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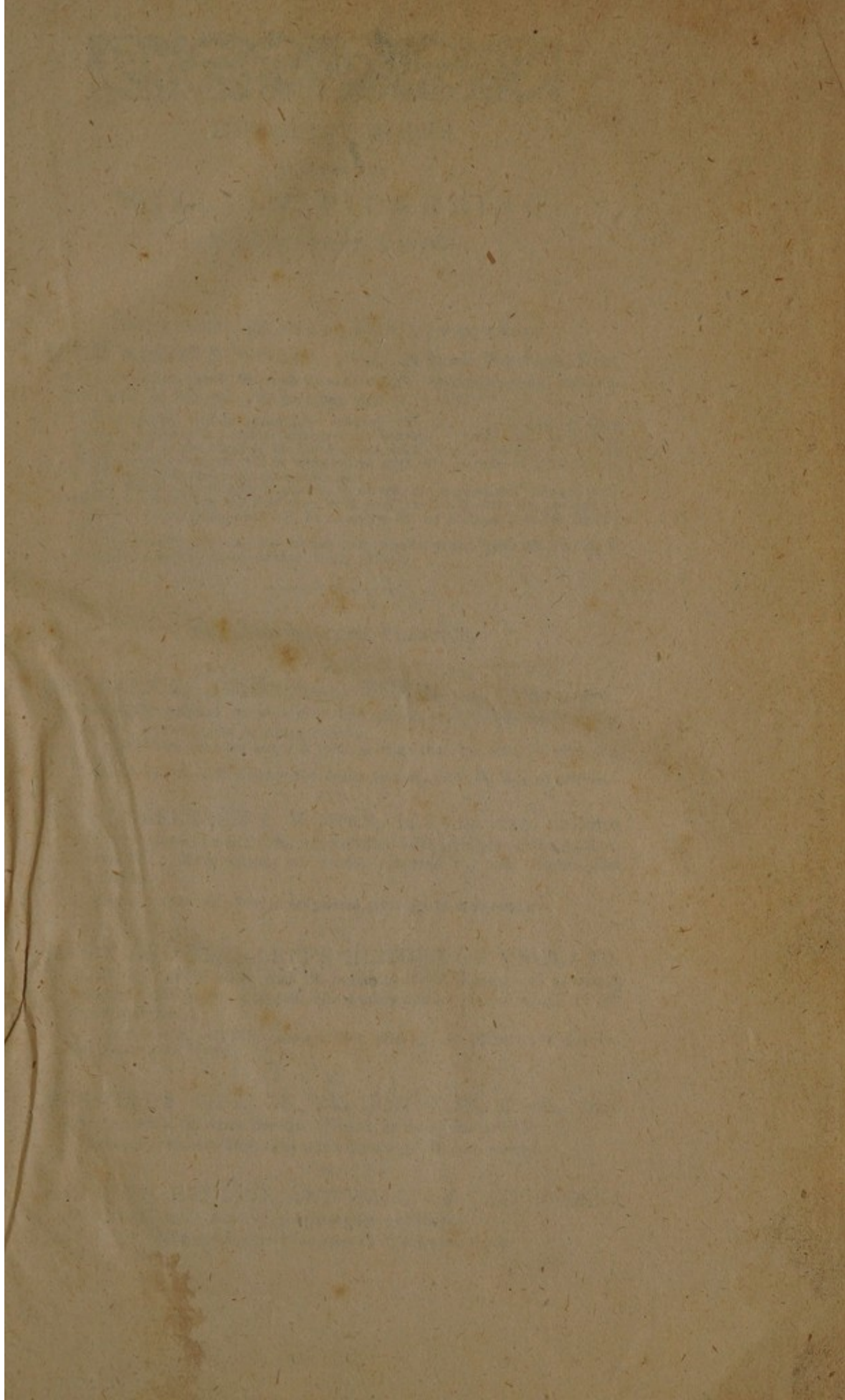


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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

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IRVING BROCK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1826.

TRAVELS

IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE

BY

FRANCIS BERNIER

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

JOHN BROOK

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I



LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE work of which a translation is now offered to the public is deservedly held in high estimation. It was first published in the year 1670, at which time some of the countries described by M. Bernier had not yet been visited by any other European writer and great ignorance prevailed on the affairs of India. The appearance of the book excited, therefore, a lively interest, and it became the subject of unequivocal commendation during the brilliant age of Lewis the Fourteenth.

The observations of subsequent travellers have confirmed the celebrity of our author. Mr. Gibbon and Doctor Robertson quote him with approbation, and Major Rennell styles him "the most instructive of all East Indian travellers."* By Mr. Forster he is considered as "one of the most accurate and ingenious writers on the history of Hindostan;" and in a letter, dated from Kashmire itself, that gentleman pronounces a high eulogium on his exquisite judgment and the exactness of his researches.†

Francis Bernier was born at Angers in France,

* Memoir for illustrating the map of Hindostan, page 133.

† George Forster proceeded by land from Bengal to the Caspian Sea, and thence to St. Petersburg, in the years 1783 and 1784. It was necessary, from a regard to safety, to avoid the country of the Seiks; that is Lahore: he accordingly crossed the Ganges and Jumna within the mountains, and proceeded to

but in what year it is not ascertained.* He was educated for the medical profession, and after taking his degree of doctor of physic at Montpellier, he resolved on gratifying his eager desire for travel. He visited Syria in 1654, proceeded thence to Egypt, and resided above a twelvemonth in Cairo, where he was infected with the plague. Soon after his recovery, he sailed from Suez for the purpose, as he tells us in the commencement of his narrative, of exploring every part of the Red Sea; but on his arrival at Mokha finding it unsafe to visit Gonda, he abandoned his first design and embarked on board a vessel bound to Surat, in Hindostan. In that country he remained twelve

Kashmire by the road of Jummo. The following is the letter to which allusion has been made.

“ Kashmire, 1783.

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“ GEORGE FORSTER.”

* Voltaire supposes it was in 1625.

years, eight of which he acted as physician to Aureng-Zébe. Danechmend Khan, the favourite omrah of this prince, and the patron of scientific and literary men, encouraged and protected the intelligent and useful stranger, and when he accompanied Aureng-Zébe, in his progress to Kashmire, Dr. Bernier was attached to his suite. On his return to France, our author published his Travels. The most illustrious and distinguished personages courted his society, and he lived on terms of intimacy with Racine, Boileau, Saint Evremont, Ninon de L'Enclos, Madame de la Labliere and Luillier Chapelle. Saint Evremont calls him "the handsome philosopher," in allusion to his fine face and figure, the elegance of his manners, and the charms of his conversation. His philosophy (since we must so pervert the term) was that of Epicurus, and he seems to have been an enthusiastic admirer of Gassendi. He rejected the divine doctrines of our holy faith, and embraced the speculative impieties of those learned men. But it is creditable to the taste of our age that his philosophical treatises are neglected while his travels are better appreciated and more highly esteemed than at any former period.

His death, which happened in 1688, was caused, the younger Racine informs us, by a stroke of cutting raillery on the part of the First-President De Harlay at the festive board. The metaphysical conceits of Gassendi inspired him with no strength of mind, and the philosopher died of what is called a broken heart.

Those parts of his works which are now presented to the public, were "English'd out of French" in the year 1672; but that translation is almost unintelligible. Our traveller's style is frequently loose and obscure, and several events are sometimes strangely jumbled together

in one or two pages, without the intervention of a single period. The antiquated translator followed the original verbatim, so far as he understood it, but he often misconceived the import of words,* and always disregarded the idiom of the respective languages.

In many points of view, the memoirs of Bernier may be considered a valuable fragment of Mogul history. They throw much light on the political transactions in India during an important period of its modern annals, and make us intimately acquainted with the real condition of the people under the dominion of the Moslem conquerors. The details given of the sufferings of more than a hundred millions of the human species placed within the horrid glare of a muhammedan sceptre, will excite peculiar interest in the English reader, when he reflects that they refer to a period very little antecedent to our first establishment in India. Duly to appreciate the blessings of British government and influence in the vast regions of Hindostan, we should, by an attentive perusal of a writer of such unquestionable authority as Bernier, become conversant with their state of debasement and thralldom before the ruthless domination of the Moguls was succeeded by the mild and beneficent sway of Great Britain.†

* To mention one instance: the passage *Les gentils du païs*, (the pagans of the country) is rendered *the country gentry*.

† Mild and beneficent as compared to their former slavery. It is not my province to speak of the abuses still existing, and which every enlightened Englishman wishes to see redressed. No one however, (to use the language of an elegant writer) can deny that the government of the British in India has been a prodigious, an incalculable blessing to the Indian people, chiefly in having by its influence banished foreign war and invasion with all their horrors; that many ameliorations have been constantly going forward in the statute-book and in our institutions; and that in fact only the ordinary securities against neglect and misrule

The first part of the volume contains a simple but entertaining narrative of the civil domestic war which raged in Hindostan when our author visited that country, and which left Aureng-Zêbe in quiet possession of the throne.

Several events that occurred after the termination of the war are then recorded; and anecdotes are introduced, of which although at first sight some may appear puerile, yet all are either characteristic of the individuals to whom they relate, or illustrative of the manners and genius of the people.

The third section of the book consists of a letter to the celebrated Colbert, descriptive of the government of India, its pecuniary resources, its military strength and its immense expenditure. The information which this letter conveys is important and comprehensive, and would alone entitle M. Bernier to the praise bestowed on him by his countrymen. He shews himself to have been "an observer at once inquisitive and judicious, who travelled for the double purpose of instructing himself, and of contributing to the instruction of others."*

A minute description of Delhi and Agra, the capital cities of the empire follows next; and in this chapter, written with all the author's powers of observation and research, is contained an animated account of the court of the Great Mogul.

The degrading superstitions and unhallowed rites of the Hindoos—the crushings of Juggernaut's car—the juggles of the lustful and profligate Brahmins—the immolations, often compulsory, of females,—the drowning of the sick and dying,—all these abominations form the subject of another portion of the work.

are required to make those benefits spread and fructify a thousand-fold.

* *Histoire Generale des Voyages*: tom 37, page 261.

These awful and heart-rending particulars, are succeeded by a dull and irrelevant, but happily short, dissertation on the doctrine of atoms. M. Bernier thought it worth while to confute the monstrous notion that the system of the universe had not its original from any intelligent nature; but that mind and intelligence, as well as all things else, sprung from senseless nature and chance, or from the unguided and undirected motion of matter.

The journey of Aureng-Zêbe to the kingdom of Kashmire, "the Terrestrial Paradise of India," with a military retinue of nearly fifty thousand men, and accompanied by the whole population of Delhi, is related with the usual liveliness and accuracy of the author; and the volume closes with his solution of five questions proposed by M. Thevenot—concerning the settlement of Jews in Kashmire, the Monsoons, the regularity of the currents, and periodical winds in India, the fertility of Bengal; and the increase of the river Nile.

Among the many works with which the press is daily enriching the literature of the world, few merit a higher place in our estimation than the narratives of intelligent travellers. They make us acquainted with scenes before unknown to us, and manners ever-varying from our own; with civil and religious institutions—if the cruelties and fooleries of paganism deserve the name—abhorrent from our opinions and habits; and with an œconomy of domestic life so opposed to our every-day experience, that it seems to belong to a different order of beings. The additions made by such men to our knowledge in almost every department of science and, not unfrequently, in the arts which minister to the delight of refined society, are universally acknowledged. They furnish meditations to the philosopher, scenes

to the painter, and songs to the poet: they open new fields to the speculations of commerce, and give a surer direction to the policy of states. But whatever delight or instruction voyages and travels may communicate, one lesson they are calculated to convey which has been fearfully disregarded—the universal depravity of man. However modified by climate, laws, superstitions and various degrees of civilization, the character of man remains essentially the same in every country and in every age. From the wandering barbarian of the desert to the refined inhabitant of polished courts, all participate in the deadly bequest of the apostate father of our race.

The heart sickens at the bare recital of the abominable superstitions, the impure rites, and the murderous idolatries of pagan nations. Mr. Gibbon styles the dark obscene and cruel worship of the ancients; “The elegant mythology of the Greeks;” and the still more degraded system of Hindoo mythology has found an admirer and defender in Colonel Dow. But the perusal of such pages as the following, some of which delineate that compound of absurdity, wickedness and cruelty in its most hateful forms, ought yet more to endear to the devout disciple of The Saviour of Sinners, the religion of the cross, and to increase his attachment to the pure morality of the Christian Code.

F. F. Allen

TRAVELS
IN
THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

THE desire of seeing the world, which had induced me to visit Palestine and Egypt, still prompted me to extend my travels, and I formed the design of exploring the Red Sea from one end to the other. In pursuance of this plan, I quitted Grand Cairo, where I had resided more than a year, and in two and thirty hours (travelling at a caravan-rate) reached the town of Suez. Here I embarked in a galley, and was conveyed in seventeen days from Suez to the port of Giddah, half a day's journey from Mecca. Contrary to my expectation, and in violation of a promise which I had received from the Bey of the Red Sea, I was constrained to land on this holy territory of Muhammed, where no Christian, who is not a slave, dares set his foot. After a detention of nearly five weeks, I took my passage on board a small vessel, which, sailing along the shores of Arabia Felix, brought me in

fifteen days to Mokha, near the straits of Babel-mandel. It was now my intention to pass over to the islands of Masuah and Arkecko, on my way to Gondar, the capital of Habesh (or Kingdom of Ethiopia); but I was informed that the catholics were not in safety in that country, since the period when, through the intrigues of the queen-mother, the Portuguese were slaughtered, or expelled, with the Jesuit Patriarch whom they had brought thither from Goa; and that, in fact, an unhappy Capuchin had been recently beheaded at Suaken, for having attempted to enter the kingdom. It seemed, indeed, that less risk would be incurred if I adopted the disguise of a Greek or an Armenian; and that when the king knew I could be of service to him, he would probably make me a grant of land, which might be cultivated by slaves, if I possessed the means of purchasing them; but that I should, at the same time, be compelled to marry immediately, as a monk, who had assumed the character of a Greek physician, had already been obliged to do; and that I could never hope to obtain permission to quit the country.

These considerations, among others which may be mentioned in the sequel, induced me to abandon my intention of visiting Gondar. I embarked, therefore, in an Indian vessel, passed the straits of Babelmandel, and in two and twenty days arrived at Surat, in Hindostan, the empire of the Great Mogul. I found that the reigning

prince was named Shah-Jehan, or King of the World. According to the annals of the country, he was the son of Jehan Guire, or Conqueror of the World, and grandson of Acbar, or the Great: so that in tracing his genealogy upwards to Humaion, or the Fortunate, the father of Acbar, and to Humaion's predecessors, Shah-Jehan was proved to be the tenth, in regular descent, from Timor Lenk, the Lord, or Lame Prince, whom we commonly but corruptly call Tamerlane.* This Tamerlane, so celebrated for his conquests, married a kinswoman, the only daughter of the prince who then reigned over the people of Great Tartary called Moguls; a name which they have communicated to the foreigners who now govern Hindostan, the country of the Hindoos, or Indians. It must not, however, be inferred, that offices of trust and dignity are exclusively held by those of the Mogul race, or that they alone obtain rank in the army. These situations are filled indifferently by them and strangers from all countries; the greater part by Persians, some by Arabs, and others by Turks. To be esteemed a Mogul, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Muhammedanism; in contradistinction to the European Christians, who are called Frangis, and to the Hindoos, whose complexion is brown, and whose religion is Pagan.

* Timour is the correct name of this prince. Timour, in the Turkish language, means Iron. Lenk signifies in the Persian language, Lame.—*Translator.*

شاه جهان
جهان گیر
اخبر
حاجیون
تیمور لنگ
Timour
Humaion
Acbar
Jehangir
Shah-Jehan

I learnt also on my arrival that this king of the world, Shah-Jehan, who was about seventy years of age, was the father of four sons and two daughters; that some years had elapsed since he elevated his sons to the vice-royalty of his four most considerable provinces or kingdoms; and that he had been afflicted, for about the space of a twelvemonth, with a disorder which it was apprehended would terminate fatally. The situation of the father having inspired the sons with projects of ambition, each laid claim to the empire, and a war was kindled among them which continued about five years.

This war, as I witnessed some of the most important of its events, I shall endeavour to describe. During a period of eight years I was closely attached to the court; for the state of penury to which I had been reduced by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expences incurred on a journey of near seven weeks, from Surat to Agra and Delhi, the chief towns of the empire, had induced me to accept a salary from the Great Mogul, in the capacity of physician; and I soon afterwards procured another from Danachmend-Khan, the most learned man of Asia, formerly Bakchis, or Grand Master of the Horse, and one of the most powerful and distinguished omrahs, or lords of the court.

والشمس خان

The eldest son of the Great Mogul was named Dara, or Darius: the second Sultan Sujah, or the Valiant Prince: the third was Aureng-

Zêbe, or the Throne's Ornament ; and the name of the youngest was Morâd Bakche, or the Desire Accomplished.* Of the two daughters, the elder was called Begum-Saheb, or the Chief Princess ; and the younger Rochinara-Begum, the Light of Princesses, or Princess of the Enlightened Mind.

It is usual in this country to give similar names to the members of the reigning family. Thus the wife of Shah-Jehan, so renowned for her beauty, and whose splendid mausoleum is more worthy of a place among the wonders of the world than the unshapen masses and heaps of stone in Egypt, was named Tage-Mâhil, or the Crown of the Seraglio ; and the wife of Johan-Guire, who so long wielded the sceptre, while her husband abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation, was known first by the appellation of Noor-Mâhil, the Light of the Seraglio, and afterwards by that of Noor-Jehan-Begum, the Light of the World.

The reason why such names are given to the great, instead of titles derived from domains and seigniories as in Europe, is this : as the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no earldoms, marquisesates or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pensions, either in land or money, which the king gives, augments, retrenches or takes away at pleasure.

* Dara was born in the year 1615 ; Sultan Sujah in 1616 ; Aureng Zêbe in 1618 ; Morâd Bakche in 1624.—*Translator.*

موراد بکچہ

روچنارا بیگم

تاج محل

It will not, therefore, appear surprising, that even the omrahs are distinguished only by this kind of title. One for instance, calling himself Raz-Andaze-Khan, another Safe-Cheken-Khan, a third Barc-Andaze-Khan; and others Dianet-Khan, or Danechmend-Khan, and Fazel-Khan: which terms respectively signify The Disposer of Thunder, The Destroyer of Ranks, The Hurler of the Thunderbolt, The Faithful Lord, The Learned, and The Perfect.

Dara was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous in conversation, quick at repartee, polite, and extremely liberal: but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish every thing by the powers of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whose counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disdainfully of those who ventured to advise him, and thus deterred his sincerest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his brothers. He was also very irascible; apt to menace; abusive and insulting even to the greatest omrahs; but his choler was seldom more than momentary. Born a Muhammedan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to its faith, Dara was in private a Pagan with Pagans, and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about his person some of the heathen doctors, on whom he bestowed pensions to a large amount, and from these it is thought he imbibed opinions in no

wise accordant with the religion of the land: but upon this subject I shall make a few observations when I treat of the religious worship of the Hindoos, or Pagans. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Reverend Father Buzée, a Jesuit, in the truth and propriety of which he began to acquiesce. There are persons, however, who say that Dara was in reality destitute of all religion, and that these appearances were assumed only from motives of curiosity, and for the sake of amusement; while, according to others, he embraced by turns Christianity and Paganism from political considerations; wishing to ingratiate himself with the Christians who were pretty numerous in his corps of artillery, and hoping to gain the affection of the rajahs, or pagan princes tributary to the empire. It was most essential to be on good terms with these personages, that he might, as occasion arose, secure their co-operation. Dara's false pretences to this or that mode of worship, did not, however, promote the success of his plans; on the contrary, it will be found in the course of this narrative, that the reason assigned by Aureng-Zêbe for causing him to be beheaded, was that he had turned kafer, or infidel.

Sultan Sujah, the second son of the Great Mogul, resembled in many characteristic traits his brother Dara; but he was more discreet, firmer of purpose, and excelled him in conduct and address. He was sufficiently dexterous in the ma-

nagement of an intrigue; and by means of repeated largesses, bestowed secretly, knew how to acquire the friendship of the great omrahs, and, in particular, of the most powerful rajahs, such as Jesswint Singh and others. He was, nevertheless, too much a slave to his pleasures; and when surrounded by his women, who were exceedingly numerous, passed whole days and nights in dancing, singing, and drinking wine. No courtier, who consulted his own interest, would attempt to detach him from this mode of life: the business of government therefore often languished, and the affections of his subjects were in a great measure alienated.

Sultan Sujah declared himself of the religion of the Persians, although his father and brothers professed that of the Turks. Muhammedanism is divided into various sects, which occasioned the following distich from the pen of the famous Sheik Sadi, author of the *Gulistan*.*

I am a drinking dervise; I am apparently without religion;
I am known by the seventy-two sects.

Of these sects there are two whose respective partisans are mortal enemies to each other. The one is that of the Turks, called by the Persians *Osmanlous*, or Followers of Osman, whom the

* The Proverbs of Solomon, the Ethics of Aristotle, and the *Gulistan* of Sadi are the favourite books of the Turks. Mr. Gladwin's English translation, from Gentius's Latin version, is well known.—*Translator*.

Turks believe to have been the true and legitimate successor of Muhammed, the Great Caliph, or Sovereign Pontiff, to whom alone it belonged to interpret the Koran, and to decide the controversies that occur in the law. The other is that of the Persians, called by the Turks, Chias, Rafezago, and Ali-Merdans; that is, sectaries, heretics, and partisans of Ali; because the Persians believe that the succession and pontifical authority belonged only to Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammed.

When he avowed himself one of the latter sect, Sultan Sujah was evidently actuated by motives of policy; for as the Persians were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the Court of the Mogul, he hoped thus to secure interest and support, whenever the tide of events should render them necessary.

Aureng-Zêbe, the third brother, was devoid of that urbanity and engaging presence, so much admired in Dara: but he possessed a sounder judgment, and was more skilful in selecting for confidants such persons as were best qualified to serve him with faithfulness and ability. He distributed his presents with a liberal but discriminating hand among those whose good will it was essential to preserve or cultivate. He was reserved, subtle and a complete master of the art of dissimulation. When in his father's court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely

endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn Fakir or Dervise*; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrunk from the cares and responsibility of government. Still had his life been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character. The high opinion expressed by Shah-Jehan of his son Aureng-Zêbe, provoked the envy of Dara, and he would sometimes say to his intimate friends, that, of all his brothers, the only one who excited his suspicion, and filled him with alarm was the Nemazi—the bigot.

Morâd Bakche, the youngest of the Mogul's sons, was inferior to his three brothers in judgment and address. The pleasures of the table and of the field engaged his undivided attention. He was, however, generous and polite. He used to boast that he had no secrets: he despised cabinet intrigues, and wished it to be known that he trusted only to his sword and to the strength of his arm. He was indeed full of courage; and if that courage had been under the guidance of a

* The word Fakir is the Arabic, and Dervische or Dervise, the Turkish and Persian term, for a mendicant.—*Translator.*

little more discretion, it is probable, as we shall see, that he would have prevailed over his three brothers, and remained the undisputed master of Hindostan.

Begum-Saheb, Shah-Jehan's elder daughter, was very handsome, of lively parts, and passionately beloved by her father. It is painful to allude to the rumour of his unnatural attachment, the justification of which he rested on the decision of the moollahs, or doctors of the law. According to them, it would have been unjust to deny the king the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted. Shah-Jehan reposed unbounded confidence in this his favourite child; she watched over his safety, and was so cautiously observant, that no dish was permitted to appear upon the royal table which had not been prepared under her superintendence. It is not surprising, therefore, that her ascendancy in the court of the Mogul should have been nearly unlimited; that she should always have regulated the humours of her father and exercised a powerful influence on the most weighty concerns. This princess accumulated great riches by means of her large allowances, and of the costly presents which flowed in from all quarters, in consideration of numberless negotiations entrusted to her sole management. The affairs of her brother Dara prospered, and he retained the friendship of the king, because she attached herself steadily to his interest and declared openly in favour of his party. He cultivated

with assiduous attention the good will of this valuable coadjutor, and it is thought promised that, on his accession to the throne, he would grant her permission to marry. This pledge was contrary to the laws of Hindostan, by which the marriage of princesses is strictly forbidden, no man being considered worthy of royal alliance, and an apprehension being entertained that the husband might thereby be rendered powerful, and induced perhaps to aspire to the crown.

I shall introduce two anecdotes connected with the amours of this princess, and hope I shall not be suspected of a wish to supply subjects for romance. What I am writing is matter of history, and my object is to present a faithful account of the manners of this people. Love adventures, criminal as they are in every country, are not attended with the same danger in Europe as in Asia. In France they excite only merriment; they create a laugh, and are forgotten: but in this part of the world, few are the instances in which they are not followed by some dreadful and tragical catastrophe.

It is said, then, that Begum-Saheb, although confined in a seraglio, and guarded like other women, received the visits of a young man of no very exalted rank, but of an agreeable person. It was scarcely possible, surrounded as she was on all sides by those of her own sex whose envy she had long provoked, that her conduct should escape detection. Shah-Jehan was apprised of her guilt,

and resolved to enter her apartments at an unusual and unexpected hour. The intimation of his approach was too sudden to allow her the choice of more than one place of concealment. The affrighted gallant sought refuge in the capacious cauldron used for the baths. The king's countenance denoted neither surprise nor displeasure; he discoursed with his daughter on ordinary topics, but finished the conversation by observing that the state of her skin indicated a neglect of her customary ablutions, and that it was proper she should bathe. He then commanded the eunuchs to light a fire under the cauldron, and did not retire until they gave him to understand that his wretched victim was no more.

At a subsequent period, Begum-Saheb formed another attachment, which also had a tragical termination. She chose for her kane-saman, or steward, a Persian, named Nazir-Khan, a young nobleman remarkable for grace and mental accomplishments, full of spirit and ambition, and the favourite of the whole court. Shaista-Khan, the uncle of Aureng-Zêbe, greatly esteemed this young Persian, and ventured to propose him for Begum-Saheb's husband; a proposition which was very ill received by the Mogul. He had indeed already entertained some suspicion of an improper intercourse between the favoured nobleman and the princess and did not long deliberate on the course he should pursue. As a mark of distinguished favour the king presented the betel,

in the presence of the whole court, to the unsuspecting youth, which he was obliged immediately to masticate, agreeably to the custom of the country. Little did the unhappy lover imagine that he had received poison from the hand of the smiling monarch, but indulging in dreams of future bliss, he withdrew from the palace, and ascended his palanquin. Such, however, was the activity of the poison, that he died before he could reach home. The Indians mix with the betel certain delicate leaves, a small portion of lime made of sea shells, and other ingredients. The effect produced by its mastication is to render the breath sweet, and the lips red.*

Rochinara Begum, the Mogul's younger daughter, was less beautiful than her sister,

* At all times of the day, and even in the night, the Indians chew the leaves of the betel, the bitterness of which is corrected by the areca, a fruit common in most parts of Asia, that is wrapped up in them. There is constantly mixed with it the chinam, a kind of burnt lime made of shells. The rich frequently add perfumes, either to gratify their vanity or their sensuality.

It would be thought a breach of politeness among the Indians to take leave for any length of time, without presenting each other with a purse of betel. It is a pledge of friendship that relieves the pain of absence. It is customary to have the mouth always perfumed with betel, unless one is going to address one's superiors. The women of gallantry are the most lavish in the use of betel, as being a powerful incentive to love. Betel is taken after meals; it is chewed during a visit; it is offered when you meet and when you separate; in short, nothing is to be done with-

neither was she so remarkable for understanding ; she was nevertheless possessed of the same vivacity, and equally the votary of pleasure. She became the ardent partisan of Aureng-Zêbe, and made no secret of her enmity to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This might be the reason why she amassed but little wealth, and took but an inconsiderable part in public affairs. Still, as she was an inmate of the seraglio, and not deficient in artifice, she succeeded in conveying, by means of spies, much valuable intelligence to Aureng-Zêbe.

Some years previous to the war, the turbulent disposition of his four sons had filled Shah-Jehan with perplexity and alarm. They were all married and of adult age ; but, in utter disregard of the ties of consanguinity, each, animated by deadly hatred toward the others, had set up his pretensions to the crown, so that the court was divided into separate factions. The king,* who trembled for his personal safety, and was tormented by sad forbodings of the events which actually befel him, would gladly have confined his re-

out betel. If it be injurious to the teeth, it assists and strengthens the stomach. This is at least the prejudice generally prevailing throughout India.

The betel is a plant that creeps or climbs, like the ivy, alongside of trees or props, to which it fixes itself by small tendrils. The betel grows in every part of India, but it comes to perfection, only in damp and clayey places. There are private cultivations of it, which are very profitable, on account of the great demand for it.

Abbé Raynal.

fractory children in Gualior, a fortress which had often received members of the royal family within its walls, and whose situation, on a lofty and inaccessible rock, renders it impregnable ; but he justly considered that they had become too powerful to be dealt with in so summary a manner. He was indeed in perpetual apprehension of their having recourse to arms, and either erecting independent principalities, or converting the seat of government into a bloody arena, in which to settle their personal differences. To save himself, therefore, from some impending and overwhelming calamity, Shah-Jehan resolved to bestow upon his sons the government of four distant provinces. Sultan Sujah was appointed to Bengal ; Aureng-Zêbe to the Deccan ; Morâd Bakche to Guzerat ; and Dara to Cabul and Moulton. The three first-mentioned princes repaired to their respective provinces without delay, and soon betrayed the spirit by which they were animated. They acted in every respect as independent sovereigns, appropriated the revenues to their own use, and levied formidable armies under pretence of maintaining tranquillity at home, and commanding respect abroad. Dara, because he was the eldest son and expected to succeed to the crown, did not quit the court of his father. Shah-Jehan appearing to encourage that expectation, authorised his son to issue orders, and permitted him to occupy an inferior throne, placed among the omrahs, beneath his own ; so that two kings

appeared to reign with almost equal power: but there is reason to believe that the Mogul practised much duplicity, and that, notwithstanding the respectful and affectionate demeanour of Dara, his father was never cordially attached to him. The old monarch lived in continual dread of poison, and carried on, it is supposed, a secret correspondence with Aureng-Zêbe, of whose talents for government he always entertained a high opinion.

I have thought a slight sketch of Shah-Jehan and his sons a proper introduction to this history, and necessary to the right understanding of what is to follow. Nor could I well avoid adding a few particulars concerning his two daughters, who play so prominent a part in the tragedy. In India, as well as in Constantinople and other places, the most momentous events are too often caused by the influence of the sex, although the people may be ignorant of this fact, and may indulge in vain speculations as to the cause of the agitation they deplore.

It may also elucidate my narrative to revert to the proceedings of Aureng-Zêbe, of the King of Golconda, and of his vizier Emir-Jemla, a short time before the war broke out: this may give my readers an insight into the character and genius of Aureng-Zêbe, the hero of this history, and the future king of India.

We shall first see in what manner Emir-Jemla

laid the foundation of the power and supremacy of Shah-Jehan's third son.

During the time that Aureng-Zêbe was entrusted with the government of Deccan, the king of Golconda had for his vizier and general of his armies, this Emîr-Jemla, a Persian by birth*, and celebrated throughout Hindostan. The vizier's lineage was not noble, but his talents were of the first order: he was an accomplished soldier, and deeply versed in business. His wealth, which was prodigious, he had acquired, not only by the opportunities afforded him as chief minister of an opulent kingdom, but likewise by means of his extensive commerce with various parts of the world, as well as by the diamond mines which he farmed under feigned names. These mines were worked with indefatigable industry, and it was usual to count his diamonds by the sack. His political influence, it may readily be imagined, was

* Jemla was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor: he, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent journies to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his master's service, traded on his own account, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Tellingana, and of a great part of Golconda. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of this prince, who raised him to the head of the forces of Tellingana.

also very great, commanding as he did not only the armies of the king, but keeping in his own pay a formidable body of troops, with a corps of artillery composed principally of Christians. It ought likewise to be mentioned that the vizier, having found a pretext for the invasion of the Carnatic, pillaged the whole of its ancient and pagan temples, and thus increased his pecuniary resources to an incredible amount.

The jealousy of the king of Golconda was naturally awakened ; and he eagerly, but silently, sought an opportunity to destroy, or remove from his presence, one whom he regarded as a dangerous rival rather than an obedient subject. Surrounded by persons devoted to the interest of the minister, he felt the prudence of concealing his intentions ; but in an unguarded moment, when informed, for the first time, of the improper intimacy subsisting between Emir-Jemla and the queen-mother, who still retained much beauty, he gave utterance to the feelings by which he had so long been oppressed, and denounced vengeance against this powerful offender.

The vizier was at this time in the Carnatic ; but every important office at court being filled by his relations, he was soon made acquainted with the danger which awaited him. This crafty man's first step was to write to his only son Mahmet Emir-Khan, then with the king, to urge his immediate departure from court, under any false pretext, and to represent the necessity of

his joining him in the Carnatic: but he found it impossible to elude the vigilance with which he was guarded. Disappointed in this, the vizier's next measure was at once bold and original, and it brought the king of Golconda to the very verge of destruction: so true it is that he who cannot keep his own counsel cannot preserve his crown. Jemla addressed a letter to Aureng-Zêbe, at this time in Dowlatabad, the metropolis of Deccan, to the following effect:

“I have rendered, as all the world knows, essential services to the king of Golconda, and he owes me a heavy debt of gratitude. Nevertheless, he is plotting my ruin and that of my family. May I be permitted, therefore, to throw myself under your protection? In acknowledgment of the kindness I anticipate at your hands, I suggest a plan by which you may easily obtain possession both of the king's person and kingdom. Confide in my integrity, and the enterprise will neither be difficult nor dangerous: assemble four or five thousand of your choicest cavalry, and proceed by forced marches towards Golconda, which may be reached in sixteen days, spreading a rumour that this body of horse is escorting an ambassador from Shah-Jehan, who has affairs of moment to negotiate with the king at Bagnaguer (his usual place of residence).

The Dabir, through whose medium the first communication is always made to the king, is my

near relation and entirely in my confidence : you have only to advance with rapidity, and I promise so to order it, that you shall arrive at the gates of Bagnaguer without exciting a suspicion that you are any other than an ambassador from Shah-Jehan. When the king advances, according to custom, to receive the credentials, you may easily secure his person, and dispose of him in the manner you may deem fit. Meanwhile I will defray the whole expence of the expedition, and engage to pay fifty thousand rupees daily during the time it may be in progress."

Aureng-Zêbe, ever intent upon projects of ambition, immediately adopted the measures proposed in this letter. He proceeded at once towards the territory of the king of Golconda, and with such address was the plot conducted, that when the prince reached Bagnaguer, no one doubted that this formidable body of horse accompanied an embassy from the Great Mogul. The king, as is usual on similar occasions, repaired to his garden for the purpose of receiving the pretended ambassador with appropriate ceremony and honour ; and while unsuspectingly approaching his perfidious enemy, he was about to be seized by ten or twelve slaves, as had been projected, when an omrah who was in the conspiracy, touched with sudden remorse and compassion, exclaimed, " Your majesty is lost if you do not instantly fly ; this is Aureng-Zêbe, and no ambassador." I

would be superfluous to describe the king's consternation : he fled from the spot, mounted a horse, and rode at full speed to the fortress of Golconda, distant only a league from Bagnaguer.

