may be divided into two kinds; Jonidge, or generation by copulation; and adjonidge, gene-

[u] Addaristo.

ration without copulation. All animals are produced by the first, and all plants by the latter. The purman, or seed of things, was formed from the beginning with all its parts. When it happens to be deposited in a matrix suitable to its nature, a soul associates with it; and, by assimulating more matter, it gradually becomes a creature or plant; for plants, as well as animals, are possessed of a portion of the *vital soul* of the world."

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

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

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

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

We see Brimha sometimes creeping forth from a winding shell. This is an emblem of the untraceable way by which divine wisdom issues forth from the *infinite ocean of God.* He, at other times, blows up the world with a pipe, which implies, that the earth is but a bubble of vanity, which the breath of his mouth can destroy. Brimha, in one of the renovations, is represented in the form of a snake, one end of which is upon a tortoise which floats upon the vast abyss, and upon the other, he supports the world. The snake is the emblem of wisdom; the tortoise is a symbol of security, which figuratively signifies providence; and the vast abyss is the eternity and infinitude of God.

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

This system of worship, say the Brahmins, arises from two opinions. The first is, that as God is immaterial, and consequently invisible, it is impossible to raise a proper idea of him by any image in the human mind. The second is, that it is necessary to strike the gross ideas of man with some emblems of God's attributes, otherwise, that all sense of religion will naturally vanish from the mind. They, for this purpose, have made symbolical representations of the three classes of the divine attributes; but they aver, that they do not believe them to be separate intelligences. BRIMH, or the supreme divinity, has a thousand names; but the Hindoos would think it the grossest impiety to represent him under any form. "The human mind," say they, "may form some conception of his attributes separately, but who can grasp the whole within the circle of finite ideas?"

That in any age or country, human reason was ever so depraved as to worship the work of hands for the Creator of the universe, we believe to be an absolute deception, which arose from the vanity of the abettors of particular systems of religion. To attentive inquirers into the human mind, it will appear, that common sense, upon the affairs of religion,

is pretty equally divided among all nations. Revelation and philosophy have, it is confessed, lopped off some of those superstitious excrescences and absurdities that naturally arise in weak minds upon a subject so mysterious: but it is much to be doubted, whether the want of those necessary purifiers of religion ever involved any nation in gross idolatry, as many ignorant zealots have pretended.

In India, as well as in many other countries, there are two religious sects: the one look up to the divinity through the medium of reason and philosophy; while the others receive, as an article of their belief, every holy legend and allegory which have been transmitted down from antiquity. From a fundamental article in the Hindoo faith, that God is *the soul of the world*, and is consequently diffused through all nature, the vulgar revere all the elements, and consequently every great natural object, as containing a portion of God; nor is the infinity of the supreme being, easily comprehended by weak minds, without falling into this error. This veneration for different objects, has, no doubt, given rise among the common Indians, to an idea of subaltern intelligences; but the learned Brahmins, with one voice, deny the existence of inferior divinities: and, indeed, all their religious books of any antiquity confirm that assertion.

A

CATALOGUE

OF THE

GODS OF THE HINDOOS.

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

BRIMH, or the supreme being, is distinguished by a thousand names in the Shanscrita, according to the Brahmins; but it is to be observed, that in that number they include the names of all those powers, properties, and attributes, which they conceive to be inherent in the divine nature, as well as the names of all those symbols and material essences under which God is worshipped. Those commonly used are, Ishbur, the great will; Bagubaan, the receptacle of goodness; Narrain, the giver of motion; Pirrimpurrous, the first essence; Niringen, the dispassionate; Nidakar, the immaterial.

BRIMHA, or God in his attribute of wisdom, is worshipped under the following names. Attimabah, the good spirit. Beda, science. Beddatta, the giver of knowledge. Bisheshrick, the flower of the creation. Surrajist, Purmisti, Pittamah, Hirinagirba, Lokessa, Saimbu, Chottranun, Datta, Objajoni, Birrinchi, Commalasein, Biddi.

BISHEN, or God in his providential quality, is worshipped under the following names. Krishana, the giver of joy; Bishana, the nourisher. Baycanta, Bitara-sirba, Dammudar, Bishi-kesh, Keseba, Mahdob, Subdub, Deitari, Pundericack, Gurrud-idaja, Pittamber, Otchuta, Saringi, Bissickson, Jannardan, Uppindera, Indrabah-raja, Suckerpani, Chullerbudge, Puttanab, Mudcripu, Basdebo, Tribickerma, Deibuckinindan, Suri, Sirriputti, Purrusittam, Bunnumali, Billidinsi, Kangsarratti, Oddu-kego, Bissimber, Koitabagit, Sirbassa, Lanchana.

SHIBAH, or as it is generally pronounced, SHIEB, and sometimes SHIEW, emblematically, the destructive power of God, is known by the names of Mahoissur, the great Demon; Mahdebo, the great spirit; Bamdebo, the frightful spirit; Mohilla, the destroyer; Khaal, time; Sumbu, Ish, Pushuputti, Shuli, Surboh, Ishan, Shawkacarrah, Sandraseikar, Butchessa, Candapursu, Girissa, Merrurah, Mittinja, Kirtibash, Pinnaki, Pirmatadippo, Ugur, Choppurdi, Scricant, Sitticant, Copalbrit, Birrupacka, Trilochuna, Kersanwreta, Sirbugah, Durjutti, Neloloito, Harra, Sarraharra, Trimbick, Tripurantacka, Gangadir, Undukorripu, Kirtudansi, Birsadija, Bumkesa, Babah, Bimeh, Stanu, Rudder, Ummaputti.

In the same manner as the power of God is figuratively said to have taken upon itself three masculine forms at the creation; so PIRKITTI, or the goodness of God, is said to have taken three feminine forms. The first of these was Drugah, or Virtue, who, say they, was married to Shibah, to intimate that good and evil are so blended together, that

they could not have existed separately: for had there been no such thing as evil, in consequence there could be no good. She is worshipped in this character under the names of Bowani, courage; Maiah, love; Homibutti, Ishura, Shibae, Rudderani, Sirbani, Surba-mungula, Appurna, Parbutti, Kattaini Gouri, and a variety of other names.

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

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

Besides the above six capital divisions of the divine attributes, they raise temples to GRANESH, or policy, whom they worship at the commencement of any design, by the names of Biggenrage, Binnauck, Deimatar, Gunnadebo, Eckdant, Herrumboo, Lumbodre, Gunjanund. This divinity is feigned to be the first-born son of Shibah, and is represented with the head of an elephant, with one tooth only.

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

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

COBERE, or wealth, is known by the following names: Trumbuca-suca, Juckrage, Gudja-kessera, Monnusa-dirma, Dunnedo, Raja Raja, Donnadippa, Kinaresso, Borsserbunnu,

Pollusta, Narru-bahin, Joikaika, Ellabilla, Srida Punejani-sherah. Nill Cobere, the son of wealth, is also represented in the emblems of luxury, but is seldom worshipped.

SOORAGE, or the Sun, is worshipped under the names of Inder, or the King of the Stars; Mohruttan, Mugubah, Biraja, Packsasen, Birdirsisba, Sonnasir, Purruhutta, Purrinder, Gistnow, Likkersubba, Sockor, Sukamunneh, Depasputti, Suttrama, Gottrabit, Budgeri, Basub, Bitterha, Bastosputti, Suraputti, Ballaratti, Satchiputti, Jambubedi, Horriheia, Surat, Nomisinundun, Sonkrindana, Dussibina, Turrasat, Negabahina, Akindilla, Sorakah, Ribukah.

CHUNDER, or the Moon, is worshipped under the names of Hindoo, Himmanchu, Chundermah, Kumuda-bandibah, Biddu, Sudduns, Subransu, Ossadissa, Nishaputti, Objoja, Soom, Gullow, Merkanku, Kollandi, Dirjarage, Sesudirra, Nuhtitressa, Kepakina.

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

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

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

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

The GUNDIRP are boys who have the same office.

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

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

The DEOS or DEBOS are spirits whose bodies are supposed

to be of the element of fire ; they are sometimes represented beautiful as angels, and at other times in horrible forms ; they are supposed to inhabit the air.

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

A

DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF DESPOTISM

IN

HINDOSTAN.

GOVERNMENT derives its form from accident; its spirit and genius from the inherent manners of the people. The languor occasioned by the hot climate of India inclines the native to indolence and ease; and he thinks the evils of despotism less severe than the labour of being free. Tranquillity is the chief object of his desires. His happiness consists in a mere absence of misery; and oppression must degenerate into a folly which defeats its own ends, before he calls it by the name of injustice. These phlegmatic sentiments the Indian carries into his future state. He thinks it a mode of being in which passion is lost, and every faculty of the soul suspended, except the consciousness of existence.

Other motives of passive obedience join issue with the love of ease. The sun, which enervates his body, produces for him, in a manner spontaneously, the various fruits of the earth. He finds subsistence without much toil; he requires little covering but the shade. The chill blast of winter is unknown; the seasons are only marked by an arbitrary number of nights and days. Property being in some mea-

sure unnecessary, becomes of little value; and men submit, without resistance, to violations of right, which may hurt but cannot destroy them. Their religious institutions incline them to peace and submission. The vulgar live with the austerity of philosophers, as well as with the abstinence of devotees. Averse themselves to the commission of crimes, they resent no injuries from others; and their low diet cools their temper to a degree which passion cannot inflame.

The fertility of the soil, which in other kingdoms constitutes the great prosperity of the natives, was a source of misfortune to the Indians. Notwithstanding their abstinence and indolence, they were in some degree industrious; and, in want of but few things themselves, their own arts, and the natural productions of their country, rendered them opulent. Wealth accumulated, in the progress of time, upon their hands; and they became objects of depredation to the fierce nations of the northern Asia. The facility of incursion, among a peaceable and harmless race of men, encouraged conquest. The victors, instead of carrying the spoil into their native country, sat down where it had been found; and added the ministration of the conquered to the other enjoyments of wealth.

Asia, the seat of the greatest empires, has been always the nurse of the most abject slaves. The mountains of Persia have not been able to stop the progress of the tide of despotism; neither has it been frozen in its course through the plains of the northern Tartary, by the chill air of the north. But though despotism governs Asia, it appears in different countries under various forms. The Arabs of the desert alone possess liberty, on account of the sterility of their soil. Independent of revolution and change, they see, with unconcern, empires falling and rising around. They remain unconquered by arms, by luxury, by corruption; they alter not their language, they adhere to their customs

and manners, they retain their dress. Their whole property consists of flocks and herds, of their tents and arms. They annually made a small and voluntary present to the chief of their blood. They revolt against oppression; and they are free by necessity, which they mistake for choice. When men are obliged to wander for subsistence, despotism knows not where to find its slaves.

The Tartar, though a wanderer like the Arab, was never equally free. A violent aristocracy always prevailed in the country of the former, except in a few short periods, when the fortune of one established a transient despotism over the whole. There man is armed against man, chief against chief, and tribe against tribe. War is no longer a particular profession, but the constant occupation of all. Men are more afraid of men in the solitudes of Tartary than of beasts of prey. The traveller moves with great circumspection, and hears an enemy in every blast of wind. When he sees a tract in the sand, he crosses it, and begins to draw his sword. Though the barrenness of the country has prevented the growth or introduction of luxury, avarice prevails; and he that has the least to lose is the most independent, where life is invariably risked for a trifling spoil. Robbery acquires the more honourable name of conquest; and the assassin is dignified with the title of warrior.

In the mountains which separate Persia from India, the nature and face of the country have formed a different species of society. Every valley contains a community subject to a Prince, whose despotism is tempered by an idea established among his people, that he is the chief of their blood as well as their sovereign. They obey him without reluctance, as they derive credit to their family from his greatness. They attend him in his wars with the attachment which children have for a parent; and his government, though severe, partakes more of the rigid discipline of a general, than of the caprice of a despot. Rude as the face of their country, and fierce and

wild as the storms which cover their mountains, they love incursion and depredation, and delight in plunder and in battle. United firmly to their friends in war, to their enemies faithless and cruel, they place justice in force, and conceal treachery under the name of address. Such are the Afgans or Patans, who conquered India and held it for ages.

The despotism which the Patans established in their conquests, partook of the violence of their national character at home. Their government was oppressive through pride, and tyrannical from passion rather than from avarice. Reinforced by successive migrations from the mountains of Afganistân, they retained their native spirit in the midst of the luxuries of India. When the monarch became voluptuous and degenerate, they supplied his place with some hardy chieftain from the north, who communicated his own vigour to the great machine of state. The empire was supported by a succession of abilities, rather than by an hereditary succession of Princes; and it was the countrymen, and not the posterity of the first conquerors, who continued the dominion of the Patans over India.

The conquest of India by the family of Timur proceeded from the abilities of one man, and not from the effort of a nation. Baber himself was a stranger in the country in which he reigned, before he penetrated beyond the Indus. His troops consisted of soldiers of fortune from various countries; his officers were men who owed their rank to merit, not to succession. The religion of Mahommed, which they in common professed, and their obedience to their leader, were the only ties which united the conquerors upon their arrival; and they were soon dissipated in the extensive dominions which their arms subdued. The character of the Prince went down on the current of government; and the mild disposition of his successors contributed to confirm the humane despotism which he had introduced into his conquests.

A continued influx of strangers from the northern Asia became necessary for the support of Princes who professed a different faith with their subjects, in the vast empire of India. The army was recruited with soldiers from different nations; the court was occupied by nobles from various kingdoms. The latter were followers of the Mahommedan religion. In the regulations and spirit of the Coran, they lost their primary and characteristical ideas upon government; and the whole system was formed and enlivened by the limited principles which Mahommed promulgated in the deserts of Arabia.

The faith of Mahommed is peculiarly calculated for despotism; and it is one of the greatest causes which must fix for ever the duration of that species of government in the East. The legislator furnishes a proof of this position in his own conduct. He derived his success from the sword more than from his eloquence and address. The tyranny which he established was of the most extensive kind. He enslaved the mind as well as the body. The abrupt argument of the sword brought conviction, when persuasion and delusion failed. He effected a revolution and change in the human mind, as well as in states and empires; and the ambitious will continue to support a system which lays its foundation on the passive obedience of those whom fortune has once placed beneath their power.

The unlimited power which Mahommedanism gives to every man in his own family, habituates mankind to slavery. Every child is taught, from his infancy, to look upon his father as the absolute disposer of life and death. The number of wives and concubines which the more wealthy and powerful entertain, is a cause of animosity and quarrel, which nothing but a severe and unaccountable power in the master of a family can repress. This private species of despotism is, in miniature, the counterpart of what prevails in the state; and it has the same effect in reducing all

the passions under the dominion of fear. Jealousy itself, that most violent of the feelings of the soul, is curbed within the walls of the haram. The women may pine in secret, but they must clothe their features with cheerfulness when their lord appears. Contumacy is productive of immediate punishment. They are degraded, divorced, chastised, and even sometimes put to death, according to the degree of their crime or obstinacy, or the wrath of the offended husband. No enquiry is made concerning their fate. Their friends may murmur, but the laws provide no redress; for no appeals to public justice issue forth from the haram.

Young men, with their minds moulded to subjection, become themselves masters of families in the course of time. Their power being confined within their own walls, they exercise in private that despotism which they in public dread. But though they are freed from domestic tyranny, they still continue slaves. Governors, magistrates, and inferior officers, invested with the power of the principal despot, whose will is law to the empire, exercise their authority with rigour. The idea of passive obedience is carried through every vein of the state. The machine, connected in all its parts by arbitrary sway, is moved by the active spirit of the Prince; and the lenity or oppressiveness of government, in all its departments, depends upon the natural disposition of his mind.

The law of compensation for murder, authorised by the Coran, is attended with pernicious effects. It depresses the spirit of the poor; and encourages the rich in the unmanly passion of revenge. The price of blood in India is not the third part of the value of a horse. The innate principles of justice and humanity are weakened by these means; security is taken from society, as rage may frequently get the better of the love of money. A religion which indulges individuals in a crime at which the rest of mankind shudder, leaves ample room for the cruelty of a Prince. Accustomed

to sit in judgment on criminals, he becomes habituated to death. He mistakes passion for justice. His nod is condemnation; men are dragged to execution with an abruptness which prevents fear. The incident has no consequence but to impress terror on the guilty or suspected; and the spectators scarcely heed a circumstance which its frequency has made them to expect.

The frequent bathing inculcated by the Coran, has, by debilitating the body, a great effect on the mind. Habit makes the warm bath a luxury of a bewitching kind. The women spend whole days in water; and hasten by it the approach of age. The indolence of the men, which induces them to follow every mode of placid pleasure, recommends to them a practice which Mahommed has made a tenet of religion. The prohibition of wine is also favourable to despotism. It prevents that free communication of sentiment which awakens mankind from a torpid indifference to their natural rights. They become cold, timid, cautious, reserved, and interested; strangers to those warm passions, and that cheerful elevation of mind, which render men in some measure honest and sincere. In the East there are no public places of meeting, no communications of sentiments, no introduction to private friendship. A sullenness and a love of retirement prevail, which disunite mankind; and as all associations among men are prevented, the hands of government are strengthened by the very virtue of temperance.

The doctrine of a rigid fate, or absolute predestination, which forms one of the principal tenets of the Mahommedan religion, has a great influence on the character and manners of men. When this opinion is adopted as an article of faith, the necessity of precaution is inculcated in vain. The fatalist begins an action because human nature is incapable of absolute idleness; but when a love of repose invites him, when an obstacle arises before him to thwart his designs, he

has no motive for perseverance. He waits for another day, perhaps for another month: he at last trusts the whole to Providence, and makes God the agent in his very crimes. Miscarriage can be no disgrace where success depends not on abilities; and the general who loses a battle through his own pusillanimity, lays the blame upon Providence.

The extensive polygamy permitted by the law of Mahommed has a fatal effect on the minds of his followers; but it has its advantages as well as its defects. The peculiar nature of the climate subjects women to diseases, and hurries them forward in a few years to age. One man retains his vigour beyond the common succession of three women through their prime; and the law for a multiplicity of wives is necessary for the support of the human race. But the custom weakens paternal affection; for as a husband cannot equally divide his regard among many women, the children of the favourite will be preferred. Even these will not be much beloved. The loss of a child is no misfortune; and the care of preserving it is lessened by the opportunity which the number of his women furnishes to the father for begetting more. The child himself is no stranger to this indifference; and he fails in proportion in his duty. Besides, the jealousy between mothers in the haram grows into hatred among their sons. The affection between brothers is annihilated at home; and when they issue forth into the world, they carry their animosities into all the various transactions of life.

These religious tenets, which are so favourable to despotism, are accompanied with singular opinions and customs, which are absolute enemies to freedom and independence. The concealment of their women is sacred among the Mahommedans. Brothers cannot visit them in private; strangers must never see them. This excessive jealousy is derived from various causes. It proceeds from religion, which inculcates female modesty; it arises partly from the policy

of government; it is derived from the nature of the climate, where continence is a more arduous virtue than in the bleak regions of the north. Honour consists in that which men are most solicitous to secure. The chastity of his wives is a point without which the Asiatic must not live. The despot encourages the opinion; as the possession of the women of his most powerful subjects is a sufficient pledge for their faith, when absent in expedition and war.

When the governor of a province falls under the suspicion of disaffection for his Prince, the first step taken against him is an order issued for sending his women to court. Even one of his wives, and she too not the best beloved, will bind him to his allegiance. His obedience to this mandate is the true test of his designs. If he instantly obeys, all suspicions vanish; if he hesitates a moment, he is declared a rebel. His affection for the woman is not the pledge of his fidelity; but his honour is, in her person, in the custody of his sovereign. Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The haram is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians, covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives.

In the silence which attends despotism, every thing is dark and solemn. Justice itself is executed with privacy; and sometimes a solitary gun, fired at midnight from the palace of the despot, proclaims the work of death. Men indulge themselves under the veil of secrecy; and rejoice in their good fortune, when their pleasures can escape the eye of their Prince. Voluptuousness is, therefore, preferred to luxury. The enjoyment of the company of women is the chief object of life among the great; and when they retire into the sanctuary of the haram, they forget, in a variety of charms, their precarious situation in the state. The necessary privacy enhances the indulgence; and the extreme sen-

sibility, perhaps peculiar to the natives of a hot climate, carries pleasure to an excess which unmans the mind. Men are possessed of something which they are afraid to lose; and despotism, which is founded on the principles of fear and indolence, derives stability and permanency from the defects and vices of its slaves.

The seeds of despotism, which the nature of the climate and fertility of the soil had sown in India, were, as has been observed, reared to perfect growth by the Mahommedan faith. When a people have been long subjected to arbitrary power, their return to liberty is arduous and almost impossible. Slavery, by the strength of custom, is blended with human nature; and that undefined something called public virtue exists no more. The subject never thinks of reformation; and the Prince, who only has it in his power, will introduce no innovations to abridge his own authority. Were even the despot possessed of the enthusiasm of public spirit, the people would revolt against the introduction of freedom, and revert to that form of government which takes the trouble of regulation from their hands.

The simplicity of despotism recommends it to an indolent and ignorant race of men. Its obvious impartiality, its prompt justice, its immediate severity against crimes, dazzle the eyes of the superficial, and raise in their minds a veneration little short of idolatry for their Prince. When he is active and determined in his measures, the great machine moves with a velocity which throws vigour into the very extremities of the empire. His violence, and even his caprices, are virtues, where the waters must be always agitated to preserve their freshness; and indolence and irresolution can be his only ruinous vices. The first indeed may injure the state; but by the latter it must be undone. A severe Prince, by his jealousy of his own authority, prevents the tyranny of others; and, though fierce and arbitrary in himself, the subject derives a benefit from his being the sole

despot. His rage falls heavy on the dignified slaves of his presence; but the people escape his fury in their distance from his hand.

The despotic form of government is not, however, so terrible in its nature as men born in free countries are apt to imagine. Though no civil regulation can bind the Prince, there is one great law, the ideas of mankind with regard to right and wrong, by which he is bound. When he becomes an assassin, he teaches others to use the dagger against himself; and wanton acts of injustice, often repeated, destroy by degrees that opinion which is the sole foundation of his power. In the indifference of his subjects for his person and government, he becomes liable to the conspiracies of courtiers, and the ambitious schemes of his relations. He may have many slaves, but he can have no friends. His person is exposed to injury. A certainty of impunity may arm even cowards against him; and thus, by his excessive ardour for power, he with his authority loses his life.

Despotism appears in its most engaging form under the Imperial house of Timur. The uncommon abilities of most of the Princes, with the mild and humane character of all, rendered Hindostan the most flourishing empire in the world during two complete centuries. The manly and generous temper of Baber permitted not oppression to attend the victories of his sword. He came with an intention to govern the nations whom he subdued; and selfish motives joined issue with humanity in not only sparing, but protecting the vanquished. His invasion was no abrupt incursion for plunder; and he thought the usual income of the crown a sufficient reward for his toil. His nobles were gratified with the emoluments of government; and, from disposition, an enemy to useless pomp and grandeur, he chose rather that his treasury should be gradually filled with the surplus of the revenue, than with the property of individuals whom the fortune of war had placed beneath his power. Awed by

his high character, the companions of his victories carried his mildness and strict equity through all the departments of government. The tyranny of the family of Lodi was forgotten; and the arts, which had been suppressed by a violent despotism, began to rear their heads under the temperate dominion of Baber.

Humaioon, though not equal in abilities to his father, carried all his mild virtues into the throne. He was vigilant and active in the administration of justice, he secured property by his edicts; and, an enemy to rapacity himself, he punished the oppressive avarice of his deputies in the provinces. The troubles which disturbed his reign were the effect of the ambition of others; and his expulsion from the throne was less a misfortune to him than to his subjects. When he returned with victory, he left the mean passion of revenge behind. He punished not his people for his own disasters; he seemed to forget the past in the prospect of doing future good. The nations of India felt, by the benefit received from his presence, how much they had lost by his absence. Though worn out under a succession of tyrants during his exile, Hindostan began to revive when he remounted the throne. His sudden and unexpected death portended a storm, which was dissipated by the splendid abilities and virtues of his son.

Akbar was possessed of Baber's intrepidity in war, of Humaioon's mildness in peace. Bold, manly, and enterprising, he was an enemy to oppression; and he hated cruelty, as he was a stranger to fear. In the more splendid business of the field, he forgot not the arts of peace. He established, by edict, the right of the subject to transfer his property without the consent of the crown, and by ordering a register of the fixed rents of the lands to be kept in the courts of justice in every district, he took from his officers the power of oppressing the people. Severe in his justice, he never forgave extortion. He promoted just complaints

against the servants of the crown by various proclamations. He encouraged trade, by an exemption from duties through the interior provinces; and by the invariable protection given to merchants of all nations. He regarded neither the religious opinions nor the countries of men: all who entered his dominions were his subjects, and they had a right to his justice. He issued an edict, which was afterwards revived by Aurungzêbe, that the rents should not be increased upon those who improved their lands, which wise regulation encouraged industry, and became a source of wealth to the state.

Jehangire, though unfit for the field, trod in his father's path in regulating the civil affairs of the state. Impressed with a high sense of the abilities of Akbar, he continued all his edicts in force; and he was the invariable protector of the people against the rapacity and tyranny of his own officers. In his administration of justice he was scrupulous, severe, and exact; and if he at any time gave a wrong decision, it proceeded from a weakness rather than from a vice of the mind.

His son, Shaw Jehân, was possessed of better parts, and was more attentive than Jehangire to the business of the subject. He was minutely acquainted with the state of the empire, and, being free from that caprice and whim which threw a kind of disgrace on the authority of his father, he rendered his people happy by the gravity, justice, and solemnity of his decisions. The empire flourished under his upright and able administration. Oppression was unknown from the officers of the crown, on account of the vigilance of the Emperor; and the strict impartiality which he established in the courts of justice, diminished injuries between man and man.

Aurungzêbe, to whom business was amusement, added the most extensive knowledge of the affairs of the empire to an unremitting application. He made himself minutely

acquainted with the revenue paid by every district, with the mode of proceeding in the inferior courts, and even with the character and disposition of the several judges. He ordered the register of the rents to be left open for the inspection of all, that the people might distinguish extortion from the just demands of the crown. He commanded, that men versed in the usages of the several courts, in the precepts of the Coran, and in the regulations established by edicts, should attend at the public expence, and give their opinion to the poor in matters of litigation. He established a mode of appeal beyond certain sums; and he disgraced judges for an error in judgment, and punished them severely for corruption and partiality. His activity kept the great machine of government in motion through all its members: his penetrating eye followed oppression to its most secret retreats, and his stern justice established tranquillity, and secured property, over all his extensive dominions.

When Baber, at the head of his army, took possession of the dominions of the Imperial family of Lodi, he continued to the crown the property of all the lands. These being annually rented out to the subject, furnished those immense revenues which supported the unequalled splendour of his successors in the throne. The property of individuals consisted, at first, of moveables and money only; and the officers of the crown could not even dispose of these by will, without the written consent of the Prince. Time, however, wrought a change in things. The posterity of Baber alienated, for particular services, estates from the crown in perpetuity; and these descended in succession by will, or if the proprietor died intestate, by an equal division to his children, according to the law of the Coran. This kind of property was also transferable by sale; and it has been judged, that one third part of the empire was given away by this species of grants from the crown.

These grants, however, were not always a sufficient se-

curity against the violence of the crown. Some of the Emperors found themselves obliged to resume many estates by an edict; and it must be confessed, that political necessity justified the measure. Princes who contended for the empire were lavish in their donations; and, had not an act of resumption sometimes taken place, the revenue of the crown would, in process of time, have been annihilated. There was, however, a kind of equivalent given to the proprietors; a pension was settled upon themselves, and their children were received into the service of the government. The wealth of the officers of the crown is, after their death, considered as Imperial property; but unless it is immense, it is never appropriated by the Prince; and even in that case a proper provision is made for the children, and they have, by an established custom, a right to be employed in some of the departments of the state. The women of the deceased receive annual pensions according to their rank; and they may either live in widowhood, or make new alliances by marriage.

The Mogul system of government admits of no hereditary honours. Every man must owe his preferment and rank to himself, and to the favour of his Prince. High birth, however, was respected; and, to a person of abilities, it was a great recommendation at the court of Princes proud of their own noble origin. The ranks and degrees of nobility were for the most part official, excepting those of the military kind. Judges, men of letters, and eminent merchants, have been frequently dignified with titles, and admitted into the circle of the principal nobles in the Imperial presence. The nobles consisted of three orders: the EMIRS, who were the first officers of state, and the viceroys of provinces; the CHANS, who held high posts in the army; and the BAHADURS, who may in some measure be compared to our knights. The number of which these three orders consisted was arbitrary, and each of them had peculiar privileges in

the empire, and a demand on the respect of the undignified part of the subjects.

The course of justice ran through the same gradations which the general reason of mankind seems to have established in all countries subject to regular governments. The provinces were divided into districts; in each of which a judge, appointed by the Emperor, decided in criminal as well as civil affairs. He pronounced judgment on capital offences, but his sentence was never put in execution without the consent and warrant of the governor of the province. In disputes concerning property, there lay an appeal to the supreme court, in which the viceroy presided in person. Every province was, in miniature, a copy of the empire. Three principal judges, with high titles of dignity, sat, with many assessors, in the capital. They not only decided upon appeals, but suits might originate before them. The Emperor himself, in the presence of his nobles, presided almost every day in this court, which generally sat for two hours in the hall of public justice.

When the matter appeared clear, the Prince, without much hesitation, pronounced judgment; when it was doubtful, witnesses were examined, and the opinion of the judges asked on the point of law. Should the suit appear intricate, it was referred to the judgment of the court in their own common hall; but the subject might appeal from their decision to the Emperor and his assessors in the chamber of audience. These courts, both when the monarch was present and when he was absent, were left open to the people. No judgment was ever pronounced secretly, except when the power of the delinquent rendered a public trial dangerous to the state.

The great officers of state, by a kind of prescription, formed a council which answers to our cabinet. The Emperor asked their advice upon affairs of moment; he heard their sentiments, but nothing came ever to a vote. They

were his advisers, but they had no control on his power. He frequently called to this council men in inferior departments; and when the deliberation concerned any particular province, the nobles best acquainted with that part of the empire were admitted into the cabinet. The offences of the first rank of nobility came under the cognizance of this council, as well as other matters of state. They were a kind of jury, who found the matters of fact, and the sovereign pronounced the sentence. He might, by his despotic power, issue out a warrant of death without their advice; but the known opinions of mankind on that subject bound him like a law.

To these great lines of the government of the Moguls, some reflections may be joined. Conquests made by incursion rather than by war, must be retained by violence. The sword, which obtained the empire, supported it under the house of Timur. Their subjects obeyed them from necessity more than from choice; and the lenity of their administration arose more from the mildness of their disposition, than from the spirit of their regulations. The despotic principles of the Tartars, ingrafted upon the Mahommedan tenets of religion, led to force; and seemed to recognize no obedience but that which proceeded from fear. This circumstance obliged the despot to invest his deputies in the provinces with a great part of his power; and when they left his capital, they only did not absolutely rise from subjects into Princes.

This communication of power, though in some measure necessary to command the people, became dangerous to the Prince. The Imperial deputies began to lose their allegiance in proportion to their distance from the throne. The governors became, in some measure, independent, though they professed obedience to the Imperial edicts. A certain portion of the revenue was remitted to court; and the deputy, in a venal court, found frequently means to retain

the favour of his Prince, when he disobeyed his commands. Every idea of loyalty was, towards the decline of the empire, destroyed among the people of the distant provinces. They heard of an Emperor, as the superstitious hear of a guardian angel, whom they never behold. An indifference for his fate succeeded to his want of power. A peasant, at the end of many months, was informed of a revolution at Delhi. He stopt not his oxen, nor converted the ploughshare into a sword. He whistled unconcerned along his field; and inquired not, perhaps, concerning the name of the new Prince.

Notwithstanding this indifference in the inferior sort, the Emperor every day extended symptoms of his superior power to the very extremities of his empire. His edicts were transmitted to every district; they were publicly read, and registered in the courts of justice. They became a security to the people against the impositions of the governor. An appeal lay from his decisions, by a petition to the Emperor in the hall of audience. This doctrine was inculcated by the edicts; and some of the oppressed took advantage of the promise of justice which they contained. Their petitions, whenever they found access to the throne, were heard with the attention which a jealous Prince pays to his own power; and there are many instances in which the governors of provinces have been severely punished for an act of injustice to a poor peasant. Never to forgive oppressions against the helpless and low, was an established maxim among all the Princes of the house of Timur.

The power of disposing of the succession naturally belongs to a despot. During his life, his pleasure is the law. When he dies, his authority ceases; but the strength of custom has made his will in favour of any of his sons, a superior title to primogeniture. The power is, in some measure, necessary. A Prince having an independent right of succession to the throne, might be very troublesome to his father in an em-

pire established on the principles which we have described. The weight which he might derive from his hopes would clog the wheels of government, which, under a system of despotism, can admit of no delays, no obstructions, no divided or limited power. Personal abilities, under such a system, are more necessary than under established laws. A weak Prince brings more calamities than a civil war. A minority is dreadful; and it can scarce exist where the voice of the Prince is the living law, which moves the whole machine of the state.

Necessity frequently excuses, in the eyes of mankind, the worst of crimes. A Prince of abilities, who mounts a throne in the East by the exclusion of an elder brother, escapes the detestation of his subjects from the good which they hope to derive from his superior parts. Even fratricide loses its name in self-preservation, combined with the public good. The greatness of the crime is eclipsed by the greatness of the object. Success is a divine decision; and the state gives up the lives of the unhappy sufferers, as a sacrifice to its own repose. To be born a Prince, is therefore a misfortune of the worst and most embarrassing kind. He must die by clemency, or wade through the blood of his family to safety and empire.

The Hindoos, or the followers of the Brahmin faith, are in number far superior to the Mahommedans in Hindostan. The system of religion which they profess, is only perfectly known in the effect which it has upon the manners of the people. Mild, humane, obedient, and industrious, they are of all nations on earth the most easily conquered and governed. Their government, like that of all the inhabitants of Asia, is despotic; it is, in such a manner, tempered by the virtuous principles inculcated by their religion, that it seems milder than the most limited monarchy in Europe. Some of the reigning Princes trace their families, with clearness, above four thousand years; many of them, in a dubious manner, from the dark period which we place

beyond the flood. Revolution and change are things unknown; and assassinations and conspiracies never exist.

Penal laws are scarce known among the Hindoos; for their motives to bad actions are few. Temperate in their living, and delicate in their constitutions, their passions are calm, and they have no object but that of living with comfort and ease. Timid and submissive from the coldness of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Industrious and frugal, they possess wealth which they never use. Those countries, governed by native Princes, which lay beyond the devastations of the Mahommedans, are rich, and cultivated to the highest degree. Their governors encourage industry and commerce; and it is to the ingenuity of the Hindoos, we owe all the fine manufactures in the East. During the empire of the Moguls, the trade of India was carried on by the followers of Brahma. The bankers, scribes, and managers of finance, were native Hindoos; and the wisest Princes of the family of Timur protected and encouraged such peaceable and useful subjects.

The nation of the Mahrattors, though chiefly composed of Rajaputs, or that tribe of Indians, whose chief business is war, retain the mildness of their countrymen in their domestic government. When their armies carry destruction and death into the territories of Mahommedans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no imposition or obstruction from the officers of government, no protection necessary but the shade. To be a stranger is a sufficient security. Provisions are furnished by hospitality; and when a peasant is asked for water, he runs with great alacrity and fetches milk. This is no ideal picture of happiness. The Author of the Dissertation, who travelled lately into the country of the Mahrattors, avers, from experience, the truth of his observations. But the Mahrattors, who have been represented as barbarians, are a great and rising people, subject to a regular government, the principles of which are founded on virtue.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

STATE OF BENGAL:

WITH

A PLAN FOR RESTORING THAT PROVINCE TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY AND SPLENDOUR.

STATE OF BENGAL UNDER THE MOGULS.

Preliminary Observations.

THE affairs of India, though long of great importance to this kingdom, have only very lately become objects of public attention. Facts coming from afar made little impression: their novelty could not rouse, nor their variety amuse, the mind. With a self-denial uncommon in a spirited nation, we heard, without emotion, of the great actions of some of our countrymen; and, if we listened to any detail of oppressions committed by others, it was with a phlegmatic indifference, unworthy of our boasted humanity. A general distaste for the subject prevailed; an age, marked with revolution and change, seemed ready to pass away, without being sensible of events which will render it important in the eyes of posterity.

The current of public opinion has, at length, taken an-

other direction. Men are roused into attention, with regard to a subject which concerns the welfare of the state. They begin to decide, in their own minds, upon affairs which stand in need of the interposition of the nation; and they shew an inclination to be informed, as well as a willingness to correct mistakes and to redress grievances. This consideration has induced the author of the following observations, to submit them, with all due deference, to the public. He has been, for years, a silent spectator of the transactions of the British nation in the East; and it is from the means of information which he has possessed, that he hopes to give something new to the world. With hands guiltless of rapine and depredation, he assumes the pen without prejudice, and he will use it with all decent freedom without fear.

The empire of the Hindoos over all India, came down from the darkest and most remote antiquity, to the 170th year before the Christian æra, when it was dissolved by civil discord and war. Bengal, like many other provinces, started up into an independent kingdom, and was governed by successive dynasties of Rajas, who chiefly resided at the now deserted capital of Ghor. Under these princes, it continued a powerful and opulent kingdom to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was first invaded by the Mahommedans, under a Prince of the race of Chillagi, who possessed the countries near the source of the Oxus. The name of this Tartar invader was Eas-ul-dien; but he was soon after reduced to subjection by Altumsh, the Patan Emperor of Delhi, who formed Bengal into a province, governed by a lieutenant, who derived his authority from the conqueror.

Bengal, during the dominion of the Patans in India, was frequently subject to revolution and change. When a Prince of abilities sat on the throne of Delhi, it held of the empire; when the Emperor was weak, it became an in-

dependent sovereignty under its governor. When the valour and conduct of Baber put an end to the government of the Patans at Delhi, some of that race remained untouched in Bengal. The misfortunes of Humaioon, in the beginning of his reign, not only prevented him from extending the conquests of his father, but deprived him even of the throne which Baber had acquired; and death followed too soon, upon his return, to permit him to reduce the wealthy kingdom of Bengal by his arms. The glory of this conquest was reserved for his son, the illustrious Akbar, who, by the expulsion of Daoôd, the last King of Bengal of the Patan race, annexed it in the year 1574 to his empire. Viceroys from Delhi governed the kingdom, from that period, till the debility of Mahommed Shaw gave scope to the usurpation of Aliverdi; and now, by a wonderful revolution of fortune, the sovereigns of that distant province are created by the deputies of the East India company.

To give an enlarged idea of the subject, it may not be improper to inquire into the mode of government, which the Moguls established in the important province of Bengal. To impose nothing merely speculative upon the public, the Writer of the Dissertation has endeavoured to derive his information from undoubted authority. He has, therefore, translated and annexed to his work, the commissions granted by the court of Delhi to its principal officers in the provinces: from which it will appear, that the despotism of the house of Timur was circumscribed by established forms and regulations, which greatly tempered the rigid severity of that form of government.

Various Tenures under the Moguls.

THE Mogul Tartars, when they conquered India, carried a system of necessary policy through the countries which their arms had subdued. Instead of seizing the lands of

the vanquished, they confirmed them in their possessions. The number of the conquerors bearing no proportion to the conquered, self-preservation obliged the first to adhere together, and to hold the sword in their hands. Had they attempted to settle in different provinces, they would have soon ceased to be a people; and their power would have been broken by separation. They retained, therefore, their military character; and, when they reduced a province, they made the taxes paid to former Princes the invariable rule of their imposts. The people changed their lords, but if their government suffered any change, it was in the substitution of a milder despotism, in the place of the fierce tyranny of the Patans.

Many of the Rajas, or indigenous Indian Princes, had, from the first establishment of the Mahommedans in India, been permitted to retain a great part of their ancient possessions, which they continued to govern by their own laws, without any appeal from their jurisdiction to the courts of justice established by Imperial commissions. The only mark of homage paid by the Rajas was a certain annual tribute. The house of Timur, no less remarkable for their prudence than for their clemency and justice, never encroached upon the privileges of the tributary Princes. They found, that though the Rajas paid not to the crown above half the sum raised upon the subject, their policy, industry, and good government, were so much superior to those of the Moguls, that the countries which they possessed yielded as much, in proportion to their extent, as those which they had farmed out to Zemindars of their own nation and faith. In the two provinces which the British nation now possess, and which, for the future, we will distinguish by the general name of Bengal, many districts of greater extent than any county in Britain, are still possessed by the aboriginal Rajas. But we are more rigid than the Moguls: we have encroached on their privileges, and an-

nihilated their power. During the domination of the house of Timur, one fourth of Bengal was subject to these hereditary lords.

The division of the province which was more immediately under the Mahommedan government, was parcelled out into extensive districts, called Chucklas, resembling, in some measure, our counties; and into lesser divisions, like our ancient tithings. These were let to Zemindars, or farmers of the Imperial rents, who sometimes possessed a whole district, or Chuckla; as the Zemindar of Purnea, who assumed the style and state of a Nabob, though only a farmer of the revenue, under the unfortunate Surage-ul-Dowla. The court of Delhi, under the best Princes, was venal. A sum of money, secretly and properly applied, often secured the possession of his office to the Zemindar during life; and he even was sometimes enabled to transmit it to his heirs, till, by length of time, they were, in some measure, considered as lords of their respective districts.

The farmers, however, had no lease from the crown of the lands over which they presided. Their authority for collecting the rents from the inferior tenants, was derived from a written agreement, for a certain annual sum to be paid to the treasury, exclusive of the Imperial taxes. To prevent imposition on the poorer sort, in every district there was established a register, in which the rents and imposts upon every village and farm were entered, and open to the inspection of all. The registered rents and imposts were collected by the Crorie of the district, who was established in his office by an Imperial commission. He was accountable for the whole, even to the last Dâm, as the commission expresses it, to the Fotadâr or treasurer of the district, who paid them into the hands of the Dewan, or receiver-general of the Imperial revenues in the province.

The rights or dues of the Dewanny, or the revenue paid to the crown, did not amount to above half the sum raised

upon the subject by the great farmers. These were, from time to time, permitted to raise the rents upon the inferior tenants, in proportion to the general improvement of the lands. The surplus, which was known to government from the public registers of the districts, was, in part, allowed to the general farmers, for the purpose of building houses for the husbandmen, for furnishing them with implements of agriculture, for embanking to prevent inundations, for making reservoirs of water for the dry season; and, in general, for all expences attending the improvement and cultivation of the lands; which otherwise would have rendered the accounts of government intricate and perplexed.

The great farmers, however, were not permitted to oppress the tenants with exorbitant rents; neither was it their interest to extort from the husbandmen sums which would render them incapable of cultivating their lands, and of living comfortably upon the fruits of their toil. In the Imperial officers of the revenue, the poor had friends, and the Zemindar spies upon his conduct. They were such checks upon him, that he could conceal nothing from their observation. They transmitted monthly accounts of his transactions to court. If the tenants were able, without oppression, to pay the additional rent, the demands of the crown rose at the expiration of the year upon the farmer, in proportion to the new impost; if they were found incapable of bearing the burden, the Zemindar was turned out of his office for his avarice and imprudence.

A double revenue, it appears from what has been already observed, rose to the crown from the lands; the ancient rent, established at the conquest of India by the Moguls, and the sums which proceeded from the annual contracts with the great farmers. The viceroy of the province was vested with the power of letting the lands; and he was obliged to transmit to the receiver-general a record of the sums payable by each Zemindar. The cause of this mode

of raising the revenue is obvious. The detail of accounts, the making of contracts with the inferior tenants, would have rendered the business of government too minute and too expensive; and to have permitted the general farmers to manage their districts without either check or control, would have given birth to scenes of oppression, which fate had reserved for an unfortunate people to our times. The Mogul empire is now no more; and the servants of the freest nation upon earth have left the body of the people to the mercy of the Zemindars.

The general farmers of districts were not the only persons known by the name of Zemindars. Men who possessed estates for life, and sometimes in perpetuity, free from all taxation, by virtue of Imperial grants, were distinguished by the same title. These grants were generally given to learned and religious men, to favourite servants at court, to soldiers who had deserved well of their Prince; and they were respected by succeeding Emperors, and seldom revoked. One sixth part of the lands in Bengal had been conferred, in perpetuity, by different Princes, on their favourites and adherents. Many of these estates have fallen into the East India Company, from a failure of heirs; and others daily fall, as the property is not transferable by sale. A minute inquiry might greatly increase our revenue. Many grants said to be derived from the Emperor, are only from the governors of the province; many are in the possession of men who cannot trace their blood to the original proprietors. A succession of revolutions has rolled one part of Bengal upon the other; and it is not hitherto settled from confusion.

Lands were held by a tenure less permanent, of the Emperors of Hindostan. A firmân or Imperial mandate, called by the name of Jagieer, was issued frequently to particular men. This species of grant was for no term of years. It was given through favour, and revocable at pleasure. When

any person was raised to the rank of an Omrah, it was an established rule to confer upon him an estate, for the support of his dignity. This, however, was nothing more than an assignment on the revenues of the crown, arising from a specified tract of land in a district named in the body of the grant. The grantee had no business with the tenants, as he never resided on the estate allotted for his subsistence. He sent his agent every season to the public officers of the district; and his receipt to them, for his allowance, was received by the Dewan, as a part of the Imperial revenue. No conditions of service, none for the maintenance of troops, were annexed to the grant. These are the fables of men who carried the feudal ideas of Europe into their relation of the state of India. The armies of the empire were paid out of the public treasury. Every province had its particular establishment of troops, which the governors were empowered to augment, in times of rebellion and commotion.

During the domination of the house of Timur, there was no transferable landed property in Hindostan; excepting gardens, orchards, houses, and some small portions of ground, in the environs of great cities, for which merchants and wealthy tradesmen had obtained particular grants, distinguished by the name of Pottas. This species of property was repeatedly secured by general edicts, for the encouragement of building, for the accommodation of citizens, and the improvement of towns. Grants of this kind did not always proceed from the crown. The governors of provinces were empowered to issue Pottas, under certain limitations and restrictions; the principal one of which was, that the usual rent of the ground should be paid regularly by the proprietor to the collectors of the Imperial revenue.

Tenures of other various kinds were common in Bengal, as well as in the other provinces of the empire. An assignment was frequently granted, upon a specified tract of land,

for the discharge of a certain sum; and when the sum was paid, the assignment expired. Particular farms were burthened with pensions, called Altumga, to holy men and their descendants, without their having any concern in the management of the lands. The despot reserved the people entire to himself, and established his power by preventing oppression. Certain imposts were also appropriated for the maintenance of Mullas or priests, for the support of places of worship, public schools, inns, highways, and bridges. These imposts were laid by the receiver-general of the revenue, upon the different husbandmen, in proportion to the rent which they paid; and the tax was distinguished by the name of the impositions of the Dewan.

Civil Officers and Courts of Justice.

In states subject to despotism, the legislative, the judicial, and executive power, are vested in the Prince. He is the active principle which exists in the centre of the machine, and gives life and motion to all its parts. His authority and consequence however depend, in a great measure, on the degree in which he communicates his power to his officers. If he gives them all his authority, the reverence for his person is lost in the splendour of his deputies. If he bestows only a small part of his power on his servants, that terror, which is the foundation of his government, is removed from the minds of his subjects; and a door is opened for commotion, licentiousness, and crimes. The Emperors of India, of the house of Timur, had, for two centuries, the good fortune to clothe their officers with that happy medium of authority which was sufficient to govern without the power of oppressing the body of the people.

The despotism of Hindostan, it ought to be observed, was never a government of mere caprice and whim. The

Mahommedans carried into their conquests a code of laws which circumscribed the will of the Prince. The principles and precepts of the Coran, with the commentaries upon that book, form an ample body of laws, which the house of Timur always observed; and the practice of ages had rendered some ancient usages and edicts so sacred in the eyes of the people, that no prudent monarch would choose to violate either by a wanton act of power. It was, besides, the policy of the Prince to protect the people from the oppressiveness of his servants. Rebellion sprung always from the great; and it was necessary for him to secure a party against their ambition among the low.

The Imperial governor of a province, known by the corrupted name of Nabob, in the East as well as in Europe, was an officer of high dignity and authority; but his power, though great, was far from being unlimited and beyond control. He conferred titles below the rank of an Omrah; he was permitted to grant estates till they should be confirmed by the crown. He appointed and dismissed at pleasure all officers both civil and military, excepting a few, whom we shall have occasion to mention, who acted by commission under the seal of the empire; and some of these, upon misbehaviour, he could suspend till the Emperor's pleasure was known. He let the lands to the general farmers, in conjunction with the Dewan; but he bore no part in the collection of the revenue, but by aiding the Imperial officers with the military power. The Omrahs, who served under him in the army, having generally, on account of the convenience, their allowance from the Emperor on the rents of the province, he had the power, for disobedience or notorious crimes, to suspend them from their Jagieers, until he should receive an answer from court, where the dispute was examined in the cabinet. In matters of justice, there rested an appeal to his tribunal, from the Cazi or chief-justice, though he seldom chose to reverse

the decrees of that judge. Disputes where property was not concerned, and where the established laws had made no provision, were settled by his authority; but he was instructed at his peril not to turn the subjects of the empire out of the lands, tenements, or houses, which they themselves either possessed or built, or which descended to them from their ancestors.

The Dewan was the officer next in dignity to the viceroy, in the province. He derived his commission from the Emperor, as receiver-general of the revenue. His office was altogether confined to the administration and collection of the Imperial rents and taxes. He corresponded with the minister; he audited the accounts of the governor; and as he had entire to himself the charge and disposal of the public money, he might, for good reasons, refuse to discharge any extraordinary and unprecedented expences, or to issue out pay to new troops, raised without apparent necessity. He presided in the office called Dafter Ali, or over all the Mutasiddies, or clerks of the cheque; the Canongoes or public registers; Crories, or collectors of the larger districts; Fusildars, or collectors of the lesser districts; Fotadars, or treasurers; Chowdries, or chiefs of districts; Muckuddums, or head-men of villages; and in general over all the officers of the Imperial revenue.

The Crorie of every Pergunna or larger district, derived his commission from the Emperor. His office, though in miniature, was the exact counterpart of the Dewan; being the receiver-general of the county, if the name may be used, as the former was of the whole province. He was immediately accountable to the Dewan, in whose office he passed his accounts. He produced the receipts of the Fotadar, or treasurer of the Pergunna or district, for the sums which he had paid into that officer's hands, from the collections made by the Fusildars, who, in the subdivisions

of the Pergunna, held offices each of which was a counterpart of his own.

The Carcûn of the larger districts was an officer commissioned by the Emperor, to settle all matters and disputes between the tenants and the officers of the revenue, and to preserve the ancient usages of the Pergunna. He was also a kind of spy upon all their private as well as public transactions; he audited their accounts publicly, transmitting copies of them monthly to court, attested by the Sheickdars, Chowdries, and Canongoes of the district. These accounts being entered with great regularity in the vizier's office at Delhi, the Emperor had an immediate view of the collections in the province, before the general accounts of the Dewanny were adjusted; and this was also a great check upon the office of the Dewan.

The view already presented of the mode of collecting the Imperial revenue, renders it unnecessary to descend through all the inferior offices in the department of the receiver-general. The revenues, it must be observed, were never transmitted entire to the Imperial treasury in the capital of the province, much less into that of the empire. The expences incurred in every district were deducted from the receipts of the Fotadar, or treasurer of the district; and the disbursements of the province in general from those of the Dewan. The surplus alone, which was more or less according to accident, found its way to the Imperial exchequer. The estimates of the Imperial revenues are, therefore, not the sums received in the exchequer at Delhi, but the gross collections in every province.

The courts of justice in Bengal, distinguished by the general name of Cutcherries, were of various kinds. They generally received their designation from the officer who presided in each, or within whose jurisdiction they were comprehended. The Author of the Inquiry is not fully

informed concerning the powers of the different judges, or the mode of proceeding in their courts. There arose a chain of appeal from the lowest to the highest. An action might be removed from any of the courts below before the Cazi of the province, commonly called Daroga Adalit, or chief justice; and from him there lay an appeal to the tribunal of the viceroy.

Inferior judges were appointed by an Imperial commission, in every large district, and in every considerable city, with whom appeals rested from the courts in the country, and from the decisions of Cutwals, or mayors of towns. These Cazis, or judges, were vested with power to summon before them all persons, to examine records, public registers, grants, and witnesses. They were, at their peril, to pass judgment impartially, according to the laws of the Coran, and the canons and regulations of the empire. They were empowered to make and dissolve marriages, to execute contracts of every kind between individuals, to inflict punishments, which did not extend to either life or limb. They took cognizance of all riots, disorders, and tumults; and they were denominated the general guardians of the morals of the people. They were provided with an establishment of clerks, registers, and officers of the court. They passed judgment in a summary manner, and their legal fees were one-fourth of the matter in dispute, equally levied upon the plaintiff and defendant. This regulation was intended to prevent vexatious law-suits, as well as to bring them to a speedy issue. During the vigour of the Mogul empire, capital punishments were hardly known in India. When a crime which merited death was committed, the Cazi, after a full proof of the fact, by witnesses, pronounced sentence against the guilty person; but, without the confirmation of the viceroy, it could not be put in execution. Though the empire sometimes abounded with treason, it was never punished but in the field.

In each subdivision of the Pergunna or district, subject to the jurisdiction of the Cazi or judge, there was an inferior officer called a Chowdri, similar to our justice of the peace. Every village had its chief-man, who was the constable of his own department. A Fogedar was, properly speaking, the commander of the troops, in every military station. He sometimes farmed the lands in the neighbourhood; and being the immediate representative of the viceroy, he was considered as the principal officer in his district. But he did not sit in judgment, the civil being always kept distinct from the military department, under the government of the Moguls, as long as it retained its vigour. The Zemindars, or general farmers, were sometimes intrusted with the command of the troops in their own districts; but in their courts they decided only upon trivial disputes between the inferior husbandmen.—Such was the government of Bengal, under the empire of the house of Timur.

Revenue and Commerce.

A BRIEF, but it is hoped a comprehensive, idea being given in the preceding section, of the government of Bengal under the Imperial house of Timur, the Author of the Inquiry will proceed to explain the Revenues and Commerce of that once flourishing and opulent kingdom. In the reign of the Emperor Jehangire, the revenues of the provinces of Bengal and Behâr, both which, for the sake of brevity, we comprehend under the name of the former, amounted to . . . . . £. 2,796,719 13 2

Under his grandson Aurungzêbe they increased to 2,911,866 7 6

Mahommed Shuffia, who wrote an abridgment of the History of the Empire from the death of the illustrious Akbâr to the fatal invasion of Nadir Shaw, where he mentions the provinces which revolted during the indolent reign of Ma-

hommed Shaw, estimates the revenues of Bengal at sixty crores of Dâms, or one crore and fifty lacks of roupees, which sum is equal to . . . . . £.1,875,000
The revenues of Behâr, according to the same writer, amounted to forty-five crores of Dâms, or 1,406,250

£.3,281,250

It appears, from the above calculation, that the revenues of Bengal had been gradually increasing, in the progress of the empire, through time. They continued still to increase under the revolted Nabobs, some of whom brought into their treasury four millions of our money, but not without distressing the subject, and plundering him of a part of his wealth. It may be necessary to repeat an observation already made, that not above half the sum raised upon the people came into the coffers of government. The exact sum transmitted annually to Delhi before the dissolution of the empire, is not easy to ascertain; but we can form some judgment of the amount, from the ruinous policy of the Imperial court, when its ancient vigour began to decline. The provinces of Bengal and Behâr, during some years of indolence and debility, were farmed out to the viceroys, who paid into the treasury, one million two hundred and forty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence of our money.

This sum, it is supposed, was a medium struck upon an average of years, of the money remitted to the treasury at Delhi, when the empire retained its force. But this stipulated revenue, as might have been foreseen, was never regularly paid. The viceroys acquired an independent power, by a regulation which threw the whole management of the province into their hands, without control; and the vigour of the Imperial government, in proportion, declined. The country profited, however, by the refractoriness of its

governor; if his avarice prompted him to raise more on the subject, the latter was more able than before to pay the additional impost, from the revenue being kept and expended in the province. Bengal began to flourish under an additional load of oppression. It yielded more to a severe Nabob than to the milder government of the empire; and being relieved from an annual drain of specie to Delhi, it became opulent under a degree of rapine.

Though despotism is not the most favourable government for commerce, it flourished greatly in Bengal under the strict justice of the house of Timur. Sensible of the advantages which they themselves would derive from a free commercial intercourse between their subjects, they were invariably the protectors of merchants. The military ideas which they brought from Tartary, prevented the principal servants of the crown from engaging in trade; and therefore monopolies of every kind were discouraged, and almost unknown. No government in Europe was ever more severe against forestalling and regrating, than was that of the Moguls in India, with regard to all the branches of commerce. A small duty was raised by the crown; but this was amply repaid by the never-violated security given to the merchant.

Bengal, from the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the natural industry of the Hindoos, was always remarkable for its commerce. The easy communication by water from place to place, facilitated a mercantile intercourse among the inhabitants. Every village has its canal, every Pergunna its river, and the whole kingdom the Ganges, which falling, by various mouths, into the bay of Bengal, lays open the ocean for the export of commodities and manufactures. A people from an inviolable prejudice of religion abstemious, were averse to luxury themselves; and the wants of nature were supplied almost spontaneously by the soil and climate. The balance of trade, therefore,

was against all nations in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return.

All the European nations chiefly carried on their commerce with Bengal in bullion. The Dutch, at a medium of ten years, threw annually into the bosom of that kingdom, in bullion . . . . . £.475,000
The English 192,500
The French, Danes, and Portuguese 250,000
The exports of Bengal to the gulfs of Persia and Arabia, were very great. She supplied Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, and the lesser Asia, with her manufactures, and brought home annually, into her coffers, of gold 375,000
Her trade in opium and piece-goods to the eastern kingdoms of Asia, to the Malayan and Philippine islands, brought yearly a balance in her favour of 150,000
The inland trade of Bengal with the upper Hindostan and Assam 250,000
The coasting-trade with the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar 160,000
£.1,852,500

The above estimate is made designedly low; for were we to argue from general principles, a greater sum must have been imported annually into Bengal. The twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds remitted annually to Delhi, never returned into the province, and, as there were no mines wrought in the country, the surplus of the revenue must have proceeded from the balance of trade. Coin, it is well known, loses greatly by friction, where little alloy is mixed with the silver, and where the want of paper-currency makes the circulation extremely rapid. It loses also by recoinage, which happened annually under the empire in Bengal.

The practice of concealing and burying treasure, which the terrors of despotism introduced, has occasioned a considerable loss, besides the quantity of silver and gold used in rich manufactures. These various losses could be repaired only by a favourable balance of trade; and the sum which we have stated above, would barely supply the waste.

State of Bengal under the revolted Nabobs.

THOUGH the causes which broke the empire were obvious, the decline of the power of the house of Timur was gradual and imperceptible. The seeds of decay were long sown before they were brought to an enormous growth, by the indolence of Mahommed Shaw. Had even the Persian invasion never happened, the fabric which Baber raised in India was destined to fall to ruin. The abilities of Aurungzêbe, by establishing half a century of domestic tranquillity in his dominions, broke the spirit of his subjects, whilst that of the Imperial family declined. The distant provinces obeyed the mandates of the court through habit, more than through fear of its resentment and power; and governors, though destitute of ambition, found, in their own indolence, an excuse for their inattention to commands which could not be enforced with rigour.

The intrigues of the two Seids at the court of Delhi, who raised and removed monarchs at pleasure, weakened that respect for the house of Timur which bound the allegiance of the subject, even after their mildness had degenerated into indolence. Every month brought intelligence into the distant provinces of the murder of one Prince, whilst another was placed on a throne still warm with his predecessor's blood. The veil which hid despotism from the eyes of the people, was rent in twain; monarchs became puppets, which the minister moved at pleasure, and even men who loved slavery on its own account, knew not to what quarter to turn

their political devotion. The viceroys, under a pretence of an unsettled succession, retained the revenues of the provinces; and, with specious professions of loyalty for the Imperial family, they became polite rebels against its authority.

Through this debility in the Imperial line, a new species of government rose in various provinces of India. The viceroys, though they assumed the state of Princes, were still the *humble slaves* of some desolate monarch, who sat without either power or dignity in the midst of the ruins of Delhi. They governed the people in his name, but they listened not to his commands. He even became an instrument of oppression in their hands; and they sanctified the most unpopular of their measures by inducing the Prince to pass, in their own cabinet, regulations which originated under the seals of the empire. Instead of a revenue, they remitted to him bribes; and the necessity of his situation reduced him into a tool, to the very rebels who had ruined his power.

This mock form of an empire continued for many years; and some provinces are still governed through the medium of a monarch that only subsists in his name. But though the Nabobs affirmed that they had still an Emperor, the people found, in their oppressions, that there was none. The check which the terror of complaints to Delhi had laid formerly on the conduct of the viceroys, was now removed; and the officers of the crown who had been placed between the subject and the governor, were discontinued or deprived of their power. The inferior tenants, instead of being supported by the Imperial collectors of the revenue against the avarice of the general farmers, were submitted, without redress, to the management of the latter, and were considered by him as a kind of property.

The usurpation of Aliverdi introduced, more than thirty years ago, the above-described form of government into

Bengal. The same policy was continued by his successors. They owned the Emperor of Delhi for their sovereign, but they governed the country, and collected its revenues for themselves. The interposition of the crown being removed, the independent Nabobs, who succeeded one another either by force or intrigue, adopted a more simple, but a more impolitic mode of collecting the rents and imposts than that which had been practised by the house of Timur. The lands were let from year to year to Zemindars, who were accountable for the rents to the treasury, and the former officers of the revenue, though not annihilated, possessed neither emolument nor power.

An intimate knowledge of the country, however, enabled the Nabobs to prevent their government from degenerating into absolute oppression. They had sense enough to see, that their own power depended upon the prosperity of their subjects; and their residence in the province gave them an opportunity of doing justice with more expedition and precision than it was done in the times of the empire. The complaints of the injured, from a possession of the means of information, were better understood. The Nabobs were less restricted than formerly, in inflicting necessary punishments; and, as they were accountable to no superior for the revenue, they had it in their power to remit unjust debts and taxes, which could not be borne. The miseries of Bengal, in short, were reserved for other times. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, were encouraged; for it was not then the maxim to take the honey, by destroying the swarm.

The folly of the Prince had no destructive effect on the prosperity of the people. The Nabobs, carrying down, through their own independent government, the idea of the mild despotism of the house of Timur, seemed to mark out to the people certain lines, which they themselves did not choose either to overleap or destroy. Many now in Britain were

eye-witnesses of the truth of this assertion. We appeal to the testimony of those who marched through Bengal after the death of Surage-ul-Dowla, that, at that time, it was one of the richest, most populous, and best-cultivated kingdoms in the world. The great men and merchants were wallowing in wealth and luxury; the inferior tenants and the manufacturers were blessed with plenty, content, and ease. But the cloud which has since obscured this sunshine was near.

When the troubles, which ended by putting Bengal into the hands of the Company, first arose, Surage-ul-Dowla, a very young and inconsiderate Prince, was Nabob of the three provinces. The good fortune which had at first forsaken us, returned to our arms; and, by the assistance, or rather opportune treachery of Jaffier, one of his generals, he was deposed and murdered. We raised the traitor, as a reward for his convenient treason, to a throne still warm with the blood of his lord; and the measure seemed to be justified, by our apparent inability of retaining the conquered province in our own hands.

The fortune of Jaffier, however, did not long withhold her frowns. Though he had treachery enough to ruin his master, he was destitute of abilities to reign in his place. His weakness became an excuse for a revolution, which had been meditated on other grounds; and Cassim Ali, Jaffier's son-in-law, an intriguing politician, was invested with the dignity and power of his father. If Jaffier was weak, Cassim had too good parts to be permitted to govern Bengal. He was deposed, and his predecessor reinstated in his place. This farce in politics was adopted as a precedent. A governor, without a revolution in the state of Bengal, could not answer to himself for idling away his time.

The civil wars, to which a violent desire of creating Nabobs gave rise, were attended with tragical events. The country was depopulated by every species of public

distress. In the space of six years, half the great cities of an opulent kingdom were rendered desolate; the most fertile fields in the world lay waste; and five millions of harmless and industrious people were either expelled or destroyed. Want of foresight became more fatal than innate barbarism; and men found themselves wading through blood and ruin, when their object was only spoil. But this is not the time to rend the veil which covers our political transactions in Asia.

STATE OF BENGAL

UNDER THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Observations on the Treaty for the Dewanny.

An ample field lay open before us; but we have appropriated revolution and war to history. The present disquisition is of an inferior kind; an inquiry, which means not to irritate but to reform. Let it suffice to say, that Bengal suffered from disturbances and violent measures; and that fortune, though unfavourable, was less fatal, than the rapacity of avaricious men. Peculiarly unhappy, an unwarlike but industrious people, were subdued by a society whose business was commerce. A barbarous enemy may slay a prostrate foe; but a civilized conqueror can only ruin nations without the sword. Monopolies and an exclusive trade joined issue with additional taxations; the unfortunate were deprived of the means, whilst the demands upon them were, with peculiar absurdity, increased.

But to wander no farther into declamation: though the misfortunes of Bengal began with the revolutions and changes which succeeded the death of Surage-ul-Dowla, the system, which advances still with hasty strides, to the complete ruin of that once opulent province, was established several years after that event. A noble governor sent to command in Bengal, by the East India Company, arrived in that king-

dom in the May of 1765. The expulsion of the Nabob Cassim Ali, and the reduction of Suja-ul-Dowla, by our arms, had enabled the servants of the Company to establish peace upon their own terms. The treaty which they concluded was absurd; and had it been less exceptionable, it would not probably have pleased a man who went not to India to be idle.

The various revolutions of fortune, which had subjected several of the richest provinces of India to the Company's servants, threw the undoubted heir of the Mogul empire into their hands. The governor availed himself of this circumstance. Other Nabobs had converted the unfortunate prince into a tool; and it was now the turn of our governor to do the same, for the benefit of his constituents. Conscious of his power over the Emperor, and having the absolute direction of a Nabob, who owed his elevation to the governor, himself, and to his own crimes, he threw aside the former treaty. A perpetual commission for the office of Dewan, or receiver-general of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, was obtained, from SHAW ALLUM, for the Company. The office of perpetual Nabob might have been as easily obtained; but the former balanced a thousand disadvantages, by rendering the nature of the tenure perplexed.

In consideration of the Imperial mandate, which, with the revenues, conferred the government of Bengal for ever on the Company, Shaw Allum was to receive an annual pension of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. The annuity was moderate to the lineal successor of Timur. He was, at the same time, guaranteed in the possession of the province of Allahabâd; and thus a kind of provision was made for a Prince, who retained nothing of what belonged to his illustrious ancestors, except the empty title of Emperor of Hindostan. This treaty, however, though it dazzled with its splendour, was neither solid nor advantageous

in itself. The Emperor, instead of being placed at Allahabâd, ought to possess the province, out of which his pretended vizier, Suja-ul-Dowla, had been recently driven; or should that measure be supposed to invest him with dangerous power, the territories of Bulwant Singh, equal in revenue to Allahabâd, might have been conferred upon him. The Company, being then in possession of all these provinces, might, by its servants, have adopted either of these systems.

To the first measure there are no well-founded objections, and many advantages might be derived from it. The sum of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds might have been annually saved, which sum is now sent to a distant province, from whence it never returns. This latter circumstance is of more real prejudice to Bengal and the affairs of the Company, than if half the revenues of the province had been given to the Emperor, upon condition of his keeping his court in that country. Had Shaw Allum been put in possession of the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, the natural inactivity of his disposition, and the extraordinary expence and magnificence which he is, in some measure, obliged to support, would have prevented him from being so dangerous a neighbour as even Suja-ul-Dowla. The whole empire was in a state of rebellion; and we were only from convenience his friends.

Arguments crowd in to support this position; but there are still stronger reasons for placing the Emperor in the territories of Bulwant Singh. His residence, in such a case, might have been fixed at Patna or Mongeer; and our army, instead of being cantoned at Allahabâd and Cora, two hundred miles from the frontier of our provinces, might have remained in Patna, in the centre of our dominions. Bengal, had this measure been adopted, instead of losing the pension paid to the Emperor, and the enormous expence of a brigade in a foreign country, would have been enriched by the

greater part of the revenues of the territories of Bulwant Singh; for which he had paid twenty-two lacks of roupees to Suja-ul-Dowla, though in reality he collected double that sum upon the subject.

The latter position will appear more obvious from the following state. Bengal, had the measure been adopted, would annually have saved,

The pension paid to the Emperor	£.325,000
The expence of a brigade	187,500
Twenty lacks from the territories of Bulwant Singh spent at Patna	250,000
	762,500

This measure alone, we may venture to affirm, would have preserved Bengal in a flourishing condition, in spite of avarice and mismanagement. It would, at the same time, have been attended with many salutary effects in our political system in India. The Emperor would have been more immediately under our eye; for though he at present labours under an eclipse, he may, some time or other, shine forth like a comet, in the hands of an ambitious and able man. We are now obliged to protect and support him, under manifest disadvantages. His territories border on the Mahrattors, Jates, and Rohillas; and he is under a perpetual apprehension from these nations. Had the measure, the advantages of which we have described, been taken, Suja-ul-Dowla would have come in between him and these powers; but, at present, our army at Allahabâd becomes a security to that prince; whose apprehensions would otherwise have induced him to adhere more firmly than he now shews an inclination, to his treaty with the Company.

State of Commerce in Bengal, under the Company.

THE prosperity and opulence which Bengal enjoyed during the government of the house of Timur, and even under the

revolted viceroys, proceeded from her lucrative commerce, as much as from the fertility of her soil. Rich in the industry of her inhabitants, she became independent of the partial rapine of impolitic governors, who plundered only to squander away. The money, which entered by injustice at one door of the treasury, was carried out at another by luxury. The court of the Nabob was the heart, which only received the various currents of wealth, to throw it with vigour through every vein of the kingdom.

We may date the commencement of decline, from the day on which Bengal fell under the dominion of foreigners; who were more anxious to improve the present moment to their own emolument, than, by providing against waste, to secure a permanent advantage to the British nation. With a peculiar want of foresight, they began to drain the reservoir, without turning into it any stream to prevent it from being exhausted. From observation, we descend to facts.

The annual investments of the Company, for which no specie is received, amounts, at an average of ten years, to	£.927,500
Those of the Dutch, for which the servants of the Company take bills on Europe, for remitting fortunes acquired in Bengal . . .	200,000
Those of the French, paid for to the natives, in the same way	350,000
Those of the Portuguese and Danes	100,000
	£.1,577,500
Bengal, it shall hereafter appear, to replace all this waste, scarce annually receives in bullion	100,000
She loses therefore, yearly, to Europe . .	£.1,477,500

The above estimate of the exports of Bengal, for which she receives no specie, is formed on the prime cost of her

manufactures. The balance against her comprehends the savings of the Company on the revenue, the value of British exports, the private fortunes of individuals, which centre in this kingdom. This ruinous commerce with Europe is not balanced, by a lucrative intercourse with the various states of Asia. The increase of the demand for the manufactures of Bengal for our markets here, and the revolutions which shook and greatly depopulated that kingdom, have raised the price of goods. The demand would, upon this head, sink in proportion in the East; but besides, the internal state of the various countries, which formerly exchanged bullion for the goods of Bengal, has been long unfavourable to foreign commerce.

Persia, about thirty years ago a great and a flourishing empire, has been torn to pieces, and almost depopulated by the cruelties of Nadir Shaw; and, since his assassination, by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants who escaped the rage of the sword, sit down in the midst of poverty. Georgia and Armenia, who shared in the troubles of Persia, share also her untoward fate. Indigence has shut up the doors of commerce; vanity has disappeared with wealth, and men content themselves with the coarse manufactures of their native countries. The Turkish empire has long declined on its southern and eastern frontiers. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Basha, revolted. The distracted state of the former has almost shut up the trade, by caravans, from Suez to Cairo; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by sea to all the ports of the Ottoman dominions.

The rapacity of the Basha of Bagdat, which is increased by the necessity of keeping a great standing force to support his usurpation, has environed with terror the walls of Bussora, which circumstance has almost annihilated its commerce with Syria. Scarce a caravan passes from the gulf of Persia to Aleppo once in two years; and when it does, it is

but poor and small. Formerly, in every season, several rich and numerous caravans crossed the desert to Syria; but the few that venture at present, being too weak to protect themselves against the wandering Arabs, are stopt by every tribe, and are obliged to purchase safety with exorbitant duties. Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Bussora are ruined; and there were, last year, in the warehouses of that city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, which could not be sold for half the prime cost.

The number of independent kingdoms which have started up from the ruins of the Mogul empire, has almost destroyed the inland commerce of Bengal with the upper parts of Hindostan. Every Prince levies heavy duties upon all goods that pass through his dominions. The merchants, who formerly came down toward the mouths of the Ganges to purchase commodities, have discontinued a trade, not only ruined by imposts, but even unsafe from banditti. The province of Oud and Assâm are the only inland countries with which Bengal drives, at present, any trade. The former has greatly the balance in its favour against us of late years, from the money expended by seven thousand of our own troops, which till of late have been stationed in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, in consequence of an impolitic treaty, and to answer private views. The commerce of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, with Assâm, is almost balanced by the quantity of silk, Mugadutties, and lack, which we receive from that kingdom in return.

The trade of Bengal, with the kingdoms and islands of the eastern Asia, still continues in some degree; but it has been long on the decline. The coasting trade with the maritime provinces of Hindostan has, upon various accounts, decayed. We may venture to affirm, upon the whole, that the balance in favour of Bengal, from all its Asiatic commerce, exceeds not annually one hundred thousand pounds.

The council of Calcutta have calculated it at less than half that sum. They estimated, in the year 1768, the importation of bullion into Bengal, for the space of four years, at fifteen lacks of roupees; which amounts annually to forty-six thousand pounds of our money. But the cause of this decay lies more in negligence than in the present state of the maritime regions and islands beyond the eastern mouth of the Ganges.