Although disappointed of his prey, Aureng-Zêbe felt that there was no occasion for alarm, and that he might securely prosecute his endeavours to obtain possession of the king's person. The entire spoliation of the palace was his next act. He stript it of all its costly contents, but sent the women to the king, according to a custom most scrupulously observed among Eastern despots. He then determined, though destitute of cannon, to besiege the king in his fortress, which the want of provisions would have prevented from making a protracted defence ; but Shah-Jehan, two months after the commencement of the siege, peremptorily commanded his son to relinquish his enterprise, and return without delay to Deccan.

Aureng-Zêbe was aware that in issuing these orders, the Mogul was influenced by Dara and Begum-Saheb, who foresaw that if permitted to pursue his designs against the king of Golconda, he would become too powerful. The prince, however, betrayed no resentment, but acknowledged the duty of implicit obedience to his father's commands. Before he retired he received ample indemnification for the expence of the armament, and stipulated that Emir-Jemla should have free permission to remove with his

family, property and troops, and that the silver coin of the realm should in future bear the arms of Shah-Jehan. Moreover he married his son Mahmud to the king's eldest daughter, exacted a promise that the young prince should be nominated successor to the throne of Golconda, and received, as the princess's dowry, the fortress of Ramguyre, with the whole of its appurtenances.

It would appear that Emir-Jemla joined Aureng-Zêbe at this period; because, while returning to Deccan, both these commanders besieged and captured Beder, one of the strongest places in Visiapour. They then proceeded to Dowlatabad, in which city they lived upon terms of the closest intimacy, forming gigantic plans of future aggrandizement. Their union may be remembered as an important epoch in the history of Hindostan: it prepared the way for the greatness and renown of Aureng-Zêbe.

Jemla, who had by his address contrived to obtain frequent invitations to the court of Shah-Jehan, repaired at length to Agra, and carried the most magnificent presents, in the hope of inducing the Mogul to declare war against the kings of Golconda and Visiapour, and against the Portuguese. On this occasion it was that he presented Shah-Jehan with that celebrated diamond which has been generally deemed unparalleled in size and beauty. He dilated with earnestness on the benefits which would accrue from the conquest

of Golconda, whose precious stones* were surely more deserving of his consideration than the rocks of Candahar, whither the Mogul was about to lead an army: his military operations in that kingdom ought not to cease, he said, until the conquest of his arms extended to Cape Comorin.

The diamonds may have produced their effect upon the mind of Shah-Jehan; but it is the more received opinion that he was glad of a pretext for raising an army which should restrain the growing insolence of his eldest son; and that it was for this reason he entered into the views of Jemla.

Whatever were his motives, he resolved to send an army towards Deccan, under the Emir's command.

* Diamonds are found principally in the kingdoms of Golconda, Visiapour, Bengal and the island of Borneo. There are four mines, or rather two mines and two rivers, whence diamonds are drawn. The mines are 1. that of Raolconda, five days journey from the town of Golconda; 2. that of Gani, or Coulour, seven days journey from Golconda eastwardly; 3. that of Solempour, a town in Bengal: the latter should rather be called that of Gouel, which is the name of the river in the sand whereof these stones are found: lastly, the fourth mine, or rather the second river, is that of Succadan, in the island of Borneo. Till within the last hundred years no diamond mines were known besides those in the East Indies. In the year 1728, however, a discovery of diamonds was made at Brazil, upon some branches of the river das Caravelas, and at Serro de Frio, in the province of Minas-Geraes.—*Translator.*

*also the "Carnas" mines
near Chatterport*

Dara had incurred his father's displeasure by his recent and undisguised attempts to become paramount in power and authority: but there was one act of his which Shah-Jehan regarded with peculiar horror and indignation, and which he was least disposed to forgive,—the murder of vizier Sadullah-Khan, a nobleman whom the Mogul considered the most accomplished statesman of Asia, and for whom he felt a warmth of friendship that became quite proverbial. What was the offence which Dara judged worthy of death, is not ascertained. Perhaps he apprehended that in the event of the king's demise, the powerful ascendancy of the vizier might leave the crown at his disposal, and that he would place it on the head of Sultan-Sujah, whose party he seemed to favour: or it is possible Dara may have been influenced by the reports promulgated respecting the intentions of Sudallah-Khan, who, from being a Hindoo by birth, had excited the jealousy of the Persians at court. One of these rumours was, that, after the death of Shah-Jehan, the vizier designed to exclude the Moguls from the throne, and either to restore the royal race of Patan, or usurp the crown for himself or his son. His wife was from Patan, and it was pretended that he kept a well appointed army of that people cantoned in various parts, to aid him in accomplishing his project.

It was evident to Dara that to send troops to the Deccan was in effect to increase, by so many

men, the strength of Aureng-Zêbe. He opposed the measure, therefore, with many arguments and entreaties, and by every art he could devise. Finding it, however, impossible to move Shah-Jehan from his purpose, he persuaded him to impose certain conditions ; by which Aureng-Zebe should engage to abstain from all interference in the conduct of the war ; fix his residence at Dowlatabad ; confine his attention to the government of Deccan ; and also that the Emir should retain the absolute and undivided command of the army : leaving the whole of his family at court, as hostages for his fidelity. This last clause was extremely offensive to Jemla ; but Shah-Jehan prevailed with him to yield compliance, assuring him that this stipulation was intended only to satisfy the caprice of his son, and that he should soon be followed by his wife and children. The Emir put himself at the head of a fine army, with which he marched into the Deccan : and without tarrying in that country, entered Visiapour, commencing his operations with the siege of Callianee, a place of considerable strength.

Such was the state of Hindostan when the Mogul, who had past his seventieth year, was seized with a disorder, the nature of which it were unbecoming to describe. Suffice it to state that it was disgraceful to a man of his age, who, instead of wasting, ought to have been careful to preserve the remaining vigour of his constitution.*

* It is observed by Colonel Dow that Shah-Jehan's dis-

The Mogul's illness filled the whole extent of his dominions with agitation and alarm. Dara collected powerful armies in Delhi and Agra, the principal cities of the kingdom. In Bengal, Sultan-Sujah made the same vigorous preparations for war. Aureng-Zêbe in the Deccan, and Morâd-Bakche in Guzerat, also levied such forces as evinced a determination to contend for empire. The four brothers gathered around them their friends and allies; all wrote letters, made large promises, and entered into a variety of intrigues. Dara, having intercepted some of these letters, shewed them to his father, inveighing bitterly against his brothers; and Begum-Saheb availed herself of so advantageous an opportunity to prejudice the Mogul against his three rebellious sons: but Shah-Jehan placed no confidence in Dara, and suspecting he had a design to poison him, swallowed no food without the utmost fear and caution. It is even thought that he corresponded at this time with Aureng-Zêbe, and that Dara, being apprized of the circumstance, was transported with rage to such a degree as to threaten his father. Meanwhile, the king's distemper increased, and it was reported that he was dead: the whole court was in confusion; the population of

gusting debaucheries had weakened his constitution. On the 17th of September, 1657, he was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, accompanied with a violent strangury, and he remained in a state of insensibility for several days.—

Translator.

of Agra was panic-struck ; the shops were closed for many days, and the four princes openly declared their settled purpose of making the sword the sole arbiter of their lofty pretensions. It was, in fact, too late to recede : not only was the crown to be gained by victory alone, but in case of defeat life was certain to be forfeited. There was now no choice between a kingdom and death : as Shah-Jehan had ascended the throne by imbruing his hands in the blood of his own brothers, so the unsuccessful candidates on the present occasion were sure to be sacrificed to the jealousy of the conqueror.*

Sultan-Sujah was the first who took the field. He had filled his coffers by ruining some of the rajahs, and by plundering others. He was therefore enabled to raise a numerous army ; and confiding in the support of the Persian omrahs, whose religious views he had embraced, advanced rapidly on Agra. He issued a proclamation which set forth the death of his father by poison from the hand of Dara, and declared his determination both to avenge so foul a murder, and to occupy the vacant throne. Shah-Jehan, at the instance of Dara, hastened to undeceive him in regard to the rumour of his decease ; the

* On ascending the throne, Shah-Jehan, either by the dagger or bowstring, dispatched all the males of the house of Timour ; so that only himself and his children remained of the posterity of Baber, who conquered India.—*Translator.*

malady was giving way, he said, to the power of medicine, and he expressly commanded him to return forthwith to his government of Bengal. But as Sultan-Sujah's friends at court represented the Mogul's disorder as incurable, he continued his march toward the capital, pretending that he was too well convinced of the death of his revered parent, and that if contrary, to his expectation, he should be yet alive, he was desirous of kissing his feet and receiving his commands.

Aureng-Zêbe also published his proclamations, and put his forces in motion, much at the same time as Sultan-Sujah. He too was meditating an advance on Agra when he received a similar prohibition, both from the king and from Dara; the latter of whom menaced him with punishment if he quitted Deccan. He dissembled, however, like his brother of Bengal, and returned a similar answer; but as his finances were not abundant, and his army was comparatively small, he endeavoured to obtain by fraud what he could not hope to gain by arms. The immediate dupes of his artifice were Morâd-Bakche and Emir-Jemla. In a letter to the former he said:

“I need not remind you, my brother, how repugnant to my real disposition are the toils of government. While Dara and Sultan-Sujah are tormented with a thirst for dominion, I sigh only for the life of a Fakir. But, although renouncing all claim to the kingdom, I nevertheless consider

myself bound to impart my sentiments to you, my friend, whom I have always tenderly loved. Dara is not only incapable of reigning, but is utterly unworthy of the throne, inasmuch as he is a kafer (an infidel), and held in abhorrence by all the great omrahs. Sultan-Sujah is equally undeserving the crown; for being avowedly a rafezy (heretic), he is of course an enemy to Hindostan. Will you then permit me to say that in you alone are to be found the qualifications for ruling a mighty empire. This opinion is not adopted by myself only; it is likewise entertained by the leading nobles, who esteem you for your matchless valour, and are anxious for your arrival in the capital. With respect to myself, if I can exact a solemn promise from you that, when king, you will suffer me to pass my life in some sequestered spot of your dominions, where I may offer up my constant prayers to heaven in peace, and without molestation, I am prepared immediately to make common cause with you, to aid you with my counsel and my friends, and to place the whole of my army at your disposal. I send you one hundred thousand rupees, of which I entreat your acceptance, as an earnest of my best wishes. The time is critical: you should, therefore, not lose one moment in taking possession of the castle of Surat, where I know the vast treasure of the state to be deposited."

Morâd-Bakche, whose wealth and power were

comparatively limited, received his brother's proposals, accompanied as they were by so large a sum, with great delight, and was beyond measure elated at the prospect which now presented itself to him. The letter was everywhere exhibited, in expectation that the young men would be induced by its contents to enter with cheerfulness into his army, and that it might dispose the opulent merchants more willingly to lend the large sums he was exacting with undeviating rigour. He now assumed all the consequence and authority of a king; was profuse in his promises, and contrived every thing so successfully that he soon collected a pretty numerous army. From this army, it was his first care to detach three thousand men, under the command of the eunuch Shah-Abas, a valiant soldier, to lay siege to the castle of Surat.

Aureng-Zêbe next turned his thoughts on Emir-Jemla. He sent to him his eldest son Sultan-Mahmud (whom he had married to the king of Golconda's daughter) with a request that he would come to him at Dowlatabad, as he had intelligence of the last moment to impart. The Emir was at no loss to divine the nature of this intelligence, and refused to quit his army which was still engaged in the siege of Callianee; alleging that he had recently received tidings from Agra, and could assure Sultan-Mahmud that Shah-Jehan was not dead. In no case, however, could he think of co-operating with Aureng-Zêbe, while his wife and children were in Dara's power: his

determination was fixed ; he would not be a party in the present quarrel.

Finding it impossible to accomplish the object of his mission, Sultan Mahmud returned to Dowlatabad, extremely displeased with the Emir ; but Aureng-Zêbe, no way discouraged, sent another message by his second son Sultan Mazum, who conducted his mission with so much address and urbanity, and made such protestations of friendship, that Emir-Jemla could not withstand the force of his solicitations. He pressed the siege of Callanee, and having forced the garrison to capitulate, hastened to Dowlatabad with the flower of his army.

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Aureng-Zêbe received Emir-Jemla with the strongest professions of kindness, calling him Baba and Babagy—father, and the lord my father. He embraced his welcome visitor a hundred times ; and taking him aside, addressed him thus :—“ I acknowledge the force of the objection made by you to Sultan-Mahmud, and it is the opinion of my friends at court, who are men of judgment, that it would be extremely imprudent, while your family are in the hands of Dara, to stir openly in my favour, or even to manifest the slightest disposition to promote the interest of my cause. But it is not for me to inform you that there are few difficulties which may not be overcome. A scheme has occurred to my mind, which, though at first it may surprise you, will, I doubt not, on reflection, appear to you well calculated to ensure

the safety of your family. Suffer yourself to be confined in prison; it will have the effect of imposing upon the world, and we shall reap all the success we can desire from this plan: for who will ever imagine that a person of your rank could tamely submit to incarceration? In the mean time, I can employ a part of your troops in any manner you think fit; and you will not perhaps refuse, in furtherance of our project, to supply me with a sum of money, according to the offer you have so repeatedly made. With these troops, and this money, I may safely try my fortune. Allow me, therefore, to conduct you to the fortress of Dowlatabad where you will be guarded by one of my sons; we may then deliberate upon the means to be pursued, and I cannot conceive how any suspicion should arise in the mind of Dara, or how he can reasonably ill-treat the wife and children of one who is apparently my enemy."

I have authority for stating that such was substantially the language used by Aureng-Zêbe. The considerations which dictated the Emir's answer to these strange propositions, are not now so well known. It is certain, however, that he complied with them, that he consented to place the troops under Aureng-Zêbe's orders, to lend him money, and, what is even more extraordinary to be conducted to the fortress of Dowlatabad. Some have thought that Emir-Jemla was really allured by the solemn assurance of advantages to be derived from his acquiescence, and that he

was likewise influenced by the recollection of those vows of ardent and indissoluble friendship which had been so frequently interchanged between him and Aureng-Zêbe. Others there are who, perhaps with more reason believe that fear forbade him to withhold his assent, as the two sons of Aureng-Zêbe, Sultan Mazum, and Sultan Mahmud were present at the conference; the former completely armed, and assuming a look that could not be mistaken; the latter indulging in unseemly grimaces, after having raised his arm in a manner which implied an intention of proceeding to violence: for the pride of this prince was mortified because his brother's mission had been attended with better success than his own, and he was at no pains to conceal his resentment.

When the imprisonment of Emir-Jemla became known, that portion of the army which had been brought from Visiapour, demanded aloud the release of their commander, and would soon have opened the door of his prison, if they had not been appeased by the arts of Aureng-Zêbe, who intimated to the superior officers that the Emir's confinement was quite voluntary, and a part, in fact, of a scheme understood between themselves. He was, besides, lavish of his presents: he promised advancement to the officers, and increased the pay of the private soldiers; giving them at once three months' advance as a pledge of his liberal intentions.

In this manner the troops lately under Jemla's command were persuaded to take part in

the campaign meditated by Aureng-Zêbe, who thus soon found himself in a condition to take the field. He first marched in the direction of Surat for the purpose of accelerating the fall of that place, which persevered in a vigorous and unexpected resistance; but a few days after his army had been put in motion he received news of the surrender of that town. He then dispatched a congratulatory letter to Morâd-Bakche; made him acquainted with all that had passed with Emir-Jemla; told him he was now at the head of a formidable force; that he possessed abundance of money; that his understanding with the principal courtiers was complete; and that he was fully prepared to proceed towards Burampour and Agra. He then conjured him to hasten his march, and he fixed the place for the junction of the two armies.

Morâd-Bakche was disappointed in the amount of treasure found in Surat; perhaps it had been exaggerated by report; or the governor, as was generally suspected, had appropriated a large portion of it to his own use. The money, of which he came into possession, only sufficed to pay the soldiers, who had been induced to enlist by the expectation of the immense wealth which the walls of Surat were believed to enclose. Nor ought the capture of the town to have increased the military reputation of this prince; for, although destitute of regular fortifications, it yet baffled his

utmost endeavours for more than a month: and he had made no progress in the siege when the Dutch instructed him, for the first time, in the art of mining. The blowing up of a considerable part of the wall spread consternation in the garrison, and terms of capitulation were immediately proposed.

The fall of Surat facilitated the future operations of Morâd-Bakche. It procured him a great name; mining is yet imperfectly known in India, and nothing could have inspired the Hindoos with more astonishment than the efficacious method in which this new art had been employed by Morâd-Bakche. It was moreover universally believed that vast riches had fallen into his hands. But notwithstanding the fame acquired by this event, and all the flattering promises of Aureng-Zêbe, Shah-Abas urged him to disregard the extravagant declarations of his brother, and not rashly to throw himself into his hands. "Listen," he said, "while it is yet time, to my advice; amuse him with fair words, if you please; but do not think of joining him with your forces. Let him advance alone toward Agra. We shall by and by receive positive intelligence of your father's state of health, and see the course that events may take. In the mean time you may fortify Surat, a most important post, which will secure to you the dominion of an extensive country producing a rich revenue, and with a little manage-

ment you may become master of Burampour, also a town in a commanding situation, and the key, as it were, of the Deccan."

But the letters daily received from Aureng-Zêbe, determined Morâd-Bakche not to relax his exertions, and the wise counsel of the eunuch Shah-Abas was rejected. This acute statesman had a warm and affectionate heart, and was sincerely attached to the interests of his master. Happy would it have been for the young prince if he had listened to his sage advice; but Morâd was blinded by an inordinate thirst for dominion: his brother's letters were more and more expressive of his entire devotedness to his cause, and he considered that, if left to his own resources, he should never be able to realize those schemes of greatness that continually haunted his imagination. He therefore broke up from his encampment at Ahmedabâd, abandoned Guzerat, and made the best of his way, over mountains and through forests, to the rendezvous where Aureng-Zêbe had halted some days in expectation of his arrival.

The junction of the armies was celebrated by great rejoicings and much festivity. The two brothers were inseparable, and Aureng-Zêbe renewed his professions of unalterable affection and his protestations of complete disinterestedness. Of the kingdom, he repeated, that he most assuredly entertained no thought; he had placed himself at the head of an army for the sole purpose of combating Dara, their common foe, and of

seating Morâd on the vacant throne. During the march of the armies toward the capital, Aureng-Zêbe spoke in the same tone, and never omitted, either in private or public, to address his brother with the reverence and humility due from a subject to his sovereign, calling him Hazeret, king and majesty. Strange that Morâd should never have suspected his honesty of intention, or that the late nefarious transactions in Golconda should have made so slight an impression on his mind ! but this prince was blinded by a wild ambition for empire, and incapable of perceiving that he, who had recently incurred so much infamy by his attempt to usurp a kingdom, could feel little inclination for the life of a fakir or dervise.

The combined armies formed an imposing force, and their approach created a great sensation at the seat of government. Nothing could exceed the uneasiness of Dara, and Shah-Jehan was appalled at the threatening aspect of affairs. Whatever scope he permitted to his imagination, he could conceive no event, however momentous and afflictive, which might not be brought to pass by the talents of Aureng-Zêbe and the intrepidity of Morâd-Bakche. In vain did he dispatch courier after courier announcing his convalescence, and assuring the two brothers that the whole of their proceedings should be buried in oblivion if they immediately returned to their respective governments :—the united armies continued to advance, and as the king's malady was really con-

sidered mortal, the princes had recourse to their usual dissimulation, affirming that the letters purporting to bear the king's sign-manual were surreptitious and the invention of Dara; that the Mogul was either dead or on the point of death; and that if he should happily be alive, they were desirous of prostrating themselves at his feet, and delivering him from the thralldom which he was held in by Dara.

Shah-Jehan's situation was indeed distressing:—afflicted with disease, and almost a prisoner in the hands of Dara, who, guided by a furious resentment, breathed nothing but war, and was unwearied in preparations for conducting it with vigour;—while his other children, regardless of repeated injunctions, accelerated their march toward Agra. But what a sad alternative was left him in this extremity? his treasures, he saw, must be dissipated, abandoned to his sons, and squandered at their pleasure; he was compelled to summon around him his faithful and veteran captains, who were generally unfavourable to Dara, and whom nevertheless he must command to espouse his cause, and take the field against the other princes, though in his heart the old monarch felt more affection for them than for Dara. The danger being most pressing on the side whence Sultan-Sujah was advancing, an army was immediately sent against that prince, while another was assembled in order to encounter the combined forces of Aureng-Zêbe and Morad-Bâkche.

Solimân-Shekô, Dara's eldest son, was the general nominated to the command of the corps sent to oppose Sultan-Sujah's progress. He was about five and twenty years of age, of a fine person, not without good abilities, generous and popular. He was a favourite of Shah-Jehan, from whom he had already received great riches, and who intended him for his successor in preference to Dara. As the Mogul's chief anxiety was to avoid the effusion of blood in this unnatural contest, he appointed an old rajah, named Joy-Singh, to be the companion or counsellor of his grandson. Joy-Singh is at present one of the richest rajahs in Hindostan, and perhaps the ablest man in the whole kingdom. The king gave him secret instructions to avoid, if possible, coming to an engagement, and to leave no method untried to induce Sujah to retrace his steps. "Represent to my son," he said, "that not his duty alone, but also his policy, demand the reservation of his strength for a more justifiable and promising occasion; until my malady have terminated in death, or at least until the result of the united efforts of Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche shall be ascertained."

But all the efforts of Joy-Singh to prevent a battle proved abortive. Solimân-Shekô, on the one side, was full of military ardour, and ambitious of acquiring a great name; and, on the other, Sultan-Sujah apprehended that if he delayed his march, Aureng-Zêbe might overcome

Dara and gain possession of the two capital cities, Agra and Delhi. Thus the two armies were no sooner in sight, than a heavy cannonade commenced; but I need not detain my readers by detailing the particulars of this action, especially as I shall have to describe others of greater consequence: it is sufficient to state that the onset was impetuous on both sides, and that after a warm struggle Sultan-Sujah was obliged to give way, and at length to fly in confusion. It is certain that if Joy-Singh and his bosom friend Debere-Khan, a Patan and an excellent soldier, had not purposely held back, the rout of the enemy would have been complete, and their commander probably made prisoner. But the rajah was too prudent to lay his hands on a prince of the blood, the son of his master; and he acted conformably to the Mogul's intentions when he afforded Sultan-Sujah the means of escape. Although the loss of the enemy was inconsiderable, yet as the field of battle and a few pieces of artillery remained in Solimân-Shekô's possession, it was immediately reported at court that he had gained a decisive victory. This affair, while it raised the reputation of Solimân-Shekô, was injurious to that of Sultan-Sujah, and the ardour of the Persians who favoured his cause was proportionably abated.

Solimân-Shekô had been a few days employed in the feeble pursuit of Sujah, when he received intelligence of the rapid and resolute march of

Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche on Agra. Aware of his father's want of conduct and prudence, and knowing that he was surrounded by secret enemies, he prudently determined to return to the capital, in the neighbourhood of which Dara would probably offer battle. Every one is of opinion that the young prince could not have adopted a wiser course; and that if he could have brought up his army in time, Aureng-Zêbe would have gained no advantage, if indeed he had ventured to engage in so unequal a contest.

Notwithstanding the success which had attended the arms of Solimân-Shekô at Allahabâd, (where the Jumna falls into the Ganges) affairs took a very different turn on the side of Agra. The government were struck with amazement when they heard that Aureng-Zêbe had crossed the river at Burampour and forced his way through all the difficult passes in the mountains, on the successful defence of which every reliance had been placed. A body of troops was hastily despatched to dispute the passage of the river at Ugein, while the main body of the army was preparing to move forward. To command this body of troops, two of the most skilful, and, in point of personal influence, two of the most powerful men, were selected. The name of the one was Kasem-Khan, a soldier of first-rate reputation, sincerely attached to Shah-Jehan, but disliking Dara: he assumed the command very reluctantly, and only in obedience to the Mogul. The

other was the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, who in importance and authority yielded not to Joy-Singh. He was son-in-law of the famous and powerful Rajah-Ranâ, who lived in the reign of Acbar, and was prince of the rajahs.

Dara addressed these two generals in the most affectionate terms, and presented them with costly gifts on their departure with the troops: but Shah-Jehan privately suggested the same measures of caution and forbearance, which were practised in the case of Sultan-Sujah. The consequence was that messenger after messenger was sent to Aureng-Zêbe to beg that he would retire; but while there appeared this indecision on one side, all was activity and resolution on the other: the messengers never returned, and the enemy unexpectedly crowned an eminence at a short distance from the river.

It was summer, and the heat was intense; the river therefore became fordable. Kasem-Khan and the rajah prepared for battle on perceiving, as they apprehended, a disposition on the part of Aureng-Zêbe to force the river. But in point of fact, the whole of his army was not yet come up, and this was only a feint; for he feared that the enemy's troops might themselves cross the stream, cut him off from the water, attack him before the soldiers had recovered from their fatigue, and thus prevent him from taking up an advantageous position. It appears certain indeed that he was at this time totally incapable of opposing any

effectual resistance, and that Kasem-Khan and the rajah might have obtained an easy victory. I was not present at this rencounter ; but such was the opinion entertained by every spectator, especially by the French officers in Aureng-Zêbe's artillery. The two commanders, however, were compelled by their secret orders quietly to take a position on the banks of the river*, and to content themselves with disputing the passage.

His army having rested two or three days, Aureng-Zêbe made the necessary dispositions for forcing the passage. Placing his artillery in a commanding position, he ordered the troops to move forward under cover of its fire. His progress was opposed by the cannon of the enemy, and the combat was at first maintained with great obstinacy. Jesswint-Singh displayed extraordinary valour, disputing every inch of ground with skill and pertinacity. With regard to Kasem-Khan, although it cannot be denied that he deserved the celebrity he had hitherto enjoyed, yet upon the present occasion he approved himself neither a dexterous general nor a courageous soldier : he was even suspected of treachery, and of having concealed in the sand, during the night that preceded the battle, the greater part of his ammunition, a few vollies having left the army without powder or ball. However this may be, the action was well supported and the passage vigorously opposed. The assailants

* The Nirbidia.

were much incommoded by rocks in the bed of the river ; and the uncommon height of its banks, in many parts, rendered it extremely difficult to gain a footing on the other side. The impetuosity of Morâd-Bakche at length overcame every impediment ; he reached the opposite bank with his corps, and was quickly followed by the remainder of the army. It was then that Kasem-Khan ingloriously fled from the field, leaving Jesswint-Singh exposed to the most imminent peril. That undaunted rajah was beset on all sides by an overwhelming force, and saved only by the affecting devotion of his rajaputs, the far greater part of whom died at his feet. Fewer than six hundred of these brave men, whose number at the commencement of the action amounted to nearly eight thousand, survived the carnage of that dreadful day. With this faithful remnant Jesswint-Singh retired to his own territory, not considering it prudent to return to Agra.

The word rajaputs signifies *sons of rajahs*. These people are educated from one generation to another in the profession of arms. Parcels of land are assigned to them for their maintenance by the rajahs whose subjects they are, on condition that they shall appear in the field on the summons of their chieftain. They might be said to form a species of pagan nobility, if the land were inalienable and descended to their children. From an early age they are accustomed to the use of opium, and I have sometimes been astonished

to see the large quantity they swallow. On the day of battle they never fail to double the dose, and this drug so animates, or rather inebriates them, that they rush into the thickest of the combat insensible of danger. If the rajah be himself a brave man, he need never entertain an apprehension of being deserted by his rajaputs: they may want conduct, but their minds are made up to die in his presence rather than abandon him to his enemies. It is an interesting sight to see them on the eve of a battle, with the fumes of opium in their heads, embrace and bid adieu to one another as if certain of death. Who then can wonder that the Great Mogul, though a muselman, and as such an enemy to heathens, always keeps in his service a large retinue of rajahs, treating them with the same consideration as the Muhammedan omrahs, and appointing them to important commands in his armies?*

I may here relate the ungracious reception

* The rajaputs of Agimere, inhabiting rugged mountains and close vallies, are (observes Major Rennell) in respect of Hindostan what the Swiss are to Europe; but their country is much more extensive and populous. From Mahmud to Aureng-Zêbe, the Indian conquerors were contented with the nominal subjection of those hardy tribes; among whom, military enthusiasm, grafted on religious principles, is added to strength and agility of body. This race is disseminated over a tract equal to half the extent of France. It goes under the general name of rajaputana, and is the original country of the founder of the Mahratta state, whose rulers, about the middle of the seventh century, aspired to universal empire in Hindostan — *Translator.*

experienced by the valiant Jesswint-Singh from his wife, the daughter of Rana. When it was announced that he was approaching with his gallant band of about five hundred rajaputs, the melancholy remnant of nearly eight thousand, at the head of whom he had fought with noble intrepidity, quitting the field from necessity, but not with dishonour; instead of sending to congratulate the gallant soldier on his escape, and console him in his misfortune, she sternly commanded that the gates of the castle should be closed against him. "The man is covered with infamy," she said, "and he shall not enter within these walls. I disown him for my husband, and these eyes can never again behold Jesswint-Singh. No son-in-law of Rana can possess a soul so object. He who is allied to his illustrious house must imitate the virtues of that great man: if he cannot vanquish, he should die." The next moment the temper of her mind took another turn. "Prepare the funeral pile," she exclaimed. "The fire shall consume my body. I am deceived; my husband is certainly dead; it cannot possibly be otherwise:" and then again, transported with rage, she broke into the bitterest reproaches. In this humour she continued eight or nine days, refusing the whole of that time to see her husband. The arrival of her mother was attended, however, with a beneficial effect: she, in some measure, appeased and comforted her daughter, by solemnly promising, in the rajah's name, that as soon as he should

be somewhat recovered from his fatigue, he would collect a second army, attack Aureng-Zêbe, and fully retrieve his reputation.

This anecdote may serve as a specimen of the spirit which animates the women of this country. I might mention several instances of the same kind, having seen many wives burn themselves after the death of their husbands : but these are details which I reserve for another place ; where I shall, at the same time, shew the ascendancy which prejudice, hope, the force of opinion, and the principle of honour have over the human mind.

When Dara was made acquainted with the calamitous events that had occurred at Ugein, the violence of his rage would have hurried him into a course of the most extravagant conduct, if he had not been restrained by the arguments and moderation of Shah-Jehan. That Kasem-Khan, had he been within his reach, would have paid the forfeit of his head, can scarcely be doubted ; and Emir-Jemla being regarded as the primary and principal cause of the present crisis, (since it was he who supplied Aureng-Zêbe with troops and money), Dara would have killed his son Mahmet Emir-Khan and sent his wife and daughter to the bazaar, or market for women of pleasure, had he not at length yielded to the suggestions of the king, who shewed the extreme improbability of the emir's concurrence in the measures of Aureng-Zêbe. His judgment was too sound, he observed, to allow of his placing his family in jeopardy, for

the sake of advancing the interests of a man for whom he could feel no warmth of friendship. On the contrary, it was sufficiently obvious that he had been himself deceived and had fallen into the wiles of Aureng-Zêbe.

The invaders, in the mean time, were flushed with success, impressed with an idea of their invincibility, and persuaded that there was no object, however difficult and stupendous, which they might not achieve. Still more to increase the confidence of his troops, Aureng-Zêbe vaunted aloud that in Dara's army there were thirty thousand Moguls devoted to his service; and that this was not entirely an empty boast, will soon be made apparent. Morâd-Bakche felt impatient of delay, and expressed his eagerness to push forward; but his brother repressed this ardour, representing the necessity of some repose on the banks of the beautiful Nirbidda, especially as it would afford an opportunity for corresponding with his friends, and ascertaining the situation of affairs. The advance on Agra was therefore slow and circumspect, exactly regulated by the information daily received.

Shah-Jehan was now reduced to a state of hopelessness and misery. He saw that his sons were not to be turned aside from their determination to enter the capital, and viewed with dismay the mighty preparation made by Dara for a decisive battle. He had a prescience of the terrible evils impending over his house, which he

endeavoured by every expedient to avert. He was not in a situation, however, to resist the wishes of Dara, for he still continued to labour under the influence of disease, and was the servant rather than the sovereign of his eldest son. To that son he had long been compelled to resign all authority, and the military commanders, as well as the officers of the state, were instructed to yield implicit obedience to the orders of Dara. It is not surprising, therefore, that this prince was enabled to assemble a numerous army, finer than perhaps had ever trod the plains of Hindostan. The lowest calculation makes it amount to one hundred thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and eighty pieces of cannon; besides an incredible number of servants, followers, and purveyors, so necessary for the support of an army in peace as well as in war, and who, I suspect, are often included by historians in the number of combatants, when they speak of immense armies of three or four hundred thousand men. Unquestionably, that under Dara's command was sufficient, in point of physical strength, to overwhelm two or three such armies as Aureng-Zêbe's, whose utmost force could not exceed forty thousand men of all arms, and these harassed and nearly worn out by long marches under a vertical sun. Yet, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, no one seemed to presage success to Dara; the only troops on whose fidelity he could depend being with the army under Solimân-Shekô, and

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the principal omrahs having manifested symptoms of disaffection to his interests. His friends therefore, earnestly recommended him not to hazard an engagement. Shah-Jehan was most urgent on this point, offering, infirm as he was, to assume the chief command, and to be conveyed in front of Aureng-Zêbe's army. This scheme was admirably adapted to preserve peace, and to arrest the progress of that haughty prince: neither he nor Morâd-Bakche would probably have felt disposed to fight against their father: or, if they had ventured upon such a step, their ruin must have been the consequence; for Shah-Jehan was popular among all the omrahs, and the whole army, including the troops under the two brothers, was enthusiastically attached to his person.

Failing in their attempt to prevent an appeal to the sword, Dara's friends exhausted every argument to dissuade him, at least, from acting with precipitancy, and to induce him to delay the battle until the arrival of Soliman-Shekô, who was hastening to his assistance. This also was sound advice, the young prince being generally beloved, and returning at the head of a victorious army, composed of soldiers, as I have before observed, attached to Dara. But he rejected this, as he had done the former proposition, and remained inflexible in his resolution to anticipate Aureng-Zêbe and bring him immediately to action.

If indeed Dara could have commanded fortune,

and controlled events, his own reputation and peculiar interest might have been promoted by such a procedure. These were the considerations that actuated him, and which he could not altogether conceal:—he was master of the king's person ; in possession of his treasure, and enjoying undivided authority over the royal armies. Sultan-Sujah was already half ruined ; his other brothers were come, with a weak and worn out army, voluntarily, as it were, to throw themselves into his hands. Once defeated, they would have no way of escape ; he would then become absolute lord, attain the end of his labours, and ascend the throne without competition or difficulty. If he entrusted the management of the campaign to his father, an amicable accommodation would take place ; his brothers would return quietly to their respective provinces ; Shah-Jehan, whose health was evidently improving, would resume the reins of government, and affairs revert to their former state. If, again, he awaited the arrival of his son Solimân-Shekô, the king might employ the interval in forming some design to his disadvantage, or enter into negociation with Aureng-Zêbe injurious to his interests ; and, admitting that after the junction of his son's army, a battle were fought and gained, the part which he might have had in the success of the day would be denied him, and the honour of the achievement rest with Solimân-Shekô, whose military reputation was already known and established

Then, who could tell the effect which the general applause might produce on his youthful and ardent mind, countenanced as he would be by his grandfather, and many of the chief omrahs? There was no saying how boundless his ambition might become, or how little it might be restrained by the affection and respect he owed to his father.

Such were the reasons which induced Dara to turn a deaf ear to the voice of prudence and friendship. He ordered the whole army to take the field, and presented himself before Shah-Jehan, then in the fortress of Agra, for the purpose of bidding him farewell. As his father embraced him, the unhappy old man shed tears; but addressing him in a grave and serious tone, he said, "Well, my son, since you will have it your own way, may heaven bless your undertaking! but remember this, my injunction;—if the battle be lost have a care how you come again into my presence!" Little impressed with these words, Dara took a hasty leave of the king, and marched his army to the river Chumbul, about twenty leagues from Agra, where having fortified himself he waited with confidence the arrival of the enemy. But the quick-sighted and wily fakir, who was every where provided with spies, fully aware of the difficulty of passing the river when thus defended, came indeed, and encamped sufficiently near to have his tents descried by Dara, but was at the same time intriguing with a rajah of the

name of Chempet, whom he gained over by presents and promises, and through whose territory he obtained permission to march his army for the purpose of reaching speedily that part of the river where it is fordable. Chempet even undertook to be his guide through forests and over mountains which perhaps were considered impracticable by Dara; and Aureng-Zêbe, leaving his tents standing to deceive his brother, had crossed with his troops to the other side of the Chumbul, almost as soon as the enemy was apprized of his departure.* In this emergency, Dara was compelled to abandon his fortifications, and pursue Aureng-Zêbe, who advanced by rapid strides towards the river Jumna, on the banks of which he had time to intrench himself, refresh his men, and in his turn, await composedly the approach of the enemy. The position chosen by him was five

* Colonel Dow does not notice the Rajah Chempet; but states that Shaista-Khan, who was third in command in the Imperial army, informed Aureng-Zêbe, that to attempt forcing the lines of Dara would be folly, and that the only means left him was to leave his camp standing to divert Dara's attention, and to march through the hills by a bye-road, which two chiefs, who were directed to attend him in the evening, would point out. The princes closed with the proposal. The guides joined them in the evening, and they decamped with the greatest silence, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery under a strong guard, who were to amuse the enemy. The army moved about thirty miles that night; and the next day they were discovered by the scouts of Dara, in full march towards Agra.—*Translator.*

leagues distant from Agra ; the name of the place which was formerly called Samonguer, is now Fateabad or the *Place of Victory*. Dara soon came up, and encamped also near the banks of the same river, between Agra and Aureng-Zêbe.

The two armies remained in sight of each other three or four days without coming to an engagement. During this interval, Shah-Jehan sent letter upon letter to Dara, apprizing him of Solimân-Shekô's near approach, and entreating him to do nothing rashly or prematurely ; but to draw closer to Agra, and select advantageous ground whereon to intrench his army until the arrival of his son. The only answer returned by Dara to these letters was, that three days should not elapse ere he brought Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche, bound hands and feet, to his father, who might pass such judgment upon his rebellious sons as to him should seem meet. This answer dispatched, he prepared for battle.

He placed the whole of his cannon in front, linked together by chains of iron, in order that no space might be left for the entrance of the enemy's cavalry. Immediately in the rear of the cannon, he ranged a line of light camels, on the fore part of whose bodies small pieces of ordnance, somewhat resembling swivels in our vessels, were fixed : these the rider could charge and discharge at pleasure, without being obliged to dismount. Behind these camels, was posted the most considerable part of the musketeers. The rest of the

army consisted principally of cavalry, armed either with sabres, and those kind of half-pikes used by the rajaputs; or with sabres and bows and arrows; which latter weapon is generally used by the Moguls, that is, (according to the present acceptation of the term Mogul) foreigners whose complexions are white, and who profess muhammedanism; such as Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Usbees.

The army was formed into three divisions. The command of the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Moguls, was given to Calil-ullah-Khan, and the left wing was entrusted to Rustum-Khan-Dakny, a brave and famous captain, conjointly with the Rajahs-Sittersal and Ram-Singh-Routlé. Calil-ullah had been made Bakchis, or grand master of the horse, in the stead of Danechmend-Khan (afterward my Aga) who resigned that situation because he knew that he had incurred Dara's displeasure by his solicitude to uphold the sole and unshackled authority of Shah-Jehan.

Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche made a nearly similar disposition of their forces, excepting that among the troops of the omrahs, stationed on either flank, a few pieces of field artillery were intermixed and concealed; a stratagem invented, it is said, by Emir-Jemla, and attended with some success. I am not aware that in this battle recourse was had to any other artifice, unless it were that of a certain species of rocket, which was thrown, from various parts of the line, among the

enemy's cavalry, and which produced the effect of terrifying the horses, and sometimes of killing the men.

It cannot be denied that the cavalry of this country manœuvre with much ease, and discharge their arrows with astonishing quickness; a dragoon shooting six times before a musketeer can fire twice. They also preserve excellent order, and keep in a compact body, especially when charging the enemy. But, after all, I do not think very highly of their proficiency in the art of war, as compared with that of Europeans, for reasons which I shall mention in another part of this work.

The preparations I have described being completed, the artillery of both armies opened their fire, the invariable mode of commencing an engagement; and the arrows were already thick in the air, when suddenly there fell a shower of rain so violent as to interrupt the work of slaughter for a while. The weather had no sooner cleared than the sound of cannon was again heard, and Dara was at this time seen seated on a beautiful elephant of Ceylon, issuing his orders for a general onset; and, placing himself at the head of a numerous body of horse, advanced boldly toward the enemy's cannon. He was received with firmness, and soon surrounded by heaps of slain. And not only the body which he led to the attack, but those by which he was followed, were thrown into disorder. Still did he retain an admirable calmness, and evince his immoveable determination not

to recede. He was observed on his elephant looking about him with an undaunted air, and marking the progress of the action. The troops were animated by his example, and the fugitives resumed their ranks; the charge was repeated, but he could not come up to the enemy before another volley carried death and dismay among the assailants: many took to flight; but the greater part seemed to have imbibed Dara's spirit, and followed their intrepid commander, until the cannon were forced, the iron chains disengaged, the enemy's camp entered, and the camels and infantry put completely to the rout. It was now that the cavalry of both armies coming in contact, the battle raged with the greatest fierceness. Showers of arrows obscured the air, Dara himself emptying his quiver: these weapons, however, produce but little effect, nine out of ten flying over the soldier's heads, or falling short. The arrows discharged, the sword was drawn, and the contending squadrons fought hand to hand, both sides appearing to increase in obstinacy in proportion as the sword performed its murderous work. During the whole of this tremendous conflict, Dara afforded undeniable proofs of invincible courage, raising the voice of encouragement and command, and performing such feats of valour that he succeeded at length in overthrowing the enemy's cavalry, and compelling it to fly.

Aureng-Zêbe, who was at no great distance, and mounted also on an elephant, endeavoured,

but without success, to retrieve the disasters of the day. He attempted to make head against Dara with a strong body of his choicest cavalry; but it was likewise driven from the field in great confusion. Here I cannot avoid commending his bravery and resolution. He saw that nearly the whole of the army under his immediate command was defeated and put to flight; the number which remained unbroken and collected about his person not exceeding one thousand; (I have been told it scarcely amounted to five hundred) he found that Dara, notwithstanding the extreme ruggedness of the ground which separated them, evidently intended to rush upon his remaining little band; yet did he not betray the slightest symptom of fear, or even an inclination to retreat; but calling many of his principal officers by name, exclaimed *Delirané!* (courage my friends) *Koda-hé* (God is) *What hope can we find in flight? Know ye not where is our Deccan? Koda-hé! Koda-hé!** and then, to remove all doubt of his resolution, and to shew that he thought of nothing less than a retreat, he commanded (strange expedient!) that chains should be fastened to the feet of his elephant; a command he would undoubtedly have seen obeyed, if all those who were about him had not given the strongest assurances of their unsubdued spirit and unshaken fidelity.

* I am repeating his exact words.

دل جبران پی
خدا پی بہا گئے ہیں
کیا امید پی -
بھاننے نہیں
بہا دیے دلہن بہا پی
خدا پی خدا پی

Dara all this time meditated an advance upon Aureng-Zêbe, but was retarded by the difficulty of the ground and by the enemy's cavalry, which, though in disorder, still covered the hills and plains that intervened between the two commanders. Certainly he ought to have felt that without the destruction or capture of his brother, victory would be incomplete; nor should he have suffered any consideration to move him from his purpose of attacking Aureng-Zêbe, now that he was so clearly incapable of offering effectual resistance. He had an easy opportunity to crush this formidable rival; but the circumstance I am about to relate distracted his attention, and saved Aureng-Zêbe from the impending danger.

Dara perceived at this critical moment that his left wing was in disorder; and an aid-de-camp bringing him intelligence of the deaths of Rustum-Khan and Sittersal, and of the imminent peril into which Ram-Singh-Routlé was placed in consequence of having valiantly burst through the enemy, by whom he was, however, entirely surrounded. Dara abandoned the idea of pushing toward Aureng-Zêbe, and determined to fly to the succour of the left wing. After a great deal of hard fighting, Dara's presence turned the tide of fortune, and the enemy was driven back at all points; but the rout was not so complete as to leave him without occupation. Meanwhile Ram-Singh-Routlé was opposed to Morâd-Bakche, and performing prodigies of valour. The rajah wounded

the prince, and approached so near as to cut some of the bands by which the amari was fixed upon the elephant, hoping in that way to bring his antagonist to the earth; but the intrepidity and adroitness of Morâd-Bakche did not permit him to accomplish his object. Though wounded, and beset on all sides by the rajaputs, the prince disdained to yield: he dealt his blows with terrible effect, throwing at the same time his shield over his son, a lad of seven years of age, seated at his side; and discharged an arrow with so unerring an aim that the rajah fell dead on the spot.

It was not long before Dara was made acquainted with the serious loss he had sustained; and hearing also that Morâd-Bakche was hemmed in by the rajaputs, rendered furious by the death of their master, he determined, notwithstanding every obstacle, to advance to the attack of that prince; the only measure by which he could hope to repair the error committed in suffering Aureng-Zêbe to escape: but even this step was rendered abortive by an act of treachery, which involved Dara in immediate and irretrievable ruin.

Calil-ullah-Khan, who commanded the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Moguls, a force which alone was sufficient to destroy Aureng-Zêbe's army, kept aloof from the engagement, while Dara, at the head of the left wing, fought with courage and success. The traitor pretended

that his division was designed for a corps of reserve, and that he could not, consistently with his orders, move one step, or discharge a single arrow, until the last extremity : but the blackest perfidy was the cause of his inaction.

A few years prior to this period, Calil-ullah had suffered some indignity at the hands of Dara, and he considered the hour arrived when he might gratify the resentment which had never ceased to rankle in his bosom. His abstinence from all share in the battle, did not, however, produce the mischief intended, Dara having proved victorious without the co-operation of the right wing. The traitor, therefore, had recourse to another expedient. He quitted his division, followed by a few persons, and riding with speed towards Dara, precisely at the moment when that prince was hastening to assist in the downfall of Morad-Bakche, he exclaimed, while yet at some distance, " Mohbarek-bad, Hazaret, Salamet, Elhamd-ul-ellah ; May you be happy ! May your Majesty enjoy health and reign in safety ! The victory is your own ! But let me ask, why are you still mounted on this lofty elephant ? Have you not been sufficiently exposed to danger ? If one of the numberless arrows, or balls, which have pierced your canopy had touched your person, who can imagine the dreadful situation to which we should be reduced ? In heaven's name, descend quickly and mount your horse ; nothing now remains but

to pursue the fugitives with vigour. I entreat your majesty, permit them not to escape."

Had Dara considered the consequences of quitting the back of his elephant on which he had displayed so much valour, and served as a rallying point to the army, he would have become master of the empire ; but the credulous prince, duped by the artful obsequiousness of Calil-ullah, listened to his advice as though it had been sincere. He descended from the elephant, and mounted his horse ; but a quarter of an hour had not elapsed when, suspecting the imposture, he enquired impatiently of Calil-ullah. The villain was not, however, within his reach : he inveighed vehemently against that officer, and threatened him with death ; but Dara's rage was now impotent, and his menace incapable of being executed. The troops having missed their prince, a rumour quickly spread that he was killed, and the army betrayed ; an universal panic seized them ; every man thought only of his own safety, and how to escape from the resentment of Aureng-Zêbe. In a few minutes the army seemed disbanded, and (strange and sudden reverse !) the conqueror became the vanquished. Aureng-Zêbe remained during a quarter of an hour steadily on his elephant, and was rewarded with the crown of Hindostan : Dara left his own elephant a few minutes too soon, and was hurled from the pinnacle of glory, to be numbered among the most miserable of princes : —so short sighted is man, and so mighty are the

consequences which sometimes flow from the most trivial incident.*

These immense armies frequently perform great feats; but when thrown into confusion it is impossible to restore them to discipline. They resemble an impetuous river which has burst its banks; and whose waters, unrestrained in their course, disperse over the surrounding country, while no means can be devised to arrest them in their career of desolation. I could never see these soldiers, destitute of order, and marching with the irregularity of a herd of animals, without reflecting upon the ease with which five and twenty thousand of our veterans from the army in Flanders, commanded by Prince Condé or Marshal Turenne, would overcome an Indian army, however numerous. I am no longer incredulous, or even astonished, when I read of the exploits of the ten thousand Greeks, or of the achievements of the fifty thousand Macedonians under Alexander, though opposed to six or seven hundred thousand men; if, indeed, it be true that the armies of Darius amounted to so many, and that the servants, and various other persons employed to procure provisions, were not comprehended in this number. By receiving the onset with their usual steadiness, the French troops would throw any Indian army into consternation; or they might, as Alexander did,

* See note A at the end of the volume.

direct their chief effort to a particular part of the line; and the success attending such a movement would fill the enemy with terror, and occasion an immediate and general dispersion.

Aureng-Zêbe determined to derive every possible benefit from this unexpected and almost miraculous victory; and, to insure the attainment of the sole object of his desire, absolute dominion, resorted to every kind of unprincipled base intrigue. The perfidious Calil-ullah soon appeared in his presence, proffering his submission, and the services of whatever portion of the troops he might seduce from their first allegiance. The prince thanked him, and loaded him with promises, but was cautious not to receive him in his own name. He accompanied him to Morâd-Bakche, by whom the traitor was hailed, as may easily be imagined, with every profession of kindness. During this interview Aureng-Zêbe addressed his brother as the acknowledged sovereign of India, observing to Calil-ullah that it was Morâd-Bakche alone who was qualified to wear the crown, and that the victory was gained only by the skilful conduct and irresistible valour of that prince.

Notwithstanding this semblance of fealty to his younger brother, Aureng-Zêbe was actively employed, day and night, in writing to the om-rahs, whom he brought over gradually to his party. Shaista-Khan, his uncle, was unwearied in promoting the views of his nephew, and was

indeed an invaluable coadjutor, being active, intelligent, and possessed of extensive influence. He had the reputation of writing the most insinuating letter, and using the most persuasive eloquence, of any man in Hindostan. It is known that owing to some real or imaginary affront he greatly disliked Dara, and therefore embraced this opportunity of contributing to his downfall. Aureng-Zêbe concealed under the garb of disinterestedness and purity of intention, his raging passion for sovereignty. Every thing that was done, the negotiations entered into, and the promises made, all was in Morad-Bakche's name : from him every command was to emanate, and he was to be regarded as the destined king of India. Aureng-Zêbe acted only as his lieutenant, as his zealous and dutiful subject ; the turmoils of government were ill suited to the disposition of his mind ; to live and die a fakir was his firm and inflexible resolution !

As for Dara, he was weighed down with despondency and terror. He repaired with all diligence to Agra, but did not venture in his father's presence ; for his last injunction still sounded in his ear. The old monarch nevertheless sent a faithful eunuch to condole with the unhappy prince, to assure him of his unalterable affection, and of the grief into which he was plunged by the late disaster. " But," added the king, " there is surely no reason for despair while the army under Solimân-Shekô remains unbroken. For the pre-

sent, I advise you to take the road to Delhi, where you will find a thousand horses in the royal stables; and the governor has my orders to furnish you with money and elephants. You should not withdraw to a greater distance than prudence may demand; I shall write frequently, and wish you to be within easy reach of my letters. I still think I possess the means of bringing Aureng-Zêbe into my power, and of inflicting due chastisement upon him." So utterly cast down, so absorbed in sorrow was Dara, that he could frame no answer to this affecting communication, or even transmit a formal acknowledgment of it to his father. He sent several messages to Begum-Saheb, and departed at midnight, with his wife, daughters, and his son Tipper-Shekô, accompanied by only three or four hundred persons. We shall leave him pursuing his melancholy way to Delhi, while we consider the deep policy and consummate address which marked the conduct of Aureng-Zêbe on his arrival at Agra.

One of his first measures was to gain over, or at least to sow the seeds of disunion, among the troops commanded by Solimân-Shekô, and thus destroy Dara's last hope of retrieving his fortunes. He therefore represented to the rajah Joy-Singh and to Debere-Khan, the principal officers in that army, the utter ruin of Dara's affairs. The formidable force on which he founded such confident hopes of success (observed Aureng-Zêbe) after sustaining a total overthrow, had come over

to his standard. Dara was now a fugitive, unattended by a single regiment, and must soon fall into his hands ; and, with respect to Shah-Jehan, such was the state of his health, that no expectation could be entertained of his surviving many days. It was evident that they were engaged in a cause which was now desperate, and that a longer adherence to Dara's fallen fortune would be the extreme of imprudence. He counselled them to consult their best interests by joining his army, and bringing with them Solimân-Shekô, whose person they might easily seize.

Joy-Singh and Debere-Khan hesitated for some time as to the line of conduct they should pursue. They still feared Shah-Jehan and Dara, and dreaded the consequence of laying their hands on a prince of the blood ; a violence not likely to escape punishment, sooner or later, though that punishment should be inflicted by Aureng-Zêbe himself. They were acquainted too, with the high and undaunted spirit of Solimân-Shekô, and could have no doubt that the prince would die rather than submit to the loss of liberty.

It was at length decided by the two generals that Joy-Singh should repair to Solimân-Shekô's tent, shew him the overtures made by Aureng-Zêbe, and disclose frankly the whole state of his mind. " I ought not to disguise from you," he told the prince, " the danger of your situation : you can depend neither upon Debere-Khan, Daoud-Khan, nor upon any part of the troops ; and, by ad-

vancing to the relief of your father, you may involve yourself in irretrievable ruin. In this emergency you cannot do better than seek refuge in the mountains of Serinagur. The rajah of that country will receive you kindly; his territory is inaccessible, and he can be in no dread of Aureng-Zêbe. While in this secure retreat, you may calmly observe the progress of events, and descend from your mountains when a favourable occasion shall arise."

The young prince could not fail to understand from this discourse, that he had lost all authority both with Joy-Singh and the troops, and that he should endanger the safety of his own person if he refused to relinquish the command: he yielded therefore to the sad necessity of the case, and proceeded toward the mountains. He was attended by a few affectionate friends, chiefly Manseb-dars and Siads. The bulk of the army remained with the rajah and Debere-Khan, who had the baseness to send a body of men to plunder the prince's baggage. Among other booty, they seized an elephant laden with golden rupees. Many of Solimân-Shekô's attendants, discouraged by this disgraceful outrage, deserted him, and the peasantry after spoiling them even assassinated many of the prince's followers. He made his way, however, to Serinagur with his wife and family, and was received with the honours due to his rank; the rajah assuring him he should be in perfect security while in his

territory, and that he would assist him with all his forces.—We must now resume the thread of our narrative, as it relates to the occurrences on the side of Agra.

Three or four days after the battle of Samongeur, the combined princes presented themselves before the gate of the city, in a garden, about a league distant from the fortress. They then dispatched a message to Shah-Jehan, by an eunuch in the confidence of Aureng-Zêbe, and possessing all his address and deceit. This man saluted the aged monarch in the name of his master, assured him of his undiminished respect and affection, and expressed his deep sorrow for the events which had recently taken place, events attributable to the inordinate ambition and sinister designs of Dara. He begged leave most sincerely to congratulate his august parent on the improvement which was manifesting itself in the state of his health, and declared that he was come to Agra only to receive and execute his commands.

Shah-Jehan affected to approve of his son's conduct, and expressed himself satisfied with these expressions of allegiance. He was, however, too well acquainted with his hypocrisy and love of power, to place any confidence in his protestations; yet, instead of acting with decision, shewing himself to his people, and assembling his omrahs, for which there was still time, he chose rather to try his own skill in artifice and dissimulation with Aureng-Zêbe, who surpassed all men

in both. It is not surprising, therefore, that the father fell into the snare which he had spread for his son. He sent a trusty eunuch to say how sensible he was not only of the improper behaviour of Dara, but also of his incapacity; to remind Aureng-Zêbe of the peculiar tenderness he had ever borne him, and to request he would visit his affectionate father, that such arrangements might be concluded as the present distracted state of affairs rendered necessary. The cautious prince likewise mistrusted the Mogul; for he knew that Begum-Saheb quitted him neither night nor day; that he was completely under her controul; that she had dictated the message, and that there were collected in the fortress several large and robust Tartar women, such as are employed in the seraglio, for the purpose of falling upon him, with arms in their hands, as soon as he entered the fortress. Aureng-Zêbe would not, therefore, venture within its walls; and though he repeatedly fixed the day for obeying his father's summons, he as often deferred it to the morrow. Meanwhile, he continued his secret machinations, and sounded the opinion of the most powerful omrahs, until having well digested his plans, the public all at once found to their astonishment that his son, Sultan-Mahmud, had taken possession of the fortress. This enterprising young man having posted a number of men in the vicinity, entered the place on the plea of visiting the Mogul, with a message from Aureng-Zêbe, and fell suddenly on the

guards stationed at the gate : he was quickly followed by his men, who overcame the unsuspecting garrison, and made themselves masters of the fortress.

The dismay of Shah-Jehan will be easily conceived : he was now in the power of one whose imprisonment he had contemplated for a long time. It is said that the unhappy monarch sent at once a message to Sultan Mahmud promising, on his crown and the Koran, to nominate him king provided he served him faithfully in this conjuncture. "Come to me," added the Mogul, "and lose not this opportunity of delivering your grandfather from prison ; an act which will obtain for you the blessing of heaven, and a glorious name that shall never die."

If Sultan-Mahmud had possessed sufficient daring to close with these proposals, it appears extremely probable that he might have supplanted his father. Shah-Jehan's influence was still powerful, and if he had been permitted to leave the citadel, and to assume the personal command of the troops, I have reason to believe that they would have acknowledged his authority, and the leading omrahs remained faithful to his government.

It is the general opinion that Sultan Mahmud committed the same error upon this occasion, as his grandfather had done after the battle of Samongeur. And, as I am again led to the subject, it is fair I should observe that there are several

politicians who contend that, considering all the circumstances of his situation, the aged monarch, after the defeat of Dara, adopted the most prudent course in remaining within the fortress, and endeavouring to overcome Aureng-Zêbe by stratagem. It is the vulgar practice, these people say, to judge of the wisdom of every plan according to the event by which it is followed: the worst digested schemes are frequently attended with success, and then they are applauded by all the world; and if, as there was reason to expect, the appearance of affection and good will toward Aureng-Zêbe, assumed by Shah-Jehan, had enabled him to seize the person of that prince, he would be extolled for sagacity and wisdom, as much as he is now condemned for being, as is injuriously said, a mere driveller, guided by his Begum, a woman whose passions blinded her understanding, and whose vanity led her to believe that Aureng-Zêbe would hasten to visit her; in other words, that the bird would, of his own accord, fly into the cage. But to return to Sultan Mahmud.—It is inconceivable, according to the politicians of this country, that he did not eagerly grasp at a sceptre which seemed to fall into his hands; especially when, by thus gratifying his ambition, he would have gained a reputation for tenderness and generosity. By restoring his grandfather to freedom, this young prince might have become the sovereign arbiter of affairs; whereas

he is now probably destined to terminate his existence in the fortress of Gualior.*

Few will believe that Sultan Mahmud was restrained by a sense of duty to his father from acceding to the wishes of Shah-Jehan: it is more likely that he doubted the sincerity of the king's promises, and felt all the danger of disputing the crown with a man endued with the mental energy and imposing talents of Aureng-Zêbe. Whatever were his motives, he disregarded the offers of the unhappy prisoner, and even refused to enter his apartments, alleging that he was not authorised to visit him, but had received positive orders not to return to his father without carrying away with him the keys of every gate in the castle, in order that Aureng-Zêbe might come in perfect security for the purpose of kissing his majesty's feet. For the space of nearly two days, Shah-Jehan could not persuade himself to surrender the keys; but observing that his people were gradually deserting him, especially the soldiers stationed at the little gate, and that he was no longer safe, he delivered the keys at length into the hands of Sultan Mahmud, with an injunction to Aureng-Zêbe to come to him without farther delay, if he were wise, as he had secrets of the greatest moment to disclose. But the fakir's wariness had not for-

* This prince died in prison in the castle of Gualior in the year 1665, that is, in the seventh year of Aureng-Zêbe's reign.—*Translator.*

saken him, and so far from obeying the injunction, he immediately appointed his eunuch Etabârkhan, governor of the fortress, by whose orders Shah-Jehan, Begum-Saheb, and the whole of the women, were closely confined. Many gates of the castle were also walled up, and all intercourse between the Mogul and his friends was effectually prevented. He was not even permitted to leave his apartment without the knowledge of the governor.

At this period Aureng-Zêbe wrote a letter to his father which, before he sealed it, was shewn to every body. "I cannot better explain my conduct," observed the prince, "than by stating that while you professed extraordinary partiality for me, and expressed your displeasure at Dara's proceedings, I was informed, on indisputable authority, that you had sent him two elephants laden with golden rupees. Thus is he furnished with means to collect new armies, and to prolong this disastrous war; I therefore put it to your candour whether I am not driven by his pertinacity to resort to measures which appear harsh and unnatural? Is he not, properly speaking, the cause of your imprisonment? and is it not owing to him that I have so long been deprived of the pleasure of throwing myself at your feet, and discharging the duties, and paying the attentions, you have a right to demand from an affectionate son? It only remains for me to beg that you will pardon what now seems strange in my conduct, and to recom-

ایستبار خان

mend the exercise of patience under the temporary loss of liberty ; for be assured that, as soon as Dara shall be rendered incapable of disturbing our repose, I shall fly to the citadel, and with my own hands, open the doors of your prison."

I have been told that Shah-Jehan did, in fact, send the elephants, with the rupees, to Dara, on the very night of his departure from Delhi, and that it was Rochinara-Begum who communicated the information to Aureng-Zêbe. That princess also apprized him of the presence of the Tartar women, by whom it was intended he should be assailed, when he entered the castle. It is even said that this prince intercepted some letters written by his father to Dara.

Many intelligent persons, however, deny the truth of these allegations, and contend that the letter, thus generally exhibited, was a mere invention to deceive the public, and to reconcile them to the outrageous measures of which the Mogul's adherents had so much right to complain. Be the truth what it may, it is certain that the close confinement of Shah-Jehan seemed the signal for nearly the whole body of omrahs to pay their court to Aureng-Zêbe and Morâd-Bakche. I can indeed scarcely repress my indignation when I reflect that there was not a single movement, nor even a voice heard, in behalf of the aged and injured monarch ; although the omrahs who bowed the knee to his oppressors, were indebted to him for their rank and riches,

having been, according to the custom of this court, raised by Shah-Jehan from a state of the lowest indigence, and many of them even redeemed from absolute slavery. A few there were, and among them Danechmend-Khan, who espoused no party; but, with this small exception, every omrah declared in favour of Aureng-Zêbe.

It may, however, diminish our censure of this ungrateful conduct, if we call to mind that the omrahs of Hindostan cannot be proprietors of land, or enjoy an independent revenue, like the nobility of France, and of other christian states. Their income, as I said before, consists exclusively of pensions which the king grants, or takes away, according to his own will and pleasure. When deprived of this pension, they sink at once into utter insignificance, and find it impossible even to borrow the smallest sum.

The combined princes having thus disposed of Shah-Jehan, and received the homage of the omrahs, set out in the pursuit of Dara. The royal treasury supplied their pecuniary wants, and Shaista-Khan, Aureng-Zêbe's uncle, was appointed governor of Agra.

When the day arrived for the departure of the army, Morâd-Bakche's particular friends, and among them the eunuch, Shah-Abas, employed every argument to induce him to remain with his own troops in the neighbourhood of Agra and Delhi. An excess of respect, and too smooth a tongue, denoted, they said, a treacherous heart.

They represented to him that being king, and universally acknowledged as such, even by Aureng-Zêbe himself, it was his wisest policy not to remove from the neighbourhood of Agra, or Delhi, but to let his brother go alone in pursuit of Dara. Had he been swayed by this prudent counsel, Aureng-Zêbe would indeed have felt greatly embarrassed ; but it made no impression upon his mind, and he continued to repose unreserved confidence in his brother's solemn promises, and in the oaths which they had mutually and repeatedly sworn on the Koran. The two brothers quitted Agra together, and took the road to Delhi.

When they halted at Muttra, four short journeys from Agra, Morâd-Bakche's friends, who had seen and heard enough to excite their suspicion, once more endeavoured to awaken his fears. They assured him that Aureng-Zêbe entertained some evil design, and that some dreadful plot was certainly in progress. Of this, information had reached them from various quarters : he must, therefore, absolutely abstain from visiting his brother, at least for that day. Indeed it was advisable, they added, to anticipate, without delay, the meditated blow ; for which purpose the prince need only excuse himself, on the plea of indisposition, from visiting Aureng-Zêbe, who would thus be induced to come to Morâd-Bakche attended, as usual, with very few persons.

But neither argument nor entreaty could

remove the spell by which he appeared bound. The feigned and fulsome adulation of Aureng-Zêbe had indeed enchanted the unhappy prince; and, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of his friends, he accepted an invitation from his brother for supper. The latter expected him, and had concerted his measures with Mirkhan and three or four other of his minions. Morâd-Bakche was greeted with even more external courtesy and respect than had been usual since Aureng-Zêbe had marked him for his victim; tears of joy seemed to flow, and his brother wiped, with a gentle hand, the perspiration and dust from the face of the devoted and credulous prince. During supper, the utmost good humour and conviviality apparently prevailed; the conversation was enlivening and incessant, and at the end of the repast, a large quantity of the delicious wines of Schiraz and Cabul was introduced. Aureng-Zêbe then rose softly, and with a countenance that beamed affection and delight, said, "I need not inform your majesty of the serious turn of my mind, and that, as a musselman, I feel scruples which do not permit me to indulge in the pleasures of the table; but though I deem it my duty to retire, yet I leave you in excellent company. Mirkhan, and my other friends, will entertain your majesty." An extravagant fondness for wine was among Morâd-Bakche's foibles, and upon the present occasion, finding it peculiarly good, he drank to such excess that he became

intoxicated, and fell into a deep sleep. This was precisely the effect which Aureng-Zêbe intended the wine should produce. His servants were ordered to withdraw that their master might not be disturbed; and Mirkhan took away both his sword and jemder (poinard). It was not long before Aureng-Zêbe came to rouse him from this disgraceful sleep. He entered the room, and pushing the inebriated prince rudely with his feet, until he opened his eyes, the arch hypocrite uttered his short and insolent reprimand. "Oh, shame and infamy! Thou a king, and yet possessing so little discretion? What will the world now say of thee, and even of me? Let this wretched and drunken man be bound hand and foot, and dragged into the closet, there to sleep away his shame." The command was no sooner given than executed; five or six soldiers rushed upon Morâd-Bakche, and in spite of his cries and resistance, fetters and hand-cuffs were applied, and he was carried to his place of confinement. This violence could not be perpetrated without the knowledge, indistinct as it might be, of Morâd-Bakche's dependents by whom he was attended; they wished to sound an alarm, and attempted to break into the apartment; but they were silenced and over-awed by Allah-Couly, the chief officer in Morâd-Bakche's artillery, who had long been corrupted by the gold of Aureng-Zêbe. Some agitation soon began, however, to manifest itself among the troops; and to prevent the con-

sequences of any sudden movement, emissaries were busily employed during the night in representing the occurrences in Aureng-Zêbe's tent, as perfectly trifling and unimportant: they were present (they pretended) and Morâd-Bakche having drunk to excess, had lost his self-possession, and made use of very intemperate language. There was no acquaintance upon whom he had not cast injurious reflections, and he had even loaded Aureng-Zêbe himself with the foulest abuse. In short, he had grown so quarrelsome and ungovernable, that it became necessary to confine him apart: but in the morning, when recovered from his night's debauch, he would be again set at liberty. In the mean time, large bribes and larger promises were given to all the superior officers; the pay of the whole army was immediately augmented; and, as there were few who had not long foreseen the downfall of Morâd-Bakche, it is not surprising that when the day dawned scarcely a trace of the late partial commotion existed. Aureng-Zêbe felt that he might venture to shut his brother up in a covered amari, a kind of closed house in which women are carried on elephants; and in this manner the prince was conveyed to Delhi, and incarcerated in the citadel of Slinger, which is situated in the middle of the river.*

The army submitted to this new order of

* See note B at the end of the volume.

things, with the exception of the eunuch Shah-Abas, who occasioned much trouble. Aureng-Zêbe received the troops, lately under the command of Morâd-Bakche, into his service; and resumed the pursuit of Dara, who was advancing with the utmost expedition on Lahore, with the intention of fortifying himself in that city, and rendering it the rendezvous for his friends and adherents. But he was pressed so closely by his eager enemy, that he found it impossible to fortify that position: he therefore continued his retreat on the road to Moultan; but here again the vigour of his brother's movements disappointed any expectation he might have formed of maintaining that post. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the ardour and activity of Aureng-Zêbe. Notwithstanding the great heat of the weather, his army marched day and night; and, with a view of encouraging the troops, he was often two or three leagues in advance, nearly unattended. Nor did he fare better than the private men: his meal consisted of dry bread and fetid water, and his bed was the bare ground.