To draw a conclusion from the observations made: though Bengal, by her industry, yields to Europe, of manufactures, to the annual amount of one million five hundred and seventy-seven thousand pounds, for which she receives nothing; yet, if the balance of her trade with Asia amounts to one hundred thousand pounds, she may still continue to flourish under a proper system of internal regulation. The paradox is hitherto supportable by argument and proof; but there still remain heavy articles to be brought into the account against Bengal. Some of the articles, from their complicated nature, must be stated from opinion: others rest on incontrovertible facts. The estimate of the first shall be made as low as possible: the latter are established beyond the power of cavil itself.

The specie carried from Bengal, by the expelled Nabob, Cassim Ali, is supposed to amount to	£.1,250,000
Specie carried away by men of property, who have deserted the kingdom since the power of the Company prevailed	2,500,000
The expences of the war, for one whole year, in the dominions of Suja-ul-Dowla, at five lacks per month; which, after deducting fifty lacks, paid by treaty by that prince, amounts to	125,000
Carry over	3,875,000

Brought over	£.3,875,000
Specie sent from Bengal to pay a brigade, consisting of seven thousand men, stationed for five years, after the peace, at Allahabad, at the annual expence of fifteen lacks . . .	937,500
Specie sent from that kingdom to China and Madras, including the expences of troops on the coast, detached from the establishment of Bengal	1,500,000
Specie brought to England	100,000
Exported of specie	6,412,500
Deduct the imports of bullion for twelve years, at the annual sum of one hundred thousand pounds	1,200,000
Decrease in the specie of Bengal since the accession of the Company to the dominion of that kingdom	5,212,500

This ruinous state of the commerce of Bengal is by no means exaggerated. To deprive every adversary of argument, the calculations are, by the Author of the Inquiry, purposely rendered extremely low. A comparative view of the former situation of that once opulent kingdom with its present condition, will throw additional light on the subject.

In the days of the empire, the balance of trade for which Bengal received bullion, has been estimated at,	£.1,687,500
Deduct the annual revenue sent in specie to Delhi	1,250,000
Yearly acquisition in money	437,500

The kingdom of Bengal, it appears, has not, in the midst of her misfortunes, fallen off greatly from her former exports of manufactures. She still sends to Europe, within one hundred and ten pounds a year of the quantity, for which she received the above balance of bullion, in the days of her

prosperity. This, had not her specie been exported, would not have impoverished her. But let us suppose that her whole currency amounted to fifteen millions; the entire loss of a third part of that sum must have inevitably distressed her; and an annual decrease of near half a million must, if not prevented, in a few years, totally ruin the little commerce that still remains. The prospect is gloomy. The taxes must be lessened, and the ruin, which we have brought on an unfortunate country, will recoil upon ourselves.

To illustrate the argument by comparison. Were the paper-currency of Great Britain totally suppressed, and her gold and silver currency, which is estimated at seven millions, left for the purposes of trade and taxation, it is evident that ruinous consequences must ensue; but none will pretend to affirm, that the nation, by such a measure, would become one farthing poorer than before. Trade, however, from the want of a sufficient quantity of the signs of wealth and property, would be cramped in all its veins. The interest of money, in spite of laws, would rise to an enormous pitch. The same want of currency would, at the same time, become such a check upon luxury, that the price of labour, and especially of provisions, would fall, unless the latter were kept up by rigorously enforcing the present taxes without abatement. The price of provisions, in that case, would rise every day, and the poor would daily become less able to purchase. The people would, in a very few years, be stript of all their property, and national beggary would be followed by national ruin.

Bengal, from the decrease of her specie, feels, in fact, the miseries which we have in speculation just described. Were not her taxes enforced by oppression, provisions would fall in proportion to the decrease of wealth; supposing the number of inhabitants and state of cultivation to continue the same. But the reverse happens, from our endeavouring to keep up the revenues to their former pitch. The farmer

cannot sell his grain without a price, which bears a proportion to the rents which he is obliged to pay, whilst his cultivation decreases for want of a sufficient stock. The consumer, at the same time, must have food. If he is a manufacturer or labourer, he must raise his goods or his wages to answer the price of bread. The evils of a forced state of society increase. Famine, with all its horrors, ensues; and, by sweeping away some millions of wretched people, gives, to the unhappy survivors, the respite of a few years.

Observations on Monopolies.

THE monopolies established by the servants of the Company in Bengal, furnish an ample field for animadversion. But other writers have already occupied that province. The brevity which the Author of the Inquiry has prescribed to his work, induces him to pass lightly over ground that has been trodden before. It is superfluous to insist upon the prejudice which monopoly has done to the natural rights of the natives, and to the privileges which they possessed, by prescription, from despotism itself. This part of the subject has been handled with ability by others: we shall slightly touch upon what has escaped their observation.

Salt, in almost every country, is one of the necessaries of life. In Bengal, which still contains near fifteen millions of people, the consumption of this article must be very great; for, besides what they themselves consume, they mix great quantities with the food of their cattle. Salt is produced by filtrating the earth near the mouths of the Ganges, and by then boiling the water which is impregnated with saline particles. The process is simple and cheap, where wood for fuel costs nothing. The low price at which salt could be conveyed through all the branches of the Ganges, rendered it an advantageous article of trade with the inland ports of Hindostan. Great quantities were sent to Benâris and Mir-

żapour, from the markets of which, the provinces of Oud and Allahabâd, the territories of the Raja of Bundela, and of all the petty princes of the kingdom of Malava, were supplied. This trade, by a society of monopolists in Calcutta, was seized in the year 1765. Avarice got the better of prudence, and a rage for present gain cut off all future prospects. The article of salt was raised two hundred *per cent.*; and the foreign purchasers, finding that they could be supplied at a much cheaper rate with rock-salt from the dominions of the Rohillas near Delhi, this valuable commerce at once was lost.

Beetle-nut and tobacco have, by the strength of habit, become almost necessaries of life in Hindostan. The first is produced in many parts of the Decan; and the latter is cultivated over all the empire. There was, however, a considerable exportation from Bengal in these articles; and it, unfortunately for that country, attracted the notice of the monopolists. But, as if monopolies were not sufficient to destroy the inland commerce of Bengal with the rest of Hindostan, an edict was issued, in the year 1768, prohibiting all the servants of the Company, the free merchants, Armenians, Portuguese, and all foreigners whatsoever, from carrying goods beyond the limits of our province, under the pain of confiscation, and the severest punishments inflicted on their agents.

The court of directors, it is but justice to declare, have invariably opposed the above-recited destructive monopolies. But the commands of fugitive and transient masters are weak in opposition to interest. The fluctuations in Leadenhall-street, deprived the mandates which issued from it of all their authority; and the presidency abroad frequently received orders from their constituents at home, with the same inattention that the Nizâm of Golconda would pay to the Firmân of the unfortunate Shaw Allum. The directors, in short, are only to blame in an acquiescence to a disobedience to the orders

of their predecessors in office. Carrying frequently the animosity of prior contention into their measures, they forgot the attention due to their own power, in the pleasure of seeing a slur thrown on that of their opponents. They are also blameable for the suspicious veil of secrecy with which they affect to cover their affairs. The door of information is, in some measure, shut up; the inferior servants are precluded, by an ill-founded fear, from laying open to them the state of government abroad, and it was perhaps the interest of their superior servants to conceal a part of the truth. Substantial darkness has by these means settled on objects which it is even the interest of the Company, as well as of the nation, should be known to the world.

Mode of collecting the Revenues.

THE Princes, whom we raised in Bengal, vanished imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unsubstantial as the shew of power with which, as in derision, we invested them, they disappeared, like Romulus, but without a storm. The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, if not our friend, was opportune in his frequent visits to the Musnud. In the course of five years, three Nabobs expired; and the unfledged sovereign, who acceded to the nominal government of Bengal on the March of 1770, has enjoyed already, considering the times, a long reign. Nabobs, to own the truth, are useless; and they are dismissed to their fathers, without either ceremony or noise.

In the year 1765, upon the demise of Jaffier, whom we had, for the first time, raised in 1757 to the government for his convenient treachery to his master, Nijim-ul-Dowla, his son by a common prostitute, was, in the eighteenth year of his age, placed upon the throne, in the capital of Murshedabâd. Soon after the accession of this prince, a noble

governor, on the part of the Company, arrived at Calcutta, and executed the treaty which has furnished materials for a preceding section. Mahommed Riza, a man of less integrity than abilities, was made prime minister; activity being a virtue more necessary to the intention of his creation than honesty. The wretched Nijim-ul-Dowla was a mere name; a figure of state more despicable, if possible, than the meanness of his family and parts. The whole executive government turned upon Mahommed Riza. A resident was sent from Calcutta to check the accounts of the nominal government; as if one man, who knew very little of the language, manners, and opinions of the people, could prevent the frauds of an artful minister, and ten thousand of his dependants, versed in the management of finance. The consequence might be foreseen with little penetration. Unable and perhaps unwilling to oppose the current, the resident fell down with the stream, and became so far a check upon Mahommed, that he appropriated to himself a part of what the minister might otherwise have thrown into his own treasure.

Mahommed Riza, as a small salary of office, received annually one hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds, with three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds a-year to be distributed in pensions among his friends. The minister, with his other good qualities, had no local attachment to friends. They were of various complexions and religions; fair-faced Europeans, as well as swarthy Indians; and, though professing Mahommedanism himself, he was so far from being an enemy to the uncircumcised, that it is said the most of his pensions and gratuities were bestowed on good Christians born in Great Britain and Ireland. Mahommed, however, did not take up his whole time with acts of benevolence to our nation. He applied himself to business; and he was more rigid in executing the government which the revolted Nabobs had esta-

blished in Bengal, than fond of introducing innovations more favourable to the prosperity of the country.

The Nabobs of Bengal, it has been already observed, began the ruinous policy of farming out the lands annually; leaving the wretched tenants to the oppression and tyranny of temporary Zemindars. At the commencement of every year, there is a general congress of all the great farmers, at the capital of Bengal; which meeting is, in the language of the country, called Punea. The object of the congress is to settle the accounts of the former year, and to give the lands for another, to the highest bidder. The competition between the farmers is favourable to the private interest of Mahommed Riza and his friend the resident; but it is destructive to the poor, and consequently to the Company's affairs.

The charge of travelling from the more distant divisions of the province, and the expence of living in the capital, are but a very inconsiderable part of the loss of the farmers in this visit to court. Pretences are never wanting to intimidate them, on account of their past conduct; and where no competitors offer of themselves, some are created by the minister, to raise anxiety and terror. Presents are an infallible remedy for quashing all inquiries into former oppressions; and a bribe secures to them the power of exercising, for another year, their tyrannies over the unhappy tenants. It would be endless to trace the intrigues of the farmers upon this occasion: it would be difficult to expose all the artful villainy of the minister. The Zemindars, however wealthy they may be, feign such poverty, as not to be able to make up the balances of the preceding year. They have even been known to carry the farce so far, as to suffer a severe whipping before they would produce their money.

The avarice of Mahommed Riza is the cause of this unmanly behaviour in the wretched farmers. When they seem rich, the impost is raised; and the bribe must in proportion be greater. Their love of money is often more powerful

than the fear of bodily pain. When they have long groaned under the lash, some banker or money-broker appears, who, for the exorbitant interest of ten per cent. per month, discharges the debt. The farmer, by such means as these, often deceives the vigilance of the minister and resident, and obtains his lands for another year, because no one else will offer a sum which the possessor finds so much difficulty to pay. A friend, in the secret, gives security for the rents; and a present, thrown into the hands of the minister, suspends, for a time, the discipline of the whip.

In the year 1767, the Author of the Inquiry, who resided, at the time, in Bengal, had the curiosity to calculate the expence of the Bundubust, or yearly settlement. He formed his estimate from the accounts of various Zemindars, and he avers, without exaggeration, that the expences amounted to twenty-seven and one-half per cent. of the rents of their lands; which may amount to a million sterling. These trivial perquisites were shared between Mahommed Riza, his friends, and the bankers of Murshedabâd. The place of the Company's resident at the Durbâr, or the court of the Nabob, was HONESTLY worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year.

These embezzlements and fraudulent practices were not, however, so detrimental to the Company's affairs, from the actual decrease in the revenues, as from the general depravity of manners, and the oppressions which they introduced. When the sources of government are corrupted, they poison the whole stream. Every petty officer in the state, every clerk of the revenues, assumed the tyrant in his own department. Justice was totally suspended; and the fear of being plundered by a superior, was the only check that remained against the commission of the most atrocious crimes. Every instance of abstaining from the most cruel oppressions, proceeded from indolence: every act of tyranny from the love of money. The distemper of avarice, in the

extreme, seemed to infect all whom the wrath of God against a devoted people had placed in power.

The consequences of this mode of letting the lands of Bengal, were such as might, with little foresight, have been expected; had not stronger impressions than those of reason been necessary to convince men of a profitable error. Nothing in the conquered provinces was premeditated but rapine. Every thing, but plunder, was left to chance and necessity, who impose their own laws. The farmers, having no certainty of holding the lands beyond the year, made no improvements. Their profit must be immediate, to satisfy the hand of avarice, which was suspended over their heads. Impressed with the uncertainty of their situation, they raised the rents, to the last farthing, on the wretched tenants; who, unwilling to forsake their ancient habitations and household gods, submitted to impositions which they could not pay. They looked up to Heaven in their distress; but no redress remained for the wretched.

Year after year brought new tyrants, or confirmed the old in the practice of their former oppressions. The tenants being at length ruined, the farmers were unable to make good their contracts with government. Their cruelty to their inferiors recoiled, at length, on themselves. Many of them were bound to stakes and whipped; but their poverty ceased to be feigned. Their complaints were heard in every square of Murshedabâd; and not a few of them expired in agonies under the lash. Many of the inferior tenants, reduced to despair, fled the country, hoping to derive from other despotisms, that lenity which our indolence, to speak the best of ourselves, denied. Those that remained were deprived of the small stock necessary for cultivation; and a great part of the lands lay waste. Every governor thought it incumbent upon him to keep up the revenues to their former pitch; but, in spite of the permitted cruelty of Mahommed Riza, they continued every

year to decrease. It could not have happened otherwise; unless Heaven had wrought miracles as a reward for our VIRTUES.

In proportion as an unfortunate people became less able to bear the established taxation, the modes of collecting it became more oppressive. Seven entire battalions were added to our military establishment to enforce the collections. They carried terror and ruin through the country; but poverty was more prevalent than obstinacy every where. This new force became an enormous expence to the Company; and the unnatural pressure on the people raised the price of provisions. The manufacturers, to be able to purchase bread, shewed an inclination to raise the price of their goods. It was soon perceived that, should this be permitted, the manufactures of Bengal would not answer in Europe, so as even to indemnify the Company for prime cost, for duties, and other expences, exclusive of the profit which a commercial body had a right to expect. The prices must be kept down; but this could not be done without violence. Provisions became daily dearer; and the demand for goods increased.

The officers chiefly employed in the management of the revenues, being needy adventurers from Persia and the upper India, carried avarice, as well as the arbitrary ideas of their own distracted governments, into their departments. Solicitous to obtain an immediate advantage to themselves, they forgot the interest of their employers; and practised every species of rapine and violence on the timid inhabitants of Bengal. The wealth which, in the space of a few years, they accumulated, enabled them to return into their native countries; and thus they furnished another cause of the decline of specie in the kingdom. These foreign collectors maintained a numerous train of needy dependants, who, under the protection of their tyrannical masters, assumed the privilege of rapine and peculation. Venality ceased to

be a crime; and dexterity in the art of imposition, was deemed a recommendation to the first offices of trust.

Mahommed Riza made it his invariable policy to keep the servants of the Company in ignorance of the true state of affairs; and when any deception was practised, another was formed to conceal it from view. He entered into a collusion with many of the farmers. Occasional accounts were framed; and the usual accounts were studiously involved in inextricable confusion. Men averse to trouble throw them aside, and neglect their duty in their indolence. The servants of Mahommed Riza not only escape censure, but retain their places; and thus iniquity furnishes to itself a new field for a repetition of its execrable talents.

To investigate the various demands and extortions of the Aumins, or the protectors of the people, who, instead of defending, pillage their charge, would be endless. These, by a collusion with the Zemindars, prey with them on the unfortunate tenants. The Gomâstas, or agents, Dellols, Pikes, Pikars, Burkândaz, and other vermin, employed in the collection and investment, establish a thousand modes of oppression and extortion. An ignorant and unhappy people see these officers of government through the medium of fear; and comply, in melancholy silence, with their exorbitant demands. No collector, not even his principal servant, travels over any part of his district, without imposing upon the village in which he chooses to rest, a tax of rice, fowl, kid, fruits, and every other luxury of the table, for himself and his dependants. He also levies fines, at pleasure, for frivolous offences, and under various and often false pretexts. The crime consists in the ability of the person to pay the fine; and nothing but excess of misery and poverty is safe from the griping hand of avarice.

The Zemindars, or principal farmers, copy the officers of government in tyranny. The Riôts, or wretched tenants, are forced to give their labour gratuitously to this transitory

lord of a year, whenever he chooses to employ their toil in his fields, when their own farms lie waste for want of cultivation. There is not one article of consumption with which the poor tenants are not obliged to supply the general farmer. The quantity brought is frequently more than his consumpt demands; and, in these cases, they are forced, under the inspection of his servants, to carry their own property to market, and to dispose of it for the use of their lord. They even frequently raise or fall the exchange upon the roupees, against the wretched husbandmen: and, without even the strength of custom, they exact from the lower sort, fees upon births, marriages, and contracts. There is scarce an occurrence upon which they have not invented arbitrary imposts.

The Company, having never examined into the real tenures by which many possess their lands, left an ample field for sequestration, fraud, and encroachment. The Talookdârs, or the favourites and dependants of former Nabobs, hold, by grants from their patrons, extensive tracts of land. Some of these grants convey a kind of freehold; others, estates at a very low rent, possessing, besides, particular exemptions and extraordinary immunities. These alienations were never valid, in the days of the empire, without being renewed by every viceroy; and no good reason remains why they should now exist, as the illegal means of oppression, in the hands of petty tyrants. They have even added encroachment upon the adjacent lands to the injustice by which they possess their own; and they have presumed to lay tolls on ferries, and imposts upon markets, even beyond the limits of their imperfect grants. This encroachment on the rights of the Company is, however, a kind of benefit to the people. The possessor of the grant considers the lands which it describes, as his own property; and he is, from a natural selfishness, more a friend to his inferiors than the fugitive Zemindar of a year.

To render clear affairs hitherto little understood, we must descend into more particulars. The frauds and oppressions committed in Bengal in the collection of the revenue, are as various as they are without number. The interior policy subsisting in that kingdom, will throw new light on the subject. Some of the lands in Bengal go under the designation of Comâr, having no native tenants, being cultivated by vagrant husbandmen, who wander from place to place in quest of labour. A farmer takes frequently large tracts of these lands upon contract. He obliges himself to be answerable to government for the produce; but he keeps the accounts himself. The vagrant husbandmen whom he employs, having neither implements of agriculture nor stock, are, from time to time, supplied with small sums by the farmer, and when the harvest is gathered in, he appropriates to himself two-thirds of the crop; after paying himself from the remainder, for the interest of the sums advanced to the vagrants. The accounts delivered in to government contain every thing but the truth; and this mode, from our indolence, becoming most profitable to the Zemindar, he wishes to depopulate the country, in some measure, for his own gain.

The lands which are under the immediate management of government, are, in the language of the country, called Coss. They differ from the Comâr in various particulars. Stewards are appointed to superintend them, without the power of making new contracts with the tenants, or of raising upon them the rents, being accountable only for the rents of the lands as they stand upon the rolls of the district. These rolls, however, are in general false and defective. Some lands, to serve particular friends, are greatly under-rated; and others are entirely concealed by the address of the stewards. To grant certain immunities to the stewards themselves, was formerly much in practice. They were permitted to possess for their subsistence, gardens, pastures, ponds for fish, and

fields for rice. These privileges have been greatly enlarged since Bengal fell under the Company; and the stewards have fixed no decent bounds to their encroachments.

The lands distinguished by the name of Riotty, are possessed and cultivated by the native inhabitants under Zemindars, or farmers, who contract for them with government for an annual sum. The rents are partly levied on a measurement, and partly on the various productions which are sent to market, and converted into money by the farmer. The ruinous effects of this mode of collecting the revenue, have been already explained. There are, besides, great quantities of waste lands, which are of two kinds; lands struck off the public books at a former period, which are now cultivated but not brought to account; and such as are really waste, which comprehend at least one fourth part of Bengal. Of the former there are many large fertile tracts, well cultivated, which have been appropriated by Zemindars and their dependants; and they find means, in their accounts with an indolent government, to avoid all scrutiny into their usurpations.

To add to the mismanagement, lands are set apart for almost every officer under the government; a mode of salary which makes no appearance upon the annual accounts, but which, notwithstanding, amounts to more than all the apparent charges of collection. Great hurt arises to the revenues from this practice, and the abuse subsists without reformation. The lands of all the officers ought instantly to be resumed, and their salaries to be paid out of the exchequer. Many of the collectors have also imposed partial duties upon the subject; and thus have added oppression and injustice to the people, to their usurpations upon government.

Justice is suffered to be greatly perverted by the officers above specified, and others, who, from their inherent art or abilities, substitute their own decisions where government have established no legal judges. The custom of imposing

mulcts and fines in all cases, is an intolerable grievance to a wretched people. The rich suffer, by having money to give; the poor, by being deprived of restitution, because they have none. Every Mahommedan who can mutter over the Coran, raises himself to a judge, without either licence or appointment; and every Brahmin, at the head of a tribe, distributes justice according to his own fancy without control. The latter threatens the ignorant with the dreadful punishment of excommunication; and thus his own moderation becomes the measure of the sums which he receives from an unfortunate race of men.

Such, in the year 1767, was the true state of Bengal: but, it is to be hoped, that the regulations of 1770 have reformed many abuses. A plan was in that year digested, and begun to be carried into execution, by men who could not be strangers to any one of the above particulars; though, from their strict adherence to the regulations of a noble governor, to which they were tied down by express orders from the Court of Directors, the abuses were permitted to exist till the country was beggared and depopulated. The effect which the plan may have, cannot yet be estimated with precision. Were we, however, to judge from the improvements in Burdwân, which has been under the management of a very able servant for some years past, and has greatly increased in revenue and population, the new regulations will be attended with very considerable advantages to the Company. But even Burdwân owed part of its prosperity to the misery and distress of the surrounding districts. The plan adopted will be far from effectuating the reformation and increase of the revenue which are now required; for the balance of the revenue could, in the year 1770, hardly discharge the four hundred thousand pounds paid annually to government. If our information is just, what mighty advantages have the Company derived from their great acquisitions in Bengal?

Idea of the present Government of Bengal.

THE total suspension of all justice, among the natives of Bengal, was another cause of national decay. Men who retained some property in spite of the violence of the times, instead of being protected by British laws, found that they had not even the justice of a despot to depend upon when they were wronged. The officers of the Nabob, AS THEY WERE CALLED, committed every species of violence, under the pretence of the orders of the Company. When any person complained to the governor and council, he was referred back to those very men of whom he had complained. The heavy crime of having appealed to British justice was thrown in his face, by oppressors who were at once judges and party; and ruin and corporal punishment were added to his other wrongs. The spirit which asserts the natural rights of mankind, was called insolence, till it was totally broken by oppression; and men were even cautious in venting their complaints in secret, fearing that the very walls of their most private apartments had ears.

These grievances, however, proceeded not from the inhumanity of the British governors in Bengal. The Author of the Inquiry can aver, from personal knowledge, that the successors of a certain noble lord were men of probity and honour, enemies to oppression and cruelty of every kind. But the whole weight of such a monstrous and heterogeneous chaos of government, consisting of military, political, commercial, and judicial affairs, falling upon the shoulders of men unexperienced in the regulation and management of the great machine of state, it was impossible for them to give the necessary attention to all departments. The multiplicity of affairs overwhelmed them with its weight; and the kingdom suffered more from a total want of system, than from any premeditated design.

The courts of justice, which the wisdom of the house of Timur had established in the cities and various divisions of the provinces, were either annihilated, or they lost their power under the summary despotism of the revolted Nabobs. *Mahommed Riza, as the acting minister, had the whole ex-* ecutive power in his hands; and those who retained the name of judges, were only the executioners of his partial and violent decisions. The Company's governor could not, in the nature of things, enter into the cause of every individual in a very populous kingdom. When he consulted his own ease, he yielded to a kind of necessity; and he had to his own conscience the plausible excuse of having remanded the complaints to the judgment of a man who was perfectly acquainted with the manners, customs, and prejudices of the natives.

But even friendship itself will not permit the Writer of the Inquiry to justify the political conduct of any of those men who possessed the supreme power in Bengal. Many regulations, obvious in themselves, might have been formed; many pernicious practices been abolished, which have been continued either through negligence, or motives of another kind. Among the latter, ought to be numbered the custom *of striking roupees every year, and issuing them out at five* per centum above the real weight and standard. To explain the subject, a dry dissertation must be introduced. The new-coined roupees are issued from the mint at sixteen per centum more than the current roupee; a coin merely imaginary, for the convenience of reducing all money to a certain denomination. The Sicca roupee, as the coin is called, continues to circulate, at the above value, till towards the latter end of the first year. The dealers in money, as the roupee loses three per centum of its value at the beginning of the second year, refuse to receive it in payment, without a deduction of one or two per centum as it advances to that period.

In the beginning of the second year, the roupee, by this most preposterous of all regulations, has lost three per centum of its imaginary value. In this manner it continues gradually to fall, till the third year after coinage; and, from that time forward, it remains at eleven per centum, the intrinsic value of the silver. The possessor of the roupee may then, upon the payment of the three per centum to the mint, have the same re-coined into a new Sicca of the imaginary value of sixteen per centum. This gain of two per centum is intended as an inducement to bring in the silver, that the government may have an opportunity, every year, of robbing the public of three per centum upon the greater part of their current specie. To support this most iniquitous system, the revenues are directed to be paid in the new Sicca roupees, otherwise the money-changer will make such deductions as must occasion a very considerable loss to the unfortunate people. This evil is attended by another. The course of exchange in the markets varies toward the worst, from this cruel regulation by government, from combinations among the bankers, and the demand for particular roupees to discharge the revenue.

This mode of levying an annual tax on the silver currency, is not of the invention of the British governors of Bengal. The regulation derived its first existence from the well-known bankers, the Jaggat Seats of Murshedabâd, in the short reign of the inconsiderate Surage-ul-Dowla. The error lies in its being adopted. But we drop this part of the subject, and return to the present state of government. To do justice to the Court of Directors, their repeated orders have checked the violence and rapine of the nominal government of the Nabob. Some of the Company's servants superintend, in various divisions of the country, the collection of the revenue. The pension and emoluments of Mahommed Riza have been lessened with his power. The kingdom, in point of civil regulation, if civil regulation can exist

without regular courts of justice, is on a better footing than before. But much remains to be done! The distresses of an unfortunate people continue to increase, through causes which must be explained.

General Observations.

THE idea of the present state and government of Bengal conveyed in the preceding sections, justifies the following conclusion, That the Company, in the management of that great kingdom, have hitherto mistaken their own interest. To increase the revenues was the point to which their servants invariably directed their attention; but the means employed defeated their views, and became ruinous to a people whom their arms had subdued. Though they exported the specie, though they checked commerce by monopoly, they heaped oppression upon additional taxes, as if rigour were necessary to power.

Much penetration was not necessary to discover, that it was not by the revenues of Bengal alone that either the British nation or the Company were to be enriched. A country destitute of mines, deprived of foreign commerce, must, however opulent from better times, in the end be exhausted. The transitory acquisition, upon the opinion that all the specie of Bengal had centred in Great Britain, would have no desirable effect. The fugitive wealth would glide through our hands; and we would have only our folly to regret, when the sources would happen to become dry. Bengal, without ruin to itself, could spare none of its specie; and the objects to which our aim should have been directed, are as obvious as they are salutary. We ought to have encouraged agriculture, the trade with the rest of Asia, and internal manufacture.

Agriculture constitutes the wealth of every state not

merely commercial. Bengal, a kingdom six hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, is composed of one vast plain of the most fertile soil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of industrious people, capable of producing provisions for double the number, as appears from the deserts which oppression has made; it seems marked out, by the hand of nature, as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture. Where taxes are moderate, where security of property is joined to a rich soil, cultivation will increase, the necessaries of life will become cheap, as well as the gross materials which manufacturers require. Manufactures, by these means, would not only fall in their price, but they would be produced in a greater quantity; larger investments might be made by the Company, the consumption would increase, and the profits rise. Bengal can, in short, be useful only in the prosperity and industry of its inhabitants. Deprive it of the last remains of its wealth, and you ruin an unfortunate people, without enriching yourselves.

In the place of those placid regulations which render mankind useful to their lords, we substituted, with preposterous policy, force, the abrupt expedient of barbarous conquerors. The pressure of taxation has, in the space of a few years, trebled the price of provisions of all kinds. The Company have, in the mean time, been endeavouring, by every possible measure, to increase their investments, without raising the price. Various oppressions have, for this purpose, been adopted. This wretched expedient is of short duration. The manufacturer may, for one year, perhaps for two, redouble his industry; but whilst the work of his hands is forced from him at a stated and arbitrary price, he sinks under an uncommon effort, subject to despair. The principal servants of the Company, to conceal the evil, have found themselves obliged, either to remit in the quality of the goods, or to raise the price to the manufacturer. Both ex-

pedients have been in part adopted; but it is a temporary remedy, without the hopes of effectuating a cure.

The reasons already mentioned have contributed to destroy the trade of Bengal with the rest of Asia. Merchants can procure only the gleanings of the Company. The quality is inferior, and the prices high. Nations formerly supplied from Bengal, found themselves under the necessity of establishing manufactures of the same kind at home, or to adapt their clothing to their poverty. Argument on this head is superfluous. The plan must be totally and radically changed. The question is, not to oblige the people to become silk-winders, spinners, and weavers, and to take the fruits of their labour, as it is practised at present, at an arbitrary price. Industry cannot be forced upon a people; let them derive advantage from toil, and indolence shall lose its hold. Ingenuity expires under the foolish despotism which defeats its own ends; and human nature, in its most wretched state, revolts against labour which produces nothing but an increase of toil.

PLAN

ORING BENGAL TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY.

Preliminary Observations.

NT, among the natives of a country, rises imper-
m that impenetrable obscurity with which time
m have covered the origin of mankind. When
bdued by foreign enemies who are advanced in
ivil life, a new constitution generally starts up
ressure upon the old. Some laws of the con-
st necessarily supersede some of the regulations
ered; but the ancient form of government re-
the lesser departments of the state. When the
uered India, when the Moguls extended their
that country, many of the indigenous laws of the
ions of Asia were introduced; but the great sys-
st of its parts, descended from the regulations
ma transmitted, with his followers, from remote

sh nation have become the conquerors of Ben-
y ought to extend some part of their own funda-
prudence to secure their conquests. To call the
of the Company by any other name, is to leave
ined. The sword is our tenure, and not the
n unfortunate prince, who could not give what
own. The thin veil of the commission for the
removed; and we see a great kingdom at last
er, whose revolutions we directed before. It is
conquest, and it is so considered by the world.
necessary to premise. The Author of the In-

quiry will now proceed to his plan for restoring our conquests to their former prosperity. But he proceeds with diffidence: he sees the magnitude of the subject, he feels his own want of abilities. He hopes not to escape without censure, as he confesses himself liable to error; but he shall answer his own purpose, if he can throw some rays of light upon a subject, which, though interesting to the nation, continues still involved in obscurity.

Proposal for establishing Landed Property.

POLICY precedes regulation in every society; and a nation has public before it has private concerns. The great line of general arrangement is prior to the inferior detail of government, the latter being necessarily a superstructure raised on the foundation of the former. In Bengal we are to suppose, that a new treaty is to settle its great affairs; otherwise we build on the sand, and the rain comes, and washes all away. We shall only mention a subject on which we may hereafter enlarge. Give the province of Allahabâd to Suja-ul-Dowla, the territories of Bulwant Singh to the emperor, recal your troops into your own dominions, make Patna or Mongeer the residence of the representative of Timur, degrade the wretched Mubârick from his nominal Nabobship, and let Mahommed Riza RESIGN. These arrangements require no address; the persons mentioned were the creatures, and they still continue the slaves, of your power. Besides, the measures will not displease the parties. The province of Allahabâd will satisfy Suja-ul-Dowla for the territories of Bulwant Singh; Shaw Allum will prefer Patna to his residence at Allahabâd; a small pension is more eligible for Mubârick, than the dangerous name of power which he does not hold; and Mahommed Riza has derived from his SERVICES the means of securing an affluent retreat for his age.

If it shall appear necessary to retain Bengal by an Imperial Firmân, let it be changed into that of perpetual Nabob.

This fundamental regulation being settled, another of equal boldness, but no less practicable, ought to succeed. An established idea of property is the source of all industry among individuals, and, of course, the foundation of public prosperity. When mankind are restrained from possessing any thing which they can call their own, they are but passengers in their native country, and make only those slight accommodations which suit fugitive wayfarers through the land. A carelessness for industry is the natural consequence of the transitoriness of the fruits of toil; and men sit sluggishly down, with their hands in their bosoms, when they are not for a moment certain of possessing property, much less of transmitting it to their posterity or friends.

The decline of agriculture, of commerce, and of trade, in the kingdom of Bengal, have been already represented, and the ruinous consequences of farming out the lands from year to year, have been amply explained. Though long leases might greatly contribute to remove these evils; there is no possibility of doubt, but the establishment of real property would more immediately and effectually promote a certainty of prosperity to the kingdom. Let, therefore, the Company be empowered, by act of Parliament, to dispose of all the lands in Bengal and Behâr, in perpetuity, at an annual sum, not less than the present rents. This single operation would have a chain of beneficial effects. The first sale of the lands would raise a sum which cannot be estimated with any degree of precision; but we may venture to affirm, that, should the scheme be properly advertised before it was to take place, and a fourth part of the lands only to be disposed of every year, until the whole should be sold, no less than ten millions, besides a certain and perpetual revenue, might be drawn from the hidden treasures of Bengal, and especially from the other opulent kingdoms of Hindostan.

Mankind, it is easy to perceive, would, in an empire where no real property exists, crowd to a country in which they could enjoy the fruits of their labour, and transmit them to their posterity. Cultivation would be the consequence of security. The farmer would improve, to the height, lands that were his own. The revenue would be regularly paid without the heavy expence of a band of oppressors, under the name of Collectors, who suck the very vitals of the country; and nothing would be required but a few comptoirs for the purpose of receiving the rents. The whole face of the country would be changed in a few years: in the place of straggling towns, composed of miserable huts, half of which are washed away every season by the rain, great and opulent cities would arise. Inhabitants would crowd into Bengal from every corner of India, with their wealth; the deficiency in the currency would be restored, commerce would diffuse itself through every vein, and manufactures would flourish to a degree before unknown.

Men of speculation may suppose, that the security of property to the natives might infuse a spirit of freedom, dangerous to our power, into our Indian subjects. Nature herself seems to have denied liberty to the inhabitants of the torrid zone. To make the natives of the fertile soil of Bengal free, is beyond the power of political arrangement. The indolence which attends the climate, prevents men from that constant activity and exertion, which is necessary to keep the nice balance of freedom. Their religion, their institutions, their manners, the very dispositions of their minds, form them for passive obedience. To give them property would only bind them with stronger ties to our interest, and make them more our subjects; or, if the British nation prefers the name—more our slaves.

Men who have nothing to lose, are only enslaved by disunion, and the terror of the impending sword. Drive them to the last verge of poverty, and despair will stand in the

place of spirit, and make them free. Men possessed of property are enslaved by their interest, by their convenience, their luxury, and their inherent fears. We owe our freedom to the poverty of our ancestors, as much as to the rude independence of their ferocious barbarism. But it is even difficult, in the cool air of our climate, to retain, in the midst of luxury and wealth, the vigour of mind necessary to keep us free. To confer property on the inhabitants of Bengal, will never raise in their minds a spirit of independence. Their sole hopes of retaining that property, will be derived from our policy and valour. When we fall, their lands will deviate to other heirs.

The revenues of Bengal, when properly paid, amount to four millions. Should this sum appear too small for perpetuity, many ways and means of increasing the taxes, without raising the rents, will present themselves. The British nation, famous for their political freedom, are still more famous for their judgment and wisdom in imposing taxations. Let them transfer to the banks of the Ganges, a part of that science of finance, which has so much distinguished their councils at home. The wealth of the people of Bengal is a treasury which will never fail, if drawn upon with judgment. Taxes may rise, in a just proportion to the wealth which this regulation will inevitably throw into our dominions in the East.

Very extensive possessions in the hands of an individual, are productive of pernicious consequences in all countries; they ought, therefore, to be prevented in the present regulation. Let the purchasers be confined to a certain quantity of land, not exceeding, upon any account, fifty thousand roupees a year. To prevent the accumulation of landed property, let the spirit of the laws of a commonwealth be adopted, and the lands be divided equally among all the male issue of the proprietor. Let the moveable property be divided, among the Mahommedan part of our subjects,

according to the laws of the Coran. Let the Hindoos, in the same manner, retain their own laws of inheritance; which are clear, simple, and defined.

Paper Currency.

THE absolute establishment of landed property, would create a perfect confidence in our faith, among our subjects in the East; and this circumstance leads to another regulation, which, if adopted, would have a great and immediate effect on the prosperity of Bengal. The want of a sufficient quantity of specie for the purposes of trade and the common intercourses among mankind, is one of the greatest evils under which Bengal at present labours. Let, therefore, a paper currency be introduced; a measure at once salutary, easy, and practicable. Let a bank be immediately established at Calcutta, for the convenience of Europeans. This would, by becoming familiar to the natives, prepare them for a more general paper currency. The mode of carrying this into execution, is left in the hands of those better acquainted with the nature of banking, than the Author of the Inquiry.

To destroy, at once, the fraudulent science of exchange, which proves so detrimental to trade in Bengal, a current coin ought to be established, to pass without variation, for its fixed and intrinsic value. This was, in some degree, attempted by a noble governor, but he failed in his first principles, by imposing an arbitrary value upon his coin, not less than twenty per cent. above its intrinsic worth. No other reason is necessary for the bad success of this coinage. Though a decimal division of money is the most rational and commodious; yet entirely to change the forms of a country, in that respect, might be attended with great inconvenience. Let the roupee, therefore, consist, as at present, of sixteen of the imaginary Anas, which are now used in accounts in

Bengal. The Pice, which is the twelfth part of an Ana, may be continued as the imaginary coin; but a copper coin of one half of an Ana, would answer the subdivisions of money, and be greatly beneficial to the poor.

The immediate fall of the exorbitant interest of money which prevails in Bengal, would be one of the first effects of this regulation. Ten per centum is the present interest; not so much owing to insecurity, as to the want of currency. Men of undoubted and established credit are ready to give this great premium to the lender, as they can turn the money to a great and immediate advantage. Were every man enabled, by a paper currency, to bring his whole property to the market, monopoly, in spite of oppression, would be at an end, and trade extend itself through a thousand channels not known now in speculation. The consequence would be highly beneficial; Bengal would draw great quantities of money from all the regions of Asia; and, by enriching herself, be rendered capable of bearing such taxes upon different articles, as this nation, for the augmentation of the revenues, might think proper to impose.

Napal, Thibet, Ava, Arracân, Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina, China, and almost all the islands in the Eastern ocean, produce gold: in the west, that metal seems to be found only in the Turkish Diarbekir. Japan and China only have silver mines. Asia contains native wealth, which has enriched it in all ages, exclusive of the balance of its commerce against Europe. The Author of the Inquiry means not that specie should be drawn from the East. But it might centre in Bengal, and make it one of the richest kingdoms in the world; whilst we might import, in its manufactures, the surplus of its revenues, without damaging either its foreign commerce or internal prosperity.

These two plans, and it is to be feared only these, would restore, under a government established on impartial justice, Bengal to its former prosperity and splendour. Let the

lands be disposed of in property: let a paper currency be established. Every individual would, in such a case, become industrious in improving his own estate; provisions would fall to a third part of the present price; the country would assume a new face, and the people wear the aspect of joy. Immense tracts of rich land, which now, with their woods, conceal the ruins of great cities, would again be cultivated; and new provinces arise out of those marshy islands, near the mouth of the Ganges, which are, at present, the wild haunts of the rhinoceros and tiger.

Monopolies.

THERE is no maxim in commerce better established, than the destructive tendency of monopolies. In Bengal, its recent evils are well-known and abhorred. A law must provide against it; otherwise every other regulation will be made in vain. The inhabitants must be permitted to enjoy a free trade; subject, however, to such imposts upon various articles, excepting those of either the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, as may be thought reasonable from time to time. Gross articles, necessary for carrying on the finer manufactures, ought, however, to be exempted from duty; and every encouragement possible given to the export trade.

Free merchants ought to be encouraged; neither must they be excluded from the inland trade; as that circumstance would place the subjects of Great Britain on a worse footing than foreigners, whom we cannot, without violence, prevent from trading wherever they please. Let, however, the residence of the free merchants be confined to Calcutta; as the influence which all the natives of Britain have acquired over the inhabitants of Bengal, is so great, that the selfish can convert it into the means of oppression. The Indian agents of British traders will not carry, among a wretched people, the same terror which clothes their masters; whom it is

a kind of sacrilege not to obey, in their most unjust commands.

The servants of the Company will have many objections to this proposal. But the management of the revenues, and of the general trade, which must remain in their hands, will still give them superior advantages, sufficient to gratify all their reasonable desires. The influence of a member of the council will, without doubt, enable any man, in that high station, to engross a share of the trade, almost equal to a partial monopoly. Should even a man of that rank be so self-denied, as not to take advantage of the influence annexed to his place, his attention to commerce would encroach on the time allotted for public affairs. Let him, therefore, when he rises to the board, be debarred from trading, either directly or indirectly, by severe penalties of law; and let there an ample allowance be made for his services, from the funds of the Company.

Religion.

MEN who submit to bodily servitude, have been known to revolt against the slavery imposed on their minds. We may use the Indians for our benefit in this world, but let them serve themselves as they can in the next. All religions must be tolerated in Bengal, except in the practice of some inhuman customs, which the Mahommedans have already, in a great measure, destroyed. We must not permit young widows, in their virtuous enthusiasm, to throw themselves on the funeral pile with their dead husbands; nor the sick and aged to be drowned, when their friends despair of their lives.

The Hindoo religion, in other respects, inspires the purest morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greatest degree of subordination to authority, it prepares mankind for the government of foreign lords. It supplies, by its well-followed precepts, the place of penal laws; and it renders

crimes almost unknown in the land. The peaceable sentiments which it breathes, will check the more warlike doctrines promulgated by the Coran. The prudent successors of Timur saw that the Hindoo religion was favourable to their power; and they sheathed the sword, which the other princes of the Mahommedan persuasion employed in establishing their own faith, in all their conquests. Freedom of conscience was always enjoyed in India in the absence of political freedom.

Attention must be paid to the usages and very prejudices of the people, as well as a regard for their religion. Though many things of that kind may appear absurd and trivial among Europeans, they are of the utmost importance among the Indians. The least breach of them may be productive of an expulsion from the society; a more dreadful punishment Draco himself could not devise. But the caution about religion is superfluous: these are no converting days. Among the list of crimes committed in Bengal, persecution for religion is not to be found; and he that will consent to part with his property, may carry his opinions away with freedom.

The Executive Power.

THE great path of general regulation is with less difficulty traced, than the minute lines which carry the current of government from the centre to the extremities of the state. Practice resists theory more on this subject than in any other; and the wisest legislators can neither foresee nor prevent obstacles, which may rise in the progress of time. In a country where the body of the people meet annually, in their representatives, to new inconveniences new remedies may be instantly applied; and even the mandate of the despot loses half its tyranny, in the expedition with which it opposes evil.

The distance of Bengal from the eye of the British legislature, renders it extremely difficult for them to frame laws against every emergency that may arise; and it is equally difficult, with propriety, to create a legislative authority in a kingdom, which cannot, in the nature of things, have a representative of its own. The executive power being vested in the governor and council, it is dangerous to trust them with the legislative; and it is impossible to permit the court of justice, which we mean to propose, to make those laws upon which they are to decide. The least of two evils is preferred by the prudent. Let the governor and council suggest annually, in their general letter, the necessary regulations; and these, after being duly weighed by the Company, in their collective body at home, be laid before parliament, to be by them, if found just, necessary, and equitable, framed into a law. The general laws for the government of Bengal being, by the British legislature once established, the inconveniences which may arise in India, will neither be so great nor detrimental as to occasion much mischief for one, or even two years; in which time, the proposed regulations, sent home by the governor and council, will return to them with the force of laws.

The executive power, in its full extent, as at present, must be vested in a president and council, of which the chief justice and commander in chief of the troops ought to be, *ex officio*, members. The number should be increased to sixteen, of which any five, with the president, may form a board; and ten always to reside at Calcutta, exclusive of the chief justice and the commander in chief, should even the peaceableness of the times permit him to be absent from the army. The four remaining counsellors should be directed to reside in the capitals of the larger districts, into which, for the benefit of justice, we shall hereafter divide the provinces of Bengal and Behâr. The business for forming regulations to make a foundation of a law, being of the last

importance, ought never to come before less than ten members in council, of whom the chief justice ought invariably to be one.

Let a general board of revenue be established at Calcutta, at which a member of the council is to preside. Let this board, in its inferior departments, be conducted by the Company's servants; and let it receive the correspondence and check the accounts of four other boards of the same kind, but of inferior jurisdiction, to be fixed at Dacca, Murshedabâd, Mongeer, and Patna. Let the provinces of Bengal and Behâr be divided into five equal divisions, each subject, in the first instance, to one of the four boards, which are all under the control of the superior board of revenue established at Calcutta. In the lesser districts, let a Company's servant superintend the collection of the revenue; and be accountable for his transactions to the board under whose jurisdiction he acts.

The wild chaos of government, if the absence of all rule deserves the name, which subsists in Bengal, must be utterly removed. There some faint traces of the British constitution is mixed with the positive orders of a Court of Directors, the convenient and temporary expedients of a trading governor and council, the secret orders of the select committee, the influence of the president with the Nabob, and the boisterous despotism of Mahommed Riza. To separate, or even to restrain, them within proper bounds, is beyond human capacity; some branches must be lopt off to give more vigour and room to others to flourish. Mubârick must retire from the Musnud; Mahommed Riza and the secret committee vanish away; and even the council itself must be restrained from BREVI MANU despotism; such as, the sending home, by force, British subjects, and dismissing officers without the sentence of a court martial.

Judicial Power.

To preserve the health of the political body, the pure stream of impartial justice must rush with vigour through every vein. When it meets with obstructions, a disease is produced; and when the whole mass becomes corrupted, a langour succeeds, which frequently terminates in death. To drop the metaphor, the distributers of justice ought to be independent of every thing but the law. The executive part of government must not interfere with the decisions of the judge, otherwise that officer, who was created for the defence of the subject from injury, becomes a tool of oppression in the hands of despotism.

The first principle of wise legislation is to open an easy passage to the temple of justice. Where the seat of redress is either distant or difficult of access, an injury is forgot to avoid the trouble of complaint; and thus injustice is encouraged by the almost certain prospect of impunity. To avoid this evil, the Author of the Inquiry thinks it necessary, that the act of the legislature, which shall constitute the mode of distributing justice, should also divide Bengal and Behâr into five great provinces, the capitals of which ought to be Calcutta, Murshedabâd, and Dacca, in Bengal; and Patna and Mongeer in Behâr. Let each of these five great divisions be subdivided into ten Chucklas, or extensive districts, almost the number of which the kingdom consists at present; and let each of these be still subdivided into an indefinite number of Pergunnas.

To bring justice, to use a certain author's words, home to the door of every man, let there, in each village, be established, as in the days of the empire, a Muckuddum, to act as a constable for the preservation of the peace. A Sheichdâr, with a commission similar to that of a justice of the peace, should be fixed in the most centrical part of the Per-

gunna or lesser district, to whom disputes, which cannot be quashed by the authority of the Muckuddum, or constable, may be referred. Let the court of this officer, however, communicate with another of a more extensive and ample jurisdiction, established in the capital of the division or district, of which the Pergunna is a part.

Similar to the office of a Sheikdâr or justice of the peace, ought to be that of the Cutwâl or mayor of great towns and considerable cities. The wisdom of the house of Timur established this officer, to animadvert upon thieves, gamblers, and other miscreants; to remove nuisances, to suppress pimps and jugglers, to prevent forestalling of grain and other provisions; to be the regulator of the market, and to decide in all trivial and vexatious disputes, that tended toward a breach of the peace. His ministerial office coincided almost with that of the mayors of our lesser towns; and his court was the counterpart of the now obsolete CURIA PEDIS PULVERIZATI, mentioned by our lawyers.

In every Chuckla, or greater division, let there be established a court similar in its nature, but different in its mode, to the courts of Cutcherri, instituted in the days of the empire. Let this court be composed of the Company's servant, residing for the collection of the revenue in the Chuckla, and of two Mahommed Cazis, and two Brahmins. The servant of the Company ought to be the nominal president of the court, but only to sit when the voices are equal, to throw his casting-vote on the side of equity. In such a case the process to begin anew. The fees of the court must be regulated, and a table of the expence of every article to be hung up to public view in the common hall. The punishment for corruption, upon conviction in the supreme court of Bengal, ought to rise to a degree of severity suitable to the danger of the crime.

This court, besides the power of hearing appeals from the decisions of the Sheichdâr in the lesser districts, ought to

retain its ancient authority, subject, however, to an appeal from decisions beyond a sum to be specified, to the provincial courts, which shall be hereafter described. Its jurisdiction ought to extend to the contracting and dissolving of marriages, to the settlement of dowries for women, and the succession to money and moveables among children, according to the respective institutes of the Mahommedan and Hindoo systems of religion. It ought also to be a court of record; and to be obliged to keep an exact register of all public and private contracts, births, marriages, and deaths; and, to execute that department of the business, a Canongoe and a Mutaseddy, as clerks, ought to be annexed to each court. These, with other matters to be described in the succeeding section, ought to comprehend the whole power of the court of Cutcherri.

In each of the capitals of the five provinces, a member of the council of state at Calcutta ought to reside. He, together with possessing the management of the Company's commercial affairs in his province, ought to be empowered, by a special commission, with three assessors of the elder resident servants, to form and preside in a court of justice, which we shall, for distinction, call The provincial court of appeal. To direct their judgment upon points of law, an officer, under the name of Attorney-general for the province, ought to be appointed to give his advice, together with a Mahommedan Cazi and an Indian Brahmin, to explain the principles of their respective institutions and usages, and to tender oaths to the parties. Suits may originate in this court; and it ought to have the power of removing before itself the proceedings of the court of Cutcherri.

To establish thoroughly the independence of the judicial on the executive power, a supreme court, from which an appeal ought to lie only to Great Britain, should be erected at Calcutta, by the authority of the legislature. Let it consist of a chief justice and three *puisné* justices, who derive

their commissions from the king; and let them be in Bengal the counterpart of the court of king's bench in England. The jurisdiction of this court, which, from its transcendent power, may be called the supreme court of Bengal, ought to extend, without limitation, over the whole kingdom; and to keep the inferior courts, within the bounds of their authority; as well as to decide ultimately upon all appeals. It ought to protect the just rights of the subject, by its sudden and even summary interposition; and to take cognizance of criminal as well as of civil causes.

To carry justice, in criminal matters, with all the expedition possible, through our conquests, it is proposed, that two of the *puisné* justices shall, twice a year, go on circuits, to the respective capitals of the five provinces, one into the three provinces in Bengal, and one into the two, into which Behâr is to be divided. The *puisné* justice shall sit, upon these occasions, with the members of the provincial court; but the member of the council who is the president of the court, shall still be considered as the principal judge. In criminal matters, the culprit shall be tried by a jury of British subjects only; there being always a sufficient number of good and lawful men to form a jury, in the capital of the province. In the supreme court at Calcutta, disputes between the natives may be decided in civil cases, according to equity, without a jury, by the judges; but, in suits between British subjects, the matter ought to be tried by a jury, upon the principles of the law of England.

The sole management of the revenue of Bengal, being in the Company, many capital alterations are necessary to be made in that important branch. The great channel of public justice has been, by the above regulations, separated from the executive power; but some part of the judicial authority must still remain in the Company's hands. To manage the receipts of the revenue, it has been already mentioned, that five boards must be formed, the superior one of

which to remain in Calcutta. The boards ought to consist of two divisions, or rather of two sides; the receipt of the Exchequer, and the judicial part, which must enable them to enforce the payment of the revenues.

The mode of proceeding in this branch ought to rise in the same gradations with the course of appeals in the civil line of disputes between man and man. Let the Cutcherries enforce the payment of the revenues of the Chucklas, under an appeal to the provincial board, whose decisions, beyond certain sums, ought to be subject to the revision of the general board at Calcutta. But, as the state must not suffer through delay, let the sum in dispute, upon a decision against the subject, by any of the courts of revenue before whom the suit shall originate, be forthwith paid into the exchequer; and let the person aggrieved seek for redress, by petition, to the court which is placed immediately above that court of whose decision he complains.

The board of revenue, in each of the capital cities of the five provinces, except in Calcutta, where no court of law except the supreme court exists, is to be made up of the same persons whom we have already placed as judges in the provincial court of appeal. The court of exchequer, in England, examines, by a fiction, into all sorts of civil causes. It is necessary to preclude the boards of revenue from such powers as a court of exchequer. As provincial courts of common law, their decisions are liable to an appeal to the supreme court at Calcutta, and therefore any prejudices which they may be supposed to imbibe, as members of the executive part of government, cannot be of great detriment to the people, subject as their proceedings are to a court not amenable to the jurisdiction of the Company.

Observations on the Judicial Power.

THE despotism which naturally sprung from the double government which arose on the foundation of the success of our arms in Bengal, repressed one evil, whilst it gave birth to a thousand. Those frequent disputes which grow between individuals, where the access to justice is easy, were quashed by a terror which prevented an unfortunate people from appearing before rulers who wanted but an excuse to oppress. The hand of power fell heavy upon both the plaintiff and defendant; and, therefore, men put up with injuries from one another, in hopes of concealing themselves from the rigid eyes of government. This alludes to the boisterous tyranny of the minister of a nominal Nabob; indolence was more our crime, than cruelty.

The doors opened to justice in the preceding section, will, without doubt, introduce an ample harvest for men of the law; but it is better that they should live by litigiousness, than that the people should perish by tyranny. The objection rising from this circumstance must therefore vanish in the utility of the thing; and another objection, just as obvious, may be as easily removed. It may be thought impolitic by some, that any part of the judicial authority should remain in the hands of the natives. But this is objected in vain. The officers of justice, as well as being subject to a revision of their decrees to the British, derive from them their own power; and the people, by being left in possession of some of their laws and usages, will be flattered into an inviolable submission to our government.

Though the inhabitants of Bengal are, from their natural disposition, prepared to submit to any system of government, founded upon justice, there are some laws of their own, which absolute power itself must not violate. The regulations with regard to their women and religion, must never

be touched; and, upon mature consideration, the Author of the Inquiry is of opinion, that many other ancient institutions might be left entire. There are, however, particular usages established by time into a law, which our humanity must destroy. No pecuniary compensation must be permitted for murder; no theft be punished by cutting off the hand. Let the Mahommedan laws still in force against the Hindoos be abrogated; let no women burn themselves with their husbands, no dying person be exposed by his friends.

To leave the natives entirely to their own laws, would be to consign them to anarchy and confusion. The inhabitants of Bengal are divided into two religious sects, the Mahommedan and Hindoo, almost equal in point of numbers. Averse, beyond measure, to one another, both on account of religion and the memory of mutual injuries, the one party will not now submit to the laws of the other; and the dissension which subsists between individuals, would, without a pressure from another power, spread in a flame over the whole kingdom. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the peace and prosperity of the country, that the laws of England, in so far as they do not oppose prejudices and usages which cannot be relinquished by the natives, should prevail. The measure, besides its equity, is calculated to preserve that influence which conquerors must possess to retain their power.

The expence of the judicial establishment is but trivial, if compared to the advantages which the kingdom of Bengal must derive from such a necessary institution. The judges in every country should be placed in affluence; in Bengal they ought to derive a fortune from the labour of some years. The natives of a northern climate settle not for life in the torrid zone; they always place the prospect of returning with wealth to their friends, among their great inducements for venturing to cross the ocean. The following table presents an estimate of the annual expence of justice in Bengal.

The Supreme Court of Bengal.

One chief justice	£. 10,000	
Three *puisné* justices	15,000	
One attorney general	3,000	
One register	2,000	
Two Cazis and two Brahmins, to attend the court	0,400	
Contingencies	1,000	
		£. 31,400
The four provincial courts of appeal, *consisting of the Company's servants*:		
Four counsellors, as presidents . .	£. 2,000	
Twelve assessors	2,400	
One provincial attorney in each . .	2,000	
One register in each	0,800	
One Cazi and one Brahmin in each	0,800	
Contingencies in all	1,600	
		£. 9,600
Fifty courts of Cutcherri:		
Fifty presidents, being servants of the Company	£. 5,000	
Two hundred assessors	10,000	
Fifty registers	1,500	
Fifty Clerks	1,000	
		£. 17,500
		£. 58,500

The above calculation, it is hoped, will not be thought extravagant, for dispensing justice to fifteen millions of

people. The salaries of the members of the boards of revenue, and of these, as forming courts of exchequer, are not mentioned, as the Company is supposed to pay its own servants, with certain sums and lucrative privileges for the whole of their trouble. The Sheichdârs, the Cutwâls, and the Muckuddums, have no salaries; the influence and distinction which they shall derive from their employments, being a sufficient reward for their toil.

General Reflections on the Plan.

PROPERTY being once established, and the forms of justice to protect it delineated, public prosperity is placed on a solid foundation. But the love of money, which generally prevails, renders the most of mankind more anxious to possess present profit, than to look forward to future advantage. The plan which we have laid down in the preceding sections, will begin to yield an apparent benefit from its commencement; at the same time that the tide will become the more rapid the longer it flows.

The immediate pecuniary advantages which will rise to Bengal, are to be derived from various sources. The removal of the Emperor, either to Patna or Mongeer, will save to the kingdom his pension of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; the revenues of the territory of Bulwant Singh, three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds to be spent in Bengal; and fifty thousand pounds, which is now sent abroad without hopes of return, to pay three battalions of our troops, stationed at Allahabâd. This sum of six hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds, thrown at once into the circulation, would animate the languid pulse of commerce; and at once prepare the kingdom for the commercial improvements, which the plan, in its other regulations, seems absolutely to ensure.

The future advantages arise also from various springs. The influx of specie and inhabitants, which the sale of the waste as well as of the cultivated lands, would draw from all the other provinces of Hindostan, would be productive of immediate national wealth. The advancement of agriculture would promote the advancement of manufactures. The peace of the country would be secured from abroad; and justice, by prevailing at home, would attach the natives to a government, on the stability of which the possession of their landed property depended. The establishment of a paper currency, on national faith and the Company's security, would enable mankind to bring all their property into action, lower the exorbitant interest of money, and render Bengal, in the space of a few years, the most commercial, the most flourishing, and the most wealthy kingdom, of its extent, in Asia.

The Company, in the midst of the prosperity of the subject, would amazingly thrive in their affairs. A sum not less than ten millions, independent of their revenue, would, in the space of four years, flow from the first sales of the land into their coffers. The improvement of their present revenue would join issue with its future certainty and permanency. A large annual sum would arise from a thorough examination of tenures; and from imposts already laid upon fairs, markets, entrance into great towns, shops, magazines of grain, fees upon marriages, tolls collected at ferries, licences for exercising trades, ground-rent of houses, which though at present paid by the public, have never been brought to account by Mahommed Riza and the general farmers. These articles, at the lowest average, might amount to the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds. Five hundred thousand pounds would yearly be saved in pensions, and on the charge of collection; besides, the immense increase in the revenues, which would most certainly be derived from the growing prosperity of the kingdom.

The absolute establishment of property, without which written law seems superfluous to society, is, as has been observed, the foundation upon which national prosperity is laid. Regulations which stop short of this primary object, are only temporary expedients, which may, for a time, alleviate the pain of the distemper, but can never cure it. A tacit acquiescence in the right of possession of the natives, the prevention of some part of the present national waste, a mild despotism, which we may dignify with the name of justice, will have an immediate good effect; but the advantage is limited, partial, and transient; and the Author of the Inquiry will venture to affirm, that, unless something similar to what has been, in the preceding sections, proposed, is adopted, Bengal will, in the course of a few years, decline into a shadow, and vanish from our hands.

Miracles are not to be expected in this age; and, without them, in the absence of a bold and determined exertion, the boasted fruits of our victories in the East will wither with our laurels. A kingdom, lying under all the disadvantages of a foreign conquest, which, without return, deprives it of one million and a half of its annual industry, must sink under the weight, unless it is placed on a better footing than the surrounding countries which pay no tribute. Let our justice to our own subjects, let the advantages of our regulations, entice foreigners with their wealth to settle among us; let us, without the sword, appropriate the wealth of India by our policy; otherwise the stream which flows into Great Britain will soon become dry. The lake, which feeds it, has already disappeared from the banks. Temporary regulations may dazzle with their immediate effect; but a permanent plan, which in its wide circle comprehends futurity, will preserve the vigour and health of Bengal, to the verge of that political death, to which all empires seem to be subjected by fate.

Concluding Reflections.

ARGUMENTS deduced from general principles, however obvious they may appear, strike not the bulk of mankind so forcibly as facts. The revenues of Bengal, without including the Jagieers, amounted, in the year 1766, to near three millions and six hundred thousand pounds of our money. The charges of collection, the Nabob's government, pensions, civil, military, and marine expences, being deducted, there remained a balance of one million three hundred thousand pounds, for the Company. The expences have since been increasing yearly, and the revenues decreasing. Both were hastening to that middle point, which would balance the accounts of the British nation, with the fortune of their arms in the East.

To conceal this decrease as much as possible, men fell on a very shallow and poor expedient. The servants of the Company protracted the time of closing the accounts to make up the usual sum; and, by these means, an encroachment of five months was, by degrees, made upon the succeeding year. To understand this circumstance, it is necessary to observe, that the collections are not fixed to a particular term. They are continued without intermission, and the produce of the five months, which may amount to one million five hundred thousand pounds, must be deducted from the accounts made up, since the Dewanny was submitted to our management.

Notwithstanding this deception, it was not the only deficiency in the state of money affairs. The revenues of the year 1769 had, besides, fallen short five hundred thousand pounds; and what further reduction the famine which ensued may have made, time can only demonstrate. By the best accounts from Bengal, there was not a balance of five hundred thousand pounds remaining, after all expences were

paid; and this was not above half the sum necessary to purchase the annual investments of the Company. No fair conclusion, however, can be drawn from the produce of one year; and the vigilance of the Court of Directors has since established some beneficial regulations. To flatter the sanguine, we will suppose, that the net balance will amount, on the present footing, to one million. The sum is just sufficient for the investments of the Company; without leaving a single farthing in the treasury to answer any extraordinary emergency.

The advantages of the proposed plan are obvious; and, therefore, easily explained. Let it be supposed, that the rent-roll of the year 1766 shall be taken as the rule of the quit-rent to be paid, after the sale of the lands. Let none think this sum too much. Under the management of the proprietors, the lands would in a few years produce, thrice the sum of three millions six hundred thousand pounds; but the subject must receive a bribe for his industry. The Company, at present, complain, that the Talookdârs, or those who possess lands in property, run away with all the tenants. Their estates are flourishing, whilst our limited policy of letting the lands by the year, has created solitudes around. After a thorough examination of fictitious tenures, private encroachments, and public embezzlements, we may, with great propriety, venture to add, at least one million to the above sum. But to speak with a moderation which precludes reply, we shall only take it for granted, that four hundred thousand pounds are, by these means, only gained. Even this sum will fix the annual revenue at four millions; and there let it rest till the prosperity of the country shall authorise an increase, by slight imposts on trade and the articles of consumption.

The abolition of the tyrannical and impolitic government of the Nabob, will be a saving of five hundred thousand pounds on the annual expences. The fact is notorious, that

the real expence of this secondary and intermediate government, in pensions and in the mode of collection, exceeds six hundred thousand pounds; but the judicial and fiscal systems established in the preceding plan will not exceed one hundred thousand pounds, with all the advantages of a salutary and equitable administration of justice and law. To this sum we may add the five hundred thousand pounds which have fallen off from the revenue, as the first-fruits of the plan; all which, supposing the expences of the civil, military, and marine departments to remain as at present, would make an annual difference of one million four hundred thousand pounds, in favour of the Company. The investments of the Company might in that case be increased, yet leave a sum for the treasury in Calcutta for emergencies.

The treasury, however, ought not to be too rich, lest circulation should deaden in the kingdom. Two millions in specie would be sufficient. To employ the surplus to advantage, together with the ten millions, which are supposed to arise from the sale of the lands, a bank ought to be established for the purpose of lending out sums of money, not exceeding three years' purchase on landed security to the proprietors, at the interest of seven per centum. The land-holders would be, by these means, enabled to raise the necessary sums, at less than half the interest which they now pay; and the Company would have good security for their advances. Let us suppose, that, in the course of a few years, ten millions were lent upon these terms, that sum would produce an annual interest of seven hundred thousand pounds; which, upon the whole plan, makes a yearly balance, in favour of the Company, of TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS MORE THAN THEY AT PRESENT RECEIVE, exclusive of a PRODIGIOUS and GROWING TREASURE; and the moderate imposts which may be hereafter laid on articles of luxury.

The Plan, to speak the least in its favour, is practicable in

its great and general line. It would produce, even partially followed, immense, sudden, and permanent advantages; but no human foresight can absolutely estimate the precise sums. Though the Author of the Inquiry has not the vanity to suppose that his scheme is, in all its branches, infallible, he will venture to pledge himself to his country, that, should the more material parts of his system be adopted, the advantages to be derived from it would not fall short of his calculations. His knowledge of the kingdom of Bengal, and its various resources, gives him a confidence on this subject, to which he is not entitled by his abilities.

THE

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A Dissertation concerning the ancient History of the Indians.

THE accounts of the ancients concerning India are extremely unsatisfactory; and the industry of the moderns has not supplied that defect, by an inquiry into the domestic literature of that part of the world. The Greeks and Romans scarcely ever extended their informations beyond the limits of their conquests; and the Arabians, though minute in the detail of their own transactions, are very imperfect, in the history of those nations whom they subdued.

The aversion of the Indians themselves to disclose the annals of their history, which are interspersed with their religious tenets, to strangers, has, in a manner, involved their transactions, in ancient times, in impenetrable darkness. The only light to conduct us through the obscure paths of their antiquities, we derive from an historical poem, founded upon real facts, translated into the Persian language in the reign of Mahommed Akbar, who died in the 1605th of the Christian æra. The author of the History of India, now translated from the Persian, has extracted some facts from the poem, which we shall arrange into order, in a more succinct, and, perhaps, in a more agreeable manner, than they were delivered down by him.

The Indians divide the age of the world into four grand periods, each of which consists of an incredible number of years. The last of these, called the CAL period, comprehends thirty thousand years, near five thousand of which have already elapsed. The Brahmins relate many fictions concerning the former three, but their authentic accounts extend not further than the commencement of the CAL period.

According to the Maha-Barit, or the Great War, the name of the poem we have already mentioned, India, some time after the commencement of the CAL æra, was formed into one empire. The founder of the first dynasty of its Kings was Krishen, who, and his posterity, reigned over the Indians for the space of four hundred years. Very little concerning this race of monarchs has come to our knowledge, except that they held their court in the city of Oud, the capital of a province of the same name, to the north-east of the kingdom of Bengal.

Maraja, who was descended, by a female of the royal house of Krishen, succeeded to the throne after the extinction of the male line. He is said to have been a good and great prince, devoting his whole time to the just administration of public affairs. Under him the governments of provinces became hereditary, for the first time in particular families; and he is said, though perhaps erroneously, to have been the first who divided the Indians into those four distinct tribes, which we have mentioned in the dissertation concerning their religion and philosophy. Learning is said to have flourished under Maraja, and little else is recorded concerning his reign. His family, who all bore the name of Maraja, enjoyed the throne of India for seven hundred years.

Towards the close of the æra of the royal dynasty of the Marajas, the first invasion of India by the Persians is placed. One of the blood-royal of India, disgusted with the reigning prince, fled into Persia, whose king was called Feredon. That monarch espousing the

cause of the fugitive, sent an army into Hindostan, and carried on a war with that empire for the space of ten years. The country, during so long a series of hostilities, suffered exceedingly, and the Maraja, who sat on the throne, was obliged to cede part of his dominions to the fugitive prince, who, it seems, was his nephew. A tribute, at the same time, was sent to the king of Persia, and the empire of India seems ever after to depend, in some measure, upon that of Persia.

During the Persian war, the imperial governors of Ceylon and the Carnatic rebelled. The eldest son of the Emperor was killed in battle, and his army defeated, by the rebels. Maraja was, at the same time, threatened with a second Persian invasion, but some presents well applied diverted the storm from India, though not without ceding to the Persians all the provinces upon the Indus. The imperial general, who opposed the invasion from the north, turning his arms against the Decan, recovered that extensive country to the empire, together with the revolted islands. That species of music, which still subsists in the eastern provinces, is said to have been introduced, during this expedition, from the Tellenganians of the Decan. We have no further particulars concerning this long line of kings.

When the family of the Marajas became extinct, one Kesro-raja mounted the throne of India, as near as we can compute the time, about 1429 years before the Christian æra. This prince was descended, by the mother's side, from the royal house of the Marajas. He is said, at his accession, to have had fourteen brothers, whom he made governors of different provinces. It appears that the island of Ceylon was not thoroughly reduced till the reign of Kesro-raja, who went in person to that country, and subdued the rebels. The Decan revolted in his time, and to reduce it Kesro-raja solicited the aid of his Lord Paramount, the King of Persia. An army from that country, in conjunction with the imperial forces of India, soon reduced the Decan, and the customary tribute was

continued to the Persian. Kesro-raja, and his posterity after him, reigned in peace over India, in the capital of Oud, for the space of two hundred and twenty years.

In the 1209 before the commencement of the Christian æra, we find one Feros-ra on the throne of India. He is said to have been versed in the Indian sciences of the Shaster, to have taken great delight in the society of learned men, and to have entirely neglected the art of war. He expended the public revenue upon devotees and enthusiasts, and in building temples for worship in every province of his dominions. Notwithstanding this outward show of religion, Feros-ra did not hesitate to take the opportunity of a Tartar invasion of Persia, to wrest from that empire the provinces upon the Indus, which had been ceded, by his predecessors, for the assistance received from the King of Persia in the reduction of the Decan.

It is related, by some authors, that Punjâb, or the province lying upon the five branches which compose the Indus, were in possession of the empire of Hindostan till the reign of Kei Kobad, King of Persia. In his time, Rustum Dista, King of the Persian province of Seistan, who, for his great exploits, is styled the Hercules of the East, invaded the Northern provinces of India; and the prince of the family of Feros-ra, who sat on the throne, unable to oppose the progress of that hero's arms, retired to the mountains of Turhat. Rustum soon dispossessed him of that fastness, and it is said that the King of India died, a fugitive, in the mountains on the confines of Bengal and Orissa. The dynasty of Feros-ra comprehends one hundred and thirty-seven years.

The whole empire of India fell into the hands of the victor, by the death of the King. Rustum, however, was not willing to retain it as a dependent of Persia, on account of its distance, and he placed a new family on the throne. The name of the prince raised to the empire, by Rustum, was Suraja, who was a man of abi-

lities, and restored the power of the empire. This dynasty commenced about 1072 before the Christian æra; and it lasted two hundred and eighty-six years.

It is affirmed, by the Brahmins, that it was in the time of this dynasty that the worship of emblematical figures of the divine attributes, was first established in India. The Persians, in their invasions, say they, introduced the worship of the Sun, and other heavenly bodies, together with the proper symbol of God, the element of fire; but the mental adoration of the Divinity, as one Supreme Being, was still followed by many. The great city of Kinoge, so long the capital of Hindostan, was built by one of the Surajas, on the banks of the Ganges. The circumference of its walls are said to have been near one hundred miles.

After the extinction or deposition of the royal house of Suraja, Baraja acceded to the throne of Hindostan, which he possessed thirty-six years. We know little concerning him, but that he built the city of Barage, still remaining in India. He had a genius for music, and wrote some books upon that subject, which were long in high repute. He, at last, grew disordered in his senses, became tyrannical, and was deposed by Keidar, a Brahmin, who assumed the empire.

Keidar, being a man of learning and genius, became an excellent prince. He paid the customary tribute to the King of Persia, and so secured his kingdom from foreign invasion. A domestic enemy, however, arose, that at length deprived him, in the nineteenth year of his reign, of his life and empire. This was Sinkol, a native of Kinoge, who breaking out into open rebellion, in Bengal and Behâr, defeated, in several battles, the imperial army, and mounted the throne.

Sinkol was a warlike and magnificent prince. He rebuilt the capital of Bengal, famous under the names of Lucknouti and Goura, and adorned it with many noble structures. Goura is said to have been the chief city of Bengal for two thousand years; and the ruins

that still remain, prove that it has been an amazingly magnificent place. The unwholesomeness of the air prevailed upon the imperial family of Timur to order its being abandoned, and Tanda became the seat of government two hundred and fifty years ago.

Sinkol, keeping an immense army in pay, was induced to withhold the tribute from the King of Persia, and to turn the ambassador of that Monarch, with disgrace, from his court. Fifty thousand Persian horse, under their general, Peiran, invaded India, and advanced without much opposition to the confines of Bengal, where they came to battle with the imperial army, under Sinkol. Though the bravery of the Persians was much superior to that of the Hindoos, they were, at last, by the mere weight of numbers, driven from the field, and obliged to take shelter, in a strong post, in the neighbouring mountains, from whence the victors found it impossible to dislodge them. They continued to ravage the country, from their strong hold, and dispatched letters to Persia, to inform the King of their situation.

Affrasiab, for that, say the Brahmins, was the name of the monarch who reigned, in the days of Sinkol, over Persia and a great part of Tartary, was at the city of Gindis, near the borders of China, when he received intelligence of the misfortune of his army in India. He hastened to their relief with one hundred thousand horse, came to battle with the Emperor Sinkol, whom he totally defeated, and pursued to the capital of Bengal. Sinkol did not think it safe to remain long at that place, and therefore took refuge in the inaccessible mountains of Turhat. Affrasiab, in the mean time, laid waste the country with fire and sword. Sinkol thought it prudent to beg peace and forgiveness of Affrasiab, and he accordingly came, in the character of a suppliant, to the Persian camp, with a sword and a coffin carried before him, to signify that his life was in the disposal of the King. Sinkol was

carried prisoner to Tartary, as an hostage for the obedience of his son Rohata, who was placed upon the throne of Hindostan.