Dara is blamed by the statesmen of this country, for not having taken the route to the kingdom of Cabul, when he abandoned Lahore. He was strongly advised to adopt that course, and his reasons for refusing such sage counsel must always be enigmatical. The governor of Cabul was Mohâbet-Khan, one of the most ancient and powerful omrahs of Hindostan, who had never

been on friendly terms with Aureng-Zêbe ; and there were assembled in that kingdom above ten thousand troops destined to act against the Afghans, the Persians, and the Usbees. Dara was amply supplied with money, and there can be little doubt that the military force of that country and Mohâbet-Khan himself would willingly have espoused his cause. It should also be observed, that in Cabul, Dara would have been on the borders of Persia and Usbee, from which countries he might have derived considerable support. He ought indeed to have recollected how Humaioon was restored to his kingdom by the power of his Persians, notwithstanding the opposition of Zaher-Khan, King of Patan, by whom he had been expelled. But it was generally the fate of the unhappy Dara to undervalue the opinions of the wisest counsellors ; and upon this occasion, instead of throwing himself into Cabul, he proceeded towards Sindy, and sought refuge in the fortress of Tatta ; that strong and celebrated place situated in the middle of the river Indus.

When Aureng-Zêbe knew the point on which Dara was directing his retreat, he felt it quite unnecessary to continue the pursuit. Having ascertained that Cabul was not within the plan of his brother's operations, his mind was relieved from any serious apprehension ; and sending only seven or eight thousand men under the command of Mir-Baba, his foster-brother, to watch the movements of Dara, he retraced his steps towards

*a brave but
obstinate
man. general
+ emperor after
than his brother*

Agra with the same expedition he had used in the pursuit of his brother. His mind, indeed, was harassed by fears of what might happen in the capital during his absence: some powerful rajah, such as Joy-Singh or Jesswint-Singh, would, perhaps, he thought, release Shah-Jehan from prison; Solimân-Shekô, and the rajah of Serinagur, might descend as a torrent from their mountains; or, in fine, Sultan-Sujah would now probably, venture to approach Agra.—A slight incident now occurred, which, as it was occasioned by it, may serve to give an idea of Aureng-Zêbe's precipitate mode of acting.

While on his return from Moultan, and when marching with his accustomed rapidity, he was astonished to see the rajah Joy-Singh, at the head of four or five thousand well appointed rajaputs, advancing towards him. Aureng-Zêbe had, as usual, preceded his army; and being aware of the rajah's strong attachment to Shah-Jehan, it may easily be imagined that he considered his situation one of extreme peril. It was natural for him to conclude that Joy-Singh would seize upon so happy an occasion of at once rescuing his venerated sovereign from the iniquitous thraldom under which he groaned, and of inflicting condign punishment upon the unfeeling son from whom he had experienced so much unprovoked outrage and cruelty. It is indeed conjectured that the rajah undertook this expedition with no other design than the capture of Aureng-Zêbe, and

there appears ground for the opinion from the fact of his having been met on the road leading from Lahore to Moultan, when the information just before received by the prince left no doubt upon his mind that the rajah was still at Delhi; with such astonishing speed had he conducted this long march! But the self-possession of Aureng-Zêbe and his decision of character carried him safely through the impending danger. He betrayed no symptom of agitation or alarm, but assuming a countenance expressive of pleasure at the sight of Joy-Singh, rode directly toward him, making signs with his hand to the rajah to hasten his pace, and calling out, "Salamat Bached Rajagi! Salamet Bached Baba-gi! My lord rajah! my lord and father!" When they approached, he said: "Welcome, my lord; I cannot describe how impatiently I have waited to see you. The war is at an end: Dara is ruined and wanders alone. I have sent Mir-Baba after the fugitive; he cannot possibly escape." He then took off his pearl necklace, and, as an act of the utmost courtesy and condescension, placed it round the neck of Joy-Singh. "My army is fatigued, I am anxious you should immediately proceed to Lahore, for I am apprehensive of some movement there. I appoint you governor of the city, and commit all things to your hands. I shall soon join you; but before we part, I cannot avoid returning my thanks for your manner of disposing of Solimân-Shekô. Where have you

*Salamat Bached
raja jee*

left Debere-Khan? I shall know how to punish him. Hasten to Lahore. Salamet-Bachest, farewell!"

Dara, when arrived at Tatta, nominated an eunuch distinguished for his intelligence and resolution, governor of the fortress, and formed an excellent garrison of Patans, Siaps, Portuguese, English, French, and Germans. These Europeans were employed in the artillery, and had been induced by his magnificent promises to enter into the prince's service. In the event of his ascending the throne, it was intended to promote them to the rank of omrahs. Depositing his treasure in Tatta, for he still possessed a large quantity of gold and silver, Dara pursued his march without delay along the banks of the Indus at the head of three thousand men; and traversing with incredible speed the territories of the Rajah-Katche soon reached the province of Guzerat, and presented himself before the gates of Ahmedabâd. The governor of the city was Shah-Nawâz-Khan, Aureng-Zebe's father-in-law, descended from the ancient princes of Mascat, a man of no military reputation, but accomplished, polite, and addicted to pleasure. The city of Ahmedabâd contained a strong garrison, and was in a condition to oppose a vigorous resistance; but whether from failure of courage in the governor, or from his having been taken by surprise, the gates were opened to Dara and he was received by Shah-Nawâz with every mark of honour. It seems indeed that this man

was so assiduous in paying court to Dara, that he succeeded in impressing his mind with an opinion of his devotedness and esteem; and although warned of his treacherous character, the deluded prince had the imprudence to confide in the governor's professions, communicating to him the whole of his plans, and shewing him the letters from the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, and several faithful adherents, who were making preparations to join him with all the forces they could muster.

Aureng-Zêbe was equally surprised and perplexed when he heard that Dara was master of Ahmedabâd. He knew that his pecuniary resources were still considerable, and he could entertain no doubt that not only his brother's friends, but malcontents from all parts of Hindostan, would flock around his standard. He was not insensible of the importance of following Dara in person and dislodging him from so advantageous a position: but at the same time he saw the danger of withdrawing so far from Agra and Shah-Jehan, and of marching his army into provinces which comprehended the territories of Joy-Singh, Jesswint-Singh, and other powerful rajahs. His attention was also distracted by the rapid advance of Sultan Sujah with a powerful army, and by the preparations which he understood were being made by Solimân-Shekô, in conjunction with the rajah of Serinagur, to take an active part in the war. He was placed in a critical and intricate situation; but his best course, he thought, was to leave Dara

for the present with Shah-Nawâz, and to march toward Sultan Sujah, who had already crossed the Ganges at Allahabâd.

Sultan Sujah encamped at a small village called Kidgwô, a situation which on account of a large talab, or reservoir of water, was judiciously chosen. There he determined to await the attack of Aureng-Zêbe, who, on bringing up his army, took up a position on the banks of a small river, distant about a league and a half. Between the two armies was a spacious plain well adapted for them to engage. Aureng-Zêbe felt impatient to finish the contest, and on the day after his arrival, leaving his baggage on the other side of the river, proceeded to the attack. The Emir-Jemla joined him on the morning of the action with the forces he could collect; the flight of the unhappy Dara having released his wife and children from captivity, and his own imprisonment being no longer necessary to the promotion of Aureng-Zêbe's designs. The battle was warmly contested, and the efforts of the assailants were almost incredible; but Sultan Sujah maintained his ground, repulsing every assault with great slaughter, and increasing Aureng-Zêbe's embarrassment by steadily adhering to his plan of not advancing into the plain. To defend the advantageous and well fortified position he had selected, was for the present his sole object, foreseeing that the heat of the weather would very soon compel his enemy to retreat to the river, and that it would

then be the time to fall with effect upon his rear-guard. Aureng-Zêbe was very sensible of the reasons which actuated his brother, and became the more intent on pressing forward : But a new and unexpected source of uneasiness now presented itself.

He was informed that the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, who had, with apparent sincerity, entered into terms of amity, had fallen suddenly upon the rear guard, routed, and put it to flight, and that he was now employed in pillaging the baggage and treasure. The news soon spread ; and, as is common in Asiatic armies, the fears of the soldiers multiplied the danger. But Aureng-Zêbe did not lose his presence of mind, and being aware that retreat would be ruinous to his hopes, he determined, as on a former occasion, not to recede, but await with firmness the progress of events. The disorder spread more and more among the troops, and Sultan Sujah availing himself of so unlooked for an opportunity, commenced a furious attack. An arrow killed the man who guided Aureng-Zêbe's elephant ; the animal became unmanageable, and the danger growing more appalling, the king was about to dismount, when Emir-Jemla, who was near him, and whose conduct the whole of this day excited the admiration of every beholder, ejaculated with a loud voice, Decankou ! Decankou !* and prevented him from accomplishing his fatal purpose. Aureng-Zêbe was now to

* Where is the Deccan ?

all appearance reduced to the last extremity: his situation seemed irremediable, and he was every moment expecting to fall into the enemy's hands. Yet such is the caprice of fortune, that he was in a few minutes crowned with victory; and Sultan Sujah was obliged, like Dara at the battle of Samonguer, to fly for his life.

Sultan Sujah owed his discomfiture to the same trifling circumstance as occasioned the defeat of his eldest brother,—that of descending from his elephant for the sake of more expeditiously following the retreating foe: but it may be doubted whether the man by whose advice he acted was influenced by an honest or a perfidious intention. Allah-verdi-Khan, one of his principal officers, earnestly entreated him to mount a horse, and it is remarkable that he made use of language very similar to that of Calil-ullah-Khan at the battle of Samonguer. Joining his hands in the manner of fervent entreaty, he said: “Why, my prince, incur unnecessary risk on this exalted elephant? do you not see that the enemy is in complete disorder, and that it were an unpardonable fault not to pursue him with alacrity? Mount your horse, and you are king of India.” As in the case of Dara, the sudden disappearance of the prince from the view of the whole army, induced a general idea that he was either killed or betrayed; the troops fell into disorder, and dispersed, without the possibility of restoring their ranks.

Jesswint-Singh perceiving the strange turn that the

action had taken, contented himself with securing the fruits of his plunder, and without loss of time returned to Agra, intending to continue his retreat thence to his own dominions. The rumour had already reached the capital that Aureng-Zêbe had lost the battle; that he and Emir-Jemla were taken prisoners, and that Sultan Sujah was advancing at the head of his victorious army. Shaista-Khan, the governor, so fully believed the report, that when he saw Jesswint Singh, of whose treasou he had been apprized, approach the gate of the city, he grasped, in his despair, a cup of poison. He was prevented, however, from swallowing it by the promptitude of his women, who threw themselves upon him, and dashed the cup to the ground. Two days elapsed before the inhabitants of Agra were undeceived; and it is not doubted that the rajah would have succeeded in releasing Shah-Jehan from confinement had he acted with vigour and decision;—had he threatened with boldness, and promised with liberality: but as he was acquainted with the actual state of affairs, he would neither venture to prolong his stay in the capital, nor to undertake any daring enterprize: he merely marched through the town, and proceeded homeward, agreeably to his original intention.

Aureng-Zêbe was full of inquietude as to the probable proceedings of Jesswint-Singh, and expected to hear of a revolution at Agra. He therefore scarcely followed Sultan

Sujah in his retreat, but directed his rapid steps to the capital with the whole of his army. He soon learnt, however, that the troops whom he had just encountered, and who suffered little or no diminution of numbers in the late action, were daily receiving considerable accession of strength from the different rajahs whose territories were situated on both sides of the Ganges, and who were induced to give their assistance by an opinion generally entertained of the sultan's riches and liberality. He found also that his brother was establishing himself in Allahabâd, that important and celebrated passage of the river, and justly considered the key of Bengal.

Under these circumstances, it occurred to Aureng-Zêbe that he had two persons near him very capable of rendering him assistance—his eldest son, and Emir-Jemla; but he knew that those who have rendered essential service to their prince, often become inflated with the idea that no recompense is too great for them. He already perceived that Sultan Mahmud betrayed impatience of paternal control, and was continually presuming on the skill and prowess he had displayed in the capture of the citadel of Agra, whereby all the plans of Shah-Jehan had been baffled. In regard to Jemla, the prince fully appreciated his transcendent talents, his conduct, and his courage; but these very excellencies filled him with apprehension and distrust: for the emir's great riches, and the reputation he possessed of being the chief adviser

in all affairs of importance and the most acute statesman in India, left no doubt on the mind of Aureng-Zêbe that the expectations of this extraordinary man were as high as those of Sultan Mahmud.

These considerations would have disconcerted an ordinary mind; but Aureng-Zêbe knew how to remove these two personages to a distance from the court, with so much address that neither the one nor the other felt any cause of complaint. He sent them at the head of a powerful army against Sultan Sujah, giving the emir to understand not only that the valuable government of Bengal was intended for him during life, but that he should be succeeded therein by his son. He added that this was but one mark of the sense he entertained of his great services: when he had defeated Sujah he should be created Mir-ul omrah; the first and most honourable title in Hindostan, signifying Prince of the Omrahs.

To Sultan Mahmud the king addressed only these few words: "Remember that you are the eldest of my children, and that you are going to fight your own battles. You have done much; and yet, properly speaking, you cannot be said to have done any thing until the projects of Sultan Sujah be defeated, and you become master of his person: he is the most formidable of our adversaries."

Aureng-Zêbe then presented both the emir and Sultan Mahmud, with the customary serapaho,

or rich vests, a few horses and elephants, superbly caparisoned, and contrived to retain at court the wife of his son (the king of Golconda's daughter) and Jemla's son Mahmet Emir-Khan; the former, because the presence of so distinguished a woman might embarrass the operations of the army; the latter, because he was partial to the youth, and wished to superintend his education: but he viewed them doubtless in the light of hostages for the fidelity of the two commanders.

Sultan Sujah was continually in dread that the rajahs of Lower Bengal, who had reason to complain of his exactions, would be excited to insurrection against his authority. He was, therefore, no sooner apprized of these arrangements than he, broke up his camp at Allahabâd, and marched to Benares and Patna, and afterwards to Mongeer, a small town on the Ganges, commonly called the Key of Bengal, forming a species of strait between the mountains and a forest which is contiguous to the town. He made this movement from an apprehension that it was meant to cut off his retreat, and that the emir would cross the river either above or below Allahabâd. Intending to make a stand at Mongeer, he threw up fortifications, and cut a deep trench (which I saw some years afterwards) extending from the town and the river to the mountains. In this strong position he resolved to wait the approach of his enemy, and dispute the passage of the Ganges. He was, however, greatly mortified when informed that

the troops which were slowly descending the banks of the river, were designed merely for a feint; that Emir-Jemla was not with them; but that having gained over the rajahs whose territories lay among the mountains on the right of the river, he and Sultan Mahmud were marching with the utmost speed across those mountains toward Raja-Mâhil accompanied by the flower of the army, evidently with the object of shutting him out from Bengal. He was constrained, therefore, to abandon all the fortifications erected with so much care: yet notwithstanding that his march was much lengthened by the necessity of following the various sinuations of the Ganges, still he arrived at Raja-Mâhil some days before the emir. Time was afforded him to throw up entrenchments; because, when the combined commanders perceived that Sultan Sujah could not be prevented from occupying Raja-Mâhil, they inclined on the left toward the Ganges, through almost impracticable paths, for the purpose of receiving the troops, heavy artillery and baggage, which were coming down the river. When this object was accomplished, they proceeded to the attack of Sultan Sujah, who defended his position during five or six days with considerable success; but perceiving that the ceaseless fire of the emir's artillery ruined his fortifications, which consisted only of moving earth, sand, and fascines, and that the approaching rains would render his position still less tenable, he withdrew under favour of the

night, leaving behind him two large pieces of ordnance. The fear of some ambuscade deterred the enemy from pursuing him that night, and before break of day the rain descended so violently that no idea could be entertained of quitting Raja-Mâhil. Happily for Sultan Sujah, the shower that fell so opportunely, was the commencement of those incessant and heavy rains with which the country is visited in the months of July, August, September and October. They render the roads so difficult that no army can act offensively during their prevalence; and upon the present occasion the emir was obliged to put his troops into winter-quarters at Raja-Mâhil; while Sujah remained at liberty to choose the place of his retreat, and to reinforce his army. A large number of Portuguese came to him from Lower Bengal, bringing with them several pieces of cannon. The great fertility of the soil attracts many Europeans to this part of India, and it was Sultan Sujah's policy to encourage and conciliate the foreigners settled in this province. He particularly caressed the Portuguese missionaries, holding out a prospect of future wealth to them all, and promising to build churches wheresoever they might desire to have them erected. Indeed these people were capable of rendering the prince essential service; the Portuguese families residing in the kingdom of Bengal, whether half-cast or European, amounting to eight or nine thousand, at the lowest computation.

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During this interval, there arose a serious disagreement between Sultan Mahmud and Emir-Jemla. The former aspired to the absolute and undivided command of the army, and behaved to the latter with studied insolence and contempt. He even allowed expressions to escape him that denoted a total disregard of the affection and respect due to his father; spoke openly of his achievement in the fortress of Agra, and boasted that it was to him Aureng-Zêbe should feel indebted for his crown. He was at length informed of the anger he had excited in his father's breast; and, fearing lest the emir should receive orders to seize his person, he withdrew from Raja-Mâhil, attended by very few followers, and, retiring towards Sultan-Sujah, made that prince a tender of his services. But Sujah, suspecting this to be a device of Aureng-Zêbe and of Emir-Jemla to entrap him, placed no confidence in his splendid promises, or in his oaths of undeviating constancy. He therefore intrusted him with no command of importance, and kept an eye upon his conduct. Sultan-Mahmud was soon disgusted with this treatment, and, after the absence of a few months, in despair of what might befall him, abandoned his new master, and ventured to appear in Jemla's presence. The emir received him with some degree of courtesy, promising to intercede with Aureng-Zêbe in his behalf, and persuade him to pardon this great transgression.

Many persons have told me that all this

strange conduct of Sultan-Mahmud, was planned by Aureng-Zêbe, who was very willing to see his son engage in any enterprise, however hazardous, which had for its object the ruin of Sultan Sujah. Whatever the event might be, he hoped to gain some specious pretext for having Sultan Mahmud conveyed to a place of security. Accordingly, when informed of his son's return to Raja-Mâhil, feeling, or feigning to feel, the utmost indignation, he sent a letter, commanding him in peremptory terms to repair to Delhi. The unhappy prince dared not disobey; but he had scarcely set foot on the opposite shore of the Ganges, when a company of armed men seized and forced him into an amari: he was then conducted to Gualior, in which fortress he will probably end his days.*

Having thus disposed of his eldest son, Aureng-Zêbe advised Sultan Mazum not to imitate the lofty and unyielding spirit of his brother. "The art of reigning," he told him, "is so delicate, that a king's jealousy should be awakened by his very shadow. Be wise, or a fate similar to that which has befallen your brother awaits you. Indulge not the fatal delusion that Aureng-Zêbe may be treated by his children as was Jehan-Guire by his son Shah-Jehan; or that, like the latter, he will permit the sceptre to fall from his hand."

Here, however, I may observe that, judging

* See note C at the end of the volume.

from the whole tenour of Sultan Mazum's conduct, his father has no reason to suspect him of any evil design : the most abject slave cannot be more tractable or obsequious ; nor is it possible that the language and behaviour of the lowest menial should discover less of the workings of a discontented and ambitious mind. Aureng-Zêbe never appeared more careless of power and dignity, or more devoted to the cause of religion and charity. There are many shrewd persons, however, who believe that the father's character is, in every respect, the archetype of the son's, and that the heart of Sultan Mazum is set upon sovereign authority.*

The war languished on the side of Bengal. Sultan-Sujah resisted, to the best of his ability, his skilful opponent, passed, as he judged it expedient, from one bank of the Ganges to the other, and crossed alternately the rivers and canals with which this part of the country abounds. Meanwhile, Aureng-Zêbe remained stationary in the neighbourhood of Agra. At length, after having moved Morâd-Bakche to Gualior, he went to Delhi, where he began in good earnest and, undisguisedly, to assume all the acts, and exercise all the prerogatives, of a legitimate king. His attention was principally engaged in the formation of plans

* Aureng-Zêbe, at this time about forty-one years old, lived and reigned to the age of ninety, and was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mazum, who survived his father only five years.—*Translator.*

for expelling Dara from Guzerat; an object very near his heart, but for the reasons already stated, difficult of accomplishment. Nevertheless, his extraordinary skill, and continued good fortune overcame every impediment.

Jesswint-Singh was no sooner returned to his own country than he employed the treasure plundered at the battle of Kidgwâ in raising a strong army. He then informed Dara that he would join him, with all his forces, in the road leading to Agra, on which city he advised him to march without delay. The prince had himself contrived to assemble a large number of troops, though not perhaps of the choicest description; and being sanguine in his expectation that as he approached the capital, accompanied by this distinguished rajah, his friends would be encouraged to crowd around his standard, he quitted Ahmedabâd and hastened to Agimere, a city seven or eight days' journey from Agra. But Jesswint-Singh violated his promise. The Rajah Joy-Singh, considering that the chances of war were decidedly in favour of Aureng-Zêbe, and that it was his best policy to conciliate that prince, exercised his influence with Jesswint-Singh to deter him from espousing the cause of Dara. "What can be your inducement," he wrote to him, "to endeavour to sustain the falling fortunes of this prince? Perseverance in such an undertaking must inevitably bring ruin upon you and your family, without advancing the interests of the wretched Dara. From Aureng-

Zêbe you will never obtain forgiveness. I, who am also a rajah, conjure you to spare the blood of the rajaputs. Do not buoy yourself up with the hope of drawing the other rajahs to your party; for I have means to counteract any such attempt. This is a business which concerns every Hindoo, and you cannot be permitted to kindle a flame that would soon rage throughout the kingdom, and which no effort might be able to extinguish. If, on the other hand, you leave Dara to his own resources, Aureng-Zêbe will bury all the past in oblivion; will not reclaim the money you obtained at Kidgwâ, but will at once nominate you to the government of Guzerat. You can easily appreciate the advantage of ruling a province so contiguous to your own territories: there you will remain in perfect quiet and security, and I hereby offer you my guarantee for the exact fulfilment of all I have mentioned." To be brief, Jesswint-Singh was persuaded to remain at home, while Aureng-Zêbe advanced with the whole of his army on Agimere, and encamped within view of Dara.

Who that reads this history can repress an emotion of pity for the misguided and betrayed Dara? He now discovered the bad faith of Jesswint-Singh; but it was too late to provide against its fatal consequences. Willingly would he have conducted the army back to Ahmedabâd, but how could he hope to effect this desirable object in the heat of summer, and during the drought that prevails at this season; having a

march of five and thirty days to accomplish through the territories of rajahs, friends or allies of Jesswint-Singh, and closely pressed by the eager Aureng-Zêbe at the head of a fresh and numerous army; "It is better," he said, "to die at once the death of a soldier; the contest is sadly unequal, but on this spot I must conquer or perish." He did not, however, comprehend the full extent of his danger: treason was lurking where he least expected it; and he continued to confide in the perfidious Shah-Nawâz-Khan, who kept up a regular correspondence with Aureng-Zêbe, putting him in possession of all Dara's designs. As a just retribution for his faithlessness, this man was slain in the battle, either by the hand of Dara himself, or, as is thought more probable, by the swords of persons in Aureng-Zêbe's army, who, being the secret partisans of Dara, felt apprehensive that Shah-Nawâz-Khan would denounce them, and make mention of the letters they had been in the habit of writing to that prince. But what now availed the death of the traitor? It was from the first moment of his taking possession of Ahmedabâd that Dara ought to have listened to the sage advice of his best friends, and treated Shah-Nawâz with the contempt and distrust he merited.

The action commenced between nine and ten in the morning. Dara's artillery, which was advantageously placed on a small eminence, made noise enough; but the pieces, it is supposed,

were charged only with blank cartridges, so widely was the treachery extended. It is unnecessary to enter into any particular detail of this battle, if battle it should be called; it was soon a complete rout. I shall simply state that the first shot was scarcely fired, when Joy-Singh, placing himself within sight of Dara, sent an officer to inform him that if he wished to avoid capture he must instantly quit the field. The poor prince, seized with sudden fear and surprise, acted upon this advice, and flew with so much precipitation that he gave no directions concerning his baggage: indeed, considering the critical situation in which he was placed, he had reason to congratulate himself on being allowed time to secure his wife and family. It is certain that he was in the power of Joy-Singh, and that it was to his forbearance he was indebted for his escape: but the rajah, aware of the danger that would attend any insult offered to a prince of the blood, has upon all occasions shewn respect to every branch of the royal family.*

The miserable and devoted Dara, whose only chance of preservation was to regain Ahmedabâd, was constrained to pass through a long range of what might be considered hostile territory, destitute of tents and baggage. The country between Agimeer and Ahmedabâd consists almost entirely of territories belonging to rajahs. The prince

* Note D at the end of the volume.

was accompanied by two thousand men at most ; the heat was intolerable ; and the coolies followed him day and night, pillaging and assassinating so many of his soldiers that it became dangerous to separate even a few yards from the main body. These coolies are the peasantry of this part of the country, and are the greatest robbers, and altogether the most unprincipled people in Hindostan. Notwithstanding every obstruction, Dara contrived to advance within a day's journey from Ahmedabâd, expecting to enter the city on the following day, and to assemble an army ; but the hopes of the vanquished and unfortunate are seldom realized.

The governor whom he had left in the castle of Ahmedabâd, alarmed by the menaces, or allured by the promises of Aureng-Zêbe, had basely deserted the cause of his master ; and sent a letter to Dara by which he desired him not to advance nearer to the city, whose gates were shut and whose inhabitants were armed to oppose his entrance. I had now been three days with Dara, whom I met on the road by the strangest chance imaginable ; and being destitute of any medical attendant, he compelled me to accompany him in the capacity of physician. The day preceding that on which he received the governor's communication, he expressed his fear lest I should be murdered by the coolies, and insisted upon my passing the night in his caravansary. The cords of the kanates, or screens, which concealed his wife and women, (for

he was without even a tent) were fastened to the wheels of the carriage, wherein I reposed. This may appear almost incredible to those who know how extremely jealous the great men of Hindostan are of their wives, and I mention the circumstance as a proof of the low condition to which the fortunes of the prince were reduced. It was at break of day that the governor's message [was delivered, and the shrieks of the females drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other, at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Dara stepping out, more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another; stopping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation depicted in every countenance, and felt assured that he should be left without a single follower; but what was to become of him? whither must he go? to delay his departure was to accelerate his ruin.

During the three days that I remained in this prince's retinue, we marched, nearly without intermission, day and night; and so insupportable was the heat, and so suffocating the dust, that of the three large oxen of Guzerat which drew my carriage, one had died, another was in a dying state, and the third was unable to proceed from fatigue. Dara felt anxious to retain me in his service, especially as one of his wives had a bad wound in her

leg; yet neither his threats nor entreaties could procure for me a single horse, ox, or camel; so totally destitute of power and influence had he become! I remained behind, therefore, because of the absolute impossibility of continuing the journey, and could not but weep when I beheld the prince depart with a force diminished to four or five hundred horsemen. There were also a couple of elephants laden, it was said, with gold and silver. Dara, I understood, intended to take the road to Tatta, and under all circumstances this was not perhaps an unwise selection. There was indeed only a choice of appalling difficulties, and I could not cherish the hope that the prince would succeed in crossing the sandy desert which separated him from Tatta. In fact, nearly the whole of the men, and many of the women, did perish; some dying of thirst, hunger, or fatigue, while others were killed by the hands of the merciless coolies. Happy would it have been for Dara had he not himself survived this perilous march! but he struggled through every obstacle, and reached the territory of the Rajah-Kutch.

The rajah received him with the utmost hospitality, promising to place the whole of his army at Dara's disposal, provided that prince gave his daughter in marriage to his son. But the intrigues of Joy-Singh were as successful with this rajah as they had been with Jesswint-Singh; a change in his conduct was very soon perceptible, and Dara having reason to apprehend that the barbarian had

a design against his life, departed without a moment's hesitation for Tatta.

I should, I fear, only tire my readers were I to enter upon a long narration of my own adventures with the infamous coolies ; relating how I moved their compassion, and by what means I preserved the little money which was about my person. I made a grand display of my professional skill ; and my two servants, who experienced the same terror as myself, declared I was the most eminent physician in the world, and that Dara's soldiers had used me extremely ill, depriving me of every thing valuable. It was fortunate for me that we succeeded in creating in these people an interest in my favour ; for after detaining me seven or eight days, they attached a bullock to my carriage, and conducted me within view of the towers of Ahmedabad. In this city I met with an omrah who was proceeding to Delhi, and I travelled under his protection. On the road our eyes were too often offended with the sight of dead men, elephants, oxen, horses, and camels ; the wrecks of poor Dara's army.

While Dara pursued his dreary way towards Tatta, the war was still raging in Bengal ; Sultan Sujah making much greater efforts than had been foreseen by his enemies. But the state of affairs in this quarter occasioned little inquietude to Aureng-Zêbe, who knew how to appreciate the talents and conduct of Emir Jemla ; and the distance of Bengal from Agra lessened the imme-

diate importance of the military operations in that country. A source of much greater anxiety was the vicinity of Solimân-Shekô, and the apprehension which seemed generally to prevail that he and the Rajah were about to descend with a hostile force from the mountains of Serinagur, distant scarcely eight days' journey from Agra. This enemy Aureng-Zêbe was too prudent to despise, and how to circumvent Solimân-Shekô became now the chief object of his attention.

The most likely method of attaining that object was, he conceived, to negotiate with the Rajah of Serinagur, through the medium of Joy-Singh : who accordingly wrote to him letter upon letter promising the most splendid remuneration if he delivered up Solimân-Shekô, and threatening the severest punishment should he refuse to comply. The rajah answered that the loss of his whole territory would affect him less than the idea that he had been guilty of so base and ungenerous an action. When it became evident that neither solicitation nor menace could move the rajah from the path of honour and rectitude, Aureng-Zêbe marched his army to the foot of the mountains of Serinagur, and there employed an immense number of pioneers in levelling huge rocks and widening narrow ways : but the rajah laughed at these vain and puerile attempts to gain an ingress into his country ; the mountains would have been inaccessible though assailed by four such kings as Aureng-Zêbe ; so that after all this

display of impotent resentment, the army was withdrawn.

Meanwhile Dara approached Tatta; and when only two or three days' journey from the place, he received intelligence (as I have been since informed by Frenchmen and other Europeans who formed part of the garrison) that Mir-Baba, by whom the fortress had been long besieged, had at length reduced it to the last extremity. Rice and meat sold for upwards of a crown per pound, and other necessaries in the same proportion. Still the governor continued undaunted; making frequent and successful sorties, and in every respect approving himself a prudent, brave, and faithful soldier; opposing, with equal calmness and resolution, the vigorous assaults of Mir-Baba, and deriding both the threats and the promises of Aureng-Zêbe.

That such was the praise-worthy conduct of the governor I have been well assured by many Europeans who were his companions in arms. I have heard them say that when he received news of Dara's approach, he increased his liberal donations; and that the whole garrison would cheerfully have sacrificed themselves in an effort to drive the enemy from the walls, and open a passage for the entrance of Dara; so well did this valiant commander understand how to gain the hearts of his soldiers. He had moreover so judiciously managed, by means of numerous and intelligent spies, whom he contrived, by

various dexterous schemes, to introduce in Mir-Baba's camp, as to impose upon the besiegers a firm belief that Dara was coming up with a formidable body of troops for the purpose of raising the siege. These spies pretended they had themselves seen him and his army; and this stratagem produced all the effect which the governor anticipated; terror seized the enemy's troops, and no doubt was entertained that, if Dara had arrived at the time he was confidently expected, Mir-Baba's army would partly have disbanded, and partly joined the prince's party.

But Dara seemed doomed never to succeed in any enterprise. Considering it impossible to raise the siege with his handful of men, he was at one time resolved to cross the river Indus, and make the best of his way to Persia; although that plan would likewise have been attended with nearly insurmountable obstacles: he would have had to traverse the lands of Patans, inconsiderable rajahs who acknowledge neither the authority of Persia nor of Hindostan; and a vast wilderness interposed in which he could not hope to find wholesome water. But the Sultana persuaded him to abandon the idea of penetrating into that kingdom, alleging a much weaker reason than those I have mentioned. If he persevered in his intention, he must make up his mind, she told him, to see both her and his daughter slaves of the Persian monarch, an ignominy which no member of his family could possibly endure. She and Dara for-

got, or seemed to forget, that the wife of Humaioon, when placed under similar circumstances, was subjected to no such indignity, but treated with great respect and kindness.*

While Dara's mind was in this state of perplexity and indecision, it occurred to him that he was at no considerable distance from Jihon-Khan, a Patan of some power and note, whose life he had been twice the means of preserving, when condemned by Shah-Jehan to be thrown under the elephant's feet, as a punishment for various acts of rebellion. To Jihon-Khan Dara determined to proceed, hoping to obtain, by his means, forces to enable him to drive Mir-Baba from the walls of Tatta. The plan he now proposed to himself was briefly this:—after raising the siege of Tatta with the troops supplied by the Patan, he intended to proceed, with the treasure deposited in that city, to Candahar, whence he might easily reach the kingdom of Cabul. When in Cabul he felt quite sanguine in the expectation that Mohâbet-Khan would zealously and unhesitatingly embrace his cause. It was to Dara this officer was indebted for the government of that country, and being possessed of great power and influence, and very po-

* When Humaioon was driven from his empire by Sheer-Khan, he resided with Shah-Tamasp, of Persia, who aided him in the recovery of it; and in the early part of his exile, he recovered possession of the provinces beyond the Indus.

pular in Cabul, the prince was not unreasonable in the hope that he would find in Mohâbet-Khan a sincere and efficacious ally. But Dara's family, agitated by dismal forebodings, employed every entreaty to prevent him from venturing in Jihon-Khan's presence. His Sultana, daughter, and son Sipper-Shekô, fell at his feet, endeavouring, with tears in their eyes, to turn him aside from his design. The Patan, they observed, was notoriously a robber and a rebel, and to place confidence in such a character was at once to rush headlong into destruction. There was no sufficient reason, they added, why he should be so pertinaciously bent upon raising the siege of Tatta; the road to Cabul might be safely pursued without that operation, for Mir-Baba would scarcely abandon the siege for the sake of interrupting his march.

Dara, as if hurried away by his evil genius, could not perceive the force of these arguments; remarking, what indeed was the truth, that the journey to Cabul would be full of difficulty and danger; and that he did not believe it possible he should be betrayed by a man bound to him by such strong ties of gratitude. He departed, notwithstanding every solicitation; and soon afforded an additional and melancholy proof that the wicked feel not the weight of obligations when their interests demand the sacrifice of the benefactors.

Jihon-Khan, who imagined that Dara was attended by a large body of soldiers, received the

prince with apparent respect and cordiality, quartering his men upon the inhabitants, with particular injunctions to supply all their wants, and treat them as friends and brethren. But when the Patan ascertained that Dara's followers did not exceed two or three hundred men, he threw off all disguise. It is still doubtful whether Jihon-Khan had been tampered with by Aureng-Zêbe, or whether he were suddenly tempted to the commission of this monstrous crime. The sight of a few mules laden with the gold, which Dara had saved from the hands of the robbers, by whom he had been constantly harassed, very probably excited his cupidity. Be this as it may, the Patan having assembled, during the night, a considerable number of armed men, seized this gold, together with the women's jewels, and fell upon Dara and Sipper-Shekô, killed the persons who attempted to defend them, and tied the prince on the back of an elephant. The public executioner was ordered to sit behind, for the purpose of cutting off his head, upon the first appearance of resistance, either on his own part or on that of any of his adherents; and in this degrading posture Dara was carried to the army before Tatta, and delivered into the hands of Mir-Baba. This officer then commanded Jihon-Khan to proceed with his prisoner, first to Lahore, and afterwards to Delhi. When the unhappy prince was brought to the gates of Delhi, it became a question with Aureng-Zêbe whether, in conducting him to the fortress of

Gualior, he should be made to pass through the capital. It was the opinion of some courtiers that this was by all means to be avoided, because not only would such an exhibition be derogatory to the royal family, but it might become the signal for revolt, and the rescue of Dara might be successfully attempted. Others maintained, on the contrary, that he ought to be seen by the whole city; that it was necessary to strike the people with terror and astonishment, and to impress their minds with an idea of the absolute and irresistible power of Aureng-Zêbe. It was also advisable, they added, to undeceive the omrahs and the people, who still entertained doubts of Dara's captivity, and to extinguish at once the hopes of his secret partisans. Aureng-Zêbe viewed the matter in the same light; the wretched prisoner was therefore secured on an elephant; his son, Sipper-Shekô, placed at his side, and behind them, instead of the executioner, was seated Bhadur-Khan. This was not one of the majestic elephants of Pegu or Ceylon, which Dara had been in the habit of mounting, pompously caparisoned, the harness gilt, and trappings decorated with figured work; and carrying a beautifully painted chair, inlaid with gold, and a magnificent canopy to shelter the prince from the sun: Dara was now seen seated on a miserable and worn-out animal, covered with filth; he no longer wore the necklace of large pearls which distinguish the princes of Hindostan, nor the rich turban and

cabaïes, or embroidered vest ; he and his son were now habited in dirty cloth of the coarsest texture, and his sorry turban was wrapt round with a scarf of Kashmire-wool, resembling that worn by the meanest of the people.

Such was the appearance of Dara when led through the bazaars and every quarter of the city. I could not divest myself of the idea that some dreadful execution was about to take place, and felt surprise that government should have the hardihood to commit all these indignities upon a prince confessedly popular among the lower orders, especially as I saw scarcely any armed force. The people had for some time inveighed bitterly against the unnatural conduct of Aureng-Zêbe : the imprisonment of his father, of his son Sultan Mahmud, and of his brother Morâd-Bakche, filled every bosom with horror and disgust. The crowd assembled upon this disgraceful occasion was immense ; and every where I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching language. I took my station in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city, in the midst of the largest bazaar ; was mounted on a good horse, and accompanied by two servants and two intimate friends. From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks ; men, women, and children, wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves. Jihon-Khan rode near the wretched Dara ; and the abusive and indignant

cries vociferated as the traitor moved along, were absolutely deafening. I observed some fakirs and several poor people throw stones at the infamous Patan; but not a single movement was made with a view of delivering the beloved and compassionated prince. When this disgraceful procession had passed through every part of Delhi, the poor prisoner was shut up in one of his own gardens, called Heider-Abad.

Aureng-Zêbe was immediately made acquainted with the impression which this spectacle produced upon the public mind, the indignation manifested by the populace against Jihon-Khan, the threats held out to stone the perfidious man, and with the fears entertained of a general insurrection. A second council was consequently convened, and the question discussed, whether it were more expedient to conduct Dara to Gualior, agreeably to the original intention, or to put him to death without further delay. By some it was maintained that there was no reason for proceeding to extremities, and that the prince might safely be taken to Gualior, provided he were attended with a strong escort: Danechmend-Khan, although he and Dara had long been on bad terms, enforced this opinion with all his powers of argument: but it was ultimately decided that Dara should die, and that Sipper-Shekô should be confined in Gualior. At this meeting Rochinara-Begum betrayed all her enmity against her hapless brother, combatting the arguments of

Danechmend, and exciting Aureng-Zêbe to this foul and unnatural murder. Her efforts were but too successfully seconded by Calil-ullah-Khan and Shaistâ-Khan, both of them old enemies of Dara; and by Takarrub-Khan, a wretched parasite recently raised to the rank of omrah, and formerly a physician. He was originally distinguished by the appellation of Hakim-Daoud, and had been compelled to fly from Persia. This man rendered himself conspicuous in the council by his violent harangue. "Dara ought not to live," he exclaimed; "the safety of the state depends upon his immediate execution; and I feel the less reluctant to recommend his being put to death, because he has abjured his religion, and avowed himself a kafer. If it be sinful to shed the blood of such a person, may the sin be visited upon my own head!" an imprecation which was not allowed to pass unregarded; for divine justice overtook this man in his career of wickedness: he was soon disgraced, declared infamous, and sentenced to a miserable death.

The charge of this atrocious murder was entrusted to a slave of the name of Nazir, who had been educated by Shah-Jehan, but experienced some ill-treatment from Dara. The prince, apprehensive that poison would be administered to him was employed with Sipper-Shekô in boiling lentils, when Nazir and four other ruffians entered his apartment. "My dear son," he cried out, "these men are come to murder us!" He then

seized a small kitchen knife, the only weapon in his possession. One of the murderers having secured Sipper-Sheko, the rest fell upon Dara, threw him down, and while three of the assassins held him, Nazir decapitated his wretched victim. The head was instantly carried to Aureng-Zêbe, who commanded that it should be placed in a dish and that water should be brought. The blood was then washed from the face, and when it could no longer be doubted that it was indeed the head of Dara, he shed tears, and said "Ah Bed-bakt! unhappy man! let this shocking sight no more offend my eyes, but take away the head, and bury it in Humaioon's sepulchre."

Dara's daughter was taken that same evening to the seraglio, but afterwards sent to Shah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb; who begged of Aureng-Zêbe to commit the young princess to their care. Dara's wife, foreseeing the calamities which awaited her and her husband, had already put a period to her existence, by swallowing poison at Lahore. Sipper-Shekô was immured in the fortress of Gualior; and soon after these tragical events Jihon-Khan was summoned before the council, and then dismissed from Delhi with a few presents. He did not escape the fate, however, which he merited, being way-laid and assassinated in a forest, within a few leagues of his own territory. This barbarian had not sufficiently reflected, that though tyrants appear to countenance the blackest crimes while they

conduce to their interest, or promote a favourite object, they yet hold the perpetrators in abhorrence, and will not scruple to punish them when they can no longer be rendered subservient to any iniquitous project.

In the mean time, the brave governor of Tatta, was compelled to surrender the place, an order for its immediate surrender, exacted from Dara himself, having been sent to the faithful eunuch; who insisted, however, on honourable terms of capitulation. The perfidious enemy, intending to violate every promise, readily assented to the conditions proposed, and Mir-Baba was admitted into the town.

The governor proceeded to Lahore, where he and the feeble remains of his intrepid garrison, were miserably slaughtered by Calil-ullah-Khan, who commanded in that city. The reason for this atrocious act was, that although the eunuch professed his intention of visiting the king at Delhi, to gratify the desire expressed by Aureng-Zêbe to converse with so brave a soldier, yet he really meditated a rapid march to Serinagur, with all his followers, for the purpose of making common cause with Solimân-Shekô. Among these followers, (many of whom were Europeans) he distributed money with a liberal hand.

Of Dara's family, there now remained only Solimân-Shekô, whom it would not have been easy to draw from Serinagur, if the rajah had

been faithful to his engagements. But the intrigues of Joy-Singh, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zêbe, the death of Dara, and the hostile preparations of the neighbouring rajahs, shook the resolution of this pusillanimous protector. Solimân-Shekô, felt that he was no longer in safety, and endeavoured to reach the Great Thibet. His rout lay across the most dreary country, consisting of nothing but sterile and mountainous tracts. He was pursued by the rajah's son, overtaken and wounded; and being conveyed to Delhi was shut up in Slinger, the fortress in which Morâd-Bakche was imprisoned.

Aureng-Zêbe acted upon this occasion as he had done in the case of Dara. That Solimân-Shekô's identity might be established, the king commanded that he should be brought into the presence of all the courtiers. I could not repress my curiosity, and witness the whole of this dismal scene. The fetters were taken from the prince's feet before he entered the chamber wherein the omrahs were assembled, but the chains which were gilt, remained about his hands. Many of the courtiers shed tears at the sight of this interesting young man, who was tall and extremely handsome. The principal ladies of the court had permission to be present, concealed behind a lattice work, and were also greatly moved. Aureng-Zêbe too, affected to deplore the fate of his nephew, and spoke to him with

apparent kindness. "Be comforted," the king told him; "no harm shall befall you. You shall be treated with tenderness. God is great, and you should put your trust in him. Dara, your father, was not permitted to live only because he was become a kafer, a man devoid of all religion." Whereupon the prince made the salaam, or sign of grateful acknowledgement, lowering his hands to the ground, and lifting them, as well as he was able, to his head, according to the custom of the country. He then told the king, with much self-possession, that if it were intended to give him the *poust* for drink, he begged he might be immediately put to death. Aureng-Zêbe promised in a solemn manner, and in a loud voice, that this drink should most certainly not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy. The prince was then required to make a second salaam; and when a few questions had been put to him, by the king's desire, concerning the elephant laden with golden rupees, which had been taken from him during his retreat to Serinagur, he was taken out of the chamber, and conducted on the following day to Gualior.

The *poust* is nothing but poppy expressed and infused into water. This is the potion generally given to princes confined in the fortress of Gualior, whose heads the monarch is deterred by prudential reasons from taking off. A large cup of this beverage is brought to them early in the morning, and they are not permitted to eat until

it be swallowed. This drink emaciates the wretched victims ; who lose their strength and intellect by slow degrees, become torpid and senseless, and at length die. It was probably by means of the poust, that Sipper-Shekô, Morâd-Bakche's grandchild, and Solimân-Shekô, were sent out of the world.

Morâd-Bakche was put to death in a more violent and open manner. Though in prison, he was yet very popular, and verses were continually composed in praise of his courage and conduct. It was essential, according to Aureng-Zêbe's policy, that no secret expectation should be entertained of his being alive ; which might be the case, if he were destroyed in private by the poust. It was determined, therefore, that he should undergo a public condemnation, and it was not difficult to find or invent some charge which might be visited as a capital offence against the devoted prince.

At the period when Morâd-Bakche was making extensive preparations for war, in his government of Guzerat, he put to death a certain siad at Ahmed-Abâd, that he might obtain possession of his great wealth. The children of the murdered siad now presented themselves before a full assembly, calling loudly for justice, and demanding the head of Morâd-Bakche. No omrah would venture to reprove or silence this procedure ; both because the person whose innocent blood had been shed was a siad, or descendant of the prophet, to

whom unbounded veneration is due, and because it could not but be evident to every person that this was a mode designed by the king to rid himself of a dangerous rival under the cloak of justice. The demand of the sons was granted, and without any other form of process, an order was given for the head of the murderer; with which they immediately repaired to Gualior.

There now existed only one member of his family who created anxiety or apprehension in the mind of Aureng-Zêbe, and this was Sultan Sujah. Hitherto he had displayed much resolution and vigour, but now felt the necessity of yielding to the power and fortune of his brother. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Emir-Jemla, until the prince, encompassed on all sides, was compelled to fly for his personal safety to Dacca, the last town in Bengal on the sea side. We are now come to the conclusion of this long and eventful tragedy.

The prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly for refuge, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the king of Arracan, or Mug, a heathen, to ascertain if he would grant him a temporary asylum, and a passage to Mokha, when the favourable season arrived; it being his wish to proceed thence to Mecca, and afterward take up his residence in Turkey or Persia. The king's answer was in the affirmative, and expressed in the kindest terms. Sultan Banque returned to Dacca with a large

number of galliasses (a species of galley) manned with Europeans, fugitive Portuguese, and other wandering Christians, who had entered into the king's service, and whose chief occupation was to ravage this part of Lower Bengal. On board these galliasses, Sultan Sujah embarked with his family, consisting of his wife, his three sons and daughters.* The king of Arracan gave them a tolerable reception, and supplied them with every necessary of life. Month after month passed; the favourable monsoon blew; but no mention was made of vessels to convey them to Mokha, although Sultan Sujah required them on no other terms than the payment of the hire; for he yet wanted not rupees of gold and silver, or gems. He had indeed too great a plenty of them; his great

* Colonel Dow, speaking of Sultan Sujah's flight from Dacca, says, that he directed his march from that town toward the frontiers of Assâm, with fifteen hundred horse; that Jemla was close at his heels; but Sujah, having crossed the Baramputre, which, running through the kingdom of Assâm, falls into Bengal, entered the mountains of Rangamâti. Through almost impervious woods, over abrupt rocks, across deep vallies and headlong torrents, he continued his flight toward Arracan. Having made a circuit of nearly five hundred miles through the wild mountains of Tippera, he entered Arracan with a diminished retinue.

But, as is well observed by Mr. George Forster, Colonel Dow could not have attained the possession of more authentic documents than Bernier, who was himself brought forward into the action of the day, and whose writings, for the space of one hundred and forty years, have borne the test of truth.

wealth being probably the cause of, or at least very much contributing to, his ruin. Barbarian kings are devoid of true generosity, and little restrained by any promises which they have made. Seldom guided by considerations of good faith, their present interest is the sole guide of their conduct, and they appear insensible of the mischief which may accrue to themselves from their perfidiousness and cruelty. To escape out of their hands, either you must have nothing to tempt their avarice, or you must be possessed of superior strength. It was in vain that Sultan Sujah evinced the utmost solicitude to depart for Mokha; the king turned a deaf ear to his entreaties; became cool and uncivil, and reproached the prince for not visiting him. I know not whether Sultan Sujah considered it beneath his dignity to associate with this idolater, or whether he apprehended that his person would be seized, and his treasure plundered, if he ventured into the palace. Emir-Jemla had offered the king, in the name of Aureng-Zêbe, large sums of money, and other considerable advantages, on condition of his delivering up the prince. Though Sultan Sujah would not himself venture into the royal residence, yet he sent his son, Sultan Banque, who, as he approached the palace, threw a considerable quantity of rupees of gold and silver among the people; and, when he came before the king, presented him with various rich brocades and rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value; and apolo-

gizing for the unavoidable absence of his father, who was indisposed, entreated the king to provide the vessel so long and so solemnly promised.

This visit proved as unavailing as every preceding effort to induce the barbarian to fulfil his engagements; and to add to the mortification and perplexity of the illustrious fugitive, the king, five or six days after this interview, made a formal demand of one of his daughters in marriage. Sultan Sujah's refusal to accede to this request exasperated him to such a degree that the prince's situation became quite desperate. What then ought he to do? To remain inactive was only quietly to await destruction. The season for departure was passing away; it was therefore necessary to come to a decision of some kind. He meditated, at length, an enterprise which never was exceeded in extravagance, and which proves the hopelessness of the situation to which he was reduced.

Although the king of Arracan be a pagan, yet there are many Muhammedans mixed with the people, who have either chosen to retire among them, or have been enslaved by the Portuguese before mentioned, in their expeditions to the neighbouring coasts. Sultan Sujah secretly gained over these men, whom he joined with two or three hundred of his own people, the remnant of those who followed him from Bengal; and with this force resolved to surprise the house of the king, put his family to the sword, and make himself sove-

reign of the country. This bold attempt, which resembled more the enterprise of a desperado than that of a prudent man, had nevertheless a certain feasibility in it, as I was informed by several Muselmans, Portuguese, and Hollanders, who were then on the spot. But the day before the blow was to be struck, a discovery was made of the design, which altogether ruined the affairs of Sultan Sujah and involved in it the destruction of his family.

The prince endeavoured to escape into Pegu ; a purpose scarcely possible to be effected, by reason of the vast mountains and forests that lay in the route ; for there is not now, as formerly, a regular road in that direction. He was pursued and overtaken, within twenty-four hours after his flight : he defended himself with an obstinacy of courage such as might have been expected, and the number of barbarians that fell under his sword was incredible ; but at length, overpowered by the increasing host of his assailants, he was compelled to give up the unequal combat. Sultan Banque, who had not advanced so far as his father, fought also like a hero, until covered with the blood of the wounds he received from the stones that had been showered upon him from all sides, he was seized on, and carried away, with his mother, two young brothers, and his sisters.

No other particulars, on which much dependence may be placed, are known of Sultan Sujah.

It is said that he reached the summit of the mountain, accompanied by an eunuch, a woman, and two other persons; that he received a wound on the head from a stone, which brought him to the ground; that the eunuch having bound up the prince's head with his own turban he arose again, and escaped into the woods.

I have heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the prince, from those even who were on the spot. Some assured me that he was found among the slain, though it was difficult to recognise his body; and I have seen a letter from a person at the head of the Dutch factory, mentioning the same thing. Great uncertainty prevails, however, upon the subject, which is the reason why we have had so many alarming rumours at Delhi. It was reported, at one time, that he was arrived at Masulipatam, and that the kings of Golconda and Visiapour engaged to support his cause with all their forces. It was confidently said, at another period, that he had passed within sight of Surat, with two ships bearing red colours, with which he had been presented either by the king of Pegû or of Siam. Again, we were told that the prince was in Persia; that he had been seen in Shiras, and soon afterwards in Candahar, ready to invade the kingdom of Cabul. Aureng-Zêbe once observed, perhaps by way of joke, that Sultan Sujah was become at last an hadji, or pilgrim; insinuating that he had

visited Mecca ; * and even at this day, there are a great many persons fully persuaded that he is returned to Persia from Constantinople, having obtained large supplies of money in that city. But in my opinion there never existed ground for any of these reports. I attach great importance to the letter from the Dutch gentleman, which states that the prince was killed in his attempt to escape ; and an eunuch of Sultan Sujah, with whom I travelled from Bengal to Masulipatam, and his former commandant of artillery, now in the service of the king of Golconda, both assured me that their master was dead, although they were reluctant to communicate any farther information. The French merchants whom I saw at Delhi, and who came direct from Ispahan, had never heard a syllable of Sultan Sujah's being in Persia. It seems also that his sword and dagger were found soon after his defeat : and if he reached the woods, as some people pretend, it can scarcely be hoped that he escaped ; as it is probable he must have fallen into the hands of robbers, or have become a prey to the tigers and elephants which very greatly infest the forests of that country.

But whatever doubts may be entertained of the fate Sultan Sujah, there are none as to the catastrophe which befel his family. When brought back, men, women, and children, were all thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost harshness.

* Persons who have made the pilgrimage of Mecca are termed hadji.—*Translator.*

Sometime after, however, they were set at liberty, and used more kindly: the king of Arracan then married the eldest princess, and the queen-mother evinced a strong desire to be united to Sultan Banque.

While these events were passing, some servants of Sultan Banque joined the muhammedans, of whom I have spoken, in a plot similar to the last. The indiscreet zeal of one of the conspirators, who was probably heated with wine, led to the discovery of the design on the day on which it was to be executed. In regard to this affair, too, I have heard a thousand different tales; and the only fact I can relate with confidence is, that the king felt so exasperated against the family of Sujah, as to give orders for its total extermination. Even the princess whom he had himself espoused, and who, it is said, was advanced in pregnancy, was sacrificed according to his brutal mandate. Sultan Banque and his brothers were decapitated with blunt axes, and the female members of this ill-fated family were closely confined in their apartments, and left to die of hunger.*

In this manner terminated the war, which the lust of domination had kindled among four brothers. It continued between five and six years; that is to say, from about the year 1655 to the year 1660 or 1661; and it left Aureng-Zêbe the undisputed master of this mighty empire.

* See note E at the end of the volume.

REMARKABLE EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE CIVIL
WAR.

The war being ended, the Tartars of Usbec eagerly despatched ambassadors to Aureng-Zêbe. These people had been witnesses of his conduct and valour in many battles, when in command of the corps which Shah-Jehan sent to the assistance of the Khan of Samarcand, then engaged in hostilities with the Khan of Balk; and they had reason to apprehend that Aureng-Zêbe did not forget the treachery of which they had been guilty when he was on the point of capturing Balk, the capital city of the enemy. Upon that occasion, the two khans made up their differences, and united in one common effort to drive him back, lest he should seize upon both their territories, in the same manner as Acbar had obtained possession of the kingdom of Kashmire. The Usbec Tartars were not ignorant of the occurrences which had taken place in Hindostan, of the victories gained by Aureng-Zêbe, and of the total discomfiture and death of the other competitors for the crown. They were aware that although Shah-Jehan still lived, yet his son was, in reality, the recognised and established king of India. Whether, then, they dreaded his just resentment, or hoped, in their inbred avarice and sordidness, to obtain some considerable present, the two khans sent ambassadors, with a proffer of their services, and with injunctions to perform the ceremony of the *mo-barek*: that is, to express in a solemn manner their

wishes that his reign might be long and auspicious. Aureng-Zêbe knew how to estimate an offer of service made at the conclusion of a war: he knew the fear of punishment, or the expectation of advantage had induced the khans to send their ambassadors. They were received, however, with due form and politeness, and as I happened to be present at the audience, I can relate the particulars with accuracy.

The ambassadors, when at a distance, made the *salaam*, or Indian act of obeisance; placing the hand thrice upon the head, and as often dropping it down to the ground. They then approached so near that Aureng-Zêbe might easily have taken the letters from their own hands; but this ceremony was performed by an omrah: the letters were received and opened by him, and then presented to the king, who, after having perused the contents with a grave countenance, commanded that there should be given to each of the ambassadors a *serapah*, or vesture from head to foot; namely, a vest of brocade, a turban, and a sash of silk in embroidery. This done, the presents from the khans were brought before the king, consisting of some boxes of the choicest lapis-lazuli; a few long-haired camels; several horses of great beauty, although the Tartar horses are generally more admired for goodness; some camel-loads of fresh fruit, such as apples, pears, grapes, and melons; Usbec being the country which principally

supplies Delhi with these fruits, which are there eaten all the winter, and many loads of dry fruit, as Bokaria plums, apricots, kichmiches, or grape apparently without stones, and two other kinds of grape, black and white, extremely large and delicious.

Aureng-Zêbe expressed himself well pleased with the liberality of the khans; extolling in exaggerated strains the beauty and rareness of the fruits, horses, and camels; and when he had spoken a few words on the fertility of their country, and asked two or three questions concerning the academy at Samarcand, he desired the ambassadors to go and repose themselves, intimating that he should be happy to see them often.

They came away from the audience delighted with their reception, without any feeling of mortification on account of the Indian salam, which certainly savours of servility, and not at all displeased that the king had refused to receive the letters from their own hands. If they had been required to kiss the ground, or to perform any act of still deeper humiliation, I verily believe they would have complied without a murmur. It should indeed be observed that it would have been unreasonable to insist upon saluting Aureng-Zêbe according to the custom of their own country, or to expect that the letters would be delivered without the intervention of an omrah: these privileges belong exclusively to Persian

ambassadors ; nor are they granted, even to them, without much hesitation and difficulty.

These people remained more than four months at Delhi, notwithstanding all their endeavours to obtain their dismissal. This long detention proved extremely injurious to their health ; they and their suit sickened, and many of them died. It is doubtful whether they suffered more from the heat of the weather, to which they are unaccustomed, or from the filthiness of their persons, and the insufficiency of their diet. There are probably no people more narrow-minded, sordid or uncleanly, than the Usbec Tartars. The individuals who composed this embassy hoarded the money allowed them by Aureng-Zêbe for their expences, and lived on a miserable pittance, in a style quite unsuitable to their station. Yet they were dismissed with great form and parade. The king, in the presence of all his omrahs, invested each of them with two rich serapahs, and commanded that eight thousand rupees should be carried to their respective houses. He also sent by them, as presents to the two khans, their masters, very handsome serapahs, a large number of the richest and most exquisitely wrought brocades, a quantity of fine linens, alachas, or silk stuffs interwoven with gold and silver, a few carpets, and two poinards set with precious stones.

During their stay I paid them three visits,

having been introduced as a physician by one of my friends, the son of an Usbec, who has amassed a fortune at this court. It was my design to collect such useful particulars concerning their country as they might be able to supply, but I found them ignorant beyond all conception. They were unacquainted even with the boundaries of Usbec, and could give no information respecting the Tartars who a few years ago subjugated China. In short I could elicit by my conversation with the ambassadors scarcely one new fact. Once I was desirous of dining with them, and as they were persons of very little ceremony, I did not find it difficult to be admitted at their table. The meal appeared to me very strange; it consisted only of horse-flesh. I contrived, however, to dine. There was a ragout which I thought eatable, and I should have considered myself guilty of a breach of good manners if I had not praised a dish so pleasing to their palate. Not a word was uttered during dinner; my elegant hosts were fully employed in cramming their mouths with as much horse-flesh as they could contain; for with the use of spoons these people are unacquainted. But when their stomachs were sated with the dainty repast, they recovered their speech, and would fain have persuaded me that the Usbecs surpass all other men in bodily strength, and that no nation equals them in the dexterous management of the bow. This observation was no sooner made than they called for bows and arrows, which were of a much larger size than those of Hin-

dostan, and offered to lay a wager that they would pierce an ox or a horse, through and through. They proceeded to extol the strength and valour of their country-women, in comparison with whom the Amazons were soft and timorous. The tales they related of female feats were endless: one especially excited my wonder and admiration, and I only regret that I cannot recite it with genuine Tartar eloquence. It seems that when Aureng-Zêbe was prosecuting the war in their country, a party of five and twenty or thirty horsemen entered a small village; and while employed in pillaging the houses, and binding the inhabitants whom they intended to carry away as slaves, an old woman said to them: "Children, listen to my counsel, and cease to act in this mischievous manner. My daughter happens just now to be absent, but she will soon return. Withdraw from this place, if you are prudent; should she light upon you, you are undone." They made contemptuous sport of the good lady, continuing to plunder the property, and to secure the persons of individuals, until having fully laden their beasts, they quitted the village, taking with them many of the inhabitants and the old woman herself. They had not gone half a league, however, before the aged mother, who never ceased to look behind, cried out in an extasy of joy, My daughter! my daughter! Her person was indeed hid from view; but the extraordinary clouds of dust, and the loud trampling of the horse, left no doubt on the mind of the anxious parent, that her heroic child was at hand to rescue

her and her friends from the power of their cruel enemies. Presently the maid was seen mounted on a fiery steed, a bow and quiver hanging at her side; and, while yet at a considerable distance, she cried out that she was still willing to spare their lives, on condition that they restored the plunder, released their captives, and retired peaceably to their own country. The Indians turned as deaf an ear to the words of the young heroine as to the entreaties of her aged parent; but were astonished when they saw her, in a moment let fly three or four arrows, which brought to the ground the same number of men. They had instant recourse to their own bows, but the damsel was much beyond the reach of their arrows, and laughed at such impotent efforts to avenge the death of their companions. She continued to perform dreadful execution among them, with an accuracy of aim, and strength of arm, that seemed quite marvellous to the affrighted Indians; until having killed half of their number with arrows, she fell sword in hand upon the remainder, and cut them in pieces.

The ambassadors from Tartary were still in Delhi, when Aureng-Zêbe was seized with a dangerous illness.* He was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue be-

* On the 25th of May, 1664, Aureng-Zêbe fell into a fever. His distemper was so violent that he was almost deprived of his reason. His tongue was seized with a palsy, and he lost his speech.—*Dow.*

came so palsied that he could scarcely articulate. The physicians despaired of his recovery, and it was generally believed he was dead, though the event was concealed by Rochinara-Begum from interested motives. It was even rumoured that the Rajah Jesswint-Singh, governor of Guzerat, was advancing to release Shah-Jehan from captivity; that Mohâbet-Khan, who had at length acknowledged Aureng-Zêbe's authority, had quitted the government of Cabul, passed already through Lahore, and was rapidly marching on Agra, at the head of three or four thousand horse, with the same design as Jesswint-Singh; and that the eunuch Etabâr-Khan, under whose custody the aged monarch was placed, felt impatient for the honour of opening the door of his prison.

On the one hand, Sultan Mausum intrigued with the omrahs, and endeavoured by bribes and promises to attach them to his interest. He even went one night in disguise to the Rajah Joy-Singh, and entreated him, in the most respectful and humble language, to declare in his favour. On the other hand, a party formed by Rochinara-Begum was supported by several omrahs and Feday-Khan, grand master of the artillery, in behalf of the young prince Sultan Acbar, Aureng-Zêbe's third son, a boy only seven or eight years of age.

It was pretended by both these parties, and believed by the people, that the sole object they had in view was to set Shah-Jehan at liberty; but

this was merely for the sake of gaining popularity, and to save appearances, in case he should be liberated by Etabâr, or by means of any secret intrigues on the part of other grandees. There was in fact scarcely a person of rank or influence who entertained the wish of seeing Shah-Jehan restored to the throne. With the exception, perhaps, of Jesswint-Singh, Mohâbet-Khan, and a few others who had hitherto refrained from acting flagrantly against him, there was no omrah who had not basely abandoned the cause of the legitimate monarch, and taken an active part in favour of Aureng-Zêbe. They were aware that to open his prison door would be to unchain an enraged lion. The possibility of such an event appalled the courtiers, and no one dreaded it more than Etabâr, who had behaved to his wretched victim with unnecessary rudeness and severity.

But Aureng-Zêbe, notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of government, and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Mausum, in the event of his death, to release the king from confinement; but he was constantly dictating letters to Etabâr, urging him to the faithful and rigid discharge of his duty; and on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the omrahs for the purpose of undeceiving those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing

a public tumult, or any accident by which Shah-Jehan might effect his escape. The same reasons induced him to visit that assembly on the seventh, ninth, and tenth days; and, what appears almost incredible, on the thirteenth day, when scarcely recovered from a swoon so deep and long that his death was generally reported, he sent for the Rajah Joy-Singh, and two or three of the principal omrahs, for the purpose of verifying his existence. He then desired the attendants to raise him in the bed; called for paper and ink that he might write to Etabâr, and despatched a messenger for the great seal, which was placed under Rochinara-Begum's care, enclosed in a small bag, and impressed with a seal which he always kept fastened to his arm. Of course, he wished to satisfy himself that the princess had not made use of this instrument to promote any sinister design. I was present when my aga became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, "What strength of mind! What invincible courage! Heaven reserve thee, Aureng-Zêbe, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die." And indeed after this fit, the king improved gradually in health.

As soon as Aureng-Zêbe became convalescent, he endeavoured to withdraw Dara's daughter from the hands of Shah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb, with the design of giving her in marriage to his third son, Sultan Acbar. This is the son whom, it is supposed, he intends for his successor, and

such an alliance would strengthen Acbar's authority and corroborate his right to the throne. He is very young, but has several near and powerful relations at court, and being born of Nawâz-Khan's daughter, is descended from the ancient sovereigns of Mascat. The mothers of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mausum were daughters only of rajahs; for though the kings of Hindostan are muhammedans, they do not scruple to marry into heathen families, when such a measure may promote their interests, or when they may thus obtain a beautiful wife.

But Aureng-Zêbe was frustrated in his intention. Shah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb rejected the proposition with disdain, and the young princess herself manifested the utmost repugnance to the marriage. She remained inconsolable during many days from an apprehension that she might be forcibly taken away, declaring it was her firm purpose to die by her own hand, rather than be united to the son of him who murdered her father.

He was equally unsuccessful in his demand to Shah-Jehan, for certain jewels, with which he was desirous of completing a piece of workmanship that he was adding to the celebrated throne, so universally the object of admiration. The captive monarch indignantly answered that Aureng-Zêbe should be careful only to govern the kingdom with more wisdom and equity: he commanded him not to meddle with the throne; and de-

clared that he would be no more plagued about these jewels, for that hammers were provided to beat them into powder the next time he should be importuned upon the subject.

The Dutch would not be last to present Aureng-Zêbe with the mobarek. They determined to send an ambassador to him, and made choice of Mr. Adrican, chief of the Dutch factory at Surat. This individual possesses integrity, abilities, and sound judgment; and as he does not disdain the advice offered by the wise and experienced, it is not surprising that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his countrymen. Although in his general deportment, Aureng-Zêbe be remarkably high and unbending, affects the appearance of a zealous muselman, and consequently despises Europeans or Christians, yet upon the occasion of this embassy, his behaviour was most courteous and condescending. He even expressed a desire that Mr. Adrican, after that gentleman had performed the Indian ceremony of the salam, should approach and salute him according to the custom of his country. The king, it is true, received the letters through the medium of an omrah, but this could not be considered a mark of disrespect, since he had done the same thing in regard to the letters brought by the Usbec ambassadors.

The preliminary observances being over, Aureng-Zêbe intimated that Mr. Adrican might produce his presents; at the same time investing him, and a few gentlemen in his suite, with a serapah

of brocade. The presents consisted of a quantity of very fine broad cloths, scarlet and green; some large looking-glasses; and several articles of Chinese and Japan workmanship; among which were a palanquin and a tucktravan, or field-throne,* of exquisite beauty, and much admired.

The Great Mogul is in the habit of detaining all ambassadors as long as can reasonably be done, from an idea that it is becoming his grandeur and power to receive the homage of foreigners, and to number them among the attendants of his court. Mr. Adrican was not dismissed, therefore, so expeditiously as he wished, though much sooner than the ambassadors from Tartary. His secretary died, and the other individuals in his retinue were falling sick, when Aureng-Zêbe granted him permission to depart. On taking leave, the king again presented him with a serapah of brocade for his own use, and another very rich one for the governor of Batavia, together with a poinard set with jewels; the whole accompanied by an obliging letter.

The chief aim of the Dutch in this embassy, was to ingratiate themselves with the Mogul, and to impart to him some knowledge of their nation, in order that a beneficial influence might thus be produced upon the minds of the governors of

* The tucktravan, a vehicle used by travellers in Asia, is composed of the words tuckt, a seat, and rawan, the participle of the verb *rusteen*, to go, move, proceed, &c.—*Translator*.

sea ports, and other places, where they have established factories. They hoped that those governors would be restrained from offering insult, and obstructing their commerce, by the consideration that the Dutch belonged to a powerful state, that they could obtain access to the king of India to induce him to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances. They endeavoured also, to impress the government with an opinion, that their traffic with Hindostan was most advantageous to that kingdom; exhibiting a long list of articles purchased by their countrymen from which they shewed that the gold and silver brought by them every year into India amounted to a considerable sum: but they kept out of sight, the amount of those precious metals extracted by their constant importations of copper, lead, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, pepper, aloes wood, and elephants.

It was about this period that one of the most distinguished omrahs ventured to express to Aureng-Zêbe his fears lest his incessant occupations should be productive of injury to his health, and even impair the soundness and vigour of his mind. The king, affecting not to hear, turned from his sage adviser, and advancing slowly toward another of the principal omrahs, a man of good sense and literary acquirements, addressed him in the following terms. The speech was reported to me by the son of that omrah, a young physician, and my intimate friend.

“ There can surely be but one opinion among you learned men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand, in defence of the people committed to his care. And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude ; that, in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him, I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best administer to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some vizier : he seems not to consider that, being born the son of a king, and placed on a throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others ; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult ; nor are they to be sacrificed to any thing besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the state. This man cannot penetrate into the consequences of the inertness he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power. It was not

without reason that our great Sadi emphatically exclaimed "Cease to be kings! O cease to be kings! or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves." Go, tell thy friend, that if he be desirous of my applause, he must acquit himself well of the trust reposed in him; but let him have a care how he again obtrudes such counsel as it would be unworthy of a king to receive. Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, and to banish the corrosive cares consequent upon a heartfelt desire to promote the well-being of others. We need no such officious counsellors. Our wives too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury."