Sinkol died in the 731 year before the Christian æra, and Rohata continued his reign over India. He was a wise, religious, and affable prince. The revenues of the empire, which extended from Kirmi to Malava, he divided into three parts; one he expended in charities, another he sent to Persia, by way of tribute, and to support his father; and a third he appropriated to the necessary expences of government. The standing army of the empire was, upon this account, small, which encouraged the prince of Malava to revolt, and to support himself in his rebellion, Rohata built the famous fort of Rhotas, and left what remained to him of the empire, in peace, to his son. The race of Sinkol held the sceptre of India 81 years after his death, and then became extinct.

After a long dispute about the succession, a chief of the Raja-put tribe of Cutswa, assumed the dignities of the empire, under the name of Maraja. The first act of the reign of Maraja, was the reduction of Guzerat, where some disturbances had happened in the time of his predecessor. He built a port in that country, where he constructed vessels, and carried on commerce with all the states of Asia. He mounted the throne, according to the annals of India, in the 586 year before the birth of Christ, and reigned forty years. He is said to have been cotemporary with Gustasp, or Hystaspes, the father of Darius, who mounted the throne of Persia after the death of Smerdis. It is worthy of being remarked in this place, that the chronology of the Hindoos agrees, almost exactly, with that established by Sir Isaac Newton. Newton fixes the commencement of the reign of Darius in the 521 year before the Christian æra; so that, if we suppose that Hystaspes, who was governor of Turkestan, or Transoxiana, made a figure in Tartary twenty-five years before the accession of his son to the throne of Persia,

which is no way improbable, the chronology of India agrees perfectly with that of Sir Isaac Newton.

Keda-raja, who was nephew, by a sister, to the former emperor, was nominated by him to the throne. Rustum Dista, the Persian governor of the ceded Indian provinces, being dead, Keda-raja turned his arms that way, reduced the countries upon the Indus, and fixed his residence in the city of Bera. The mountaineers of Cabul and Candahar, who are now called Afgans, or Patans, advanced against Keda-raja, and recovered all the provinces of which he had possessed himself upon the Indus. We know no more of the transactions of Keda-raja. He died after a reign of forty-three years.

Jei-chund, the commander in chief of Keda-raja's armies, found no great difficulty in mounting the throne after the death of his sovereign. We know little of the transactions of the reign of Jei-chund. A pestilence and famine happened in his time, and he himself was addicted to indolence and pleasure. He reigned sixty years, and his son succeeded him in the empire, but was dispossessed by Delu, the brother of Jei-chund. Bemin and Darâb, or Darius, say the Indians, were two successive Kings of Persia, in the days of Jei-chund, and he punctually paid to them the stipulated tribute.

Delu is said to have been a prince of uncommon bravery and generosity; benevolent towards men, and devoted to the service of God. The most remarkable transaction of his reign is the building of the city of Delhi, which derives its name from its founder, Delu. In the fortieth year of his reign, Phoor, a prince of his own family, who was governor of Cumaoon, rebelled against the Emperor, and marched to Kinoge, the capital. Delu was defeated, taken, and confined in the impregnable fort of Rhotas.

Phoor immediately mounted the throne of India, reduced Bengal, extended his power from sea to sea, and restored the empire to its pristine dignity. He died after

a long reign, and left the kingdom to his son, who was also called Phoor, and was the same with the famous Porus, who fought against Alexander.

The second Phoor, taking advantage of the disturbances in Persia, occasioned by the Greek invasion of that empire under Alexander, neglected to remit the customary tribute, which drew upon him the arms of that conqueror. The approach of Alexander did not intimidate Phoor. He, with a numerous army, met him at Sirhind, about one hundred and sixty miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in a furious battle, say the Indian historians, lost many thousands of his subjects, the victory, and his life. The most powerful prince of the Decan, who paid an unwilling homage to Phoor, or Porus, hearing of that monarch's overthrow, submitted himself to Alexander, and sent him rich presents by his son. Soon after, upon a mutiny arising in the Macedonian army, Alexander returned by the way of Persia.

Sinsarchund, the same whom the Greeks call Sandrocottus, assumed the imperial dignity after the death of Phoor, and in a short time regulated the discomposed concerns of the empire. He neglected not, in the mean time, to remit the customary tribute to the Grecian captains, who possessed Persia under, and after the death of, Alexander. Sinsarchund, and his son after him, possessed the empire of India seventy years. When the grandson of Sinsarchund acceded to the throne, a prince named Jona, who is said to have been a grand-nephew of Phoor, though that circumstance is not well attested, aspiring to the throne, rose in arms against the reigning prince, and deposed him.

Jona was an excellent prince, endued with many and great good qualities. He took great pains in peopling and in cultivating the waste parts of Hindostan, and his indefatigable attention to the police of the country established to him a lasting reputation for justice and benevolence. Jona acceded to the throne of India little more than two hundred and sixty years before

the commencement of the Christian æra; and, not many years after, Aridshere, whom the Greeks call Arsaces, possessing himself of the Eastern provinces of Persia, expelled the successors of Alexander, and founded the Parthian, or second Persian empire. Arsaces assumed the name of King about two hundred and fifty-six years before Christ, according to the writers of Greece, which perfectly agrees with the accounts of the Brahmins. Aridshere, or Arsaces, claimed and established the right of Persia to a tribute from the empire of India; and Jona, fearing his arms, made him a present of elephants and a vast quantity of gold and jewels. Jona reigned long after this transaction, in great tranquillity, at Kinoge; and he and his posterity together possessed the throne peaceably, during the space of ninety years.

Callian-chund, by what means is not certain, was in possession of the empire of Hindostan about one hundred and seventy years before the commencement of our æra. He was of an evil disposition, oppressive, tyrannical, and cruel. Many of the best families in Hindostan, to avoid his tyrannies, fled beyond the verge of the empire; so that, say the Brahmin writers, the lustre of the court, and the beauty of the country, were greatly diminished. The dependent princes at length took arms, and Callian-chund, being deserted by his troops, fled, and died in obscurity.

With him the empire of India may be said to have fallen. The princes and governors assumed independence, and though some great men, by their valour and conduct, raised themselves afterwards to the title of Emperors, there never was a regular succession of Kings. From the time of Callian-chund, the scanty records we have, give very little light in the affairs of India, to the time of Bicker-Majit, King of Malava, who made a great figure in that part of the world.

Bicker-Majit is one of the most renowned characters in Indian history. In policy, justice, and wisdom, they affirm that he had no equal. He is said to have

travelled over a great part of the East, in the habit of a mendicant devotee, in order to acquire the learning, arts, and policy of foreign nations. It was not till after he was fifty years of age that he made a great figure in the field; and his uncommon success, justified, in some measure, a notion, that he was impelled to take arms by divine command. In a few months he reduced the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat, securing with acts of justice and sound policy what his arms obtained. The poets of those days praise his justice, by affirming that the magnet, without his permission, durst not exert its power upon iron, nor amber upon the chaff of the field; and such was his temperance and contempt of grandeur, that he slept upon a mat, and reduced the furniture of his apartment to an earthen pot, filled with water from the spring. To engage the attention of the vulgar to religion, he set up the great image of Ma-câl, or Time, in the city of Ugein, which he built, while he himself worshipped only the infinite and invisible God.

The Hindoos retain such a respect for the memory of Bicker-Majit, that the most of them, to this day, reckon their time from his death, which happened in the 89th year of the Christian æra. Shawpoor, or the famous Sapor, king of Persia, is placed, in the Indian chronology, as cotemporary with this renowned king of Malava. He was slain in his old age, in a battle against a confederacy of the princes of the Decan.

The empire of Malava, after the demise of Bicker-Majit, who had raised it to the highest dignity, fell into anarchy and confusion. The great vassals of the crown assumed independence in their respective governments, and the name of Emperor was, in a great measure, obliterated from the minds of the people. One Raja-Boga, of the same tribe with Bicker-Majit, drew, by his valour, the reins of general government into his hands. He was a luxurious, though otherwise an excellent prince. His passion for architecture produced many magnificent fabrics, and several fine cities

in Hindostan own him for their founder. He reigned in all the pomp of luxury, about fifty years, over a great part of India.

The ancient empire of Kinoge was in some measure revived by Basdeo, who, after having reduced Bengal and Behâr, assumed the imperial titles. He mounted the throne at Kinoge about 330 years after the birth of Christ, and reigned with great reputation. Byram-gore, king of Persia, came, in the time of Basdeo, to India, under the character of a merchant, to inform himself of the power, policy, manners, and government of that vast empire. This circumstance is corroborated by the joint testimonies of the Persian writers; and we must observe upon the whole, that, in every point, the accounts extracted from the Mahabarit agree with those of foreign writers, when they happen to treat upon the same subject: which is a strong proof, that the short detail it gives of the affairs of India is founded upon real facts. An accident which redounded much to the honour of Byram-gore brought about his being discovered. A wild elephant, in rutting-time, if that expression may be used, attacked him in the neighbourhood of Kinoge, and he pierced the animal's forehead with an arrow, which acquired to him such reputation, that the Emperor Basdeo ordered the merchant into his presence; where Byram-gore was known by an Indian nobleman, who had carried the tribute, some years before, to the court of Persia. Basdeo, being certainly assured of the truth, descended from his throne, and embraced the royal stranger.

Byram-gore being constrained to assume his proper character, was treated with the utmost magnificence and respect while he remained at the Indian court, where he married the daughter of Basdeo, and returned, after some time, into Persia. Basdeo and the princes, his posterity, ruled the empire in tranquillity for the space of eighty years.

Upon the accession of a prince of the race of Basdeo

in his non-age, civil disputes arose, and those soon gave birth to a civil war. The empire being torn to pieces by civil dissensions, an assembly of the nobles thought it prudent to exclude the royal line from the throne, and to raise to the supreme authority Ramdeo, general of the imperial forces. Ramdeo was of the tribe of Rhator, the same with the nation, well known in India, under the name of Mahrators. He was a bold, wise, generous and good prince. He reduced into obedience the chiefs, who, during the distractions of the empire, had rendered themselves independent. He recovered the country of Marvar from the tribe of Cutswa, who had usurped the dominion of it, and planted it with his own tribe of Rhator, who remain in possession of Marvar to this day.

Ramdeo was one of the greatest princes that ever sat upon the throne of Hindostan. In the course of many successful expeditions, which took up several years, he reduced all India under his dominion, and divided the spoil of the vanquished princes among his soldiers. After a glorious reign of fifty-four years, he yielded to his fate; but the actions of his life, says our author, have rendered his name immortal. Notwithstanding his great power, he thought it prudent to continue the payment of the usual tribute to Feros-sassa, the father of the great Kei-kobâd, king of Persia.

After the death of Ramdeo, a dispute arose between his sons concerning the succession, which afterwards terminated in a civil war. Partab-chund, who was captain-general to the Emperor Ramdeo, taking advantage of the public confusions, mounted the throne, and, to secure the possession of it, extirpated the imperial family. Partab was cruel, treacherous and tyrannical. He drew by fair, but false promises, the princes of the empire from their respective governments, and, by cutting off the most formidable, rendered the rest obedient to his commands. An uninterrupted course of success made Partab too confident of his own power. He neglected, for some years, to send

the usual tribute to Persia, returning, says our author, the ambassadors of the great Noshirwan, with empty hands, and dishonour, from his court. A Persian invasion, however, soon convinced Partab, that it was in vain to contend with the Lord Paramount of his empire. He was, in short, forced to pay up his arrears, to advance the tribute of the ensuing year, and to give hostages for his future obedience.

Partab mounted the imperial throne of India about the 500th year of Christ; and though he left the empire in the possession of his family, it soon declined in their hands. The dependent princes rendered themselves absolute in their respective governments; and the titular Emperor became so insignificant, with regard to power, that he gradually lost the name of Raja, or Sovereign, and had that of Rana substituted in its place. The Ranas, however, possessed the mountainous country of Combilmere, and the adjacent provinces of Chitôr and Mundusir, till they were conquered by the Emperors of Hindostan of the Mogul race.

Soon after the death of Partab-chund, Annindeo, a chief of the tribe of Bise, seized upon the extensive kingdom of Malava, and, with rapidity of conquest, brought the peninsula of Guzerat, the country of the Mahrattors, and the whole province of Berâr, into the circle of his command. Annindeo was cotemporary with Chusero Purvese, king of Persia; and he reigned over his conquests for sixteen years. At the same time that Annindeo broke the power of the empire, by his usurpation of the best of its provinces, one Maldeo, a man of an obscure original, raised himself into great power, and took the city of Delhi and its territory, from the imperial family. He soon after reduced the imperial city of Kinoge, which was so populous, that there were, within the walls, thirty thousand shops, in which arreca, a kind of nut, which the Indians use as Europeans do tobacco, was sold. There were also in Kinoge, sixty thousand bands of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to government. Maldeo, during

the space of forty years, kept possession of his conquests, but he could not transmit them to his posterity. Every petty governor and hereditary chief in Hindostan rendered themselves independent, and the name of universal empire was lost, till it was established, by the Mahommedans, on the confines of India and Persia. The history of this latter empire comprehended the whole plan of Ferishta's annals; but to understand them properly, it may be necessary to throw more light, than he furnishes, upon the origin of that power which spread afterwards over all India.

Mahommedan Conquerors of India.

SHOULD we judge of the truth of a religion from the success of those who profess it, the pretended revelation of Mahommed might be justly thought divine. By annexing judiciously a martial spirit to the enthusiasm which he inspired by his religious tenets, he laid a solid foundation for that greatness at which his followers soon after arrived. The passive humility inculcated by Christianity, is much more fit for philosophical retirement than for those active and daring enterprizes, which animate individuals, and render a nation powerful and glorious. We accordingly find that the spirit and power, and, we may say, even the virtue of the Romans, declined with the introduction of a new religion among them; whilst the Arabians, in the space of a few years after the promulgation of the faith of Mahommed, rose to the summit of all human greatness.

The state of the neighbouring nations, it must be acknowledged, was extremely favourable to conquest, when the invasions of the Arabians happened. That part of the Roman empire, which survived the deluge of Barbarians that overspread the west, subsisted in the Lesser Asia, Syria, and Egypt, more from the want of foreign enemies than by the bravery,

11208
21 AUG 1965

or wise conduct of its Emperor. Humanity never appeared in a more degrading light, than in the history of those execrable princes who ruled the Eastern empire. Mean, cruel, and cowardly, they were enthusiasts, without religion; assassins, without boldness; averse to war, though unfit for the arts of peace. The character of the people took the colour of that of their Emperors; vice and immorality increased under the cloak of enthusiasm, all manly spirit was extinguished by despotism, and excess of villainy was the only proof given of parts.

The empire of Persia was upon the decline, in its internal vigour and strength, for two ages before the Arabian invasion, after the death of Mahommed. The splendid figure it made under Noshirwan, was the effect of the extraordinary abilities of that great man, and not of any spirit remaining in the nation. The successors of Noshirwan were generally men of weak parts; the governors of provinces, during public distractions, assumed the independence, though not the name of princes, and little more than the imperial title remained to the unfortunate Yesdegert, who sat upon the throne of Persia, when the arms of the Arabs penetrated into that country.

It being the design of this Dissertation to give a succinct account of the manner in which the empire of Ghizni, which afterwards extended itself to India, was formed, it is foreign to our purpose to follow the Arabs through the progress of their conquests in Syria and Persia. It is sufficient to observe, that the extensive province of Chorassan, which comprehended the greatest part of the original dominions of the imperial family of Ghizni, was conquered in the thirty-first year of the Higerah, by Abdulla the son of Amir, one of the generals of Osman, who then was Calipha, or Emperor of the Arabians. Abdulla, being governor of Bussora, on the Gulph of Persia, by the command of Osman, marched an army through Kirman, into Chorassan, and made a complete conquest of that country, which

had been scarcely visited before by the arms of the Arabs. Chorassan is bounded, on the south, by a desert, which separates it from Pharis*, or Persia, properly so called; on the north by Maver-ul-nere, or the ancient Transoxiana; on the east by Seistan and India; and it terminates on the west, in a sandy desert towards the confines of Georgia. It is the most fruitful and populous, as well as the most extensive province in Persia, and comprehends the whole of the Bactria of the ancients. It forms a square of almost four hundred miles every way†.

The immense territory of Maver-ul-nere‡, distinguished in ancient times by the name of Transoxiana, though it was invaded by Abdulla, the son of the famous Zeiâd, governor of Bussora, by the command of the Calipha, Mavia, in the fifty-third of the Higera, was not completely conquered by the Arabs, till the 88th year of that æra, when Katiba took the great cities of Bochara and Samercand. After the reduction of Bochara, the Arabian governor of Maver-ul-nere resided in that city. During the dynasty of the imperial family of Mavia, the Arabian empire remained

* Pharis is the name from which Persia is derived. It is also called Pharistan, or the Country of Horses.

† The climate of Chorassan is excellent, and the most temperate of all Persia. Nothing can equal the fruitfulness of its soil. All sorts of exquisite fruits, cattle, corn, wine, and silk, thrive there to a miracle; neither are there wanting mines of silver, gold, and precious stones. The province of Chorassan, in short, abounds with every thing that can contribute to make a country rich and agreeable. It was formerly amazingly populous. The whole face of the country was almost covered with great cities, when it was invaded and ruined by Zingis Chan.

‡ Maver-ul-nere is little more than a translation of the Transoxiana of the ancients. It signifies the country beyond the river. It is now more generally known by the name of Great Bucharia. Its situation is between the 34 and 44 degrees of latitude, and the 92 and 107 degrees of longitude, reckoning from Faro. The country of the Calmacs bounds it now, on the north; Little Bucharia, or kingdom of Casgar, on the east; the dominions of India and Persia, on the south; and Charizm on the west. This extensive country is nearly 600 miles every way.

in full vigour; and it even seemed to increase in strength, stability, and extent, under several sovereigns of the house of Abbassi, who acceded to the Caliphat, in the 132d of the Higera, or 749th of the Christian æra.

After the death of the great Haroun Al Reshîd, the temporal power of the Caliphas began gradually to decline. Most of the governments of provinces, by the neglect or weakness of the imperial family, became hereditary; and the viceroys of the empire assumed every thing but the name of Kings. The revenues were retained, under a pretence of keeping a force to defend the provinces against foreign enemies, when they were actually designed to strengthen the hereditary governors against their lawful sovereign. When Al Radi mounted the throne, little more remained to the Calipha, beside Bagdad and its dependencies, and he was considered supreme only in matters of religion. The governors, however, who gradually grew into princes, retained a nominal respect for the empire, and the Calipha's name was inserted in all public writings.

The most powerful of those princes, that became independent, under the Caliphat, was Ismael Samani, governor of Maver-ul-nere and Chorassan, who assumed royal titles, in the 263d of the Higera. He was the first of the dynasty of the Samanians, who reigned in Bochara, over Maver-ul-nere, Chorassan, and a great part of the Persian empire, with great reputation for justice and humanity. Their dominions also comprehended Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, the mountainous countries of the Afgans or Patans, who afterwards established a great empire in India.

The Mahommedan government, which subsisted in India more than three centuries before the invasion of that country by Timur, was called the Patan or Afgan empire, on account of its being governed by princes, descended of the mountaineers of that name, who possessed the confines of India and Persia. The Afgans, from the nature of the country they possessed, became divided into distinct tribes. Mountains intersected

with a few valleys did not admit either of general cultivation or communication; yet mindful of their common origin, and united by a natural, though rude, policy, they, by their bravery, became extremely formidable to their neighbours. We shall have occasion to see, in the sequel, that they not only conquered, but retained the empire of India for several centuries, and though the valour and conduct of the posterity of Timur wrested the government from them, they continued formidable, from the ferocity and hardiness peculiar to Mountaineers. As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, they, under one of their chiefs, conquered Persia; and they now possess not only a great part of that empire by their bravery, but also bid fair to establish another dynasty of Kings in Hindostan.

The power as well as conduct of the race of Samania, who reigned in Bochara, subjected a great part of the Afgans to their empire. They were governed in chief by the viceroy of Chorassan, who generally had a substitute in the city of Ghizni*, the capital of Zabulistan, to command the regions of the hills. It however appears, that those who possessed the most inaccessible mountains towards India, remained independent, till they were reduced by Mahmood, the second prince of the imperial family of Ghizni.

The family of Samania enjoyed their extensive empire for ninety years, in tranquillity, accompanied with that renown, which naturally arises from a just and equitable administration. Abdul Malleck Noo, the fourth of that race, dying at Bochara† in the three hundred and fiftieth year of the Higera, left a son, a

* Ghizni is known in Europe by the name of Gazna. It lies in the mountains between India and Persia, and was a considerable city even before it was made the imperial residence by the family of Subuctagi.

† The city of Bochara is situated in 39° 30′ of lat. and is still a very considerable place, and the residence of the great Chan of Bucharia.

very young man, called Munsur. The great men about court were divided in their opinion about the succession, some favouring the brother of the late Emperor, and others declaring themselves for Munsur. To end the dispute, it was agreed to refer the whole to Abistagi, who governed for the empire, with great reputation, the extensive province of Chorassan. Abistagi returned for answer, that, Munsur being as yet but a child, it was prudent for the friends of the family of Samania to chuse his uncle king. Before Abistagi's messengers arrived at Bochara, the contending factions had settled matters together, and jointly raised Munsur to the throne: that young monarch, offended with Abistagi's advice, recalled him immediately to Bochara.

The great abilities of Abistagi, and the reputation he had acquired in his government, created to him many enemies at the court of Bochara, and he was unwilling to trust his person in the hands of a young prince, who, in his present rage, might be easily instigated to his ruin. He sent an excuse to Munsur, and, says our Persian author, resolved to stand behind his disobedience with thirty thousand men. He marched, next year, from Nessapoor, the capital of Chorassan, to Ghizni; settled the affairs of that country, and assumed the ensigns of royalty.

The young Emperor, Munsur, finding that Abistagi had, in a manner, left Chorassan totally destitute of troops, ordered one of his generals, named Hassen, to march an army into that province. Abistagi, apprized of Hassen's march, left Ghizni suddenly, encountered the imperial army, and gave them two signal defeats. These victories secured to Abistagi the peaceable and independent possession of the provinces of Chorassan and Zabulistan, over which he reigned in tranquillity fifteen years. He, in the mean time, employed his army, under his general Subuctagi, in successful expeditions to India, by which he acquired great spoil.

Abistagi dying in the 363d of the Higera, his son

Abu Isaac succeeded him in the kingdoms of Chorassan and Ghizni. This young prince, by the advice of his experienced general Subuctagi, invaded the dominions of Bochara, in order to force the family of Samania to relinquish their title to Chorassan. The Emperor, Munsur, being accordingly worsted in some engagements, by the valour and conduct of Subuctagi, agreed to a peace, by which it was stipulated that Isaac, under the tuition of Subuctagi, should enjoy his dominions as a nominal tenure from the empire. Isaac did not long survive this pacification, for, being too much addicted to pleasure, he ruined his constitution, and died two years after the demise of his father Abistagi. The army, who were much attached to Subuctagi, proclaimed him their king; and he mounted the throne of Ghizni in the 365th year of the Higera, which agrees with the 977th of the Christian æra.

SUBUCTAGI.

SUBUCTAGI, who, upon his accession to the throne, assumed the title of Nazir-ul-dien, was a Tartar by extraction, and was educated in the family, and brought up to arms under the command, of Abistagi, governor of Chorassan, for the house of Samania. His merit soon raised him to the first posts in the army, which he commanded in chief during the latter years of Abistagi, and under his son Isaac, who succeeded him in the government. When he became king, he married the daughter of his patron, Abistagi, and applied himself assiduously to an equal distribution of justice, which soon gained him the hearts of all his subjects. The court of Bochara perceiving, perhaps, that it was in vain to attempt to oppose Subuctagi, approved of his elevation, and he received letters of confirmation from the Emperor, Munsur Al Samania.

Soon after Subuctagi had assumed the ensigns of royalty, he was very near being taken off by one Tigga, an independent chief, on the confines of the province of Ghizni. Subuctagi had restored Tigga to his estate, from which he had been expelled by one of his neighbours, upon condition that he should hold it of the crown of Ghizni. Tigga broke his promise, and, soon after, making a circuit of his dominions, Subuctagi came to the territory of Tigga. He invited that chieftain to the chace, and when they were alone, he upbraided him for his breach of faith. Tigga, who was a daring and impetuous man, put his hand to his sword; the King drew his; a combat ensued, and Subuctagi was wounded in the hand. The royal attendants interfered; the adherents of Tigga engaged them, but were defeated. The citadel of Bust*, whither Tigga fled, was taken, but he himself made his escape.

In the fort of Bust the king found the famous Abul-Fatti, who, in the art of writing and in the knowledge of the sciences, had no equal in those days. He had been secretary to the chief, whom Subuctagi had expelled in favour of the ungrateful Tigga; and after the defeat of his patron, he had lived retired to enjoy his studies. The King called him into his presence, made him his own secretary, and dignified him with titles of honour. Abul Fatti continued in his office at Ghizni, till the accession of Mamood, when he retired in disgust to Turkestan.

Subuctagi, after taking the fortress of Bust, turned towards the neighbouring district of Cusdâr, and annexing it to his dominions, conferred the government upon one Actas. Towards the close of the first year of his reign, the King, having resolved upon a war with the idolaters of India, marched that way, and, having

* Bust, which is at present the capital of Zabulistan, is a considerable and well-built city; the country round it is very pleasant and fertile; and by being situated in the confines of India and Persia, Bust drives a considerable trade. It lies in latitude 32.

ravaged the provinces of Cabul and Punjâb, which last lies about the conflux of the five rivers which form the Indus, he returned with considerable spoil to Ghizni.

Jeipal, the son of Hispal, of the Brahmin race, reigned at that time over the country, extending, in length, from the mouth of the Indus to Limgan, and in breadth, from the kingdom of Cashmire to Moultan. This Prince, finding, by the reiterated invasions of the Mahommedans, that he was not likely to enjoy any tranquillity, levied a great army, with a design to invade them in their own country. Subuctagi, upon receiving intelligence of Jeipal's motions, marched towards India, and the armies came in sight of each other on the confines of Limgan. Some skirmishes ensued, and Mamood, the son of Subuctagi, though then but a boy, gave signal proofs of his valour and conduct.

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

Subuctagi was not displeased with these terms, but

his son, Mamood, who was an ambitious young man, fearing this would put an end to his expedition, prevailed with his father to reject the proposal, Jeipal, upon this, told him, that the customs of the Indian soldiers were of such a nature, that if he persisted in distressing them, it must make him, in the end, pay very dear for his victories. Upon such occasions, and when reduced to extremity, said Jeipal, they murder their wives and children, set fire to their houses, set loose their hair, and rushing in despair among the enemy, drown themselves in the crimson torrent of revenge. Subuctagi hearing of this custom, he was afraid to reduce them to despair, and consented to let them retreat upon their paying a million of Dirms, and presenting him with fifty elephants. Jeipal not being able to discharge the whole of this sum in camp, he desired that some persons of trust, on the part of Subuctagi, should accompany him to Lahore, to receive the balance; for whose safety, Subuctagi took hostages.

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

Intelligence of what was done, soon reached the ears

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

When the moving armies approached each other, Subuctagi ascended a hill, to view the forces of Jeipal, which he beheld like a shoreless sea, and in number like the ants or the locusts; but he looked upon himself as a wolf among a flock of goats: calling therefore together his chiefs, he encouraged them to glory, and honoured them distinctly with his commands. His troops, though few in number, he divided into squadrons of five hundred each, which he ordered, one after another, to the attack in a circle, so that a continual round of fresh troops harassed the Indian army.

The Hindoos, being worse mounted than the cavalry of Subuctagi, could effect nothing against them; so that wearied out with this manner of fighting, confusion became visible amongst them. Subuctagi, perceiving their disorder, sounded a general charge; so that they fell like corn before the hands of the reaper; and were repulsed with great slaughter to the banks of the river Nilab*, one of the branches of the Indus; where many, who had escaped the edge of the sword, perished by their fear in the waters. Subuctagi acquired in this action much glory and wealth; for, besides the rich plunder of the Indian camp, he raised great contributions in the countries of Limgan and Peshawir,

* The blue river: the ancient Hydaspes.

and annexed them to his own dominions, joined them to his titles, and stamped their names, as was customary, upon his coins. One of his Omrahs, with three thousand horse, was appointed to the government of Peshawir; and the Afghans, who resided among the mountains, having promised allegiance, he entertained some thousands of them in his army, and returned victorious to Ghizni.

Munsur, Emperor of Bochara, being dead, his son, Noo, the sixth of the house of Samania, sat upon the throne. Being at this time hard pressed by the rebel Faeck, he sent one Pharsi to Subuctagi, to beg his assistance. Subuctagi was moved by gratitude to the family of Bochara, and hastened with his army towards Maver-ul-nere, while Noo advanced to the country of Sirchush to meet him. Subuctagi, being not well in his health, sent a messenger to Noo, to excuse his lighting from his horse; but when he advanced and recognized the features of his royal house, in the face of the young prince, he could not suppress the emotions of his heart. He leaped from his horse and run to kiss his stirrup, which the young King perceiving, prevented him, by dismounting and receiving him in his embrace. At this happy interview the flower of joy bloomed in every face, and such a knot of friendship was bound as can hardly be paralleled in any age. As the season was now too far advanced for action, it was agreed, that Subuctagi should return, during the winter, to Ghizni, and prepare his forces to act in conjunction with those of the Emperor in the spring. But when Sumjure, who had seized part of Chorassan, at whose court Faeck was then in treaty, heard of the alliance formed between Noo and Subuctagi, he began to fear the consequence of his engagement with Faeck. He asked his council, where he should take protection, in case fortune, which was seldom to be depended upon, should desert his standards in war. They replied, that the situation of affairs required he should endea-

vour to gain the alliance of Fuchier ul Dowla, prince of Jirja*. Jaffier was accordingly appointed ambassador to the court of Jirja, with presents of every thing that was valuable and curious: and in a short time a treaty of friendship and alliance was settled between the two powers.

Subuctagi in the mean time put his troops in motion, and marched towards Balich†, where Noo joined him with his forces from Bochara. The rebels Faeck and Sumjure hearing of this junction, with consent of Dara, the general of Fuchir ul Dowla, marched out of Herat in great pomp and magnificence. Subuctagi pitched his camp in an extensive plain, where he waited for the enemy. They soon appeared in his front, he drew out his army in order of battle, and took post in the centre, with his son Mamood and the young Emperor.

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

* A small province to the north-east of Chorassan.

† An ancient and great city near the Oxus or Amu, situated at the end of great Bucharia, in latitude 37° 10′ and 92° 20′ east of Faro.

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

Faeck and Sumjure took in their flight the way of Neshapoor*, the capital of Chorassan, with the scattered remains of their army. Noo and Subuctagi entered forthwith the city of Herat, where they remained a few days to refresh their troops and divide the spoil. Subuctagi after this signal victory received the title of Nasir ul Dien, or the Supporter of the Faith; and his son Mamood was dignified with that of Seif al Dowla, or the Sword of Fortune, by the Emperor, who was still acknowledged, though his power was greatly diminished.

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

Subuctagi hearing of the situation of his son, hastened towards Neshapoor, and in the districts of Toos, meeting with the rebels, engaged them without delay. In the heat of the action a great dust was seen to rise in the rear of Sumjure, which proved to be the Prince

* Neshapoor is still a very considerable city, well peopled, and drives a great trade in all sorts of silks, stuffs, and carpets.

Mamood; and Faeck and Sumjure, finding they would soon be attacked on both sides, made a resolute charge against Subuctagi, which was so well received that they were obliged to give ground. Mamood arriving at that instant attacked them like an angry lion, and they, unable to support the contest, turned their face to flight, and took refuge in the fort of Killat.

Subuctagi, after this victory, resided at Balich, in peace and tranquillity. In less than a year after the defeat of the rebels, he fell into a languishing distemper, which would not yield to the power of medicine. He resolved to try whether a change of air would not relieve him, and he accordingly resolved upon a journey to Ghizni. He was so weak when he came to the town of Turmuz, not far from Balich, that he was obliged to stop at that place. He expired in the month of Shabân of the year 387, and his remains were carried to Ghizni.

Subuctagi was certainly a prince of great bravery, conduct, probity, and justice; and he governed his subjects with uncommon prudence, equity, and moderation, for twenty years. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Fourteen Kings of his race reigned at Ghizni and Lahore. His Vizier was Abul 'Abas Fazil, a great minister in the management of both civil and military affairs.

The author of Jam ul Hickaiat relates, that Subuctagi was at first a private horseman in the service of Abistagi, and being of a vigorous and active disposition, used to hunt every day in the forest. It happened one time as he employed himself in this amusement, that he saw a deer grazing with her young fawn, upon which, spurring his horse, he seized the fawn, and binding his legs, laid him across his saddle, and turned his face towards his home. When he had rode a little way, he looked behind and beheld the mother of the fawn following him, and exhibiting every mark of extreme affliction. The soul of Subuctagi melted within him into pity, he untied the feet of the fawn,

and generously restored him to his liberty. The happy mother turned her face to the wilderness, but often looked back upon Subuctagi, and the tears dropped fast from her eyes. Subuctagi is said to have seen that night a figure or apparition in his dream, who said to him, That generosity and compassion which you have this day shown to a distressed animal, has been approved of in the presence of God: therefore, in the records of Providence, the kingdom of Ghizni is marked as a reward against thy name. But let not greatness destroy your virtue, but thus continue your benevolence to men.

It is said in the Masir ul Maluck, that Mamood his son having built a pleasure-house in an elegant garden near the city of Ghizni, he invited his father, when it was finished, to a magnificent entertainment which he had prepared for him. The son, in the joy of his heart, desired the opinion of Subuctagi concerning the house and garden, which were esteemed admirable in taste and structure. The King, to the great disappointment of Mamood, told him, that he looked upon the whole as a bauble, which any of his subjects might have raised by the means of wealth: but that it was the business of a prince to erect the more durable structure of good fame, which might stand for ever, to be imitated, but never to be equalled, by posterity. The great poet Nizami makes upon this saying the following reflection: Of all the magnificent palaces which we are told Mamood built, we now find not one stone upon another; but the edifice of his fame, as he was told by his father, still triumphs over time, and seems established on a lasting foundation.

Altay, the son of Al Moti, kept up the name of Emperor at Bagdâd, without any real power, during the greatest part of the reign of Subuctagi. Altay was deposed in the 381 of the Higera, and Al Kader Billa raised to the Caliphat. The provinces of the Arabian Empire, in the Western Persia, remained in the same condition as before, under the hereditary governors, who

had assumed independence. Chorassan, and Zabulistan, Cabul, the provinces upon the Indus, and in general all the countries from the Oxus or Amu to Persia proper, and from the Caspian to the Indus, were secured to the house of Subuctagi. The power of the house of Samania was even declined in the province of Maver-ul-nere; and the middle and Eastern Tartary were subject to their native princes.

ISMAIEL.

SUBUCTAGI dying suddenly, and his eldest son, Mamood, being at Neshapoor, the capital of Chorassan, which was a considerable distance from the place of the King's decease, his second son, Ismaiel, prevailed with his father, in his last moments, to appoint him to succeed till the return of his brother. The reason assigned for this demand, was to prevent other usurpations, which were then feared in the government. Ismaiel therefore, immediately upon the demise of his father, was crowned with great solemnity at Balich. To gain popularity, he opened the treasury, and distributed the greatest part of his father's wealth in presents to the nobility, and in expensive shows and entertainments to the people. He also augmented the pay of the troops, and rewarded small services with the hand of prodigality. This policy being overacted, had not the desired effect: The nobility, perceiving that all this generosity proceeded from the fear of his brother, ungenerously increased their demands, while the troops, puffed up with pride by his indulgences, begun to be mutinous, disorderly, and debauched.

When intelligence was brought to Mamood of the death of his father, and the accession of his younger brother, he wrote to Ismaiel by the hand of Abul Hassen. In this letter he said thus, That since the death

of his royal father, he held none upon earth so dear as his beloved brother, the noble Ismaiel, whom he would oblige to the full extent of his power: but that the art of government required years, experience, wisdom and knowledge, in the affairs of state, which Ismaiel could not possibly pretend to possess, though Subuctagi had appointed him to succeed to the throne in the absence of Mamood. He therefore advised Ismaiel seriously to consider the matter, to distinguish propriety from impropriety, and to give up his title to government without further dispute, which would restore him to the love and generosity of Mamood; for that it was his original intention to confer upon Ismaiel the governments of the extensive provinces of Balich and Chorassan.

Ismaiel shut his ears against all the proposals of his brother, and prepared for his own security, turning the edge of the sword of enmity against him. Mamood saw no remedy but in war, and attaching his uncle Bujerâc, and his brother Nisir, to his interest, advanced with his standards towards Ghizni, while Ismaiel hastened also from Balich to oppose him. When the two armies approached towards one another, Mamood took great pains to avoid coming to extremities, and in vain tried to reconcile matters in an amicable manner. He was therefore forced to form his troops in order of battle, while Ismaiel also extended the lines of war, which he supported by a chain of elephants. Both armies engaging with great violence, the action became extremely bloody, and the victory doubtful. Mamood at length charged the centre of the enemy with such fury, that they trembled as with an earthquake, and turned their faces to flight, taking refuge in the citadel of Ghizni. Thither the conqueror pursued them, and immediately invested the place. Such a prodigious number of the runaways had crowded into Ghizni, that for want of provisions Ismaiel was reduced to the necessity of treating about a surrender. Having there-

fore received promises of personal safety, he submitted himself, and delivered up the keys of the garrison and the treasury to his brother Mamood.

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

MAMOOD I.

We are told by historians, that Mamood* was a King who conferred happiness upon the world, and reflected glory upon the faith of Mahomed; that the day of his accession illuminated the earth with the bright torch of justice, and cherished it with the beams of beneficence. Others inform us, that in his disposition, the sordid vice of avarice found place, which however could not darken the other bright qualities of his mind. A certain poet says, that his wealth was like a pearl in the shell; but as poets hunt after wit rather than truth, we must judge of Mamood by his actions, from which it appears, that he was a prince of great economy, but that he never withheld his generosity upon a just and proper occasion. We have the testimony of the Fatti

* His titles at length, are Amin ul Muluck, Emin ul Dowla, Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi.

Bilad, wrote by Abu Nisir Muscati, and of the famous Abul Fazil, that no King had ever more learned men at his court, kept a finer army, or displayed more magnificence, than Mamood. All these things could not be done without expence; so that the stigma of avarice must have been owing to particular circumstances of his life, which ought by no means to have stamped his general character with that sordid vice.

It may not be improper to mention one circumstance in the conduct of Mamood, which argued that too great love of money had taken possession of the soul of that mighty prince. Having a great propensity to poetry, in which he made some tolerable progress himself, he promised to the celebrated Phirdoci a golden mher* for every verse of an heroic poem which he was desirous to patronize. Under the protection of this promise, that divine poet wrote the unparalleled poem called the Shaw Namma, which consisted of sixty thousand couplets. When it was presented, Mamood repented of his promise, telling Phirdoci, that he thought sixty thousand rupees might satisfy him for a work which he seemed to have performed with so much ease and expedition. Phirdoci, justly offended at this indignity, could never be brought to accept of any reward, though the Emperor would, after reflection, have gladly paid him the sum originally stipulated; the poet, however, took ample revenge in a satire of seven hundred couplets, which he wrote upon that occasion.

Mamood, who it is reported was defective in external appearance, said one day, observing himself in a glass, "The sight of a King should brighten the eyes of the beholders, but nature has been so capricious to me, that my aspect seems the picture of misfortune." The

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

Vizier replied, "It is not one of ten thousand who are blessed with a sight of your majesty's countenance, but your virtues are diffused over all." But to proceed with our history.

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

When Mamood had settled his dispute with his brother, he hastened to Balich, from whence he sent an ambassador to Munsur, Emperor of Bochara, to whom the family of Ghizni still pretended to owe allegiance, complaining of the indignity which he met with in the appointment of Buctusin to the government of Chorassan, a country so long in possession of his father: it was returned to him for answer, that he was already in possession of the territories of Balich, Turmuz, and Herat *, which held of the empire; and that there was a necessity to divide the favours of Bochara among her

* Herat is situated in the southern part of the province of Chorassan, in the 34th degree of latitude. It was always a great city, and is very much increased in splendor, since the ruin of the city of Meshed by the Usbecs: it is become the capital of Chorassan. It is the chief staple of all the commerce carried on between India and Persia.

friends. Buctusin, it was also insinuated, had been a faithful and good servant; which seemed to throw a reflection upon the family of Ghizni, who had rendered themselves independent in the governments they held of the royal house of Samania.

Mamood, not discouraged by this answer, sent Hassen Jemmavi with rich presents to the court of Bochara, and a letter in the following terms: "That he hoped the pure spring of friendship, which had flowed in the time of his father, should not now be polluted with the ashes of indignity, nor Mamood be reduced to the necessity of divesting himself of that obedience, which he had hitherto paid to the imperial family of Samania." When Hassen delivered his embassy, his capacity and elocution appeared so great to the Emperor, that, desirous to gain him over to his interest by any means, he bribed him at last with the honours of the Vizarit *, but never returned an answer to Mamood. That prince having received information of this transaction, through necessity turned his face towards Neshapoor; and Buctusin, advised of his intention, abandoned the city, and sent the Emperor intelligence of his situation. Munsur, upon this, exalted the imperial standard, and, in the rashness of inexperienced youth, hastened towards Chorassan, and halted not till he arrived at Sirchus. Mamood, though he well knew that the Emperor was in no condition to oppose him, yet gratitude to the imperial family of Samania wrought so much upon his mind, that, ashamed of measuring spears with his Lord, he evacuated the district of Neshapoor, and marched to Murghab. Buctusin in the mean time treacherously entered into a confederacy with Faeck, and forming a conspiracy in the camp of Munsur, seized upon the person of that prince, and cruelly put out his eyes. Abdul, the younger brother of Munsur, who was but a boy, was advanced by the traitors to the throne. Being however afraid of the resentment of Mamood, the con-

* The office of Vizier.

spirators hastened to Murve*, whither they were pursued by the King with great expedition. Finding themselves, upon their march, hard pressed in the rear by Mamood, they halted and gave him battle. But the sin of ingratitude had darkened the face of their fortune, so that the gales of victory blew upon the standards of the King of Ghizni. Faeck carried off the young King, and fled to Bochara, and Buctusin was not heard of for some time, but at length he found his way to his fellow in iniquity, and begun to collect his scattered troops. Faeck in the mean time fell sick, and soon after vanished in the regions of death. Elich, the Usbec King, seizing upon the opportunity offered him by that event, marched with an army from Kashgar† to Bochara, and rooted Abdul Malleck and his adherents out of the empire and the soil of life. Thus the prosperity of the house of Samania, which had continued for the space of one hundred and twenty-seven years to illuminate the firmament of empire, set for ever in the shadows of death.

The Emperor of Ghizni, at this juncture, employed himself in settling the government of the provinces of Balich and Chorassan, which he regulated in such a manner, as to exalt the voice of his fame so high, that it reached the ears of the Calipha of Bagdat, the illustrious Al Kadir Billa, of the noble house of Abbassi. The Calipha sent him a rich honorary dress, such as he had never before bestowed on any King, and dignified Mamood with the titles of The Protector of the State, and Treasurer of Fortune. In the end of

* Murve, or Meru, stands in a very sandy plain, in 37 degrees of latitude, and 88 degrees east from Faro. It was formerly one of the richest and most beautiful towns of Persia; but since the grand invasion of the Tartars into the Southern Asia, it has suffered so much, that, at present, it is but the shadow of its former magnificence.

† Little Bucharia. This kingdom extends from 38° 30′ of latitude to the 44° 30′, and from 105° to the 120° of longitude. It is populous and fertile, but, on account of its great elevation, it is much colder than one would expect from its advantageous situation.

the month Zicada, in the year three hundred and ninety, Mamood hastened from the city of Balich to Herat, and from Herat to Seistan, where he defeated Chiliph, the son of Amid, the governor of that province on the part of the extinguished family of Bochara, and returned to Ghizni. He then turned his face to India, took many forts and provinces; in which having settled his own governors, he again returned to his dominions, where he spread the carpet of justice so smoothly upon the face of the earth, that the love of him, and loyalty gained place in every heart. Having at the same time set a treaty on foot with Elich the Usbec, he had the province of Maver-ul-nere* ceded to him, for which he made an ample return in presents of great value; and the strictest friendship, and greatest familiarity, for a long time, subsisted between the Kings.

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

After this victory, the Emperor marched from Peshawir, and investing the fort of Bitindi, reduced it, and releasing his prisoners upon the payment of a large

* Transoxiana. † About 320,000*l.* of our money.

ransom and a stipulation of an annual tribute, returned to Ghizni. It was in those ages a custom of the Hindoos, that whatever Raja was twice worsted by the Mussulmen, should be, by that disgrace, rendered unfit for further command. Jeipal in compliance to this custom, having raised his son to the government, ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, upon which he sacrificed himself to his Gods.

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

When Mamood entered the territories of Bachera, that prince drew out his troops to receive him, and taking possession of strong posts, continued to engage the Mahommedans for the space of three days; in which time they suffered so much, that they were on the point of abandoning the attack: but on the fourth day, Mamood spoke at the head of his troops, and encouraged them to glory. He concluded with telling them, that this day he had devoted himself to conquest or to death. Bachera, on his part, invoked the Gods at the temple, and prepared with his former resolution to repel the enemy. The Mussulmen advanced with great impetuosity, but were repulsed with slaughter;

* A maritime province of Persia, lying between Kirman, or the ancient Carmania, and the mouths of the Indus.

yet returning with fresh courage, and redoubled rage, the attack was continued till the evening, when Mamood turning his face to the holy Caba*, invoked the aid of the prophet in the presence of his army.—" Advance, advance, cried then the King, our prayers have found favour with God."—Immediately a great shout arose among the host, and the Mussulmen pressing forward, as if they thirsted after death, obliged the enemy to give ground, and pursued them to the gates of the town.

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

In the year three hundred and ninety-six, he formed the design of re-conquering Moultan, which had revolted from his obedience. Amid Lodi, the regent of Moultan, had formerly paid Mamood allegiance, and after him his grandson Daood, till the expedition against Bachera, when he withdrew his loyalty. The King marched in the beginning of the spring, with

* The temple of Mecca.

a great army from Ghizni, and was met by Annindpal, the son of Jeipal prince of Lahore, in the hills of Peshawir, whom he defeated, and obliged to fly into Cashmire*. Annindpal had entered into an alliance with Daood, and as there were two passes only by which the Mahommedans could enter Moultan, Annindpal had taken upon himself to secure that by the way of Peshawir, which Mamood chanced to take. The Sultan returning from the pursuit, entered Moultan, by the way of Betinda, which was his first intention. When Daood received intelligence of the fate of Annindpal, thinking himself too weak to keep the field, he shut himself up in his fortified places, and submissively solicited forgiveness for his faults, promised to pay a great tribute, and for the future to obey implicitly the Sultan's commands. Mamood received him again as a subject, and prepared to return to Ghizni, when news was brought to him from Arsilla, who commanded at Herat, that Elich, the King of Casgar had invaded his government with an army. The King hastened to settle the affairs of Hindostan, which he put into the hands of Shockpal, an Hindoo prince, who had resided with Abu Ali, governor of Peshawir, and had turned Mussulman by the name of Zab Sais.

The particulars of the war of Mamood with Elich

* The kingdom of Cashmire may be reckoned a terrestrial paradise. It is entirely enclosed with high mountains, which separate India from Tartary; insomuch that there is no entrance, on any side, but over rocks of a prodigious height. It consists, in a manner, of one valley of surprising fertility and beauty. The air is temperate and charming; it is neither visited with scorching heat, nor the vicissitude of extreme cold. A thousand little springs, which issue, on all sides, from the mountains, form there a fine river, which, after watering the plains of this delightful country, falls down rocks of an astonishing height into the great river Indus. The inhabitants are astonishingly handsome, and the women especially enchantingly beautiful. The Cashmirians, moreover, are extremely ingenious, and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Their beauty, in short, says a Persian author, makes them appear to be of divine race, and their charming country furnishes them with the life of Gods.

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

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

The King of Kashgar, seeing the bad state of his affairs, solicited the aid of Kudir King of Chuton, a province of Tartary, on the confines of China, and that prince marched to join him with fifty thousand horse. Strengthened by this alliance, he crossed, with the confederate armies, the river Gion*, which was five pharsangs from Balich, and opposed himself to the camp of Mamood. That monarch immediately drew

* The Oxus.

up his army in order of battle, giving the command of the centre to his brother the noble Nisir, supported by Abu Nisir, governor of Gorgan, and by Abdulla, a chief, of reputation in arms. The right wing he committed to the care of Alta Sash, an old experienced officer, while the left was the charge of the valiant Arsilla, a chief of the Afgans. The front of his line he strengthened with five hundred chain-elephants, with intervals behind them, to facilitate their retreat, in case of a defeat.

The King of Kashgar posted himself in the centre, the noble Kudir led the right, and Tighi the left. The armies advanced to the charge. The shouts of warriors, the neighing of horses, and the clashing of arms, reached the broad arch of heaven, while dust obscured the face of day. The flame of war might be said to have been blown up to its height, and the clay of the field to be tempered with blood.

Elich advancing with some chosen squadrons, threw disorder into the centre of Mamood's army, and was busy in the affairs of death. Mamood perceived the enemy's progress; leaped from his horse, and kissing the ground, invoked the aid of the Almighty. He instantly mounted an elephant of war, encouraged his troops, and made a violent assault upon Elich. The elephant seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy, folded round him his trunk, and tossed him aloft into the sky. He then pressed forward like a mountain removed from its place by an earthquake, and trod the enemy like locusts under his feet. When the troops of Ghizni saw their king forcing thus his way alone through the enemy's ranks, they rushed on with headlong impetuosity, and drove the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elich, abandoned by fortune and his army, turned his face to flight. He crossed the river with a few of his surviving friends, never afterwards appearing in the field to dispute glory with Mamood.

The King after this victory proposed to pursue the

enemy, which was thought unadvisable by his generals, on account of the inclemency of the season, it being then winter, and the troops hardly capable of motion: but the King was positive in his resolution, and marched two days after the runaways. On the third night, a great storm of wind and snow overtook the Ghiznian army in the desert. The King's tents were with much difficulty pitched, while the army was obliged to lie in the snow. Mamood having ordered great fires to be kindled around his tents, they became so warm, that many of the courtiers began to turn off their upper garments; when a facetious chief, whose name was Dilk, came in shivering with cold. The King observing him, said, "Go out, Dilk, and tell the Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for here we value not his resentment." Dilk went out accordingly, and returning in a short time, kissed the ground, and thus presented his address: "I have delivered the King's message to Winter, but the surly season replies, that if his hands cannot tear the skirts of royalty and hurt the attendants of the King, yet he will so execute his power to-night on his army, that in the morning Mamood will be obliged to saddle his own horses."

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

was fined in four lacks of rupees, of which Mamood made a present to his treasurer, and kept Zab Sais a prisoner for life.

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

Accordingly the princes of Ugeïn, Gualiar, Callinger, Kinnoge, Delhi, and Ajmere, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the heads of the Indus, with the greatest army that had been for some hundreds of years seen upon the field in India. The two armies came in sight of one another in a great plain near the confines of the provinces of Peshawir. They remained there encamped forty days without action: but the troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. They were joined by the Gickers and other tribes with numerous armies, and surrounded the Mussulmen, who fearing a general assault were obliged to entrench themselves.

The King having thus secured himself, ordered a thousand archers to his front, to endeavour to provoke the enemy to advance to the entrenchments. The archers accordingly were attacked by the Gickers, who, notwithstanding all the King could do, pursued the runaways within the trenches, where a dreadful scene of slaughter ensued on both sides, in which five thousand Mussulmen in a few minutes were slain. The enemy at length being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attack became fainter and fainter, when on a sudden the elephant upon which the prince of

Lahore, who commanded the Indians in chief, rode, took fright at the report of a gun *, and turned his face to flight. This circumstance struck the Hindoos with a panic, for, thinking they were deserted by their general, they immediately followed the example. Abdulla, with six thousand Arabian horse, and Arsilla, with ten thousand Turks, Afghans, and Chilligis, pursued the enemy for two days and nights; so that twenty thousand Hindoos were killed in their flight, together with the great multitude that fell on the field of battle.

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

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

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

In the following year, Mamood led his army towards Ghor. The native prince of that country, Mahommed of the Soor Tribe of Afgans, a principality in the mountains famous for giving birth to the Ghorian Dynasty, who succeeded to the throne after the extirpation of the royal house of Ghizni, with ten thousand troops, opposed him. From morning to noon the fire of war flamed, and justice was done to valour on both sides. The King, finding that the troops of Ghor defended themselves in their intrenchments with such obstinacy, commanded his army to make a feint of retreating, to allure the enemy out of their fortified camp, which accordingly succeeded. The Ghorians being deceived, pursued the army of Ghizni to the plain, where the King, facing round with his troops, attacked them with great impetuosity and slaughter. Mahommed was taken prisoner and brought to the King; but in his despair he had taken poison, which he always kept under his ring, and died in a few hours. His country was annexed to the dominions of Ghizni. Some historians affirm, that neither the sovereigns of Ghor, nor its inhabitants, were Mussulmen, till after this victory; whilst others of good credit assure us, that they were converted many years before, even so

* The least maund in India is about thirty-seven pounds avoirdupoise.

early as the time of the famous Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet.

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

In the year 402, the passion of war fermenting in the mind of Mamood, he resolved upon the conquest of Tannasar*, in the kingdom of Hindostan. It had reached the ears of the King, that Tannasar was held in the same veneration by idolators as Mecca was by the Mussulmen; that there they had set up a whole tribe of rich idols, the principal of whom they called Jug Soom; that this Jug Soom, they pretended to say, existed when as yet the world existed not. When the King reached the country about the five branches of the Indus, he wanted that, according to the treaty that subsisted between him and Annindpal, he should not be disturbed in his march through that country. He accordingly sent an embassy to Annindpal, advising him of his intentions, and desiring him to send guards for the protection of his towns and villages, which he would take care should not be molested by the followers of his camp,

Annindpal agreed to this proposal, and prepared an entertainment for the reception of the King, issuing out an order for all his subjects to supply the royal camp with every necessary of life. He, in the mean time, sent his brother with two thousand horse to meet the King, and deliver this embassy to those who approached the throne: "That he was the subject and slave of the King; but that he begged permission to acquaint his majesty, that Tannasar was the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of that country; that if it was a virtue required by the religion of

* A city thirty miles to the west of Delhi.

Mamood to destroy the religion of others, he had already acquitted himself of that duty to his God, in the destruction of the temple of Nagracot: but if he should be pleased to alter his resolution against Tannasar, Annindpal would undertake that the amount of the revenues of that country should be annually paid to Mamood, to reimburse the expence of his expedition: that besides, he, on his own part, would present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount."

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

When this news reached the Indian king of Delhi, he prepared to oppose the invaders, sending messengers all over Hindostan to acquaint the Rajas that Mamood, without any reason or provocation, was marching with an innumerable army to destroy Tannasar, which was under his immediate protection: that if a mound was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent, the country of Hindostan would be soon overwhelmed in ruin, and the tree of prosperity rooted up: that therefore it was adviseable for them to join their forces at Tannasar, to oppose with united strength the impending danger.

But Mamood reached Tannasar before they could take any measures for its defence, plundered the city, and broke down the idols, sending Jug Soom to Ghizni, where he was soon stripped of his ornaments. He then ordered his head to be struck off, and his body to be thrown on the highway. According to the account of the historian Hago Mahommed of Kandahar, there

was a ruby found in one of the temples which weighed four hundred and fifty miskal*.

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

In the 403d year of the Higera, the next in command to the famous Arsilla, governor of Herat, reduced the province of Girgistan, and brought Nisir, the prince of that province, prisoner to Ghizni. Mamood at this time wrote to the Calipha of Bagdad, Al Kadir Billa, of the noble house of Abassi, "That the greatest part of the kingdom of Chorassan was under his jurisdiction, and that he hoped he would order his governors to give up the remainder." The Calipha, fearing his great power, which might fall upon his other dominions, consented to this demand.

The King, in the year 404, drew his army against the fort of Nindoona, which is situated upon the mountains of Belnat, and was in the possession of the Indian prince of Lahore. Annindpal by this time was dead, and his son had acceded to his government. When

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

Pitterugepal, for that was the young prince's name, saw that he could not stand against the King in the field, he drew off his army towards Cashmire, leaving a good garrison for the defence of the place. Mamood immediately invested it, and, with mining, and other arts of attack, assiduously employed himself; so that, in a few weeks, the governor seeing his walls in ruins, was under the necessity of begging to capitulate. The King granted his request, took every thing of value out of the place, appointed a governor, and set out without delay for Cashmire, upon which Pitterugepal abandoned that province, and fled to the hills. Mamood plundered Cashmire of all its great wealth, and having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet, returned with the spoil to his capital of Ghizni.

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

Abul Abas, king of Charizm, in the course of the same year, wrote to Mamood, to ask his sister in marriage. The King agreed to the match, and sent her to Charizm, according to the desire of Abas. In the year 407, a tribe of plunderers rising against Abul Abas, and defeating him, he fell into their hands, and was put to death. Mamood having had advice of this disaster, marched to Balich, and from thence to Charizm, and when he arrived at Hisserbund, on the frontiers of that country, he ordered his general, Mahommed Tai, to advance before him with a detachment. When the

Mussulmen were at prayers in their camp, Himar Tash, the general of the Charizmians, rushed upon this detachment from a neighbouring wood, and making a great slaughter, put them to flight. Mamood, having received intelligence of this affair, supported them with several squadrons of his best horse. The runaways deriving courage from this reinforcement, returned to the charge, routed the enemy, and took their chief prisoner, whom they carried before the King.

Mamood advancing to the fort of Hazar Asp, perceived that the troops of Charizm were prepared to receive him in the field before it: but they were soon defeated, their general, Abistagi, a native of Bochara, taken prisoner, and the murderer of Abul Abas met the just vengeance due to his crime. Mamood spent some time in regulating the government, which he bestowed upon the noble Hajib, with the title of King of Charizm: he annexed also to his government the province of Orgunge *. Returning to Balich, Mamood gave the government of Herat to his son the prince Musaood, appointing Abu Sul his vizier; and the government of Gurgan he conferred upon his younger son, the Noble Mahommed, under the care of Abu Bicker. After the final settlement of the affairs of Charizm, the Ghiznian army were cantoned, for the winter, at Balich.

In the beginning of the year 409, as soon as the sun began to awake the children of the spring, Mamood, with a hundred thousand chosen horse and thirty thousand foot, raised in the countries of Turkistan, Maverul-nere, Chorassan, and the adjacent provinces, undertook an expedition against Kinnoge, which, from the time of Gustasp †, the father of Darab, to this period, had not been visited by any foreign enemy. Kinnoge was distant from Ghizni three months' march, and seven great rivers ‡ rushed across the way. When Mamood

* The famous city of Urgens, capital of Turkestan.

† Hystaspes, the father of the first Darius, king of Persia.

‡ These were the principal branches of which the Indus is composed.

reached the confines of Cashmire, the prince, whom he had established in that country, sent him presents of every thing curious and valuable in his kingdom, and waited to have the honour of expressing his loyalty. When the King, with much difficulty, had conducted his army through the mountains, he entered the plains of Hindostan, drove all opposition before him, and advanced to Kinnoge*.

He there saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which, in strength and structure, might justly boast to have no equal. The Indian prince of this rich city, whose name was Korra, and who affected great pomp and splendor, being thus unexpectedly invaded, had not had time to put himself in a posture of defence, or to collect his troops together. Terrified by the great force and warlike appearance of the King, he, in his embarrassment, resolved to sue for peace, and accordingly went out, with his family, to the camp, where he submitted himself to the mercy of Mamood. Some authors relate, that he even turned a true believer.

The King of Ghizni tarried in Kinnoge only three nights, and then turned his face towards Merat, the prince of which place, by name Hirdit, retreated with his army, leaving only a garrison, which was obliged to capitulate in a few days. The terms were two hundred and fifty thousand rupees and fifty elephants, to be paid by the Raja, besides the plunder of the city. The Sultan marched from thence to invest the fort of Mavin, upon the banks of the river Gihon, now called the Jumna. The Prince of Mavin coming forth to make his submission, at the head of his troops, a quarrel accidentally ensued between some soldiers, and immediately the action became general. Calchunder, for that was the prince's name, and most of his troops, being driven into the river, he drew his sword against

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

his own wife and children, and, having dispatched them, turned it in despair upon himself. The fort immediately surrendered, where the conqueror found much treasure and rich spoil, among which were seventy elephants of war.

When Mamood had here refreshed his troops, he was given to understand, that, at some distance, there was a rich city, called Muttra*, consecrated to Kissen Basdeo, which in buildings and extent yielded to none in Hindostan. The King directed his march towards the place, and entering it with very little opposition from the troops of the prince of Delhi, to whom it belonged, gave it up to plunder. He broke down or burnt all the idols, and amassed an immense quantity of gold and silver, of which these figures were mostly made. He intended to destroy the temples, but he found that the labour exceeded his capacity; while some say that he was turned from his purpose, by the admirable beauty and structure of those edifices. He, it is certain, extravagantly extolled the magnificent beauty of the buildings and city, in a letter to the nobles of Ghizni, after this conquest.

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

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

One of those forts, called Munge, held out twenty-five days, being full of Rajaputs; but when they found the place no longer tenable, some rushed through the breaches among the enemy, and met that death which they no longer endeavoured to avoid. Some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and were dashed to pieces, while others burnt themselves in their houses, with their wives and children; so that not one of the garrison survived this fatal catastrophe. The Sultan having secured what was valuable, invested the fort of Chundpal. But Chundpal, for that also was the prince's name, had sent off all his treasure to the mountains, and, at the approach of the King, evacuated the place. There however still remained much spoil and provisions, which Mamood divided among his troops.

Mamood immediately marched against a proud and imperious Raja, whose name was Jundroy. This prince, after some skirmishes, finding himself unable to cope with the King, sent off his treasure and other valuable effects, and fled also to the mountains. Jundroy had an elephant of a most uncommon size, such as had never before been seen in Hindostan; nor was he more remarkable for his enormous bulk, than for his docility and courage. Mamood having heard much of this elephant, sent to the Raja, offering him advantageous terms of peace, and a great sum of money, for this animal. But the obstinacy of Jundroy would never listen to any terms with the Mussulmen, so that Mamood, with regret, was obliged to desist. The elephant however happened one night to break loose from his keepers, and went into the Ghiznian camp, where he permitted himself to be mounted and brought before the King, who received him with great joy, and named him, The gift of God, because he came, by accident, into his hands. Mamood, loaded with spoil and encumbered with captives, returned to Ghizni; where he enumerated the articles of his plunder. It consisted of twenty millions of dirms, fifty-three thou-

sand captives, three hundred and fifty elephants, besides jewels, pearls, and precious effects, which could not be properly estimated. Nor was the private spoil of the army less than that which came into the public treasury.

The King, upon his return to Ghizni, ordered a magnificent mosque to be built of marble and granite, of such beauty and structure as struck every beholder with astonishment and pleasure. This mosque he afterwards adorned with such beautiful carpets, chandeliers, and other ornaments of silver and gold, that it became known by the name of the Celestial Bride. In the neighbourhood of this mosque, he founded an university, which he furnished with a vast collection of curious books, in various languages, and with natural and artificial curiosities. He appropriated a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the students, and learned men, who were appointed to instruct the youth in the sciences.

When the nobility of Ghizni saw that the taste of their King began to run upon architecture, they also endeavoured to outvie each other in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings, which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus, in a short space of time, the capital was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, in a degree superior to any city at that time in the east. Some authors affirm, that, among the curiosities which the Sultan possessed, there was a bird of the size of a cuckoo, which was possessed of this particular instinct or quality, that whenever poison was brought, however secretly, into the apartment in which he hung, he was affected with the smell in such a manner, as to fly distractedly about his cage, while the tears streamed involuntarily from his eyes. This bird, with other curiosities, was sent as a present to the Calipha of Bagdat, Al Kadir Billa, of the noble house of Abassi. We, however, believe that this story rose from the policy of Mamood, and the

credulity of mankind, rather than that it actually had any foundation in truth. Other authors mention a stone which he brought from Hindostan, as a great curiosity. This stone being dipped in water, and applied to a wound, proved a powerful and efficacious remedy.

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

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

When they had reached the desert of Achmid, they beheld a great camp of Arabs pitched in their way. The banditti drew up in order to receive them. Abu Mahommed, being desirous of treating with the Arabs, sent a message to their chief, offering him five thousand dirms. The chief, instead of accepting the proposal, resented it so much, that, without delay, he advanced with intention to rob the Caffila. Mahommed, in the mean time, drew out his troops to receive the robbers, when fortunately, in the very beginning of the action, a

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

† The Caravan of Pilgrims.

Turkish slave, in the Caffila, who was master of the art of archery, lodged an arrow in the brain of Himad the son of Ali, the chief of the Arabs. The banditti immediately upon the fall of their chief turned their face to flight; and the Caffila, without further molestation, proceeded to Mecca; and having paid their devotions, returned the same way, and arrived safe at Ghizni.

The Sultan received, this year, advices from India, that the neighbouring princes had, in his absence, fallen upon Korra, the Raja of Kinnoge, for having entered into an alliance, and for putting himself under the protection of the King. Mamood immediately marched to the aid of his vassal; but before he could arrive, Nunda, prince of Callinger, had drawn his army upon Kinnoge, and had slain Korra, with a great many of his principal chiefs. Mamood arriving at the river Jumna, encamped on the bank opposite to the enemy.

Seven officers in his army, without orders, swam across the river, and entering the enemy's camp in the morning by surprise, struck such a panic in their troops, that they all betook themselves to flight. The King, notwithstanding their success, was greatly enraged, but passing with the remainder of his army, he immediately commenced the pursuit. When Nunda came to the frontiers of his own dominions, he halted with his army, and prepared to receive Mamood with thirty-six thousand horse, forty-five thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty elephants. The King of Ghizni, after having reconnoitred the strength of the enemy and their situation, from a rising ground, prostrated himself before God, and prayed that the standard of Islamism might be exalted with glory and triumph. The day being far advanced, he determined to wait for the morning, which, in the event, disappointed his hopes and ambition, for Nunda decamped in the night with the utmost disorder, leaving his tents, equipage and baggage, behind him.

Mamood, having next morning reconnoitred the

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

He had not remained there many days, before he heard that the inhabitants of Kiberat and Nardien, countries upon the boundaries of Hindostan, would not acknowledge the Mussulman faith, but continued the worship of Lions*. Mamood resolved to compel them, and accordingly marched towards their country, taking with him a great number of masons, carpenters, smiths, and labourers, that he might there build a fort, to overawe them after his departure. The Lord of the country of Kiberat, finding he could not pretend to oppose the King, submitted himself, acknowledging the faith of the Prophet. The Ghiznian general Ali was sent, with a division of the army, to reduce the dominion of Nardien, which he soon accomplished, pillaging the country, and carrying away many of the people captives. There was a temple in Nardien which Ali destroyed, and brought from thence a stone, upon which there was a curious inscription, that bore that it was forty thousand years old.

The Sultan ordered a fort to be built in that place, and left it under the care of Ali, the son of Kudur. He himself, in the mean time, returned by the way of Lahore, and in his march invested the strong hold of Locote, in the province of Cashmire. He besieged the place for a whole month, but, finding it impregnable, he decamped, and proceeding to Lahore, entered that city without much opposition, giving it up to be sacked

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

by his troops. Here wealth, and precious effects, beyond the power of estimation, fell into their hands.

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

The martial disposition of Mamood could not rest long in peace. He marched again by the way of Lahore, in the 414th year of the Higera, against Nunda, the prince of Callinger, with a great army. Passing by the fort of Gaulier, he ordered it to be besieged; but the prince of the province prevailed upon him to remove from before that place in a few days, by the means of rich presents and thirty-five elephants: the King immediately directed his march to Callinger, invested that city, and Nunda offered him three hundred elephants and other presents for peace. The King agreed to the terms proposed; and the Raja, to try the bravery of the Sultan's troops, intoxicated the elephants with certain drugs, and let them loose without riders into the camp; Mamood seeing the animals advancing, perceived the trick, by the wildness of their motions, and immediately ordered a party of his best horse to seize, kill, and drive them from the camp: some of the Turks, emulous to display their bravery in the presence of their King, and of both armies, mounted the greatest part of the elephants, and drove the rest into an adjacent wood, where they were soon reduced to obedience.

The enemy, upon seeing the resolution of the Ghiznians, were much intimidated, and Nunda, taking advantage of one of the foibles of Mamood, sent to him a panegyric, in the Indian tongue. The King was much pleased with this elegant piece of flattery; for the poetry was much admired by the learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia, who were at his court.

To make a return for this compliment, Mamood conferred the government of fifteen forts upon Nunda, with many curious presents; but the peace was principally ratified by means of many valuable presents in jewels and gold, given on the part of Nunda. Mamood immediately returned to Ghizni.

Mamood, in the year 415, mustered all his forces. He found them, exclusive of his garrisons and those upon duty in various parts of his dominions, to consist of fifty-five thousand chosen horse, one thousand three hundred elephants, and one hundred thousand infantry. With this force, excepting a part of the infantry which he left at Ghizni, he marched to Balich to expel Tiggi from the government of Maver-ul-nere for oppressing the people, who complained of his tyranny to the King. When the chiefs of Maver-ul-nere heard that the King had crossed the Jagetay, they came with presents to meet him; Kudir, king of Turkistan, paid him, at the same time, the compliment of a visit, and was received with joy and friendship. Mamood prepared a great feast upon the occasion; and after having concluded a treaty, the monarchs took leave of each other, making an exchange of princely presents. Tiggi, seizing this opportunity, betook himself to flight. But the King of Ghizni sending a party of horse after him, he was, after a long search, discovered and brought to camp, and confined for life in one of the forts of India.

Mamood understood, in the same year, that there was a famous temple called Sumnat, in the province of Guzerat, near the harbour of Deo*, very rich and greatly frequented by devotees from all parts of Hindostan. These infidels believed that souls, after death, went before Sumnat, who transferred them into other bodies or animals, according to their merits in their former state. The King was also informed, that the priests of this God gave out, that the sins of the people

* This place is now called Dieu, and is in the possession of the Portuguese.

of Delhi and Kinnoge had incensed him so much, that he abandoned them to the vengeance of the Mussulmen, otherwise that, in the twinkling of an eye, he could have blasted the whole army of Mamood. The King, rather irritated than intimidated by this report, was determined to put the power of the God to a trial, by personally treating him ill. He therefore marched from Ghizni, with a numerous army, in the month Shaban.

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

The King of Ghizni, about the middle of Ramzan, reached the city of Moultan, and as there was a great desert before him, he gave orders that all his troops should provide themselves with several days' water and provisions, as also with provender for their horses; he besides loaded twenty thousand camels with necessaries for the army. When he had passed that terrible desert, he arrived at the city of Ajmere, and finding that the Raja and inhabitants had abandoned the place, and that he could not prevail with them to come and submit themselves, he ordered the city to be sacked, and the adjacent country to be laid waste with fire and sword. But as the reduction of the citadel would take up too much time, he left it, and proceeding upon his expedition, reduced some small forts in the way by assault. Having then arrived at Narwalla, a city of Guzerat, which was evacuated at his approach, another desert presented itself to the King beyond that place.

* The Portuguese.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL. LIBRARY. RAJA RA...PUR.

Mamood, however, taking the same precautions as before, without any remarkable occurrence, reached Sumnat, which was a lofty castle, upon a narrow peninsula, washed on three sides by the sea. Upon the battlements of the place there appeared an innumerable multitude of people in arms. They immediately made a signal for a Herald to approach, and told him, that their great idol, Sumnat, had drawn the Mussulmen thither, that he might blast them in a moment, and avenge the destruction of the Gods of India. The Sultan only smiled at this vain threat, and commanded, that as soon as the morning should appear, his army should be ready for an assult.

In the morning, the valiant troops of the sublime Mamood, advanced to the foot of the walls, and began the attack. The battlements were in a short time cleared, by the experience and valour of the archers, and the dastardly Hindoos, astonished and dispirited, crowded into the temple, and prostrating themselves in tears before the idol, prayed for assistance. The Mussulmen seized the opportunity which the devotion of their enemies offered them, applied their scaling-ladders, and, mounting the wall, began to exclaim Alla Akber*. The Hindoos now reduced to despair, found they must fight for themselves or die; they collected their force together, and made so violent an attack upon the assailants, that, from the time that the King of day dispelled the darkness, till the Moon, fair bride of night, illuminated the court of heaven with paler rays, the flames of war were not quenched with blood†. The Mussulmen, wearied out with fatigue, were at length, obliged to abandon all their advantages, and retire to rest. Next morning, the work of death was renewed, but as fast as they mounted the wall, so fast were they pushed headlong down by the spears of the

* God is greatest.

† The original in this place has some poetical merit, and it is therefore translated verbatim.

defendants, who, weeping, had taken leave of their God, and now seemed wishing for death. And thus the labours of this day proved more unsuccessful than the first.

An army of idolaters, upon the third day, presented themselves in order of battle, in sight of the Ghiznian camp. Mamood immediately advanced, with an intention to raise the siege of Sumnat, and therefore ordered a party to amuse the besieged, while he himself prepared to engage the enemy in the field. He marched in order of battle towards the idolaters, who advanced with equal resolution. The battle began with great fury, and victory for some time seemed doubtful, till two Indian princes, Byramdeo and Dabiselima, in the middle of the action, joined the enemy with their troops, and inspired them with such fresh courage, that faintness became visible in Mamood's army. Mamood, perceiving a languor spreading over his lines, leaped from his horse, and prostrating himself before God, implored his assistance. Then mounting with a noble assurance, he took Abul Hassen Chirkani, one of his generals, by the hand, and inspired him with hope and glory. He himself advanced upon the enemy, encouraging his troops with such determined resolution, that, ashamed to abandon their king, with whom they had so often trod the path of renown, they, with one accord, gave a shout of victory, and rushed forward as for a prize. They bore the enemy before them upon the points of their spears, laying five thousand of them dead at their feet.