A melancholy circumstance happened at this time which excited a great deal of interest in Delhi, particularly in the seraglio, and which proved the fallacy of an opinion entertained by myself, as well as by others, that he who is entirely deprived of virility cannot feel the passion of love.

Didar-Khan, one of the principal eunuchs of the seraglio, had built a house, to which he sometimes resorted for entertainment, and where he often slept. He became enamoured of a beautiful woman, the sister of a neighbour, a pagan, and a scrivener by profession. An illicit intercourse continued for some time between them, without creating much suspicion. Didar-Khan was an

eunuch, and eunuchs are never denied the right of entrance.

The familiarity between the two lovers became at length so remarkable, that the scrivener received various intimations of the doubts entertained as to his sister's chastity. The man felt exasperated, and threatened to put both his sister and the eunuch to death if his suspicion of their guilt should be verified. Proof was not long wanting: they were one night discovered by the brother in the same bed, who stabbed Didar-Khan to the heart, and left his sister for dead.

Nothing could exceed the horror and indignation of the whole seraglio. Women and eunuchs entered into a solemn league to kill the scrivener; but their machinations excited the displeasure of Aureng-Zêbe, who considered that the murderer had made a sufficient atonement for his crime by turning muselman.

It seems nevertheless to be the general opinion, that this rash man cannot long escape the power and malice of the eunuchs. Emasculation, say the Indians, produces a different effect upon men than upon the brute creation; it renders the latter gentle and tractable; but who is the eunuch, they ask, that is not vicious, arrogant and cruel? It is in vain to deny, however, that many among these people are faithful, generous and brave.

Much about the same time, Rochinâra-Begum incurred the displeasure of Aureng-Zêbe; the princess having been suspected of admitting two

men into the seraglio. As it was only suspicion, however, the king was soon reconciled to his sister. Nor did he exercise the same cruelty toward the two men, who were caught and dragged into his presence, as Shah-Jehan had done upon a similar occasion toward the unhappy gallant concealed in the cauldron. I shall relate the whole story exactly as I heard it from the mouth of an old woman, a half-cast Portuguese, who has been many years a slave in the seraglio, and possesses the privilege of going in and out at pleasure. From her I learnt that Rochinara-Begum, after having for several days enjoyed the company of one of these young men, whom she kept hidden, committed him to the care of her female attendants, who promised to conduct their charge out of the seraglio under cover of the night. But whether they were detected or only dreaded a discovery, or whatever else was the reason, the women fled, and left the terrified youth to wander alone about the gardens: here he was found, and taken before Aureng-Zêbe; who, when he had interrogated him very closely, without being able to draw any other confession of guilt from him than that he had scaled the walls, decided that he should be compelled to leave the seraglio in the same manner. But the eunuchs, it is probable, exceeded their master's instructions, for they threw the culprit from the top of the wall to the bottom. As for the second paramour, the old Portuguese informed me that he too was seen

roving about the gardens, and that having told the king he had entered into the seraglio by the regular gate, he was commanded to quit the place through that same gate. Aureng-Zêbe determined, however, to inflict a severe and exemplary punishment upon the eunuchs; because it was essential, not only to the honour of his house, but even to his personal safety, that the entrance into the seraglio should be vigilantly guarded.

Some months after this occurrence five ambassadors arrived at Delhi, nearly at the same time. The first was from the scharif of Mecca, and the presents that accompanied this embassy, consisted of a small number of Arabian horses, and a besom which had been used in the small chapel situated in the centre of the Great Mosque at Mecca; a chapel held in great veneration by muselmans, and called by them Beit-Allah, or the House of God. They believe this was the first temple dedicated to the true God, and that it was erected by Abraham.

The second ambassador was sent by the king of Yemen, or Arabia Felix; and the third by the prince of Bassora; both of whom also brought presents of Arabian horses.

The two other ambassadors came from the king of Habesh, or Ethiopia.

Little or no respect was paid to the first three of these diplomatists. Their equipage was so miserable that every one suspected they came merely for the sake of obtaining money in

return for their presents, and of gaining still more considerable sums by means of the numerous horses, and different articles of merchandise, which they introduced into the kingdom free of all duty, as property belonging to ambassadors. With the produce of these horses and merchandise, they purchased the manufactures of Hindostan, which they also claimed the privilege of taking out of the kingdom without payment of the impost charged on all commodities exported.

The embassy from the king of Ethiopia, may deserve a little more consideration. He was well informed on the subject of the revolution in India, and determined to spread his fame throughout this vast region, by despatching an embassy that should be worthy of his great power and magnificence. The whispers of slander, indeed, if not rather the voice of truth, will have it that in sending these ambassadors, the African had an eye only to the valuable presents which might be received from the liberal hand of Aureng-Zêbe.

The Ethiopian monarch chose for his ambassadors two personages who doubtless enjoyed the greatest distinction at court, and were best qualified to attain the important ends he had in view. One of these was a muhammedan merchant, whom I met a few years before at Mokha, when on my way from Egypt up the Red Sea. He had been sent thither by his august sovereign for the purpose of selling a large number of slaves, and of

purchasing India goods with the money thus commendably obtained.

Such is the honourable traffic of this great and Christian king of Africa!

The other ambassador was an Armenian and Christian merchant; born and married at Aleppo, and known in Ethiopia by the name of Murat. I saw him also at Mokha, where he not only accommodated me with half his apartment, but gave me such advice as deterred me from visiting Ethiopia, as was observed at the commencement of this history. Murat is likewise sent every year to Mokha for the same object as the muhammedan merchant, and always takes with him the annual presents from his master to the English and Dutch East-India companies, and conveys those which they give in return, to Gondar.

The African monarch, anxious that his ambassadors should appear in a style suitable to the occasion, contributed liberally toward the expences of the embassy. He presented them with thirty-two young slaves, boys and girls, to be sold at Mokha; and the money raised by this happy expedient was to supply the expences of the mission. A noble largess indeed! for let it be recollected that young slaves sell at Mokha, one with another, at five and twenty or thirty crowns per head. Besides these, the Ethiopian king sent to Aureng-Zêbe twenty-five choice slaves, nine or ten of whom were of a tender age and in a state to be made eunuchs. This was, to be sure, an appro-

priate donation from a Christian to a muhammedan king, and shews the pure state of religion in Ethiopia! The ambassadors also took charge of other presents for the Great Mogul; fifteen horses, esteemed equal to those of Arabia, and a small species of mule, whose skin I have seen: no tiger is so beautifully marked, and no alacha of the Indies, or silken stuff, is more finely and variously streaked: A couple of elephants' teeth, of a size so prodigious that it required, it seems, the utmost exertion of a strong man to lift either of them from the ground; and lastly, the horn of an ox, filled with civet, which was indeed enormously large; for I measured the mouth of it at Delhi, and found that it exceeded half a French foot in diameter.

The ambassadors, thus royally and munificently provided, departed from Gondar, the capital city of Ethiopia, situated in the province of Dembea. They traversed a desolate country, and were more than two months travelling to Beiloul, an uninhabited sea-port, near Babelmandel and opposite to Mokha. For reasons which I shall perhaps disclose in the course of my narrative, they dared not take the usual and caravan road from Gondar to Arkeeko, a journey easily performed in forty days. From Arkeeko it is necessary to pass over to the island of Masuah, where the Turks have a garrison.

While waiting at Beiloul for a Mokha vessel to cross the Red Sea, the party were in want of

many of the necessaries of life, and some of the slaves died.

On arriving at Mokha, the ambassadors found that the market had been that year overstocked with slaves. The boys and girls, therefore, sold at a reduced price. As soon as their sale was effected, they pursued their voyage, embarking on board an Indian vessel bound to Surat, where they arrived after a tolerable passage of five and twenty days. Several slaves, however, and many horses died; probably from want of proper nourishment, the funds of this pompous embassy being evidently insufficient to supply all its wants. The mule also died, but the skin, which I saw at Delhi, was preserved.

They had not been many hours on shore at Surat, when a certain rebel of Visiapour, named Sevajee, entered the town, which he pillaged and burnt. The house of the ambassadors escaped not the general conflagration; and all that they succeeded in rescuing from the flames, or the ravages of the enemy, was their credentials; a few slaves that Sevajee could not lay hold of, or whom he spared because they happened to be ill; their Ethiopian apparel, which he did not covet; the mule's skin, to which he took no particular fancy; and the ox's horn that had already been emptied of its civet.

These exalted individuals spoke in exaggerated terms of their sad misfortunes; but it was insinuated by the malicious Indians, who witnessed

their deplorable condition on landing,—without decent clothing, destitute of money or bills, and half famished, that the two ambassadors, were, in fact, lucky people, who ought to number the ransacking of Surat among the happiest events of their lives, since it saved them from the mortification of conducting their wretched presents as far as Delhi. Sevajee, the Indians said, had furnished these worthy representatives of the Ethiopian king, with an admirable pretext for appearing like a couple of mendicants, and for soliciting the governor of Surat to supply them with the means of living, and with money and carts to enable them to proceed to the capital. The attack upon Surat had also covered their misdeeds, in disposing, for their own benefit, of the civet, and many of the slaves.

My excellent friend Mr. Adrican, chief of the Dutch factory, gave Murat, the Armenian, a letter of introduction to me, which he delivered into my hands at Delhi, without being aware that I had been his guest at Mokha. It was an agreeable surprise to meet thus unexpectedly, after an absence of five or six years. I embraced my old friend with affection, and promised to render him all the service in my power. Yet, though my acquaintance among the courtiers was pretty extensive, I found it difficult to be useful to these empty-handed ambassadors. The mule's skin and the ox's horn, wherein was kept arrack, or brandy extracted from black sugar, of which

they are excessively fond, constituted the whole of their presents; and the contempt which the absence of valuable presents would alone inspire, was increased by their miserable appearance. They were seen about the streets without palanquins, clad in the true Bedouin fashion, and followed by seven or eight bare-footed and bare-headed slaves, who had no raiment but an ugly scarf round their middle, and the half of a ragged sheet over the left shoulder, which passed under the right arm, in imitation of a summer cloak. Nor had the ambassadors any other carriage than a hired and broken down cart; and they were without any horse besides one belonging to our father the missionary, and one of mine that they sometimes borrowed, and which they nearly killed.

In vain did I for a long time exert myself in behalf of these despised personages; they were regarded as beggars, and could excite no interest. One day, however, when closetted with my aga Danechmend-Khan, who is minister for foreign affairs, I expatiated so successfully upon the grandeur of the Ethiopian monarch, that Aureng-Zêbe was induced to grant the ambassadors an audience, and to receive their letters. He presented both with a serapah, or vest of brocade, a silken and embroidered girdle, and a turban of the same materials and workmanship; gave orders for their maintenance, and on their dismissal from

Delhi, which soon took place, invested each with another serapah, and made them a present of six thousand rupees, equal to nearly three thousand crowns : but this money was unequally divided, the muhammedan receiving four thousand rupees, and Murat, because a Christian, only two thousand.

Aureng-Zêbe sent by them, as presents to their royal master, an extremely rich serapah ; two cornets, or trumpets, of silver gilt ; two silver kettle drums ; a poinard studded with rubies ; and gold and silver rupees to the amount of about twenty thousand francs : hoping, as he kindly expressed, that this last gift would be peculiarly acceptable, and considered a rarity ; the king of Ethiopia not having any coined money in his country.

The Mogul was well aware that not one of these rupees would be taken out of Hindostan, and that the ambassadors would employ them in the purchase of useful commodities. It turned out just as he foresaw. They bought spices ; fine cotton cloths, for shirts for the king and queen, and for the king's only legitimate son, who is to succeed to the throne ; alachas or silken stuffs striped, some with gold and some with silver, for vests and summer trowsers ; English broad cloths, scarlet and green, for a couple of abbs, or Arabian vests, for their king ; and lastly, quantities of cloth less fine in their texture for

several ladies of the seraglio and their children. All these goods they were privileged, as ambassadors, to export without payment of duty.

Notwithstanding all my friendship for Murat, there were three reasons why I almost repented of having exercised my influence in his behalf. The first was, that after he had promised to sell me his son for fifty rupees, he sent word he would not part with the boy for less than three hundred. I felt almost disposed to give him his price, that I might have it in my power to say a father had sold me his own child. The lad was remarkably well made, and his skin of the clearest black; the nose was not flat, nor the lips thick, as is commonly the case among the Ethiopians. I was certainly angry with Murat for having violated his engagement.

I had, in the next place, ascertained that my friend, as well as his muhammedan companion, had solemnly promised Aureng-Zêbe to urge his king to permit the repair of a mosque in Ethiopia which had been in ruins since the time of the Portuguese. The Mogul gave the ambassadors two thousand rupees in anticipation of this service. The mosque, erected as the mausoleum of a certain sheik, or dervise, who left Mecca for the purpose of propagating muhammedanism in Ethiopia, was demolished by the Portuguese, when they entered the country with troops from Goa, as allies of the lawful sovereign, who had

embraced Christianity, and been driven from the throne by a muhammedan prince.

My third objection to Murat's conduct arose from the part he took in entreating Aureng-Zêbe, in the name of the Ethiopian king, to send the latter a Koran and eight other books, with the names of which I am familiar, and which are of the first repute among the treatises written in defence of the muhammedan creed.

There seemed to me something extremely base and wicked in these proceedings, on the part of a Christian ambassador, acting in the name of a Christian king. They afforded but too satisfactory a confirmation of the account I had received at Mokha of the low ebb to which Christianity is reduced in the kingdom of Ethiopia. Indeed all the measures of its government, and the character of the people, savour strongly of muhammedanism, and it cannot be doubted that the number, even of nominal Christians, has been on the decline since the death of the king, who was maintained on the throne by the troops from Goa. Soon after that event, the Portuguese, in consequence of the intrigues of the queen-mother, were either killed or driven out of the country. The Jesuit patriarch, whom his countrymen had brought from Goa, was compelled to fly for his life.

During the stay of the ambassadors at Delhi, my aga, ever eager in search of knowledge,

invited them frequently to his house. He asked many questions concerning the condition of their country and the nature of its government; but Danechmend's principal object was to obtain information respecting the source of the Nile. They knew this river by the name of Abbabile, and its source, they say, is perfectly ascertained. Murat and a Mogul, who travelled with him from Ethiopia, have visited the source, and the particulars given by them both, are substantially the same as those I had learnt at Mokha. They informed us that the Nile has its origin in the country of the Agows, rising from two bubbling and contiguous springs, which form a small lake of about thirty or forty paces in length; that the water running out of this lake is already a pretty considerable river; which continues, however, to increase in size by reason of the small tributary streams which, from space to space, flow into it. They added that the river went on in a circuitous course, forming, as it were, a large island; and that after falling from several steep rocks, it entered into a great lake wherein are several fertile islands, quantities of crocodiles, and, what would be much more remarkable, if true, numbers of sea-calves which have no other means of ejecting their excrement than the mouth. This lake is in the country of Dembea, three short journies from Gondar, and four or five from the source of the Nile. The river, they continued, when it leaves the great lake, is much augmented by the numerous rivers and tor-

rents which fall into that lake, especially in the rainy season; which is as periodical as in India, commencing towards the end of July. This, by the way, is an important consideration, and accounts for the overflowing of the Nile. From the lake just mentioned, the river runs by Sennaar, the capital city of the king of Fungi (tributary to the king of Ethiopia) and continues its course until it reaches the plains of Misser or Egypt.

The two ambassadors dilated more copiously than was agreeable either to Danechmend or myself on the magnificence of their sovereign, and the strength of his army; but their travelling companion, the Mogul, never joined in these panegyrics, and told us, during their absence, that he had twice seen this army in the field, commanded by the king in person, and that it is impossible to conceive troops more wretched and worse disciplined.

The Mogul gave us a great deal of information about Ethiopia, the whole of which is noted in my journal, and may one day be given to the public. At present I shall content myself with noticing three or four facts related by Murat, and which, considering that they occurred in a Christian land, will be deemed sufficiently extravagant.

He said that in Ethiopia there are few men who do not keep several wives; nor was he ashamed to confess that he himself had two, besides the wife to whom he was legally married, and who resided in Aleppo. The Ethiopian

women, he observed, do not hide themselves as in India among the muhammedans and even pagans; and nothing is more common than to see females of the lower ranks, whether single or married, bond or free, mingled together, day and night, in the same apartment; the whole of them perfectly unacquainted with those feelings of jealousy so prevalent in other nations. The women, or wives of grandees, are at no great pains to conceal their attachment to any handsome cavalier, whose house they enter without fear or scruple.

If I had visited Ethiopia, I should have been compelled, they told me, to marry. A few years ago, a wife was forced upon an European, a monk, who passed for a Greek physician; and it is curious enough that the woman whom they obliged him to wed was the same that he designed for his son.

A man, eighty years of age, having presented to the king four and twenty sons, all of mature age, and able to carry arms was asked by his majesty whether those were the only children he could exhibit? The old gentleman answered that they were indeed the whole of the male part of his family, but that he was also the father of a few daughters. "Out then from my presence, thou old calf," was the king's rejoinder. "I am astonished that instead of feeling shame, thou presumest to appear before me. Is there a lack of women in my dominions that thou, a man well stricken in years, canst boast of only two dozen

sons?" The Ethiopian king himself has at least eighty children, who are met running about in all parts of the seraglio. They are known by a round stick varnished, resembling a small mace, which the king puts into their hands, and which they carry about with great delight, as a sceptre, to distinguish them from other children.

Aureng-Zêbe sent twice for the ambassadors. He hoped, like my aga, to increase his stock of knowledge by their conversation; but his chief anxiety was to be made acquainted with the state of muhammedanism in their country. He expressed a desire to see the mule's skin, which somehow or other, remained afterward in the fortress, in possession of the officers; much to my disappointment, for it was promised me in return for my good services. I flattered myself I should one day present it to one of our *virtuosi* in Europe. I strongly recommended the ambassadors to shew the great horn to the king, as well as the skin: but this might have subjected them to a very embarrassing question: how it happened that in the the ransacking of Surat, they lost the civet, and yet retained the horn?

The Ethiopian embassy was still in Delhi, when Aureng-Zêbe assembled his privy-council, together with the learned men of his court, for the purpose of selecting a suitable preceptor for his third son, Sultan Acbar, whom he designs for his successor. He evinced upon this occasion the utmost solicitude that this young prince should

receive such an education as might justify the hope of his becoming a great character. No person can be more alive than Aureng-Zêbe to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue. He is very sensible that the cause of the misery which afflicts the empires of Asia, of their misrule, and consequent decay, should be sought, and will be found, in the deficient and pernicious mode of instructing the children of kings. | Entrusted from infancy to the care of women and eunuchs, slaves from Russia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Georgia, or Ethiopia, whose minds are debased by the very nature of their occupation; servile and mean to superiors, proud and oppressive to dependents;—the princes, when called to the throne, leave the walls of the seraglio, instructed only in crime, and awfully ignorant of the duties imposed upon them by their new situation. They appear on the stage of life, as if they came from another world, or emerged, for the first time, from a subterraneous cavern, and stare, like simpletons, at every object they see. Either like children, they are credulous in every thing, and in dread of every thing; or, with the obstinacy and heedlessness of folly, they are deaf to every sage counsel, and rash in every stupid enterprise. According to their natural temperament, or the first ideas impressed upon their minds, such princes, on succeeding to a

True

True

crown, affect to be dignified and grave, though it be easy to discern that gravity and dignity form no part of their character, that the appearance of those qualities is the effect of some ill-studied lesson, and that they are in fact only other names for savageness and vanity ; or else they assume a disgusting politeness in their demeanour, disgusting because unnatural and constrained. Who, that is conversant with the history of Asia, can deny the faithfulness of this delineation ? Have not her sovereigns been blindly and brutally cruel,—cruel without judgment or direction ? Have they not been addicted to the mean and gross vice of drunkenness, and abandoned to an excessive and shameless luxury, ruining their bodily health, and impairing their understanding, in the society of concubines ? Or, instead of attending to the concerns of the kingdom, have not their days been consumed in the pleasures of the chase ? A pack of dogs will engage their thoughts and affection, although indifferent to the sufferings of so many poor people who, compelled to follow the unfeeling monarch in the pursuit of game, are left to die of hunger, heat, cold, and fatigue. In a word, the kings of Asia are constantly living in the indulgence of monstrous vices, those vices varying, indeed, as I said before, according to their natural propensities, or to the ideas early instilled into their minds. It is indeed a rare exception when the sovereign is not profoundly ignorant of the domestic and political condition of his empire.

The reins of government are often committed to the hands of some vizier, who, that he may reign lord absolute, with security and without contradiction, considers it an essential part of his plan to encourage his master in all his low pursuits, and divert him from every avenue of knowledge. If the sceptre be not firmly grasped by the first minister, then the country is governed by the king's mother, originally a wretched slave, and by a set of eunuchs, persons who possess no enlarged and liberal views of policy, and who employ their time in barbarous intrigues; banishing, imprisoning, and strangling each other, and frequently the grandees and the vizier himself. Indeed, under their disgraceful domination, no man of any property is secure of life for a single day.

When Aureng-Zêbe had received the different embassies I have described, news at length reached the court that one from Persia had arrived on the frontier. Persian omrahs, and others of that nation, in the service of the Mogul, spread a report that affairs of the utmost moment brought the ambassador to Hindostan. Intelligent persons, however, gave no credence to the rumour: the period for great events was gone by, and it was clear that the Persians had no other reason for saying their countryman was entrusted with an important commission, than a vain and overweening desire to exalt their nation. It was also pretended by the same individuals, that the omrah appointed to meet the ambassador on the frontier, and to

provide for his honourable treatment during his journey to the capital, was strictly enjoined to spare no pains to discover the principal object of the embassy. He was instructed, they said, to prepare, by degrees, the haughty Persian for the ceremony of the salam, which was to be represented, as well as that of delivering all letters through the medium of a third person, as a custom that has invariably obtained from time immemorial. It is sufficiently evident, however, from what we witnessed, that these were idle tales. Aureng-Zêbe is raised much above the necessity of recurring to such expedients.

On his entry into the capital, the ambassador was received with every demonstration of respect. The bazaars through which he passed were all newly painted, and the cavalry lining both sides of the way extended beyond a league. Many omrahs, accompanied with instruments of music, attended the procession, and a salute of artillery was fired upon his entering the gate of the fortress, or royal palace. Aureng-Zêbe welcomed him with the greatest politeness; manifested no displeasure at his making the Persian salam, and unhesitatingly received from his hands, the letters of which he was the bearer; raising them, in token of peculiar respect, nearly to the crown of his head. An eunuch having assisted him to unseal the letters, the king perused the contents with a serious and solemn countenance, and then commanded that the ambassador should

be clad, in his presence, with a serapah; that is, a vest of brocade, a turban, and a silken sash, embroidered with gold and silver. This part of the ceremony over, the Persian was informed that the moment was come for the display of the presents; which were composed of five and twenty horses, as beautiful as I ever beheld, with housings of embroidered brocade; twenty highly bred camels, that might have been mistaken for small elephants, such was their size and strength; a considerable number of boxes, containing excellent rose-water, and another sort of distilled water, called beidmchk, a cordial held in the highest estimation and very scarce; five or six carpets of extraordinary size and beauty; a few pieces of brocade extremely rich, wrought in small flowers, in so fine and delicate a style that I doubt if any thing so elegant was ever seen in Europe; four Damascus cutlasses, and the same number of poinards, the whole covered with precious stones; and lastly, five or six sets of horse-furniture, which were particularly admired. The last were indeed very handsome and of superior richness; ornamented with superb embroidery and with small pearls, and turkoises of great value from the old mine.*

* The author calls them turkois *de la vieille roche*; a term which, in speaking of diamonds, is used by the French to describe those of the finest water, but which, in speaking of turkois, (so called from being found in Turkey Proper, or the country from which the Turks originally came) means

It was remarked that Aureng-Zêbe seemed unusually pleased with this splendid present; he examined every part minutely, noticed its elegance and rarity, and frequently extolled the munificence of the king of Persia. He assigned the ambassador a place among the principal omrahs; and after speaking about his long and fatiguing journey, and expressing his desire to see him every day, he dismissed this august and highly favoured personage.

He remained at Delhi four or five months, living sumptuously at Aureng-Zêbe's expence, and partaking of the hospitality of the chief omrahs, who invited him by turns to grand entertainments. When permitted to return to his country, the king invested him with a second rich serapah, and put him in possession of other valuable donations, reserving the presents intended for the Persian monarch for the embassy that he determined to send, and which was very soon appointed.

Notwithstanding the strong and unequivocal marks of respect conferred by Aureng-Zêbe upon this last ambassador, the Persians at Delhi endeavoured to impose a belief that the king of Persia, in his letters, reproached him keenly with the

those of the old mine, to distinguish them from the turkois of a new mine, which are not nearly so much esteemed. The turkois of the old mine were, according to Chardin, reserved exclusively for the king of Persia. That mine has long since been exhausted.—*Translator.*

death of Dara, and the incarceration of Shah-Jehan, representing such actions as unworthy a brother, a son, and a faithful muselman. He also, they said, reproved him for having assumed the name of Allum-guire, or Conqueror of the World, and for causing it to be inscribed on the coins of Hindostan. They went so far as to affirm that these words formed part of the letters: "Since then thou art this Allum-guire Besm-Illah, I send thee, in the name of God, a sword and horses. Let us now, therefore, approach each other." This would indeed have been throwing down the gauntlet. I give the story as I received it: to contradict it is not in my power; easy as any person finds it in this court to come to the knowledge of every secret, provided he be acquainted with the language, possess good friends, and be as profuse of money as myself for the sake of gratifying his curiosity. But I cannot be easily persuaded that the king of Persia made use of the language ascribed to him: it would savour too much of empty bluster and menace, though it cannot be denied that the Persians are apt to assume a lofty tone when they wish to impress an idea of their power and influence. I rather incline to the opinion entertained by the best informed, that Persia is not in a condition to act aggressively against such an empire as Hindostan. She will be sufficiently happy if she retain Candaher, on the side of India, and preserve the integrity of her frontier on the side of Turkey.

The wealth and strength of that nation are accurately estimated. Her throne is not always filled by a Shah-Abas, a sovereign intrepid, enlightened and politic; capable of turning every occurrence to his benefit, and of accomplishing great designs with small means. If her government meditate any enterprise against this kingdom, and be animated with a feeling of abhorrence on account of some recent transactions, who can explain why, during the late civil wars, she remained a quiet and apparently an unconcerned spectator of the heart-rending calamities with which they were attended. She was unmoved by the entreaties of Dara, Shah-Jehan, Sultan Sujah, and perhaps of the governor of Cabul; although she might, with a comparatively small army, and at an inconsiderable expence, have gained possession of the fairest part of Hindostan, from the kingdom of Cabul to the banks of the Indus, and even beyond that river; thus constituting herself the arbitress of every dispute.

The king of Persia's letters, however, either contained some offensive expressions, or Aureng-Zebe took umbrage at the conduct or language of the ambassador; because the king complained, two or three days after the embassy had quitted Delhi, that the hamstrings of the horses presented in the name of the Persian monarch, had been cut by order of the ambassador. He commanded, therefore, that he should be intercepted on the frontier, and deprived of all the Indian slaves he

was taking away. It is certain that the number of these slaves was most unreasonable; he had purchased them extremely cheap on account of the famine, and it is also said that his servants had stolen a great many children.

Aureng-Zêbe, during the stay of this embassy at Delhi, was careful to demean himself with strict propriety; unlike his father, Shah-Jehan, who, upon a similar occasion, either provoked the anger of the ambassador of the celebrated Shah-Abas, by an ill-timed haughtiness, or excited his contempt by an unbecoming familiarity.

A Persian, who wishes to indulge in any satirical merriment at the expence of the Indians, relates a few such anecdotes as the following.

When Shah-Jehan had made several fruitless attempts to subdue the arrogance of the ambassador, whom no arguments or caresses could induce to salute the Great Mogul according to the Indian mode, he devised this artifice to gain his end. He commanded that the grand entrance of the court leading to the Am-kas, where he intended to receive the ambassador, should be closed, and the wicket only left open; a wicket so low that a man could not pass through without stooping, and holding down the head as is customary in making the Indian salam. Shah-Jehan hoped by this expedient to have it in his power to say that the ambassador, in approaching the royal presence, bowed the head even nearer to the ground than is usual in his court; but the proud and quick-sighted

Persian, penetrating into the Mogul's design, entered the wicket with his back turned toward the king. Shah-Jehan vexed, to see himself overcome by the ambassador's stratagem, said indignantly, "Eh-bed-bakt, Wretch! didst thou imagine thou wast entering a stable of asses like thyself?" "I did imagine it," was the answer. "Who, on going through such a door, can believe he is visiting any but asses?"

Another story is this:—Shah-Jehan, displeased with some rude and coarse answer made by the Persian ambassador, was provoked to say, "Eh-bed-bakt! has then Shah-Abas no gentleman in his court that he sends me such a hare-brained fellow?" "O, yes! the court of my sovereign abounds with polite and accomplished men; but he adapts the ambassador to the king."

One day, having invited the ambassador to dine at the royal table, and seeking, as usual, an occasion to discompose and vex him; while the Persian was busily employed in picking a great many bones, the king said coolly, "Eheltchygy, my lord ambassador, what shall the dogs eat?" "Kichery," was the prompt answer; a favourite dish of Shah-Jehan, and which he was then devouring with avidity. Kichery is a mess of leguminous plants, the general food of the common people.

The Mogul enquiring what he thought of his new Delhi, then building, as compared to Ispahan; he answered aloud, and with an oath, "Billah! billah! Ispahan cannot be compared to the dust

of your Delhi:" which reply the king took as a high encomium upon his favourite city, though the ambassador intended it in sportive derision, the dust being intolerable in Delhi.

Lastly, the Persians pretended that their countryman being pressed by Shah-Jehan to tell him candidly how he estimated the relative power of the kings of Hindostan and Persia; he observed, that he likened India to a full moon fifteen or sixteen days old, and Persia to a young moon of two or three days. This ingenious answer was at first very flattering to the Great Mogul's pride, but became a source of deep mortification when he had rightly interpreted the ambassador's meaning; which was that the kingdom of Hindostan is now on the decline, and that of Persia advancing, like the crescent, in splendour and magnitude.

Such are the witticisms so much vaunted by the Persians in India, and which they seem never tired of repeating. For my part, I think a dignified gravity and respectful demeanour would better become an ambassador than the assumption of a supercilious and unbending carriage, or the indulgence of a taunting and sarcastic spirit. Even if he possessed no higher principle to regulate his conduct, it is surprising that Shah-Abas's ambassador was not constrained by common considerations of prudence; and how much he had to fear from the resentment of a despot, whom he foolishly and unnecessarily provoked, was seen by the danger he narrowly escaped. Shah-Jehan's

malignity grew so violent and undisguised that he addressed him only in the most opprobrious terms, and gave secret orders that when the ambassador entered a long and narrow street in the fortress, leading to the Hall of Assembly, a vicious elephant should be let loose upon him. A less active and courageous man must have been killed ; but the Persian was so nimble in jumping out of his palanquin, and, together with the attendants, so prompt and dexterous in shooting his bows, that the animal was scared away.

Moollah Salé's celebrated reception at court took place in the same month that the Persian ambassador returned to his own country. This old man had been Aureng-Zêbe's preceptor, and had resided during several years on an estate presented to him by Shah-Jehan, when he was made acquainted with the termination of the civil war, and the complete success which had attended the ambitious projects of his former pupil. He hastened to Delhi, sanguine in his expectation of being immediately advanced to the rank of omrah. There was no person of influence whom he did not engage in his favour, and Rochinara-Begum was among those who reminded the king that his venerable and faithful tutor had become a candidate for honours and preferment. Three months elapsed before Aureng-Zêbe would seem to know that such a person was within the purlieus of the court ; but weary at last with seeing him constantly in his presence, the Mogul commanded that he should come to him in his closet, where only

Hakim-ul-Mouluk, Danechmend-Khan, and three or four other grandees who enjoy a reputation for science were present. He then spoke in nearly the following words. I say nearly, because it is impossible to transcribe so long a discourse precisely in the terms in which it was delivered. Had I been present myself, instead of my aga, from whom I received a report of the speech, I could not hope to be verbally correct. There can be no doubt, however, that what Aureng-Zêbe said, was substantially as follows:—"Pray what is your pleasure with me, Moollah-gy, noble doctor? Do you pretend that I ought to exalt you to the first honours of the state? Let us then examine your title to any mark of distinction. I do not deny you would possess such a title if you had filled my young mind with suitable instruction. Shew me a well educated youth, and I will say that it is doubtful who has the stronger claim upon his gratitude, his father or his tutor. But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition? You taught me that the whole of Frangistan,* was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the king of Portugal, then the king of Holland, and afterward the king of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan, such as the king of France and the king of Andalusia, you told me

* Europe.

they resembled our petty rajahs, and that the potentates of Hindostan eclipsed the glory of all other kings; that they alone were Humaioons, Acbars, Jehan-Guires, or Shah-Jehans; the Happy, the Great, the Conquerors of the World, and the Kings of the World; and that Persia, Usbec, Kashgar, Tartary, Pegu, Siam, China, and Manchew China, trembled at the name of the kings of India. Admirable geographer! deeply read historian! Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength; its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist; and, by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions, have been effected? Far from having imparted to me a profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind, scarcely did I learn from you the names of my ancestors, the renowned founders of this empire. You kept me in total ignorance of their lives, of the events which preceded, and the extraordinary talents that enabled them to achieve, their extensive conquests. A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a king; but you would teach me to read and write Arabic; doubtless conceiving that you placed me under an

everlasting obligation for sacrificing so large a portion of time to the study of a language wherein no one can hope to become proficient without ten or twelve years of close application. Forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a prince, you acted as as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of law ; and thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never ending task, of learning words !”

Such was the language in which Aureng-Zêbe expressed his resentment ; but some of the learned men, either wishing to flatter the monarch and add energy to his speech ; or actuated by jealousy of Moolah-Salé, affirm that the king's reproof did not end here, but that, when he had spoken for a short time on indifferent subjects, he resumed his discourse in this strain : “ Were you not aware that it is during the period of infancy, when the memory is commonly so retentive, that the mind may receive a thousand wise precepts, and be easily furnished with such valuable instruction as will elevate it with lofty conceptions, and render the individual capable of glorious deeds ? Can we repeat our prayers, or acquire a knowledge of law and of the sciences, only through the medium of Arabic ? May not our devotions be offered up as acceptably, and solid

information communicated as easily in our mother tongue? You gave my father, Shah-Jehan, to understand that you instructed me in philosophy; and, indeed, I have a perfect remembrance of your having, during several years, harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yield no satisfaction to the mind;—propositions that seldom enter into the business of life; wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour, and forgotten as soon as conceived; whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intellect, and to render a man headstrong and insufferable.* O yes, you caused me to devote the most valuable years of my life to your favourite hypotheses or systems and when I left you, I could boast of no greater attainment in the sciences, than the use of many obscure and uncouth terms, calculated to discourage, confound, and appal a youth of the most masculine understanding: terms invented to cover the vanity and ignorance of pretenders to philosophy; of men who, like yourself, would impose the belief that they transcend others of their species in wisdom, and that their dark and ambiguous jargon conceals many profound mysteries known only to themselves. If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with any thing short of the most solid arguments; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the

* Their philosophy abounds with even more absurd and obscure notions than our own.—*Bernier*.

soul, and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equanimity which is neither insolently elated by prosperity, nor basely depressed by adversity; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of man; accustomed me always to refer to first principles, and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe, and of the order and regular motion of its parts;—if such, I say, had been the nature of the philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than Alexander was to Aristotle, and should consider it my duty to bestow a very different reward on you than Aristotle received from that prince. Answer me sycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a king; namely, on the reciprocal duties of a sovereign and his subjects, and of subjects towards their sovereign? Ought you not also to have foreseen that I might, at some future period, be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindostan. Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or draw up an army in battle array? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects! Go; withdraw to thy village. Henceforth let no person know either who thou art, or what is become of thee."

An event occurred at this period not very creditable to the astrologers. The large majority of Asiatics are so infatuated in favour of judicial astrology, that, according to their phraseology, no circumstance can happen below, which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. When two armies have completed every preparation for battle, no consideration can induce the generals to commence the engagement until the *sahet* be performed; that is, until the propitious moment for attack be ascertained. In like manner no commanding officer is nominated, no marriage takes place, and no journey is undertaken, without consulting these seers. Their advice is considered absolutely necessary even on the most trifling occasions; as the proposed purchase of a slave, or the first wearing of new clothes. This silly superstition is so general an annoyance, and attended with such important and disagreeable consequences, that I am astonished it has continued so long: the astrologer is necessarily made acquainted with every transaction public and private, with every project common and extraordinary.

Now it happened that the king's principal astrologer fell into the water and was drowned. This melancholy accident caused a great sensation at court, and proved injurious to the reputation of these professors in divination. The man who had thus lost his life always performed the *sahet* for the king and the *omrahs*; and the

people naturally wondered that an astrologer of such extensive experience, and who had for many years predicted happy incidents for others, should have been incapable of foreseeing the sad catastrophe by which he was himself overwhelmed. It was insinuated that in Frangistan,* where the sciences flourish, professors in astrology are considered little better than cheats and jugglers, that it is there much doubted whether the science be founded on good and solid principles, and whether it be not^s used by designing men as a mean of gaining access to the great, of making them feel their dependence, and their absolute need of these pretended soothsayers.

The astrologers were much displeased with these and similar observations, and particularly with the following anecdote, which was universally known and repeated.—Shah-Abas, the great king of Persia, having given orders that a small piece of ground within the seraglio should be prepared for a garden, the master-gardener, intended to plant there several fruit trees on a given day; but the astrologer, assuming an air of vast consequence, declared that unless the time of planting were regulated by the sahet, it was impossible that the trees should thrive. Shah-Abas having acquiesced in the propriety of the remark, the astrologer took his instruments; turned over the pages of his books, made his calculations and con-

* Europe.

cluded that, by reason of this or that conjunction of the planets, it was necessary to plant the trees, before the expiration of another hour. The gardener, who thought of nothing less than an appeal to the stars, was absent when this wise determination was formed; but persons were soon procured to accomplish the work: holes were dug, and all the trees put into the ground, the king placing them himself that it might be said they were all planted by the hand of Shah-Abas. The gardener returning at his usual hour in the afternoon, was greatly surprised to see his labour anticipated; but observing that the trees were not ranged according to the order he had originally designed, that an apricot, for example, was placed in the soil intended for an apple tree, and a pear tree in that prepared for an almond, he pulled up the premature plantation, and laid down the trees for that night on the ground, covering the roots with earth. In an instant the astrologer was apprised of the gardener's proceedings, and he was equally expeditious in complaining to Shah-Abas, who, on his part, sent immediately for the culprit. "How is it," cried the monarch indignantly, "that you have presumed to tear up trees planted by my own hands; trees put into the ground after the solemn performance of the sahet? We cannot now hope to repair the mischief. The stars had marked the hour for planting, and no fruit can henceforth grow in the garden." The honest rustic had taken liberal potations of Schiraz wine, and

looking askance at the astrologer, observed after an oath or two, "Billah, billah, an admirable sahet certainly ! thou augur of evil ! Trees planted under thy direction at noon, are in the evening torn up by the roots." Shah-Abas, hearing this unexpected piece of satirical drollery, laughed heartily, turned his back upon the astrologer and walked away in silence.

I shall mention two other circumstances, although they happened during the reign of Shah-Jehan. The narration will be useful in shewing that the barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service.

Neiknam-Khan was one of the most distinguished omrahs at court, and during forty or fifty years while he held important offices had amassed an immense treasure. This lord always viewed with disgust the odious and tyrannical custom abovementioned, a custom in consequence of which the widows of so many great omrahs are plunged suddenly into a state of wretchedness and destitution, compelled to solicit the monarch for a scanty pittance, while their sons are driven to the necessity of enlisting as private soldiers under the command of some omrah. Finding his end approaching, the old man secretly distributed the whole of his treasure among distressed widows and poor cavaliers, and afterwards filled the coffers with old iron, bones, worn out shoes and tattered

clothes. When he had securely closed and sealed them, he observed that those coffers contained property belonging exclusively to Shah-Jehan. On the death of Neiknam-Khan, they were conveyed to the king, who happened to be in the assembly, and who, inflamed with eager cupidity, commanded them to be instantly opened in the presence of all his omrahs. His disappointment and vexation may easily be conceived ; he started abruptly from his seat and hurried from the hall.

Some years after the death of a wealthy banian, or pagan merchant, who had always been employed in the king's service, and, like the generality of his countrymen, had been a notorious usurer, the son became clamorous for a certain portion of the money. The widow refusing to comply with the young man's request, on account of his profligacy and extravagance, he had the baseness and folly to make Shah-Jehan acquainted with the real amount of the property left by his father, about two hundred thousand crowns. The Mogul immediately summoned the old lady, and, in presence of the assembled omrahs, commanded her to send him immediately one hundred thousand rupees, and to put her son in possession of fifty thousand. Having issued this peremptory injunction, he ordered the attendants to turn the widow out of the hall.

Although surprised by so sudden a request, and somewhat offended at being rudely forced from the chamber without an opportunity of

assigning the reasons of her conduct, yet this courageous woman did not lose her presence of mind; she struggled with the servants, exclaiming that she had something further to divulge to the king. "Let us hear what she has to say," cried Shah-Jehan. "Hazret-Salamet! Heaven preserve your majesty! It is not perhaps without some reason that my son claims the property of his father; he is our son, and consequently our heir. But I would humbly enquire what consanguinity there may have been between your majesty and my deceased husband to warrant the demand of one hundred thousand rupees?" Shah-Jehan was so well pleased with this short and artless harangue, and so amused with the idea of a banian, or idolatrous tradesman, having been related to the sovereign of India, that he burst into a fit of laughter, and commanded that the widow should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the money of her deceased husband.

I shall not now relate all the considerable events which took place, from the conclusion of the war in or about the year 1660, to the period of my departure, more than six years afterwards. I doubt not that the account would very much promote the object I had in view in recording some of them; namely, an acquaintance with the manners and genius of the Moguls and Indians, and I may, therefore, notice the whole of those events in another place. At present, however, I

shall confine my narration to a few important circumstances which regard personages with whom my readers are become familiar; beginning with Shah-Jehan.

I. Although Aureng-Zêbe kept his father closely confined in the fortress of Agra and neglected no precaution to prevent his escape, yet the deposed monarch was otherwise treated with indulgence and respect. He was permitted to occupy his former apartments, and to enjoy the society of Begum-Saheb and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. In these respects no request was ever denied him; and as the old man became devout, certain moollahs were allowed to enter his apartment and read the Koran. He possessed also the privilege of sending for all kinds of animals, horses of state, fowling birds and tame antelopes, which last were made to fight before him. Indeed, Aureng-Zêbe's behaviour was throughout kind and respectful, and he paid attention to his aged parent in every possible way. He loaded him with presents, consulted him as an oracle, and the frequent letters of the son to the father were expressive of duty and submission. By these means Shah-Jehan's anger and haughtiness were at length subdued, insomuch that he frequently wrote to Aureng-Zêbe on political affairs, sent him Dara's daughter, and begged his acceptance of some of those precious stones, which he had threatened to

grind to powder if again importuned to resign them. He even granted to his rebellious son the paternal pardon and benediction which he had often with vehement importunity in vain solicited.

It should not be inferred from what I have said, that Shah-Jehan was always soothed with compliant submission. I was convinced by one of Aureng-Zêbe's letters, that he could address his father with energy and decision, when provoked by the arrogant and authoritative tone sometimes assumed by the aged monarch. I obtained a sight of a portion of the letter, which ran in these words:—"It is your wish that I should adhere rigidly to the old custom, and declare myself heir to every person who dies in my service. We have been accustomed, as soon as an omrah, or a rich merchant has ceased to breathe, nay sometimes before the vital spark has fled, to place seals on his coffers, to imprison and beat the servants or officers of his household, until they made a full disclosure of the whole property, even of the most inconsiderable jewel. This practice is advantageous, no doubt; but can we deny its injustice and cruelty; and should we not be rightly served if every omrah acted as Neiknam-Khan, and if like the Hindoo merchant's widow, every woman concealed her wealth?

"I wish to avoid your censure, and cannot endure that you should form a wrong estimate of my character. My elevation to the throne has

not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know by more than forty years experience, how burthensome an ornament a crown is, and with how sad and aching a heart a monarch retires from the public gaze. Our great ancestor Acbar, anxious that his successors should exercise their power with mildness, discretion and wisdom, recommended to their serious attention, in the excellent memoirs left behind him, a fine trait of Mir-Timour. He recounts that on the day on which Bajazet was made prisoner, when he was brought into the presence of Timour, the latter, after attentively fixing his eyes upon the haughty captive, laughed in his face. Bajazet, much offended at this rudeness, told the conqueror not to exult too extravagantly in his good fortune ; 'It is God,' said he, 'who exalts or debases kings, and though you are victorious to day, you may be in chains to-morrow.' 'I am very sensible,' answered Timour, 'of the vanity and mutability of earthly possessions, and Heaven forbid that I should insult a fallen enemy. My laughter proceeded not from any wish to wound thy feelings, Bajazet ; it escaped involuntarily, while I was indulging a series of ideas suggested by the uncomeliness of both our persons, I looked at thy countenance, rendered unsightly by the loss of an eye ; and then considering that I am myself a miserable cripple, was led into a train of reflections, which provoked me to laughter. What can there be within the circle of a crown,' I asked, 'which

ought to inspire kings with inordinate self-esteem, since Heaven bestows the bauble upon such ill-favoured mortals !

“ You seem to think, that I ought to devote less time and attention to measures, which I conceive essential to the consolidation and security of the kingdom, and that it would better become me to devise and execute plans of aggrandizement. I am indeed far from denying that conquests ought to distinguish the reign of a great monarch, and that I should disgrace the blood of the great Timour, our honoured progenitor, if I did not seek to extend the bounds of my present territories. At the same time, I cannot be justly reproached with inglorious inaction, and you cannot with truth assert that my armies are unprofitably employed in the Deccan and in Bengal. I wish you to recollect that the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings. The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilized barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. He is the truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity.” The remainder of this letter was not put into my hands.

II. I shall now say a few words of the celebrated Emir-Jemla, recur to some of the incidents wherein he was concerned after the termination of the civil war, and mention the manner in which he closed his brilliant career.

In effecting the subjugation of Bengal that great man did not behave to Sultan Sujah with the cruelty and breach of faith practised by Jihon-Khan towards Dara, or by the rajah of Serinagur towards Solimân-Shekô. He obtained possession of the country like a skilful captain, and disdaining any unworthy stratagem to secure Sujah's person, contented himself with driving the discomfited prince to the sea, and compelling him to leave the kingdom. Emir-Jemla then sent an eunuch to Aureng-Zêbe with a letter, supplicating the king to permit his family to repair to Bengal under the eunuch's care. "The war is happily at an end," he said, "and as I am enfeebled and broken down by age, you will not, you surely cannot refuse me the consolation of passing the remainder of my days with my wife and children." But Aureng-Zêbe penetrated at once into the design of this expert politician; he knew that if his son Mahmet Emir-Khan were permitted to visit Bengal, Jemla would aspire to the independent sovereignty of that kingdom, if indeed such an acquisition would have satisfied the pretensions of that extraordinary man. He was intelligent, enterprising, brave and wealthy; at the head of a victorious army; beloved and feared by his soldiers, and in possession of the finest province in Hindostan. The transactions in which he had been engaged in Golconda proved his impatient and daring spirit, and directly to refuse compliance with his request would unquestionably

have been attended with danger. Aureng-Zêbe acted upon this occasion with his wonted prudence and address. He sent to the emir his wife and daughter, together with his son's children; created him mir-ul-omrah, the highest rank that can be conferred by the king of India; and appointed Mahmet Emir-Khan Grand Bakchis, or Grand Master of the Horse, the second or third situation in the state, which, however, confines the possessor to the court, rendering it difficult, if not impossible, for him to remain at a distance from the king's person. Jemla was also fixed in the government of Bengal.

Foiled in his object, the emir felt that a second demand for his son could not be made without offending the king, and that his wisest course was to express gratitude for all these marks of royal favour.

Affairs had remained in this state nearly a twelvemonth, when the Mogul offered to Jemla the management of a war against the rich and powerful Rajah of Assam, whose territories lie north of Dacca, on the gulf of Bengal. Aureng-Zêbe justly apprehended that an ambitious soldier could not long remain in a state of repose, and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to excite internal commotions.

The emir himself had been long meditating this enterprise, which he hoped would enable him to carry his arms to the confines of China, and secure to himself immortal fame. Aureng-Zêbe's

messenger found him perfectly prepared for the expedition. A powerful army was soon embarked at Dacca, on a river flowing from the dominions about to be invaded, and Jemla and his troops ascended the stream in a north-east direction, until they reached a fortress named Azo, distant about one hundred leagues from Dacca, which the Rajah of Assam had wrested from a former governor of Bengal. Azo was besieged and taken in less than a fortnight. The emir then proceeded toward Chamdara, the key of the rajah's dominions, which he reached after a long march of eight and twenty days. Here a battle was fought to the rajah's disadvantage, who retired to Kirganu, his capital city, forty leagues from Chamdara; but being closely and vigorously pressed by Jemla, he had not time to fortify himself in that place, and was therefore compelled to continue his retreat to the mountains of the kingdom of Lassa. Chamdara and Kirganu were given up to pillage. The latter contained an infinite booty for the captors. It is a large and well-built city, very commercial, and celebrated for the beauty of its women.

The progress of the invaders was checked by the rains which fell sooner than is customary, and which in this country are very heavy, inundating every spot of ground, with the exception of villages built on eminences. In the mean time, the rajah cleared the whole country, round the emir's position, of cattle and every kind of provision, so that ere the rains ceased the army was reduced to great

and urgent distress, notwithstanding the immense riches which it had accumulated. Jemla found it equally difficult to advance or to recede. The mountains in front presented impracticable barriers, while a retreat was prevented not only by the waters and deep mud, but also by the precaution taken by the rajah to break down the dike which forms the road to Chamdara. The emir therefore was confined to his camp during the whole of the rainy season, and, on the return of dry weather, his men were so dispirited by their incessant fatigue and long privations, that he abandoned the idea of conquering Assam. Under a less able commander, the army could not have hoped to reach Bengal: the want of provisions was severely felt; the mud being still thick, greatly impeded the motions of the troops, and the rajah was active and indefatigable in pursuit; but Jemla conducted the movements of his army with his usual skill, and by his admirable retreat added greatly to his reputation. He returned laden with wealth.

The emir, having improved the fortifications of Azo, left a strong garrison in that fortress, intending to renew, early in the following year, the invasion of Assam; but this illustrious man fell a victim to the dysentery which attacked the army soon after their arrival in Bengal.

His death produced, as might be expected, a great sensation throughout India. "It is now,"

observed many intelligent persons, "that Aureng-Zêbe is king of Bengal." Though not insensible of his obligations of gratitude, yet the Mogul was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. "You mourn," he publicly said to Mahmet Emir-Khan, "you mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends." He behaved, however, with the utmost kindness and liberality to Mahmet; assured the young man that in himself he should always find a second father; and instead of diminishing his pay, or seizing upon Jemla's treasures, Aureng-Zêbe confirmed Mahmet in his office of Bakchis, gave him an additional salary of a thousand rupees per month, and constituted him sole heir to his father's property.

III. I shall now bring before the notice of my readers, Aureng-Zêbe's uncle, Shaista-Khan, who, as I have already said, contributed in an essential degree by his eloquence and intrigues to the exaltation of his nephew. He was appointed, as we have seen, governor of Agra, a short time before the battle of Kidgwâ, when Aureng-Zêbe quitted the capital to meet Sultan Sujah. He was afterwards nominated governor of the Deccan, and commander in chief of the forces in that province; and, upon Emir-Jemla's decease, was transferred to the government of Bengal, appointed general of the army in that kingdom, and elevated to the

rank of Mir-ul-omrah, which had become vacant by the death of Jemla.

I owe it to Shaista's reputation to relate the important enterprise in which he was engaged, soon after his arrival in Bengal; an enterprise rendered the more interesting by the fact that it was never undertaken by his great predecessor, for reasons which remain unknown. The narrative will elucidate the past and present state of the kingdoms of Bengal and Arracan, which have hitherto been left in much obscurity, and will throw light on other circumstances which are deserving of attention.

To comprehend the nature of the expedition meditated by Shaista, and form a correct idea of the occurrences in the Gulf of Bengal, it should be mentioned that the kingdom of Arracan, or Mug, has contained, during many years, several Portuguese settlers, a great number of Christian slaves, or half-cast Portuguese, and other Europeans collected from various parts of the world. That kingdom was the place of retreat for fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca and other settlements in India, held formerly by the Portuguese; and no persons were better received than those who had deserted their monasteries, married two or three wives, or committed other great crimes. These people were Christians only in name; the lives led by them in Arracan were most detestable, massacring or poisoning one another without compunction

or remorse, and sometimes assassinating even their priests, who, to confess the truth, were too often no better than their murderers.

The king of Arracan, who lived in perpetual dread of the Mogul, kept these foreigners, as a species of advanced guard, for the protection of his frontier, permitting them to occupy a sea-port called Chittagong, and making them grants of land. As they were unawed and unrestrained by the government, it was not surprising that these runagates pursued no other trade than that of rapine and piracy. They scoured the neighbouring seas in light gallies, called galliasses, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, ravaged the islands of Lower Bengal, and, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for the celebration of a marriage, or some other festival. The marauders made slaves of their unhappy captives, and burnt whatever could not be removed. It is owing to these repeated depredations that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, formerly thickly peopled, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacles of tigers, and other wild beasts.

Their treatment of the slaves thus obtained was most cruel; and they had the audacity to offer for sale, in the places which they had but recently ravaged, the aged people whom they could turn

to no better account. It was usual to see young persons, who had saved themselves by timely flight, endeavouring to-day to redeem the parent who had been made captive yesterday. Those who were not disabled by age, the pirates either kept in their service, training them up to the love of robbery and practice of assassination; or sold to the Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomas, and other places. Even the Portuguese of Hoogly, in Bengal, purchased without scruple these wretched captives, and the horrid traffic was transacted in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas. The pirates, by a mutual understanding, waited for the arrival of the Portuguese, who bought whole cargoes at a cheap rate; and it is lamentable to reflect that other Europeans, since the decline of the Portuguese power, have pursued the same flagitious commerce with the pirates of Chittagong, who boast that they convert more Hindoos to Christianity in a twelve-month, than all the missionaries in India do in ten years. A strange mode this of propagating our holy religion by the constant violation of its most sacred precepts, and by the open contempt and defiance of its most awful sanctions!

The Portuguese established themselves at Hoogly under the auspices of Jehan-Guire, the grandfather of Aureng-Zêbe. That prince was free from all prejudice against Christians, and hoped to reap great benefit from their commerce.

The new settlers also engaged to keep the gulf of Bengal clear of pirates.

Shah-Jehan, a more rigid muselman than his father, visited the Portuguese at Hoogly with a terrible punishment. They provoked his displeasure by the encouragement afforded to the depredators of Arracan, and by their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service, who had all of them been subjects of the Mogul. He first exacted, by threats or persuasion, large sums of money from the Portuguese, and when they refused to comply with his ultimate demands, he besieged and took possession of the town, and commanded that the whole population should be transferred as slaves to Agra.

The misery of these people is unparalleled in the history of modern times : it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babylon ; for even the children, priests, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio ; those of a more advanced age, or of inferior beauty, were distributed among the omrahs ; little children underwent the rite of circumcision, and were made pages ; and the men of adult age, allured for the most part, by fair promises, or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the elephant's feet, renounced the Christian faith. Some of the monks, however, remained faithful to their creed, and were conveyed to Goa, and other Portuguese settlements, by the kind exertions of the Jesuits and

missionaries at Agra, who, notwithstanding all this calamity, continued in their dwelling, and were enabled to accomplish their benevolent purpose by the powerful aid of money, and the warm intercession of their friends.

Before the catastrophe at Hoogly, the missionaries had not escaped the resentment of Shah-Jehan : he ordered the large and handsome church at Agra, which, together with one at Lahore, had been erected during the reign of Jehan-Guire, to be demolished. A high steeple stood upon this church, with a bell whose sound was heard in every part of the city.

Some time before the capture of Hoogly, the pirates made a formal offer to the viceroy of Goa, to deliver the whole kingdom of Arracan into his hands. Bastian Consalve was then chief of the pirates, and so celebrated and powerful was he, that he married the king of Arracan's daughter. It is said that the viceroy was too arrogant and envious to listen to this proposal, and felt unwilling that the king of Portugal should be indebted to a man of low origin for so important an acquisition. There was nothing, however, in the proposal to excite surprise ; being consonant with the general conduct of the Portuguese in Japan, Pegu, Ethiopia, and other places. The decay of their power in India is fairly ascribable to their misdeeds and may be considered, as they candidly allow, a proof of the divine displeasure. Formerly their name was a tower of strength ; all the Indian princes

courted their friendship, and the Portuguese were distinguished for courage, generosity, zeal for religion, immensity of wealth, and the splendour of their exploits: but they were not then, like the Portuguese of the present day, addicted to every vice, and to every low and grovelling enjoyment.*

The pirates, about the time of which I am speaking, made themselves masters of the island of Sondiva, an advantageous post, commanding part of the mouth of the Ganges. On this spot, the notorious Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, reigned, as a petty sovereign, during many years; having contrived, by what means is unknown, to rid himself of the governor of the island.

These also are the identical freebooters who, as we have seen, repaired in their galliasses to Dacca, for the purpose of conveying Sultan Sujah to Arracan. They found means of opening some of his chests, and robbing him of many precious stones, which were offered secretly for sale at Arracan and disposed of for a mere trifle. The diamonds all got into the hands of the Dutch and other Europeans, who easily persuaded the ignorant thieves that the stones were soft, and consequently of no real and intrinsic value.

I have said enough to give an idea of the trouble, vexation and expence, to which the Mogul was for many years exposed by the unjust

* See note F at the end of the volume.

and violent proceedings of the pirates established in Arracan. He had always been under the necessity of guarding the inlets of the kingdom of Bengal, of keeping large bodies of troops and a fleet of galliasses on the alert. All these precautions, however, did not prevent the ravaging of his territories ; the pirates were become so bold and skilful that with four or five galliasses they would attack, and generally capture or destroy, fourteen or fifteen of the Mogul's galleys.

The deliverance of Bengal from the cruel and incessant devastations of these barbarians was the immediate object of the expedition contemplated by Shaista-Khan upon his appointment to the government of that kingdom. But he had an ulterior design,—that of attacking the king of Arracan, and punishing him for his cruelty to Sultan Sujah and family. Aureng-Zêbe is determined to avenge the murder of those illustrious personages, and, by a single example, to teach his neighbours, that princes of his blood, in all situations and under all circumstances, must be treated with humanity and reverence.

The governor of Bengal has accomplished his first plan with consummate address. It was scarcely practicable to march an army into the kingdom of Arracan owing to the great number of rivers and canals that intersect the frontiers ; and the naval superiority of the pirates rendered it still more difficult to transport an invading force by sea. It therefore occurred to Shaista to apply

to the Dutch for their co-operation, and with this view he sent an envoy to Batavia, with power to negotiate, on certain conditions, with the general commandant of that colony, for the joint occupation of the kingdom of Arracan; in the same manner as Shah-Abas treated formerly with the English in regard to Ormuz.

The governor of Batavia was easily persuaded to enter into a scheme that offered an opportunity of still further depressing the Portuguese influence in India, and from the success of which the Dutch company would derive important advantages. He despatched two ships of war to Bengal for the purpose of facilitating the conveyance of the Mogul's troops to Chittagong; but Shaista, in the mean time, had collected a large number of galliasses and other vessels of considerable tonnage, and threatened to overwhelm the pirates in irremediable ruin if they did not immediately submit to the Mogul's authority. "Aureng-Zêbe is fixed in the resolution," said he to them, "of chastising the king of Arracan, and a Dutch fleet, too powerful to be resisted, is near at hand. If you are wise, your personal safety and the care of your families will now engross all your attention; you will quit the service of the king of Arracan, and enter into that of Aureng-Zêbe. In Bengal you shall have as much land allotted as you may deem necessary, and your pay shall be double that which you at present receive."

The pirates about this period had assassinated

one of the king of Arracan's principal officers, and it is not known whether they were more struck with terror by the punishment awaiting them for that crime, or moved by the promises and threats contained in Shaista's communication. Certain it is, however, that these unworthy Portuguese were one day seized with so strange a panic as to embark in forty or fifty galliasses and sail over to Bengal, and they adopted this measure with so much precipitation that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuable effects on board.

Shaista received these extraordinary visitors with open arms ; gave them large sums of money ; provided the women and children with excellent accommodations in the town of Dacca, and after he had thus gained their confidence, the pirates evinced an eagerness to act in concert with the Mogul's troops , shared in the attack and capture of Sondiva, which island had fallen into the hands of the king of Arracan, and accompanied the Indian army from Sondiva to Chittagong. Meanwhile the two Dutch ships of war made their appearance, and Shaista having thanked the commanders for their kind intentions, informed them that he had now no need of their services. I saw the vessels in Bengal, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Shaista treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but

certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chittagong; they and their families are in his power: an occasion for their services no longer exists; he considers it, therefore, quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors, in whom it is folly to confide; wretches, who have basely betrayed the prince whose bounty they had experienced.

In this manner has Shaista-Khan extinguished the power of the Portuguese in Chittagong; of those Portuguese who had depopulated and ruined the whole of Lower Bengal. Time will show whether his enterprise against the king of Arracan will be crowned with similar success.*

IV. Respecting the two sons of Aureng-Zêbe, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mauzum, the former is still confined in Gualior; but, if we are to believe the general report, without being made to drink poust, the beverage usually given to the inmates of that fortress, Sultan Mauzum appears to comport himself with his accustomed prudence and moderation, although the transaction I am about to relate is perhaps an evidence that this prince during the dangerous illness of his father

* Shaista-Khan assembled ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca, with the command of which he invested his son Ameid-Khan. With this force the capital of Chittagong (which contained twelve hundred; and twenty pieces of cannon) was taken, and the whole province was annexed to the kingdom of Bengal.—*Dow.*

had carried on secret intrigues, or that the displeasure of Aureng-Zêbe was excited by some other circumstance unknown to the public. It may be, however, that, without any reference to the past, the king was only anxious to obtain a memorable proof both of his son's obedience and of his courage, when he commanded him, in a full assembly of omrahs, to kill a lion which had descended from the mountains and was then laying waste the surrounding country. The Grand Master of the Hunt ventured to hope that Sultan Mauzum might be permitted to avail himself of those capacious nets which are ordinarily made use of in so perilous a chase. "He shall attack the lion without nets," sternly replied the king, "When I was prince I thought not of such precautions." An order given in so decisive a tone could not be disobeyed. The prince declined not the fearful undertaking; he encountered and overcame the tremendous beast with the loss of only two or three men; some horses were mangled, and the wounded lion bounded on the head of the Sultan's elephant. Since this strange adventure Aureng-Zêbe has behaved to his son with the utmost affection, and has even raised him to the government of Deccan. It must be owned, however, that Sultan Mauzum is so limited in authority and circumscribed in pecuniary means, that he cannot occasion much uneasiness to his father.

V. The next personage I would recal to the recollection of my readers is Mohabet-Khan, the

governor of Cabul. He was induced at length to resign the government of that province, and Aureng-Zêbe generously refused to punish him, declaring that the life of such a soldier was invaluable, and that he deserved commendation for his fidelity to his benefactor Shah-Jehan. The king even nominated him governor of Guzerat, instead of Jesswint-Singh, who was sent to the seat of war in Deccan. It is true that a few costly presents may have disposed the Mogul's mind in Mohabet's favour; for besides what he gave to Rochinara-Begum, he sent the king fifteen or sixteen thousand golden rupees and a considerable number of Persian horses and camels.

The mention of Cabul reminds me of the adjacent kingdom of Candahar, at present tributary to Persia; to the subject of which I ought to devote one or two pages. Much ignorance prevails concerning that country, as well as on the political feeling which it creates between the governments of Persia and Hindostan. The name of the capital is also Candahar, which is the strong hold of this rich and fine kingdom. The desire of possessing the capital has been, for some ages, the cause of sanguinary wars between the Moguls and Persians. The great Acbar wrested it from the latter, and kept it during the remainder of his reign. Shah-Abas took the city from Jehan-Guire, the son of Acbar; and the treachery of the governor Ali Murdan-Khan, delivered it into the hands of Shah-Jehan, the son of Jehan-Guire.

Ali Murdan immediately placed himself under the protection of his new sovereign; he had many enemies in his own country, and was too prudent to obey the summons of the Persian monarch, who called upon him to give an account of his government.* Candahar was again besieged and captured by the son of Shah-Abas, and afterwards twice unsuccessfully attacked by Shah-Jehan. The first failure was owing to the bad conduct or the perfidy of the Persian omrahs in the Great Mogul's service, the most powerful noblemen of his court and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a shameful lukewarmness during the siege, refusing to follow the Rajah Roup who had already planted his standard on the wall nearest to the mountain. Aureng-Zêbe's jealousy occasioned the second failure. He would not storm the breach which the cannon of the English, Portuguese, Germans, and French, had rendered sufficiently practicable; because the enterprise had originated with Dara, at that time with his father in the city of Cabul, and he felt unwilling that his brother should have the credit of so valuable an acquisition. Shah-Jehan, a few years before the late civil war, seemed on the point of besieging Candahar for the third time, but was deterred from the enterprise by Emir-Jemla, who, as we have stated, advised the Mogul to send his army to the Deccan. Ali

* See note G at the end of the volume.

Murdan seconded with great earnestness the emir's arguments, and addressed the king in these extraordinary words :—" Your majesty will never succeed in taking Candahar, unless her gates be opened by such a traitor as myself; or unless you determine to exclude all Persians from the besieging army, and issue a proclamation promising entire freedom to the bazaars; that is, exempting them from the payment of any duty on provisions brought for the use of the army." A few years ago Aureng-Zêbe, following the example of his predecessors, made preparations for the attack of this celebrated city, being offended with the letter written by the king of Persia, or with the ungracious reception experienced by his ambassador, Tarbiet-Khan, at the Persian court: but he heard of the king's death, and abandoned the project; feeling reluctant, as he pretended, to act with hostility against a child just seated on the throne; although Shah-Soliman, who succeeded his father, cannot, I think, be less than five and twenty years of age.

VI. I would now say something of the warm partisans of Aureng-Zêbe, most of whom have been promoted to situations of high trust and dignity. His uncle Shaista-Khan was placed, as we have mentioned, in the government of Deccan, and at the head of the army acting in that province; subsequently this nobleman was made governor of Bengal. Mir-Khan obtained the government of Cabul; Calil-ullah-Khan that of Lahore;

Mir-baba, of Allahabâd ; Lasker-Khan, of Patna ; and the son of that Allah-verdi-Khan, whose advice cost Sultan Sujah the battle of Kidgwâ, was made governor of Sindy. Fazel-Khan, whose counsels and address had been essentially useful to Aureng-Zêbe, was invested with the office of Kane-Saman, or Grand Chamberlain of the royal household. Danechmend-Khan was appointed governor of Delhi ; and, in consideration of his studious habits, and the time which he necessarily devotes to the affairs of the foreign department, he is exempted from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a-day to the assembly, for the purpose of saluting the king ; the omission of which subjects other omrahs to a pecuniary penalty. To Dianat-Khan, Aureng-Zêbe has entrusted the government of Kashmire, a little kingdom nearly inaccessible, and considered the terrestrial paradise of India. Acbar became possessed of that delightful country by stratagem. It boasts of authentic histories, in its own vernacular tongue, containing an interesting account of a long succession of ancient kings ; sometimes so powerful as to have reduced to subjection the whole of Hindostan, as far as the island of Ceylon. Of these histories Jehan-Guire procured an abridgment to be made in the Persian language ; and of this I procured a copy.—It is proper to mention in this place that Aureng-Zêbe cashiered Nejabat-Khan, who greatly distinguished himself in the battles of Samonguer and Kidgwâ ; but he

seems to have brought that disgrace upon himself by continually dwelling upon the services he had rendered the king. As to those infamous individuals, Jihon-Khan and Nazier, the well-deserved fate of the former has been recounted ; but what subsequently became of Nazier is not ascertained.

In regard to Jesswint-Singh and Joy-Singh, there is some obscurity which I shall endeavour to clear. A revolt had taken place, headed by a pagan of Visiapour, who made himself master of several important fortresses and a few sea-ports belonging to the king of that country. The name of this bold adventurer is Sevajee, or the lord Seva. He is vigilant, enterprising and wholly regardless of personal safety. Shaista-Khan, when in the Deccan, found in him an enemy more formidable than the king of Visiapour at the head of his whole army and joined by those rajahs who usually unite with that prince for their common defence. Some idea may be formed of Sevajee's intrepidity by his attempt to seize Shaista's person, together with all his treasures, in the midst of his troops, and surrounded by the walls of Aurengabâd. Attended by a few soldiers he one night penetrated into Shaista's apartment, and would have succeeded in his object had he remained undetected a short time longer. Shaista was severely wounded, and his son was killed in the act of drawing his sword. Sevajee soon engaged in another daring

expedition, which proved more successful. Placing himself at the head of two or three thousand men, the flower of his army, he silently withdrew from his camp, and pretended during the march to be a rajah going to the Mogul's court. When within a short distance of Surat, he met the Grand Provost of the country, on whom he imposed the belief that he intended to prosecute his journey without entering the town: but the plunder of that famous and wealthy port was the principal object of the expedition; he rushed into the place sword in hand, and remained nearly three days, torturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches. Burning what he could not take away, Sevajee returned without the least opposition, laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions; with pearls, silken stuffs, fine linens, and a variety of other costly merchandize. A secret understanding, it was suspected, existed between Jesswint-Singh and Sevajee, and the former was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Shaista as well as to the attack of Surat. The rajah was therefore recalled from the Deccan, but instead of going to Delhi, he returned to his own territories.