When the garrison of Sumnat beheld this defeat, they were struck with confusion and fear. They withdrew their hands from the fight, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of four thousand, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Sirindiep *. But they did not escape the eyes of the King. He seized upon boats which were left in a

* Ceylon.

neighbouring creek, and, manning them with rowers and some of his best troops, pursued the enemy, taking and sinking some of their boats, while others escaped. Having then placed guards round the walls and at the gates, he entered Sumnat, with his son and a few of his nobles and principal attendants. When they advanced to the temple, they saw a great and antique structure, built of stone, within a spacious court. They immediately entered it, and discovered a great square hall, having its lofty roof supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously turned and set with precious stones. In the centre of the hall stood Sumnat, an idol of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground.

The King was enraged when he saw this idol, and raising his mace, struck off the nose from his face. He then ordered that two pieces of the image should be broke off, to be sent to Ghizni, there to be thrown at the threshold of the public Mosque, and in the court of his palace. Two more fragments he reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. When Mamood was thus employed in breaking up Sumnat, a crowd of Brahmins petitioned his attendants, and offered some crores* in gold, if the King should be pleased to proceed no further. The Omrahs endeavoured to persuade Mamood to accept of the money; for they said that breaking up the idol could not remove idolatry from the walls of Sumnat, that therefore it could serve no purpose to destroy the image, but that such a sum of money given in charity, among believers, would be a very meritorious action. The King acknowledged, that what they said was, in some measure, true; but should he consent to that bargain, he might justly be called a seller of idols; and that he looked upon a breaker of them as a more honourable title. He therefore ordered them to proceed. The next blow having broke up the belly of Sumnat, which had been made hollow, they discovered that it was full of diamonds,

* Ten millions.

rubies, and pearls, of a much greater value than the amount of what the Brahmins had offered, so that a zeal for religion was not the sole cause of their application to Mamood.

It is said, by some writers, that the name of this idol is a compound word of *Sum* and *Nat; Sum* being the name of the prince who erected it, and *Nat* the true name of the God; which, in the language of the Brahmins, signifies Creator. In the time of eclipses we are told, that there used to be forty or fifty thousand worshippers at this temple; and that the different princes of Hindostan had bestowed, in all, two thousand villages, with their territories, for the maintenance of its priests; besides the innumerable presents received from all parts of the empire. It was a custom among those idolaters, to wash Sumnat, every morning and evening, with fresh water from the Ganges, though that river is above one thousand miles distant.

Among the spoils of this temple was a chain of gold, weighing forty maunds, which hung from the top of the building by a ring. It supported a great bell, which warned the people to the worship of the God. Besides two thousand Brahmins, who officiated as priests, there belonged to the temple five hundred dancing girls, three hundred musicians, and three hundred barbers, to shave the devotees before they were admitted to the presence of Sumnat. The dancing girls were either remarkable for their beauty or their quality, the Rajas thinking it an honour to have their daughters admitted. The King of Ghizni found, in this temple, a greater quantity of jewels and gold, than, it is thought, any royal treasury ever contained before. In the history of Eben Assur, it is related that there was no light in the temple, but one pendant lamp, which, being reflected from the jewels, spread a strong and refulgent light over the whole place. Besides the great idol abovementioned, there were in the temple some thousands of small images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions.

The Emperor having secured the wealth of Sumnat, prepared to chastise the Indian prince Byram Deo, from whom the harbour of Deo takes its name, for having endeavoured to distress him during the siege, and having cut off above three thousand of the Mussulmen. Byram Deo, after the taking of Sumnat, had fled from Narwalla, the capital of Guzerat, and shut himself up in the fort of Gundia, which was forty pharsangs from Sumnat. The King, without opposition, arrived before the fort, and saw that it was surrounded on all sides by the sea, which, in every place, appeared impassable. He sent however to sound the depth of the water, and received intelligence, that at one place it was fordable at low water; but if he should be caught by the tide, in his passage, the troops must inevitably perish. Mamood having ordered public prayers, and cast his fortune in the Koran, turned his horse into the sea, at the head of his troops, and reaching in safety the opposite shore, immediately made an assault upon the place. Byram Deo, looking upon life preferable to every other consideration, left his family and wealth, and, in the habit of a slave, stealing out of the fort, ran and concealed himself in a corner. The troops who defended the place, seeing themselves thus shamefully deserted, were also struck with fear; and quitted their posts upon the walls. The Mussulmen mounted their scaling-ladders, and commenced a dreadful havock among the unfortunate slaves, reserving the women and children for captivity. The wealth of the Byram was lodged in the treasury of the King.

Mamood being thus victorious, marched to Narwalla, the capital of all the peninsula of Guzerat. He found the soil of that place so fertile, the air so salubrious and pure, and the country so well cultivated and pleasant, that he proposed to take up his residence there for some years, and to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghizni upon his son, the illustrious Musaood. Some historians relate, that, in that age, there were gold mines in Guzerat; which

occasioned Mamood to incline to fix his residence in that country. But to this we cannot well give any credit, as there are now no traces of those mines; but it is acknowledged, that the country was, at all times, one of the richest in Hindostan. In support of their assertion, they however give many instances of the disappearance of gold mines, such as that in Seistan, which was swallowed up by an earthquake. There are other writers who pretend to say, that the King, having heard of gold and ruby mines upon the island of Sirendeip, and in the country of Pegu, intended to fit out a fleet for the conquest of those parts, but that he was diverted by his council from this scheme, and also prevailed upon not to abandon his native kingdom and capital.

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

Some authors, suspecting the probability of this story, have informed us, that Dabissalima was an unsubdued prince of a neighbouring country, famous as well for his policy and wisdom, as for his great knowledge in the sciences. To him the King sent a friendly message, inviting him to his presence, to receive his

allegiance for the government of Guzerat, which he intended to bestow upon him. But as we have many authentic proofs of the truth of our first relation, it must be acknowledged that the King, upon having settled an annual tribute, bestowed the kingdom of Guzerat upon Dabissalima, the poor Brahmin, and not upon the Raja of the same name, who lived at that period. We find, that when the King had bestowed the regency upon the Brahmin, the latter petitioned him to leave some forces for his protection, for that the prince Dabissalima, as soon as Mamood should evacuate the country, would undoubtedly invade him before his power was thoroughly established, the consequence of which might be easily foreseen: but that, if the King would grant him his protection, he would annually give double the revenues of Cabulistan and Zabulistan. These considerations prevailed with Mamood to form a design to reduce the prince Dabissalima before he left the country. He accordingly sent a part of his army into the dominions of the prince, which, in a short time, defeated him, and brought him prisoner to Mamood. He immediately delivered over the unfortunate Raja into the hands of his kinsman Dabissalima, the viceroy, to take away his life.

Dabissalima addressed himself to the King after this manner: That, in his religion, the murder of a king was unlawful; but that it was customary, when one king got possession of the person of another who was his enemy, to make a dark pit under his throne, where he should remain imprisoned for life, or till the death of his conqueror: that, for his own part, he esteemed such usage a cruelty of which he could not be guilty; but that, on the other hand, if the Raja should be confined by him in another prison, his adherents would, upon the King's departure, attempt to release him. He therefore earnestly begged that the King might carry him to Ghizni. Mamood complied with this last request, and, after two years and six months' absence, turned homewards his victorious standards. But hav-

ing received intelligence, that Byram Deo, and the prince of Ajmere, with others, had collected a great army to oppose him in the desert, he turned by the way of the Indus and Moultan. He there also met with deserts in his march, wherein his army greatly suffered by want of water, and his cavalry by want of grass; but in the year 417, he with much difficulty and toil reached Ghizni. During his march through the country on the banks of the Indus, he was led astray three days and nights, by one of his Hindoo guides, in a desert of dry sand, so that madness and thirst began intolerably to rage through his perishing troops. Mamood, suspecting his guide, commanded him to be put to the torture, when he confessed that he was one of the priests of Sumnat, who, to revenge the injuries done to his God, had thus endeavoured to bring about the ruin of the Ghiznian army. The King then commanded him to be put to death; and it being towards evening, he fell prostrate before God, imploring a speedy deliverance. A meteor was immediately seen in the east, to which he directed his march, and, before morning, found himself upon the banks of a lake.

Dabissalima the devout, having established himself upon the throne of Guzerat, as deputy to the King of Ghizni, continued to send his revenues punctually to the King, and some years after desired the imprisoned Raja might be returned to him. But that prince had, by this time, gained upon the mind of the King, which made him unwilling to part with him. He however was over-persuaded by his counsellors, who were envious of the favour which the unfortunate Raja had acquired; and he was accordingly put into the hands of the person who brought the revenue to Ghizni. When they reached the dominions of Guzerat, Dabissalima the devout gave orders to dig a hole under his own throne, in which he intended to confine the unhappy Raja, according to the barbarous custom of the Indians. To stretch his triumph still further, he advanced to some distance from his capital, to meet the prince, that the

unfortunate man might run before his horse, with a bason on his head and an ewer in his hand.

The King of Guzerat, it is said, having overheated himself upon this occasion, lay down, much disordered, in a shade, drew a red handkerchief over his face, and ordered his attendants to withdraw. A vulture, which was hovering over that place, mistaking the red handkerchief for prey, soused down upon Dabissalima, and fixing her talons about his eyes, rendered him totally blind; and therefore incapable to reign, according to the laws of the country. When the accident which befel the King became public, the whole camp and city were filled with confusion and uproar. The imprisoned prince, arriving at that very instant, was received with universal acclamations, and immediately elected King. He put the bason upon the head of Dabissalima, and placed the ewer in his hand, and drove him before him into the dungeon which he himself had prepared, where he spent the remainder of his life. This barbarous action, however, showed that his successor was unworthy of what Providence had, so miraculously, bestowed upon him. The story is a striking instance of the just punishment of pride, and that he who digs a pit for another, will fall into it himself.

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

nion; and this story may be ranked among the fabulous.

The Calipha of Bagdat being informed of the expedition of the King of Ghizni, wrote him a congratulatory letter, in which he styled him, The Guardian of Fortune, and the Faith of Mahommed. To his son, the illustrious Emir Musaood, he gave the title of The Light of Posterity, and the Beauty of Nations; and to his second son, the noble Eusoph, the appellation of The Strength of the Arm of Fortune, and Establisher of the State. He at the same time assured Mamood, that whoever he should appoint to the succession, he himself would confirm and support.

Mamood marched this year an army against the Jits, who had insulted him in his way from Sumnat. This people inhabited the country on the borders of Moultan, near the banks of the river that runs by the mountains of Jude. When he arrived at Moultan, finding that the country of the Jits was defended by great rivers, he ordered fifteen hundred boats to be built, each of which he armed with six iron spikes projecting from their prows and sides, to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, who were very expert in that kind of war. When he had launched this fleet, he ordered twenty archers into each boat, and five others, with fire-balls, to burn the craft of the Jits, and naphtha to set the whole river on fire. This force he commanded to extirpate the Jits, and remained with the remainder of his army at Moultan. The Jits having intelligence of this armament, sent their wives and children, and most valuable effects, into an island, and launching, according to some, four thousand, or, according to others, eight thousand boats, manned and armed, prepared to receive the Ghiznians. They met, and a terrible conflict ensued; but the projected pikes from the imperial boats did such execution, when they ran against the craft of the Jits, that many of them were overset. The archers, at the same time, plied their bows to such good purpose, that many of the enemy

plunged overboard to avoid their galling arrows. Some of the Jitsiad boats being, in the mean time, set on fire, communicated their flames to others; some were sunk, some boarded by the Ghiznians, and others endeavoured to make their escape. In this scene of confusion and terror, very few of the Jits could shun their hard fate. All those, therefore, who escaped death, met with the more severe misfortune of captivity.

The King, after this victory, returned in triumph to Ghizni, and in the 418th year of the Higera, ordered Amir Toos, one of his generals, to the government of the Persian district of Badwird, that he might chastise the Turkumans of Siljoki*, who had crossed the river Amavia, and invaded that province. But Amir Toos, being defeated in a very bloody action, wrote to the King, that without his presence and fortune nothing could be done against the enemy. Mamood immediately put his army in motion, and having come up with them, gave them a total defeat, which entirely dispersed them, and cleared the country. Hearing, at this time, that one of his generals had conquered Irac †, he marched that way, and seized all the treasure that had been amassed by the race of Boia, who had possessed that country, and lived in the city of Rai ‡. Having there enforced some laws respecting the religion of the inhabitants, who had adopted false tenets, he settled the government of Rai and Ispahan upon his son, the prince Musaood, and returned himself to Ghizni.

Mamood was soon after afflicted with the stone, which disorder daily increased. He went in this condition to Balich to settle some state affairs, and in the

* These were the Tartar tribe who soon after conquered Persia, and whose prince, Togrul Bec, founded the dynasty of the Siljokides.

† This is the province of Persia, distinguished by the name of Irac Agemi, by the Arabians.

‡ A great city, capital of Irac, before Ispahan.

beginning of the spring he turned his face again to Ghizni; where, upon Friday the 23d of the second Ribbi, in the 419th of the Higera, and the sixty-third year of his age, this great conqueror, amidst the tears of his people, gave up his body to death, and his soul to immortality.

He reigned thirty-five years, and he was buried by torch-light, with great pomp and solemnity, in the palace of triumph at Ghizni. He was certainly a great man and an excellent prince, a good friend to his own people, a dreadful enemy to foreigners. Ambitious but seldom cruel; not religious but enthusiastic, he did many bad things from a good principle. His person was of the middle size, not handsome, but without deformity or blemish.

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

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

But Mamood was, in other instances, famous for justice. A person one day, thrusting himself into the

presence, called loudly for justice. The King ordered him to explain his complaint, which he thus did: "That, unfortunately having a handsome wife, the King's nephew had conceived a passion for her, and came to his house every night with armed attendants, beating him and turning him into the street, till he had gratified his adulterous passion. That he had frequently complained to those who ought to have done him justice, but that the rank of the adulterer had shut their ears against him."

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

The King immediately rose, and drawing on a garment, followed the man to his house. He found his nephew and the man's wife sleeping together in one bed, with a candle standing on the carpet near them. Mamood, extinguishing the candle, drew his dagger, and severed his nephew's head from his body: then

commanding the man to bring a light, he called out for some water, and having taken a deep draught, he told him, he might now go and sleep with safety, if he could trust his own wife.

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

The learned men who lived at the court of Mamood were principally these: Ozaeri Rasi, a native of Rai in Persia, whose poetical performances as a panegyrist are esteemed very good, for one of which he received a present of 4000 dirms from Mamood.—Assidi Toosi, a native of the province of Chorassan, a poet of great fame, whom the Sultan often entreated to undertake the Shaw Namma, but he excused himself on account of his age. He was the master of Phirdoci, who afterwards undertook that work; but Phirdoci falling sick, by too much application, before it was finished, he applied himself to his old master Assidi; telling him, that he was now at the point of death, and that his only regret for leaving this vain world was, that his poem was unfinished. The old man weeping replied, that, though he had often excused himself to the King from having any hand in the performance, yet, for the affection he bore to Phirdoci, he would undertake to finish his poem. The dying poet replied, that he was well assured no other man of the age had the genius to attempt it; but at the same time he was afraid, years and infirmities had damped the native fire of Assidi. The old man, warmed with friendship and emulation, collecting the force of his mind, made the attempt,

and brought into the chains of rhyme, in a few days, that part of the poem, between the Arabian conquest of the western Persia, to the end, which consists of four thousand couplets. He immediately brought it to Phirdoci, who was so rejoiced that he recovered from his disorder. The Shaw Namma is esteemed among the first of poetical productions, and Phirdoci the author, consequently among the first of poets.

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

Among the works of Unsuri there is an heroic poem, upon the actions of Mamood. The King having one night, in his cups, cut off the long tresses of his beloved *, he was much afflicted in the morning for what he had done. He sat, he rose, he walked by turns, and there was a terror round him, which kept the people at distance. Ali Unsuri accosted him with some extempore lines †, which so pleased the King, that he ordered his mouth to be filled three times with jewels. Calling then for wine, he sat with the poet, and washed down his grief, seasoning society with wit.

Asjuddi was one of the scholars of Unsuri: he was

* His favourite mistress.

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

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

Al Kader Billa kept up the title of Calipha, without any power, excepting in the city of Bagdâd and its territory, during the whole reign of Mamood. Elich Chan, king of Kasgar, by the extinction of the imperial family of Samania, possessed himself of the city of Bochara, and became sovereign of all Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana. Mamood added to the empire of Ghizni, to the west and north, Seistan, the Persian Iraac, Georgia, and, in general, all Persia, to the east of the small territory of the Caliphat. He dethroned and extinguished the family of Boia, who had held out for so many years their best provinces against the Caliphas of the house of Abas. On the side of India, he conquered and possessed all the provinces to the north-west of Delhi, all Sindia and Guzerat; and, by spreading his ravages further into that vast empire, rendered almost all its Rajas dependent upon his power. Mamood, in short, possessed a greater empire than any Mahommedan prince before his time in Asia. Almost all Persia was subject to him, the Oxus bounded his empire on the north-east side, and the mountains

of Ajmere and Malava seem to have been on his frontiers on the south.

MAHOMMED I.

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

About fifty days after the death of Mamood, one of the nobles, by name Abul Nigim, having, in confederacy with Ali Dia, gained over the slaves †, they broke into the royal stables, and mounting the King's best horses, rode off towards Bust. The Emperor Mahommed informed of this, immediately dispatched Subundraï, an Indian chief in trust, with a numerous body of Hindoo cavalry, in pursuit of them. He came up with the slaves in a few days; a skirmish ensued, in which Subundraï, with the greatest part of his troops, were

* His titles are, Jellal ul Dowla, Jemmal ul Muluc, Sultan Mahommed, ben Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi.

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

killed, and not a few of the slaves. The surviving part of the rebels, with their two chiefs, pursued their journey to the prince Musaood, whom they met at Neshapoor, a city of the province of Chorassan. Musaood having heard of his father's decease at Hammedam in Persia*, settled viceroys and governors of trust in the Persian provinces of Irac Agemi, and hastened towards Chorassan. From thence he wrote to his brother, that he had no inclination to take those countries from him, which his father, notwithstanding his preferable right, had been pleased to bequeath to the prince Mahommed. He moreover added, that the regions of the Hills, Tiberistan and Erac, which he had mostly acquired with his own sword, were ample enough dominions for him. He only insisted so far on his birthright, as to have his name first read in the Chutba †, over all his dominions. The Prince Musaood is allowed to have been very moderate in this case, for though he and Mahommed were twins, he was the elder by some hours, and consequently had the undoubted right of succession.

But enmity had subsisted between the brothers from their youth, and Mahommed returned his brother, upon this occasion, a very unfriendly answer, and began to prepare for war, in spite of all that his council could do to oppose so rash a measure. He accordingly put his army in motion, and leaving Ghizni, proceeded to meet Musaood: it is said, that at the feast, upon the conclusion of the Ramzan which Mahommed held at Tunganabad, his crown fell accidentally from his head when he sat in state. This was reckoned a very unfortunate omen, of which some disaffected chiefs taking advantage, estranged the minds of the soldiery

* Hammedan is situated in the province of Irac, towards the frontiers of Curdustan. It is one of the principal cities of Persia, because it is in a manner the door by which every thing goes from Bagdad to Ispahan.

† The genealogy and titles of their kings read from the pulpit on all public occasions of worship, after the praise of the prophet.

from their prince. Accordingly upon the third night after, there was a confederacy formed by the noble Ali, Eusoph, the son of Subuctagi, uncle to the King, and Hassnic Mical, who sounding the trumpets to arms, put themselves at the head of the troops, surrounded the King's tents, and seizing upon his person, sent him prisoner to the fort of Chilligie. They immediately marched with the army to Herat, to meet the prince Musaood, to whom they swore allegiance.

Musaood directed immediately his march to Balich, where he ordered Hassnic to be executed, for having deserted him before, and fled to the King of Egypt. There was also, it is said, a private pique, which hastened the death of Hassnic, for he was in public heard to say, that if ever Musaood should be King, he would suffer himself to be hanged. The noble Ali had his head struck off for his ingratitude to his prince; and Eusoph, the son of the Emperor Subuctagi, the other conspirator, and the King's uncle, was imprisoned for life. The eyes of the unfortunate Mahommed were put out, and he himself confined; so that the reign of Mahommed scarcely lasted five months. But, as we shall hereafter see, he was, after nine years' imprisonment, blessed with one more bright ray of fortune.

MUSAOOD I.

MUSAOOD* was a man of a lofty spirit, and was honoured with the appellation of Rustum the second. His arrow could pierce the strongest mail, and sink into the body of an elephant, and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time could raise it with one hand. He was withal, of an obstinate and fierce disposition, contemptuous of all authority, and disdaining all obedience. This circumstance, in his

* His titles were Shahab ul Dowla, Jemmál ul Muluck, Sultan Musaood, ben Sultan Mamood Ghiznavi.

youth, engaged him in many quarrels, and greatly disobliged his father; who, for that reason, fixed his affections upon his brother, the prince Mahommed, who was of a more mild and tractable disposition.

Abu Niser Muscati relates, that when the name of Mahommed was inserted before that of Musaood in the Chutba, and read in public for the first time, that he himself followed Musaood to the door of the mosque, and told him, that what he had heard gave him the utmost concern, for that his own, as well as the hearts of most of the nobles, burnt with affection for him. The prince replied with a smile, "Give yourselves no concern about it; the world is for the longest sword." One of the King's spies, hearing this conversation, immediately gave information of it to his father. Mamood immediately calling Abu Niser, asked him what had passed between him and the prince Musaood. Abu Niser, thinking that truth would be his best defence, related the particulars. Upon which the King said, that he had always a high opinion of the superior abilities of Musaood, who, he foresaw, would one day be King; but that the prince Mahommed had gained his heart, by filial duty and implicit obedience.

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

The King, in the year 422, having left Balich, came to Ghizni, and sent an army to Kutch and Mackeran, the maritime provinces of Persia, and the coin of both provinces was struck in his name. The prince of those

countries died about that time, and left two sons, Asakir and Isah.—Isah, the younger brother, taking possession of the government, Asakir had recourse for aid, to regain his inheritance, to the Emperor Musaood, to whom the fugitive prince promised an annual tribute, and to hold his dominions, when recovered, of him. Musaood agreeing to this proposal, sent a great army with Asakir, with orders to his general, if possible, to reconcile the difference between the brothers, and to divide the country equally between them; but if this could not be done, to put the whole into the possession of Asakir. Asakir arrived upon the frontiers, with this powerful army, but so obstinate was his brother, and so much devoted to his own ruin, that he would not be brought to listen to any accommodation; and though he was deserted by many of his friends, who joined his brother, he determined to decide the affair with his sword. He accordingly fought with great bravery, till he obtained that death he seemed so eagerly to pursue. The provinces fell into the hands of Asakir, who paid tribute and allegiance to the empire.

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

Musaood, after having settled his affairs at Ghizni, intended to march to Ispahan * and Rai. But when

* Ispahan is not only the capital of Irac, but of all Persia. It was, till the commotions after the death of Nadir Shaw in 1747, a very large town, surrounded with a brick wall, and drove a great trade in silks and other commodities. It suffered so much in the late troubles in Persia, that Kerim Chan, the present Emperor, has removed his court to Schiraz.

he arrived at Herat, the people of Sirchus and Badawird complained to him of the ravages of the famous Tartar tribe of Siljoki Turkumans. The King, moved by the injuries done to his subjects, was incensed very much against the enemy, and therefore immediately ordered Abduse, the son of Adiz, a brave general, with a great force, to chastise them. This officer, however, was received by the Turkumans with so much bravery, that he could gain no advantages over them; and the King, for what reason is not known, returned to Ghizni.

In the year 423, the King dispatched Altasash, who governed Charizm, under the regal title of Viceroy, with a great army, to oppose Ali Tiggi, the Usbec Tartar, who had invaded and conquered Samarcand and Bochara. Altasash marched to Maver-ul-nere, or the country beyond the Amu*, where fifteen thousand horse were ordered to join him from Ghizni. After this junction was effected, he crossed the river Amavia, in the face of the enemy, and continued his rout to Bochara, which he reduced, and then proceeded to Samarcand. Ali Tiggi marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post, having the river on one side and a high mountain on the other. When the battle begun, a party of Ali Tiggi's horse, having turned the mountain, attacked the army of Altasash in the rear. A great slaughter commenced, and the Ghiznian commander was wounded, in a part of the body in which he had formerly received a wound in taking one of the forts of Hindostan. He however concealed his blood from his army, and charged the enemy with such vigour, in his front and rear, that, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, they were at length put to flight.

When the battle was over, Altasash called a council of his principal officers, and showing his wound, told them his end was approaching, and that they must now manage affairs in the best manner they could, intimating at the same time, that he thought they could do nothing

* Transoxiana.

better than conclude a peace with the enemy. This motion being approved, a messenger was dispatched to them, that very night, with proposals, which were eagerly accepted. The conditions were, that Ali Tiggi should keep possession of Samarcand, and that Bochara should remain to Musaood. The two armies, immediately after this pacification, departed, the one for Samarcand, and the other for Chorassan. The brave Altasash died the second day after, but his death was concealed from the army, and the chiefs conducted the troops to Charizm: and when these accounts came to the King, he conferred the government upon Haro, the son of Altasash.

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

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

The King of Ghizni, in the mean time, was obliged to march back to quell some disturbances in Tibiristan, one of the Persian provinces, now forming a part of the Ghiznian empire. The inhabitants of Amalisar opposed him in his progress, but they were dispersed by the imperial troops with little opposition, and Callingar, prince of Tibiristan, sent an ambassador, and subjected himself and his country to the King. He, at the same time, gave his son Bhamin, and his nephew Shirvi, as hostages, for his future good behaviour. Musaood turned from thence his face towards Ghizni; and when he arrived at Neshapoor, the capital of Chorassan, the people of that place again complained of the incursions of the Tartar tribe of Siljoki, and he immediately dispatched Buctadi, and Hussein the son of Ali, with a great force to chastise them. When the Ghiznian army reached the village of Seindenfauk, a messenger came from the Turkumans with a letter, to the following purpose: "That they were the King's servants, and not at all desirous to disturb any body but his enemies, if they should be enabled, by any annual subsidy, to live at home without plunder, or led out to war, that they might exert their skill in what they reckoned their only profession." The answer of Buctadi was very haughty. "There is no peace," says he, "between us, but the sword, unless you will give over your depredations, and submit yourselves implicitly to the laws and authority of the King." After the Tartars had heard this message from their ambassador, they advanced and made a violent assault upon the camp of Buctadi; but as they were conducted more by rage than conduct, they were repulsed, and obliged to turn their backs upon the honours of the field. Buctadi, pursuing them with great expedition, took all their baggage, and their wives and children.

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

Musaood was obliged for that time to restrain his resentment, upon account of some disturbances in India. He marched back to Ghizni, in the year 426; and thence sent an army under Ban, an Indian chief, against Ahmud, who had rebelled in his government. But, when the two armies met, Ban was defeated with great slaughter. Musaood, being informed of this disaster, sent Touluck, another Indian chief, who, coming to battle with Ahmud, gave him a total overthrow. He fled in great haste towards Munsura, Tatta, and the country near the mouth of the Indus. Touluck pursued him so close, that many thousands of the runaways fell into his hands, whom he treated in the most inhuman manner, cutting off their noses and ears. When Ahmud reached the banks of the Indus, he found himself, if possible, in greater distress than before; for collecting all the boats, which the pressure of the enemy would permit, he endeavoured to cross the river. But the soldiers, afraid of being abandoned, hurried into the boats with such violence, and in such numbers, that most of them were either overset or sunk. A sudden storm, and an inundation of the river, added to the confusion of the vanquished; so that very few of them escaped. The body of their chief was soon after found by the enemy, and his head sent to Ghizni.

A new palace being finished in the year 427 at Ghizni, a golden throne, studded with jewels, was

erected in a magnificent hall, and a crown of gold, weighing seventy maunds*, darting lustre from its precious stones, suspended by a golden chain over it, by way of canopy, under which the King sat in state, and gave public audience. He in the same year conferred the ensigns and drums of royalty upon his son the prince Modood, and sent him to the government of Balich, whilst he himself marched with an army to India to reduce the strong city of Hassi. This city was the capital of Sewalic, a country towards the head of the Ganges, and was, by the Hindoos, reckoned impregnable; for they were taught to believe, by some of their prophets, that it should never fall into the hands of the Mussulmen. But the Indian prophets, like those of other nations, deceived their followers; for the King, in the space of six days, though with a very considerable loss on his side, scaled the place and took it. He found immense treasures in Hassi; and having put it into the hands of a trusty servant, he marched towards the fort of Sunput. Deipal, the governor of Sunput, evacuated the place, and fled into the woods; but he had no time to carry off his treasure, which fell into the conqueror's hands. Musaood ordered all the temples to be laid in ruins, and all the idols to be broke down.

Musaood proceeded from thence in pursuit of Deipal, who began to show himself in the field; but he was surprised by the King, and all his army taken prisoners, while he himself escaped in the habit of a slave. Musaood marched from thence towards Ram, another prince of those parts, who, upon receiving intelligence of the King's intentions, sent immense presents of gold and elephants, excusing himself, on account of his age, from personally attending upon Musaood. The King received his presents and excuse, and withheld his hand from giving him any farther molestation: then leaving a trusty

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

chief at Sunput*; he took possession of all the countries in his rear, intending to return to Ghizni. When he reached Lahore, he left there his son Mugdood, on whom he conferred the government of that famous city and province, and the drums and ensigns of state, with Eur, his favourite, to be his counsellor in matters of importance.

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

But the star of the King's fortune had now reached the house of adversity, and he would not by any means hearken to their advice. In hopes to conquer the country before him, he laid a bridge over the Gion †, and crossing his army without opposition, took possession of the whole province of Maver-ul-nere ‡. But, during that winter, such a quantity of snow fell, that it was with the greatest difficulty he marched back

* Forty miles from Delhi, on the road to Lahore.
† The Oxus. ‡ Transoxiana.

his army towards Ghizni. In the mean time, Daood*, prince of the Siljoki, marched with an army against Balich, from whence Amud, the governor, wrote to the King the particulars, begging, as he had not a sufficient force to oppose the enemy, that he would take some measures to reinforce him. Musaood upon this turned his army towards Balich.

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

Musaood, after this treaty, turned with his army towards Herat; but such was the infidelity of those ravagers, that they attacked the rear of the King's army, carrying off part of his baggage, and slaying a number of his attendants. Incensed at this behaviour, he sent a detachment in pursuit of them, who took a small party of them prisoners, and brought them to his feet. He immediately ordered their heads to be cut off and sent to Pugu, who excused himself, saying, that for his part he was glad they had met with their deserts, for he had no knowledge of their proceedings.

* He was brother to the famous Torgril-Beg, first of the dynasty of the Seljukedes of Persia.

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

The Siljoki, collecting their forces at Dindaka, surrounded the King's army, securing the passes upon every side; Musaood, to bring them to an engagement, drew out his army in order of battle, which the enemy by no means declined, advancing upon all quarters with barbarous shouts and great impetuosity. This uncommon method of charging discouraged the Ghiznian troops; and whether through fear or perfidy, several generals, in the beginning of the action, rode off with their whole squadrons, and joined the enemy. The King, enraged at this treachery, and seeing his affairs in a desperate situation, addressed himself in a few words to his friends about him. He told them, that their own safety, their long acquired honour, the glory of their King, and the security of their native country, now depended upon one noble effort to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and those still greater enemies, who had so basely deserted their cause.

Musaood then turning his horse to where he beheld the torrent of gleaming arms rolling on, plunged singly to oppose the stream, bearing down all before him,

and exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour, as never king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour which inspires the brave, seconded their lord so well, that whithersoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemy were mowed down, or retreated before him. But now, when victory seemed to blow on his standard, misfortune was active behind it; for when he looked round he beheld almost his whole army, excepting that body he commanded in person, devouring the paths of flight. The King, seeing himself thus shamefully deserted, and that no hope from his single arm remained, turned his steed, and trampling down the enemy, opened to himself a clear passage with his own sword. When he reached the river near Murve, he met with a few of the fugitives, who now began to collect themselves from all quarters. He took from thence the way of Ghor, and proceeded to Ghizni. There he seized upon the generals who had so ingloriously deserted him. He ordered Ali Daia, Buctadi, and Sab Sinai, to be conveyed to Hindostan, and confined in a certain fort for life.

The King, finding himself, at this period, unable to withstand the enemy, resolved to withdraw to India, till he could collect his forces, and make another effort to retrieve his affairs. He left his son Modood and his Vizier, with four thousand horse, to defend Balich, and ordered his other son, the prince Mugdood, who had come from Lahore with two thousand horse, to secure Moultan. In the mean time Erid, another of his sons, was sent with a detachment to awe the mountain Afghans, near Ghizni, who were in arms. He then collected all his wealth from the different strong holds to Ghizni, and laying it upon camels, bent his way to Lahore, sending for his brother Mahommed, who had been dethroned and blinded from his confinement.

When Musaood arrived upon the banks of the Gelum, the water of which, on account of its purity, is called

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

Musaood was, during this time, collecting what friends he could to suppress the mutiny; but no sooner was it known that his brother was proclaimed King, than he found himself entirely deserted. The mob pressing round him, he was obliged to give himself up into their hands, and he was carried before the new King. Mahommed told him, he had no design to take his life, and desired he might pitch upon some fort, whither he might retire with his family into confinement. Musaood, in this extremity, chose the fort of Kurri, but was even in distress for money to pay his few menial attendants. This obliged him to send a person to his brother to request him for some. Mahommed accordingly ordered the pitiful sum of five hundred dirms to be sent him; upon which Musaood, when it was brought him, exclaimed after the following manner: "O wonderful cast of Providence! O cruel reverse of fate! Yesterday was I not a mighty prince; three thousand camels bending under my treasure? To-day I am forced to beg, and to receive but the mere mockery of my wants." With that he borrowed a thousand dirms from his servants, and bestowed it in a present upon his brother's messenger, who had brought the

five hundred dirms, which he desired he might again carry back to his master.

Mahommed, upon his accession, advanced his son Ahmed to the government, reserving for himself only the name, though Ahmed was, by many, supposed to have a tincture of madness in his disposition. The first thing he did was, without consulting his father, in conjunction with his cousin Soliman the son of Eusoph, and the son of Ali Cheshawind, to go to the castle of Kurri, and assassinate Musaood, in the year 433. But some affirm, that he buried him alive in a well. The reign of Musaood was nine years and nine months. He was a prince of uncommon strength and bravery; affable, of easy access, and generous to prodigality; particularly to learned men, of whose company he was excessively fond, which drew many from all parts to his court.

Among the first of the learned in the court of Musaood, we must reckon Abu Keihan of Charism, a great philosopher and astrologer, who wrote one of the best treatises upon astronomy, called Canoon Musaoodi, for which he was presented with an elephant made of silver, the size of which we are not told. Abu Mahommed Nasahi was also a man of much reputation in this age. He wrote a book called Musaoodi, in support of the doctrine of Abu Hanifa, which he presented to the King. The author of the Rosit ul Suffa tells us, that so extensive was the King's charity, that some days, in the month of Ramzan, he bestowed often a lack of dirms upon the poor. In the beginning of his reign, he built many noble mosques, and endowed many colleges and schools, which he erected in different cities of his dominions.

Musaood was far from being so fortunate as his father Mamood. Al Kader Billa reigned with the title of Calipha in Bagdad and its territory: a branch of the family of Boia were sovereigns of Persia Proper, Kerman or the ancient Caramania, Mesopotamia, and the

Arabian Irac. The Siljoki Tartars, having, in a course of depredatory expeditions, ravaged and conquered the vast country of Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, passed the Oxus in the reign of Musaood, defeated him in many battles, and stripping him of Chorassan and all the Persian conquests of his father, founded, under their chief, Trogrilbeg, the famous dynasty of the Siljokies. The dominions of Ghizni became very much contracted to the north, consisting only of the provinces of Seistan, Zabulistan, and Cabul, to the north-west of the Hydaspes. The boundaries of the empire, on the side of India, suffered no change in this reign.

MODOOD.

WHEN the news of the murder of Musaood came to Mahommed the blind, he wept bitterly, and severely reproached the assassins. He, at the same time, wrote to the prince Modood, who was then at Balich, that such and such people had killed his father; calling God to witness, that his hands were clear of the wicked deed. To this Modood* replied, sarcastically: May God lengthen the days of so good and so merciful a King, and grant that his mad son, Ahmed, may gain glory in the practice of regicide, till his reward be obtained from our hands. Modood was for marching immediately, to revenge the death of his father; but he was persuaded by his council, to go first to Ghizni; where the citizens, upon his approach, thronged out to meet him, and expressed their joy in acclamations and congratulations upon his accession.

In the year 433, he marched from Ghizni; while

* His titles are, Abul Fatte, Cuttub ul Muluc, Shahab ul Muluc, Shahâb ul Dowla, Amir Modood ben Musaood, ben Mamood Ghiznavi; the son of the Victorious, the Pole-star of the Empire, the Light of Fortune, the Lord MODOOD son of Musaood, the son of Mamood of Ghizni.

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

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

Modood finding that his brother refused to pay him allegiance, ordered an army against him. Mugdood

* Fatte-Abad.

being apprised of this expedition, marched from Hassi, where he then resided, with his whole force, to oppose the imperial troops. He came up with them before they reached Lahore, with an army so numerous, that the forces of Modood were upon the point of flying at their appearance, several of the chiefs deserting their colours, and enlisting themselves under the banners of Mugdood. But fortune here, or treachery, befriended Modood. In the morning of the ide of sacrifice, Mugdood was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint, or apparent cause of his decease. But what seemed to discover the hand of traitors, was, that next day, his counsellor and friend Eas was found dead in the same manner. Mugdood's army marched under the banners of Modood, so that the southern countries submitted in peace. Nor was Modood less fortunate towards the north. The province of Maver-ul-nere, which had for some time asserted its independence, submitted. But the Siljokies, notwithstanding the King had taken one of the daughters of their chief in marriage, began to make incursions anew into his territories.

In the year 435, the prince of Delhi, in alliance with others, raising an army, took Hassi, Tannasar, and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Modood had entrusted them. The Hindoos from thence marched towards the fort of Nagracut, which they besieged for four months, and the garrison being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, were under the necessity of capitulating. The Hindoos, according to the ancient form, erected new idols, and recommenced the rites of idolatry. We are told that the prince of Delhi, observing a weakness in the empire of Ghizni, pretended to have seen a vision, in which the great idol of Nagracut told him, that having now revenged himself upon Ghizni, he would meet him at Nagracut in his former temple. This story being propagated by the Brahmins, who probably were in the secret, it gained faith among the superstitious, by which means the Raja was joined by zealots from

all parts, and soon saw himself at the head of a very numerous army. With this army, as we have already mentioned, he besieged Nagracut, and when the place surrendered, he took care to have an idol, of the same shape and size with the former, which he had caused to be made at Delhi, introduced, in the night, into a garden in the centre of the place. This image being discovered in the morning, there was a prodigious rejoicing among his deluded votaries, who exclaimed, that their God was returned from Ghizni. The Raja, and the Brahmins, taking the advantage of the credulity of the populace, with great pomp and festivity, carried him into the temple, where he received the worship and congratulations of his people. This story raised so much the fame of the idol, that thousands came daily to worship from all parts of Hindostan, as also to consult him as an oracle, upon all important occasions. The manner of consultation was this: The persons who came to inquire into futurity, slept on the floor of the temple before him, after drinking a dose of something which the Brahmins prescribed, to create dreams, from which they predicted their fortune, in the morning, according to their own fancy.

The success of the prince of Delhi gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of Punjaab, or the province about the five branches of the Indus, and other places, that though before, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Mussulman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those Rajas, with ten thousand horse, and an innumerable army of foot, advanced to Lahore, and invested it. The Mussulmen, in defence of their laws, families, and effects, exerted all imaginable valour upon this occasion, during the space of seven months, defending the town, street by street; for the walls being bad, were soon laid in ruins. Finding, however, that, in the end, they must be rooted out by this defensive war, unless they had speedy succours, they bound themselves by oath, to devote their

lives to victory or martyrdom; and making a sally out of the city, presented themselves, in order of battle, before the enemy's camp. The Hindoos, either struck with their unexpected appearance, or intimidated by their resolution, betook themselves instantly to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

In the year preceding this event, the King sent Artagi Hajib, with an army, to Tiberistan, against the ever-restless Siljoki. When he reached that place, he heard that the son of Daood had advanced to Arkin; but when the two armies drew up in order against one another, the chief of the Siljoki, who was a young man, without either experience or courage, showed such pusillanimity in arranging his troops, that the enemy had begun the charge before they were properly formed, which occasioned an immediate confusion, so that they abandoned the field, and were pursued with great slaughter. Artagi, having returned from the pursuit, marched directly to Balich, which the Siljoki had taken, and recovered that city out of their hands. Not long after, the Siljoki advanced again with a powerful force, and invested the same place. As it was not very defensible, and Artagi was too weak to engage the enemy in the field, he wrote to Modood for succours. The succours not arriving, and the general finding his difficulties daily increasing, and his force diminishing, determined to evacuate the place, which he accordingly did, and fled to Ghizni, with a few of his attendants. But the popular outcry was so great against the unfortunate Artagi, that Modood was obliged, in some measure, to silence the clamour by the death of his servant. About this time, another tribe of the Turkumans of Ghizizi made an incursion into the Ghiznian territories, by the way of Bust, against whom Modood sent an army, which gave them a signal defeat.

In the year 436, Tahir the vizier was deposed, and Abdul Rysaac was exalted to that dignity; and, in the same year, Tughril was sent, with a force, towards Bust, from whence he proceeded to Seistan, and

brought his own brother, and Ringi, who had rebelled against the King, prisoners to Ghizni. The Siljoki, in the year following, collected all their forces, and directed their march towards Ghizni, plundering the palace of Bust. Tughril was ordered against them, with the troops of Ghizni, and he defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them out of the country. After this victory Tughril marched immediately against the Turkumans of Candahar, whom they called *red-caps*, and defeating them also, took many prisoners, whom he brought to Ghizni.

In the 438th year, Tughril was again ordered to Bust, with a numerous army; but when he came to Tiggiabad, he began to hatch treason against his sovereign. News of his revolt having reached Modood, he sent some persons to endeavour to reclaim him to his duty, with promises of pardon, and a removal of all the disgusts which he might have entertained. To this Tughril replied, that the reason of this step was to secure himself: that he had an information of a plot formed against his life, by those sycophants, whose only business was to stand by the throne, and to amuse the too easy ears of the King with lies and flattery: that being once forced to disobedience, he had, for a subject, gone too far to retreat. The King's emissaries however, though they had no effect upon Tughril, found that the most part of the chiefs were still loyal to the King, and brought over others, who had changed, rather out of a desire of innovation, than disaffection to their sovereign. Upon this they returned, and having told the King in what manner things were concerted with the other chiefs, he immediately ordered Ali the son of Ribbi, one of his generals, with two thousand horse, to favour the insurrection; so that Tughril, finding himself deserted by the army, upon the appearance of Ali, betook himself to flight, with a few of his adherents.

Tiggi, another Omrah, was in the same year sent to Ghor, to the assistance of Willidingi, who joining him

with his force, they both marched against Abu Ali, prince of Ghor, and having driven him into a fort, he was there besieged, and taken prisoner. This place was reckoned so strong, that, for seven hundred years before, the reduction of it had not been attempted by any body. When Tiggi found himself master of the fort, he treacherously laid hands upon Willidingi, whose right he came to support, and carried him in chains, with Abu Ali, to Ghizni, where the King settled their dispute, by cutting off both their heads. Tiggi was sent, soon after, against Byram Neal, general of the Siljoki. He met the enemy in the districts of Bust, and engaged them, gaining, at length, the long-disputed field. He was again, in the year 439, sent against Kisdar, who refused to pay his tribute, whom he subdued, and obliged to comply with the King's commands, and returned with his army to Ghizni the year following.

Modood, the following year, in one day, conferred the royal dress, drums, and colours, upon his two eldest sons, Mamood, whom he sent to Lahore, and upon Munsur, whom he sent to the province of Peshawir. At the same time Ali, chief magistrate of Ghizni, was sent to command the other imperial conquests in India. Ali first marched to Peshawir, and took the fort of Mahitila, from Ahin, who had rebelled against the King's authority, then sent a letter of invitation to Higgi Rai, a general of the Hindoos, who had done much service in the time of Mamood, but, upon account of some political matters, had fled from the court, and had taken up his abode in the mountains of Cashmire. The invitation being complied with, the King desired his attendance at Ghizni.

While Ali was settling the countries about the Indus, some malicious chiefs in his camp forwarded many complaints against him to the King. He was called to Ghizni, and imprisoned, under the care of one Mirik the son of Hassen. This man, out of former enmity, and with a design to extort money from him, put him

to the torture, and soon after to death itself. Fearing, however, that the King might some day enquire for the prisoner, and order him to be produced, he himself, being then a great favourite, endeavoured to divert Modood's mind to some important affairs, till he should be able to frame some excuse for the death of Ali. He at length prevailed upon the Sultan to form an expedition against Chorassan, by the way of Cabul. When they reached Lowgur, they besieged the fort of Sancoot, where there was a considerable treasure lodged. But there the King was seized with a disorder in his liver, which daily gaining ground, he was obliged to proceed to Ghizni in a litter; while his vizier, Abul Rysac, with the army, marched back into Seistan, to oppose the Siljokies, who had invaded that country.

When the King arrived at Ghizni, he ordered Mirik to bring his prisoner Ali before him, in order to be discharged from confinement. Mirik, by plausible excuses, delayed the time for a week, before the expiration of which, the King took leave of the world, in the year four hundred and forty-one, having reigned nine years, with ability, some clemency, and great reputation.

The state of affairs in Asia suffered very little change during the reign of Modood. Al Kayem succeeded Al Kadir in the Caliphat, and Togril Beg, king of the Siljoki Tartars, who was now in possession of all Persia and Transoxiana, paid a nominal allegiance to the Calipha, by the acceptance of the title of Captain-general of the forces. Modood kept possession of all the territories left to him by his father Musaood in the north, and there was very little alteration on the side of India.

MUSAOOD II.

When Modood had taken his journey to the other world, Ali the son of Ribbi, who was then in great power, had formed a design to usurp the throne; but concealing his intentions, he raised Musaood, the son of Modood, who was then a child of four years, to the Musnud. Tiggi, the next in power to Ali, not being made a partner in his measures, was highly offended, and drew off, with half the army, who were in his interest. The troops were thus split into two factions, and came to action; in which Ali being worsted, the faction of Tiggi took Abul Hassen Ali, one of the sons of the Emperor Musaood, who had escaped the resentment of Ali the son of Ribbi, and proclaimed him King, deposing Musaood, after a nominal reign of six days.

ALI.

Upon Friday, the first of Shaban, in the year four hundred and forty-one, Ali* ascended the throne of Ghizni, and took the wife of his brother Modood, the former King, in marriage. In the mean time, Ali the son of Ribbi, in association with Mirik, broke open the treasury, and taking out a vast quantity of gold and jewels, fled, with a company of the royal slaves, and some of the chiefs, whom they had brought over to their interest, to Peshawir. At Peshawir they were joined by the natives, raised a great army, and reduced Moultan, and the countries near the mouth of the Indus, to their obedience, making a great slaughter of

* Abul Hassen Ali.

the Afghans or Patans, who had taken advantage of the public disturbances, to plunder those provinces.

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

RESHID.

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

The King, by various means, prevailed upon Ali the son of Ribbi, who had usurped the Ghiznian conquests in India, to submit to his allegiance, and return to Ghizni. He appointed Noshtagi Hajib to the com-

* His titles at length are, Zein-ul-Muluck, Sultan Abdul Reshid.

mand of those provinces, created him an Omrah, and sent him with a fine army to Lahore. Noshtagi, upon his way, turning to Nagracut, laid siege to that place, and, on the sixth day, scaling the walls, took it by assault.

Tughril, whom we have already mentioned, was, notwithstanding his treachery to his former master, now again intrusted with the government of Seistan, which he soon brought under proper regulations. Being stirred up by the spirit of treachery and ambition, he conceived hopes of assuming royalty; and raising a great army, marched towards Ghizni; where Reshid, being almost destitute of troops, was forced to shut himself up; but the place being very extensive, it was impossible for him to defend it long, which he however did to the last extremity. Ghizni was taken at length, and the King, with nine of the blood royal, were inhumanly put to death by the usurper, who now ascended the throne. But Tughril did not long enjoy the fruits of his villainy; having wrote to Noshtagi, endeavouring to bring him over by fair means to acknowledge him, that chief answered him with the contempt he deserved. Noshtagi, at the same time, wrote private letters to the daughter of the Emperor Musaood, whom the tyrant had compelled to marry him, as also to all the Omrahs who he knew had retained their loyalty for the imperial family, spiriting them up to conspire against the usurper's life. They were so far excited to resentment, that a conspiracy was forthwith formed amongst them, and put in execution on new year's day, when Tughril was stepping up to the throne to give public audience. Thus the usurper, at the end of forty days, arrived at his tragical end.

After this important transaction, Noshtagi arrived at Ghizni with his army, and calling a council of state, enquired whether any yet remained of the royal race of Subuctagi. He was informed, that there were still imprisoned in a certain fort, Firoch Zaad, Ibrahim, and Suja. These he ordered to be called, and it being

agreed that fortune should decide it by lot who should reign; she favoured Feroch-Zaad, who was accordingly placed upon the throne, and received the allegiance of the court: the reign of Reshid comprehended only one year.

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

FEROCH-ZAAD.

When Feroch-Zaad*, the son of the Emperor Musaood, placed the crown of fortune upon his head, he gave the reins of administration into the hands of Noshtagi, who had called him from obscurity. Daood†, the chief of the Siljoki Turkumans, hearing of the commotions in the empire, seized upon that favourable opportunity to invade Ghizni. He advanced with a numerous army, while Noshtagi, collecting all his forces, went forth to meet him. When the armies engaged, the battle was obstinate and bloody; for, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the victory was extremely doubtful; and, though thousands fell, the troops seemed insensible of their own mortality. Victory at length declared for Noshtagi, while his enemies betook themselves to flight, leaving all their camp-equipage and baggage on the field to the conquerors, who immediately returned victorious to Ghizni.

* Jemmal ul Dowla Feroch-Zaad, ben Musaood Ghiznavi.

† Brother of the famous Togril Beg, the first of the dynasty of the Siljokides of Persia.

This victory served to establish Feroch-Zaad without fear upon the throne. He now exalted the standard of triumph, and inclined it towards Chorassan, where, on the part of the Siljoki, he was met by Callisarick, one of their principal Omrahs, with a numerous army. The action was extremely violent and bloody; at length victory declared for the King of Ghizni, and Callisarick and several other persons of note were taken prisoners. Intelligence of this defeat coming to Daood prince of the Siljoki, he collected all his forces, which he submitted to the command of his son Arsilla, a youth of great expectations. Arsilla advanced to oppose the King, and having engaged him with great resolution, recovered the honour of the Siljoki, and took many of the Omrahs of Ghizni prisoners in the pursuit. But he did not think proper, at that time, to make further use of his fortune, and he therefore returned with his victorious army.

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

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

was Hassen the son of Mora, and, in the latter part of his reign, Abu Beker Sali. He was a good, though not a splendid, prince. He was possessed of humanity, and not destitute of bravery.

Very little change happened in the political state of Asia, during the short reigns of Musaood the second, Ali, Reshid, and Feroch-Zaad. Al Kayam still sat upon the throne of the Caliphat, supported in his spiritualities by Togril Beg, the temporal Emperor of Persia. The brother of Togril failed in an attempt upon the empire of Ghizni, and the reigning family possessed, in all their extent, the territories left to them by Modood.

IBRAHIM I.

WHEN Feroch-Zaad became the inhabitant of another world, his brother Ibrahim* ascended the throne of empire: a King remarkable for morality and devotion, having in the flower of his youth, amidst a paradise of pleasure, conquered all the sensual appetites, and added two months more to the feast of Ramzan, which he kept with the strictest severity. He, at the same time, gave proper attention to government and the due administration of justice, and opened the hand of charity to the poor. This prince excelled in the art of fine writing, and in the libraries of Mecca and Medina there are two copies of the Koran wrote with his own hand, which were sent as presents to the Calipha.— In the first year of his reign, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Siljoki, ceding to them all the countries they had seized, upon condition that they would not lengthen the hand of violence any further upon his dominions. He married, at the same time, his son Mu-

* Zehir ul Dowla, Sultan Ibrahim, ben Musaood Ghiznavi.

saood to the daughter of their king, Malleck Shaw, which opened the door of friendship and intercourse between the two nations.

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

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

When the mind of Ibrahim was quieted from any apprehensions from that quarter, he sent an army towards India, and conquered many places in that country, which before had not been visited by the Mussulman arms. In the year 472, he marched in person towards that country, and extended his conquests to the fort of Ajodin, called now Palanshukurgunge. This place being taken, he turned to another fort called

Rupal, which was built upon the summit of a steep hill; a river enclosed it on three sides, and a small peninsula joined it to the other hills, which were entirely covered with an impervious wood, and much infested by venomous serpents. This, however, did not discourage the King from his attempt. He ordered some thousand hatchet-men to clear the wood, which they effected in spite of all opposition; and the rock being soft, the miners forced their way in a short time under the walls, which were brought down in ruins. The place was immediately taken, and the garrison made prisoners.

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

Ibrahim's proposals being rejected, he commenced the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town at length was taken by assault, and the Mussulmen found much wealth in it, and one hundred thousand unfortunate persons, whom they carried bound to Ghizni. Some time after, the King accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone, with great difficulty and labour,

* A name common to a long race of Persian kings.

to a palace which was then building. This awakened his pity; he commanded him to throw it down, and gave him his liberty.

This stone happened to lie upon the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers; but as the King's rigid adherence to his commands was universally known, none would attempt to remove it. A courtier one day having stumbled with his horse over this stone, took occasion to mention it to the King; insinuating, that he thought, if his Majesty pleased, that it was adviseable to have it removed. To which the King replied: "I have commanded it to be thrown there, and there it must remain; as a memorial of the misfortunes of war, and my own pity: for it is better for a King to be obstinate, even in his inadvertencies, than to break his royal word." The stone was accordingly permitted to remain, where it is shewn as a curiosity to this day.

The want of materials must render our history of the reign of Ibrahim extremely short. After his expedition to India, and the pacification with the Siljoki Tartars, he seems to have few foreign affairs to mind. His administration of domestic justice was sudden, equitable, and decisive. The lower people were happy, and his chiefs loved and obeyed him. Profound peace furnishes few materials for history; a well-regulated monarchy gives birth to no extraordinary events, except in expedition and foreign war.

Ibrahim had thirty-six sons and forty daughters by a variety of women. The latter he gave in marriage to learned and religious men. In the year 492, he left this mortal state, after having reigned in tranquillity and happiness forty-two years. In his time flourished Abul Farrhe, the famous writer, who was a native of Seistan, according to some, but as others affirm, of Ghizni. He is esteemed a master in poetry; and the famous Ansuri was one of his disciples.

When Ibrahim acceded to the throne of Ghizni, Togril Beg, the first of the dynasty of the Siljokides, sat upon that of Persia and the Western Tartary.

Togril was succeeded by his nephew Alp-Arslan, in the 465th of the Higera. Malleck Shaw, the son of Alp-Arslan, possessed the empire, after the death of his father, and Barkiaroc, the son of Malleck Shaw, reigned in Persia at the death of Ibrahim. Marriages between the family of Ghizni and that of the Siljoki contributed to that tranquillity which Ibrahim enjoyed during a very long reign; and the passiveness of the Indians permitted the empire to retain its former bounds on the side of Hindostan.

MUSAOOD III.

Musaood*, the son of Ibrahim, mounted the throne upon the demise of his father. He was endowed with a benevolent and generous disposition: nor was he less famous for his justice and sound policy. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, and, abrogating such as were thought unreasonable, substituted others in their place, founded upon better principles. He took the daughter of Sinjer, King of the Siljoki, whose name was Mehid of Persia, in marriage, which cemented the peace between them.

Peace blessed the reign of Musaood, and his history must, therefore, be succinct. Under him Tigha Tiggi was honoured with the command of a great expedition, which he formed against Hindostan. Crossing the Ganges he carried his conquests further than any Mussulman, except the Emperor Mamood; and, having plundered many rich cities and temples of their wealth, returned in triumph to Lahore, which now became, in some measure, to be reckoned the capital of the empire; especially as the Siljoki had stripped the Ghiznian family of most of their Persian and Tartar provinces.

* Alla ul Dowla Musaood, ben Ibrahim.

After Musaood had reigned sixteen years, without domestic troubles or foreign wars, he entered his eternal abode, in the latter end of the year five hundred and eight. We are told, that after his death his son Shere placed his foot upon the imperial throne. He enjoyed it only one year, being assassinated by the hand of his own brother Arsilla, who assumed the diadem.

Barkiaroc, the fourth of the dynasty of the Siljokides, sat on the throne of Persia at the accession of Musaood; and Mahommed, the fifth Sultan of the race of Seljuk, died the same year with the King of Ghizni. Sinjer, governor of Chorassan, succeeded his brother Mahommed as King of Persia, and we shall find in the sequel, that he interfered in the succession of the sons of Musaood, who were his nephews. The Indian provinces, conquered by his ancestors, remained in tranquillity to Musaood.

ARSILLA.

When Arsilla*, the son of Musaood, by means of assassination, became King of Ghizni, he seized upon all his brothers, excepting one who escaped, and confined them. Byram, who was so fortunate as to get out of the King's hands, fled for protection to Sinjer, who then, on the part of his brother Mahommed, king of Persia, ruled the province of Chorassan. Sinjer, who was uncle to Arsilla, having demanded the releasement of the other brothers, which was not complied with, made the cause of Byram a pretence for invading the kingdom of Ghizni; and he accordingly advanced the standard of hostility towards that city.

Arsilla, hearing of the intended invasion, wrot letters of complaint to Sinjer's elder brother, the Emperor

* Sultan ul Dowla, Arsilla Shaw, ben Musaood.

Mahommed, that he might command him back; and that monarch pretended to be inclinable to make peace between them. But Sinjer was found to continue his march, which convinced Arsilla that he could have no dependence upon any thing but his sword. But his mother, Mehid, princess of Persia, being offended with him for the murder of his brother Musaood, and his inhuman treatment of her other children, with well-dissembled affection, prevailed upon him to send her to negociate a peace, with a great sum of money, sufficient to reimburse her brother Sinjer for the expence of his expedition. When she arrived in the camp, she, according to her design, excited Byram her son, and her brother Sinjer, to prosecute the war with all expedition.

Sinjer immediately marched with thirty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, from Bust in Chorassan, where he then lay, and, without opposition, advanced within one pharsang of Ghizni, where he beheld the army of Arsilla drawn out in order of battle to receive him. He therefore instantly ordered the line to be formed, dividing his horse into squadrons, and placing battalions of spear-men in the intervals, with elephants in the rear, to be ready to advance upon occasion. Encouraging then his troops, he advanced slowly toward the enemy, who stood firm to receive the charge. The shock was so violent upon both sides, that order and command yielded to rage and confusion. The gleam of arms that illuminated the field, was soon quenched in blood, and darkened by clouds of dust, that took away all distinction. At length, by the uncommon bravery of Abul Fazil, governor of Seistan, the troops of Ghizni were put to flight, and Arsilla, unable to renew the combat, fled with the remains of his army towards Hindostan.

Sinjer entered Ghizni in triumph, where he remained forty days, giving the kingdom to his nephew Byram, and then returning to his own country. When Arsilla had heard of the departure of Sinjer, he collected all his

troops in the Ghiznian provinces of Hindostan, and returned to recover his capital. Byram, unable to oppose him, shut himself up in the fort of Bamia, till he could be succoured by his uncle Sinjer. Sinjer again took the field, and drove Arsilla a second time back to Hindostan. But he was so closely pursued, that his army was dispersed, while a few of his Omrahs, who remained, laid hands upon him, and brought him to Byram, to procure their own pardon. Arsilla suffered a violent death in the 27th year of his age, after he had reigned three years. In this reign historians report, that, among other prodigies, there fell a storm of fire upon the city of Ghizni, which consumed a great part of its buildings. He was a weak and wicked prince, as unworthy of empire, as his father and grandfather were deserving of a throne.

BYRAM.

BYRAM*, the son of Musaood the third, was blessed with a noble and generous disposition. He had an uncommon thirst after knowledge; he was a great promoter of literature, and a liberal patron of learned men. Many men of letters resorted to his court, particularly Shech Nizami, and Seid Hassen, both poets and philosophers of great fame. Many books were, in this reign, translated from various languages into the Persian tongue; among the most famous of which was an Indian book, called the Killila Dumna, a fabulous story, pregnant with sound morality, policy, and entertainment.

This book was sent formerly before the dissolution of the Hindoo empire of India, by the King of that country, accompanied with a Chess table, to Noshirwan, surnamed The Just, King of Persia. Buzurg Chimere his vizier, surnamed The Wise, was so well versed in

* Moaz ul Dowla, Byram Shaw, ben Musaood.

all the known languages, that in a few days he translated the Killila Dumna into Phelevi, or ancient Persic, to the astonishment of the ambassador, who imagined the Sanscrita language was entirely unknown in those parts. But he could form no conception of the chess-board, as that game was, at that time, unknown in Persia. He therefore had recourse to the ambassador, who was esteemed the best player in Hindostan, to have this matter explained to him, who having accordingly discovered to him the principles, Buzurg sat down with him to play. The first game he obliged the ambassador to draw; the second he chased his King solitary; and the third he gave him check-mate. The ambassador was so mad to be foiled at his own weapons, that he would play no more. Buzurg then invented the game of backgammon, returning a set of those tables by the ambassador, who having related his adventure with Buzurg, and given an account of the genius and government of Noshirwan, his master gave up all thoughts of an invasion, which he had been meditating against that King. The present of the chess-board was intended as an experiment upon the genius of the minister, and to indicate that, in the great game of state, attention and capacity were better friends than fortune. While the book, in its whole tenor, strongly inculcated that wise maxim, that true wisdom and policy is always an over-match for strength. The backgammon-table, which was returned, signified, that attention and capacity alone cannot always insure success, but that we must play the game of life according to the casts of fortune.

But to return to our history. Byram, in the days of his prosperity, went twice into Hindostan, chastising his refractory subjects and collectors of the imperial revenue. The first time he went to reduce Balin, who had possession of the government of Lahore, on the part of his brother the Emperor Arsilla, whom he defeated and took, the 27th of Ramzan, in the year 512; but having pardoned him, upon swearing allegiance, he

was again reinstated in his government, and the King returned to Ghizni. In the mean time, Balin built the fort of Nagore, in the country of Sewalic, whither he conveyed all his wealth, family, and effects; then raising an army, composed chiefly of Arabs, Persians, Afghans, and Chilligies, he committed great devastations upon the Indian independent princes, which success so puffed him up, that he aspired at length to the empire. Byram, being apprised of the intentions of Balin, collected his army, and a second time marched towards Hindostan. Balin, with his ten sons, who had each the command of a province, advanced to meet the King, as far as Moultan, with a powerful army. A dreadful battle ensued; but the curse of ingratitude was poured, in a storm, upon the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, fell headlong into a deep quagmire, where they were totally overwhelmed, and every one of them perished.

The King, after this complete victory, settled the affairs of the Indian provinces, and, appointing Hussein to the chief command of the conquered part of India, returned himself to Ghizni. He soon after publicly executed Mahommed prince of Ghor, who was son-in-law to the rebel Balin. This, in its consequences, proved the ruin of the family of Ghizni. Seif ul dien, surnamed Souri, prince of Ghor*, brother to the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. He marched directly to Ghizni, which Byram, unable to oppose him, evacuated, and fled to a place called Kirma, upon the borders of India. This Kirma had been built by the Afghans to guard a pass in the mountains. The prince of Ghor, without further opposition, entered the capital, where he established himself, by the consent of the people, sending Alla, his brother, to rule his native principality of Ghor. Notwithstanding all he could do to render himself popular at

* A province of the Ghiznian empire, the princes of which had been reduced into a dependence upon the family of Subuctagi, by the Emperor Mamood.

Ghizni, the people, from an attachment to the imperial family, began to dislike his government, and secretly wished the re-establishment of their former King. Some of the Omrahs, who were of the same principles, laying hold of this favourable disposition, informed Byram of their ripeness for an insurrection, if he could by any means favour it.

It was now winter, and most of the followers of the prince of Ghor had returned, upon leave, to their families, when Byram, unexpectedly, appeared before Ghizni, with a great army. Seif ul Dien being then in no condition to engage him with his own troops, and having little dependence upon those of Ghizni, was preparing to retreat to Ghor, when the Ghiznians intreated him to engage Byram, and that they would exert themselves to the utmost in his service. This was only a trick for an opportunity to put their design in execution. As the unfortunate prince was advancing to engage Byram, he was surrounded by the troops of Ghizni, and taken prisoner, while Byram in person put the forces of Ghor to flight. The unhappy captive was inhumanly ordered to have his forehead made black, and then to be put astride a sorry bullock, with his face turned towards the tail. He, in that manner, was led round the whole city, insulted and hooted by the mob. He was then put to the torture, and his head sent to Sinjer, king of Persia, while his vizier, Seid Mujud, was impaled alive.

When this news was carried to the ears of his brother Alla, he burnt with rage, and, resolving upon revenge, with all his united powers, invaded Ghizni. Byram, hearing of his coming, prepared himself to receive him. He wrote him a letter, and endeavoured to intimidate him with the superiority of his troops, advising him not to plunge the whole family of Ghor into the same abyss of misfortune. Alla replied, "That his threats were as impotent as his arms: that it was no new thing for Kings to make war upon their neighbours; but that barbarity like his was unknown

to the brave, and what he had never heard to have been exercised upon Princes. That he might be assured that God had forsaken Byram, and ordained Alla to be the instrument of that just vengeance which was denounced against him, for putting to death the representative of the long-independent and very ancient family of Ghor."

All hopes of accommodation being past, Byram advanced with a numerous army, to give Alla battle. The offer was gladly accepted by his adversary, and the bloody conflict commenced with great fury on both sides. At first the troops of Ghizni, by their superior numbers, bore down those of Ghor; till Alla, seeing his affairs almost desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, whose name was Chirmil, the greater and the lesser, whom he saw in the front, like two rocks bearing against the torrent. He forced on his elephant towards Byram, these two heroes clearing all before him. Byram, observing him, stood off: but his son Dowlat, accepting the challenge, advanced to oppose Alla. The elder of the heroic Chirmils intervening, ripped up the belly of Dowlat's elephant, and was himself killed by his fall. Alla, in the mean time, nailed the brave prince, with his spear, to the ground. The other Chirmil attacked the elephant of Byram, and, after many wounds, brought the enormous animal to the ground; but while he was rising from under the elephant's side, being much bruised by the fall, Byram escaped with his life, and instantly mounting a horse, joined the flight of his army, which was now repulsed on all sides. The troops of Ghor emulating the bravery of their leader, had made such a violent attack as to be no longer resistible.

Byram fled, with the scattered remains of his army, towards Hindostan; but he was overwhelmed with his misfortunes, and sunk under the hand of death, in the year five hundred and forty-seven, after a reign of thirty-five years. He was, upon the whole, a good and virtuous prince; though his too precipitate severity,

in the case of the prince of Ghor, cannot be reconciled to humanity or sound policy.

The long reign of Byram was peaceable, but inglorious; the empire had been long upon the decline, and though he was a virtuous prince, he had not sufficient abilities to retrieve its vigour. Sinjer, his uncle by the mother, the sixth Emperor of Persia, of the Siljokan race, was upon the throne, in full possession of the empire conquered by his ancestors, when Byram became king of Ghizni.—Sinjer reigned over Persia more than forty years. The Indian provinces subject to Ghizni, remained entire to Byram.

CHUSERO I.

CHUSERO*, the son of the Emperor Byram, upon the death of his father, continued his march to Lahore, leaving the kingdom of Ghizni to his enemies, and was there saluted King, by the unanimous voice of his people. In the mean time, the conqueror entered Ghizni with little opposition, and that noble city was given up to flame, slaughter, rapine, and devastation. The massacre continued for the space of seven days, in which time pity seemed to have fled the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate the bodies of men. For which inhuman cruelty the barbarous Alla was justly denominated Allum Soze, or the incendiary of the world. But, insatiable of revenge, he carried a number of the most venerable priests, learned men, and citizens, in chains to Ghor, to adorn his triumph. There,—we shudder to relate it! he ordered their throats to be cut, tempering earth with their blood, with which he plaistered the walls of his city.

After the return of Alla to Ghor, Chusero, hoping to recover the lost kingdom of Ghizni, and depending

* Zehiri ul Dowla, Chusero Shaw, ben Byram Shaw Ghiznavi.

upon the assistance of Sinjer, king of Persia, collected all his forces, and marched from Lahore. But when he had arrived upon the borders of Ghizni, he received intelligence that Sinjer had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Turks of Ghiza, who were then marching down with a great army to Ghizni, to appropriate that kingdom to themselves. This obliged him to retreat again to Lahore, being in no condition to oppose them. He governed the Indian provinces in peace, with the common justice of virtuous kings. The Turks of Ghiza, in the mean time, drove out the troops of Ghor, and kept possession of Ghizni for two years. But they were expelled in their turn by the Ghorians, who did not long enjoy it for that time, being vanquished by Assumud, general to Chusero, the second of that name, who, for a short space, recovered and held that kingdom.

Chusero the first died at Lahore, in the year five hundred and fifty-five, after he had reigned seven years, with no great splendor; but he deserved and attained the character of a good and peaceable prince.

CHUSERO II.

WHEN Chusero the first departed from this house of grief, towards the mansions of joy and immortality, his son Chusero*, the second of that name, ascended the throne, which he adorned with benevolence and justice, extending his dominions to all the provinces formerly possessed by the Emperors Ibrahim and Byram. But Mahommed, brother to the prince of Ghor, invaded the kingdom of Ghizni, which he reduced, and not satisfied with that, marched an army into India, overrunning the provinces of Peshawir, Afghanistan, Moultan, and

* Chusero Malleck, ben Chusero Shaw.

the Indus. He advanced at length to Lahore, and, in the year 576, invested the Emperor Chusero in his capital, but not being able to take the place, there was a kind of treaty concluded between them. Mahommed evacuated the country, carrying Chusero, the son of the Emperor, a child of four years of age, hostage for the performance of the treaty.

But the terms not being kept properly by Chusero, Mahommed, in the year 580, returned to Lahore, and besieged it to no purpose. He however subjected the open country to fire and sword. He then built the fort of Salcot, where he left a strong garrison, and then returned to Ghizni. In his absence, the Emperor Chusero, in alliance with the Gickers, besieged the fort of Salcot, but their enterprise proving unsuccessful, they were obliged to desist.

Some time after these transactions, Mahommed collected all his forces, and the third time resolved to reduce the city of Lahore, which he effected by treachery, in the following manner. While he was preparing for the expedition, he gave out, that it was intended against the Siljokies, writing, at the same time, to Chusero, that he was desirous of accommodating all their differences, by a treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intentions, he now returned his son Chusero, with a splendid retinue; who had orders to make short marches, while the Emperor, his father, impatient to see him, advanced a part of the way to meet him. In the mean time, Mahommed, with twenty thousand horse, with incredible expedition, marched by another way, round the mountains, and cut off Chusero from Lahore, having surrounded his small camp in the night. The Emperor, having waked in the morning from his dream of negligence, saw no hope of escape left, which obliged him to throw himself upon the mercy of his adversary. He demanded possession of the capital for the King's release, accordingly the gates of that city were thrown open to

receive him; and thus the empire passed from the house of Ghizni to that of Ghor, as we shall see more fully in the history of that race.

The year in which the family of Ghizni was extinguished, proved also fatal to the elder branch of the royal family of the Siljokides in Persia. Disputes about the succession, and the weakness of the princes who reigned after Sinjer, seemed to conspire in the ruin of an empire, which fell as suddenly as it rose. The governors of the provinces, no uncommon thing in Asia, assumed independence, with great facility, when their masters had not abilities of mind to counteract the power which the crown vested in its viceroys. Some governments, in the distractions of the empire, became hereditary, and many ambitious Omrahs rendered themselves independent, in the debilitated reign of the second Togril. Tacash, viceroy of Charizm, a part of the ancient Transoxiana, not only assumed the ensigns of royalty in his government, but being invited into the western Persia, annexed that country to his new kingdom, by the defeat and death of Togril.

MAHOMMED GHORI.

MOR CHAN, the historian, tells us, that about the time when Feredoon, an ancient king of Persia, subdued Zohac Tazi, two brothers of the royal family, Souri and Sam, were taken into favour by the conqueror; but having by some means incurred his displeasure, they fled with a party of their friends to Hawind, in the mountains between India and Persia, where they took up their abode, possessing themselves of a small territory. Souri took the government of this district, appointing his brother to the command of his small army, and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Suja.

Suja, after his father's decease, enjoyed his place.

But some private enemies, having traduced him to his uncle, inspired him with jealousy and enmity to such a degree, that he wanted to take his daughter away from him. When Suja found this, he was determined to seek his fortune elsewhere. He accordingly, in the night, with ten horsemen and a few camels, laden with his effects, set out with his wife and children, to the mountains of Ghor, where he built a house, and called it Romijandish, or the careless habitation. Here he was gradually joined by many of his friends, who built a strong fort, which he held out against the troops of Feredoon for some time, but at length he was obliged to submit and pay tribute.

Thus the race of Zohac, one after another, succeeded to this government, which began to gain strength by degrees, till the time of the prophet, when it was ruled by Shinsub, who, some say, was converted to the faith by the great Ali, the son-in-law of Mahommed, who confirmed him in his kingdom. The genealogy of the kings of Ghor, according to the most authentic historians, could be traced up, by the names, for three and twenty generations, and downwards nine generations, from Ali to Mamood, the son of Subuctagi, Emperor of Ghizni, who gave it to Ali the vanquished prince's son, to hold it of the Empire. But Ali endeavouring to throw off the yoke of Mamood, he was deposed, and the country given to Abas his nephew, in whose reign there were seven years' drought in Ghor, so that the earth was burnt up, and thousands of men and animals perished with heat and famine. Abas, desirous of rendering himself independent, commenced a war against the Emperor Ibrahim, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner; the kingdom being conferred upon his son Mahommed, who swore allegiance to the empire of Ghizni. He was succeeded by his son Hussein, who was killed by an arrow in the eye, in attacking a certain fort, when he rebelled against Ghizni.

Upon the death of Hussein, his son Sham was obliged

to fly to India, where he followed the business of a merchant; and having acquired much wealth, he returned up the Indus to his native country. But unfortunately he was wrecked, narrowly escaping with his life upon a plank, with his son Hussein, after driving with the tide for three days. When they got foot on shore, they made towards a town that appeared in sight; but, it being late before they arrived, they could find no lodgings, and were obliged to creep in under a balcony, where they might sleep out of the rain. The watch going the rounds perceived them, and without further examination, concluding they were thieves, carried them to prison. They were condemned to slavery for seven years, during which time the son died. When Sham obtained his liberty, he proceeded towards Ghizni, on the way to which he was met by a gang of robbers, that had for a long time infested the roads. When they saw him, a man of great strength and of a bold appearance, they insisted upon enrolling him in the gang, to which he was obliged to consent; but unfortunately that very night, a party of the troops of the Emperor Ibrahim surrounded them, and carried them all in chains to the royal presence, and the King immediately condemned them to death.

When the executioner was binding up the eyes of Sham, he raised a grievous complaint, protesting, and calling God to witness, that he was innocent, which softened the steely heart of the executioner to pity. He desired him to relate what he had to say in his own defence, which he did in such a circumstantial and probable manner, that the magistrate who attended, believing him innocent, petitioned the King to give him a hearing. This being accordingly granted, he acquitted himself with such modesty and eloquence, that the King commanded him to be released, and admitted him into his particular friendship and favour. Ibrahim, some time after, created Sham an Omrah, and appointed him master of requests, in which station he acquitted himself so honourably, that he rose daily in

rank and honours, till the Emperor Musaood, the son of Ibrahim, put him in possession of his hereditary kingdom. He then married a princess of the house of Ghizni, by whom he had seven sons, denominated the seven stars.

After the death of Sham, his sons became divided into two factions; one headed by the governor of Taristan and Hiatilla, whose name was Musaood, the eldest son: and the other by the fourth son, Mahommed, who took possession of Ghor. The second son, Cuttub, took possession of the hills, and founded the city of Firose Ko, which he made his capital; and raising himself in a few years to great power, he meditated an attempt upon the empire of Ghizni, collecting soldiers of fortune from all parts. But Byram the Emperor, being privately acquainted of his intentions, treacherously invited him in friendship to Ghizni, where, contrary to all the laws of honour and hospitality, he ordered poison to be administered to him, which proved the fatal cause of the war between the houses of Ghor and Ghizni.

Sief ul dien the fifth son, who had accompanied his brother, escaped the snare, and fled to Firose Ko. He there placed himself at the head of his brother's army, and marched towards Ghizni to revenge his death, as we have seen in the history of that kingdom. He took Ghizni, and Byram fled to India. But Byram returning again in the winter, when the troops of Sief ul dien were mostly gone to Firose Ko and Ghor, from whence they could not easily return, on account of the roads and deep snow, Sief ul dien, as before related, was treacherously delivered up to him, and, with his vizier, put to a most ignominious death. The consequence of this impolitic cruelty was, that Sham, the sixth brother, prepared to invade Byram, with an army from Firose Ko and Ghor; but dying in the interim, the command devolved upon the seventh brother, Alla the incendiary, who took and destroyed Ghizni. He carried his ravages so far as to destroy every monument

and tomb of the Ghiznian Kings, excepting those of the Emperors Mamood, Musaood, and Ibrahim, throwing fire into their very graves, and defacing their inscriptions upon all public edifices. When he returned to Ghor, he appointed his nephews, Yeas ul dien and Mahommed Sham, to the government of a province of Ghor called Sinjia. But when they found the revenues of that province could not support the figure which they endeavoured to make, by their unbounded generosity and liberality to military men, whom they began to collect from all parts; they began to extend their limits. This having reached the ears of Alla, he sent a force against them, and seizing them both, confined them in the fort of Goristan.

Alla then turned the hostile spear against the brother of the King of Persia and governor of Chorassan, Sinjer, to whom his father had paid tribute. He overrun the provinces of Balich and Herat; but coming to an engagement with Sinjer, he was defeated and taken prisoner. Notwithstanding all which, Sinjer had compassion upon him, and again confirmed him in the kingdom of Ghor, where he died in the year five hundred and fifty-one. Alla was succeeded by his son Mahommed, who upon his accession released his two cousins from their confinement at Goristan, and bestowed again the government of Sinjia upon them. In little more than a year, he commenced a war with the tribe of Turkumans called Ghiza, and in the day of battle was killed by one of his own men.

He was succeeded by his eldest cousin, Yeas ul dien, who appointed his brother, Mahommed Ghori, his general. This illustrious hero, under the name of his brother, subdued Chorassan, and a great part of India; and Yeas annexed the titles of those countries to his own. His death happened, as shall afterwards appear, in the year 599 of the Higera.

Mahommed Ghori was left by his brother, when he acceded to the throne of Ghor, to command in Tunganabad, in the province of Chorassan. He continued

from thence to make incursions upon Ghizni, as we have observed in the history of that kingdom. In the year 567, Yeas ul dien marched in person against the Omrahs of Chusero, the last of the imperial house of Ghizni, and entirely reduced them. He gave the government of Ghizni to his brother Mahommed, who, according to the imperial orders, in the year 572, led an army towards Moultan, which he entirely subdued. He marched from thence to Adja. The prince of that place shut himself up in a strong fort. Mahommed began to besiege the place; but finding it would be a difficult task to reduce it, he sent a private message to the Raja's wife, promising to marry her if she would make away with her husband.

The base woman returned for answer, that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony, but that she had a beautiful young daughter, whom if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in free possession of the country and its wealth, she would in a few days remove the Raja. Mahommed basely accepted of the proposal, and the wicked woman accordingly, in a few days, found means to assassinate her husband, and to open the gates to the enemy. Mahommed confirmed his promise, by marrying the daughter, upon acknowledging the true faith; but he made no scruple to deviate from what respected the mother; for, instead of trusting her with the country, he sent her off to Ghizni, where she soon died of grief and resentment. Nor did the daughter relish her situation better; for, in the space of two years, she also fell a victim to grief.

Mahommed having conferred the government of Moultan and Adja upon one Ali, returned to Ghizni; from whence, in the year 574, he again marched to Adja and Moultan, and from those places continued his course through the sandy desert, to Guzerat. The prince Bim Deo advanced thither with a great army, to give him battle, in which the Mussulmen were defeated, with great slaughter, and suffered many hardships in their retreat, till they arrived at Ghizni.

In the year following, Mahommed marched his recruited army towards Peshawir, which he in a short time brought under subjection. He proceeded in the course of the next year, towards Lahore, where he invested Chusero, the last of the Ghiznian race, who had been so weakened at that time, by wars with the Indian princes and the Afghans, that he could not oppose him in the field. But Mahommed, finding he could not reduce the place, intimated a desire of treating with Chusero, who, glad to get rid of him, made him some presents, and gave his son as an hostage for the performance of the rest of the agreement between them. Mahommed upon this returned to Ghizni, but he could not rest long in peace. He, the very next year, drew his army towards Dewil, in the province near the mouth of the Indus, and subdued all the country to the sea coast, returning loaded with rich spoil.

In the year 580, he returned again to Lahore, where Chusero shut himself up as before, sustaining a long siege, which at length Mahommed was obliged to raise. He, in this expedition, built the fort of Salcot, in which he left a garrison to command the countries between the rivers Ravi and Chinab, under the government of Hussein Churmili, while he himself returned to Ghizni. This fort, as we have before related, was effectually besieged by Chusero, in the absence of Mahommed, which occasioned that prince's third expedition towards Lahore, which he took in the year 582, by the perfidious stratagem mentioned in the conclusion of the history of Ghizni. He sent Chusero and his family, prisoners to his brother at Firose Ko, who confined them in a fort in Ghirgistan, where they were some time afterwards put to death, on account of something the astrologers had predicted concerning them.

When Mahommed had settled the provinces of Lahore, he left the government of that place in the hands of Ali governor of Moultan, and retired to Ghizni. In the year 587, he marched again towards Hindostan, and proceeding to Ajmere, took the capital of Tiber-

hind, where he left Malleck Zea, with above a thousand chosen horse, and some foot, to garrison the place. He himself was upon his way back, when he heard that Pittu Ra, the prince of Ajmere, with his brother Candi Ra, king of Delhi, in alliance with some other Indian princes, were marching towards Tiberhind, with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mahommed determined to return to the relief of the garrison. He met the enemy at the village of Sirauri, upon the banks of the Sirsutti, fourteen miles from Tannassar, and eighty from Delhi, and gave them battle. Upon the first onset his right and left wings retired, being outflanked by the enemy, till, joining in the rear, his army was formed into a circle. Mahommed, who was in person in the centre of the line when first formed, was told that his right and left wings were defeated, and advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this counsel, he smote the imprudent adviser, and rushed on towards the enemy, among whom he commenced, with a few followers, a great slaughter. The eyes of Candi Ra, king of Delhi, fell upon him. He drove the elephant, upon which he was mounted, directly against him. Mahommed rising from his horse, threw his lance with such force at the elephant, that he drove out three of his back teeth. In the mean time the King of Delhi, from above, pierced the Sultan through the right arm, and had almost thrown him to the ground, when some of his chiefs advanced to his rescue. This gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants, to leap behind as he was sinking from his horse, and supporting him in his arms, he carried him from the field, which, by this time, was deserted almost by his whole army. The enemy pursued them near forty miles.

After this defeat, and when he had recovered of his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in India, and returned in person to Ghor with his army. At Ghor he disgraced all those Omrahs who had deserted him in battle. He

obliged them to walk round the city, with their horses' mouth-bags, filled with barley, hanging about their necks; at the same time forcing them to eat, or have their heads struck off; the former of which they chiefly chose to do. We are told by Eben Asire, contrary to all other authority, that when Mahommed was wounded, he fell from his horse, and lay upon the field among the dead, till night; and that, in the dark, a party of his own horse returned to search for his body, and carried him off to his own camp.

Upon the retreat of Mahommed Ghori, the allied Rajas continued their march to Tiberhind, which they besieged for one year and one month, and at last were obliged to give favourable terms of capitulation. Mahommed remained a few months with his brother at Ghor, who still kept the imperial title, and then returning to Ghizni, spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity. But ambition again fermenting in his mind, he recruited a noble army, consisting of one hundred thousand chosen horse, Turks, Persians, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold. With these he marched in martial splendor, from Ghizni towards India, without disclosing to his friends any part of his intentions.

When his victorious spears had advanced as far as Peshawir, an old sage of Ghor, prostrating himself before him, said, "O King, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom; but as yet thy design has been a subject of much dispute and speculation among us." Mahommed replied, "Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in Hindostan, notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined, with this army, to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the noble attempt." The sage, kissing the ground, said, "Victory and triumph be thy attendants, and fortune be the guide of thy paths. But, O King, let the petition of thy slave find favour, and

let those Omrahs you have so justly disgraced, be permitted to take this glorious opportunity of wiping away their dishonourable stains." The Prince listened to his request, and sent an order to Ghizni to release the disgraced Omrahs from their confinement, and that such of them as were desirous of recovering their honour, might now attend his stirrup. They accordingly obeyed the order, and were each honoured with a chelat, according to their rank. The next day the royal standard was put in motion, and the army advanced to Moultan, where Mahommed conferred titles and employments upon all who had been firm to his interest. He then proceeded to Lahore, from whence he dispatched Humza, one of his principal Omrahs, ambassador to Ajmere, with a declaration of war, should the Indians reject the true faith.

Pittu Rai, King of Ajmere, gave a disrespectful answer to the embassy, and immediately wrote for succours to all the neighbouring Princes. Nor did his allies delay their coming, and therefore he soon advanced to meet Mahommed, with an army consisting, according to the lowest and most moderate account, of three hundred thousand horse; besides above three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry. The Hindoos again waited to see Mahommed upon the former field of battle. The two armies incamped in sight of each other, with the river Sursutti between them.

The Indian princes, of whom there were one hundred and fifty, in this enormous camp, having assembled, rubbed tica upon their foreheads, and swore by the water of the Ganges, that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith. They then wrote a letter to Mahommed, in these haughty terms: "To the bravery of our troops we imagined you were no stranger; and to our great superiority in number, which daily increases, your eyes will bear testimony of the truth. If you are wearied of your own existence, yet have pity upon your troops, who may still think it

a happiness to live. It were better then you should repent in time, of the foolish resolution you have taken, and we shall permit you to retreat in safety. But if you have determined to force your evil destiny, we have sworn by our Gods to advance upon you with our rank-breaking elephants, war-treading horses, and blood-thirsting soldiers, early in the morning, to crush the unfortunate army which your ambition has led to ruin."

Mahommed returned them this politic answer:— "That he had drawn his army into India, by the command of his brother, whose general he only was, and that honour and duty bound him to exert the utmost of his capacity in his service. That therefore he could not retreat without his leave, but would be glad to obtain a truce, till he informed him of the situation of affairs, and received his answer."

This letter produced the intended effect, for the enemy imagined that Mahommed was intimidated, and they spent the night in riot and revelry, while he was preparing for a surprise. He accordingly forded the river a little before the dawn of the morning, drew up his army on the sands, and had entered part of the Indian camp before the alarm was spread. Notwithstanding the confusion that naturally reigned on this occasion among the Hindoos, their camp was of such an amazing extent, that the greater part had sufficient time to form the line which served to cover the route, so that now they began to advance with great resolution and some order, in four lines.

Mahommed, upon seeing this, ordered his troops to halt, and his army, which had been divided into four parts, were commanded to renew the attack by turns, wheeling off to the rear after they had discharged their bows a certain number of times upon the enemy, giving ground gradually as they advanced with their elephants. In this manner he retreated and fought, till the sun was approaching the west, when thinking he had sufficiently

wearied the enemy, and deluded them with a security of victory, he put himself at the head of twelve thousand of his best horse, whose riders were covered with steel, and giving orders to his generals to second him, he made a resolute charge, and carried death and confusion among the Hindoo ranks. The disorder increased every where, till at length it became general. The Mussulman troops, as if now only serious in fight, made such a dreadful slaughter, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, was lost in its own ruins. The enemy recoiled, like a troubled torrent, from the bloody plain.

Candi King of Delhi, and many other princes, were slain in the field, while Pittu Rai King of Ajmere was taken in the pursuit, and afterwards put to death. The spoil of the camp, which was immensely rich, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forts of Sursutti, Samana, Koram and Hassi, surrendered after the victory. Mahommed in person went to Ajmere, and took possession of it, after having barbarously put some thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. But, upon a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he gave up the country to Gola the son of Pittu Rai. He then turned his standards towards Delhi, but he was prevailed upon by the new King, with great presents, to abandon that enterprise. He left his faithful slave and friend Cuttub in the town of Koram, with a considerable detachment, and marched himself, with the body of his army, towards the mountains of Sewalic, which lie to the north of India, destroying and plundering all the countries in his way to Ghizni. After the return of Mahommed, his general Cuttub, who had been formerly a slave, raised an army, and took the fort of Merat, and the city of Delhi, from the family of Candi Rai. It was from this circumstance that foreign nations say, that the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave. In the year 589, he also took the fort of Kole,

and making Delhi the seat of his government, there established himself in security, obliging all the districts round to acknowledge the Mussulman faith.

Mahommed, in the mean time, marched from Ghizni towards Kinnoge, and engaged Rai Joy, who was prince of Kinnoge and Benaris, and who commanded a very numerous army of horse, besides four hundred elephants. This prince led his forces into the field between Chundwar and Atava, where he received a total defeat from the vanguard of the Ghiznian army, led by Cuttub, and all his baggage and elephants were taken. Mahommed then marched to the fort of Assi, where Rai Joy had laid up his treasure, which in a few days he took, and found there gold, silver, and precious stones, to a great amount. He marched from thence to Benaris, and broke down the idols in above one thousand temples, which he purified and consecrated to the true God. He also found immense plunder. He returned then to the fort of Kole, where he again confirmed Cuttub in the viceroyship of India, and from thence, laden with treasure, he took the route of Ghizni.

In the mean time, one of the relations of Pittu Rai, late king of Ajmere, whose name was Himrage, invaded Gola the son of Pittu Rai, and drove him out of Ajmere. Gola immediately had recourse for assistance to Cuttub. Cuttub accordingly marched, in the year 591, from Delhi against Himrage, who, having collected a great army, gave the Mussulmen battle, in which he lost the victory and his life. Cuttub, after this victory, appointed a governor of his own faith to superintend the Raja, then led his army to Narwalla, the capital of the province of Guzerat, and defeating Bim Deo, took ample revenge for the overthrow given to his Lord. He plundered that rich country; but he was soon recalled, by orders from Ghizni, and commanded to proceed immediately to Delhi.

In the year following, Mahommed formed again a resolution of returning to Hindostan, and proceeding to

Biana. He took it, and conferred the government upon Tughril; and leaving with him the body of his army, he commanded him to besiege Gaulier, and returned himself to settle some affairs at Ghizni. In the mean time, the strong fort of Gaulier was taken, after a long siege. Tughril, ambitious of extending his conquests further, led his army against the Rajaputs of the south. But he received a terrible defeat, and was obliged to take the protection of his forts. In the year 593, Cuttub marched again from Delhi, and reduced Narwalla of Guzerat, with all its dependencies. He, after his return, took the forts of Callinger, Calpee and Budaoon.

Mahommed was in the mean time engaged in an expedition to Toos and Sirchus towards Persia. News was then brought to him of the death of his brother Yeas ul dien, who retained nothing of the empire but the name. Mahommed, upon this, acceded to the empire. He turned by the way of Badyeish, and subdued the country of Chorassan, recovering it out of the hands of the Siljoki, and he divided it among the family of Sam, giving the government of Firose Ko and Ghor to Malleck Zea, who was son-in-law to his brother Yeas ul dien, the deceased Emperor. Bust, Ferra, and Isphorar, he gave to Mamood, his brother's son; and the government of Herat and its districts to Nasir, his nephew by a sister.

Mahommed, after these transactions, returned to Ghizni, where, according to the will of the deceased Emperor, he was crowned in form; and mounted the imperial throne. In the same year, he heard of the death of Zireck, prince of Murve, and in the beginning of the next, marched to the conquest of that country, advancing by the way of Charizm, and Tacash the King of that country, not able to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the city. The King pitched his camp on the banks of the great canal, which the Chilligies had formerly dug to the westward of that city. He forthwith attacked the place, and in a few days lost many

brave nobles in the pursuit of glory. In the mean time, news arrived, that Aibeck, the general of the King of Chitta, in Tartary, and Osman King of Samarcand, were advancing with great armies, to the relief of Charizm. Mahommed was so unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, that he delayed till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was under a necessity of burning all his baggage, and to retreat with the utmost expedition towards Chorassan. But an army from the city pressed so close upon his heels, that he was obliged to give them battle. He was totally defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure.

In the mean time, the confederate Kings, who had taken a circuit, to cut off Mahommed's retreat, met him full in the face, as he was flying from the King of Charizm. Under a fatal necessity, he was obliged to rally his army, who now saw no safety in flight. Surrounded thus by the enemy, he commenced a desperate carnage. But valour was overpowered by numbers in the end, and of his late mighty army, there now remained scarce a hundred men, who still defended their King, and, in spite of innumerable foes, hewed him out a passage, and conducted him safe to the fort of Hindohood, which was at a small distance from the field. Mahommed was besieged here by the enemy, but upon paying a great ransom to Osman, King of Samarcand, and giving up the place, he was permitted to return in sorrow to his own dominions.

When the Emperor was defeated, one of his officers of state, named Birka, escaped from the field, and imagining the King was slain, with very great expedition made his way to Moultan, without mentioning the affair to any body. He waited immediately upon Hassen, governor of that province, and told him that he had a private message from the King. Hassen retired with him into his closet, where the villain, whispering in his ear, drew out a dagger, and stabbed him to the heart. He ran instantly to the court yard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor,

Hassen, in obedience to the King's command. Producing then a false order and commission, to take the government into his own hands, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.

The chief of the tribe of mountaineers, called Gickers, at this time, hearing that the King was certainly slain, aspired to the empire, and raising a great army, advanced towards Lahore; kindling the war between the rivers Gelum and Sodra. When Mahommed, from the fort of Hindohood, had arrived at Ghizni, his own slave Ildecuz having seized upon the supreme authority in the city, presented himself to oppose his entrance, which obliged the King to continue his route to Moultan. There Birka also rebelled against him; but Mahommed, being by this time joined by many of his friends, gave him battle, and obtaining a complete victory, took the traitor prisoner. He then, with all the troops of the borders of India, who now joined his standard, marched to Ghizni, and the citizens, presenting him with the head of the rebellious slave, obtained their pardon. Mahommed, at this time, concluded a treaty of peace with the King of Charizm; and then, in order to chastise the Gickers, drew his army towards India. Cuttub attacked them on the other side with his army from Delhi, and the Gickers being defeated and dispersed, the King parted, at Lahore, with Cuttub, who returned to his government of Delhi.

During the residence of Mahommed at Lahore, the Gickers, who inhabited the country from that branch of the Indus which is called the Nilab, up to the fort of the mountains of Sewalic, began to exercise unheard of cruelties upon the Mussulmen; so that the communication between the provinces of Peshawir and Moultan was entirely cut off. These Gickers were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them, as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife

might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by any of the other, who might be coming on the same errand, he immediately withdrew, till the signal was taken away. This barbarous people continued to make incursions upon the Mahommedans, till, in the latter end of the Emperor's reign, their chieftain was converted to the Mussulman faith, by one of his captives. He, upon this change of principles, addressed the King, who advised him to endeavour to convert his people; and at the same time honoured him with a title and dress, and confirmed him in the command of the mountains. A great part of these mountaineers, being very indifferent about religion, followed the opinions of their chief, and acknowledged the true faith. At the same time, about four hundred thousand of the inhabitants of Teraiba, who inhabited the mountains between Ghizni and the Indus, were converted, some by force and others by inclination.

Mahommed having settled the affairs of India in peace, marched, in the year 602, from Lahore to Ghizni. He conferred the government of Bamia upon his relation Baka-ul-dien, with orders, that when he himself should move towards Turkestan, to take satisfaction for his former defeat, to march at an appointed time, with all the forces of those parts, and encamp on the banks of the Amu, where he would receive further orders, and at the same time to throw a bridge over the river.

The Emperor, upon the second of Shaban, having reached the banks of the Nilab, one of the five capital branches of the Indus, at a place called Rimeik, twenty Gickers, who had lost some of their relations in their wars against Mahommed, entered into a conspiracy against his life, and sought an opportunity to put their wicked purpose in execution. The weather being close

and sultry, the King ordered the Canats, or the screens, which surround, in the form of a large square, the imperial tents, to be struck, to give free admission to the air. This gave them an opportunity of seeing the King's sleeping-tent. They cut their way through the screens in the night, and hid themselves in a corner, while one of them advanced to the door; but being there stopt by one of the guards, who was going to seize him, he buried his dagger in his breast. The groans of the dying man being heard within, alarmed the rest of the guards in the outer tent, who running out to see what was the matter, the other assassins took that opportunity of cutting their way through the King's tent behind. They found him asleep, with two slaves fanning him, who stood petrified with terror, when they beheld the assassins advancing towards the Emperor. They at once plunged all their daggers in his body. He was afterwards found to have been pierced with no less than forty wounds.

Thus tragically fell that great king and conqueror Mahommed Ghori in the year 602, after a reign of thirty-two years from the commencement of his government over Ghizni, and three from his accession to the empire, the honours and titles of which he permitted his elder brother to retain during his life. One daughter only remained of his race. He was certainly one of the greatest men that ever sat upon the throne of India; and though he was, in some instances, cruel, he was not altogether an unvirtuous prince.

The Vizier, Chaja ul Muluck, took some of the assassins, and put them to a cruel death. He then called the chiefs together, and having obtained their promise of fidelity, in protecting the King's treasure, which was loaded on four thousand camels, he prevented the army and the slaves, who had proposed to plunder it, from putting their scheme in execution. He carried the body in mournful pomp towards Ghizni. But when they reached Peshawir, a great contest arose about the succession. The Omrahs of Ghor insisting

upon Baha-ul-dien, the King's cousin, governor of Bamia, and one of the seven sons of Hussein; and the Vizier, and the officers of the Turkish mercenaries, on Mamood, son of the former Emperor, the brother of Mahommed Ghori. The Vizier therefore wanted to go by the way of Kirma, where he knew that the governor Ildecuz was in the interest of Mamood, hoping, by his assistance, to secure, at least, the treasure for his own party. The Omrahs of Ghor were equally desirous of proceeding by that road which lay nearest to Bamia, that they might be the sooner supported by Baha-ul-dien. At length, being upon the eve of open hostility, the point was given up to the Vizier.

When they arrived near Kirma, after having suffered greatly by the mountaineers, Ildecuz came out to meet the Vizier and the King's hearse; upon sight of which he tore off his armour, threw dust upon his head, and expressed all the variety of sorrow. He attended the funeral to Ghizni, where the Emperor was buried in a new tomb which he had built for his daughter. The sorrow of Ildecuz was the more extraordinary, that, in the King's misfortunes, he had shown such disrespect to him, as to be accessary to the shutting of the gates of his capital against him. It will, however, hereafter appear, that Ildecuz's grief was political. The treasure Mahommed left behind him is almost incredible: we shall only mention, as an instance of his wealth, that he had, in diamonds of various sizes alone, five hundred maunds *; for he had made nine expeditions into Hindostan; returning every time, excepting twice, laden with wealth.

Though Tacash, King of Charizm, had, by the death of Toghril, the last of the Siljokides of Persia, rendered himself independent, and annexed the greatest part of the Persian empire to his government of Maver-ul-nere, the distractions which arose from the revolution furnished an opportunity to Mahommed Ghori to seize

* The smallest maund is twenty-five pounds avoirdupoise.

upon the extensive province of Chorassan, and to become so powerful in the north, as to block up the King of Charizm in his capital. The defeat, which ensued, not only weakened the power of Mahommed, but encreased that of Tacash so much, that he was enabled to extend his dominion over all Persia and the Western Tartary. His son Mahommed succeeded Tacash in his vast empire, and the family of Ghor were obliged to confine themselves to the ancient dominions of the house of Ghizni.

CUTTUB.

THE death of Mahommed Ghori may, in some degree, be said to have put an end to the empire of Ghizni. The unambitious character of the surviving princes of Ghor, gave an opportunity to two of the imperial slaves, to divide among them the empire, which Mahommed had been at so much pains to acquire. Ildecuz, or, as he is sometimes called, Eldoze, kept possession of Ghizni and the northern provinces, and Cuttub, the favourite friend and faithful servant of the late Emperor, was already viceroy of the empire, over the conquests in India. As it was from Cuttub the Mahommedan empire of the Patans, or Afgans, in India commenced, we shall begin with his history.

Cuttub* was of a brave and virtuous disposition, open and liberal to his friends, and courteous and affable to strangers. In the art of war and government he was inferior to none, nor was he a mean proficient in literature. In his childhood he was brought from Turkestan to Nishapoor, and there sold by a merchant, to Casi the son of Abu, who, finding that Heaven had endued him with a great genius, sent him to school, where he made a wonderful progress in the

* His titles at full length were Cuttub-ul dien, Abiek.

Persian and Arabic languages, and in all the polite arts and sciences. But his patron and master dying suddenly, he was sold as part of his estate, by his relations, and bought by a rich merchant, for a great sum of money, and presented for sale to the Emperor, Mahommed Ghori. That monarch purchased him, and called him by the familiar name of Abiek, from having his little finger broke. He behaved himself in such a becoming and assiduous manner, that he soon attracted the notice of his prince, and daily gained confidence and favour. One night Mahommed kept a magnificent festival at court, and ordered a liberal distribution of presents and money to be made among his servants. Abiek partook largely of his munificence, but had no sooner retired, than he divided his share among his companions. The King having heard of this circumstance, asked him the cause, and Abiek, kissing the earth, replied: "That all his wants were amply supplied by his Majesty's bounty. He had therefore no desire of burthening himself with superfluities, his favour being a certain independence." This answer so pleased the King, that he immediately gave him an office near his person, and, in a little time, was so satisfied with his diligence and capacity, that he appointed him master of the horse.

In one of the expeditions of Mahommed against the King of Charizm, in order to expel that prince from Chorassan, Abiek went out with a detachment to forage on the banks of the Murgaab. He was there surrounded by a numerous party of the enemy. But though he did the utmost justice to valour, he was, after the loss of most of his men, taken prisoner, and carried to the king of Charizm, who put him in chains. But that monarch being defeated, Abiek was left in this manner, sitting upon a camel in the field, and carried to his victorious master; who pitying his condition, received him with great kindness.

In the year 588, when Mahommed took revenge of his enemies, the Hindoos, for the defeat they had given

him, he, upon his return, appointed Abiek, who was then dignified with the title of Cuttub-ul-dien*, to the chief command of the army left to protect his conquests. In discharge of this duty, Cuttub took possession of many districts around, and reduced the fort of Merat. He also drew his army towards Delhi, and invested it. But the garrison, finding that their own numbers triply exceeded the besiegers, marched out of the place, and drew up in order of battle, which was gladly accepted by Cuttub. When the slaughter became great on both sides, and the river Jumna was discoloured with blood, the Rajaputs were at length put to flight, taking protection within their walls. The garrison, after a desperate siege, were at last obliged to capitulate.

In the year 589, the Jits, who were subject to the prince of Narwalla, in Guzerat, advanced with an army to besiege Hassi. Cuttub marched with his forces to protect it, and obliging them to raise the siege, pursued them to their own frontiers. In the year following, he crossed the Jumna, and took the fort of Kole by assault. He found there a thousand fine horses, and much spoil, and being informed of Mahommed's expedition towards Kinnoge, he thought proper to proceed as far as Peshawir to meet him, presenting him with a hundred fine horses, and two great elephants, one of which carried a chain of gold and the other a chain of silver. He mustered there, before the King, fifty thousand horse, and was honoured with an honorary dress, and with the command of the van of the royal army.

With the van he defeated the prince of Benaris, who, upon seeing his army retreat, pushed forward his elephant, in despair, against his enemy; but Cuttub, who excelled in archery, sunk an arrow in the ball of his eye, which brought him down from his elephant to the ground. It is said, that the number of slain was so great, that the body of the Raja for a long time could

* The Pole-star of religion.

not be found by his friends, who were permitted to search for it. But, at last, he was discovered by his artificial teeth, which were fixed in by golden wedges and wires. The Emperor Mahommed, following with the body of the army, entered the city of Benaris, and took possession of the country, as far as the boundaries of Bengal, without opposition. He broke down all the idols, and loaded four thousand camels with the most valuable spoils. Cuttub presented the King with above three hundred elephants, taken from the Raja of Benaris. The riders had a signal given them to make the elephants fall upon their knees to the King at once, which they all did, except one white elephant. This animal was esteemed an inestimable curiosity; but upon this occasion, though extremely tractable at other times, had almost killed his rider, when he endeavoured to force him to pay his obedience.

The King, when he was setting out for Ghizni, sent the white elephant back, in a present to Cuttub, and adopted him his son in his letter. Cuttub, ever afterwards till his death, rode the white elephant; and when he died, the affectionate animal pined away with visible sorrow, and expired the third day after. This was the only white elephant of which we have ever heard in Hindostan; but it is said, that the King of Pegu keeps always two white elephants, and that, when one of them dies, he issues out an order over all his dominions, to search the woods for another to supply his place. Cuttub, after the departure of the King, remained some days at Assi, where the Raja's treasure was found. He then returned to Delhi, and there received advice that Himrage, the cousin of the discomfited prince of Ajmere, was marching down from the mountains of Abugur, and had driven Gola, the reigning prince, towards Rintimpore, and that Himrage's general was marching, with another army, towards Delhi, before which he soon arrived, and began to destroy the country. Cuttub marched out to chastise him, and separating twenty thousand horse from

the rest of his army, he set out in front, and engaging the enemy, put them to flight. The enemy, some days after, rallying their defeated army, retreated towards Ajmere, and were pursued all the way by the conqueror. Himrage being joined by his general, in confidence of his superior numbers, formed his army in order of battle. When they came to blows, he distinguished himself by his bravery, as well as by his conduct; but, being slain, his army took the way of infamy before them. Thus Ajmere was restored to the Mahommedan government, and was afterwards ruled by its laws.

In the year 590, Cuttub turned his arms towards Narwalla, of Guzerat, and Setwan, the general of Bimdeo, who was encamped under the walls, fled upon his approach. But being pursued, he drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, and then his army resumed their flight. Bimdeo, upon intelligence of this defeat, fled from his dominions, and Cuttub ravaged the country at leisure, and found much spoil. He marched from thence to the fort of Hassi, which he repaired, then having visited Koram, returned to Delhi. He in the mean time received advice, from the governor of the districts near Rintimpore, that the brother of Gola, prince of Ajmere, who lived in the hills, was marching down with an army to invade him. This obliged Cuttub to move immediately to his relief. The enemy, upon hearing this, fled; and Cuttub paid a visit to Gola, who entertained him magnificently, and, at his departure, presented him with some fine jewels, and two melons of gold. When he had settled the country, he again returned to Delhi, from whence he wrote to the King a particular account of his conquests, which so pleased Mahommed, that he ordered his attendance at Ghizni, for which place he set out, and was received with every demonstration of joy and respect.

Cuttub, some time after, obtained leave to return to his government, and, on his way, married the daughter

of Tagi, governor of Persian Kirman*, making a magnificent rejoicing upon the occasion, when he returned to Delhi. He soon after marched his army to the siege of the fort of Biana, and, when he was on his way, he heard that the Emperor Mahommed, his master and patron, had taken the route of Hindostan. To show his respect for the King, Cuttub returned back as far as Hassi to meet him. Both returned to Biana, besieged and took the place, which Mahommed submitted to the command of Tugril, one of his particular and trusty slaves. They then took the route of Gualier, where the prince of that country agreed to pay tribute, and bought peace with a great sum of ready money, and with jewels. The King, immediately after these transactions, returned to Ghizni, leaving Cuttub viceroy of all the conquered provinces of India.

About this time, news arrived that many Indian independent princes had entered into an alliance with the king of Narwalla, and had formed a design to recover Ajmere from the Mahommedans. The troops of Cuttub being dispersed over the provinces, he was forced to march against the Indians, with what small part of the army lay in Delhi, to prevent their junction with the forces of Narwalla; but he was defeated, received six wounds, and was often dismounted; yet he fought like a man who had made death his companion. Forced at last, by his own friends, to abandon the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmere.

Tittura, chief of the Indians, rejoicing at this victory, joined the forces of Narwalla and Guzerat, and sat down before Ajmere. Intelligence of this unfortunate event coming to the Emperor Mahommed, he sent a great force from Ghizni, to the relief of Cuttub. Ajmere held out till the arrival of the Ghiznians, who obliged the enemy to raise the siege. Cuttub pursued them to Narwalla, in the year 593, taking, in his way, the forts of Tilli and Buzule. He there received ad-

* The ancient Carmania.

vice that Walin and Darapariss, in alliance with the king of Narwalla, were encamped near the fort of Abugur, to guard the passes into Guzerat. Cuttub, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, and disadvantages of ground, resolved to attack them, which he did with such bravery and conduct, that, having trodden down their ranks, above fifty thousand of the enemy, with their blood, tempered the dust of the field. Twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and an immense spoil fell into his hands.

When he had given his army some respite from slaughter and fatigue, he pursued his route into Guzerat, and ravaged that country without further opposition, taking the city of Narwalla, where an Omrah with a strong garrison was left. He then returned to Delhi, by the way of Ajmere, and sent a great quantity of jewels and gold, and also many slaves, to Mahommed, at Ghizni, and divided the remainder among his trusty partners in the glories of the field. In the year 599, he mustered his forces, and marched to the siege of Calinger, where he was met by Gola, the tributary prince of that country, whom he defeated; and dismounting his cavalry, began to besiege him in his fort. Gola, seeing himself hard pressed, offered Cuttub the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to the Emperor Mamood. The proposal was accepted, but the vizier, who wanted to hold out without coming to any terms, found means to make away with the Raja, while the presents were preparing to be sent. The flag of hostility was again hoisted upon the fort, and the siege recommenced. The place, however, was in a short time reduced, on account of the drying up of a spring upon that hill whereon the fort stood, and which supplied the garrison with water. There is a tradition among the natives of the place, that the above fountain always dries up upon the discharging the artillery of the place. This story may possibly, from a natural cause, have some foundation. But we are rather tempted to believe, that the present

drying up of this spring was owing to the increase of inhabitants, and the thirst occasioned by hard duty; for, besides the garrison, Cuttub found there fifty thousand male and female.

The plunder of this city was very great, in gold, jewels, and precious effects. Cuttub then marched to the city of Mhoba, the capital of the principality of Calpee. He also took that place, together with Búdaso, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Mahommed Chilligi, who had been appointed governor of Behar by the Emperor, but had, for some time back, been refractory to the imperial commands, came at this time to pay him a visit, laying rich presents at his feet, and Cuttub having entertained him magnificently, returned to Delhi.

When Mahommed Ghori, after his defeat in Turkestan, returned to India, he was joined by Cuttub, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gickers in several actions, and recovered his fallen glory. When matters were peaceably settled in this quarter, he returned to his government; and the Emperor, upon his way to Ghizni, was inhumanly assassinated by the Gickers. Mahommed's nephew, Mamood, assumed the imperial titles at Ghor, and upon his accession, sent all the ensigns of royalty, a throne, an umbrella, standards, drums, and the title of King, to Cuttub, desirous of retaining him in his interest, as he was by no means able to oppose his power.

Cuttub received those dignities with a proper respect, at Lahore, where he ascended the throne in the year 602, upon the 18th of Zicada; returning from thence in a few days to Delhi. In the mean time, Ildecuz, or Eldoze, marched an army from Ghizni, with an intention to take Lahore, which he effected by the treachery of the governor, whom he afterwards turned out. Cuttub marched to dispute the point with Eldoze, as soon as he received intelligence at Delhi of this transaction. In the year 603 the flames of war began to ascend

between them, while bravery, on both sides, became apparent. Eldoze at length was beat out of the city, and obliged to fly towards Kirman. Cuttub pursued him as far as Ghizni, in which city he was again crowned, taking that kingdom into his own hands.

Cuttub, after this, unaccountably gave himself up to wine and pleasure, till the citizens of Ghizni, disgusted with his luxury and indolence, sent privately to Eldoze, acquainting him of the King's negligence, and entreating his return. Eldoze, upon this, recruiting an army with all secrecy and expedition, advanced towards Ghizni, and in a manner surprised Cuttub, who had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to put himself in a proper state of defence, and he was obliged to abandon the kingdom, and retire to Lahore. He then became sensible of his own weakness, repented of his evil habits, and exercised himself in the practice of justice, temperance, and morality. He regulated his kingdoms according to the best laws of policy and wisdom till his death, in the year 607, which happened by a fall from his horse in a match at ball, which adverse parties endeavoured to carry off on the point of their spears.

His reign, properly speaking, was only four years, though he enjoyed all the state and dignities of a king for upwards of twenty, if we reckon from his taking of Delhi, when he may be said to have become King of India; though he assumed only the title of commander-in-chief for his patron Mahommed. He was certainly an accomplished warrior, and had nearly equalled the greatest heroes in fame, had not his loss of the kingdom of Ghizni tarnished his glory. He was famous for his great generosity all over the east, for which he got the surname of Bestower of Lacks. When a man is praised for generosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as generous as Cuttub-ul-dien."

Mahommed, the son of Tacash, reigned over Charizm and all Persia, during the short reign of Cuttub. He

invaded the small provinces in possession of the Patan empire, to the north of the Indus; and, taking Ghizni, reduced all Zabulistan beneath his command.

ELDOZE.

MAHOMMED GHORI, during his reign, having no children of his own excepting one daughter, had taken a particular pleasure in educating Turkish slaves, whom he afterwards adopted as his children. Four of those slaves, besides Cuttub, became great princes, of whom the present Eldoze was one. The King, having observed him to be a youth of genius, advanced him gradually, till at last he bestowed upon him the government of Kirma and Shinoran, which lay between Ghizni and India. His situation gave him an opportunity of frequently entertaining his prince, upon his expeditions to and from that country, which he always did with great magnificence and festivity, making presents to all the King's attendants.

Mahommed, in his last expedition, favoured Eldoze so much, that he bestowed upon him the black standard of the kingdom of Ghizni, by this intimating his will, that he should succeed to that throne. But, upon the death of that monarch, the Turkish Omrahs were desirous that Mamood, the son of the former Emperor, should come from Ghor and reign at Ghizni. Mamood, being a man of an indolent disposition, declined it; and said, that he was content with the throne of his ancestors. He, however, assumed the imperial title, proclaimed Eldoze king of Ghizni, and was content to maintain the appearance of that power which he would not, or rather durst not, enforce.

The first thing Eldoze did after his accession, was to cross the Indus, and invade Punjab and Lahore, as we have seen in the former reign. He was defeated by Cuttub, and in consequence lost his own kingdom;

which, however, he soon after recovered. He afterwards, in conjunction with the Emperor Mamood of Ghor, sent an army to Herat, which they conquered, as also a great part of Seistan, but making peace with the prince of that country, they returned. On the way, making war upon the great Mahommed, king of Charizm, they were both defeated, and the conqueror pursuing his fortune, took Ghizni, while Eldoze retired to Kirma, his former government, on the northern borders of India. Eldoze, finding the northern troops too hard for him, recruited an army, and marched some time after the death of Cuttub, with a view to conquer India. But, after reducing some of the northern provinces, he was defeated near Delhi, by the Emperor Altumsh, and being taken, died in confinement. The time of his reign was nine years.

As we have already given the history of two of Mahommed Ghori's adopted slaves who arrived at the imperial dignity, it may not be improper here to say something of Tughril, who raised himself from the same low situation. Tughril was a chief of some repute in the service of Mahommed; brave, and of a virtuous disposition. They relate, that when Mahommed took the fort of Biana, he gave the command of it to Tughril, and proceeded himself to Gualier, as we have seen before. But after he left Hindostan, Tughril continued to infest the country about Gualier; the King having told him at his departure, that if he conquered the place, he would confirm him in the government of it. When he found that this manner of war had no effect, as they always found some opportunity of supplying the place, he ordered small forts to be built all round, which he garrisoned, and by this means the fort was effectually blockaded. Yet it held out for near a whole year, when, being distressed for provisions, they sent an embassy privately to Cuttub to come and take possession of the place, for they had conceived an implacable resentment against Tughril. Cuttub accordingly sent his troops to seize upon

Gualier; upon which, war had almost ensued between him and Tughril. Death however interfering, put an end to the dispute; for, at this juncture, Tughril suddenly expired. The actions of the other two princes, formerly slaves to Mahommed, will be seen in the history of Sind and Punjab, to which they more properly belong.

ARAM.

AFTER the death of Cuttub, his son Aram* mounted the throne of Delhi; but was no ways equal to the government of so great an empire. Nasir, one of the adopted slaves of Mahommed Ghori, marched with an army towards Sind, which he conquered, as also Moultan, Otch, Shinoran, and other places. Another slave, Mahommed of Chilligi, possessed himself of the kingdom of Bengal, and asserted his own independence. At the same time, several dependent princes blew up the flames of rebellion in many parts of the empire.

Upon these misfortunes, Ali Ismaiel, Daood Delhi, and all the Omrahs, became discontented, sending a person to call Altumsh, who was son-in-law and adopted son of Cuttub, and then governor of Budaoon†, to ascend the throne. Altumsh accordingly marched with his army to Delhi, and by the assistance of the faction within, easily reduced it. Aram, afraid of trusting himself in his capital, had previously withdrawn into the country, recruited a fine army, and advanced to give Altumsh battle. A warm engagement ensued in the sight of the city. Aram lost the victory and his empire, which he had enjoyed scarce one year.

* Sultan Aram Shaw.

† The country beyond the Ganges, N. E. from Delhi, now possessed by the Rohillas.

ALTUMSH.

We are told that Altumsh * was descended of a noble family in the Tartarian Chitta, and that his father's name was Elim, a great and famous general. But in his youth, being the favourite of his father, he was envied by the rest of his brothers. They therefore determined to get rid of him, and as they were out one day hunting, they stript him, and sold him to a company of travelling merchants for a slave. The merchants carried him to Bochara, and sold him to one of the relations of Jehan, prince of that country, from whom he received a liberal education. Upon the death of his master he was again exposed to sale, and bought by a merchant, who sold him to another, who carried him to Ghizni. The Emperor Mahommed heard at Ghizni of Altumsh's beauty and talents, but could not agree with the merchant about his price. He was therefore carried back to Bochara, as none durst buy him, on account of the King's displeasure, till Cuttub, obtaining his leave, made that purchase at Delhi, whither he had invited the merchant, for fifty thousand pieces of silver. Cuttub, at the same time, bought another slave, whom he called Taga, and appointed him afterwards governor of Tibberhind, where he was slain in the battle between Cuttub and Eldoze. Altumsh, in the mean time, was made master of the chace, and afterwards rose to such favour that he became the adopted son of his patron, Cuttub, and was advanced to the government of Gualier and Birren, and from thence to the viceroyship of Budaoon. He accompanied Cuttub in his war against the Gickers, and greatly distinguished himself in bravery and zeal for the service. He killed in one action, with the troops of Budaoon, upwards of

* Shumse ul dien Altumsh.

ten thousand of the enemy. This behaviour so pleased Cuttub, that he declared him free, and made him many honorary presents.

Thus by degrees, Altumsh rose, till he was created captain-general of the empire; and married the daughter of Cuttub, and upon his death, as we have before related, he advanced against the capital, and, expelling Aram from the throne in the year 607, declared himself Emperor by the title of Shumse ul dien Altumsh. Upon his accession he was acknowledged by many chiefs and princes; but some of his generals taking disgust, went off with the greater part of his Turkish horse, which were the flower of his army. They joined themselves with other malcontents, and advanced with a great force towards Delhi. They were met before the city by Altumsh, and defeated, their chief general Firoch being killed, and the rest so closely pursued, that in a short time they were all either killed or taken, which for that time established Altumsh in peace. But soon after, the governor of the fort of Gollore rebelled, and refused to pay the revenues of that country. This obliged the King to march and reduce him to obedience. Eldoze, King of Ghizni, at this time, sent him the ensigns of royalty, pretending to confirm Altumsh in the empire of Hindostan. But soon after, when Eldoze himself was defeated by the troops of Charizm, and retired to Kirma and Shenoran, he turned his views towards the conquest of Hindostan. Eldoze seized upon the country of Punjaab and the city of Tannasar in the year 612, and endeavoured, by his emissaries in the court of Delhi, to raise a faction in his own favour. Altumsh, in the mean time, drew together his forces, and advancing towards him, they fought on the confines of Tirowri, about one hundred and fifty miles from Delhi. Eldoze was defeated, as before related, and, with many of his Omrahs, taken and imprisoned in Budaoon, where he died a natural death, according to some; but, according to others, was poisoned.

In the year 614, Altumsh engaged Nasir, who was

also son-in-law to Cuttub, upon the banks of the Chinaab, where Altumsh proved victorious. The governor of Chilligi, in the mountains, the year following, being defeated by Nasir, fled for protection to Altumsh, who, taking part in his quarrel, marched against Nasir, and a second time overthrew him, recovering the countries lost by the Viceroy of Chilligi, upon which he himself returned to Delhi. In the year 618, the famous but unfortunate Jellal ul dien, King of Charizm, being defeated in the north, by the great conqueror Zingis Chan, retreated towards Lahore, where Altumsh opposed him with all his forces. This obliged the brave though unfortunate Jellal to retreat towards the Indus, where he was opposed by Nasir, who defeated him, and pursued him, by the way of Kutch and Muckeran, the maritime provinces of Persia.

In the year 622, Altumsh led his army towards Behar and Bengal, where he obliged Yeas ul dien, of Chilligi, then prince of Bengal, whose history we shall see in its proper place*, to pay him tribute and allegiance. He struck the currency in his own name, and appointing his own son Nasir to the government of Bengal, he left Yeas ul dien in the government of Behar, and then returned to Delhi. But soon after, war broke out between Nasir, prince of Bengal, and Yeas ul dien of Behar. The latter was defeated and slain; Nasir taking possession of his principality and treasure, out of which he sent ample presents to his friends at Delhi.

In the mean time, Altumsh led out his forces against Cabaja, who possessed the provinces on the Indus, and, unable to oppose him in the field, left a strong garrison in Outch, and returned himself to Backar. The Emperor detached Nizam Jinaidi with half the army in pursuit of Cabaja, while, with the other half,

* The historian alludes to another work which he wrote concerning the transactions of the principalities of Hindostan.

he himself laid siege to Outch, which he took in two months and twenty days. When the news of the fall of Outch reached Cabaja, he sent his son Alla to entreat the Emperor for peace. The terms were not settled when news was brought, that Nasir, already mentioned, had been obliged by Nizam to attempt to cross the river, and that he was unhappily drowned. The whole country submitted to the imperial power. Altumsh then drew his forces towards the fort of Rintimpore, which he besieged and took.

In the year 624, he marched towards the fort of Mendu, which he reduced with all the country of Sewalic. At this time, the noble Ruhani, the most learned and most famous poet and philosopher of that age, fled from Bochara, that city being taken by the great Zingis, and took protection at Delhi, where he wrote many excellent pieces. The Emperor, at the same time, had an embassy from the Arabian Princes, with the royal robes of the Caliphat, which he assumed with joy, making a great festival, and distributing rich presents. In the same year, he received intelligence of the death of Nasir, his eldest son, prince of Bengal, which threw him into mourning and sorrow. He soon after conferred the title upon his younger son, whom he carried with him to that province in the year 627, to invest him with the government, which had run into confusion after the death of the former prince. Having entirely settled this country in peace, he left Eaz ul Muluck to superintend the kingdom, and returned with his son to Delhi.

Altumsh formed a design, in the year 629, to reduce the fort of Gualier, which had, during the reign of his predecessor Aram, fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. He accordingly besieged it for a whole year, when the garrison being reduced to great straits, the governor made his escape in the night, and the troops capitulated; but about three hundred of them, for treacherous behaviour, were punished.

After the reduction of this place, he marched his

army towards Malava, and reducing the fort of Belsay, took the city of Ugeïn, where he destroyed the magnificent and rich temple of Makal*, formed upon the same plan with that of Sumnat, which had been building three hundred years, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Bickermagit, who had been formerly prince of this country, and so renowned that the people of Hindostan date their time from his death, as also that of Makal, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, he ordered to be carried to Delhi, and broken at the door of the great mosque.

After his return from this expedition, he drew his army again towards Moultan, to settle the affairs of that province; but this enterprise proved unsuccessful on account of his health. He fell sick on his march, which obliged him to return to Delhi, where he died on the 20th of Shaban, in the year 633. His vizier, towards the latter end of his reign, was Assami, who had been formerly vizier of the Calipha of Bagdat for thirty years. He was renowned for wisdom and learning, but had left that court on account of some disgust, and travelled to Delhi, where he was deemed a great acquisition, and honoured with the vizarit. The most famous for letters in this reign, was Mahommed Ufi, who wrote the Jame ul Hickaiat, a valuable collection of histories, and other books. The reign of Altumsh was twenty-six years. He was an enterprising, able, and good prince.

In the 13th year of the reign of Altumsh, Zingis Chan, the great conqueror of Asia, marched against Mahommed, King of Charizm and all Persia. The state of Asia, just preceding the revolution, brought about by the arms of Zingis, was as follows: China was divided into two empires, that called the Song Kingdom in the south, and Kitay in the north. The

* MA signifies Great, in the Indian language; and KAL Time, or sometimes Death.

greatest part of Tartary was subject to Zingis, after the defeat and death of Aunac, the Grand Chan; the Western Tartary and all Persia were comprehended in the empire of Charizm, under Mahommed; the three Arabias, the Arabian Iraac, Mesopotamia, and a small territory on the side of Persia, owned the authority of the Calipha, Nasser, of the noble house of Abassi: the successors of the famous Jellal ul dien, corruptedly called Saladin, possessed Syria and Egypt; and a younger branch of the Siljokides of Persia reigned in the lesser Asia, under the title of Sultans of Ikonium. All Hindostan, except the Decan, was subject to the Afgan or Patan empire, under Altumsh. From the thirteenth to the twenty-sixth year of Altumsh, which was the last of his reign, the face of affairs in Asia became totally changed. Zingis conquered that immense continent, from the sea of China to Syria, and from the Indus to the Arctic circle. That great prince being bent upon the complete conquest of China, India escaped an invasion, which, in all human probability, would have forced it to share the same fate with the rest of Asia.

FEROSE I.

THE prince Ferose* succeeded his father Altumsh in the throne of Delhi. In the year 625, his father appointed him governor of Budaoon, and, after the reduction of Gualier, conferred upon him the viceroyship of Lahore. He chanced, at the Emperor's death, to be at Delhi on a visit, and immediately ascended the throne. The Omrahs made their offerings, and swore allegiance; while the poets of the age vied with one another in his praise, for which they received liberal donations.

* Ruckun ul dien, Ferose Shaw.

But, when he acquired the imperial dignity, he spread the flowery carpets of luxury, and withdrew his hand from the toils of state. He expended his father's treasure upon dancing-women, comedians, and musicians, and left the affairs of government to the management of his mother. This woman had been a Turkish slave, and now became a monster of cruelty, murdering all the women of Altumsh's haram, to gratify her inhuman hatred to them, as also the youngest of that Emperor's sons. The minds of the people began to be filled with disgust, and Mahommed, the younger brother of the King, and governor of Oud, intercepted the revenues from Bengal, and began to assert independence. At the same time, Mahommed, Suba of Budaoon, Chani, governor of Lahore, Cabire, viceroy of Moultan, and Kugi, governor of Hassi, entering into a confederacy, exalted their standards of hostility against the Emperor. Ferose collected a vast army, and marched to Kilogurry, where he was deserted by his vizier Junedi, with part of his army. The vizier went towards Kole, where he joined some of the insurgents. They from thence proceeded to Lahore, where they were joined by the nobles of these provinces. The Emperor, in the mean time, continued his march towards them, and when he reached Munsurpoor, seven of his principal chiefs deserted him, and retired with their troops to Delhi. There they advanced Sultana Rizia, the eldest daughter of Altumsh, to the throne, and imprisoned the Emperor's mother.

When this news reached the Emperor, he hastened back with his army towards Delhi, and having reached Kilogurry, Rizia, on the 18th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 634, advanced against him. He was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after; so that he reigned only six months and twenty-eight days.

SULTANA RIZIA.

SULTANA RIZIA* was adorned with every qualification necessary in the ablest kings; and the strictest scrutineers of her actions could find in her no fault but that she was a woman. In the time of her father, she entered deeply into the affairs of government, which disposition he encouraged, finding she had a remarkable talent in politics. In that year in which he took the fort of Gualier, he appointed her regent in his absence. When he was asked by the Omrahs, why he appointed his daughter to such an office, in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, "that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine, women, gaming, and the worship of the wind†; that therefore he thought the government too weighty for their shoulders to bear; and that Rizia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons."

Rizia, upon her accession, changing her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last reign, and distributing justice with an equal hand. In the mean time, the vizier Junedi, and the confederate Omrahs, who had met at Lahore, advanced with their armies to Delhi, and encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They, at the same time, sent circular letters to all the Omrahs of the empire, to draw them from their allegiance. This news reaching the Suba of Oud, he collected his forces, and hastened to the relief of the Empress; but when he had crossed the Ganges, he was engaged by the confederates, defeated, and taken prisoner, in which condition he soon died. The Empress found means, in her own policy, to sow dissension among the confederates; till, finding

* Malleke Doran, Sultana Rizia. † Flattery.

themselves in a dangerous situation, they retreated each to his own country, while some of them, being pursued by the Empress, were taken and put to death, the vizier escaping to the hills of Sirmore, where he died.

The prosperity of the Sultana daily gaining ground, she gave the vizarit to Chaja Ghiznavi, who had been deputy to the former vizier, with the title of Nizam, and the chief command of her forces to Abiek, with the title of Kilic Chan. Kabirc, having subjected himself to her authority, was confirmed in the government of Lahore, while the countries of Bengal, and the northern provinces, were also confirmed to their respective viceroys, on their promise of future obedience. In the mean time, Kilic Chan, general of the Sultana's armies, died, and Hassen, being appointed to succeed him, was sent with a force to raise the siege of Rintimpore, which was then invested by the independent Indian princes. But, at the approach of the imperial forces, they raised the siege, and retreated. After Hassen's departure from Rintimpore, Tiggi was advanced to the dignity of lord of the privacy, and master of requests. Jammal gaining great favour with the Empress, was also appointed Master of the Horse, from which station he was presently advanced to that of Captain General of the Empire.

The nobles were greatly disgusted at this promotion, as the favourite was originally an Abassinian slave. The first who began openly to express his discontent, was the viceroy of Lahore, in the year 637, who threw off his allegiance, and began to recruit his army. The Empress, collecting also her forces, marched out against him, and the viceroy, being disappointed by some of his confederates, was obliged to make every concession to obtain pardon. This he effected with so much art, that the Empress, upon her departure, either believing him to be her friend, or desirous of binding him over to her interest by gratitude, continued him in his viceroyship, and added to it that of Moultan, which had been governed by Kirakus.

In the same year, Altunia, the imperial governor of Tiberhind, exalted the hostile standard against the Empress, on account of her imprudent partiality to the Abassinian. The Empress, upon this intelligence, marched with her army towards Tiberhind, but, about half-way, all the Turkish chiefs in her army mutinied with their forces. A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which her Abassinian general was killed, and she herself seized and sent to the fort of Tiberhind, to Altunia. The army then returned to Delhi, where the Turkish Omrahs set up her brother Byram, the son of the Emperor Altumsh.

In the mean time, Altunia, governor of Tiberhind, having married the Empress, in a short time, by her influence, raised a great army of Gickers, Jits, and other nations, near the banks of the Indus, with many Omrahs of distinction, and marched with her towards Delhi. Byram, the new Emperor, upon this, sent Balin, son-in-law to Altumsh, with his forces to oppose her. The two armies meeting near Delhi, an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the unfortunate Empress being defeated, fled to Tiberhind.

She some time after collected her scattered forces, and was soon in a condition to make another bold effort for the empire. She advanced with a numerous army towards Delhi, but her forces being composed of the troops of India, were no ways a match for the mercenaries of Tartary, which chiefly composed the Emperor's army. Balin, who was again sent to oppose her, gave her another defeat at Keitel, the 4th of the first Ribbi, in the same year. She and her husband being taken in the pursuit, were inhumanly put to immediate death; while others relate, with less probability, that they were both carried bound to Byram, who ordered them to be assassinated in prison. Thus died the Empress Rizia, deserving a better fate, after a reign of three years six months and six days.

BYRAM II.

WHEN the Empress Rizia was prisoner in the fort of Tiberhind, Byram*, the son of the late Emperor Altumsh, upon Monday the 27th of Ramsan, in the year 637, by consent of the Omrahs, ascended the throne of Delhi, and confirmed all the laws and customs then in force. Tiggi, in conjunction with the vizier, by degrees took the whole government of the empire upon himself, taking the sister of the Emperor to wife, and mounting an elephant upon guard, at his gate, which was an honour peculiar to royalty. This circumstance raised disgust and jealousy in the Emperor's mind. He therefore ordered two Turkish slaves to put on the appearance of drunkenness, and endeavour to assassinate Tiggi and the vizier. Accordingly, upon a certain day, these two Turks, when the King gave public audience, pressed among the crowd, and began to be very troublesome. Tiggi, who stood first in the rank of Omrahs, went to turn them out. They drew their daggers, and plunged them into his breast, then, running to the vizier, they gave him two wounds; but he escaped through the crowd. The slaves were immediately seized, and thrown into chains, but in a few days after they were pardoned.

The vizier kept his bed for some days, on account of his wounds, but, as soon as he recovered, he appeared again at court, and officiated in his employ. Sunkir Rumi, who was then Master of the requests, formed a scheme to supersede him. He, for this purpose, placed himself at the head of a powerful faction at court, and collecting the Omrahs together, and among the rest the vizier, at the house of the chief justice of the empire, he began to concert with them a plan to bring about a revolution. The chief justice was secretly averse to

* Moaz ul dien, Byram Shaw.

the measure, and fearing that what was nominally meant against the vizier, should actually turn upon his master, he sent to the Emperor, and informed him of the whole affair. The messenger brought back with him a faithful servant of the King, in the habit of a fool, to overhear the conversation with the vizier. The vizier, though he actually entered into the measures of the meeting, excused himself from attendance at that time.

The story of the chief justice being confirmed by the person whom the Emperor sent to overhear the Omrahs, a body of cavalry were immediately dispatched to seize them; but they having had previous intelligence, dispersed themselves before the horse arrived. The next day, Sunkir Rumi, who was one of the principal conspirators, was sent to be governor of Budaoon, while Casi Jellal was turned out of his office. In a few months after, Rumi and Muza were assassinated at Budaoon by the Emperor's emissaries, while Casi Jellal was trod under foot by elephants. These proceedings raised fear and apprehension in the bosom of every body, which being improved by the faction, there was a general mutiny among the troops. In the mean time news arrived, that the Moguls of the great Zingis had invested Lahore upon the 16th of the first Jemmad, in the year 639; that Malleck, the viceroy of that place, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged to fly in the night, and was actually on his way to Delhi; and that Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and the miserable inhabitants carried away prisoners.

The King, upon this urgent occasion, called a general council of state, in which it was determined to send the vizier, and Hassen Ghori, chief secretary of the empire, with other Omrahs, to oppose the Moguls at Lahore, with an army. When the imperial army advanced as far as the river Bea, where the town of Sultanpoor now stands, the vizier, who was privately an enemy to the Emperor, began to depreciate his govern-

ment to the nobles, and to sow the seeds of sedition in their minds. But that he might completely effect his purpose, he wrote a private letter to the Emperor, accusing them of disaffection, and begging he would either take the field himself, or send other Omrahs and more forces, for that those now with the army could not be depended upon, and that therefore nothing could be done against the enemy.

The Emperor, though he had been forewarned of the treachery of his vizier in the late conspiracy, yet the artful man had so well extricated himself, and gained such confidence, that Byram, who was not blessed with much discernment, gave entire credit to this accusation, and sent him an order, importing, that they deserved death; at the same time recommending to him to keep them quiet till he should find the means of bringing them to condign punishment. This was what the crafty vizier wanted. He immediately produced the King's order, which kindled the Omrahs at once into rage, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself, and began to consult with them about the means of general security; and they all promised to support him.

This news having reached the Emperor, he began to open his eyes when too late, and in great perturbation hastened to the house of Islaam, a venerable and learned Omrah, requesting him to set out for the camp, and endeavour, by proper representations, to bring over the disaffected chiefs to their duty. Islaam accordingly set out in private, but not being able to effect any thing, returned to Delhi. The vizier, in the mean time, advanced with the army to the capital, which he besieged for three months and a half. Rebellion spreading at last among the citizens, the place was taken on the eighth of Zicada, in the year 639. Byram was thrown into prison, where, in a few days, he came to a very tragical end, after a reign of two years one month and fifteen days.

The Moguls, in the mean time, plundered the provinces on the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and returned to Ghizni.

MUSAOOD IV.

WHEN Byram had drunk the cup of fate, Balin the elder raised a faction, and forcing his way into the palace, mounted the throne, and ordered himself to be proclaimed throughout the city. But the greater part of the princes and nobility, dissatisfied with his advancement, immediately took out Musaood* the son of Ferose, the late Emperor, from his confinement in the white castle, and deposing the usurper, placed him upon the throne the same day in which Balin had seized it. Hassin was made vakeel of the empire†; Nizam, vizier; and the late governor of Lahore, lord of requests.

The vizier, who was a politic and ambitious man, still maintained an absolute power in the empire; but being of a haughty and oppressive disposition, he bore it with too high a hand among the nobles. They consequently began to combine against him, and in the month of the first Ribbi, in the year 640, found means to assassinate him one day when he was hunting. The vizarit was conferred upon the chief justice of the empire, and the younger Balin was made lord of the requests. Even Balin the elder was appointed viceroy of Nagore, Sind, and Ajmere. The subaship of Budaoon was given at the same time to Taggi; and other provinces fell to various chiefs, according to their rank

* Alla-ul-dien, Musaood Shaw.

† This office of vakeel sultanit, or vakeel mutuluck, was the first in the empire; his business was to issue all orders from the closet to the vizier or other officers of state, who were to take measures for executing them.

and interest at court; and, in general, peace and content seemed to diffuse themselves over the kingdom.

The Emperor, about this time, released his two uncles Mamood and Jellal, who had been imprisoned by the Emperor Byram. He conferred upon the former the government of Barage, and to the latter he gave that of Kinnoge. Tiggi was appointed governor of Bengal. In the year 642, an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by the way of Chitta and Tibet. Musaood sent towards Bengal, Timur, to the aid of Tiggi, governor of that province, with a great army. The Moguls received a total defeat; but jealousy arising between Timur and Tiggi, they proceeded to open hostilities; and the Emperor ordered Tiggi to resign the government to Timur, and to return to Delhi. In the following year, intelligence arrived that another army of Moguls had crossed the Indus, and invested Outch. The King immediately ordered forces to be mustered, and putting himself at their head, directed the imperial standard towards the Tartars. When he had reached the banks of the river Bea, they raised the siege, and began to retreat; and Musaood, hearing that they had totally evacuated the country, returned to Delhi.

Musaood soon after gave himself up to wine and women, and exercised various modes of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, despising all counsel, and placing the way of ruin before him. The princes and Omrahs at length bound up their loins to hostility, having first privately sent for Mamood, the King's uncle, from Barage. Mamood advanced with all the forces he could raise towards the capital. The Emperor was thrown into prison, by the Omrahs, where he remained for life. He reigned four years one month and one day; a weak and foolish prince, a slave to his pleasures, and without firmness of mind to entertain any one commendable virtue.

Oktay, the son of Zingis, sat upon the imperial

throne of Tartary, during the short reigns of Ferose, Rizia, Byram, and Musaood. Little alteration happened in the conquests of Zingis, and his posterity were employed in extending the Tartar empire in the two extremities of Asia. The dominions left by Altumsh remained entire when his son Musaood was deposed.

MAMOOD II.

We have already observed, that when the eldest son of the Emperor Altumsh died in Bengal, he conferred the title and government of that principality upon his younger son Mamood*. But this was a nominal honour, Mamood being at that time too young for such a charge. Upon his father's death he was confined by the cruel Empress, and remained in prison till he was released by the Emperor Musaood, who gave him the government of Barage. During the time of his government, he waged successful wars with the neighbouring independent princes, and rendered his province happy and flourishing. The fame of his justice and policy became to be noised abroad, which made the Omrahs turn their eyes towards him in the late revolution. He was then placed upon the throne of his father, which, even laying aside his birth, his bravery, wisdom, and learning, his other good qualities very much deserved to possess. During the time of his imprisonment, he wrote for his livelihood, despising the Emperor's allowance. He often said, in the days of his misfortune, that he who could not work for his bread did not deserve it. When he ascended the throne, he was the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor. The poets of that age vied with one another for the prize at his coronation, which was gained by Minage, for his poem upon that occasion.

* Nasir ul dien Mamood.

This writer is also particularly famous for his valuable history called the Tibcaat Nazari.

The office of vizier was now conferred upon Balin the younger, who formerly defeated the Sultana; and all the executive power was put into his hands. Shere, the Emperor's nephew, was appointed to the government of Lahore, Moultan, Batenize, and Tiberhind, where he was ordered to keep a great standing army, to watch the motions of the Moguls, who now had possessed themselves of the provinces beyond the Indus.

It is said, that when Mamood appointed young Balin vizier, that he told him, he trusted his own glory to his loyalty and conduct; therefore, to do nothing for which he could not answer to God, or that would stain his name with injustice towards his people, or ingratitude towards his King. The vizier faithfully promised his best, and exerting himself with such unwearied diligence in his office, regulated so well the business of the state, that nothing escaped his eye, or passed his particular inspection.

In the month of Regib, the King took the field, and turned his arms towards Moultan. He encamped for some time upon the banks of the Sodra; and making his vizier captain-general, he sent him towards the mountains of Jehud, and the territories near the Indus. Those countries were reduced, and the Emperor avenged himself upon the Gickers for their continual incursions, and for guiding the Moguls through their country into Hindostan. These offences were too great to be pardoned, and therefore he carried some thousands of every age and sex into captivity.

Some ancient Omrahs, who had estates conferred on them in the provinces near the Indus, had, for some time past, refused to supply their quotas to the army, for the maintenance of which they held these estates. By the advice of the vizier, they were arrested and carried prisoners to Delhi. The King, however, gave their estates to their sons or relations, upon the old military tenure. The country of Punjaab and Moultan

were by these means effectually settled, and the King's authority firmly established. The behaviour of Mamood, upon this occasion, puts us in mind of a story of a singular kind. Some authors inform us, that when Secunder* was on his way to India, some of his old generals, unwilling to proceed farther, began to draw their feet out of the circle of his obedience. The hero upon this, was thrown into great perplexity, not knowing how to proceed with them. In this dilemma, he sent a messenger to Greece to advise with his old master Aristotalise†, who, by reason of his age and infirmities, had not accompanied him. When the sage read the letter, he carried the messenger into the garden, where he gave orders to the gardener to root up all the old plants, and set young shoots in their places. Without saying more, or writing any answer, he told the messenger to return in haste to his master. When the messenger arrived, he fell upon his face before the King, and told him he could obtain no reply. Secunder was somewhat surprised, and enquired into the particulars of the interview. Hearing the above relation, he smiled, and told the messenger he had brought him an excellent answer. He accordingly put some old mutinous officers to death, and cashiered others; supplying their places with young men, who became more obedient to command; and thus re-established his authority in the army.

In the month of Shaban 645, the Emperor Mamood returned with his troops through the country which lies between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna, and, after an obstinate siege, the fort of Tilsinda yielded to his arms. He then continued his march towards Kurrah, Balin commanding the van guard. He was met at Kurrah by the Indian princes Dilleki and Millecki, whom he defeated, plundering their country, and taking many of both their families prisoners. These two

* Alexander the Great.

† Aristotle, the Philosopher.

Rajas had seized upon all the country to the south of the Jumna, destroyed the King's garrisons from Malava to Kurrah, and held their chief residence at Callinger. After these exploits the Emperor returned to Delhi.

In the following year, he sent the vizier with an army towards Rintimpore and the mountains of Merwar, to chastise the rebellious inhabitants of these countries, which he effectually did, and returned to Delhi. The vizier's brother Abiek Cushli was promoted to the dignity of lord of the petitions, and Zinjani to be chief secretary to the empire. In the same year, the Emperor's brother Jellal was called from his government of Kinnoge to Delhi. But, fearing that the King had some intentions against his life, he fled to the hills of Sitnoor, with all his adherents. The Emperor pursued him, but finding, after eight months' labour, that he could not lay hands upon him, he returned to Delhi. Mamood, in the year 647, married the daughter of his vizier, Balin, and upon the occasion made great rejoicings. He drew, in the year following, his army towards Moultan, and, upon the banks of the Bea, he was joined by his nephew Shere, governor of the northern provinces, with twenty thousand chosen horse. The King continued his march to Moultan, where he remained for some days. Having placed the elder Balin in the government of Nagore and Outch, and settled some other matters, he returned to his capital.

The elder Balin, in the year 649, threw off his allegiance, and stirred up a rebellion in those provinces. This obliged Mamood to put the imperial standard in motion towards Nagore. He put the rebel to flight; but such was the strange policy of the times, that he promised him his pardon, upon his submission; and afterwards actually continued him in his government. The Emperor, after returning from this expedition, remained only a few days at Delhi, before he proceeded to the siege of Narvar. He was met at Narvar by the Indian prince Sahir Deo, who had just built that fortress on a steep rock, with five thousand horse, and

two hundred thousand foot. This immense host were defeated with great slaughter, and the place, being invested, was reduced, after a few months' siege. The Emperor from thence continued his march to Chinderi and Malava, and having settled those countries, and appointed a suba to govern them, returned to Delhi. The vizier gained, in this expedition, great reputation for his conduct and personal valour.

In the mean time, the Emperor's nephew Shere, viceroy of Lahore and Moultan, who was at that time reckoned a prodigy of wisdom, valour, and every royal virtue, had raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Moguls out of the kingdom of Ghizni, and annexed it once more to the empire. He struck the currency in the name of Mamood, and proclaimed him through all the provinces. The King, for these services, added the government of Outch to his viceroyship, which, contrary to expectation, was quietly delivered up by the elder Balin, who returned to Delhi, and received the Jagier of Budaoon.

Mamood, in the year 650, marched by the way of Lahore, into Moultan, and was joined by the governor of Budaoon, by the way of Sevan and Cushlu, with fine armies. In the beginning of the following year, Zingani, chief secretary of the empire, who had rose to that dignity through the interest of the vizier, began to envy the fame and influence of that able minister. He took every opportunity to traduce his benefactor to the King in private. The Monarch's affections for the vizier began to cool visibly, and he was even prevailed upon at last to discharge that great man from his office, when he only conferred upon him, in lieu of it, the small government of Hassi, for his subsistence, where his enemy sought an opportunity to take his life.

Zingani now became absolute in the King's favour, and began his authority by turning out every person from their offices and governments, who had been appointed by the former vizier. He removed all Balin's

friends and relations from the royal presence, constituting Mahommed, who resided at Delhi, vizier of the empire, and Cutchlew, lord of requests. When he returned to Delhi with the King, he every where disturbed the public peace, and overset the fundamental laws of the country. The Emperor again mustered his army, and began his march towards the river Bea, for Shere had unfortunately, at this time, been defeated by the rebels of the province of Sind, and lost several forts in Moultan. This furnished the favourite with an opportunity of disgracing him with the King, who turned him out of his viceroyship, which he conferred upon Arsilla, and then returned to his capital. In the mean time, the governor of Keital and Coram was assassinated by the zemindars, which prevailed on the Sultan to march his army to revenge his death, from which expedition he very soon returned again to Delhi.

The government of the chief secretary became by this time so invidious to the whole empire, that almost all the governors of provinces entered into an association, and sent an embassy to Balin, the former vizier, informing him, that the government of the country was quite subverted, and that the oppression and arrogance of Zingani was beyond expression; that they were therefore desirous he should proceed to Delhi, and take the empire, as formerly, under his wise conduct and direction. Balin consented, and, according to appointment, all the Omrahs met, with their forces, in one day, at Koram.

Mamood and his chief secretary Zingani, upon receiving this intelligence, marched with the imperial forces to disperse the insurgents; but when the royal army advanced as far as Hassi, Balin, and the rest of the Omrahs, sent an address to the King, to the following purpose: "That they were his loyal subjects, and were satisfied to kiss the foot of his throne, so be he would banish Zingani from his presence." The Emperor was under the necessity of either consenting

to this request, or to lose his empire. He therefore dismissed the obnoxious favourite from his presence, and sent him to Budaoon. The Omrahs presented their offerings, and were honoured with royal dresses. Chani was appointed to command at Lahore, and Shere was confirmed in his former governments, and other districts adjacent. Mamood returned peaceably to Delhi, and expressed great joy at seeing his old vizier, while the flower of desire blossomed in the hearts of the subjects.

In the year 653, the Emperor conferred the government of Oud upon Cuttulich, of which, however, he wanted to deprive him in a few months for that of Barage, which was neither so lucrative nor so honourable. Cuttulich, upon this account, swerved from his allegiance, and, having brought over some other Omrahs to his party, raised a great army, which obliged Mamood to send the vizier against him. A general was dispatched at the same time against Zingani, who had begun a diversion about Budaoon. He was however soon defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death. Cuttulich was also routed by the vizier, and fled to Sitnoor. The vizier destroyed the place, but not being able to lay hold of the rebel, he returned to Delhi.

Diepal, the Indian prince of Sitnoor, in the year 655, entered into an alliance with the rebel Cuttulich, and raising a great army, advanced to meet the suba of Sind, who was in the same confederacy. All three joining their forces near Koram, became very formidable to the empire. The King again ordered his vizier, with a great army, to take the field. When the two armies approached one another, a mutiny was stirred up in the vizier's camp, by some Omrahs, who wrote private letters to the enemy, projecting the means of their taking the city, in which they had also set a faction on foot to favour them. The vizier having received good intelligence of this treasonable correspondence, acquainted the King of the particulars, who ordered them all to be confined. In the mean time,

the enemy, according to the scheme projected, marched with a body of chosen cavalry two hundred miles, in two days, advancing to the gates of Delhi, where the traitors had promised to meet them that day with their forces; but finding themselves disappointed, and the imperial troops marching out against them, they entirely dispersed, the governor of Sind retreating to his government, but Cuttulich was never heard of afterwards.

Towards the latter end of this year, a Mogul army crossed the Indus, which obliged Mamood to point his hostile spears towards that quarter; but the Moguls fled upon his approach; so that, without further trouble, he returned to his capital, giving the country of Punjaab to his nephew Shere, and sending Chani to the government of Bengal. In the year 656, Mamood marched his army towards Kurrah and Manickpoor, to chastise Arsilla and Calliche, who had not joined their forces in obedience to his orders, when he marched the year before to Punjaab. These subas, however, found means at court to mollify the King's resentment, and Arsilla found even interest to obtain the government of Bengal, which had been so lately disposed of to Chani, while the other obtained some districts by the foot of the mountains.

Cutchlew, the vizier's brother, was, in the year 657, appointed to the government of Kole, Jellasore, Gualier, and Biana. Nothing else remarkable happened this season, but the death of the rebellious governor of Sind. The vizier, by the King's commands, led, next year, an army towards Sewalic and Rintimpore, where the Indians had begun to raise great disturbances, having collected a very numerous body of horse and foot, at the head of which they plundered and burnt the country. Upon the vizier's approach, they retired into strong posts and passes among the mountains, where, however, he routed them, and continued to ravage their country four months with fire and sword, setting a price upon their heads.

The princes of those Rajaputs, rendered at length desperate, collected all their forces, and rushed down from the mountains to be revenged of the Mahommedans. The vizier saw the storm descending, and had time to draw up his army in order of battle to receive them. The attack of the enemy was violent and terrible, being actuated by rage, revenge, and despair. It was with much difficulty that the vizier could keep the imperial troops in the field, but the enemy overheating themselves towards mid-day, they became hourly more languid and faint. The imperial general inspiring his troops with fresh courage, for, till then, they had acted upon the defensive, began to charge in his turn, and, before evening, pursued the enemy, with great slaughter, back to the hills. The vizier's loss was very considerable in this action, and many brave Omrahs drank the cup of martyrdom. Of the enemy above ten thousand were slain, and ninety of their chiefs made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers. The vizier having, by this action, relieved the fort of Rintimpore, which had been besieged by some other tribes, he returned victorious to Delhi. The captive chiefs were cruelly ordered to be put to death, and their unfortunate soldiers condemned to perpetual slavery.

In the month of the first Ribbi of this year, an ambassador arrived at Delhi, on the part of Hallacu, the grandson of Zingis, and king of Persia. The vizier went out to meet the ambassador with fifty thousand foreign horse, in the imperial service, two hundred thousand infantry in arms, two thousand chain-elephants of war, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. He drew up in order of battle, formed in columns of twenty deep, with the artillery and cavalry properly disposed. Having then exhibited some feats of horsemanship, in mock battles, and fully displayed his pomp to the ambassador, he conducted him into the city and royal palace. There the court was very splendid, every thing being set out in the most gorgeous

and magnificent manner. All the Omrahs, officers of state, judges, priests, and great men of the city, were present, besides five princes of Persian Ayrac, Chorassan, and Maver-ul-nere, with their retinues, who had taken protection at Delhi, from the arms of Zingis, who, a little before that time, had overrun most part of Asia. Many Indian princes, subject to the empire, were there, and stood next the throne.

This ceremony being concluded with great pomp, nothing particular occurred at Delhi, till the year 663, when the Emperor fell sick, and, having lingered some months on the bed of affliction, died on the 11th of the first Jemmad, in the year 664, much lamented by his people.

Mamood was very singular in his private character, for, contrary to the custom of all princes, he kept no concubines. He had but one wife, whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery: and when she complained one day, that she had burnt her fingers in baking his bread, desiring he might allow her a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, with saying, that he was only a trustee for the state, and that he was determined not to burthen it with needless expences. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her in the end.

As the Emperor of India never eats in public, his table was rather that of a hermit, than suitable to a great King. He also continued the whimsical notion of living by his pen. One day, as an Omrah was inspecting a Coran of the Emperor's writing before him, he pointed out a word, which he said was wrong. The King, looking at it, smiled, and drew a circle round it. But when the critic was gone, he began to erase the circle, and restore the word. This being observed by one of his old attendants, he begged to know his Majesty's reason for so doing; to which he replied, "That he knew the word was originally right; but he thought it better to erase from a paper, than tocuh the heart of a poor man, by bringing him to shame."

These might, indeed, be virtues in private life, but were certainly none in a sovereign; for, notwithstanding the praises conferred upon him by historians, we must look upon him rather as the representation than the real substance of a great monarch.

Kajuc, and after him, Mengo Chan, sat on the throne of Tartary, during the reign of Mamood. The conquest of the southern China goes on, and Hallacu, the grandson of Zingis, extends his victories in the west of Asia, and, having taken Bagdat, puts an end to the Caliphat, by the extirpation of the race of Abbas, who enjoyed it 523 years.

BALIN.

MAMOOD leaving no sons behind him, his vizier Balin*, who was of the same family, mounted, by the universal desire of the nobles, the throne of Delhi. Balin was originally a Turk of Chitta, of the tribe of Alberi, a relation of the Emperor Altumsh. In his youth he was carried prisoner by the Moguls, who conquered that country, and sold to a merchant, who conveyed him to Bagdat. His father was a chief of great power, and commanded ten thousand horse in that unfortunate war in which our young hero was taken. He was bought at Bagdat in the year 630, by Jemmal of Bussorah, who was then famous for his piety and learning. His patron having learned that he was a relation of the Emperor Altumsh, proceeded with him immediately to Delhi, and presented him to that monarch, who rewarded him so handsomely, that he returned independent to Bagdat.

Altumsh employed him first in the office of chief manager of falconry, in which he was very expert. He rose from that station, both by the influence of his bro-

* Yeas ul dien Balin.

ther, who happened to be then a noble, and in great favour at the court of Delhi, and by his own merit. He ascended gradually, from one preferment to another, till he became an Omrah of the empire, and a man in great esteem. In the reign of Ferose, when he commanded in Punjaab, hearing his enemies at court had enraged the King against him, he refused to obey his orders to return, and kept for some time possession of that country. But having advanced to Delhi, with the confederate Omrahs who came to depose the Empress Rizia, he was taken prisoner in their flight, and remained there some time in confinement. He however made his escape, and joined the party of the Emperor Byram against the Empress, whom he twice defeated, as we have seen in that reign. This gained him great reputation; and he had the government of Hassi and Raberi conferred upon him; in which office he distinguished himself in several actions against the rebels of Mewat.

In the reign of Musaood, he was advanced to the dignity of lord of requests, in which he gained great reputation; and in that of Mamood, he was raised to the vizarit, which high office he managed in such a manner as to leave the King but the mere title of royalty. He therefore, upon the death of his sovereign, mounted the throne, not only without opposition, but even by the general voice of the nobility and people.

In the reign of Altumsh, forty of his Turkish slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn association to support one another, and, upon the King's death, to divide the empire among themselves. But jealousies and dissensions having arose afterwards among them, prevented this project from being executed. The Emperor Balin was of their number; and, as several of them had raised themselves to great power in the kingdom, the first thing he did after his accession, was to rid himself of all who remained of that association, either by sword or poison; among

whom was a nephew of his own, Shere, a man of great bravery and reputation.

His fears, after these assassinations, were entirely dispelled, and he became so famous for his justice and wise government, that his alliance was courted by all the Kings of Persia and Tartary. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any office in his government; and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the particular talents and connections of every person in his court. As he was very assiduous in rewarding merit, he was no less so in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in their station, were certain of being immediately disgraced.

He expelled all flatterers, usurers, pimps, and players, from his court; and being one day told, that an Omrah, an old servant of the crown, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and monopoly in the Bazar, or market, would present him with some lacks of rupees, if he would honour him with one word from the throne; he rejected the proposal with great disdain, and said, "What must his subjects think of a King who should condescend to hold discourse with a wretch so infamous?"

Balin was so famous for his generosity, that all the princes of the East, who had been overthrown by the arms of Zingis, sought protection at his court. There came upwards of twenty of those unfortunate sovereigns from Turkestan, Mavir-ul-nere, Chorassan, Persian Iraac, Azurbaejan, Persia Proper, Room*, and Syria. They had a princely allowance, and palaces for their residence allotted them; and they were, upon public occasions, ranked before his throne, according to their dignity; all standing to the right and left, except two princes of the race of the Caliphas, who were permitted to sit on either side of the Musnud. The

*. The lesser Asia, so called from being long a part of the Roman empire.

palaces in which the royal fugitives resided in Delhi, took their names from their respective possessors. In the retinue of those princes, were the most famous men for learning, war, arts, and sciences, that Asia at that time produced. The court of India was therefore, in the days of Balin, reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, formed a society every night, at the house of the prince Shehîd, the heir apparent to the empire; and the noble Chusero the poet presided at those meetings. Another society of musicians, dancers, mimics, players, buffoons, and story-tellers, was constantly convened at the house of the Emperor's second son Kera, or Bagera, who was given to pleasure and levity. The Omrahs followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies and clubs were formed in every quarter of the city. The Emperor himself, having a great passion for splendor and magnificence in his palaces, equipages, and liveries, he was imitated by the court. A new city seemed to lift up its head, and arts to arise from the bosoms of luxury and expence.

Such was the pomp and grandeur of the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without terror. The ceremonies of introduction were conducted with so much reverence and solemnity, and every thing disposed so as to strike awe and astonishment into the beholders. Nor was Balin less magnificent in his cavalcades. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble Tartars in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver, and saddles of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen men in rich livery, with their drawn swords upon their shoulders, ran proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way before him. All the Omrahs followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The Monarch, in short, seldom went out with less than one hundred thousand men; which he used to say, was not to gratify any

vanity in himself, but to exalt him in the eyes of the people.

The festivals of Norose and Ide, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were held with wonderful pomp and splendor. But amidst all this glare of royalty, he never forgot that he was the guardian of the laws, and protector of his meanest subjects. It was before Balin's time a custom in Hindostan, in cases of murder, to satisfy the relations by a certain fine, if they consented to accept of it. He abolished this custom, which has been since revived, and ordered the Subah of Budaoon, Malléck, to be put to death, upon the complaint of a poor woman for killing her son.

When Balin was only an Omrah, he gave into the then courtly vices of wine, women, and play. But, upon his accession, he became a great enemy to all those luxuries; prohibiting wine upon the severest penalties to be drank in his dominions; laying great restrictions upon women of pleasure, and banishing all gamesters from his court. So zealous was Balin to support his authority, that, for the disobedience of one man, he would order a force to the remotest parts of the empire to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion against his government, he was not content, as had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the Subas to have the King's mandate for every expedition or hostilities they were about to commence.

That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt, for forty or fifty miles round the city, and established laws for the preservation of the game. In the year 664, he was advised by his council, to undertake an expedition to reduce the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malava, which had been annexed to the empire by Cuttub, but were afterwards permitted to shake off the yoke. To this advice the Emperor would by no means consent, saying,

that the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulmen princes, that he thought it would be much wiser to secure what he possessed against those invaders, than to weaken himself, and leave his country unguarded, by foreign wars.

Mahommed Tatar, the son of Arsilla, who had begun to assert independence in Bengal, was, this year, however, reduced, and obliged to send his usual tribute to Delhi. A great rejoicing was made upon this occasion, at which the King was present, and gave public audience. Balin ordered, in the course of the same year, an army to extirpate a certain tribe of banditti called Mewats, who had possessed themselves of an extensive wilderness about eighty miles south-east of the city towards the hills; from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions, to the number of fifty thousand, even to the gates of Delhi. It is said, that, in this expedition, above one hundred thousand of these wretches were put to the sword; and the army being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for above the circumference of one hundred miles. The cleared space afterwards proved excellent lands, and was well inhabited, as the people were protected by a line of forts along the foot of the mountains.

In the 665th year of the Higera, Balin sent an army down between the Ganges and Jumna, to suppress some insurrections in those parts, with orders to punish the offenders without mercy. The Emperor soon after marched in person towards Kattal, Pattiali, and Bhogepoor, whose inhabitants had begun to stop all intercourse with Bengal, by the way of Jionpoor and Benaris. He put some thousands of them to death, establishing justice and public security in those parts. He ordered forts to be built, which he garrisoned with Pattans, to crush any future disturbance, and then returned towards Delhi. Soon after his arrival, he received intelligence of an insurrection in Budaoon and Kuttur, whither he hastened with five thousand chosen horse,

and ordered a general massacre among the unfortunate insurgents, and some thousands of every age and sex fell by the sword. If such cruelties can be any where excused, it must be in a government like that of Hindostan, where rebellions were in those days so common, that, without the most vigorous measures, the peace and royal authority could not be at all established.

Balin, after these transactions, marched his army towards the mountains of Jehud, where he employed them for the space of two years, in taking forts, and reducing the wild inhabitants to obedience. This country was famous for breeding horses, many thousands of which were carried by Balin to Delhi. Wherever the King marched, there was an order for the Subas, Zemindars, Fogedars, and magistrates of the provinces, to meet him on their own frontiers, with their offerings, which was afterwards distributed among the poor. Balin, some time after, made a journey to Lahore, which city, having greatly suffered from the Moguls, he ordered to be put in a proper state of defence and repair; and, after having erected some public buildings, he returned to Delhi.

About this time, Balin was told by one of his Omrahs, that a great number of veterans, who had served in the preceding reigns, were now become invalids, and incapable of attending their duty. The Emperor, upon this, ordered a list of their names to be taken, and settling half-pay upon them for life, discharged them from further service. The old men, however, were dissatisfied with this provision, and some of the principals of them were deputed by the rest, to go to Malleck, chief magistrate of Delhi, with presents, to represent their case to the King. This venerable magistrate, being in great favour with Balin, rejected their presents, but told them, he would use his endeavour to get them continued upon full pay. He accordingly went next day to court, and while he stood in the presence, put on the appearance of sorrow, which being observed by the King, he enquired about the cause of his grief.

The old man replied, " I was just thinking, that if, in the presence of God, all the old men were rejected, what would become of me." The King was struck with the reproof, and after some pensive silence, ordered the veterans to be continued in their usual pay.

In the fourth year of the reign of Balin, Shere, the nephew of the late Emperor, who had, from the time of Mamood, governed the provinces upon the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and other districts, died: some say, by poison from the King; but this is not now believed, though reported by some malicious people in those days. He was esteemed a man of great genius, and an intrepid warrior; having defended his country from the incursions of the Moguls, who now became the terror of the East. Balin, upon the demise of Shere, gave Sunnam and Semana to the noble Timur, and the other countries were divided among other Omrahs of his court. The Moguls, encouraged by the death of Shere, began again their depredations in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the Subas, prevented them from doing any thing effectual for the public good.

The Emperor, therefore, was obliged to appoint his eldest son Mahommed, at that time bearing the title of the noble Malleck, afterwards famous by the name of Shehid, viceroy of all those frontier provinces. Mahommed was immediately dispatched to his government with a fine army, and some of the wisest and best generals in the empire. The Prince himself was blest with a bright and comprehensive genius, taking great delight in learning and the company of learned men. He, with his own hand, made a choice collection of the beauties of poetry, selected from the most famous in that art. The work consisted of twenty thousand couplets, and was esteemed the criterion of taste. Among the learned men in the Prince's court, the noble Chusero and Hassen bore the first rank in genius and in his esteem. These, with many more of his philosophical society, accompanied him on this expedition to La-

hore. Mahommed was visited at Lahore by Osman Marindi, who was esteemed the greatest man of that age. But no presents or entreaty could prevail upon him to remain out of his own country; so that after a short stay he returned. We are told, that as he was one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the Prince, all the poets who were present were transported into a fit of dancing. But the piece affected the Prince, to all appearance, in a quite contrary manner; for, the tears began to flow fast down his cheeks. This might indeed be occasioned by excess of pleasure, though it was, at that time, attributed to that noble emulation which grieves for that excellence which it cannot attain.

The fame of the enlightened Sadi of Schiraz, the celebrated poet, being great at that time, Mahommed invited him twice to his court; but that renowned sage excused himself on account of his years, and, with much difficulty, was brought to accept of some presents. Sadi, in return, sent to Mahommed a copy of his works, and did honour to the abilities of the noble Chusero, the Prince's favourite, and president of his learned society. The Prince, every year, made a journey to see his father at Delhi, to whom he always behaved with the greatest filial affection and duty. Balin gave his younger son Kera, entitled Nasir ul dien, a Jagier of Sammana and Sunnam, whither the prince set out to reside. His father, at his departure, advised him to recruit and discipline a good army, to watch the motions of the Moguls; and that if he ever should hear of his giving himself up to wine and his former debaucheries, he would certainly withdraw him from that Subaship, and never put confidence in him again. The Prince took the advice of his father to heart, and entirely reforming his manners, gave great proofs of his natural abilities, though his mind had taken a wrong bias in his youth. A place of rendezvous was appointed, in case of an invasion from the north, on the river Bea, near Lahore, where the two Princes were to join the imperial army from Delhi.

Every thing seemed now in perfect peace and security throughout the empire, when Tughril, who was intrusted with the government of Bengal, began to appear in arms. In the year 678, this bold and enterprising man led an army against the Indian princes towards Jagenagur, whom he defeated, carrying off some hundreds of elephants and much wealth, out of which he made no acknowledgment to the King. Balin happened at that time to be very sick, insomuch that the news of his death was spread abroad. This intelligence having reached the ears of Tughril, he assumed the red umbrella with all the royal dignities, and declared himself King of Bengal. Balin hearing of this, wrote him an order to return immediately to his allegiance, which having produced no effect, he commanded Tiggi, governor of Oud, to raise his forces, and declaring him Suba of Bengal, sent Timur, Malleck Jemmal, and other generals, to his assistance, with an army from Delhi, to reduce the traitor to obedience.

When Tiggi was joined by this force, he crossed the Sirju, now the Gagra or Deo, and proceeded towards Bengal, whence Tughril advanced with his forces to meet him. Tughril employed his money so well among the troops of Tiggi, that he drew many of the Turkish chiefs over to his party, and then engaging the imperial army, he gave them a total defeat. The King hearing this news, bit his own flesh with indignation. He ordered Tiggi to be hanged at the gate of Oud; and dispatched Turmutti, a Turkish general, with another army, against the rebel. Nor was the fate of Turmutti more fortunate than that of his predecessor. He was totally routed, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

Balin, having intelligence of this second disgrace to his arms, was in great affliction, and prepared to take the field in person. He gave orders to build a large fleet of boats, with all expedition, to carry his baggage down the river. He, in the mean time, under pretence of going upon a hunting party, went to Sunnam and

Samana, the Subaship of his younger son, whom he brought with his army with him to Delhi, leaving one Malleck in the government. Having collected the imperial army, he appointed the chief magistrate of the city, regent during his own absence.

The Emperor crossing the Ganges, without waiting for the dry season, proceeded to Bengal by forced marches. But having met with great delay, on account of the roads and numerous rivers, Tughril heard of his approach, and had time to collect his army, and with all his elephants, treasure, and effects, took the route of Jagenagur*, with intention to remain there till the King should return to Delhi. The Sultan having arrived in Bengal, remained there only a few days. He appointed Hissam governor of the province, and proceeded himself, with his army, towards Jagenagur. At Sunnarguam, the zemindar of that place joined him with his troops, and promised to guard the river against Tughril, if he should endeavour to escape that way.

Balin continued his march with great expedition, but he could gain no intelligence of the enemy. He therefore ordered Malleck, with seven thousand chosen horse, to advance twenty miles, in front of the army, and, by all means, to endeavour to gain intelligence of the rebels; but, in spite of all enquiry, no satisfactory accounts could for several days be obtained. One day, however, Mahommed Shir, governor of Kole, being out from the advanced guard with forty horse, reconnoitring the country, beheld some bullocks with pack-saddles, and having seized the drivers, began to enquire about the enemy. They obstinately pretended ignorance; but the head of one of them being struck off, the rest fell upon their faces, and confessed that they had just left the enemy's camp, which was about four miles in front, that they had halted for that day, and intended to advance to Jagenagur.

Mahommed sent the drivers to Malleck, who com-

* A town in Orissa, near Cattack.

manded the vanguard, that he might examine them, and proceeded himself, as directed, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. He saw, from a rising ground, the whole encampment, extended over a great plain, with the elephants and cavalry picqueted, and every thing in rest and security. Having fixed his eye upon the rebels' tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, he determined to execute one of the boldest enterprises perhaps ever attempted. He advanced on full speed, with his forty attendants, whom he fired with the glory of the undertaking, towards the camp, which he was permitted to enter, being taken for one of their own parties. He continued his course to the usurper's tents, and then ordered his men to draw; and rushing into the great tent of audience, which was crowded with men of distinction, put all they met to the sword, crying, "Victory to Sultan Balin!"

Tughril, who imagined he was surprised by the imperial army, started from his throne in confusion, and cut his way through the tent behind. He mounted a horse without a saddle, and the cry having now spread through the camp, he was confirmed in his fears, and fled towards the river, with an intention to cross it, that he might make his escape to Jagenagur. In the mean time, Malleck, the brother of the gallant Mahommed, having seen the rebel as he fled, pursued him to the river, and shot him with an arrow as he was crossing. Tughril immediately fell from his horse, and Malleck, plunging into the stream, dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head. At that very instant, seeing some of the enemy coming that way, he hid the head in the sand, and sending the body down the stream, begun to bathe himself in the river. The party questioned him about their King, and then went off without suspicion.

Mahommed's party, in the mean time, having dispatched every body they found in the royal tents, dispersed themselves in such a manner among the enemy, who were now in the greatest confusion, that most of them escaped in the crowd. Tughril being no where

to be found, and the panic having run through the whole army, the flight became general, and none thought about any thing but personal safety. Those who remained alive of the forty heroes, loitered in the rear, till the enemy were quite gone off the field. They then returned to the deserted camp, where they chanced to meet Malleck. He related the King's death to his brother, who instantly sent the head to Balin. He at the same time dispatched an express to the vanguard, which came up that night, and took possession of the camp.

The Sultan arrived the next day with the imperial army. He called to him the two gallant brothers, and commanded them to relate the particulars of this astonishing exploit. He heard it with surprise; but instead of praising them, as they expected, he told them, that the rashness of their behaviour was inconsistent with their duty and prudence, and much more to the same purpose. But he, in a few days, took them into favour, and conferred great titles and honours upon them.

Balin, finding the enemy had entirely dispersed, returned to Bengal, and put every one of the rebel's family, and principal adherents, to death. He did not even spare his innocent women and children; and he carried his cruelty so far, as to massacre a hundred Fakiers, and their chief Collinder, for having been in great favour with the rebel, who had given him a present of three maunds of gold to support the society. Balin appointed his son Kera, King of Bengal, bestowing upon him all the ensigns of royalty, and the spoils of Tughril, except the elephants and treasure, while he himself returned with his army towards Delhi. Balin was absent upon this expedition three years. Upon his arrival, he conferred dignities upon Malleck, who had ruled Delhi with great wisdom. He then visited the learned men at their own houses, made them princely presents, and, at their instigation, published an act of grace to all insolvent debtors who were in confinement, striking off, at the same time, all old ba-

lances of revenues due to the crown. Notwithstanding this appearance of humanity, either the policy or natural cruelty of his disposition rendered him unmerciful to all rebels. He ordered spits to be erected in the market-place, for the execution of all the prisoners taken in the late expedition; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that the Casies, Mufties, and learned men, in a body petitioning their pardon, could obtain it. This venerable body at last softened Balin into mercy, and he drew the pen of forgiveness over their crimes.

His eldest son, having heard of his father's arrival, proceeded to Delhi to visit him, and was received with the greatest affection and joy. He had not remained at the capital three months, during which his father and he were inseparable, when news was brought that the Moguls had invaded Moultan. Mahommed hastened his departure to oppose them; but, before he had taken his leave, his father called him into a private apartment, and addressed him in the following manner:

He told him, "That he himself had spent a long life in the administration and government of kingdoms; that, by study and experience, he had acquired some knowledge, which might be of service to Mahommed after his death, which, in the course of nature, now hastened apace. That therefore he desired he would lend him the ear of attention, and treasure up his maxims in his mind.

"When you shall ascend the throne, look upon yourself as the deputy of God. Have a just sense of the importance of your charge. Permit not any meanness of behaviour in yourself, to sully the lustre of your exalted station, nor let avaricious and low-minded men share your esteem, or bear any part in your administration.

"Let your passions be governed by reason, and beware of giving way to your rage. Anger is dangerous in all men; but in Kings it is the weapon of death.

"Let the public treasure be expended in the service

of the state, with that prudent economy, yet benevolent liberality, which reason will dictate to a mind always intent on doing good.

"Let the worship of God be inculcated by your example, and never permit vice and infidelity, unpunished, to hold up their face to the day.

"Be ever attentive to the business of the state, that you may avoid the imposition of designing ministers. Make it your study to see them execute your commands without the least deviation or neglect; for it is by them you must govern your people.

"Let your judges and magistrates be men of capacity, religion, and virtue, that the light of justice may illuminate your realms. Let no light behaviour, in public or private, detract from that important majesty which exalts the idea of a King; and let every thing around you be so regulated, as to inspire that reverence and awe which will render your person sacred, and contribute to enforce your commands.

"Spare no pains to find men of genius, learning, and courage. You must cherish them by your beneficence, that they may prove the soul of your council, and the sword of your power.

"Throw not down a great man to the ground for a small crime, nor entirely overlook his offence. Raise not a low man too hastily to a high station, lest he forget himself, and be an eyesore to men of superior merit.

"Never attempt any thing, unless it is through necessity, but what you are sure to accomplish; and having once determined upon a measure, let your perseverance be never shaken by doubt, nor your eye ever deviate from the object. For it is better for a King to be obstinate than pusillanimous, as in the first case he may chance to be right, in the latter he is always sure to be wrong. Nothing more certainly indicates the weakness of a prince, than a fluctuating mind."

Balin, having ended his instructions, embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The

Prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having defeated and slain the noble Mahommed, chief of the Moguls, he recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in the empire. The throne of Persia was at this time filled by Argunu, the son of Eback and grandson of Hallaku, who had conquered that empire about the year 656. Timur of the family of Zingis, who was then a prince of mighty renown in the empire, and of the race of the conqueror of Asia, governed all the eastern provinces of Persia, from Chorassan to the Indus, and invaded Hindostan with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of his friend Mahommed, who had been killed the former year. Having ravaged all the country about Debalpoor and Lahore, he turned towards Moultan. The Prince Mahommed, who was then in Moultan, hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of Moultan, and prepared to oppose him. When Timur advanced to the river, he saw the army of Hindostan on the opposite bank. But the Prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief upon equal terms, permitted Timur to pass the river unmolested.

Both armies then drew up in order of battle, and engaged with great fury, for the space of three hours, in which both commanders eminently distinguished their valour and conduct. The Moguls were at last put to flight, and the nobles of India pursued them with imprudent disorder. Mahommed, fatigued by the pursuit, halted by a large pond of water, with five hundred attendants, to drink. He there fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

In the mean time one of the Mogul chiefs, who had hid himself, with two thousand horse, in a neighbouring wood, rushed out upon Mahommed, and began a dreadful slaughter. The Prince had just time to mount his horse, and, collecting his small party, and encouraging them by his example, fell upon his enemies. He was at last overpowered by numbers, after having thrice

obliged them to give ground, and he unfortunately received a fatal arrow in his breast, by which he fell to the ground, and in a few minutes expired. A body of the troops of India appearing at that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Very few of the unfortunate Mahommed's party escaped from this conflict. Among the fortunate few, was the noble Chusero the poet, who relates this event at large, in his book called Chizer Chani.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Timur, and beheld their prince in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed to the wailings of woe. No dry eye was to be seen, from the meanest soldier to the Omrah of high command. The fatal news reached the old King, who was now in his eightieth year. The fountains of his tears were exhausted, and life became obnoxious to his sight. However, bearing himself up against the stream of misfortune, he sent Kei Chusero his grandson, and the son of the deceased, to supply the place of his father. Kei Chusero, upon his arrival at Moultan, took the command of the army, and pouring the balm of benevolence and kindness upon the wounds of his afflicted people, began to adjust his government, and provide for the defence of the frontiers.

When the King found grief and infirmities began to conquer his vital strength, he sent for his son Kera, from Bengal, and appointed him his successor, at the same time insisting, that he should continue with him at Delhi till his death, and appoint a deputy for his government of Bengal. To this Kera consented; but finding his father's illness was not likely to come soon to a crisis, he set out for Bengal without acquainting him of his departure. This undutiful behaviour in his son, threw the old man into the deepest affliction, so that death began now to press hard upon him. He in the mean time sent for his grandson Kei Chusero, from Moultan: the prince hastened to his presence, and a council of all the Omrahs being called, the succession was changed in his favour, all of them promising to

enforce Balin's last will, in favour of this young prince. Balin in a few days expired, in the year 685, after a reign of twenty-two years. Immediately, upon the death of the Emperor, Malleck, chief magistrate of Delhi, having assembled the Omrahs, and being always in enmity with the father of Chusero, harangued them upon the present posture of affairs. He assured them that Chusero was a young man of a very violent and untractable disposition, and therefore, in his opinion, unfit to reign; besides, that the power of the prince Kera was so great in the empire, that a civil war was to be feared if the succession should not be continued in his family. That therefore, as the father was absent, it would be most prudent for the Omrahs to elect his son Kei Kobad, who was a prince of a mild disposition, and then present in Delhi. So great was the influence of the minister, that he procured the throne for Kei Kobad; and Chusero, glad to escape with life, returned to his former government of Lahore.

In the glorious reign of Balin, flourished at Delhi, besides the great men we have already mentioned, the renowned and learned Musaood Shukurgunge, the enlightened Zeckeria, the flower of genius Arif, Budder a great philosopher, the high-learned Buchtiar Kaki, the unblemished Mola, and many more, eminent in all branches of science and literature.

KEI KOBAD.

WHEN Balin was numbered with the dead, Kei Kobad* his grandson, in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed all the imperial titles. He was a prince remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a talent for literature, and his knowledge that way was pretty ex-

* Moaz-ul-dien, Kei Kobâd.

tensive. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter to the Emperor Altumsh; and if purity of blood royal is of any real worth, Kei Kobad had that to boast, for a series of generations.

As he had been bred up with great strictness under the wings of his father, when he became master of his own actions, he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. He delighted in love, and in the soft society of silver-bodied damsels with musky tresses, spent great part of his time. When it was publicly known that the King was a man of pleasure, it became immediately fashionable at court; and in short, in a few days, luxury and vice so prevailed, that every shade was filled with ladies of pleasure, and every street rung with music and mirth. Even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and riot was heard in every house.

The King fitted up a palace at Kilogurry, upon the banks of the river Jumna, and retired thither to enjoy his pleasures undisturbed; admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and buffoons. Nizam ul dien, who was nephew and son-in-law to the chief magistrate of Delhi, to whom Kei Kobad owed his elevation, was raised to the dignity of chief secretary of the empire, and got the reins of government in his hands; and Ellaka, who was the greatest man for learning in that age, was appointed his deputy. Nizam, seeing that the King was quite swallowed up in his pleasures, began to form schemes to clear his own way to the empire. The first object of his attention was Chusero, who was now gone to Ghizni, to endeavour to bring that noble and royal Tartar, the son of the prince Mahommed, the King's cousin-german, Timur, over to his party, in order to recover the throne of Delhi; to which he claimed a title from his father's right of primogeniture, as well as from the will of the late Emperor. But in this scheme Chusero did not succeed, and he was obliged to return from Ghizni in great disgust.

In the mean time, Nizam endeavoured to make him as obnoxious as possible to the King, who was at length

prevailed upon to entice Chusero to Delhi. Nizam hired assassins to murder the unfortunate prince on the way, which they accomplished at the village of Hicke. The villainies of Nizam did not stop here. He forged a correspondence between Chaja the vizier, and Chusero, and thus effected that minister's disgrace and banishment. He also privately assassinated all the old servants of Balin, insomuch that a general consternation was spread through the city, though none as yet suspected Nizam as the cause. The more he succeeded in his villainies, he became less secret in the execution; and though he began to be detested by all ranks, his power and influence was so great with the King, that he was the terror of every man.

While things were in this situation, advices arrived of another invasion of Moguls into the districts of Lahore. Barbeck and Jehan were sent with an army against them. The Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and a number of prisoners brought to Delhi. The next step the traitor took, was to inspire the King with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of fortune, had enlisted in great numbers in his service. He pretended that, in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen against him, insinuating, at the same time, that he believed there was already some treachery intended.

The weak prince listened to those villainous intimations, and, calling their chiefs one day together, he ordered them to be set upon by his guards and massacred; confiscating, at the same time, all their goods and wealth. He seized upon all the Omrahs who had any connections with the Moguls, and sent them prisoners to distant garrisons in the remotest parts of the empire. So blind was Kei Kobad to his own ruin, and so infatuated by this deceitful minister, that when any of his father's friends, or well-wishers to himself and the state, made any complaints against the traitor, he immediately called for Nizam himself, and, smiling, told him, that such a person had been doing him such and

such ill offices, with an intention to alienate his affections from him. The person who preferred the complaint became, by this means, a sacrifice, while fear prevented others from falling martyrs to virtue and honesty.

When Nizam thus carried all before him in the presence, his wife was no less busy in the Haram. She had all the ladies at her devotion; and, by way of particular respect, was called the King's mother. The old chief magistrate of Delhi, Malleck, who had now reached his ninetieth year, perceived the design of the treacherous minister, and called him to his house, and, by various arguments, endeavoured to suppress his ambitious schemes, and to lay the deformity of such behaviour fully open to his view. The minister allowed the justice of his reasoning, and affirmed that he had no further intentions than to secure himself in the King's favour. That having, unfortunately, disobliged so many people, it was dangerous for him to permit his authority to decline.

In the mean time, prince Kera, the Emperor's father, who had contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard how matters went on at the court of Delhi, penetrated into the designs of the minister, and wrote a long letter to his son, forewarning him of his danger, and advising him how to proceed. But his advice, like that of others, was of no weight with that vicious, luxurious, and infatuated prince. When Kera found that his instructions were slighted, and that things would soon be brought to a disagreeable issue, he collected a great army, and directed his standards towards Delhi, about two years after the death of Balin. Kei Kobad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Behar, drew out his forces, and marched down to meet him, encamping his army upon the banks of the Gagera. Kera lay upon the Sirve, and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man, finding his army much inferior to that of

his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly began to treat of peace.

The young prince, upon this, became more haughty, and by the advice of his favourite prepared for battle. In the mean time, a letter came from his father, written in the most tender and affectionate terms, begging he might be blessed with one sight of him before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened nature, which had slumbered so long in Kei Kobad's breast, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted all in his power to prevent this interview, but finding the prince, for once, obstinate, he prevailed upon him to insist, as Emperor of Delhi, upon the first visit, hoping, by this means, to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed, for Kera, seeing what a headstrong boy he had to deal with, consented to come to the imperial camp, and ordered the astrologers to determine upon a lucky hour, and crossing the river, proceeded towards his son's camp.

The young Monarch, having prepared every thing for his father's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, mounted his throne, and arrogantly gave orders, that his father, upon his approach, should three times kiss the ground. The old man accordingly, when he arrived at the first door, was ordered to dismount, and after he had come in sight of the throne, he was commanded to pay his obeisance in three different places as he advanced; the Emperor's mace-bearer crying out, according to custom, The noble Kera to the King of the world sends health.

The old man was so much shocked at this indignity, that he burst out into a flood of tears; which being observed by the son, he could no longer support his unnatural insolence, but, leaping from the throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness for his offence. The good old man melted into compassion, and, raising him in his arms, embraced him,

and hung weeping upon his neck. The scene in short was so affecting on both sides, that the whole court began to wipe the tears from their eyes. These transports being over, the young King helped his father to mount the throne, and paying him his respects, took his place at his right hand, ordering a charger full of golden suns to be waved three times over his father's head, and afterwards to be given among the people. All the Omrahs also presented to him their presents.

Public business being then talked over, every thing was settled in peace and friendship, and Kera returned to his own camp. A friendly intercourse commenced immediately between the two armies, for the space of twenty days, in which time the father and son alternately visited one another, and the time was spent in festivity and mirth. The principal terms settled between the two Kings were, that they should respectively retain their former dominions; and then Kei Kobad prepared to return to Delhi, and his father to Bengal. Before they had taken leave, Kera called his son, the favourite minister, and his deputy, into a private apartment, and gave them a long lecture of advice on the art of government. He then embraced Kei Kobad, and whispered in his ear, to rid himself of Nizam as soon as possible. They both parted in tears, and returned to their respective capitals. Kera was much affected upon this occasion, and told his friends, at his return to his own camp, "That he had that day parted with his son and the empire," still apprehensive of the minister, and the wayward disposition of the young man.

When Kei Kobad arrived at Delhi, the advice of his father for a few days seemed to take root in his mind. But his reformation was not the interest of the minister. He therefore soon brought back his prince to the paths of pleasure. He, for this purpose, collected together all the most beautiful women, most graceful dancers, and sweetest singers, from all parts of the empire; and these allurements to vice were occasionally introduced to his view.

One day, as he was riding out, he was accosted by a beautiful lady, mounted upon a fine Arabian horse, with a crown of jewels upon her head, a thin white robe with golden flowers flowing loosely over her snowy shoulders, and a sparkling girdle of gems around her slender waist. This fair one advancing before the royal umbrella, with a thousand charms and smiles began to sing a love song. Then, stopping short, she begged pardon for her intrusion, and would not, without much entreaty, proceed. The King was struck with the beauty of this enchantress, and immediately dismounting, ordered his camp to be pitched, and employed the evening in the pleasures of love. This damsel was no less remarkable for her wit than for her beauty. The King, while she was dancing, having broke out in rapturous verses upon those charms which she displayed, she answered every time extempore, in the same measure, with such propriety and elegance as astonished and silenced the greatest wits of the court.

In short, the King continued in this course of pleasure, till wine, and intemperance in his other passions, had ruined his health. He fell sick, and then began to recollect the advices of his father, and to consider Nizam as the cause of all his distress. He immediately began to form schemes in his mind to rid himself of that wicked minister. He for this purpose ordered him to the government of Moultan; but Nizam, perceiving his drift, contrived many delays, that he might get a favourable opportunity to accomplish his villainous intentions. His designs, however, in the mean time, reverted upon his own head. The Omrahs dispatched him by poison, some say without the King's knowledge, while others affirm that it was by his authority.

Malleck Ferose, the son of Malleck chief of the Afghan tribe, called Chilligi, who was deputy governor of Sammana, came, by the King's orders, to court, and was honoured with the title of Shaista Chan, and made lord of requests, as also suba of Birren. Chigen was promoted to a high office at court, and Surcha was

made chief secretary of the empire. These three divided the whole power of the government amongst them, while the King by this time became afflicted with a palsy, by which he lost the use of one side, and had his mouth distorted.

Every Omrah of popularity or power, began now to intrigue for the empire, which obliged the friends of the royal family to take Keiomourse, a child of three years, son to the reigning Emperor, out of the Haram, and to set him upon the throne. The army, upon this, split into two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. The Tartars* espoused the cause of the young King, and the Chilligies, a powerful tribe of Afghans, joined Ferose, who usurped the throne. Upon the first disturbance, those Tartars who had set up the young prince, jealous of the power of the Chilligies, assembled themselves, and proscribed all the principal Chilligian officers.

Ferose, being the first in the bloody list, immediately rebelled. Chigen had been deputed by the Tartar party, to invite Ferose to a conference with the sick King, and a plot was formed for his assassination. Ferose discovering his designs, drew upon the traitor, who came to invite him, and killed him at the door of his tent. The sons of Ferose, who were renowned for their valour, immediately put themselves at the head of five hundred chosen horse, and making an assault upon the camp of the Tartars, cut their way to the royal tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, and seizing the infant King, carried him, and the son of Malleck ul Omrah, off, in spite of all opposition, to their father. They killed Surcha, who pursued them, with many other men of distinction. When this exploit began to be noised abroad in the city, the mob flew immediately to arms. They marched out in thousands, and encamping at the Budaoon gate, prepared to go against Ferose, and rescue the infant King, for they

* They were mercenaries in the imperial army.

greatly dreaded the power of the Chilligies, who were a fierce and savage race. Malleck ul Omrah, the old minister, so often mentioned, considering that this step would occasion the assassination of the young King, and of his own son, who was in their hands, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and at length prevailed with them to disperse.

Ferose, in the mean time, sent an assassin to cut off the Emperor Kei Kobad, who lay sick at Kilogurry. The villain found this unfortunate prince dying upon his bed, deserted by all his attendants. He beat out the poor remains of life with a cudgel; then rolling him up in his bedclothes, threw him over the window into the river. This assassin was a Tartar of some family, whose father had been unjustly put to death by Kei Kobad, and he now had a complete revenge.

When this horrid deed was perpetrated, Ferose ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Jellal ul dien, having put an end to the dynasty of Ghor, and commenced that of Chilligi. Chidju, nephew to the Emperor Balin, and who was now esteemed the just heir to the empire, was immediately appointed governor of Kurrah, and sent off to his government. Ferose marched into the palace, and was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city; and to complete his cruel policy he made away with the young prince, that he might reign with the greater security.

This great revolution happened in the year six hundred and eighty-seven, the reign of Kei Kobad being something more than three years; a time long and disastrous, if we look upon the villainies of Nizam, and the consequent overthrow of the family of Balin.

During the reign of Balin, and his grandson Kei Kobad, Cubla, the grandson of Zingis, sat on the Tartar throne, and completed the conquest of China. Hallacu, and after him his son Abâca, surnamed Ilkan, reigned over the empire of Persia and Syria, in subordination to Cubla. Zagatay, the son of Zingis, and his posterity, were in possession of Maver-ul-nere, or

Transoxiana, and the provinces to the north-west of the Indus, which had formerly composed the empire of Ghizni.

FEROSE II.

NIZAM AHMUD says, in his history, that the tribe of Chilligi, of whom Ferose* was descended, derived their origin from Calidge Chan. Calidge, continues that writer, having quarrelled with his wife, who was an imperious and vindictive woman, and fearing she would draw the resentment of her brother Zingis upon him, deserted his army as he was passing the mountains of Ghor and Ghirgistan, in his return from the conquest of Persia. Three thousand of his friends followed Calidge, and took possession of those mountains, where they were afterwards joined by many of their countrymen, and even by some of the family of Zingis. Other historians, with equal improbability, affirm, that we ought to look for the origin of the Chilligies, as far back as Eaphs, the son of Noo †, who, say they, had eleven sons, one of whom was called Chilligi. But we have reason to think that neither of the accounts is authentic, the one being too modern, and the other too ancient, to merit our faith. We hear of this tribe of Chilligi in the reigns of Subuctagi, and Mamood of Ghizni, which entirely destroys the former supposition; and we have great doubts concerning the existence of Chilligi the son of Eaphs, being persuaded that this idle story took its rise from the natural vanity of nations, in tracing themselves back to remote antiquity. This tribe, however, as we have already observed, inhabited the mountains of Ghor and Ghirgistan, in the confines of Persia, and were a brave and hardy, though barbarous race. They made a business of war, and always served as merce-

* Jellal ul dien Ferose, Chilligi.

† Japhet, the son of Noah.

naries any power that chose to employ them. The father of that Ferose, who mounted the throne of Delhi, was Malleck. He was one of those soldiers of fortune who subsist by the sword; and raised himself to some rank, in the army of the Emperor Balin. His son Ferose, being a man of genius, was appointed to the government of Sammana. He was called from thence, as before related, and usurped the empire.

He reserved, for some months, the young prince Keiomourse, as a cloak to his usurpation; and having established himself upon the throne, he ordered him to be put to death. He was seventy years of age when he mounted the Musnud. He, by way of plainness, changed the royal umbrella from red to white; laid entirely aside his cruelty, after the death of the young prince; and became remarkable for his humanity and benevolence. He had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Delhi, and therefore resided always at Kilogurry, which he strengthened with works, and adorned with fine gardens, and beautiful walks by the side of the river. The Omrahs, following the Emperor's example, built palaces around, so that Kilogurry became known by the name of the new city. Egherish, the Emperor's brother, was appointed receiver-general of all petitions to the throne; and the Emperor's eldest son was dignified with the title of first of the nobles: the second son, with the title of Arkali; and the third with that of Kuder Chan. They had all governments conferred upon them, and maintained separate households. Chaja Chatire was appointed vizier, and the old chief magistrate of the city, Malleck, was continued in his office.

The citizens of Delhi, perceiving the wisdom, lenity, and justice of the King, were gradually weaned from their attachment to the old family, and became friends and supporters of the new government. Ferose himself was at much pains to cultivate popularity, and, for that purpose, he gave great encouragement to the learned of that age, who, in return, offered the incense

of flattery at the altar of his fame. In the second year of Ferose, Chidju, nephew to Balin, and Nabob of Kurrah, in alliance with Halim, Nabob of Oud, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and struck the currency of the country in his own name, which he changed to that of Moghiz ul dien. He brought over to his party all the Rajas and Jagierdars of those parts, and, raising a great army, advanced towards Delhi.

Advice of this insurrection arriving in the capital, Ferose collected his forces, and marched out to meet the rebels. He sent the Chilligian cavalry, who excelled at the bow, a few miles in his front, under the command of Arkilli his own son. Arkilli, encountering the enemy about twenty-five miles from the city, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them. He took several Omrahs prisoners in the pursuit, whom he mounted upon camels, with branches hung round their necks; and in that plight sent them to his father. When Ferose saw them in this distress, he immediately ordered them to be unbound, to have a change of linen given them, and an elegant entertainment to be provided. He called them before him, and repeated a verse to this purpose, "That evil for evil was easily returned, but he only was great who could return good for evil." He then ordered them to retire, in full assurance of his forgiveness. Chidju, some days after, was taken by the zemindars, and sent prisoner to the King. Instead of condemning him to death, as was expected, Ferose gave him a free pardon, and sent him to Moultan, where he had a handsome appointment for life, as prisoner at large. This lenity of the King gave great umbrage to the Omrahs of Chilligi, who addressed him upon the occasion, and advised him to pursue the policy of Balin, who never pardoned a traitor. They desired, that, at least, a needle should be passed through the eyes of Chidju, to be an example to others. If that was not done, they averred, that treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire; and, should the Tartars once gain the superiority, they

would not leave the name of Chilligi in Hindostan. The King answered, "That what they said was certainly according to the true policy of government; but, my friends," says he, "I am now an old man, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood."

This behaviour of the Emperor, it must be acknowledged, had soon the effect which the Chilligian chiefs foresaw. Clemency is a virtue which descends from God, but the degenerate children of India did not deserve it. There was no security to be found in any place. The streets, the highways, were infested by banditti. Housebreaking, robbery, murder, and every other species of villainy, became a business all over the empire. Insurrections were heard of in every province, numerous gangs of robbers stopt all commerce and intercourse, and the Nabobs refused or neglected to send any account of their revenues or administration.

The Omrahs of Chilligi were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and began to lengthen the tongue of reproach against their Sovereign. They even began to consult about deposing him, and to raise their kinsman Kugi, who was a man of influence, courage, and resolution, to the throne. For this purpose they met one day, at an entertainment in his house; but having intoxicated themselves with wine, they began openly to talk of assassinating the Emperor, quarrelling about which of them should have the honour of that undertaking. While they were in this situation, one of the company privately withdrew, and, running to Ferose, repeated very circumstantially every particular of what he had heard. The Emperor immediately ordered a guard to surround the house, who, having seized the Omrahs, brought them all before him. He upbraided them with their treason, he drew his sword, and throwing it down upon the ground, challenged the boldest of them to wield it against him. But they fell upon their faces, and remained silent and confounded. One of them, however, whose name was Malleck Nuserit, was gifted with more impudence than the rest, and told

the King, that "the words of drunkenness were but wind: where can we ever find so good and gracious a King, if you should be no more? or where can the King get so faithful servants, were he to condemn us for a little unguarded folly?" The unguarded Prince was pleased with this, and, smiling, called for wine, and gave him another cup with his own hand. He then upbraided the rest for their conduct, advised them to behave better for the future, and dismissed them all with his pardon.

The execution of a Dirvesh is one of the most remarkable events in this reign. The name of the Dirvesh was Seid Molah, and the whole affair has been thus delivered down in history. Malleck, the Cutwal, or chief magistrate of Delhi, dying about this time, all the great men, who, by his interest, held estates, and places at court, were deprived of them, and reduced to want. Among other dependants of the venerable Cutwal, that became destitute by his death, were twelve thousand readers of the Coran*, and some thousands of his Sipais and servants. All these turned their face towards Seid Molah for their maintenance. Molah was a venerable sage, in a mendicant dress, who travelled from Girjan, in Persia, towards the east, where he visited various countries, and men famous for piety and knowledge. He then turned his face towards Hindostan, to visit Sech Ferid of Shuckergunge, a famous poet and philosopher of that age, with whom he resided, some time, in great friendship. But, in the reign of Balin, having an inclination to see Delhi, he took leave of his friend, who advised him to cultivate no intimacy with the great men of the court, otherwise it would prove fatal to him in the end.

Molah arriving at Delhi, set up a great academy and house of entertainment for travellers, fakiers, and the poor of all denominations, turning none away from

* Each of these were obliged to read the Coran over once a day.

his door. Though he was very religious, and brought up in the Mahommedan faith, yet he followed some particular tenets of his own, so that he never attended public worship. He kept no women nor slaves for himself, and lived upon rice only; yet his expences in charity were so great, that, as he never accepted of any presents, men were astonished whence his finances were supplied, and actually believed that he possessed the art of transmuting other metals into gold. Upon the death of Balin he launched out more and more in bestowing great sums in charity, and expended a princely revenue in his entertainments, which were now frequented by all the great men of the city; for he made nothing of throwing three or four thousand pieces of gold into the bosom of a noble family in distress. In short, he displayed more magnificence in his feasts than any of the princes of the empire. His charity was so unbounded, that he expended daily, upon the poor, about thirty thousand pounds of flour, fifteen thousand of meat, two thousand of sugar, besides rice, oil, butter, and other necessaries in proportion. The mob, at length, crowded his gates in such numbers, that it was almost impossible to pass that way. In the mean time, the sons of the Emperor and all the princes of the court resorted to him with their retinues, and spent whole days and nights in innocent festivity and philosophical conversation. After the death of the chief magistrate of Delhi, the Dirvesh stretched forth his hand to his numerous dependants, and supported them in plenty and ease.

In the mean time, Jellal, a man of an intriguing turbulent disposition, wrought himself into the favour and confidence of Seid Molah, and being endued with art and plausibility of tongue, began to inspire the philosopher with ambitious views. He told him, that the people looked upon him as sent from God to deliver the kingdom from the tyranny and oppression of the Chilligies, and to bless Hindostan with a wise and just government.

The philosopher, in short, suffered his imagination to be deluded by the splendid ideas of royalty, and privately began to bestow titles and offices upon his disciples, and to take other measures to execute his designs. He engaged Cutwal and Palwan, two of his particular friends, to join in the King's retinue on Friday, as he went to the public mosque, and to assassinate him; while he himself prepared about ten thousand of his adherents to support his usurpation. But one of his followers, understanding that some others of less merit than himself were appointed to be his superiors, became disgusted, went privately to the King, and disclosed to him every particular of the conspiracy.

The King ordered Seid Molah and Jellal to be immediately seized and brought before him for examination. But they persisted in their innocence, and no other witness appeared against them, which rendering the accusation doubtful, Ferose ordered a great fire to be prepared in the field of Bahapoor, that they might be put to the ordeal trial. He himself marched out of the city to see the ceremony performed, and ordered a ring to be made round the pile. The fire being kindled, Ferose commanded Seid Molah and the two assassins to be brought, that they might walk through the flames to prove their innocence. Having said their prayers, they were just going to plunge into the fire, when the Emperor stopped them short, and, turning to his ministers, said, "That the nature of fire was to consume, paying no respect to the righteous more than to the wicked. Besides," said he, "it is contrary to the Mahommedan law to practise this heathenish superstition."

He therefore ordered Jellal to Budaoon, and Seid Molah to be thrown into chains in a vault under the palace, and the two men who were to perpetrate the assassination to be put to death. He, at the same time, banished a number of those who were suspected of the conspiracy. When they were carrying Seid Molah through the court to his prison, the King pointed

him out to some Collinders who stood near him, and said, "Behold the man who was projecting such an evil against us! I therefore leave him to be judged by you, according to his deserts." At the word, a Collinder, whose name was Beri, started forth, and running towards the prisoner began to cut him with a razor. The unfortunate Molah told him to be more expeditious in sending him to God. He then addressed himself to the King, who was looking over the balcony, and said, "I am rejoiced that you have thought of putting a period to my life; yet to distress the pious and the innocent is an evil, and be assured that my curse will lie heavy upon you and your unfortunate posterity." The King, hearing these words, became pensive and perplexed. His son, the prince Arkilli, who hated Seid Molah for the great intimacy between him and his elder brother, seeing the Emperor's irresolution, beckoned to an elephant-rider, who stood in the court mounted, to advance, which accordingly he did, and commanded his elephant to tread Seid Molah to death.

Birni, in his history of Ferose, informs us that he himself was at that time in Delhi, and that immediately upon the death of Seid Molah, a black whirlwind arose, which, for the space of half an hour, changed day into night, drove the people in the streets against one another, so that they could scarce grope their way to their own habitations. The same author relates, that no rain fell in these provinces during that year, and the consequence was a most terrible famine, by which thousands daily died in the streets and highways; while whole families drowned themselves in the river. But these were the throes of nature, and not the rage of the elements, for Seid Molah. This event happened in the year 690, and the loss of the Dirvesh was much regretted; for many believed him entirely innocent of the charge.

The prosperity of the King began visibly to decline, for every day new factions and disputes arose, which

greatly disturbed his administration. Private misfortunes pressed hard upon him at the same time; among the number of which was the madness of his eldest son, heir apparent of the empire. No medicines could cure that prince, and the distemper, hourly gaining ground, soon terminated in his death.

The King, after the decease of his son, marched his army towards Rintimpore to quell an insurrection in those parts. He left his son Arkilli to manage affairs in his absence. The enemy having retired into the fort of Rintimpore, and the King having reconnoitred the place, despaired of reducing it. He marched towards a small fort called Jain, which he took; then breaking down the temples of Malava, plundered them of some wealth, and again returned to Rintimpore. He summoned the fort a second time to surrender, but finding the rebels paid no attention to his threats, he gave orders to undermine the walls. He however changed his resolution, and decamped, saying, That he found the place could not be taken without the loss of many lives, and therefore he would lay aside his designs against it. Amed Chip, who was one of the pillars of the empire, replied, That Kings, in the time of war, should make no account of those things, when compelled to it by justice and the necessity of supporting their authority, which was now plainly the case. The King, in wrath, asked him, How he came to think that these were not his sentiments; "but I have often," said he, "told you, that now being on the brink of the grave, I am unwilling to entail the curse of widows and orphans upon the reign of a few days." He therefore continued his march to Delhi.

In the year 691, one of the kinsmen of Hallacu, grandson of the great Zingis, and King of Persia, in subordination to his cousin, the Emperor of Tartary, invaded Hindostan with ten tomans* of Moguls. Ferose, having received advices of the approach of the

* A toman consisted of 10,000 men.

enemy, collected his army, and moved forward to oppose them. When he reached the frontiers of Biram, he saw the Moguls in front beyond a small river. Both armies encamped for the space of five days upon either side of this stream, during which time their advanced posts skirmished frequently, and many were killed.

The armies at last, by mutual consent, pitched upon an extensive plain where they might have room to contend for the victory. Accordingly, on the sixth morning, they drew up in order of battle, and closed up the dreadful interval of war. The Moguls, after an obstinate contest, were overthrown, many of their chiefs killed, and about a thousand men taken prisoners. Among the latter were two Omrahs and several officers of rank. The Emperor, notwithstanding this victory, was afraid to pursue it, and offered them peace, upon condition of their evacuating his dominions. They accordingly gladly accepted those terms, and presents were exchanged between them. When the Moguls were retreating, Allaghu, grandson to the great Zingis, joined Ferose with three thousand men. They all became Mussulmen, and their chief was honoured with one of Ferose's daughters in marriage.

The King, about this time, appointed his son Arkilli viceroy of Lahore, Moultan, and Sind, with whom he left a strong force, and returned himself to his capital. To Allaghu, and the rest of the Moguls who had now become true believers, was allotted a certain district near the city, where they built for themselves houses, and raised a considerable town, known by the name of Mogulpurra.

In the year 692, the Emperor was under the necessity of marching his army again to quell an insurrection about Mindu, which fort he took, and put the enemy to flight. In the mean time, Alla-ul-dien, the King's nephew, and governor of Kurrah, requested to be permitted to march against the Hindoos of Belsa,

who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched the same year to Belsa, which he took, and, having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent as a present to the Emperor; among other things there was a large brazen idol, which was thrown down, by the Budaoon gate. Ferose was greatly pleased with the success and behaviour of his nephew upon this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents, and annexed the subadary of Oud to his former government of Kurrah.

Alla, upon this preferment, acquainted the King, that there were some princes of great wealth towards Chinderi, whom, if the King should give him permission, he would reduce to his obedience, and send their spoils to the royal treasury. The King, through covetousness, consented to this proposal, to which Alla was moved by the violent temper of his wife Malleke Jehan, the King's daughter, who threatened his life. To avoid therefore her resentment and that of her father, he looked round for some remote country which might afford him an asylum. Accordingly, in the year 693, he took leave of the King at Delhi, and, proceeding towards Kurrah, took many chiefs of distinction into his service. He marched with eight thousand chosen horse, by the nearest road, against Ramdeo, prince of the Decan, who possessed the wealth of a long line of Kings.

Alla, arriving upon the frontiers of the Decan, pressed forward against the capital of Ramdeo's dominions, which, not being fortified, he was in hopes of surprising. Though this attempt seemed too bold to be attended with success, yet he persisted in his resolution, and by surprising marches reached Elichpoor, where he made a short halt to refresh his small army. He marched from thence with equal expedition towards Deogire, the capital. Intelligence of Alla's progress coming to the prince, who, with his son, had been absent upon some service in a distant part of his dominions, he returned with great expedition to intercept the enemy

with a numerous army. He accordingly threw himself between Alla and the city, engaged him with consummate bravery, but in the end he was defeated with great loss.

This expedition is otherwise recorded by the author of the Tibcat Nasiri. Alla, says that writer, left Kurrah on pretence of hunting, and having passed through the territories of many petty Rajas, avoided all hostilities, giving out that he had left the Emperor in disgust, and was going to offer his services to the Raja of the Tillingana, who was the most powerful King in the Decan. Accordingly, after two months' march, he arrived without any remarkable opposition at Elichpoor, from whence, at once changing his course, he decamped in the night, and in two days surprised the city of Deogire, the capital of Ramdeo. The Raja himself was in the city, but his wife and his eldest son had gone to worship at a certain temple without the walls.

Ramdeo, upon the approach of Alla, was in the greatest consternation. He however collected three or four thousand citizens and domestics, engaged Alla at one of the gates of the city, but, being defeated, retired into the citadel. This fort having no ditch, and not being stored with provisions, he had no hopes of defending it long. Alla immediately invested the place. In the mean time he gave out, that he was only the vanguard of the Emperor's army, who were in full march to the place. This struck universal terror into all the Rajas round, who, instead of joining for the general safety, began to secure themselves. Alla having pillaged the city and seized upon the merchants, brahmins, and principal inhabitants, tortured them for their wealth; while he at the same time carried on the siege of the citadel.

Ramdeo seeing he must soon be obliged to yield, and imagining that the Emperor intended to make a general conquest of the Decan, endeavoured to procure a peace before any other forces arrived. He therefore wrote after this manner to Alla: "Your invasion of

this country was certainly impolitic and rash, but fortunately for you, having found the city unguarded, you have been permitted to range at large. It is however possible that the Rajas of the Decan, who command innumerable armies, may yet surround you, and not permit one of your people to escape from our dominions alive. Supposing even that you should be able to retreat from hence undisturbed, are not the princes of Malava, Candez and Gundwarra in your way, who have each armies of forty or fifty thousand men? Do you hope they will permit you to escape unmolested, after this perfidious attack on their brethren, in religion and Gods? It is therefore advisable for you to retire in time, by accepting a small reward, and what spoil you have already got, to indemnify you for your expence and labour."

Alla was very glad to accept of those proposals, and having received fifty maunds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, fifty elephants, and some thousand horses, which were taken in the Raja's stables, he released his prisoners, and promised to abandon the place in the morning of the fifteenth day from his first entrance. But when Alla was preparing to retreat, Ramdeo's eldest son, who had fled with his mother, on the first appearance of the imperial troops, to collect forces, advanced with a numerous army, within a few miles of the city. Ramdeo sent a message to his son, informing him, that peace was concluded, and whatever was done, was done. He therefore ordered him not to open again the door of disturbance, for that he perceived the Tartars were a warlike race, whose peace was better than their war. The young Prince, however, understanding that his army was thrice the number of the enemy, and hourly expecting to be joined by other princes, with numerous forces, listened not to the commands of his father, but wrote to Alla in these terms: "If you have any love for life, and desire safety, rush out of this horrible whirlpool, into which you have plunged yourself. Whatever you have

plundered and received, you must return, and take your way homeward, rejoicing in your happy escape." Alla, upon reading this insolent letter, kindled the fire of rage, and blackening the face of the messenger, hooted him out of the city. He left Malleck Nuserit to invest the citadel with a thousand horse, and immediately marched with the rest of his army to attack the Raja's son, and drew up in the front of his camp.

The Indian did not decline the offered battle. He drew forth his numerous squadrons, and the battle commenced with such violence, that the stout heart of Alla began to quake for the victory. His troops began to fall back on all sides. In the mean time Malleck Nuserit, having learned by his scouts the situation of affairs, left the citadel without orders, and galloping up to the field of battle, with his thousand horse, changed the fortune of the day. The dust having prevented the enemy from discovering the force of Nuserit, some person cried out, that the Tartar army, of whom they had been told, was arrived. This spread instantly a panic through the Indian ranks, and they at once turned their face to flight. Alla did not think proper to pursue them far, but immediately returned into the city, and invested the citadel.

A scene of cruelty and horror now commenced. The Tartars, enraged at the perfidy of the Hindoos, for their breach of the treaty, began to spread fire and sword through the city; from which no discipline could restrain them. Several of the Raja's kindred, who had been taken prisoners, were in chains, thrown down in sight of the enemy. Ramdeo, in the mean time, sent express upon express, to hasten the succours which he expected from the Kings of Kilbirga, Tillingana, Malava, and Candez: but was informed that there remained no provisions in the place, for that a great number of bags, in which they had reckoned upon rice, had been found, upon examination, to be salt.

Ramdeo was greatly perplexed; he commanded that this should be concealed from the troops, and began a

second time to propose a treaty with Alla. "It must be known to you," said the Prince, "O my lord, that your well-wisher, Ramdeo, had no hand in the late quarrel. If my son, in the way of folly and the pride of youth, exalted the spear of valour and hostility, let not your resentment be kindled against me for his rashness." Ramdeo told the messenger privately, that there were no provisions in the place, and that if the enemy should persist a few days, they must be informed of their distress, which would inevitably bring on the ruin of the whole. For, said the Prince, supposing we should be able to hold out the place against the assaults of the enemy, yet famine cannot be withstood; and there is now scarce six days' provision left. Use then art, and take any means to persuade the army of Islam* to evacuate the country.

But Alla, from the behaviour of Ramdeo, perceived the true cause of his proposals, and therefore started every day some new difficulty to retard the treaty, till the garrison was in the utmost distress. But at length it was concluded, according to our author, upon the following almost incredible terms; that Alla should receive, upon consideration of evacuating the country, six hundred maunds of pure gold, according to the weights of the Decan†, seven maunds of pearl, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and a long list of other precious commodities that surpass all belief. This ransom was not only required, but also the cession of Elichpoor, and its dependencies, where Alla might leave a small garrison, which should remain there unmolested, to collect the revenues.

Alla having settled affairs to his satisfaction, released all his prisoners, and marched in triumph out of the city with his plunder, and proceeded on his way homeward, on the twenty-fifth day after his taking the city.

* That is, the Mahommedans.

† The maund of the Decan is 25 lb. avoirdupoise.

He conducted his retreat with such surprising address, that he opened his way through extensive and powerful kingdoms; through Malava, Conduana, Candez, and others, though he was surrounded by numerous armies, who, admiring his order and resolution, made but faint and irresolute attacks, which served only to adorn his triumph. We may here justly remark, that, in the long volumes of history, there is scarcely any thing to be compared to this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of the execution of it, or the fortune which attended the attempt. We cannot help to lament, that a man formed for such great exploits, should not be actuated by better motives than rapine, violence, and the thirst of gain.

When Alla marched to Deogire, all communication with Kurrah being stopt, no news was heard of him for some months. The person, whom he left his deputy, to make the King easy, wrote, that he had accounts of his being busy in the conquest of Chinderi, and amused him every day with false intelligence. But as the King, for the space of six months, had received no letters from under his own hand, he began to suspect treason; and in the year 695, under a pretence of hunting, ordered out his retinue, and proceeded towards Gualier, where he encamped, and built a Choultry, inscribing a verse to this purpose, over the door.—"I who press with my foot the celestial pavement, what fame can I acquire by a heap of stones and mortar? No! I have joined these broken stones together, that perhaps, under their shade, the weary traveller, or broken-hearted, may find repose."

In the mean time Ferose received private intelligence, that Alla had conquered Deogire, and had acquired there such wealth as had never been possessed by an Emperor of Delhi, and that he was now upon his march towards Kurrah. The King was greatly pleased with this intelligence, and reckoned upon the spoil, as if already in his own treasury. But

men of more wisdom thought otherwise, and justly concluded, that it was not to fill the royal coffers that Alla, without the King's authority, had undertaken such a daring expedition. They however waited to see the event, without informing the King of their suspicions.

The King having one day assembled his council, and told them, that Alla was now on his march to Kurrah with immense plunder, requested their advice, whether it was most prudent to remain where he was, and command Alla to his presence, to march towards him, or to return to Delhi. Ahmed Chip, who was renowned for his wisdom and penetration, expressed his suspicions to the King, in a rational and plausible manner. He advised Ferose, at the same time, to advance with his army towards Chinderi, and to encamp in the way between Alla and Kurrah. "This," said he, "will discover Alla's intentions, before he has time to augment his army." Ahmed added further, "That upon the appearance of the imperial army, it was highly probable, that the troops of Alla, being laden with spoil, and within their own country, would not care to hazard the loss of it by an action; but would rather endeavour to secure their wealth among the mountains. That, by this means, Alla would be deserted by the greatest part of his small army, which would oblige him to think of nothing but peace, and to lay all his wealth at the foot of the throne. That the King, in that case, might take all the gold, jewels, and elephants, permitting him to retain the remainder for himself, and either leave him his government, or carry him to Delhi, according to the royal pleasure."

Kudgi, chief magistrate of Delhi, though he was sensible of the prudence of this advice, yet turning his eyes upon the Emperor, he perceived he did not at all approve of it; and therefore began to this effect: "The news of Alla's return, the amount of his plunder, and the truth of his conquest, has not yet been confirmed but by flying reports, which we all know are often

vague and extravagant. Supposing even that this account is true, is it not natural to imagine, that when he shall hear of the approach of the imperial army, that the fear of false accusation, or evil designs against him, will prevail on him to retreat among the mountains? From whence, as the rainy season is at hand, it will be impossible to dislodge him. Let us not therefore cast off our shoes, before we reach the river, but wait till Alla shall arrive at Kurrah. If then it shall appear, that he cherishes his treasonable views, one assault of the imperial army will crush his ambition."

Ahmed, having heard this perfidious advice, was kindled into generous resentment, and replied: "The time passes.—As soon as Alla shall have escaped us, will he not proceed by the way of Oud to Bengal, where his treasure will soon enable him to raise such an army as neither you nor I will be able to oppose? O shame! that men should know better, yet not have the honesty to give salutary advice." Ferose was displeased with those words, and spoke thus to the Omrahs who stood near him. "Ahmed does always ill offices to Alla. He endeavours to raise my suspicion and resentment against my nephew; but such private rancour shall have no weight with the King: I am so well assured of the loyalty of Alla, whom I have nursed in my bosom, that I should sooner believe treason in my son than in him." Ahmed, upon this, shut the door of argument, and, rising with some emotion, walked out, striking one hand upon the other, and repeating a verse to this purpose: "When the sun of prosperity is eclipsed, no advice can enlighten the mind." The King, bestowing great commendations on Kudgi, marched back with his army to Delhi.

Not many days after the King's arrival at the capital, the address of Alla was brought to him, setting forth, that "he was the King's slave, and that all his wealth was consecrated to him; that being wearied with tedious march, he begged for some repose at Kurrah. That he intended to kiss the footstool of the

throne, but that, knowing he had some enemies at court, who might have, in his absence, defamed him, and deprived him of his majesty's favour, he, and the chiefs who had accompanied him in the expedition, in which he was sensible he had exceeded his orders, were apprehensive that some punishment might be inflicted upon them. That he therefore requested to have a letter of grace, to assure him and his followers of perfect safety, under the royal protection." The King, having received this address, expressed great joy, and entirely laid aside all suspicions of Alla. He ordered a letter full of kindness, and the most solemn assurances of protection, to be wrote to him, and dispatched by the hands of two messengers of distinction.

In the mean time Alla was preparing to retreat to Bengal. He was now joined by all the Zemindars of the neighbouring districts, who enlisted themselves under his fortunate banners. The messengers perceived plainly his intentions, but they were detained, and watched so strictly, that they could send no advices to the King. Almass, who was also son-in-law and nephew to Ferose, in the mean time received advices from his brother Alla, "That it was now become public at Kurrah, that the King intended certainly to take his life, for proceeding to Deogire contrary to his orders: that he repented the occasion, and had taken his majesty's displeasure, which to him was worse than death, so much to heart, that he was afraid excess of sorrow would put an end to his melancholy life: he therefore requested, that his brother should inform him before the King put his design in execution, that he might either take poison, or look out for a place of security."

Letters to the same purpose were, day after day, wrote to his brother, Almass, who, being in the plot, was constantly at court, and shewed them to the King, seemingly distracted, lest his brother should lay violent hands upon himself, or fly his country. He used a

thousand delusive arts to inveigle the King to Kurrah, who no less feared the loss of the treasure than his nephew's life. The old man at last took the golden bait, and embarked, with a thousand horse and a small retinue, on the Ganges, ordering Ahmed Chip to follow with the army by land.

Alla, hearing of the departure of Ferose from Delhi, crossed the Ganges with his army, and encamped near Mannickpoor, upon the opposite bank. When, upon the seventeenth of Ramzan, the imperial umbrella appeared in sight, Alla drew out his army, on pretence of doing honour to the Emperor, and sent his brother Almass, who had come on before, to concert measures to introduce Ferose into the camp. This artful traitor represented to Ferose, that if he should take the thousand horse with him, Alla might be alarmed; for that some bad people had confirmed him so strongly in his fears, that all he could say to him was not sufficient entirely to expel his suspicions.

The weak old King, suspecting nothing of this horrid treachery from a man whom he had cherished from his infancy in his bosom, gave into this proposal. He ordered a few of his select friends into his own boat, and commanded the fleet to remain some distance behind. When they came near the camp, Almass again opened the mouth of delusion, and told the King, that his brother, seeing so many men in complete armour, might possibly be startled; that therefore, as he had taken such ridiculous notions into his head, which nobody could remove, it were better to avoid the least appearances to favour them. The King might have seen that this was overdoing the matter, but perhaps he thought it now too late to reveal his suspicions, being near the skirts of the camp, and that an open confidence might be his best security. He therefore ordered all his attendants to unbuckle their armour, and lay their weapons aside. Charram, chief secretary of the empire, opposed this step with great vehemence, for he plainly saw into the bottom of their

perfidy. But the traitor had such a soft and plausible tongue, that at last he yielded, though with great reluctance.

They had now reached the landing-place, and Alla appeared upon the bank with his attendants, whom he ordered to halt. He himself advancing alone met the Emperor just after he had landed upon the beach, and fell down prostrate at his feet. The old man in a familiar manner tapped him on the cheek, and raising him up, embraced him, saying; "I who have brought you up from your infancy, and cherished you with a fatherly affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if possible, than my own offspring, and who have not yet washed the odours of your infant smiles from my garments, how could you imagine I should entertain a thought to your prejudice?" Then taking him by the hand, he was leading him back into the royal barge, when the hard-hearted villain made a signal to his assassins who stood behind. Mamood, the son of Salim, rushing immediately forward, wounded the King with his sword in the shoulder. The unfortunate Monarch ran forward to gain the barge, crying, "Ah! villain Alla, what dost thou?" but before he had reached the boat, another of the assassins, whose name was Achtiar Hoor, coming up, seized the old man, and throwing him on the ground, barbarously cut off his head, just as the sun sunk in the west as if to avoid the horrid sight*.

All his attendants were then murdered. They fixed the venerable head of their lord upon the point of a spear, and carried it through the camp and city, as a bloody spectacle to the gazing rabble. But the rabble were shocked at the sight, and were heard to cry: "Behold the reward of him who fixeth his mind upon this perfidious world: who nourisheth his relations with the blood of his liver, in the arms of kindness, and to their gratitude confideth his strength."

* He reigned seven years and some months.

Alla immediately exalted the white umbrella over his own head; but the vengeance of heaven soon after fell heavy on all who were concerned in the assassination of Ferose. They relate, that when Alla visited a reverend sage, named Shech Karrick, who is buried at Kurrah, and whose tomb is held sacred to this day, he rose from his pillow, and repeated an extempore verse, to the following purpose: "He cometh, but his head shall fall in the boat, and his body shall be thrown into the Ganges;" which, they say, was explained a few hours after, by the death of the unfortunate King, whose head was thrown into the boat upon that occasion. Mamood, the son of Salim, one of the assassins, about a year after, died of a horrid leprosy, which dissolved the flesh, piece by piece, from his bones. Achtiar Hoor, the other assassin, fared no better, for he became mad, crying out incessantly, that Ferose was cutting off his head. Thus the wretch suffered a thousand deaths, in imagination, before he expired. Almass, the brother of Alla, and others who planned this horrid tragedy, in hopes of great advancement, fell into such a scene of misfortunes, that, in the space of four years, there was no remembrance of them, but their villainies, upon the face of the earth.

ALLA I.

Intelligence of the murder of the King having reached Ahmed Chip, who was advancing with the army, he retreated to Delhi. Malleke Jehan, the wife of Ferose, and Queen regent, imprudently, and without consulting the chiefs, raised to the diadem Ruckun, her youngest son; Arkilli, the elder son, being then at Moultan. She accompanied him from Kilogurry to Delhi, and placed him on the throne in the green palace, though as yet but a boy, and altogether unacquainted with the affairs of state. She also divided the

provinces among her own party. Arkilli, who was the true heir to the empire, and possessed all the qualities of a king, was greatly afflicted at this news, but thought proper, for the present, to remain at Moultan.

Alla, upon receiving intelligence of those transactions at Delhi, laid aside his intended expedition to Bengal, and prepared to march to the capital, though it was then the rainy season. He raised a great army in his government, and conferred titles and rewards upon his friends. Almass was honoured with the title of Elich Chan, Nuserit of Jallisiri with that of Nusirit Chan, Malleck Hiziber was distinguished with the name of Ziffer Chan, and Sinjer, Alla's wife's brother, received the title of Acta. They all received estates upon their advancement to those honours. Alla, by the advice of Nuserit, distributed presents among the army, and wherever he encamped he amused himself with throwing gold from a sling among the people. This liberality, in a short time, brought a world of soldiers under his banners. The Queen-mother was thrown into great perplexity, by the advices she daily received concerning Alla. She dispatched an express to Moultan, for her son Arkilli; but that prince returned for answer, that now the time was lost, for that, before he could arrive, the imperial troops would join the enemy; that therefore his coming would be of no real service: that the stream might have been diverted at its source, but when it became a river, no dams could oppose it.

Alla made no delay on his march. He crossed the Jumna, and encamped without the north-east gate of Delhi. Ruckun, fluttering like a solitary fowl, collected all his forces, and marching out of the city, paraded it before the enemy. But when he saw them preparing for battle, he retreated into the city. He was that night deserted by a great number of Omrahs, who went over with their forces to Alla. Ruckun saw now no safety but in flight. Taking therefore his mother, the Haram and treasure, with him, he set out for Moultan, accompanied by Rijib, Olavi, Ahmed, and Jellal. The

citizens, after the departure of the young King, crowded forth to pay their respects to Alla. He immediately ordered the current money to be struck in his own name, and making a triumphant entry into Delhi, in the latter end of the year 695, ascended the throne, and kept his court at the red palace. He exhibited shows, and made grand festivals, encouraging every species of riot and debauchery; which so pleased the unthinking rabble, that they soon lost all memory of their former King, and the horrid villainy of the reigning Emperor. He who ought to have been hooted with detestation, became the object of admiration, to those who could not see the darkness of his deeds, through the splendor of his magnificence.

Whilst he gained, by these means, popularity among the vulgar, he secured the great with titles, and bought the covetous with gold. The office of vizier was bestowed upon Chaja Chatire, a man renowned for his virtue in those degenerate times. Arif was made chief justice of the court of equity, and Omdat was raised to the office of principal secretary of the Divan, being a man of great learning and genius, and a favourite of the King. Nuserit was appointed chief magistrate of Delhi, Kudgi was raised to the dignity of chief justice in the courts of law, and Ziffer to that of chief secretary of the empire; with many others, to high offices, which are too tedious to mention. Alla, having advanced six months' pay to his whole army, began to concert means to extirpate the descendants of Ferose. He dispatched Elich, his brother, and Ziffer, with forty thousand horse, towards Moultan, who, upon their arrival, invested that city. After a siege of two months, the citizens and troops betrayed the cause of the prince Arkilli, and gave up the place to the enemy. The two unfortunate brothers, being driven to great distress, surrendered themselves at last to Elich, upon promise of personal safety.

The object of this expedition being thus completed, Elich wrote to his brother an account of his victory,

which was read in all the public pulpits after divine worship, and great rejoicings were ordered to be made upon the occasion. Elich proceeded in triumph with his army and state prisoners to Delhi. He was met on his way by Nuserit, chief magistrate of the city, who had been sent by the Emperor to put out the eyes of the prisoners. This cruel order was executed upon the two princes, upon Alaghu, the grandson of the great Zingis, upon Ahmed Chip, and others of less note, and all their effects confiscated. The two unfortunate princes were then confined in the fort of Hassi, where, soon after, they were both assassinated; and the Queen-mother, with all the ladies of the former Emperor's seraglio, and his other children, confined at Delhi.

In the second year of this reign, Chaja Chatire, not falling entirely in with Alla's policy, was dismissed from the office of vizier, which was conferred upon Nuserit, chief magistrate of Delhi. This minister redemanded all the sums which the King, upon his accession, had bestowed upon the nobility and people, which occasioned great disgust and disturbance.

During these transactions, advices came to Delhi, that Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere, had sent an army of one hundred thousand Moguls, with a design to conquer Moultan, Punjab, and the provinces near the mouth of the Indus: that they were advancing with great expedition, carrying all before them with fire and sword. Alla immediately ordered his brother Elich, with a great force, to expel them. The two armies having met in the districts of Lahore, a bloody conflict ensued, in which the Moguls were defeated, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and many of their principal officers, besides a number of prisoners of all ranks, who were put to the sword some days after, without sparing the poor women and children who had been taken in the Mogul camp. These two victories raised the fame of the Emperor's arms to a high pitch of reputation, established his authority at home, and overawed his foreign enemies. Alla, about this time, by the advice

of his brother Elich, seized upon many Omrahs, who, in the late revolution, taking advantage of the distresses of the prince Arkilli, and the Queen-mother, had extorted great sums of money for their services. He ordered the extortioners to be blinded, and their estates to be confiscated, which brought great wealth into the treasury.

In the beginning of the year 697, Elich, the King's brother, and Nuserit the vizier, were sent with a great army to reduce Guzerat. They accordingly laid waste that country with death and rapine, took the capital city Narwalla, which was deserted by its prince, who fled and took protection under Ramdeo, king of Deogire, in the Decan. By the aid of that prince he soon after returned and took possession of Buckelana, one of the districts of Guzerat, bordering upon Ramdeo's dominions. But his wives, children, elephants, baggage, and treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy when he fled. The vizier, with a part of the army, proceeded then to Cambaat, which being a rich country, and full of merchants, yielded a prodigious treasure to those sons of cruelty and rapine. When they had sufficiently glutted their avarice, and quenched their thirst for blood, they appointed subas to the provinces, and leaving part of the army for their defence, returned with their plunder towards Delhi.

The two generals having, on the march, made a demand of the fifth of the spoil from the troops, besides what they had already extorted from them, a mutiny arose in the camp. Mahommed, general of the mercenary Moguls, with many other chiefs, at the head of their several divisions, attacked Malleck Eiz, the brother of the vizier, and having slain him and a number of his people, continued their march. Elich, the Emperor's brother, fled in the disguise of a footman, to the tent of the vizier. The mutineers rushing in, killed the King's nephew, and the son of Elich, whom he had left upon the couch asleep, supposing him to be Elich. The vizier immediately ordered the drums of war to be

beat and the trumpets to be sounded. All who had not been concerned in the mutiny imagined that the enemy was coming upon them, and quickly formed the line. The mutineers divided and dispersed themselves all over the camp, and escaping in the confusion, fled, by different routes, to a place of rendezvous. They were, however, closely pursued the next day, and forced to retreat with some loss, to the districts of the Indian prince of Rintimpore, where they took protection. Elich and the vizier continued then their march to Delhi.

Alla, upon seeing Cumladè, the captive wife of the prince of Guzerat, who, for her beauty, wit, and accomplishments, was the flower of India, took her in marriage. But this did not satisfy his abominable lusts. Chaja Cafoor, a slave who had been taken on that expedition, engaged his unnatural passion, which he publicly indulged, to the disgrace and debasement of human nature. The vizier, by the Emperor's order, basely massacred all the families of those Moguls, or others, who had been concerned in the late mutiny. He pitied not the weeping mothers, nor the smiling infants who clung to their breasts. This was a new species of tyranny at Delhi, and occasioned some private murmuring, but those slaves possessed not the virtue or bravery to shake off the tyrant.

About this time, Jildoo, a Mogul chief, and his brother, came down with a considerable force, and took the fort of Seostan. Ziffer marched against him, and having invested the place, he took it. Jildoo, and about two thousand Moguls, were taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Delhi. But Ziffer had distinguished himself so much as a brave commander in this expedition, that his fame awaked the jealousy of Alla. He therefore designed to deprive him of his government, but was prevented from this measure, by a great invasion of Moguls, under Cuttulich, the son of Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere. The army of the invaders consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and they promised to

themselves the entire conquest of Hindostan. Cuttulich, accordingly, took possession of all the countries beyond the Indus in his march, and protected them from all violence. He then crossed the river, and proceeded to Delhi, without opposition, Ziffer retreating with his army before him.

The whole country, in terror of the Moguls, crowded into the city. The crowd became so great, that the streets were rendered impassable, and all business and communication were interrupted. This however was but the beginning of their misfortunes. In the space of a few days, the consumption being great, and no supplies procured, a dreadful famine began to rage, and distraction to stare in every countenance. Alla, upon this pressing occasion, called a council of his Omrahs, and, having regulated his plan of action, prepared for battle, notwithstanding they all endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He left the care of the city to the noble Alla, marched out at the Budaoon gate, with three hundred thousand horse, and two thousand seven hundred elephants, besides foot without number. He drew up in order of battle on the plains beyond the suburbs; where the enemy were already formed to receive him. From the time that first the spears of Islam* were exalted in Hindostan, two such mighty armies had not joined in fight.

Alla gave the command of his right wing to Ziffer, the greatest general of that age, where all the troops of Punjaab, Moultan, and Sind, were posted. The left was entrusted to his brother Elich, and to Akit his brother-in-law. The King posted himself in the centre, with twelve thousand independent volunteers, who were mostly gentlemen of ruined families, and soldiers of fortune. With the choice of his elephants, he formed a tremendous line in his front, and he supported his rear with another chosen body of cavalry, under the vizier. Ziffer began the action with great impetuosity

* The Mahommedans.

on the right, and breaking, with his elephants, the enemy's line, commenced a dreadful slaughter, and bore them like a torrent before him. Inclining then to the left, he pressed upon their flank, and put their whole army to flight, before the action was well begun in the centre. Alla, seeing the victory complete, ordered his brother Elich, who commanded on the left, to advance and pursue the enemy. But the perfidious man, jealous of the glory of Ziffer, stopt at a small distance, while Ziffer continued the slaughter for upwards of thirty miles. One of the Mogul chiefs, who commanded the left, seeing Ziffer was not supported, rallied with ten thousand horse, and sending advice to his general Cuttulich, he also returned with ten thousand more, and attacked Ziffer in the rear. The brave general saw into his error, but it was now too late to retreat. He drew up his troops, which were not half the enemy's number, divided into two squadrons, and again renewed the conflict, exhibiting wonders by his own valour. At last his horse's leg being cut off by a sabre, he fell to the ground. He however rose again, seized a bow and quiver, and being a dexterous archer, sent death on the wings of his arrows. The most part of his men were, by this time, either killed or fled; and Cuttulich, admiring his bravery, called out to him to submit, and his valour should be rewarded with such honours as he deserved. Ziffer replied sternly, "I know no greater honour than to die in discharging my duty." Then he began to deal his arrows around. The Mogul prince, upon this, ordered a party of horse to surround him, and endeavour to take him alive; but Ziffer refused to submit, and was at last cut in pieces, with a few trusty servants who stood by him to the last.

This advantage however did not dispel the fears of the Moguls. They continued their retreat, and evacuated India with all expedition. The bravery of Ziffer became famous among the Moguls. When their horses started, or were unruly, they used wantonly to ask

them, whether they saw the ghost of Ziffer? Alla, it is said, esteemed the death of this great general as a second victory, and could not help expressing his satisfaction upon the occasion; and thus displayed his own base ingratitude, for that brave life which had been thrown away in his unworthy service. Great rejoicings were made at Delhi, to celebrate the victory; and the principal officers were rewarded with titles and governments, according to their behaviour and interest at court. Some who had behaved ill were disgraced, particularly one Omrah, who was led upon an ass all round the city.

In the third year of the reign of Alla, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects. One of these was the formation of a new system of religion, that, like Mahommed, he might be held in veneration by posterity. He often consulted upon this scheme his brother Elich, Nuserit his vizier, and Akit, over a bottle; from which we may suppose he had no design to prohibit the use of wine. His other design was equally romantic. He proposed to leave a viceroy in India, and, like the great Secunder*, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this project, he assumed the title of Secunder Sani†, which was struck upon the currency of the empire. Notwithstanding these lofty ideas, Alla was so illiterate, that he even did not possess the common knowledge of reading and writing; yet he was so obstinate in his ridiculous opinions, that men of learning, who disdained to prostitute their judgment, avoided the court, or stood silent in his presence. There were not however wanting slaves, who, though they knew better, extolled his every word to the skies, and seemed to feed upon his crude imaginations.

Alla-ul-Muluck, the chief magistrate of the city, who was an old man, and so fat that he was not able to attend the court above once a month, being one day

* Alexander the Great. † Alexander the Second.

sent for by the King, to give his advice about the execution of his religious project, he determined, however fatal the consequences might be, to oppose every measure against the doctrine of the Mahommedan faith, and to dedicate the few years he had to live, by the course of nature, to martyrdom. With this firm resolution he waited upon the King, whom he found drinking wine with a great number of his principal Omrahs. The King beginning to confer with Alla upon the occasion, the old man told him, he had something to say to him in private, and would be glad he should order the wine and the company away. The King smiled, and desired all the company to retire except four.

The old magistrate then fell upon his face, and having kissed the ground at his feet, rose up and thus spoke: "O King! Religion is the law of God, by his spirit inspired in his prophets, nor depends it upon the opinions of mortals. We are taught by his word to believe, that the spirit of prophecy ended with Mahommed, the last and greatest messenger of God. Since this therefore is known to great and small, to all nations and degrees of people, should your intentions against their faith be once known, it is impossible to conceive what hatred should rise against you, and what blood and disturbance must ensue. It is therefore advisable, that you should erase with the chisel of reason, those conceptions, from the surface of your blessed mind, as the accomplishment of your intention exceeds all mortal power. Did not Zingis, the most powerful of monarchs, and his successors, labour for ages to subvert our faith, that they might establish their own? What rivers of blood were spilt in the contest, till at length the spirit of truth prevailed, and they became proselytes to that religion which they had laboured so long to destroy!" The Emperor having listened with attention, replied, "What you have said is just, and founded on friendship and reason. I will for ever lay aside all thoughts of this scheme, which has so long engaged my

attention. But what do you think of my project of universal conquest?"

The venerable magistrate replied, "Some Kings, in former ages, formed the same great resolution which your Majesty does at present, and your power, personal bravery, and wealth, gives you at least equal hopes of success. But the times are not so favourable, and the government of India seems not to stand upon so firm a basis, as to support itself in your absence. Perfidy and ingratitude daily appear. Brothers become traitors to one another, and children against their parents conspire. How much is this degenerate age unlike to the virtuous times of Secunder! Men were then endued with honourable principles, and the cunning and treachery of the present times were then held in utter abomination. Your Majesty has no counsellors like Aristotalice*, who kept, by his wisdom and policy, not only his own country in peace and security, but brought other nations, by voluntary consent, under his master's protection. If your Majesty can put equal confidence in your Omrahs, and can depend so much upon the love of your people, as Secunder, you may then carry your scheme into execution; if not, we cannot well reconcile it to reason."

The King, after musing a while, said, "What you have told me bears the face of sincerity and truth. But what availeth all this power in armies, in wealth, and in kingdoms, if I content myself with what I already possess; nor employ it in acquiring conquest and glory?" Alla-ul-Muluck replied, "That there were two undertakings in which his treasure might be expended to good purpose. The first was, the conquest of the southern kingdoms of Hindostan; and the second, the reduction of all the western provinces, which had been invaded by the Moguls, and lay beyond the Indus. This, said the chief magistrate, would secure the peace

* Aristotle.

of Hindostan, and procure to the King immortal honour, in bestowing happiness upon his people; a thing greater in itself, than if he should consume the world in the flames of war; but even to succeed in this project, it is requisite that the King should abstain from excess of wine, and from luxurious pleasures." The Emperor, contrary to the old man's expectations, took all this advice in good part, and, praising him for his fidelity, presented him with a royal honorary dress, ten thousand rupees, two horses caparisoned, and two villages in freehold. The other Omrahs, though they themselves wanted the virtue or resolution to speak their minds, were extremely pleased with the Cutwal, and sent him also presents to a great amount.

The King, in the year 699, according to the advice of Alla-ul-Muluck, called his brother Elich from Semana, the vizier from Kurrah, and others from their respective subadaries, and sent them, with a great army, against the Indian prince of Rintimpore. They soon took the fort of Jain, and afterwards invested the capital. Nuserit the vizier, advancing near the wall, was crushed to death by a stone from an engine. And the Raja, at the same time, sallying with forty thousand men, drove Elich back to Jain with great loss.

Elich wrote to Delhi the particulars of this defeat. Alla flew into a violent rage, and immediately took the field. Upon his march he halted for a day at a place called Jilput, and went out a hunting. Having wandered far from his camp, in the chace, he remained with his attendants all night in the forest. In the morning, before sunrise, he placed himself upon a rising ground, where he sat down with two or three attendants, and commanded the rest to hunt in his view. Akit observing this, recollected that it was now in his power to cut off the King, in the same manner as the King himself had cut off his predecessor. He thought, that being nephew and brother-in-law to the Emperor, he might claim by that, and the influence he had by being chief secretary of the empire, the same title which

Alla himself had to the throne*. Akit imparted his resolution to a few chosen horsemen, who accompanied him on this party. They immediately rode up to the King, saluted him with a flight of arrows, two of which entered his body, so that he lay for dead on the ground. Akit, upon this, drew his sword, and ran to cut off his head; when he was told by one of the King's attendants, that he was quite dead; that therefore to cut off his head would be an unnecessary piece of cruelty.

Akit being thus prevailed upon to desist from his intentions, set out for the camp with all expedition, mounted the throne, and proclaimed the King's death. The army was thrown into great confusion; but where loyal affection and patriotism are things unknown, mankind are satisfied to bow their necks to any new master. The great men assembled to pay their court and present their presents upon the occasion; the customary service was read from the Coran; the Chutba was proclaimed aloud, and the singers ordered to extol his praise. Akit then rose from the throne, and proceeded towards the Haram; but Dinar, the chief eunuch, with his guard, stopped him at the door, swearing, that till he showed him Alla's head, or put him to death, he should not enter. Alla, in the mean time, recovered his senses, and, having his wounds bound up, imagined that Akit's treason and treachery was a preconcerted conspiracy of the Omrahs. He signified his intentions to fly to his brother Elich at Jain, with about sixty servants, who still attended him. Malleck Hamid, deputy porter of the presence, advised the King against this resolution. He told him, that he ought immediately to go to his own camp, and there show himself to his army; for that the usurper had not yet time to establish himself: and that, upon seeing the Emperor's umbrella, he doubted not but the whole army would immediately return to their duty. He

* Alla was himself nephew and son-in-law to Ferose, whom he had murdered.

observed, at the same time, that the least delay might render his affairs irrecoverable.

Alla saw the propriety of this resolute advice; and mounting his horse, with great difficulty, spread the white umbrella, which lay on the field, over his head, and, with his small retinue, proceeded towards the army. When he appeared in sight, being joined by some foraging parties on the way, he was now guarded by about five hundred men. He ascended an eminence, in full view of the camp, where he was at once seen by the whole army. They crowded in thousands towards him; and the court of the usurper was immediately broke up, and in a few minutes he found himself alone. In this situation he mounted his horse, and, distracted with fear, fled towards Binour. Alla now marched down from the eminence towards the royal pavilion, and mounting the throne, gave public audience; sending, at the same time, a party of horse after the usurper. They soon came up with him, and brought back his head. The King ordered the usurper's brother Cuttulich, and the chief conspirators, to be put to death.

When Alla recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Rintimpore, where he was joined by his brother Elich, and began to besiege the place. But the Hindoos so well defended themselves, that numbers of the imperial army daily fell. Alla however continued his attacks with redoubled obstinacy, while detachments of his army ravaged the adjacent territories of Malava and Daar. But the siege being protracted for some months without much effect, Omar and Mungu, who were both nephews to the Emperor, and held the governments of Budaoon and Oud, rebelled, and raised a great army. Alla wrote letters to the several Omrahs of those provinces whom he thought loyal, as also to the neighbouring subas and zemindars, and they levied forces, engaged, defeated, and took the rebels, and sent them both prisoners to the royal camp. The Emperor ordered their eyes to be put out,

and then to torture them to death, as a barbarous example to others.

Notwithstanding this severity, one of the most extraordinary conspiracies recorded in history was undertaken by one Mola, the son of a slave of the old chief magistrate of the city, who died in the former reign. This ambitious youth, seeing Alla busied in the siege of Rintimpore, began to form the scheme of a revolution in the empire. He was perhaps moved to this scheme by the murmuring of the citizens against the chief magistrate's deputy, Tirmazi, who, in his master's absence in camp, oppressed the people, having the government entirely in his hands. The first thing, however, that Mola publicly did, was, in the heat of the day, when every body was gone to rest, to collect a mob of citizens, by a forged order from the King. With these he hastened to the house of Tirmazi, and sent in to tell him that a messenger had arrived with an order from the King. Tirmazi, out of respect to the imperial order, hastened to the door, when the young impostor, showing him the paper in one hand, cut him down with the other. He then read aloud the forged mandate for that purpose.

The mob now increasing, Mola sent parties to secure the city gates, and dispatched a person to Alla Eaz, who was chief magistrate of the new city, to come and see the King's order. This magistrate however, having heard of the disturbance, paid no regard to the message, but shut his own gates. Mola, in the mean time, with his mob, entered the red palace, and released all the state prisoners, taking out all the arms, treasure, and valuable effects, which he divided among his followers. He then, by force, placed Allavi, one of the prisoners, who was descended from the Emperor Altumsh, upon the throne, and imperiously commanded all the principal men of the city to pay him allegiance. The Emperor, having advice of these strange transactions, was struck motionless with astonishment, but stirred not a step from the siege. He however wrote to Hamid, his

foster-brother, who, raising a party in the city, seized the Budaoon gate the seventh day after the usurpation, and took the field, where he was joined by a great multitude from the new city and the country around. With these he again, by surprise, entered the city at the Ghizni gate, but he was met at the second gate, called Beder, by Mola and his associates, and a sharp conflict ensued. Hamid being dismounted, run up to Mola, who was leading on his party with great bravery, and pulling him from his horse, threw him down in the street, and slew him. He himself, in the mean time, received several wounds; but the faction of Mola, dispirited by his death, gave ground, and dispersed themselves all over the city. Hamid then proceeded to the red palace, dragged from thence the unfortunate Allavi, and sent his head round the city upon the point of a spear, which put an end to this strange conspiracy.

Elich, the Emperor's brother, was in the mean time sent by Alla to Delhi, to punish all who were supposed to have had any hand in this rebellion. The sons of the chief magistrate, and the old Cutwal himself, were put to death merely on suspicion, as the rebel had been one of their dependants. But the most probable cause was their great wealth, which was confiscated to the King.

Rintimpore had now been closely besieged for a whole year, and Alla, after trying all other means, fell upon the following expedient to take the place. He collected together a great multitude of people, and provided each of them with a bag, which they filled with earth, and having begun at some distance from the rock, with immense labour, formed an ascent to the top of the walls, by which the troops entered the place, and put the Indian prince Amir Deo, his family, and the garrison, to the sword. This fort is esteemed the strongest in Hindostan. Mahommed, the Mogul general, who had taken refuge in Rintimpore, after the mutiny at Jallore, having lost most of his men in the defence of the fort, was himself lying ill of his wounds

when Alla entered the place. Alla, finding the unfortunate Mahommed in this condition, asked him, in an insulting manner, "What gratitude would he express for his lord, should he command his wounds to be immediately cured?" The Mogul fiercely replied, "I would put him to death for a tyrant, and endeavour to make the son of Amir Deo, to whom my gratitude is due, King." The Emperor, enraged at this reply, threw him beneath the feet of an elephant. But considering afterwards that he was a brave man, and one of whose gallant behaviour he himself had been often witness, he ordered his body to be put in a coffin, and interred with decent solemnity. Alla then commanded that the Raja's vizier, who had deserted over to him with a strong party during the siege, should, with all his followers, be massacred; saying, upon the occasion, that "Those who have betrayed their natural lord, can never be true to another!" Having bestowed the government of Rintimpore, with all the riches taken in it, upon his brother Elich, he returned with his army to Delhi. But Elich, about six months after, fell sick, and died on his way to the capital.

Alla being, in the course of this year, apprehensive of conspiracies and insurrections, called together the Omrahs who were most renowned for their wisdom, and commanded them to give their opinion without reserve, how he should conduct matters, so as to prevent disturbances and rebellions in the empire. He, at the same time, desired them to explain what they thought were the principal causes of the disorders. The Omrahs, after consulting among themselves, replied, that there were many causes concurring in a state from which convulsions, disagreeable in their consequences, proceeded; that, as those misfortunes could not be obviated at once, they would only mention, for that time, a few of those evils, from which danger to the empire must have arose.

"At the head of this list," said the Omrahs, "we must place the King's inattention to advance the good,

or to redress the wrongs of the people. The public use of wine is the source of many disorders; for when men form themselves into societies for the purpose of drinking, their minds are disclosed to one another, while the strength of the liquor, fermenting in their blood, precipitates them into the most desperate undertakings. The connections formed by the great men of the court, are pregnant with danger to the state. Their numerous marriages, and the places in their gift, draw the strength of the government into the hands of a few, who are always able, by associating themselves together, to create revolutions in the empire. The fourth, and not the least cause of disturbance is, the unequal division of property; for the wealth of a rich empire is circulated in a few hands, and therefore the governors of provinces are rather independent princes, than subjects of the state."

Alla approved so much of the remarks of his Omrahs, that he immediately began to carry into execution the plan which they laid before him. He first applied himself to a strict inquiry into the administration of justice; to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men of rank in the empire. He laid himself out to procure intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces. He executed justice with such rigour and severity, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure upon the public highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Cabul, and from Tillingana to Cashmire.

He published an edict against the use of wine and strong liquors upon pain of death. He himself set the example to his subjects, and emptied his cellars in the street. In this he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine.

He issued out orders that no marriage, among the nobility, should be ratified without a special licence from him: that no private meetings or conversation should be held among the Omrahs; which proved a severe check on the pleasures of society. This latter order was carried into such rigorous execution, that no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the vizier.

He then lengthened the hand of violence upon the rich. He seized upon the wealth, and confiscated the estates, of Mussulmen and Hindoos without distinction, and by this means he accumulated an immense treasure. Men, in short, were almost reduced to a level over all the empire.

All emoluments were cut off from the different offices, which were filled with men whose indigence and dependence rendered them implicitly obedient to the dictates of government.

He ordered a tax of half the real annual produce of the lands to be raised over all the empire, and to be regularly transmitted to the exchequer. He appointed officers to superintend the collectors, who were to take care that the zemindars should take no more from the poor farmers, than in proportion to the estimate which they had given in of their estates; and in case of disobedience or neglect, the superintendents were obliged to refund the overplus, and to pay a fine for the oppression. The farmers, at the same time, were confined to a certain proportion of land, and to an appointed number of servants and oxen to cultivate the same. No grazier was permitted to have above a certain number of cows, sheep, and goats, and a tax was paid out of them to the government. So strictly did the Emperor look after the behaviour of the collectors and other officers of the revenue, that many of them, who formerly kept great retinues, were obliged to dismiss them, and to have all the menial offices of their families performed by their wives and children. Neither were they permitted to resign their employs, till they

found others as capable as themselves to execute the duties of their office.

These regulations were good, but they were arbitrary and severe. He broke through all laws and customs, which, according to the Mahommedan law, were left to the decision of the courts of justice. Other monarchs left all but state affairs to the common course of justice. Alla descended to all the inferior departments of government. It was with him a common saying, "That religion had no connection with civil government, but was only the business, or rather amusement, of private life; and that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men."

As the King was known to be illiterate, it became a maxim with the learned men at court, to talk upon no subjects which they knew must be beyond the King's knowledge. He was however so sensible of the disadvantages which he laboured under by his ignorance of letters, that he applied himself privately to study, and, notwithstanding the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of the Persian manner of writing, which generally requires ten or twelve years' study, he soon read all addresses, and made himself acquainted with the best authors in the language. After he had proceeded so far as to be able to hold part in learned discourses, he encouraged literary subjects, and showed particular favour to all the eminent men of that age, particularly to Casi Molana, Corami, and Cuzi Biana. He appointed the last of those learned men to explain the law to him; which he did according to the true spirit, in every point upon which he was consulted. He did not however do it without fear and trembling, where it differed from the King's violent maxims of government.

Alla, much about this time, sent an army, by the way of Bengal, to reduce the fort of Arinkil, which was in the possession of the Raja of Tillingana. He him-

self moved the royal standard towards Chitor, which had never before been reduced by the troops of the Mahommedans. After a siege of six months he took the place, in the year 703, conferred the government of it upon his eldest son Chizer, and called it the City of Chizer. He at the same time bestowed upon Chizer regal dignities and authority.

Intelligence of this expedition arriving at Maver-ul-nere, Jirghi, who distinguished himself formerly against Ziffer, thinking that Alla would be a long time absent, seized that opportunity for invading Hindostan. Alla, hearing of this dangerous inroad, abandoned all his schemes against the Decan, and made what haste he could with his army to Delhi. Jirghi, with twelve tomans of Mogul horse, approached, in a few days, the city, and encamped upon the banks of the Jumna. The horse of the imperial army being absent on the expedition to Arinkil, the King was in no condition to face, upon equal terms, so powerful and warlike an enemy in the field. He therefore contented himself with entrenching his army in the plain beyond the suburbs, till he could draw the forces of the distant subas together. But the Moguls, having the command of the adjacent country, prevented the succours from joining the King, and proceeded so far as to plunder the suburbs, in the King's presence, without his being able to prevent them. In this situation stood affairs for two months; and then Alla, say some authors, had recourse to supernatural aid. He applied to a saint of those days, whose name was Nizam Aulia. The saint, in one night, without any visible cause, struck the Mogul army with a panic, which occasioned their precipitate retreat to their own country. But we have no reason to ascribe the flight of the Moguls to so weak and superstitious a cause; as private orders, intelligence, or the improbability of success, brought about their sudden departure more than the power of the saint. The King, during this alarming period, was

heard to confess, that his ideas of universal conquest were idle and ridiculous, for that there were many heads in the world as hard as his own.

Alla, being relieved from the perils of this invasion, built a palace upon the spot where he had entrenched himself, and ordered the citadel of Delhi to be pulled down and built anew. He then began to recruit his army, with an intention to retaliate upon the Moguls their repeated inroads. He increased his forces to such a prodigious number, that, upon calculating the expence, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself, could not support them above six years. He resolved therefore to reduce the pay, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provisions. This he did by an edict, which he strictly enforced all over the empire, settling the price of every article at about half the common rate, which, in fact, was just doubling his treasures and revenues.

To establish this reduction of the price, with respect to grain, he ordered great magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water carriage, under the direction of Malleck Cabuli. This collector received half of the land-tax in grain; and the royal agents supplied the markets at a stated price. To prevent any monopoly in this article, every farmer was allowed to retain only a certain quantity, according to the number of his family, and send the overplus, as soon as it was threshed out, to market, for which he was obliged to take the standing price. The importation of grain was encouraged; but to export it, or any other article of provisions, was a capital crime. The King himself had a daily report laid before him, of the quantity sold and remaining in the several royal granaries, and spies were appointed in the different markets, to inform him of abuses, which he punished with the utmost rigour.

Alla appointed also a public office, and inspectors, who fixed the price of the various kinds of cloth,

according to its quality, obliging the merchants to open their shops at certain hours every day, and sell their goods at the stipulated price. He at the same time opened a loan, by which they were enabled to procure ready money to import cloth from the neighbouring countries, where the poverty of the people rendered their manufactures cheaper. But what is somewhat unaccountable, the exportation of the finer kind of manufacture was prohibited, yet not permitted to be worn at home, except by special authority from the King, which favour was only conferred upon men of rank.

As horses had rose to an immense price, by an association of the dealers, who only bought up a certain number from the Persian and northern merchants to enhance the price; the King published an edict, by which they were obliged to register the prices paid for them, and to sell them at a certain profit within such a time, if that price was offered them, otherwise the King took them upon his own account. The price of the horse was at the same time according to his quality, and care was taken, by that means, that the merchants and dealers in those animals should not have an opportunity, by secret connivance, to raise the price. Many frauds being found in this article some time after, a great number of horse-dealers were whipt out of the city, and others put to death. Oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and asses, were also taken into consideration; and in short every useful animal, and all commodities, were sold at a stated price in the markets.

The King having thus regulated the prices of things, his next care was to new-model his army. He settled the pay of every horseman, for himself and horse, from 234 rupees a year, down to 80, according to the goodness of the horse; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of four hundred and seventy-five thousand.

In the mean time Ali, one of the grandsons of Zingis Chan, and Chaja, with forty thousand horse, made an

irruption into Hindostan, but the Emperor sending Tughlick, with a force against them, they were defeated, with the loss of seven thousand. Ali, and Chaja, with nine thousand of their troops, were taken prisoners. They were sent in chains to the King, who ordered the chiefs to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, and the soldiers to be inhumanly massacred. He appointed Tughlick, for this service, viceroy of Punjab.

Alip Chan was, about this time, appointed captain general of Guzerat, and sent thither with a great force. Moultani, an Omrah of great fame, was at the same time ordered with a numerous army to the conquest of Malava. He was opposed by Kokah, the prince of Malava, with forty thousand Rajaput horse and one hundred thousand foot. An engagement ensued, in which Moultani proved victorious, and took the cities of Ugein, Mindu Daranagurri, and Chanduri. He, after these successes, dispatched a Fatte Namma* to the Emperor, who, upon receiving it, ordered a rejoicing of seven days throughout the city of Delhi. The Indian prince of the fort of Jallore, terrified by the conquests of Moultani, gave up that place upon terms of capitulation.

The prince of Chitor, who had been prisoner since the Emperor took that place, found in the mean time means to make his escape, in a very extraordinary manner. Alla, having heard extravagant things in praise of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would send her, he should, upon her account, be released. The Raja, who was very ill treated in his confinement, consented, and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the King. The prince's family, hearing this dishonourable proposal, concerted means of poisoning the Raja, to save their own reputation. But the daughter, being a girl of invention, proposed a

* A writing of victory. Pompous accounts of his actions, according to their custom.

stratagem to release her father, and at the same time to preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to give out, that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Delhi upon a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this: She selected a number of enterprising fellows, who, in complete armour, concealed themselves in doolies or close chairs, in which the women are always carried; she provided for them a chosen retinue of horse and foot, as customary to guard ladies of rank. She herself, by this time, had, by her father's means, received the imperial passport, and the whole cavalcade proceeded to Delhi, and were admitted without interruption. It was now night, and, by the King's permission, they were permitted to see the Raja. The chairs being then carried into the prison, and the attendants having taken their stations without; the armed men started out of the chairs, and putting all to the sword within the courts, carried the Raja out, and, having prepared horses for him, he mounted, and, with his attendants, rushed out of the city before any opposition could be made, and fled to his own country.

In the year 705, Kabeik, an Omrah of Dova, prince of Maver-ul-nere, with design to revenge the death of Ali and Chaja, invaded Hindostan with a great army, and, ravaging Moultan, proceeded to Sewalic. Tughlick, in the mean time, collecting his forces, cut off the retreat of the Moguls, before any troops arrived from Delhi, and defeated them with great slaughter. Those who escaped the sword, finding it impossible to force their way home, retired into the desert, where thirst, and the hot winds which blow at that season, put an end to their miserable lives; so that out of fifty-seven thousand horse, besides their attendants, who were still more numerous, only three thousand, who were taken prisoners, survived this horrid scene. The unhappy captives were only reserved for greater misery. They were sent to Delhi with their unfortunate chief,

Kabeik, where they were all trodden to death by elephants, except some women and children, who were sold in the market for slaves.

These repeated misfortunes did not however discourage the Moguls. Aekbalmund, a chief of great reputation, soon after invaded Hindostan with a powerful army. But Tughlick defeated him also, with great slaughter; and sent some thousand prisoners to Delhi, who were dispatched by the customary inhumanity of Alla. Fear, from this time forward, took possession of the Moguls, and they gave over all thoughts of Hindostan for many years. They were even hard pressed to defend themselves: for Tughlick made incursions into their country every year, plundering the provinces of Cabul, Ghizni, Candahar, and Garrimsere, or laying them under heavy contributions.

In the mean time Alla was employed in settling the internal policy and government of his empire; and with such fortunate perseverance in whatever he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed his success to supernatural power, amazed at the good effects that flowed from the strictness of his government. Ram Deo, King of Deogire in the Decan, having neglected to send the revenues of that district, which he assigned over to the Emperor by treaty, Cafoor, the favourite of Alla, with many Omrahs of renown, and a great army, was ordered to conquer the Decan. Cafoor was one of the Emperor's catamites, and originally a slave, taken by force from a merchant of Guzerat, as we have already mentioned. The Emperor's affection for Cafoor exceeded all the bounds of decency and prudence upon the present occasion. He gave him the title of Malleck Naib Cafoor*, commanding the Omrahs who attended him, to pay their respects to him every day, as to a sovereign. This created among them great disgust, but they durst not murmur. Chaja was appointed his lieutenant; a man much esteemed in

* That is, a viceroy, with all the ensigns of royalty.

those days for his good principles. In the beginning of the year 706, they marched from Delhi, with an army of an hundred thousand horse, and were joined in their way by Moultani, governor of Malava, and Alip, suba of Guzerat, with their forces.

One of the Emperor's wives, the fair Comladè, formerly mentioned, hearing of this expedition, addressed herself to the King, and told him, that before she was taken prisoner, she had two beautiful daughters to her former husband. That one of them, she heard, had since died; but that the other, whose name was Dewildè, was still alive. She therefore begged that the Emperor should give orders to his generals to endeavour to get her into their possession, and send her to Delhi. The King consented, and gave orders accordingly.

Cafoor, having passed through Malava, encamped upon the borders of the Decan. He sent the imperial order to the prince Kirren, to deliver up his daughter Dewildè, which was now urged as a pretext for commencing hostilities in case of a refusal. The Raja could by no means be brought to agree to this demand. Cafoor therefore marched from his camp at Nidderbar, while Alip, with his forces from Guzerat, was taking the route of the mountains of Buckelana, to enter the Decan by another pass. He was opposed by Kirren, who defeated all his attempts for two months, in which time several undecisive actions were fought.

Singeldeo, the prince of Deogire, who had been contracted to the young Dewildè, without consent of his father, sent his brother Bimedeo with presents to Kirren, persuading him, that as Dewildè was the occasion of the war, if he should deliver her over to him, the troops of the Mahommedans, in despair of obtaining their ends, would return to their own country. Kirren, who depended much upon the young prince's aid, consented to this proposal, and gave his daughter, then in her thirteenth year, in marriage to Singeldeo.

Alip, hearing this news, was greatly terrified lest the

King should impute this circumstance to his slowness, and was resolved, at all events, to seize her before her departure, as he was certain his own life depended upon his success. He acquainted all the Omrahs with his intentions, who readily seconded the attempt. He then entered the mountains with his army, and engaging the Raja, gave him a total defeat; upon which, Kirren fled to Deogire, leaving all his elephants, tents, and equipage, upon the field. Alip pursued him through the hills for some days, but, at length, entirely lost his track, and all intelligence concerning him and his daughter. But, in the end, accident threw this pearl in his way. Halting to refresh his army two days among the mountains, some of his troops without leave, to the number of three hundred, went from the camp to see a famous mountain in the neighbourhood of Deogire, from which city he was not then far distant. In their excursion they saw a great troop of horse, whom they apprehended to belong to Singeldeo, and to be in pursuit of them. As there was no safety in flight, they were determined to stand on their defence, and accordingly drew up to receive the enemy. This troop proved to be the retinue of Bimedeo, who was carrying the young bride to his brother. The two parties, in short, engaged, and the Hindoos were put to flight, while an unfortunate arrow having pierced the horse of Dewildè, the unhappy fair one was abandoned in the field. The conquerors seeing her, gathered round her horse, and commenced a bloody scuffle about the prize. This might have proved fatal to the beautiful Dewildè, had not one of her female slaves told aloud her name and quality, conjuring them to carry her to their commander with that respect which was due to her rank and sex. Upon hearing this they knew the peril of treating her with any indignity; and, while an express was dispatched with the news to Alip, they conducted her with great care and respect to the camp.

Alip, having obtained this prize, was exceedingly

rejoiced, knowing how acceptable it would be to his prince, over whom the lady's mother had great influence. He therefore prosecuted his conquests no further, but returned to Guzerat, and from thence carried Dewildè to Delhi, and presented her to her mother. In a few days her beauty inflamed the heart of the Emperor's son Chizer, to whom she was given in marriage. The history of the loves of this illustrious pair, is wrote, in an elegant poem, by the noble Chusero.

Let us now return to Cafoor, whom we left entering the Decan. He first subdued the country of the Mahrattors, which he divided among his Omrahs, then proceeded to the siege of Deogire, since known by the name of Dowlat-abad. Ramdeo being in no condition to oppose this great army, prudently left his son Singeldeo in the fort, and advanced himself, with great presents, to the conqueror, to procure peace, which was accordingly settled between them. Cafoor, upon this, wrote a writing of victory to the King, and some time after brought Ramdeo, with rich presents and seventeen elephants, to pay his allegiance to him at Delhi, where he himself was received with the most extravagant marks of favour and distinction. Ramdeo had royal dignities conferred upon him, with the title of Rai Raian*, and had not only the government of his own dominions restored to him, but others were also added; for all which he did homage, and paid tribute to the Sultan. The King moreover gave him the district of Nosari, near Guzerat, by way of Jagier, and a lack of rupees to bear his expences home. Thus he dismissed Ramdeo with princely generosity; having, in some measure, looked upon the wealth, of which he had formerly robbed him, as the foundation of all his own greatness. And he perhaps thought that some grateful return was due to the Raja upon this account.

During the absence of Cafoor in his expedition to the Decan, the King employed himself in taking a

* Prince of Princes.

strong fort to the southward of Delhi, called Sewana, which had often been attempted in vain. When the prince of this place found he could hold out no longer, he sent his own image, which had been cast in pure gold, to Alla, with a chain round its neck, in token of obedience. This present was accompanied with a hundred elephants, and other precious effects, in hopes of procuring peace. Alla received the presents, but returned him for answer, that unless he came and made his submission in person, he could hope little from his dumb representative. The Raja, finding the Emperor inexorable, threw himself upon his mercy, and delivered up the place. He plundered and again restored it. But he alienated a great part of the Raja's country to his favourite Omrahs, and bound him over to pay homage for the rest. He then proceeded to Jallire, which he took, and returned to Delhi.

The Emperor, much about this time, was informed that the expedition, by the way of Bengal, to Arinkil, in the country of Tillingana, had not succeeded, and that his army on that side had been obliged to retreat in great distress. In the year 709, he dispatched Cafoor with a great force to invade that country, by the way of Deogire; with orders, that if Lidderdeo, Prince of Arinkil, should consent to give him a handsome present, and promise an annual tribute, to return without prosecuting the war any further. When Cafoor and Chaja had reached Deogire, Ramdeo came out to meet them with offerings, and, carrying them home, entertained them with great hospitality, ordering his market to the camp, with strict orders to sell every thing according to the Emperor's established price in his own dominions.

Cafoor having marched from Deogire, appeared at Indore, upon the frontiers of Tillingana, and issued orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword; which struck the unhappy people, who had never injured their wanton enemies, with great terror and consternation. In the mean time, the neighbouring

princes hastened with all their forces to support Lidderdeo, in this alarming juncture. But as the imperial army proceeded with great expedition, he was forced, before the arrival of his allies, to shut himself up in the fort of Arinkil, which was a place of great strength. The allied Rajas, upon this, also took possession of divers strong-holds round the country.

Cafoor immediately invested the place, and began his attacks, which were carried on and repelled with great slaughter on both sides. Notwithstanding the interruptions that Cafoor received from the auxiliary princes without the place, Arinkil, after some months' siege, was taken by assault, and the garrison massacred without mercy, for the citadel, to which Lidderdeo had retired, was not sufficient to contain the whole. Lidderdeo, driven to this extremity, bought his peace with three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and money and jewels to a very great amount; agreeing, at the same time, to pay an annual tribute. Cafoor, after this advantageous peace, returned with his army to Delhi. He dispatched before him the news of his victories, which was read from the pulpit, and a public rejoicing ordered. Upon his approach to the city, the King himself came out and met him at the Budaoon gate, and there the conqueror laid all the spoils at his feet.

In the year 710, the King sent Cafoor and Chaja, with a great army, to reduce Dhoor, Summund, and Maber, in the Decan, where he had heard there were temples very rich in gold and jewels. When they had proceeded to Deogire, they found that Ramdeo the old King was dead, and that the young prince Singeldeo was not so well affected to them as they thought. They therefore left some Omrahs in a strong post upon the banks of the Ganges, and continued their march. When they had passed the Raja's territories, they began their inhuman cruelties, and, after three months' march from Delhi, arrived in the countries which they were commanded to subdue. They engaged Bellal Deo, sovereign of the Carnatic, and, defeating him, took

him prisoner, and then ravaged his whole country. They found in the temples a prodigious spoil in idols of gold, adorned with the most precious stones; and other rich effects, consecrated to their worship. Here the conqueror built a small mosque, and ordered divine service to be read according to the Mahommedan faith, and the Chutba to be pronounced in the Emperor's name. This mosque remains entire in our days, for the Caffers*, esteeming it a house consecrated to God, would not destroy it†.

Cafoor, having wearied his own inhumanity and avarice, in destroying and robbing an unfortunate people, resolved to return to Delhi with the spoil. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some Brahmins, who had taken protection in his camp, from the plundering-parties that scoured the country. Somebody who understood their language, found the quarrel was about the division of some hidden treasure, which was immediately communicated to the superintendent of the market, who seized them, and carried them to Cafoor to be examined. They were at first very obstinate, but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, they were afraid one would inform against the other, by which means they discovered all they knew. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where immense treasures were concealed. These being dug up and placed upon elephants, Cafoor turned the points of his spears to Delhi, where he arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, in the year 711. He presented the Emperor with three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand maunds of gold, several chests of

* The Mahommedans give the name of Caffers or Infidels to all nations who do not profess their own faith.

† This observation of our author sets the two religions in very opposite lights, and is perfectly consistent with the principle of universal charity of the Hindoos, who think that the same God is the object of all religions, however much they may differ in ceremonies and tenets.

jewels and pearls, and other precious things*. Alla upon seeing this treasure, which exceeded that of Baadawird or Purvez, those wealthy and magnificent Kings of Persia, was greatly rejoiced, and opened the doors of his bounty to all. He gave to each of the principal Omrahs ten maunds, and to the inferior five. The learned men of his court received one maund, and thus in proportion he distributed wealth to all his servants, according to their rank and quality. The remainder was melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury. It is said, that during this expedition to the Carnatic, the soldiers threw the silver they found away, as too cumbersome, where gold was found in such plenty. No person wore bracelets, chains, or rings, of any other metal than gold, while all the plate in the houses of the great, and in the temples, was of beaten gold; neither was silver money at all current in that country, should we believe the reports of those adventurers.

Soon after this accession of wealth, the tyrannical Alla exhibited a scene in the capital too dreadful to be varnished over by his great abilities. The Mogul converts in his army having incurred his displeasure, he ordered them to be all discharged. Some of them engaged themselves in the service of the Omrahs, but the greater number remained at Delhi in great distress, in hopes that the Sultan would relent by seeing their wretched poverty. He however remained obdurate, and some daring fellows among them, forced by their misfortunes, entered into a conspiracy to murder the King. This plot being discovered, Alla, instead of punishing the conspirators, extended his inhuman rigour to the whole body. He ordered them all to be instantly

* This treasure may appear to exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans: but if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people, and not disturbed perhaps by wars for thousands of years; and add to this, that it is the invariable custom of that race, to live with the abstinence of hermits in the midst of wealth; our wonder will cease, and the credit of our author remain entire. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money.

put to the sword; so that fifteen thousand of those unhappy wretches lay dead in the streets of Delhi in one day. All their wives and children were enslaved. The King was so inexorable and vindictive, that no one durst attempt to conceal, however nearly connected they might be, any of the unfortunate Moguls, so that not one of them escaped.

The King, elevated by his good fortune, gave himself over to pride. He listened to no advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in the beginning of his reign, but every thing was executed by his irrevocable word. Yet the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice travelled to the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, spires, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise as by the power of enchantment, neither did there in any age appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five skilled in the sciences were professors in the universities. In poetry, Chusero and Delavi held the first rank. In philosophy and physic, Molana of Damascus. In divinity, Shatabi. In astrology, Nizam Awlia acquired much fame. Others distinguished themselves in music, morality, languages, and in all the fine arts then known in the world.

But when the King seemed to have carried every thing to the height of perfection, and to the extent of his wishes, he all at once adopted every measure that evidently tended to subvert the great fabric which he had raised. He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Cafoor, whom he blindly supported in his most impolitic and tyrannical actions. This gave great disgust to the Omrahs, and spread universal discontent over the face of the people. He neglected the education of his own children, who were let out of the seraglio very young, and intrusted with independent power. Chizer was made viceroy of Chitor when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom

to advise him, or to superintend his conduct, while Shadi, Mubarick and Shab-ul-dien, his other sons, had appointments of the same important nature.

The prince of Tillingana, about this time, sent some presents and twenty elephants to the King, with a letter informing him that the tribute which he had agreed to pay in his treaty with Cafoor, was ready to be paid. Cafoor, upon this, desired leave of the King, to make another expedition into the Decan, promising that he would not only collect the revenues which had fallen due, but bring the Raja of Deogire and others, who had withheld their allegiance and tribute, under due subjection. He was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Chizer, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition; and whom he feared the King intended to send.

Alla consented to Cafoor's proposal, and he accordingly proceeded the fourth time to the Decan with a great army. He seized the Raja of Deogire, and inhumanly put him to death; then ravaging the countries of Mahrat, Connir, Dabul, Giwil, Raijore, and Mudkil, took up his residence at Deogire. He raised the tribute from the princes of Tillingana and the Carnatic, and, in the year 712, dispatched the whole to the Emperor.

Alla by this time, by his intemperance in the seraglio, ruined his constitution, and was taken extremely ill. His wife Mallecke Jehan, and her son Chizer, neglected him entirely, and spent their time in riot and revelry, which added new strength to the King's disorder. He therefore ordered Cafoor from the Decan, and Alip from Guzerat. He told them in private of the unpolitic, undutiful, and cruel behaviour of his wife and son. Cafoor, who had before aspired, in his mind, to the empire, now began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line. He, for this purpose, insinuated to the King, that Chizer, the Queen, and Alip, had conspired against his life. What gave colour to this wicked accusation was, that at this time the

Sultana solicited Alla to get one of Alip's daughters for her son Shadi. The traitor did not fail to improve this circumstance to his own advantage. The King at length suffered suspicion to steal into his breast, and ordered Chizer to Amrohe, and there to continue till he himself should recover. Though Chizer was mad with the follies of youth, this command of his father made a deep impression on his mind, and at his departure he made a private vow, that if God should spare the life of his father, he would return all the way on foot. When he accordingly heard that his father's health began to return, he performed his vow, and waited upon him at Delhi. The traitor Cafoor turned this filial piety entirely against Chizer. He insinuated that his behaviour, by such a sudden change, could be imputed to nothing but hypocrisy, and urged his disobedience, by coming without his father's leave, pretending, at the same time, that he was intriguing with the Omrahs about kindling a rebellion in the empire. Alla could not give entire credit to these insinuations. He sent for Chizer into his presence, embraced him to try his affection, and, seeing him weep, seemed convinced of his sincerity, and ordered him into the seraglio, to see his mother and sisters. But unhappily for this prince, the flights of his youth made him deviate again into his former wild amusements. He neglected for several days to visit his father; during which time his subtle enemy bribed over to his own interest the Emperor's private servants, and called upon them to witness his aspersions against Chizer. He at length, by a thousand wiles and stratagems, accomplished his purpose, and prevailed upon the King to imprison his two sons Chizer and Shadi, in the fort of Gualier, and their mother in the old citadel. He at the same time procured an order to seize Alip, who was unjustly put to death, and his brother Nizam, suba of Jallore, was assassinated by Cummal, who assumed his place.

Thus far the traitor's schemes advanced in the direct road of success. But now the fire, which had long

been smothered, began to flame, kindling first at Guzerat into a general insurrection. The King, to suppress this rebellion, sent Cummal thither with a great army; but the forces commanded by the friends of Alip defeated him with great slaughter, and put him to a cruel death. In the mean time the governor of Chitor threw the imperial officers over the wall, and assumed independence; while Hirpal Deo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, stirred up the Decan to arms, and took a number of the imperial garrisons.

Alla, upon receiving this intelligence, could do nothing but bite his own flesh, in resentment. His grief and rage served to strengthen his disorder, which would yield to no power of medicine. On the evening of the sixth of Shawal, in the year 716, he gave up that life, which, like a comet, had spread terror and desolation through an astonished world; but not without suspicion of being poisoned by the villain whom he had raised from the dust to power. He reigned twenty years and some months.

If we look upon the government and policy of Alla-ul-dien, a great King arises to our view. If we behold his hands, which are red, an inexorable tyrant appears. Had he come by better means to the throne, his abilities deserved it well; but he began in cruelty, and waded through blood to the end. Ambition was the favourite passion of his soul, and from it sprung forth, like branches, injustice, violence, and rapine. Had fortune placed him at first on high, his glory would not perhaps be tarnished with meanness and deceit; but in whatever way that flame was to pass through the world, his tract, like that of a storm, must have been marked with ruin. He had some right, as a warrior, to the title of the Second Alexander; but these two Princes resembled one another in nothing but in success and bravery. The first was polished and generous, the latter was dark and rude. They were both magnificent, and each of them might conquer the world, and could command it. The servants of his household

amounted to seventeen thousand, and his pomp, wealth and power, were never equalled by any Prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindostan.

Ahmed, Argun, Ganjatû, Baidû, Kazân, and Aljaptu, all of the posterity of Zingis, reigned successively in Persia, during the reigns of Ferose and Alla in India. Cubla was on the imperial throne of Tartary and China, till the sixth year of Ferose; Timur, Haysan, and Ajuli Palipata, successively held the sceptre of the Moguls, in the reign of Alla. The family of Zagatay still held their government on the confines of Tartary, Persia, and India. All Hindostan was comprehended in the Patan empire, at the death of Alla.

OMAR.

In the history of Sidder Jehan of Guzerat, we are informed that, the day after the death of Alla, Cafoor assembled the Omrahs, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased King, in which he had appointed Omar, Alla's youngest son, his successor, and Cafoor himself regent, during the prince's minority, setting aside the right of primogeniture in the person of Chizer, and the other princes. Omar then, in the seventh year of his age, was placed on the throne, and Cafoor began his administration. The first step which the traitor took, was to send a person to Gualier, to put out the eyes of the princes Chizer and Shadi. His orders were inhumanly executed; and the Sultana, their mother, was put into closer confinement, and all her wealth seized. Mubarick, the third son of Alla, was also taken into custody, with an intention to have his eyes put out, like his unhappy brothers. There is ridicule in what we are to relate. Cafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of Omar, the late Emperor's third wife. But the mother of Mubarick, Alla's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes

of her son, acquainted Nizam of her intelligence, and he gave her some hopes that the threatened misfortune should be prevented.

Cafoor, in the mean time, to cloak his wicked designs, placed the young King every day upon the throne, and ordered the nobles to pay their respects, as usual, to the Emperor. He sent one night some assassins to cut off the prince Mubarick; but when they entered his apartment, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they were; then untying a string of rich jewels from his neck, which perhaps had more influence than his entreaties, he gave it them. They immediately abandoned their purpose; but quarreling about the division of the jewels, when they had got out, it was proposed to carry them to the chief of the foot-guards, and acquaint him of what the Prince had said, and of their instructions from Cafoor.

The commander of the foot-guards, who owed every thing to the favour of the deceased King, was shocked at the villainy of Cafoor, and finding his people of the same sentiments, he immediately formed a conspiracy against the tyrant, and accordingly he and his lieutenant entered the regent's apartment, a few hours after, and assassinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This happened thirty-five days after the Emperor Alla's death, and thus the world was rid of a monster too horrid to exist among mankind.

When, with the return of day, the transactions of the night became public, they gave general satisfaction. The Prince Mubarick was released from his confinement, and had the reins of government placed in his hands. He however did not immediately assume the throne, but acted for the space of two months, as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the nobles to his interest. He then claimed his birthright to the diadem, deposed his brother, and acceded to the imperal dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived Omar of his

eyes, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualier, after he had borne the title of King for three months and some days.

MUBARICK I.

UPON the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year seven hundred and seventeen of the Higera, Mubarick* mounted the throne. The commander of the foot-guards, who had saved his life, and raised him to the imperial dignity, as also his lieutenant, were ungratefully and inhumanly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than that they presumed too much upon the services they had done him. It is probable he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old soldiers, who were under their command, into different parts of the country. Mubarick began to dispense his favours among the nobles, but he disgusted them all by raising some of his slaves to that dignity.

Dinar Shenapil was dignified with the title of Ziffer. Moula, the Emperor's uncle, received the name of Shere, and Malana Zea, that of Sidder Jehan. In the mean time Kerabeg was made one of the counsellors of state; and Hassen one of his slaves, the son of a seller of rags at Guzerat, received the title of Chusero, and, through the King's unnatural affection for him, became the greatest man in the empire. He was appointed to the command of the armies of Cafoor and Chaja, those joint conquerors of the Decan, and at the same time to the honour of the office of Vizier, without any one good quality to recommend him to those high employs.

The Emperor, whether to affect popularity, or in remembrance of his late situation, ordered all the prisons

* Cuttub-ul-dien, Mubârick Shâw Chilligi.

to be opened, by which means seventeen thousand were blessed with the light of day, and all the exiles were by proclamation recalled. He then commanded to give to the army a present of six months' pay, and conferred upon them many other private benefits. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He eased the petitioners of some of their taxes; but by too much relaxing the reins of government, disorder and tumult arose, which threw down to the ground the great fabric raised by his father Alla. He gave himself up entirely to wine, revelry, and lust. These vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people were soon infected.

Mubarick, in the first year of his reign, sent an army, under the command of the famous Moultani, into the province of Guzerat, which had revolted. Moultani was an Omrah of great abilities. He soon defeated the insurgents, cut off their chiefs, and settled the country in peace. The King conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Ziffer soon after marched his army to Narwalla, the capital of Guzerat, where some disturbances had happened, reduced the rebels, confiscated their estates, and sent their moveable wealth to the King.

Mubarick, in the second year of his reign, raised a great army, and marched towards the Decan, to chastise Hirpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, who, by the assistance of the other princes of the Decan, had recovered his country. Mubarick at his departure appointed Shahin, the son of a slave, to whom he gave the title of Offa Beg, governor of Delhi, during his absence. When he arrived near Deogire, Hirpaldeo and the other princes, who were then besieging the place, fled. But some Omrahs being ordered to pursue Hirpaldeo, he was brought back prisoner, flayed alive, and beheaded. His head was fixed above the gate of his own capital. The Emperor ordered his garrisons to be re-established as far as the sea, and built a

mosque in Deogire, which still remains. He then appointed one of his father's slaves, to command in the Decan. He, in imitation of Alla, gave his catamite Chusero the ensigns of royalty, sending him towards Malabar, with part of his army, then returned himself to Delhi.

Assid, son to the Emperor's grand-uncle, seeing the King daily drunk, and negligent of all the duties of a king or commander, began to entertain thoughts of the empire, and formed a conspiracy against his life. This plot however was discovered by one of the conspirators, and Assid was condemned to death. Whether Mubarick had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this conspiracy, we cannot learn, but at that time he sent an assassin to Gualier, and these two unfortunate blind princes were inhumanly murdered, and the fair Dewildè brought to the royal haram.

Mubarick, finding himself in quiet possession of all the kingdoms of India, abandoned those popular manners which he at first affected, and grew perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, despising all counsel, ill-treating all his friends, and executing every thing, however bloody or unjust, by his obstinate, blind, arbitrary will. Ziffer, the imperial governor of Guzerat, among others, fell a victim to his tyranny, and also Offa Beg, upon whom he had heaped such favours, without any plausible pretence against either. He was infamous, in short, in every vice that can taint the human mind, and descended so far from the royal character, as to dress himself often like a common prostitute, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. At other times, he would lead a gang of those abominable prostitutes, stark naked, along the terraces of the royal palaces, and oblige them to make water upon the nobles as they entered the court. These and such other vices and indecencies, too shocking to mention, were the constant amusements of this monster in the form of man.

After the death of Ziffer, Hissam, uncle to the fa-

mous slave Chusero, who was also one of the Emperor's catamites, in the absence of the detestable slave obtained the regency of Guzerat, where he had not been established long, till, in confederacy with a few nobles, he rebelled; but the other Omrahs of Guzerat rising in arms, defeated him, and sent him prisoner to Delhi, where he was not only pardoned, but permitted to resume his place in the King's favour; Odgi being sent to Guzerat, in his stead. About this time news arrived, that Eclikki, governor of the Decan, had rebelled. The Emperor sent a great army to suppress that insurrection, who found means to seize the rebel and his principal adherents, and to send them to Delhi, where Eclikki had his ears cut off, and the others were put to the torture. The gallant Moultani was advanced to the viceroyship of the Decan.

Chusero, who had gone to Malabar, staid there about one year. He plundered the country of about one hundred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond of 168 ruttys, with other jewels and gold to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth, and he began to aspire to the throne. Not being able to join to his interest any of the great officers of his army, he formed the means of their destruction. For this purpose he called one Tilbiga from the government of the island of Koohe, Timur and Malleck Affghan, who were on different services, and gave out that he had orders to return to Delhi. These nobles, having intelligence of his intentions, disobeyed his commands, and wrote a remonstrance to the Emperor, accusing Chusero of a conspiracy against the state. Mubarick, on this, ordered them to seize him, and send him prisoner to Delhi, which accordingly they found means to execute. But when he came before the King, he pleaded his own innocence so artfully, and blamed his accusers with such plausibility of truth, that the Emperor, believing the whole proceeded from the disgust of their being commanded by his favourite, he recalled them; and notwithstanding they gave undoubted proofs

of their assertions, he was determined to listen to nothing against this vile catamite. He dishonoured them, confiscated all their estates, turning them out to poverty and the world. The other Omrahs seeing that the enemies of Chusero, right or wrong, were devoted to destruction, the men of the best principles among them made excuses, and obtained leave to retire to distant parts of the empire; while the abandoned to all honour joined themselves to the catamite, who was now the object of universal dread, as well as the source of all benefits and promotion. This slave, in the mean time, cherished his own ambitious views, and began again to form measures for his own advancement.

To accomplish his purpose, he told the King, "That as his own fidelity and services had been by his Majesty so generously rewarded, and as he might still have occasion for them in the conduct of his military affairs, while the Omrahs, from the pride of family, were seditious and disobedient to his commands, he begged that he might be permitted to call some of his relations from Guzerat, in whom he could more certainly confide." Mubarick agreed to this request; and Chusero sent a great sum of money, by some of his agents, to Guzerat, who collected about twenty thousand of the dregs of the people, and brought them to Delhi. Every place of profit and trust were conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Chusero's interest; and also upon all the villains about the city, who were remarkable for their boldness and address.

The Emperor, in the mean time, going to hunt towards Jirsava, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside, on account of some difference in opinion among the conspirators: and therefore they resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. Mubarick returned to Delhi, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debaucheries. Chusero was warm in his project, and took the opportunity of a favourable hour to beg leave of Mubarick to entertain

his friends in the outer court of the palace. The Emperor not only consented, but issued orders to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with those vermin. In the mean time, the Casi Zea, who was famous for his skill in astrology, though upon this occasion, we imagine, he consulted his own judgment and not the stars, ran into the presence, and kissed the ground. "O King," said he, "Chusero is concerting means for your assassination. If this should prove false, his honesty will be the better established; if otherwise, caution is necessary, because life is a most inestimable jewel." Mubarick smiled at the old man, who had been one of his preceptors, and told him, he would make enquiry into that affair: while instantly Chusero entered in a female dress, with all the affectations of a girl. The Emperor, upon seeing the infamous catamite, repeated a verse to this effect: "If my beloved were guilty of ten thousand crimes, one smile from him and I forget them all." He then embraced Chusero, and actually did forget all that the Casi had said.

That night, as the Casi was suspicious of treason, he could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight to see whether the guards were watchful. In their rounds, he met Mundul, uncle to Chusero, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jaherba came behind him, and, with one stroke of a sword, stretched him upon the ground, leaving him only strength to cry out, "Treason! treason! murder and treason are on foot!" while two servants, who attended him, run off, screaming aloud, that the Casi was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but they were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred, before they could prepare for their own defence.

The Emperor, alarmed by the noise, asked Chusero, who lay in his apartment, the cause of it. The villain arose to enquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning told the King, that some

of the horses belonging to the guard had broke loose from their picquets, and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to lay hold of them. This satisfied Mubarick for the present; but, soon after, the conspirators having ascended the stairs, and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping-apartment, they were stopped by Ibrahim and Ishaac, with all the porters of the private chambers, whom they immediately put to the sword. The Emperor, hearing the clash of arms and groans of dying men so near him, rose up in great terror and confusion, running towards the haram, by a private passage. Chusero, fearing he might escape, rushed close after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him for some time. Mubarick being the stronger man, threw Chusero on the ground; but as he had twisted his hand in his hair, he could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and, with a stroke of a sabre, cut off his head, and threw it down into the court, proclaiming the deed aloud to those below.

The conspirators in the court below began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who had crowded from all quarters, but upon hearing of the Emperor's fate, they all hastened out of the palace. The conspirators then shut the gates, and massacred all who had not the good fortune to escape; particularly the younger children of the Emperor Alla, Feredoon, Ali, and Omar; then, breaking into the haram, committed all manner of violence upon the poor women. Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla, for his ingratitude to his uncle Ferose, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands. Heaven also punished Mubarick, whose name and reign are too infamous to have a place in the records of literature; did not our duty, as an historian, oblige us to this disagreeable task. But notwithstanding, we have, in some places, been obliged to throw the veil of oblivion over circumstances too horrid to relate.

This massacre happened on the fifth of the first Ribbi, in the year 721. In the morning, Chusero, surrounded by his creatures, mounted the throne, and, ridiculously, assumed the title of the supporter of religion*. He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Mubarick, who he thought had the least spark of honesty, to be put to death, and their wives and children to be sold for slaves. His brother was dignified with the title of Chan Chanan, or chief of the Omrahs, and married to one of the daughters of the Emperor Alla, while he took Dewildè, the widow of Mubarick, to himself. He disposed of all the other ladies of the seraglio among his beggarly friends. The army now remained to be bribed, who loved nothing better than a revolution; for they had always, upon such an occasion, a donation of six months' pay immediately divided from the treasury. This trifle bought those dissolute slaves, who were lost to all sense of gratitude or honour.

The son of Kimar, the chief of a gang of thieves, received the title of Shaista, and was made chief secretary of the empire, while Ain-ul-Malleck was appointed captain-general of the imperial armies. Jonah had the title of Chusero, and the appointment of master of the horse, with many other distinguishing favours, with an intention to gain over the allegiance of his father, Ghazi, governor of Lahore and Debalpoor, of whom the usurper was in great fear. Notwithstanding his promotion, Jonah was touched to the soul to see the empire ridden by a gang of villains.

His father also, who was reckoned a man of great bravery and honour in those days, was discontented at the infamous proceedings at court, and roused himself to revenge. He acquainted his son of his purpose, and Jonah took the first opportunity to fly from Delhi, and join his father. The usurper was in great perplexity upon the flight of Jonah, and began already to

* Nasir-ul-dien.

give his hopes to the wind. Ghazi immediately prepared for hostilities, and, by circular letters, invited all the Omrahs to join his standard. A great many of the subas of the provinces put their troops immediately in motion; but Mogulti, the governor of Moultan, jealous of precedence, refused to join; upon which occasion, Byram, a chief of some note in those parts, was prevailed upon to assassinate him. Eclikki, governor of Samana, notwithstanding the usurper had been the occasion of his losing his ears, transmitted the circular letter of Ghazi to court, informing him of the rebellion, and, taking the field against the confederates, received a signal defeat, and, in his flight to Delhi, was fallen upon by the zemindars, and cut to pieces. The usurper sent his brother, and Sufi, with all on whom he could depend, against the confederates.

Ghazi, now joined by Byram with the army from Moultan, and other subas, advanced to meet the usurper's army, which he did upon the banks of the Sirusti. But as the troops of Ghazi were experienced in frequent wars with the Moguls, and those of Chusero enervated by indolence and debaucheries, and besides lost to all sense of military honour, they were broke on the first onset, and all the public treasure, elephants, and baggage, were taken. This booty was divided in the field among the conquerors. They then continued their march in triumph towards Delhi. The usurper, in great embarrassment, marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post near the great pond of Alahi, with the citadel in his rear, and many gardens with high walls in his front. He then opened the treasury, and gave three years' pay to his troops, leaving nothing but the jewels, of some of which he also disposed. The confederates advancing in sight, an action was expected next morning. But that night, Moultani drew off his forces from the usurper, and took the route of Mindu. This struck great terror into Chusero's army. They however drew up in order of battle; and Tilbiga and Shaista opposing the con-

federates with great bravery, as they advanced through the lanes, were at length overpowered and slain. But their situation gave such advantages to the usurper's army, that they maintained their post till the evening; when the infamous Chusero fled, with a few of his friends, towards Jilput. In the way he was deserted by all his attendants, and obliged to conceal himself in a tomb, from whence he was dragged the next day, and ordered to be put to death, together with his brother, who was taken in a neighbouring garden.

The day after this action, being the first of Shaban, all the Omrahs and magistrates of the city came to pay their respects to the victor, and made him a present of the keys of the capital. He mounted his horse, and entered Delhi in triumph. When he came in sight of the palace of a thousand pillars, he began to weep, crying with a loud voice: "O ye subjects of this great empire! I am no more than one of you, who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. My endeavours, by the blessing of God, have been crowned with success. If therefore any of the royal line remain, let them be brought, that justice may take place, and that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. But if none of the race of Kings have escaped the bloody hands of tyranny and usurpation, let the most worthy of the illustrious order be elected among you, and I shall swear to abide by your choice."

The people cried out with one voice, that none of the princes were now alive; that as he had shielded them from the vengeance of the Moguls, and delivered them from the rage of a tyrant, none was so worthy to reign. Then seizing him, in a manner by violence, they placed him upon the throne, and hailed him King of the World. But he assumed the more modest title of Yeas-ul-dien Tuglick, or the reformer of religion. The reign of Chusero was five months. Nothing in history can exhibit such an example of the dissolute and infamous manners of any age or nation, as we are pre-

sented with in the accounts of this wicked and shameful usurpation, though it was scarcely more dishonourable to mankind than the reign of the abandoned Mubarick, who had some right to the empire.

During the short usurpations of the two Cafoors, and the reign of Mubarick, there were very few alterations in the state of Asia. Ajuli Palipata sat on the Mogul throne of Tartary and China; and Abusaid, of the race of Zingis, on that of Persia.

TUGLICK I.

We have no true accounts of the pedigree of Tuglick*. It is generally believed that his father, whose name was Tuglick, had been, in his youth, brought up as an imperial slave, by Balin. His mother was one of the tribe of the Jits. But indeed the pedigrees of the Kings of the Patan empire make such a wretched figure in history, that we could wish to omit them, were it not to show how far the depravity and corruption of a people can plunge them into the sink of slavery, and subject them to the vilest of men.

When Tuglick mounted the throne, he began to regulate the affairs of government, which had fallen into the utmost disorder, by the most salutary and advisable methods, which gained him general esteem. He repaired the palaces and fortifications, founded others, and encouraged industry and commerce. Men of genius and learning were called to court; institutes of laws and government were established and founded upon the Coran, and the ancient usages of the empire.

Jonah, the Emperor's eldest son, was declared heir apparent, with the title of Ali, and all the royal ensigns conferred upon him. His other four sons were entitled Byram, Ziffer, Mamood, and Nuserit. Byram Iba,

* Sultan Yeas-ul-dien Tuglick Shaw.

Ghaz-ad-a.

who had so effectually assisted him with the army from Moultan, was adopted his brother, by the title of the noble Chusero, and appointed viceroy of the provinces upon the Indus. Assid, his nephew, was appointed lord of the presence; and Malleck Baha, his other nephew, chief secretary of the empire. Shadi, the Emperor's brother and son-in-law, was made vizier. Burhan had the government of Deogire conferred upon him; and Tartar, the government of another district in that country called Ziffer-abad.

The Emperor, in the mean time, stationed troops upon the frontiers towards Cabul, and built forts to defend the country from the incursions of the Moguls, which he did so effectually as not to be troubled by these invaders during his reign. In the second year from his accession, Jonah, the Emperor's eldest son, with some of the old Omrahs, and the troops of Chinderi, Budaoon, and Malava, was dispatched towards Tillingana, to chastise Lidderdeo, the Indian prince of Arinkil, who had, during the late disturbances, wrested his neck from the yoke, and refused to send his tribute, while the Raja of Deogire had also swerved from his allegiance. Jonah having advanced into those countries, began a barbarous war with fire and sword. Lidderdeo opposed him with some vigour, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Arinkil, which Jonah immediately invested.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides, till the walls were battered down, and a practicable breach made. The Mahommedan army, in the mean time, on account of the hot winds and bad water, were seized with a malignant distemper, that swept hundreds to their graves every day. Many became desirous to return home, and spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation among the army. As there had been no advices for above a month from Delhi, Zuda Dimiski the poet, and some others who were companions of Jonah, raised a report, by way of jest, that the Emperor

was dead; and that a great revolution had happened in Delhi. Not content with this, they went to the tents of Timur, Afghan, Cafoor, Mordar, and Tiggi, who were the principal Omrahs in the camp, and told them such and such was the state of affairs at Delhi, and that Prince Jonah, knowing them, as old Omrahs, to have an equal right with himself to the empire, had resolved to dispatch them.

The Omrahs, giving implicit belief to this false information, fled that night, with all their dependants, from the camp. Jonah, thus deserted, was under the necessity of retreating, in great disorder, towards Deogire, whither he was pursued by the besieged, with great slaughter. In the mean time advices arrived from Delhi, that all was well, and Jonah halted at Deogire, to collect his scattered army. The four Omrahs who fled, having disagreed among themselves, had each taken a separate route, by which means they were fallen upon by the Indians, plundered of their elephants, camels, and baggage, and otherwise greatly harassed in their march. Timur and Tiggi were both slain, while Afghan and Cafoor were seized by their own troops, and brought prisoners to Deogire. An inquiry was made into their conduct, the authors of the disturbance seized, and all of them sent prisoners to Delhi. The Emperor ordered the propagators of the false intelligence to be buried alive, with this severe sarcasm: "That they had buried him alive in jest, but that he would bury them alive in good earnest."

Prince Jonah was obliged to retreat from Deogire, and brought only back three thousand horse, of all his great army, to Delhi. He in two months, however, made great preparations, and, with a more numerous army than the former, took the route of Arinkil. He took in his way the city of Bedir, on the frontiers of Tillingana, and other places, where he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital, renewed the siege, and, in a short time, reduced it. Some thousands of the unfortunate Hindoos were massacred, and Lidder-

deo, with his family, taken prisoners. Jonah sent the prisoners, their treasure, elephants, and effects, to Delhi, under charge of Kuddir and Chaja. Upon their arrival, great rejoicings were made in the new citadel, which the Emperor had built, by the name of Tughlickabad. The Prince, having appointed trusty Omrahs to govern the country of Tillingana, proceeded in person towards Jagenagur *. In that place he took forty elephants from the Raja, and sent them to his father. Returning then to Arinkil, he staid there a few days, and continued his march to Delhi.

In the beginning of the year 724, complaints arrived from Bengal of the great oppressions committed by the governors of that kingdom. Tuglick appointed his son Jonah to the government of Delhi, and, with a great army, marched towards Bengal. When he had reached Nahib, Nazir, the grandson of the Emperor Balin, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, arrived, in a respectful manner, from Bengal, with many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of the whole kingdom of Bengal, and honoured with royal dignities; and the Emperor prepared for his return. When he was passing near the hills of Turhat, the Indian prince of those parts appearing in arms, he pursued him into the woods. Finding his army could no longer continue the pursuit, he alighted, and calling for a hatchet, cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, upon seeing this, set to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them, till they arrived at a fort surrounded with seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The King immediately invested it, began the siege, filled up the ditches, and broke down the wall in three weeks. He took the Raja, his family, and wealth, and conferred the government of Turhat upon the noble Ahmed, and returned with his army towards Delhi.

* Now Cattack in Orissa.

When the Emperor had reached Afghanpoor, he was met by Prince Jonah, with all the nobles of Delhi, to congratulate him upon his safe return. But his death was now approaching. His son had in that place raised a wooden house, in three days' time, for his father's reception. The entertainment being over, the King was preparing to mount, and every body hastened out to be ready to accompany him. The roof of the building fell instantly in, and killed the Emperor and five of his attendants, as he was rising to follow the Omrahs.

Some authors attribute this accident to the newness of the building, and the motion of the elephants that were preparing without. Others give it to design, with which they charge Jonah, as the raising this unnecessary building seems indeed to indicate. But others ascribe it to lightning; so that the matter still remains in doubt. The death of Tuglick happened in the month of the first Ribbi of the year 725, after a reign of four years and some months. The poet, the noble Chusero, who lived down to the end of this Emperor's reign, has favoured posterity with his history at large, by which it appears that he was a great and virtuous prince.

MAHOMMED III.

AFTER the King's funeral obsequies were performed, his eldest son, Jonah, ascended the throne by the name of Mahommed, and proceeded from Tuglickabad to Delhi. The streets of that city were strowed with flowers, the houses adorned, the drums beating, and every demonstration of joy exhibited. The new Emperor ordered some elephants, loaded with gold and silver, before and behind him, which was scattered among the populace. Tatar, whom the Emperor Tuglick had adopted, and appointed to the government of Zifferabad, was now honoured with the title of

Byram, and presented with a hundred elephants, a crore of golden rupees, two thousand horse, and the government of Bengal. To Sinjer of Buduchshan, Mahommed gave seventy lacks in silver. To Malleck, eighty lacks; and to Molana, his preceptor, forty lacks, all in one day. The learned Molana Cumi had an annual pension of one lack, and Malleck of Ghizni, the poet, another to the same amount.

His generosity, in short, was like his wealth, without bounds, which no man could well account for, there being no great sum in the treasury upon his accession. It is therefore probable, that he had concealed the riches of the prince of Arinkil, from Tuglick, and that his liberality was supplied from the wealth of the Decan, which circumstance strengthens our suspicion that he was accessary to his father's death. Some writers, notwithstanding this suspicion, make long panegyrics upon his virtues and accomplishments. He, it must be acknowledged, aimed at universal knowledge, was conversant in all the literature of the times, and a patron of learned men, giving them profusely pensions for a magnificent subsistence. Mahommed was, at the same time, very strict with regard to public and private worship. He ordered prayers to be read in the mosques five times every day. He discouraged all intemperate pleasures, and set the example by his own rigid life. But it is to be suspected, that he acted the mean character of a hypocrite, for he was vindictive and inhuman, delighting in the blood of his subjects, and condemning them, without distinction of right or wrong, to cruel and ignominious deaths.

In the beginning of the reign of Mahommed, before the empire was properly settled, Siri, chief of the tribe of Zagatay, a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindostan, in the year 727, with an innumerable army, with a view to make an entire conquest of it. Having subdued Limghan, Moultan, and the northern provinces, he advanced towards Delhi with incredible expedition, and invested it. Mahommed, seeing he

could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, began to sue for peace; he sent an immense present, in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, upon receiving almost the price of the empire, to return to his own country, taking Guzerat and Sind in his way, which he plundered of a world of wealth.

Mahommed turned his thoughts to war, and the regulation of his army. He subdued, by different generals, many distant countries, such as Door, Summudir, Maber, Compila, Arinkil, some of which provinces had revolted, and others had never been subjected by the arms of the Islamites. He soon after reduced the Carnatic to the extemities of the Decan, and from sea to sea, obliging all the Rajas to pay him tribute, by which means he again filled the treasury with money.

But, during the convulsions which soon after shook the empire, all these foreign conquests were wrested from the yoke. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these; the heavy imposts, which were, in this reign, tripled in some provinces; the passing copper money for silver, by public decree; the raising three hundred and seventy thousand horse for the conquest of Chorassan and Maver-ul-nere; the sending one hundred thousand horse towards the mountains between India and China; the cruel massacre of many Mahommedans, as well as Hindoos, in different parts of India; and many other lesser reasons, which, for the sake of brevity, we shall forbear to mention.

The imposts upon the necessaries of life, which were levied with the utmost rigour, were too great for the power of industry, and consequently the country was involved in distraction and confusion. The farmers were forced to fly to the woods, and to maintain themselves by rapine. The lands being left uncultivated, famine began to desolate whole provinces, and the sufferings of the people obliterated from their minds every idea of government, and subjection to authority.

The copper money, for want of proper regulations, was productive of no less evils than that which we have already specified. The King, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency, from a Chinese custom of using paper upon the Emperor's credit with the royal seal appended, for ready money. Mahommed, instead of paper, struck a copper coin, which, being issued at an imaginary value, he made current by a decree throughout Hindostan. The mint was under very bad regulations. Bankers acquired immense fortunes by coinage, whilst the merchants made their payments in copper to the poor manufacturers, at the same time that they themselves received for their exports, silver and gold. There was much villainy also practised in the mint; for a premium to those who had the management of it, the merchants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value; and these abuses were overlooked by the government. But the great source of the misfortunes consequent upon this debasement of the coin, was the known instability of government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindostan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?

From these evils general murmurs and confusions arose throughout the empire. The Emperor, to ease the minds of the people, was obliged to call in the copper currency. But there had been such abuses in the mint, that, after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This he was forced to strike off, and thousands were ruined. The Emperor himself was so far from winning by this indigested scheme, that he lost all he had in his treasury; and the bankers accumulated immense fortunes, on the ruin of their sovereign and people. Mahommed, by the advice of Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who, with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, raised a great army. The Mogul buoyed up the Emperor's mind

with the facility of reducing both Persia and Tartary; but before these mighty projects could be put in execution, he fell in arrears to his forces. They, finding they could not subsist without pay, dispersed themselves over the empire, and carried pillage, ruin, and death, to every quarter. These misfortunes comprehended the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury being squandered by impolitic schemes and follies of various kinds, the King entered into a project to repair his finances, equally absurd with that by which they were principally ruined.

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mahommed formed a resolution to subdue that kingdom; but, to accomplish his design, it was first necessary to conquer the country of Himmatchil, which lies between the borders of China and India. He accordingly, in the year 738, ordered one hundred thousand horse, under the command of his sister's son Chúsero, to subdue the mountainous country of Himmatchil, and fix garrisons as far as the frontiers of China. When this should be done, he proposed to advance in person, with his whole force, to invade that empire. The Omrahs and counsellors of state went so far, as plainly to tell him, that the troops of India never yet could, and never would, advance a step within the limits of that mighty empire, and that the whole was a visionary project. The Emperor insisted upon making the experiment, and accordingly this army was put in motion, and, having entered the mountains, began to build small forts on the road, to secure a communication; proceeding in this manner to the boundaries of China, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. As their numbers were by this time greatly diminished, and much inferior to that of the enemy, the troops of Hindostan were struck with universal dismay, upon considering their distance from home, the rugged ways they had passed, and the rainy season which was now approaching; besides the scarcity of provisions, which now began to be severely felt. In this consternation,

they bent their march towards the foot of a mountain, where the savage inhabitants of the hills poured down upon them, and plundered their baggage, while the Chinese army lay in their front.

In this distressful situation they remained for seven days, suffering the extremities of famine without knowing how to proceed. At length such a heavy rain fell, that the cavalry were up to their bellies in water, which obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance. Chusero then determined to endeavour to make his retreat, but the low country was quite covered with water, and the mountains with impervious woods. Their misfortunes now came to a crisis. Having lost the road, they found themselves in such an unfortunate situation, that they could find no way out but that by which they entered, which was now possessed by the enemy. This whole army in short, in the space of fifteen days, fell a prey to famine, and a victim to false ambition; scarce a man coming back to relate the particulars, except those who were left behind in the garrisons. A few of them escaped indeed the rage of the enemy, but could not escape the more fatal tyranny of their Emperor, who ordered them to be put to death, upon their return to Delhi.

Baha, the Emperor's nephew, an Omrah of great reputation, known more generally by his original name Kirshasib, who possessed a government in the Decan called Saghir, began to turn his thoughts upon the empire, and gained over many of the nobles of the Decan to his party. By their influence, and the great riches which he had accumulated, his power became very formidable. He then attacked some Omrahs who continued firm in their allegiance, obliging them to take refuge in the fort of Mindu. Mahommed having intelligence of the revolt, commanded Jehan, with many other Omrahs and the whole power of Guzerat, to chastise the rebel. When the imperial army arrived before Deogire, they found Kirshasib drawn up in order of battle to receiye them: but, after a gallant

contest, he was defeated. He fled towards his government; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Campala in the Carnatic, and took protection in the dominions of the Raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

Mahommed, in the mean time, took the field, and arrived soon after at Deogire. He sent from thence Jehan with a great force against the prince of Campala, by whom the imperialists were twice defeated; but, fresh reinforcements arriving from Deogire, Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and carried the victory. He took the prince prisoner, but Kirshasib fled to the court of Bellaldeo, who, fearing to draw the same misfortunes upon himself, seized upon him, and sent him bound to the general, and acknowledged his subjection to the empire. Jehan immediately dispatched the prisoner to court, where the Emperor ordered him to be flayed, and shown a horrid spectacle, all around the city; while the executioner proclaimed aloud, "Thus shall all traitors to their King perish."

The Emperor was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Deogire, that, considering it more centrical than Delhi, he determined to make it his capital. But, upon proposing this affair in his council, the majority were of opinion, that Ugein was a more proper place for that purpose. The King, however, had previously formed his resolution. He therefore gave orders that the city of Delhi, which was then the envy of the world, should be rendered desolate, and that men, women, and children, with all their effects and cattle, should make a grand migration to Deogire. To add magnificence to the migration, he commanded trees to be tore up by the roots, and planted in regular rows along the road, to yield the emigrants a shade, and that all who had not money to defray their charges, should be maintained at the public expence. He ordered that for the future Deogire should be called Dowlatabad, or the fortunate city; raised noble buildings, and

dug a deep ditch round the walls, which he repaired and beautified. Upon the top of the hill upon which the citadel stood, he formed large reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. This change, however, greatly affected the empire, and distracted the minds of the people. But the Emperor's orders were strictly complied with, and the ancient capital left desolate.

Mahommed having effected this business, marched his army against the fort of Gundana, near Jinner. Nack-naig, who was chief of the Colies, opposed him with great bravery, but was forced to take refuge within his walls. As the place was built upon the summit of a steep mountain, inaccessible but by one narrow pass cut in the rock, the Emperor had no hopes of reducing it but by famine. He accordingly ordered it to be blockaded, and, at the same time, made some ineffectual attacks, in which he was repulsed with great loss. The garrison becoming straitened for provisions, and having no hopes of Mahommed's retreat, delivered up the place at the expiration of eight months; and he soon after returned to Dowlatabad.

He had not been long in his capital, when he heard that his father's firm friend Ibah, the viceroy of Moultan, had rebelled, and was then reducing the country about the Indus with a great army. The cause of the revolt was this: Mahommed having sent an order to all his Omrahs to send their families to Dowlatabad, the messenger who was dispatched to Moultan, presuming too much upon the King's authority, upon observing some delay, proceeded to impertinent threats. He one day told Ibah's son-in-law, that he believed his father was meditating treason against the King. High words upon this arose between them, which soon ended in blows; and the messenger had his head struck off, by one of Ibah's servants. Ibah, knowing the vengeful disposition of Mahommed, was sensible that this disrespect to his authority would never be forgiven, and resolved to seek refuge in arms.

The Emperor, upon these advices, put his spears in

motion, and hastened towards Moultan; and Ibah, with a numerous army, prepared to dispute the field. Both armies at last met, and, eager for victory, engaged with great resolution; but after a great slaughter on both sides, misfortune darkened the standards of Ibah, and his troops, turning their backs upon glory, abandoned the field. Mahommed immediately gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants of Moultan; but the learned Shech Rukun interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this horrible mandate. Ibah was taken in the pursuit, and his head brought to the King, who returned towards Delhi.

At sight of their native country and city, all those who had been forced to Dowlatabad began to desert the imperial army, and to disperse themselves in the woods. The Emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city; whither he invited them, and remained there for the space of two years. But then he again revolved in his mind the scheme of making Dowlatabad his capital. He removed his family, obliging the nobles to do the same, and carried off the whole city a second time, to the Decan; leaving that noble metropolis a habitation for owls, and the wild beasts of the desert.

About this time the taxes were so heavily imposed, and exacted with such rigour and cruelty, by the officers of the revenue, that the whole extent of that fertile country, between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna, were particularly oppressed. The farmers, weary of their lives, in one day set fire to their own houses, and retired to the woods, with their families and cattle. The tyrant, having received intelligence of this circumstance, ordered a body of troops to massacre these unhappy people if they resisted, and, if they should be taken, to put out their eyes. Many populous provinces were, by this inhuman decree, laid waste, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlatabad was also in great distraction; the people, without houses, without employment, were reduced to the utmost dis-

tress. The tyrannies of the cruel Mahommed exceeded, in short, any thing we have met with in history, of which the following is a horrid instance. When he remained at Delhi, he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When they arrived in the territory of Birren, he plainly told them, that he came not to hunt beasts but men; and, without any obvious reason, began a general massacre of the wretched inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hang them over the city walls. He, upon another occasion, made an excursion of the same nature towards Kinnoge, and massacred all the inhabitants of that city, and the adjacent country for many miles, spreading terror and desolation wherever he turned his eyes.

But to return to the chain of history: During this time, Fuchir, after the death of Byram, rebelled in Bengal, having slain Kuddir, and possessed himself of the three provinces of Bengal*. The Emperor, at the same time, received advices, that Seid Hassen had rebelled in Maber. He ordered Ibrahim the son of Hassen, and all his family, to prison; then marched in the year 742, from the sacking of Kinnoge, towards Maber. When he had reached Dowlatabad, he laid a heavy tax upon that city and the neighbouring provinces, which awakened the people into rebellion; but his numerous army soon reduced all the unhappy insurgents to their former slavery. From that place he sent back a part of his army, and Chaja Jehan, to Delhi, while he himself marched with another force towards Maber, by the way of Tillingana.

When Mahommed arrived before Arinkil, there happened to be a plague in that city, by which he lost a great part of his army. He himself had a violent struggle for his own life, and was obliged to leave one of his Omrahs, Ahmed, to command the army, and return towards Dowlatabad. On the way he was seized

* Bengal, at this time, was divided into three governments.

with a violent tooth-ache, and lost one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried with much ceremony at Beir, and a magnificent tomb to be reared over it, which still remains a monument of human vanity and folly. Having arrived at Patan, he found himself better, and halted, to take medicines for some days. In this place, he gave to Sultani the title of Nuserit Chan, and the government of Bidder on the Indus, with its dependencies, which yielded annually a revenue of one crore of rupees. He, at the same time, conferred the government of Dowlatabad and of the country of the Mahrattors upon Cuttulich his preceptor.

He proceeded from Patan in his palankie to Delhi, having heard of some disturbance among the Patan soldiers, stationed in that capital. He, at this period, gave leave to such of the inhabitants of Dowlatabad as were willing to return to Delhi, to follow him. Many thousands returned, but they had almost perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malava and Chinderi. When they came to Delhi, they found that the famine raged with redoubled violence in that city, insomuch that very few could procure the necessaries of life. Mahommed, for once, seemed affected with human miseries. He even for some time entirely changed his disposition, and took great pains to encourage husbandry, commerce, and all kinds of industry. He opened the treasury, and divided large sums to the inhabitants for these purposes. But as the people were really in great distress, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and many of them were severely punished upon that account.

Shahoo, a chief of the Mountain Afgans, about this time, commenced hostilities to the northward, poured down like a torrent upon Moultan, which he laid waste, and killed Begad, the imperial viceroy, in battle, and put his army to flight. Mahommed, having prepared an army at Delhi, moved towards Moultan, but Shahoo, upon the King's approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afganistan.

The Emperor, perceiving that it was idle to pursue him, returned to Delhi. The famine continued still to rage in the city so dreadfully, that men eat one another. He ordered, in this distress, another distribution of money towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands, but the people, weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress, while the drought continued, and rendered their labour vain. At the same time, the tribes of Mindahir, and others who inhabited the country about Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled into the woods. The Emperor marched forthwith against them with his army, and massacred some thousands of these poor slaves.

In the year 743, the chief of the Gickers invaded Punjâb, and killed Tatar the viceroy of Lahore in action. Jehan, upon this, was sent against him. Mahommed, in the mean time, began to entertain a ridiculous notion, that all the misfortunes of his reign proceeded from his not being confirmed in the empire by the Calipha of Mecca. He therefore dispatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia, and struck the Calipha's name, in the place of his own, on all the current coin, and prohibited all public worship in the mosques, till the Calipha's confirmation should arrive. In the year 744, one of the race of the prophet, named Sirsirri, returned with the ambassador, and brought the Calipha's confirmation, and a royal dress. He was met without the city by the King in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, putting the patent of the Caliphat upon his head, and opening it with great solemnity. Returning into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be celebrated, and public service to be read in all the mosques, striking out every King's name from the Chutba, who had not been confirmed from Mecca. Among the number of those degraded monarchs, was the Emperor's own father. He even carried this whim so far as to write the Calipha's name upon his houses, robes, and furniture. These, and some other ridiculous

actions of the life of Mahommed, may reasonably make us suspect the soundness of his head. The Arabian ambassador, after being royally entertained, was dismissed with a letter to his master, full of respect, and with presents of immense value, and accompanied by Kabire, chief of the life-guards.

This year Kisnanaig, the son of Lidderdeo, who lived near Arinkil, went privately to Bellaldeo, the prince of the Carnatic, and told him, "That he had heard the Mahommedans, who were now very numerous in the Decan, had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos; that it was therefore advisable to prevent them in time." What truth there might be in this report we know not, but Bellaldeo acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He called a council of his nobles, in which it was resolved, that Bellaldeo should first secure his own country, by fixing his capital in a pass among the mountains, to exclude the followers of Mahommed from all those kingdoms. Kisnanaig in the mean time promised, when matters should be ripe, to raise all the Hindoos of Arinkil and Tillingana to his assistance.

Bellaldeo accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it Bigen, from the name of his son, to which the word Nagur, or city, is now added. He then began to raise an army, and sent part of it under the command of Kisnanaig, who reduced Arinkil, and drove Ahmed, the imperial viceroy, to Dowlatabad. Bellaldeo and Kisnanaig having joined their forces with the princes of Maber and Doorsummund, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic, they seized upon those countries, and drove the Mahommedans before them on all sides. In short, within a few months, Mahommed had no possessions in the Decan, except Dowlatabad.

The tyrannical Mahommed, upon receiving intelligence of those misfortunes, grew vengeful, splenetic, and cruel, wreaking his rage upon his unhappy subjects, without crime, provocation, or distinction. This con-

duct occasioned rebellion, robbery, and confusion, in all parts of the empire. The famine became daily more and more dreadful, insomuch that the Emperor, not able to procure provisions even for his household, was obliged to abandon the city, and to open the gates, and permit the starved inhabitants, whom he had before confined, to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from the empire. Mahommed encamped his army near Cumpula, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oud and Kurrah. He ordered his people to build houses, which at length became a city under the name of Surgdewarie.

In the year 745, Nizam Bain, a zemindar, possessed of some lands in the province of Oud, and a fellow of an infamous character, collected a mob of the discontented farmers, and assumed the royal umbrella, under the name of Alla. But before Mahommed marched against him, the suba of Oud raised his forces, and, defeating him, sent his head to court. Nuzerit, in the same year, who had taken the whole province of Bidder, at one crore of rupees, payable to the treasury, finding himself unable to make good that contract, rebelled; but Cuttulich, being ordered against him from Dowlatabad, expelled him from that government. During this period, Ali, who was sent from Dowlatabad to collect the rents of Kilbirga, finding that country destitute of troops, assembled his friends, raised an army with the collections, and, in the year 746, erected his rebellious standards, and took possession of Kilbirga and Bidder. Mahommed, on this occasion, sent a reinforcement to Cuttulich to suppress him. Cuttulich arriving on the confines of Bidder, Ali came out and gave him battle; but being defeated, he shut himself up in the city. He was however soon obliged to capitulate, and was sent prisoner to the King, who banished him and his brother to Ghizni.

The suba of Oud, having paid great attention to the

King, and entirely gained his favour, was appointed to the viceroyship of Dowlatabad, and Arinkil, in the room of Cuttulich. But he himself looked upon this appointment as an impolitic step in the King, considering the services Cuttulich had done to his affairs in the Decan, and the power he then enjoyed; and therefore thought it a snare laid to draw him quietly from his own subaship, and then to deprive him of both. In the mean time, a number of the clerks of the revenues, being convicted of abuses in their office, were ordered to be put to death. Some of those who survived found means to escape to the suba, and endeavoured to confirm him in his former opinion of the King's intentions. He accordingly disobeyed the King's order, and erected the standard of rebellion, sending a detachment of horse under the command of his brother, who, before Mahommed received any intelligence of his designs, carried off all the elephants, camels, and horses, that were grazing or foraging near the royal camp. The Emperor, in great perplexity, called the troops of the adjacent districts to his assistance; while Jehan joined him, with an army from Delhi. He moved his standards against the revolted suba, who, with his brothers, had now crossed the Ganges, and were advancing towards him, in great hopes that the imperial army, tired and disgusted with their sovereign's tyrannical behaviour, would join them.

Mahommed, enraged at their presumption, mounted his horse, and engaging them, after a short conflict, put them to flight. The suba was taken prisoner, and his brother Shoralla drowned in the Ganges, as he was swimming across, having been wounded in the action, while another brother was slain in the field. The Emperor was so prejudiced in favour of the suba, that he pardoned him, and restored him to his former dignities, saying, that he was certain that Muluck was a loyal subject, though he had been instigated to this rebellion by the malice and falsehood of others. Mahommed

marched from thence to Barage, to pay his devotions at the tomb of Musaood, one of the family of the great Mamood, Emperor of Ghizni, who had been killed there by the Hindoos in the year *557*. He distributed great sums among the Fakiers, who resided at Barage, and then returned to Delhi. Another ambassador arrived at that time from the Calipha, and was received with the same distinguishing marks of respect as the former, and dismissed with rich presents. Not long after, a prince of the noble house of Abassi arrived at Delhi, and was met by Mahommed, at the village of Palum, and he presented him with two lacks of rupees, a large territory, a palace, and fine gardens. By way of respect to the Caliphat, he placed him upon his right hand, and even sometimes ridiculously condescended to sit down upon the carpet before him, and pay him obeisance.

Some of the courtiers calumniated Cuttulich, governor of Dowlatabad, accusing him of oppressions and other abuses in his government, though a man of justice and integrity. The King recalled Cuttulich to Delhi, ordering his brother Molana, to whom he gave the title of Alim, to take charge of what remained to the empire of the Decan, till he should send some person from court. When the King's order arrived, Cuttulich was digging a great pond or reservoir, which he begged his brother to complete, and prepared to return to Delhi, with all the revenues of the Decan, which he had previously secured in a fort called Daragire, upon a mountain close to the city. Mahommed, after the arrival of Cuttulich, appointed four governors for the Decan, having divided it into four provinces, and determined to reduce it, as before, to his obedience. To accomplish his purpose, he ordered a numerous army, under the command of Ahmed, late governor of Arinkil, an Omrah of great reputation, to march to Dowlatabad, and entered into articles with him, that he and the other chiefs should pay into the treasury seven

crores of rupees* annually for their governments. To make up this sum, and to gratify their own avarice, they plundered and oppressed that unfortunate country. At the same time, Mahommed conferred the government of Malava upon Aziz, a mean fellow, formerly a vintner, and told him, that the Amirs of Sidda† were dangerous persons in that country, therefore to endeavour to extirpate them.

Mahommed then marched back to his old cantonments at Surgdewara, and began to encourage cultivation, upon a new plan which he himself had invented. He appointed an inspector, for the regulation of all that related to husbandry, by the name of Amir Kohi, who divided the country into districts of sixty miles square, under a deputy who was to be answerable for its cultivation and improvement. Above one hundred deputies received their appointments at once, and seventy lacks of rupees were issued out of the treasury, to enable them to carry on this work.

Aziz, when he arrived at Bedar, invited the Mogul chiefs to an entertainment, and assassinated eighty of them, with their attendants. He wrote to the Emperor an account of this horrible massacre, who sent him back a present of a dress and a fine horse, for his loyal services. Such were the morals of those wretched days! The tyrannical Mahommed had now taken it into his head, that he would be better served by people of low birth, than by the nobility. He accordingly promoted Litchena a singer, Pira a gardener, Munga his son, Baboo a weaver, Muckbil a slave, and other low fellows, to the degree of Omrahs, and gave them the command of provinces and high offices at court. He, in this, forgot the advice of the poet, who writes, that "He who exalts the head of a beggar, and hopes great things from his gratitude, inverts the nature of things, and nourishes a serpent in his bosom." This

* Near ten millions of our money.

† Mogul captains, who entered into his service with Amir Norose.

resolution of the Emperor was occasioned by a noble refusal of the Omrahs to put his cruel orders into execution.

In the mean time, the slave Muckbil, with the title of Chan Jehani, governor of Guzerat, with the treasure, and the Emperor's horses, set out for Delhi. The mercenary Moguls of those parts, hearing of his intentions, waylaid him with a body of horse, and having robbed him, retired to Narwalla, the capital of Guzerat. Mahommed, hearing of this robbery, in a great rage prepared for Guzerat, leaving Ferose, his nephew, governor at Delhi, and, in the year 748, marched to Sultanpoor, about thirty miles without the city, where he waited for some reinforcements. An address came from Aziz the vintner, begging leave to go against the Mogul chiefs, being nearer, and having a sufficient force, as he imagined, for that purpose. The Emperor consented to his request, at the same time expressing much doubt of his success, knowing him to be a dastardly and unexperienced officer. Aziz advanced towards the rebels; but, in the beginning of the action, he was struck powerless with terror, and fell headlong from his horse. He was taken, and suffered a cruel death; his army being defeated with some loss.

Mahommed, being informed of this disaster, marched from Sultanpoor. It was on this march that he is said to have asked Birni the poet, what crimes a King ought to punish with severity? The poet replied, that seven sorts of criminals deserved severe punishment; these were, apostates from their religion, shedders of innocent blood, double adulterers, rebellious persons, officers disobeying lawful orders, thieves, and perverters of the laws. When he had reached the hills of Abu, upon the confines of Guzerat, he sent one of his principal Omrahs against the rebels, who met them in the districts of Bai, and gave them a total defeat. The Emperor, having halted at Barage, sent Muckbil after them, who, coming up with them as they were crossing

the Nirbuda, put the greatest part to the sword. The few who escaped, taking protection with Madeo, prince of Buckelana, were all plundered of their wealth.

The Emperor, upon this occasion, massacred many of the Mogul chiefs, and plundered Cambait and Guzerat of every thing valuable, putting all who opposed him to the sword. He then sent to Dowlatabad, to seize upon all the Siddas of those parts, to bring them to punishment. Muckbil, according to orders, summoned the Siddas from Raijor, and many other places. The Siddas, conformable to those orders, prepared for Dowlatabad, and when they were all collected, Muckbil dispatched them, under a guard of fifteen hundred horse, to the royal presence. When the Siddas, or Mogul chiefs, were arrived upon the frontiers of Guzerat, fearing that Mahommed had a design upon their lives, they entered into a conspiracy for their own security. They, with one accord, fell upon their guard, slew Ahmed their chief, with many of his people, while the rest, under the command of one Ali, fled to Dowlatabad. The Siddas pursued them, and, before any advices could arrive to put the place in a posture of defence, they took it by assault, being favoured by the troops within, who became seditious. Muckbil, with whose behaviour they were satisfied, was spared, but all the rest of the Emperor's officers were put to death, and the treasure divided among the conspirators. The Siddas of Guzerat, and other parts, who were skulking about in the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren, joined them. Ismaiel, one of the nobles of their faction, was proclaimed King, by the name of Nasir. Mahommed, hearing of this revolution at Dowlatabad, left Barage, and hastened towards that city. The usurper, having drawn out his army, waited to give battle to the King. The two armies accordingly met, and the Moguls, though greatly inferior in number, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the imperial troops with such violence, that the right and left wings were beat back, and the whole

army upon the point of flight. But many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, four thousand of the Siddas fled; and night coming on, left the victory undecided, so that both armies lay on the field of battle.

A council of war being, in the mean time, called by the Siddas, who had suffered greatly in the engagement, it was determined that Ismaiel should retire into Dowlatabad, with a good garrison, and that the remainder should shift for themselves, till Mahommed should leave the Decan; when they resolved to assemble again at Dowlatabad. This wretched conduct was accordingly pursued. The Emperor ordered Ahmed, who was then at Elichpoor, to pursue the fugitives, while he himself laid siege to the city.

In the mean time, advices arrived, that one Tiggi, heading the Siddas of Guzerat, was joined by many of the zemindars, by which means he had taken Narwalla, the capital, and put Muziffer, the deputy-governor of Guzerat, to death; imprisoned Moaz the viceroy, and was now marching to lay waste Cambait, having in his route blockaded Barage. Mahommed, upon this, left an Omrah to carry on the siege of Dowlatabad, and, with the greater part of his army, marched with great expedition to Guzerat. He was plundered in his way of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Indians: he lost also a great many men in defending himself. Having, however, arrived at Barage, Tiggi retreated to Cambait, and was pursued by Buckera, whom the Emperor had detached after him. Tiggi, having engaged the pursuers at Cambait, turned the chace upon them, killed Buckera and many other Omrahs, while the rest retreated to the Emperor. The rebel ordered all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those whom he had formerly in confinement, to be put to death; among the latter was Moaz, viceroy of Guzerat.

Mahommed, hearing of this cruelty, breathed revenge. He hastened to Cambait, and Tiggi, unable to

oppose him, retreated; but was closely pursued thither by Mahommed. The rebel continued his flight to Narwalla, and, in the mean time, the Emperor, on account of a prodigious rain, was obliged to halt at Assawil a whole month. Advices were brought him at Assawil, that Tiggi, having recruited his army at Narwalla, was returning to give him battle. He immediately struck his tents, and met the rebel at Kurri. Tiggi having injudiciously ordered his men to intoxicate themselves with strong liquors, they attacked the imperialists with the fury of madmen; but the elephants in front soon repressed this borrowed valour, and repulsed and threw into confusion the rebels. An easy conquest was obtained: five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death; and an equal number fell in the field. The Emperor immediately dispatched the son of Buckera in pursuit of the runaways, by the way of Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, whither Tiggi had fled; while the King went in person to Narwalla, and employed himself in settling Guzerat.

News, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, that the Mogul officers had assembled again under Hassen Caco, had defeated Ahmed, who had fallen in the action, and had driven all the imperial troops towards Malava: that Ismaiel had resigned his regal dignity, which Hassen Caco had assumed under the title of Alla. Mahommed was excessively chagrined upon receiving this intelligence, and began to consider his own tyranny as the cause of all those disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness and humanity for the future. He called his nephew Ferose, and other nobles, with their troops, in order to dispatch them against Caco.

Before those Omrahs arrived, the King was informed that the usurper's army was prodigiously increased. He therefore determined first, to settle Guzerat and Carnal*, and then to march in person to the Decan;

* Now Joinagur.

but this business was not so soon accomplished, as he at first imagined; for he spent a whole year in regulating Guzerat, and in recruiting his army. The next year was also spent in besieging the fort of Carnal, reducing Cutch, and the adjacent territories. Some authors affirm, that Mahommed took the fort of Carnal; but others, of better authority, say, that he desisted from that attempt, upon receiving some presents from the Raja. The poet Birni informs us, that Mahommed, one day, about this time, told him, that the diseases of the empire were of such a malignant nature, that he had no sooner cured them in one place, than they broke out in another. He would therefore be glad to know what remedy now remained, to put a stop to this contagion.

The poet replied, that when disaffection and disgust had once taken root in the minds of the people, they were not to be exterminated, without tearing up the vitals of the state: that the Emperor ought to be, by this time, convinced, how little was to be hoped from punishment. That it was therefore his opinion, in this case, that the King ought to invest his son with the government, and retire; which would obliterate all former injuries, and dispose the people to peace and tranquillity. Mahommed, says Birni, answered in an angry tone, "That he had no son whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their insolence, whatever might be the event."

The Emperor, soon after this conversation with Birni, fell sick at Kondal. He had previously sent Jehan and Ahmed to Delhi, on account of the death of the viceroy, and called most of the principal men of the empire to the royal camp. Having recovered a little from his disorder, he mustered his army, and sent to collect boats along the Indus, which he ordered towards Tatta. Marching then from Kondal, he arrived on the banks of the Indus, which he crossed in spite of Tiggi; and was, on the other side, joined by five thousand Mogul horse. From thence he took the route of Tatta, to chastise the

Sumrahs, for giving the rebel protection. Arriving within sixty miles of that city, he halted to pass the first days of the Mohirrim; and when that fast was over, having eat fish to excess, he was seized with a fever. He would not however be prevailed upon to stop, but, getting into a barge, he proceeded to within thirty miles of Tatta, and upon the banks of the Indus, on the twenty-first of Mohirrim, in the year 752, this tyrant was conquered by death, and shut up in the dark dungeon of the grave. He reigned twenty-seven years; during which time, he seems to have laboured with no contemptible abilities, to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men.

Seventeen years before the death of Mahommed, the Mogul empire of Persia fell into pieces, at the death of Abusaid. A number of petty dynasties arose out of the ruins; some of the imperial family of Zingis, and others of governors who had rendered themselves independent in their provinces. The intermediate provinces, between Tartary, Persia, and India, subject to the house of Zagatay, fell into anarchy and confusion, about the time of Mahommed's death. Shotepala, Yesun-Temur, Hosila, Tu-Temur, and Tohan-Temur, successively mounted the Mogul throne of Tartary and China, during the reigns of Tuglick and Mahommed in India. The Patan empire declined greatly under the impolitic government of Mahommed. The south and eastern provinces were lost; and the territories of the Kings of Delhi were reduced to the same limits which bounded them before the successful reign of Alla.

FEROSE III.

WHEN the death of Mahommed happened, his cousin Ferose* was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the Emperor Tughlick; and Mahommed, having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his death-bed to the Omrahs. Upon Mahommed's demise the army fell into the utmost confusion. Ferose, having gained over the majority of the Omrahs to his party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that now was the time to plunder the late Emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in very great confusion, and, after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Ferose, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries. The Omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Ferose, and entreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favoured the Omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed Emperor.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who, during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta; and, upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul

* Moazim Mohizib Ferose Shaw, ben Sallar Regib.

mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country. He, soon after, directed his march to the fort of Bicker, and gladdened the face of the court with princely presents, and gave very liberally to the zemindars of Bicker and Sewistan. He from thence sent Ahmed and Ali Ghori against the rebel Tiggi, with a part of his army, and marched himself towards Outch, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity.

At Outch the Emperor received advices from Delhi, that Jehan, who was a relation of the late Emperor, now about ninety years of age, had placed upon the throne a boy whom he had adopted, by the name of Mahommed, and had massacred a number of the citizens who had refused to pay him allegiance. Ferose sent Shanapil, to expostulate with the old man, who, he thought, was now in the dotage of years, with promises of forgiveness and favour, if he would relinquish his ridiculous scheme. The Emperor himself, in the mean time, remained with the army to regulate the territory of Outch. He was soon after joined by Muckbil, the vizier of the empire, who received an honorary dress, and a confirmation of his former dignity.

Ferose having reached Hassi, on his way to Delhi, met an ambassador from Jehan, acquainting him, that now the empire was in the hands of Mahommed's family, and therefore, that it would be no more than justice in him, to acknowledge the title of the young King, and act as regent, during the minority. Ferose immediately convened the Omrahs before the ambassador, and asked them, whether they knew any of the male issue of Mahommed. They all declared, that unless Molana Cumal, an Omrah then present, knew, they were perfectly strangers to any surviving issue of Mahommed. Molana made answer, that though one should remain of the issue of the former Emperor, it was now advisable to stand by what was already done. We have reason to believe, from this circumstance, that the youth who was set up at Delhi, was actually a son

of Mahommed, though it was, at that time, prudent in the Omrahs not to acknowledge him.

The Emperor, after the council, sent Zada the ambassador back to acquaint Jehan of what had passed, and to advise him to accommodate matters in an amicable way. When Zada arrived in the city, a number of the principal men in the place hastened to the camp of Ferose, and made their submission. Much about the same time, advices were received from Guzerat, that the rebel Tiggi was defeated by Ahmed: and, that very day, a son was born to the Emperor, whom he named Fatti. These fortunate circumstances concurred to strengthen the interest of Ferose.

Jehan, perceiving that he could not support the young King, made overtures towards an accommodation to Ferose. He sent some respectable Omrahs to intercede with the Emperor for his pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects in person. Ferose consented, and accordingly the old man, with his head bare, and his turban hung round his neck, came, accompanied by some of the principal men of his party, to make his submission. The King, according to his promise, gave him his life, but ordered the chief magistrate of Hassi to take him under his care, which was a kind of imprisonment. Chattab, one of Jehan's associates, was banished to Karkinda, and Gustami expelled the court.

Upon the second day of Regib, in the year 752, Ferose marched into Delhi, and mounted the imperial throne. He immediately began to administer impartial justice to his people, who flocked from all quarters, with their petitions. He, in the mean time, conferred offices and titles upon his Omrahs. Upon the fifth of Siffer, in the following year, he, in order to hunt, removed his court towards the hills of Sirmore, and reduced several zemindars to obedience. He, in the mean time, had a son born to him at Delhi, whom he named Mahommed, and ordered great rejoicings to be

made upon the occasion; distributing his favours with a liberal hand.

In the year 754, the Emperor hunted at Callanore. He ordered, upon his return, a palace to be built upon the banks of the Sursuti; and, towards the end of the year, appointed one Jehan to the viceroyship of Delhi. He himself, in the mean time, marched towards Bengal, to subdue Elias, who had assumed the imperial title, and possessed himself of all Bengal and Behar, even to Benaris. When he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorupoor, the zemindars of that place, having brought proper presents, were admitted to his presence. Ferose having penetrated as far as Pundua, one of the residences of the princes of Bengal, Elias retreated to a strong post, whither the Emperor pursued him. An action ensued, but Elias secured himself in his post, which obliged the Emperor to surround him, the place being almost inaccessible. Things having continued in this situation for twenty days, Ferose, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, advanced out of their post, and drew up in order of battle. But, when they saw that the Emperor was preparing to attack them, they again retreated within their works, but with such precipitation and confusion, that forty-four elephants, and many standards, fell into the Emperor's hands. The rainy season coming on with great violence, a kind of peace was patched up between them, and the Emperor returned disappointed to Delhi.

In the year 755, Ferose built the city of Feroseabad, adjoining to that of Delhi; and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal one hundred miles in length, from the Suttuluz to the Jidger. In the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, he cut a channel from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams; one of which he brought to Hassi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew,

soon after, a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sirsutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kera, upon which he built a city, named after him, Feroseabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage from place to place.

An embassy about this time arrived, with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which Ferose accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty. Bengal became, in a great measure, independent of the empire, paying only a small acknowledgment annually, by way of present. He exacted no other terms of the Decan; so that these two great members were now lopt off from the government of Delhi. In the year 759, the king of Bengal sent a number of elephants, and other rich presents, to Delhi, which was amply repaid in Arabian and Persian horses, jewels, and other rich curiosities. But when the imperial embassy arrived at Behar, they received news of the death of Shumse, king of Bengal, and that his son Ascunder had acceded to the throne. They thought proper not to proceed further, and returned to Delhi. The Emperor being, in the same year, encamped at Semana, received advices that the Moguls had made an incursion as far as Debalpoor. He forthwith ordered a general, with a great army, against them; but the Moguls, before his arrival, had laden themselves with spoil, and retreated towards their own country.

Notwithstanding the treaty of 757, Ferose, in the year 760, resolved upon another expedition into Bengal. Having arrived at Zifferabad, he cantoned there his army, during the rains. When he lay at this place, Bustami, who had been banished, returned ambassador from the Calipha of Egypt *, with a chelat; for which

* After the taking of Bagdat by Halacu, king of Persia, the grandson of Zingis, one of the family of Abassi assumed the title of Calipha in Egypt.

he was graciously received, and dignified with the title of Azim. An embassy having been, in the mean time, dispatched to Ascunder, the new king of Bengal, returned with another on his part, and with rich presents. The King, not being satisfied with these concessions, marched, after the rains were over, towards that country, and, on his way, conferred the ensigns of royalty upon the prince Fatti his son. He gave him masters for his instruction, to whom the royal youth gave great attention. Ferose having arrived at Pundwah, Ascunder, after the example of his father, retreated to Ackdalla, and shut himself up in that place. Being however closely invested, and reduced to great straits, he sent forty-eight elephants, and other presents, to the Emperor, with overtures of peace. In a few days the terms were agreed upon, and Ferose marched to Jionpoor, where he cantoned his army for another season, and then moved down behind the mountains, towards Jagenagur.

Ferose having crossed the river Mendri, arrived at the capital of the Indian prince of Jagenagur, which was also called Benaris. The Raja, upon the Emperor's approach, fled towards Tillingana. Having plundered the country, Ferose returned, and, upon his way, was met by the prince of Beerban, who presented him with thirty-seven elephants, and other valuable presents, upon consideration of not ravaging his country. The Emperor, having received the presents, changed his route, and, as he passed through the woods of Pudmawitti, which abounded with elephants, he caught thirty-three of them, and killed a few in the chace. He then continued his march, and arrived at Delhi, in the year 762.

Ferose, who had much at heart the improvement of his country, was informed, that near Hirdar, in the province of Sirhind, there was a mountain from which there issued a great stream of water, which fell into the Suttuluz; and that beyond that place there was a small rivulet called Selima, divided only by a rising ground

from the large stream which we have just mentioned. The Emperor considered, that, by making a cut through this eminence, the great stream might be carried into the rivulet, and so form a river to water the countries of Sirhind and Munsurpoor, from whence it might be carried to Sunnam, and so render great tracts of land fertile. He therefore marched immediately that way, and ordered fifty thousand labourers to be collected together to cut the passage. When the workmen were in this place employed in digging to great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and in another, those of a gigantic human form, the arm-bones of which measured one yard. Some of the bones were in their natural state, and others petrified.

The Emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Ferosepoor. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Nagracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He, however, reduced the Raja of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions; changing the name of Nagracut to that of the city of Mahommed, in honour of the former Emperor. Ferose was told here, that the goddess, whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagracut*, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Secunder, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also, at that time, a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes.

* Some authors relate, that the image now worshipped at Nagracut is not that of Noshaba, which, say they, Ferose sent to Mecca, where it was buried before the door of the great Mosque. It is not improbable, but Alexander, who penetrated to the Indies, might have left an image of the Grecian Goddesses upon the frontiers of his conquests. The Brahmins might have, with less absurdity, converted this foreign Goddess into one of their own growth, than those holy persons at Rome, who have changed the statue of Jupiter Tonans into one of St. Peter; disgracing, with a parcel of keys, that hand which formerly held the thunder.

Ferose ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated nto the Persian language, and called it the Arguments of Ferose.

The Emperor, after the conquest of Nagracut, moved down the Indus towards Tatta, where Jambani, who had been always a subject of Delhi, had rebelled and fortified himself. The imperial army invested the city, but as provisions and forage became excessively scarce, and the rains had set in with great violence, Ferose was obliged to raise the siege, and march to Guzerat. He there spent the season in hunting, and, after the rains, he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer, and returned again to Tatta. Jambani capitulated, and delivered himself up to Ferose, who carried him, and the principals of his faction, to Delhi; but, after some time, he took him again into favour, and sent him to resume his former government.

In the year 774, Jehan, the vizier, died, and his son was honoured with his titles. Nothing remarkable happened till two years after, when the Emperor was plunged into affliction, by the death of his favourite son Fatte, a prince of great expectations. Ferose, in the year 778, was informed, that the revenues of Guzerat were greatly deficient of the collections. This induced him to listen to the proposals of Wamaghani, who offered to give one hundred elephants, forty lacks of rupees, four hundred Abassinian slaves, and forty Arabian horses, every year, over and above the present payment, should he be appointed to that government. The Emperor replied, that if the present viceroy, the successor of Ziffer, who was dead, would consent to give as much, he should be continued. But to this the viceroy would not agree, and therefore the imperial mandates were granted to Wamaghani, and he forthwith set out for Guzerat. Not being able the next year to perform his promise, he withheld the revenue, and rebelled, which was a just punishment upon Ferose for his folly and avarice. The rebel, however, having

greatly oppressed the people of his province, a conspiracy was formed against him, and, by the assistance of the Mogul mercenaries, who were settled in that country, they seized him, and sent his head to Delhi. This was the only rebellion that happened during this Emperor's reign. The government of Guzerat was conferred upon Musirra, with the title of Firhit-ul-Muluck.

There was a petty insurrection among the zemindars of Atava, in the year 779. It was however soon crushed, and the insurgents brought to punishment, while forts were built to keep them in proper subjection. In the year 781, Ferose marched towards Samana, Amballa, and Shawabad, as far as the foot of the mountains of Saitoor, and after demanding his tribute from the princes of the hills, which they paid him, he returned to his capital.

Much about this time, information was brought to the Emperor, that the zemindar of Kitter, whose name was Kirgu, had invited Mahommed, governor of Budaoon, and a number of his family, to his house, where he basely assassinated them. The Emperor, enraged at this villainy, marched immediately that way, and took severe vengeance upon the associates and kindred of the assassin, putting them without distinction to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Cumaoon, and was protected by the Indian princes of those parts. Ferose ordered a detachment of his army against them. They brought back near thirty thousand of those unhappy mountaineers, who were all condemned to slavery. The Emperor's justice, in this case, degenerated into extreme severity. Neither did the misfortunes brought upon those miserable captives satisfy his thirst for revenge. He returned, every year, under pretence of hunting, to that unhappy country; but the people, and not the beasts of the forest, were his prey. He, by degrees, cut off all the inhabitants, and converted whole provinces into a wilderness.

Age and infirmity began, in the year 787, to press hard upon Ferose. Jehan the vizier, having the sole management of affairs, became very powerful in the empire. The Emperor was so much under his direction in all things, that he had the effrontery falsely to accuse Mahommed, the King's son, of a design against his father's life, in conjunction with several Omrahs. He brought the old man firmly to credit this accusation, and obtained his authority to secure the supposed conspirators. Ziffer was accordingly recalled from his government of Mahoba, and confined.

A party was sent to seize the prince, who, having previous intelligence of the design against him, began to provide for his security, placing guards, and fortifying himself in his own palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days; and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the King's Zinnana, he put on his armour, went into the close chair, and was carried into the Seraglio. When he discovered himself in that dress, the frightened women ran screaming into the Emperor's apartment, and told him, that the prince had come in armour with a treasonable design. The prince, having followed them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him with great emotion, "That the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself. That he came therefore to receive it from his own hands. But first he begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the villainous charge which the vizier had purposely contrived to pave his own way to the throne."

Ferose, sensible of his son's sincerity, clasped him in his arms, and weeping, told him, he had been deceived; and therefore desired him to proceed, as his judgment should direct him, against the traitor. Mahommed upon this went out from the presence, and ordered twelve thousand horse to be in readiness. With this body he surrounded the vizier's house that night, who, upon hearing of the prince's approach, put Ziffer to

death, and, collecting his friends, came out to engage him in the street. Upon the first onset, the traitor was wounded, and drew back to his house. He fled immediately towards Mewat, and the prince seized all his wealth, and cut off his adherents.

Ferose, immediately after these transactions, resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne. The prince, assuming the name of Mahommed*, ascended the throne in the month of Shaban 789; and immediately ordered the Chutba to be read in his own and his father's name. He settled the offices of state, and distributed honorary dresses among the Omrahs. Eacoob, an Omrah in great repute, was promoted to the government of Guzerat, with the title of Secunder Chan.

Secunder, having arrived at Mewat, upon his way to his government, Goga, with whom Jehan, the vizier, had taken refuge, fearing the new Emperor's resentment, seized him, and sent him bound to Secunder, who cut off his head, and sent it to Delhi. Mahommed went with his army, in the year 790, towards the mountains of Sirmore, to hunt, according to the custom of sovereigns. When he was employed in the diversion of the chace, advices were received, that Musirra, governor of Guzerat, at the head of the Mogul mercenaries settled in that country, had risen in rebellion, defeated and slain Secunder, who had been appointed to succeed him. The Emperor hastened to Delhi; but, as if all at once infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed to be insensible of the loss which he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When his old Omrahs attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he turned them from his presence, and filled their offices with pimps and court flatterers.

The emperor's nephew, Baha, resolved to rush upon him in the midst of his dream of pleasure. He, for

* His titles were, Nazir ul Dien ul Dunia.

this purpose, conspired with the disgraced Omrahs, and arming one hundred thousand slaves, erected the standard of rebellion. Mahommed immediately dispatched Malleck Lahori, to treat with the rebels. When he came to their camp, which was pitched without the city, the mob pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire, very much bruised and wounded. Mahommed, seeing no hopes of a peaceable accommodation, began at length to bestir himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators, and, after a bloody contest, drove them into the city. They immediately possessed themselves of the palace, and again renewed the fight. The city became now a horrid scene of slaughter and confusion. During the space of two days and two nights, there was nothing but death in every street: friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were jumbled together without any possibility of distinction.

The slaves, upon the third day, brought out the old King, in his palakie, and set him down in the street between the combatants. When Mahommed's troops saw their former master, their affection returned, and, imagining that this was a voluntary deed of his, they at once deserted the prince, and crowded with shouts of joy to Ferose. Mahommed fled instantly, with a small retinue, to the mountains of Sirmore. Both parties looking up to the aged monarch, settled themselves into peace in his presence. Ferose, unable to govern on account of the infirmities of age, placed, by advice of the Omrahs, Tuglick, the son of his eldest son, prince Fatte, upon the throne. The slaves, in the mean time, assassinated Hassen, the Emperor's son-in-law, for having endeavoured to support Mahommed: and even the first order issued by Tuglick, when he mounted the imperial throne, was, to kill all the adherents of Mahommed, wherever they should be found.

Ferose, who had arrived at the age of ninety, died in the year 790. Though no great warrior in the field, he was, by his excellent qualities, well calculated for a

reign of peace. His severity to the inhabitants of Cumaoon, for the assassination of the governor of Samana, is a great blot in his reputation. But to this he perhaps was prompted by a religious zeal and enthusiasm: for the persons murdered were seids, or descendants of the prophet. He reigned thirty-eight years and nine months, and left many memorials of his magnificence in the land. He built fifty great sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanseras, a hundred palaces, five hospitals, a hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges; and the pleasure gardens he made were without number.

The Empire of Persia continued under petty princes till Timur-Bec, commonly called Tamerlane in Europe, mounted the throne of the kingdoms of Zagatay, which comprehended all Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zabulistan, and others towards the Indus. After the conquest of the northern Tartary, he turned his arms against Persia, and entered Chorassan, seven years before the death of Ferose, the Patan Emperor of Hindostan. He completed the conquest of Persia in less than five years, and when Ferose died, Timur was employed in the reduction of the provinces upon the Euphrates.

TUGLICK II.

Tuglick* having mounted the throne in the palace of Feroseabad, ordered, according to custom, the Chutba to be read, and the currency to be struck, in his own name. He appointed Ferose Ali his vizier, by the title of Jehan, and confirmed Musirra, the rebellious governor, in his command of Guzerat. He soon after sent an army under the vizier, to expel his uncle Mahommed from Sirmore, and that prince, upon the ap-

* His titles were, Yeas-ul-Dien.

proach of the imperial army, fled to the mountains. He there took possession of a strong post, and, securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the imperialists battle. He was however beat from post to post till he arrived at Nagracut, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, and therefore returned to Delhi.

Tuglick giving reins to his youthful passions, and neglecting the affairs of state, vice, luxury, and oppression, began to rise up on every side. He was not blind to those misfortunes, but he mistook the cause, and admitted jealousy and mistrust within his mind. He confined, and treated cruelly, his own brother, Sallar: and his cousin Abu Bicker, having reason to dread the Emperor's resentment, fled the court, and, to secure himself, stirred up a faction against Tuglick. The conspirators consisted of Rukun, the vizier's deputy, and several other Omrahs of high repute, with all the imperial slaves, many of whom were in the highest offices at court.

Matters being ripe for execution, the conspirators rushed into the Divan, and assassinated Mubarick, the captain-general of the forces. Tuglick, being thus surprised, fled by the Jumna gate. Rukun pursued him, and having taken him and Jehan the vizier, they were immediately put to death. This event happened on the twenty-first of Siffer, in the year 791; Tuglick, after a reign of five months and a few days, having fallen by the effects of the folly of youth.

ABU BICKER.

THE conspirators having assassinated the King, raised Abu Bicker, the grandson of the Emperor Ferose, by his third son, to the empire. Rukun, being appointed vizier, took the reins of government in his own hands.

But his ambition was not satisfied with that high employ. He formed schemes to cut off the new King, and to usurp the throne. Abu Bicker, having timely information of his intentions, was beforehand with him, and ordered him and many of the principal slaves concerned in the conspiracy to be put to death.

In the mean time, the Mogul chiefs of Samana assassinated the viceroy, Sultan, the fast friend of the reigning Emperor, and sent his head to the prince Mahommed, at Nagracut. They earnestly solicited him to come and assert his right to the empire. Mahommed accordingly, having collected his friends, advanced by the way of Jallendar to Samana, and proclaiming himself King at that place, advanced with a great army towards Delhi. After some repulses, Mahommed, as we shall see in the sequel, proved victorious, and sent Abu Bicker to his grave upon the twentieth of Zihige, in the year 792, when he had reigned one year and six months.

MAHOMMED IV.

MAHOMMED*, as we have already seen, mounted the throne in his father's life-time, in the year 789. How he was deposed and expelled by Baha, and the other Omrahs, in confederacy with the Mogul mercenaries of Guzerat, and the slaves of the household, and his transactions, till he shut himself up in the fort of Nagracut, has been also related. When the chiefs of the Moguls had assassinated the governor of Samana, Mahommed, according to their invitation, marched with great expedition from Nagracut, calling all his friends from Delhi. He soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand horse, with which he advanced towards the capital. Upon the fifth of the first Ribbi, in the year

* Nasir ul dunia ul dien, Mahommed Shaw.

792, he entered Delhi, and lighted at the palace of Jehan. The Emperor, Abu Bicker, in the other quarter of the city, called Feroseabad, prepared himself for battle; and, on the second of the first Jemmad, the two armies engaged in the streets of Feroseabad. In the mean time Nahir, with a strong reinforcement, arrived, and joining Abu Bicker, they marched out of Feroseabad next morning, and drove Mahommed, with great slaughter, quite out of Delhi.

Mahommed retreated with two thousand horse only, over the Jumna; and immediately dispatched Humaioon his son, and several Omrahs, to Samana to recruit his army. He himself, in the mean time, remained in the town of Tillasar upon the banks of the Ganges. Having experienced from first to last, that the slaves of Ferose were his declared enemies, he gave orders to plunder all their estates in the neighbouring country, and to slay them wherever they should be found. The zemindars fell upon some thousands, who had possessions in other parts of the empire, and massacred them; while the farmers in general, disgusted with Abu Bicker's government, which had been very oppressive, withheld their rents, and listed themselves under Mahommed.

In the mean time, the viceroy of Moultan, and many Omrahs of note, having joined Mahommed with their forces, he collected, in a few days, an army of fifty thousand horse, made the usual appointments in the empire to please his friends, and advanced a second time towards Delhi. Abu Bicker had remained inactive in that city, ever since his late victory; he, however, drew out his army at a village called Hindali, to oppose Mahommed, and was so fortunate as to come off victorious once more. He drove Mahommed towards Tillasar, but contented himself with pursuing him three
cor crores, and with taking his baggage, and then returned to his capital.

Humaioon, the son of Mahommed, not many days

after the battle of Hindali, with the troops he had raised at Samana, made another attempt upon the capital, but succeeded no better than his father, being defeated at Paniput, and obliged to retreat towards Samana. But after all these successes, Abu Bicker thought it unsafe to leave the capital, being suspicious of a faction in the city in favour of Mahommed. Having at length punished some of the most disaffected, he ventured to march about forty miles towards Tillasar, where Mahommed was again collecting an army. The latter having, by this time, concerted measures with his faction in the city, left the body of his army, with all his baggage, at Tillasar, and advanced, with four thousand chosen horse, towards Abu Bicker. When Abu Bicker had drawn up his army, Mahommed made a quick motion to the left, and passing the enemy's line, pushed forward to the capital. He there engaged the troops of Abu Bicker who guarded the walls, and having set fire to the Budaoon gate, forced his way into the city. He immediately entered the imperial palace, whither the citizens flocked to pay him their respects. But Abu Bicker, having closely pursued Mahommed, arrived the same day before the city; and having forced the guards which Mahommed had placed at the gates, advanced to the palace, and drove that prince, whose troops had dispersed themselves, quite out of the city. He was obliged to retreat again to Tillasar, where he joined his army, having lost the major part of his detachment in the action.

Some time having thus passed without any decisive action, Hagib, chief of the imperial slaves, known by the title of Islam, disgusted with Abu Bicker, wrote to Mahommed, that if he would make another attempt upon the city, he would support him with the greatest part of the slaves who were under his direction. Abu Bicker hearing that Mahommed was again in motion, and having also discovered the disaffection of the slaves and others in his army, shamefully abandoned the ca-

pital, and fled with a small retinue. Mahommed, in the month of Ramzan, entered Delhi, and ascended the imperial throne. He gave the office of vizier to Islam, to whom he principally owed his restoration. When he found himself firmly established, he ordered all the elephants which belonged to the slaves of Ferose, to be taken from them, and converted to his own use. The slaves, enraged at this injustice, fled the city that night, and hastened to join Abu Bicker. Mahommed, upon this desertion, turned out a few who remained, and ordered them, upon pain of death, never to appear in the city, where they had acquired such dangerous influence. Notwithstanding this decree, many slaves, unwilling to leave Delhi, concealed themselves: a search was ordered to be made, and such as were found were massacred. Some of those poor wretches, upon this occasion, cried out for mercy, affirming that they were originally Tartars. They were, upon this, ordered to pronounce the word Gurragurri, by which they were immediately distinguished. All who sounded it with the accent of Hindostan were put to death.

Mahommed, after having expelled the slaves, began to recruit his army, and sent Humaioon his son, with a considerable force, against the Emperor Abu Bicker. When this army arrived at Kotluh, Abu Bicker, by advice of Nahir, surprised Humaioon in his camp. The prince, however, exerted his utmost efforts in opposing the enemy, being gallantly supported by the vizier, drove Abu Bicker, after a brave resistance, quite off the field. Mahommed marched at the same time, with great expedition, towards Mewat, where Abu Bicker, seeing no hopes left, surrendered himself, and was sent prisoner to the fort of Merat, where he died some years after.

Mahommed returning to Delhi, received advices that Musirra, governor of Guzerat, rebelled. Ziffer was immediately dispatched with an army to suppress the rebellion; but for the particulars of this expedition, we must refer the reader to the history of the province of

Guzerat*. In the year 794, intelligence was brought to Delhi, that the prince Nirsingh, Sirvadon chief of the Mahrattors, and Bireban of Bessu, chiefs of the Hindoos, had rose in arms against the empire. Mahommed ordered the vizier, with a considerable force, against Narsingh, the most powerful of the insurgents. Narsingh was defeated, made peace, and attended the conqueror to Delhi. The other two chiefs were subjugated at the same time. The zemindars of Attava, upon account of some grievance, rose in arms, and ravaged Bittaram and the adjacent districts. Mahommed marched against them in person, and chastised them. The fort of Attava was levelled with the ground, and the Emperor took the route of Kinnoge and Tillasar, in the last of which cities he built a fort, which, from his own name, he called Mahommed-abad.

Advice came to the Emperor from Delhi, that the vizier was preparing to fly to Lahore and Moultan, to kindle in those provinces the flames of rebellion. Mahommed hastened to the capital, and charged him with his treasonable intentions. The vizier absolutely denied the fact, but Jaju, a Hindoo and his own nephew, swore falsely against him. Mahommed, being either convinced of his vizier's guilt, or instigated by a jealousy of his power, condemned him to die. Jehan, who was perhaps a no small promoter of the vizier's fall, was advanced to his office. Muckurrib, who made a figure in the next reign, was, at the same time, appointed governor of Mahommed-abad.

In the year 795, Sirvadon chief of the Mahrattors, and Bireban of Bessu, appeared in arms; and Muckurrib was ordered with the troops at Mahommed-abad, against them. The Emperor, about this time, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. Upon his return to Mahommed-abad, he was taken ill of a dangerous fever, which rendered him delirious for

* Our author's second volume, in the original Persian, treats of the particular history of all the provinces in Hindostan.

some days. When he was in this condition, news was brought, that Nahir* had plundered the country to the gates of Delhi. The Emperor, though far from being recovered of his illness, hastened to Mewat. Nahir, who headed the rebels, drew up his army at Kottilab, and gave Mahommed battle; but he was defeated, and fled to Jidger.

Mahommed, after this victory, returned to Mahommed-abad, and, in the month of Ribbi the second of the year 796, sent his son Humaioon to crush the Prince of the Gickers, who had rebelled, and possessed himself of Lahore. But before the Prince had left Delhi, news was brought to him of his father's decease; for the Emperor, having relapsed into his former disorder, expired *on the 17th of Ribbi the second, at Mahommed-abad.* He reigned about six years and seven months; and his body was deposited at Delhi, with his fathers.

Mahommed being mixed with the dead, his son Humaioon ascended the throne, by the name of Secunder. He continued or confirmed all his father's officers; but being in a few days taken with a violent disorder, he went the way of his fathers, after a reign of forty-five days.

MAMOOD III.

WHEN Humaioon yielded to the power of his fate, violent disputes arose among the nobles about the succession. They at last fixed upon Mamood†, an infant son of the Emperor Mahommed, whom they placed upon the throne, by the name of Mamood Shaw; while Jehan remained in the office of vizier, and absolute government of the state. Muckirrib, governor of Mahommed-abad, was made captain-general of the

* An adherent of Abu Bicker.

† Nasir ul dien, Mamood Shaw.

forces. Sadit was appointed lord of the audience, Saring Chan governor of Debalpoor, and Dowlat nominated to the office of chief secretary of the empire.

The apparent debility of the empire, arising from the King's minority and dissensions of the Omrahs, encouraged all the Hindoos around to kindle the flames of rebellion; particularly those of the eastern provinces. Jehan, the vizier, upon this occasion, assumed the title of King of the East, and proceeded towards Behar with a great army. He soon reduced that country to obedience, and having at the same time forced the Prince of Bengal to pay him the customary tribute, he returned, and fixed his residence at Jionpoor. While Jehan thus established himself, in opposition to his master, in the east, Saring, governor of the provinces near the Indus, began to form an independency in the west. Having, as suba of Debalpoor, collected the troops of the province of Moultan, and the north-west division of the empire, he advanced against the Gickers, who waited for him at Adjodin, about twenty-four miles from Lahore. A battle immediately ensued, and the Gickers, being defeated, were obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Jimbo. Saring, after this victory, left his brother Adil in the government of Lahore, and returned himself to Debalpoor.

Mamood this year, having left Delhi in charge of Muckirrib the captain-general, marched towards Gualier and Biana, accompanied by Sadit and many of the chief Omrahs. When the King had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualier, Mubarick, Eckbal the brother of Saring, and Alla, conspired against the life of Sadit. But Sadit, having timely information of the plot, slew Mubarick and Alla, while Eckbal escaped to Delhi. Though the conspiracy was thus quashed, the confusions which were the consequences of it, obliged the Emperor to return to the capital, without prosecuting the scheme of reducing those territories to obedience.

The distractions in the empire began now to multiply

exceedingly. Mamood arriving in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Muckirrib, the captain-general, came out to pay his respects. But having on his way understood that Sadit had sworn vengeance against him for affording protection to Eckbal, he fled back to the city, and, shutting the gates against the Prince, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city, in short, was besieged for three months, till the King being assured that the war was commenced and continued on account of Sadit, accommodated matters with Muckirrib, and, in the month of Mohirrim 797, was admitted into Delhi.

Muckirrib, encouraged by the coming over of his Prince, marched the next day out of the city, with all his force, against Sadit; but he was beat back with great loss. The rains had now come on, and it being impossible for Sadit to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Feroseabad. He immediately sent for Nuserit, the son of the Prince Fatte, the eldest son of the Emperor Ferose, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mamood, by the title of Nuserit Shaw. Under the name of this Prince, Sadit began to manage the affairs of that part of the empire which adhered to Nuserit. But a new faction breaking out in his government, disconcerted his measures. The slaves of the Emperor Ferose, disgusted with his behaviour towards them, prevailed upon the keepers of the elephants to join them. They forcibly placed Nuserit upon an elephant, advanced against Sadit, and drove him quite out of the city of Feroseabad, before he had time to prepare for his own defence. To avoid one danger, the unfortunate Sadit fell into another; for having sought protection under Muckirrib, the captain-general, he was by him put to death.

The misfortunes of the state daily increased. The Omrahs of Feroseabad, and some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Nuserit. Those of Delhi, and others, supported the title of Mamood. The whole empire fell into a state of anarchy, confusion, and distraction. A civil war was kindled in every corner; and,

a thing unheard-of before, two Kings, in arms against one another, resided in one capital. Things, however, remained in this unfortunate situation for three years, with a surprising equality on both sides; for if one monarch's party had at any time a superiority over the other, it was in singularity of misfortunes. It was not a state of war, but a continued battle between the two cities: thousands were killed almost every day, and the place of the slain was constantly supplied by reinforcements from different parts of the empire. Some of the subas of the provinces took no part in this civil war. They hoped to see the empire so weakened by public calamities, that they themselves might become independent; and, to lay a foundation for their future power, they withheld the customary revenues.

In the year 798, Saring, the brother of the famous Eckbal, the governor of Debalpoor, having some differences with Chizer, governor of Moultan, made war upon him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Saring. He immediately seized Moultan, became very powerful, and, in the year following, advanced with a great army to Samana, which he reduced to his obedience. Nuserit dispatched Tatar, suba of Panniput, and Almass, with an army against him. They engaged Saring on the first of Mohirrim, in the year 799, gave him a signal overthrow, and obliged him to fly to Moultan.

Saring received, in that city, intelligence that the Prince Mahommed Jehangire, the grandson of Timur*, had built a bridge over the Indus, and that, having crossed that river, he invested Outch. Saring immediately dispatched his deputy, with other Omrahs, and the best part of his army, to reinforce Ali, the deputy of the governor of Outch. Mahommed, hearing of this army, advanced to the Bea, fell upon them by surprise just as they had crossed that river, defeated, and drove them back into the stream; so that more were

* Tamerlane.

drowned than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army made the best of their way to Moultan. Mahommed kept close at the heels of the runaways, and obliged Saring to shut himself up in Moultan. After a siege of six months he was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; and being imprisoned, with all his army, Mahommed took possession of the city. Saring, in a few days, found means to escape: but the country remained in subjection to the Moguls.

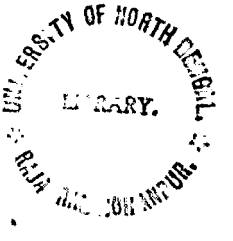
But to return to the transactions at Delhi. Eckbal, being disgusted with the Emperor Mamood, deserted him. He sent a message to Nuserit, to desire leave to join him with his party. This offer was very readily accepted; they met, went to the palace of Seri, and, upon the Koran, swore mutual friendship, at the tomb of Chaja Kaki. During these transactions, Mamood, with Muckirrib the captain-general of his forces, remained in the old city. The perfidious Eckbal, about three days after his desertion, quarrelled with Nuserit, and not regarding his oath, began to form a conspiracy against him. Nuserit, being informed of the plot, found himself constrained to quit the palace of Seri. The traitor fell upon him in his retreat, and took all his elephants, treasure, and baggage. The unfortunate Prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his vizier at Panniput.

Eckbal took immediately possession of Feroseabad. His power daily increased, and he now employed it to expel the Emperor Mamood and Muckirrib from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the parties. But Eckbal, peculiarly perfidious, broke through all the sacred ties of the treaty; and setting upon Muckirrib in his own house by surprise, slew him. He immediately seized Mamood, and left him nothing but his life and the name of Emperor. Eckbal, in the same year, marched from Delhi with Mamood, against Nuserit and Tatar at Panniput. Tatar, leaving his elephants and baggage in the fort, passed, by forced marches, the army of Eckbal,

arrived before Delhi, and invested it. Eckbal, trusting to the strength he left in Delhi, advanced and attacked Panniput, and took it the third day, by escalade. He then hastened back to Delhi, and Tatar having failed in his attempt upon that place, fled to his father in Guzerat. Eckbal entering the city, began to regulate the government, which had fallen into the utmost confusion. In the mean time, to complete the miseries of the unhappy city and empire, news arrived, that Timur had crossed the Indus, with an intention to conquer Hindostan.

From the year 790 to the present year, Timur extended his conquest over all the western Asia, reduced the northern Tartary, and spread his ravages into Russia, as far as the Arctic Circle.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.