I forgot to mention that during the pillage of Surat, Sevajee, the holy Sevajee! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the capuchin missionary. "The Franguis padrys are good men," he said, "and shall not be molested."

He spared also the house of Delale, the Dutch broker, a pagan, because he enjoyed the reputation of being charitable. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped Sevajee's visits, not in consequence of any reverential feeling on his part, but because those people had displayed a great deal of resolution, and defended themselves well. The English especially, assisted by the crews of their vessels, performed wonders, and saved not only their own houses but those of their neighbours. The pertinacity of a Jew, a native of Constantinople, astonished every body. Sevajee knew that he was in possession of most valuable rubies, which he intended to sell to Aureng-Zêbe; but he persevered in stoutly denying the fact, although three times placed on his knees to receive the stroke of a sword flourished over his head. This conduct was worthy of a Jew, whose love of money generally exceeds his love of life.

Aureng-Zêbe prevailed with Joy-Singh to take the command of the army in the Deccan, attended by Sultan Mauzum, who, however, was not invested with any authority. The rajah's first operation was vigorously to attack Sevajee's principal fortress; but he had recourse, at the same time, to his favourite art, negociation, which he brought to a favourable issue, as the place surrendered by capitulation long before it was reduced to extremity. Sevajee having consented to make common cause with the Mogul against

Visiapour, Aureng-Zêbe proclaimed him a rajah, took him under his protection, and granted an omrah's pension to his son. Some time afterward, the king meditating a war against Persia, wrote to Sevajee in such kind and flattering terms, and extolled his generosity, talents and conduct so highly, as to induce him to meet the Mogul at Delhi, Joy-Singh having plighted his faith for the chieftain's security. Shaista's wife happened to be then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat. The result was that Sevajee, observing that his tents were watched by three or four omrahs, effected his escape in disguise under favour of night. This circumstance caused great uneasiness in the palace, and Joy-Singh's eldest son, being strongly suspected of having assisted Sevajee in his flight, was forbidden to appear at court. Aureng-Zêbe felt, or seemed to feel, equally irritated against the father and the son, and Joy-Singh apprehending that he might avail himself of this pretext to seize his territories, abandoned his command in the Deccan and hastened to the defence of his dominions but he died on his arrival at Brampour. The kindness shewn by the Mogul to the rajah's son, when apprized of this melancholy vent; his tender condolences, and the grant to him of the pension enjoyed by the father, confirm many persons in the opinion that Sevajee did not escape without the connivance of Aureng-Zêbe

himself. His presence at court must indeed have greatly embarrassed the king, since the hatred of the women was most fierce and rancorous against him; they considered him as a monster who had imbrued his hands in the blood of friends and kinsmen.

But here let us take a cursory review of the history of Deccan, a kingdom that, during more than forty years, has constantly been the theatre of war, and owing to which the Mogul is so frequently embroiled with the king of Golconda, the king of Visiapour, and several other less powerful sovereigns. The nature of the quarrels in that part of Hindostan cannot be well understood while we remain ignorant of the chief occurrences and have only an imperfect knowledge of the condition of the princes by whom the country is governed.

Two centuries have scarcely elapsed since the great peninsula of India, stretching from the Gulf of Cambay on the west to the Gulf of Bengal near Jagganat on the east, and extending southerly to Cape Comorin, was, with the exception perhaps of a few mountainous tracts, under the domination of one arbitrary despot. The indiscretion of rajah, or king, Ram-ras, the last prince under whom it was united, caused the dismemberment of this vast monarchy, and this is the reason why it is now divided among many sovereigns professing different religions. Ram-ras had three Georgian slaves in his service, whom he distin-

guished by every mark of favour, and at length nominated to the government of three considerable districts. One was appointed governor of nearly the whole of the territory in the Deccan which is now in the possession of the Mogul; Dowlatabad was the capital of that government, which extended from Bider, Paranda and Surat to Nirbidda. The territory now forming the kingdom of Visiapour was the portion of the second favourite; and the third obtained the country comprehended in the present kingdom of Golconda. These three slaves became extremely rich and powerful, and as they professed the muhammedan faith and declared themselves of the Schias sect, which is that of the Persians, they received the countenance and support of a great number of Moguls in the service of Ram-ras. They could not, even if so disposed, have embraced the religion of the Hindoos, because the pagans of India admit no stranger to the participation of their mysteries. A rebellion, in which the three Georgian slaves united, terminated in the murder of Ram-ras, after which they returned to their respective governments, and usurped the title of shah, or king. Ram-ras's children, incapable of contending with these men, remained quietly in the country known commonly by the name of the Carnatic, and called in our charts Bisnaguer, where their posterity are rajahs to this day. The remainder of the Peninsula was split at the same time into all those smaller states still

existing, governed by rajahs, naiques, or petty kings. While the successors of the three usurpers preserved a good understanding with each other, they were able to defend their kingdoms, and to maintain serious wars against the Moguls; but when the seeds of jealousy were sown among them, and they chose to act as independent sovereigns who stood in no need of foreign assistance, they experienced the fatal effects of disunion. Thirty-five or forty years ago, the Mogul availing himself of their differences, invaded the dominions of Nejam-Shah, or king Nejam, the fifth or sixth in succession from the slave and made himself master of the whole country. Nejam died a prisoner in Dowlatabad, his former capital.

Since that period, the kings of Golconda have been preserved from invasion, not in consequence of their great strength, but of the employment given to the Mogul by the two sister kingdoms, and of the necessity he was under to capture their strong places, such as Amber, Paranda and Bider, before Golconda could be prudently attacked. The safety of those kings may also be ascribed to the wisdom of their policy. Possessing great wealth, they have always secretly supplied the monarch of Visiapour with money, to enable him to defend his country; so that whenever the latter is threatened, the king of Golconda invariably marches an army to the frontiers, to shew the Mogul not only that preparations are made for internal defence, but that an ally is at hand to

assist Visiapour, if driven to extremity. It appears likewise that the government of Golconda employs large sums as bribes to the generals of the Mogul's army, who therefore constantly give it as their opinion that Visiapour ought to be attacked rather than Golconda, on account of its greater proximity to Dowlatabad. Indeed, after the convention concluded, as we have seen, between Aureng-Zêbe and the present king of Golconda, the former has no great inducement to march troops into that kingdom, which he probably considers as his own. It has been long tributary to the Mogul, to whom it presents annually a considerable quantity of hard cash, home manufactured articles of exquisite workmanship, and elephants imported from Pegu, Siam and Ceylon. There is now no hostile fortress between Dowlatabad and Golconda; and Aureng-Zêbe feels confident, therefore, that a single campaign would suffice to conquer the country. In my own opinion, nothing has restrained him from attempting that conquest, but the apprehension of having the Deccan overrun by the king of Visiapour, who knows that if he permits his neighbour to fall, his own destruction must be the necessary consequence.

From what I have said, some idea may be formed of the present state of the king of Golconda in relation to the Mogul. There can be no doubt that his power is held by a most uncertain tenure. Since the nefarious transaction in Golconda, planned by Emir-Jemla and executed by Aureng-

Zêbe, the king has lost all mental energy, and has ceased to hold the reins of government. He never appears in public to give audience and administer justice according to the custom of the country; nor does he venture outside the walls of the fortress of Golconda. Confusion and misrule are the natural and unavoidable consequences of this state of things. The grandees, totally disregarding the commands of a monarch, for whom they no longer feel either affection or respect, exercise a disgusting tyranny; and the people, impatient to throw off the galling yoke, would gladly submit to the more equitable government of Aureng-Zêbe,

I shall advert to five or six facts that prove the low state of degradation to which this wretched king is reduced.

I. When I visited Golconda, in the year 1667, an ambassador extraordinary arrived from Aureng-Zêbe, for the purpose of declaring war, unless the king supplied the Mogul with ten thousand cavalry to act against Visiapour. This force was not indeed granted; but, what pleased Aureng-Zêbe still better, as much money was given as is considered sufficient for the maintenance of such a body of cavalry. The king paid extravagant honours to this ambassador and loaded him with valuable presents, both for himself and the Mogul his master.

II. Aureng-Zêbe's ordinary ambassador at the court of Golconda issues his commands, grants passports, menaces and ill-treats the people, and

in short, speaks and acts with the uncontrolled authority of an absolute sovereign.

III. Emir-Jemla's son, Mahmet-Emir-Khan, although nothing more than one of Aureng-Zêbe's omrahs, is so much respected in Golconda, that the tapta, his agent or broker at Masulipatam, acts as master of the port. He buys and sells, admits and clears out cargoes, free of every impost and without any person's intervention. So boundless was the father's influence formerly in this country, that it has descended to the son as a matter of right or necessity.

IV. Sometimes the Dutch presume to lay an embargo on all the Golconda merchant-vessels in the port of Masulipatam; nor will they suffer them to depart until the king comply with their demands. I have known them even protest against the king because the governor of Masulipatam prevented them from taking forcible possession of an English ship in the port, by arming the whole population, threatening to burn the Dutch factory, and to put all these insolent foreigners to the sword.

V. Another symptom of decay in this kingdom is the debased state of the current coin; which is extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the country.

VI. A sixth instance I would adduce of the fallen power of the king of Golconda, is that the Portuguese, wretched, poor and despised as they are become, scruple not to menace him with war,

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and with the capture and pillage of Masulipatam and other towns if he refuse to cede St. Thomas, a place which these same Portuguese, a few years ago, voluntarily resigned into his hands to avoid the disgrace of yielding it to the superior power of the Dutch.

Many intelligent persons, however, assured me, when I was in Golconda, that the king is by no means devoid of understanding ; that this appearance of weakness and indecision and of indifference to the affairs of government, is assumed for the purpose of deceiving his enemies ; that he has a son concealed from the public eye, of an ardent and aspiring spirit, whom he intends to place on the throne at a favourable juncture, and then to violate his treaty with Aureng-Zêbe. Leaving it to time to decide upon the soundness of these opinions, we shall proceed to say a few words about Visiapour.

That country, though it has to contend frequently with the Mogul, still preserves the name of an independent kingdom. The truth is, that the generals employed against Visiapour, like commanders employed in every other service, are delighted to be at the head of an army, ruling at a distance from the court with the authority of kings. They conduct every operation, therefore, with languor, and avail themselves of any pretext for the prolongation of war which is alike the source of their emolument and dignity. It is become a proverbial saying in Hindostan, that

the Deccan is the Indian soldier's bread and support. It should also be observed, that the kingdom of Visiapour abounds with almost impregnable fortresses in mountainous situations, and that the country on the side of the Great Mogul's territories is of a peculiarly difficult access, owing to the scarcity both of forage and of good wholesome water. The capital is extremely strong; situated in an arid and sterile soil, and pure and palatable water is found only within the gates.

Visiapour, however, is verging toward dissolution. The Mogul has made himself master of Paranda, the key of the kingdom; of Bider, a strong and handsome town, and of other important places. The death of the king without male issue must also operate unfavourably on the future concerns of this country. The throne is filled by a young man, educated, and adopted as her son, by the queen, sister of the king of Golconda, who, by the by, has been ill requited for her kindness. She returned recently from Mecca, and experienced a cold and insulting reception; the young monarch pretending that her conduct on board the Dutch vessel which conveyed her to Mokha, was unbecoming both her sex and rank. It is even said that she was criminally connected with two or three of the crew, who abandoned the vessel at Mokha for the purpose of accompanying the queen to Mecca.

Sevajee, the heathen leader lately spoken of,

profiting by the distracted state of the kingdom, has seized upon many strong holds, situated for the most part in the mountains. This man is exercising all the powers of an independent sovereign; laughs at the threats both of the Mogul and of the king at Visiapour; makes frequent incursions, and ravages the country on every side, from Surat to the gates of Goa. Yet it cannot be doubted that, notwithstanding the deep wounds which from time to time he inflicts upon Visiapour, the kingdom finds in this daring chieftain a seasonable and powerful coadjutor. He distracts the attention of Aureng-Zêbe by his bold and never-ceasing enterprises, and affords so much employment to the Indian armies, that the Mogul cannot find the opportunity of achieving the conquest of Visiapour. How to put down Sevajee is become the object of chief importance. We have seen his success at Surat; he afterwards captured the Portuguese settlement of Bardes, an island contiguous to Goa.

I was still at Golconda when I heard of Shah-Jehan's death. Aureng-Zêbe seemed much affected by the event, and discovered all the marks of grief which a son can express for the loss of his father. He set out immediately for Agra, where Begum-Saheb received him with distinguished honour. She hung the mosque with tapestries of rich brocades, and in the same manner decorated the place where the Mogul intended to alight before he entered the fortress. On arriving at the

women's apartment in the seraglio, the princess presented him with a large golden basin, full of precious stones—her own jewels, and those which belonged to Shah-Jehan. Moved by the magnificence of his reception, and the affectionate protestations of his sister, Aureng-Zêbe forgave her former conduct and has since treated her with kindness and liberality.

I have now brought this history to a close. My readers have no doubt condemned the means by which the reigning Mogul attained the summit of power. Those means were indeed unjust and cruel; but it is not perhaps fair to judge him by the rigid rules which we apply to the character of European princes. In our quarter of the globe, the succession to the crown is settled in favour of the eldest by wise and fixed laws; but in Hindostan the right of governing is usually disputed by all the sons of the deceased monarch, each of whom is reduced to the cruel alternative of sacrificing his brothers, that he himself may reign, or of suffering his own life to be forfeited for the security and stability of the dominion of another. Yet even those who may maintain that the circumstances of country, birth and education afford no palliation of the conduct pursued by Aureng-Zebe, must admit that this prince is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman and a magnificent potentate.

A LETTER TO THE MINISTER OF STATE COLBERT ; ON THE EXTENT OF HINDOSTAN ; ON THE CIRCULATION OF GOLD AND SILVER, WHICH ARE FINALLY SWALLOWED UP IN THE COUNTRY ; ON THE RICHES, STRENGTH, ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE ; AND ON THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE ASIATIC STATES.

In Asia, my lord, the great are never approached empty-handed. When I had the honour to kiss the great Mogul's vest, I presented him with eight rupees, as a mark of respect ; and I made a tender of a knife-case, a fork and a pen-knife mounted in amber to the illustrious Fazel-Khan,* a minister charged with the weightiest concerns of the empire, on whose decision depended the amount of my salary as physician. Though I presume not to introduce new customs into France, yet I cannot be expected, so soon after my return from Hindostan, to lose all remembrance of the practice just mentioned, and hope I shall be pardoned for hesitating to appear in the presence of a king who inspires me with very different feelings than did Aureng-Zêbe ; or even in that of his minister, deserving my respect much more than Fazel-Khan, without some small offering, which may derive value from its novelty, if not from the hand that bestows it. The late revolution in India, so full of extraordinary events, may be deemed

* The perfect lord.

worthy the attention of our great monarch; and this letter, considering the importance of its matter, may not be unsuitable to the rank you bear in his majesty's council. It seems, indeed, addressed with propriety to one whose measures have so admirably restored order in many departments which, before my departure from France, I feared were irremediably confused; to one who has evinced so much anxiety to make known to the ends of the earth the character of our sovereign, and of what the French people are capable in the execution of whatever you project for their benefit and glory.

It was in Hindostan, my lord, whither your fame extends, and from which country I am lately returned after an absence of twelve years, that I first became acquainted with the happiness of France, and with the share which you have had in promoting it, by your unwearied attention and brilliant abilities. This is a theme on which I could fondly dwell; but why should I expatiate on facts already and universally admitted, when my present purpose is to treat of those which are new and unknown? It will be more agreeable to you if I proceed, according to my promise, to furnish such materials, as may enable your lordship to form some idea of the actual state of India.

The maps of Asia point out the mighty extent of the Great Mogul's empire, known commonly by the name of the Indies, or Hindostan. I have

not measured it with mathematical exactness ; but judging from the ordinary rate of travelling, and considering that it is a journey of three months from the frontier of the kingdom of Golconda to Hazni, or rather beyond it, near to Candahar, which is the first town in Persia, the distance between those two extreme points cannot be less than five hundred French leagues, or five times as far as from Paris to Lyons.

It is important to observe, that of this vast tract of country, a large portion is extremely fertile ; the large kingdom of Bengal, for instance, surpassing Egypt itself, not only in the production of rice, corn, and other necessaries of life, but of innumerable articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt ; such as silks, cotton, and indigo. There are also many parts of India, where the population is sufficiently abundant, and the land pretty well tilled ; and where the artisan, although naturally indolent, is yet reduced to the necessity of attending to his work, in manufacturing carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloths, and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the country or exported abroad.

It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be absorbed in Hindostan. Of the quantity drawn from America, and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way through various

channels, to Turkey for the payment of commodities imported from that country; and a part passes into Persia, by way of Smyrna, for the silks laden at that port. Turkey cannot dispense with the coffee, which she receives from Yemen, or Arabia Felix; and the productions of India, are equally necessary to Turkey, Yemen, and Persia. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to Mokha, on the Red Sea, near Babelmandel; to Bassora, at the top of the Persian Gulf; and to Bunder Abas, or Gombroon, near Ormuz; which gold and silver are exported to Hindostan by the vessels that arrive every year, in the monsoon season, at those three celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the vessels, whether Indian, Dutch, English, or Portuguese, which every year carry cargoes of Indian merchandize to Pegu, Tannese-rim, Siam, Ceylon, Acheen, Macassar, the Maldives, Mosambique, and other places, bring back to Hindostan from those countries, a large quantity of the precious metals, which share the fate of those brought from Mokha, Bassora, and Bunder Abas. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from the mines of Japan, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into Hindostan; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from Portugal or from France, seldom leaves India, returns being made to Europe in merchandize.

I am aware it may be said, that Hindostan is in want of copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants, and other things, with which she is supplied by the Dutch from Japan, Molucca, Ceylon, and Europe;—that she obtains lead from abroad, in part from England; broad cloths and other articles from France;—that she is in need of a considerable number of foreign horses, receiving annually more than five and twenty thousand from Usbec, a great many from Persia by way of Candahar, and several from Ethiopia, Arabia and Persia, through the ports of Mokha, Bassora and Bunder Abas. It may also be observed that Hindostan consumes an immense quantity of fresh fruit from Samarcand, Bali, Bukharia, and Persia; such as melons, apples, pears and grapes, eaten at Delhi and purchased at a very high price nearly the whole winter;—and likewise dried fruit, such as almonds, pistachio, and hazel nuts, plums, apricots and raisins, which may be procured the whole year round;—that she imports a small sea shell from the Maldives, used in Bengal, and other places, as a species of small money; ambergris from the Maldives and Mosambique; rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, and slaves from Ethiopia; musk and porcelain from China, and pearls from Beharan and Tuticorin, near Ceylon.

The importation of all these articles into Hindostan does not, however, occasion the export of gold and silver; because the merchants who

bring them, find it advantageous to take back, in exchange, the productions of the country.

Supplying India with articles of foreign growth or manufacture, does not, therefore, prevent that country from absorbing within itself a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return.

It should also be recollected, that the Great Mogul constitutes himself heir of all the omrahs, or lords, and likewise of the manseb-dars, or inferior lords, who are in his pay ; and, what is of the utmost importance, that he is proprietor of every acre of land in the kingdom, excepting, perhaps, some houses and gardens which he sometimes permits his subjects to buy, sell and otherwise dispose of.

I think I have shewn that the precious metals must abound in Hindostan, although the country be destitute of mines ; and that the Great Mogul, lord and master of the greater part, must necessarily be in the receipt of an immense revenue, and possess incalculable wealth.

But there are many circumstances to be considered, as forming a counterpoise to these riches.

I. Of the vast tracts of country constituting the empire of Hindostan, many are little more than sand, or barren mountains, badly cultivated, and thinly peopled ; and even a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from want of labourers ; many of whom perish in

consequence of the bad treatment they experience from the governors. These poor people, when incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are bereft of their children, who are carried away as slaves. Thus it happens that many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country, and seek a more tolerable mode of existence, either in the towns, or camps ; as porters, carriers of water, or cavalry servants. Sometimes they fly to the territories of a rajah, because there they find less oppression, and are allowed a greater degree of comfort.

II. The empire of the Great Mogul comprehends several nations, over which he is not absolute master. Most of them still retain their own peculiar chiefs or sovereigns, who obey the Mogul or pay him tribute only for compulsion. In many instances this tribute is of trifling amount ; in others, none is paid ; and I shall adduce instances of nations which, instead of paying, receive tribute.

The petty sovereignties bordering the Persian frontiers, for example, seldom pay tribute either to the Mogul or to the king of Persia. Nor can the former be said to receive any thing considerable from the people of Baloochistan, Afghanistan, and other mountaineers, who indeed seem to feel nearly independent of him, as was proved by their conduct when the Mogul marched from Attock

on the Indus to Cabul ; for the purpose of besieging Candahar. By stopping the supply of water from the mountains, and preventing its descent into the fields contiguous to the public road, they completely arrested the army on its march, until the mountaineers received from the Mogul the presents which they had solicited in the way of alms.

The Patans also are an intractable race.* They are muhammedans, who formerly inhabited a country in the vicinity of the Ganges, toward Bengal. Before the invasion of India by the Moguls, the Patans had rendered themselves formidable in several places. Their power was felt principally at Delhi, many of the neighbouring rajahs being their tributaries. Even the menials and carriers of water belonging to that nation, are high spirited and warlike. " If it be not so, may I never ascend the throne of Delhi," is the usual phraseology of a Patan, when wishing to enforce the truth of any assertion. They hold the Indians, both pagans and Moguls, in the utmost contempt ; and recollecting the consideration in which they were formerly held in India, they mortally hate the Moguls, by whom their fathers were dispossessed of great principalities, and driven to the mountains far from Delhi and Agra. In these mountains some Patans established themselves as

* The race of Afghans are commonly known in India by the name of Patans, the meaning or etymology of which designation does not seem to be ascertained.—*Translator.*

petty sovereigns, or rajahs ; but without any great power.

The king of Visiapour, so far from paying tribute to the Mogul, is engaged in perpetual war with him, and contrives to defend his dominions. He owes his preservation less to the strength of his arms than to many peculiar circumstances. His kingdom is at a great distance from Agra and Delhi, the Mogul's usual places of residence ; the capital city, called also Visiapour, is strong, and not easily accessible to an invading army, because of the bad water and scarcity of forage in the surrounding country ; and several rajahs for the sake of mutual security join him, when attacked, with their forces. The celebrated Sevajee not long ago made a seasonable diversion in his favour, by plundering and burning the rich sea-port of Surat.

There is again the wealthy and powerful king of Golconda, who secretly supplies the king of Visiapour with money, and constantly keeps an army on the frontiers, with the double object of defending his own territories and aiding Visiapour, in the event of that country being closely pressed.

Finally, among those not paying tribute may be numbered more than a hundred rajahs, or pagan sovereigns of considerable strength, dispersed over the whole empire, some near and some at a distance from Agra and Delhi. Fifteen or

sixteen of these rajahs are rich and formidable, particularly Rana, formerly considered emperor of the rajahs, and supposed to be descended from king Porus, Joy-Singh and Jesswint-Singh. If these three chose to enter into an offensive league, they would prove dangerous opponents to the Mogul, each of them having at all times the means of taking the field with twenty thousand cavalry ; better than any that could be opposed to them. These horsemen are called rajaputs, or sons of rajahs. Their military occupation descends from father to son ; and every man receives a grant of land, on condition that he be always prepared to mount his horse and follow the rajah, whither he shall command. These men endure a great deal of fatigue, and require only discipline to become excellent soldiers.

III. It is material to remark that the Great Mogul is a muhammedan, of the same sect as the Sounnys, who, believing with the Turks that Osman was the true successor of Muhammed, are distinguished by the name of Osmanlees. The majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of Schias, believers in the real succession of Ali. Moreover, the Great Mogul is a foreigner in Hindostan, a descendant of Tamerlane, chief of those Moguls from Tartary, who in the year 1401 overran and conquered India. Consequently he finds himself in an hostile country, or nearly so ; a country containing hundreds of pagans to one

Mogul, or even to one muhammedan. To maintain himself in such a country, in the midst of domestic and powerful enemies, and to be always prepared against any hostile movement on the side of Persia or Usbec, he is under the necessity of keeping up numerous armies, even in time of peace. These armies are composed either of natives, such as rajaputs and patans, or of genuine Moguls and people who, though less esteemed, are called Moguls because white men, foreigners, and muhammedans. The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real Moguls; but is a medley of Usbecs, Persians, Arabs and Turks, or descendants from all these people; known, as I said before, by the general appellation of Moguls. It should be added, however, that children of the third or fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of the native Indians, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry or cavalry.—But it is time to give your lordship some idea of the armies of the Great Mogul, in order that you may judge, by the vast expenditure to which they subject him, what are really his effective means and resources.

I shall first speak of the native force, which he cannot avoid keeping in pay.

Under this head are comprehended the raja-

puts of Joy-Singh and of Jesswint-Singh; to whom, and to several other rajahs, the Mogul grants large sums for the service of a certain number of their rajaputs, to be kept always ready and at his disposal. Rajahs bear an equal rank with the foreign or muhammedan omrahs, whether employed in the army which the king retains at all times near his person, or in those stationed in the provinces. They are also generally subjected to the same regulations as the omrahs, even to mounting guard; with this difference, however, that the rajahs never mount within a fortress, but invariably without the walls, under their own tents, not enduring the idea of being confined during four and twenty hours, and always refusing to enter any fortress unless attended by rajaputs, men determined to sacrifice their lives for their leaders. This self-devotion has been sufficiently proved when attempts have been made to deal treacherously with a rajah.

There are many reasons why the Mogul is induced to retain rajahs in his service.

I. Rajaputs are not only excellent soldiers, but, as I have said, some rajahs can in any one day bring more than twenty thousand to the field.

II. They are necessary to keep in check such rajahs as are not in the Mogul's pay; to reduce to submission those who take up arms rather than pay tribute, or refuse to join the army when summoned by the king.

III. It enters into the king's policy to foment jealousy and discord among the rajahs, and by caressing and favouring some more than others, he often succeeds, when desirous of doing so, in kindling wars among them.

IV. They are always at hand to be employed against the Patans, or against any revolted omrah or governor.

V. Whenever the king of Golconda withholds his tribute, or evinces an inclination to defend the king of Visiapour or any neighbouring rajah whom the Mogul wishes to despoil or render tributary, rajahs are sent against him in preference to omrahs, who being for the most part Persians, profess the same religion, and belong to the same sect as the king of Golconda.

VI. But the Mogul never finds the rajahs more useful than when he is engaged in hostility with the Persians. His omrahs, as I have just remarked, are generally of that nation, and shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural king; especially because they acknowledge him as their imam, their caliph or sovereign pontiff, and the descendant of Ali; to bear arms against whom they therefore consider a great crime.

The Mogul is also compelled to engage Patans in his service by reasons very similar to those I have assigned for employing rajaputs.

In fine, he is reduced to the necessity of supporting those troops of foreigners, or Moguls, which we have noticed; and as they form the

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principal force of the kingdom, and are maintained at an incredible expense, a detailed description of this force may not be unacceptable.

These troops, both cavalry and infantry, may be considered under two heads ; one part as always near the Mogul's person ; the other, as dispersed in the several provinces. In regard to the cavalry retained near the king, I shall speak, first of the omrahs, then of the manseb-dars, next of the rouzin-dars ; and, last of all, of the common cavaliers. I shall then proceed to the infantry, and describe the musketeers and all the foot soldiers employed in the artillery of both kinds.

It must not be imagined that the omrahs or lords of the Mogul's court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The king being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither dukedoms nor marquisates ; nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain, and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of omrahs, because the king being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to a state bordering on mendicity, and compelled to enlist as common men in the cavalry of some omrah. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family ; and if the omrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the

advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine Moguls. But this advancement through special favour proceeds slowly, for it is an almost invariable custom to pass gradually from small salaries, and inconsiderable offices, to situations of greater trust and emolument. The omrahs, therefore, mostly consist of adventurers from different nations, who entice one another to the court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education. The Mogul raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice.

Some of the omrahs have the title of hazary, or lord of a thousand horse; some, of douhazary, lord of two thousand horse; some of penge, lord of five thousand horse; some of hecht, lord of seven thousand horse; some of dehhazary, lord of ten thousand horse; and sometimes an omrah has the title of douazdeh hazary, lord of twelve thousand horse; as was the case with the king's eldest son. Their pay is proportionate, not to the number of men, but to the number of horses, and two horses are generally allowed to one cavalier, in order that the service may be better performed; for in those hot countries it is usual to say that a soldier with a single horse has one foot on the ground. But let it not be supposed that an

omrah is expected to keep, or indeed that the king would pay for, such a body of horse as is implied by the titles of douazdeh and hecht hazary; high sounding names intended to impose on the credulous, and deceive strangers. The Mogul himself regulates as well the effective number that each omrah is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary. This salary is increased by the money that the omrah retains out of every man's pay, and by what accrues from his false returns of the horses he is supposed to provide : all which renders the omrah's income very considerable, particularly when he is so fortunate as to have some jagieer, or good land, assigned to him for the payment of his salary: for the omrah under whom I served, a penge-hazary, or lord of five thousand, though without a jagieer, and paid out of the treasury, was yet in the receipt of nearly five thousand crowns per month, after the payment of all expences for the five hundred horse, at which his quota was fixed. Notwithstanding these large incomes, I was acquainted with very few wealthy omrahs; on the contrary, most of them are in embarrassed circumstances, and deeply in debt ; not that they are ruined, like the nobility of other countries, by the extravagance of their table, but by the costly presents made to the king at certain annual festivals, and by their

large establishments of wives, servants, camels, and horses.

The omrahs in the provinces, in the armies, and at court, are very numerous ; but it was not in my power to ascertain their number, which is not fixed. I never saw less than five and twenty to thirty at court, all of whom were in the receipt of the large incomes already mentioned, dependant for the amount upon their number of horses, from one to twelve thousand.

It is these omrahs who attain to the highest honours and situations of the state,—at court, in the provinces, and in the armies ; and who are, as they call themselves, the pillars of the empire. They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out of doors but in the most superb apparel ; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horseback, and not unfrequently in a palanquin attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap off the flies and brush the dust with tails of peacocks ; to carry the toothpick and salivary-box, water to allay the omrah's thirst, and sometimes story-books or papers. Every omrah at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of paying his respects to the king, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dis-

pense justice, and at six in the evening. An omrah must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress once every week, during four and twenty hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet, and other furniture; the king supplying him with nothing but his meals. These are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the omrah performs the taslim, or reverence, the face turned toward the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground, and then lifting it up to the head.

Whenever the king takes an excursion in his palanquin, on an elephant, or in a tucktravan, all the omrahs who are not confined by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust. On every occasion the king is completely sheltered, whether taking the diversion of hunting, marching at the head of his troops, or making his progresses from one city to another. When, however, he confines his hunting to the neighbourhood of the city, visits his country house or repairs to the mosque, he sometimes dispenses with so large a retinue, and prefers being attended by such omrahs only as are that day on guard.

Mansebdars are horsemen with manseb pay which is a peculiar pay, both honourable and considerable; not equal to that of the omrahs,

but much greater than the common pay. Hence they are looked on as petty omrahs, and as being of the rank from which the omrahs are taken. They acknowledge no other chief but the king, and have much the same duties imposed upon them as the omrahs, to whom they would be equal if they had horsemen under them, as formerly was sometimes the case; but now they have only two, four, or six horses of service, that is such as bear the king's mark; and their pay is, in some instances, as low as one hundred and fifty rupees per month, and never exceeds seven hundred. Their number is not fixed, but they are much more numerous than the omrahs: besides those in the provinces and armies, there are never less than two or three hundred at court.

Rouzindars are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the mansebdars. It is, however, of a different kind, and not thought so honourable. But the rouzindars are not subject, like the mansebdars, to the agenahs; that is are not bound to take, at a valuation, carpets, and other pieces of furniture, that have been used in the king's palace, and on which an unreasonable value is sometimes set. Their number is very great. They fill the inferior offices; many being clerks and under-clerks; while some are employed to affix the king's

signet to barattes, or orders for the payment of money; and they scruple not to receive bribes for the quick issuing of these documents.

The common horsemen serve under the omrahs: they are of two classes; the first consists of those who keep a pair of the horses which the omrah is bound to maintain for the king's service, and which bear the omrah's mark on the thigh, and the second of those who keep only one horse. The former are the more esteemed, and receive the greater pay. The pay of the cavaliers depends, in a great measure, on the generosity of the omrah, who may favour whom he pleases; although it is understood by the Mogul that he that keeps only one horse shall not receive less than five and twenty rupees a month, and on that footing he calculates his accounts with the omrahs.

The foot soldiers receive the smallest pay; and to be sure the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times; which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their muskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Even then, they are terribly afraid of burning their eyes or their long beards, and above all lest some dgen, or evil spirit, should cause the bursting of their musket. Some have twenty rupees a month, some fifteen, some ten; but there are artillerymen who receive great pay, particularly all the Franguis, or Europeans,—Portuguese, English, Dutch, Germans, and

French; fugitives from Goa, and from the Dutch and English companies. Formerly, when the Moguls were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the Europeans was more liberal, and there are still some remaining who receive two hundred rupees a month: but now the king admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirty-two rupees.

The artillery is of two sorts, the heavy and the light, or, as they call the latter, the artillery of the stirrup. With respect to the heavy artillery, I recollect that when the king, after his illness, went with his army to Lahore and Kashmire, to pass the summer in that "paradise of India," it consisted of seventy pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, without reckoning from two to three hundred light camels, each of which carried a small field-piece of the size of a double musket, attached on the back of the animal, much in the same manner as swivels are fixed in our barks. I shall relate elsewhere this expedition of Kashmire, and describe how the king, during that long journey, amused himself, almost every day, with the sports of the field, sometimes letting his birds of prey loose against cranes; sometimes hunting the nilgaus, or grey oxen (a species of elk); another day hunting antelopes with tame leopards; and then indulging in the exclusively royal hunt of the lion.

The artillery of the stirrup, which also accom-

panied the Mogul in the journey to Lahore and Kashmire, appeared to me extremely well appointed. It consisted of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass ; each piece mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses, and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver, as a relây. The heavy artillery did not always follow the king, who was in the habit of diverging from the high road, in search of hunting ground, or for the purpose of keeping near the course of the waters. It could not move along difficult passes, or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. But the light artillery is always intended to be near the king's person, and on that account takes the name of artillery of the stirrup. When he resumes his journey in the morning, and is disposed to shoot or hunt in game preserves, the avenues to which are guarded, it moves straight forward, and reaches with all possible speed the next place of encampment, where the royal tents and those of the principal omrahs have been pitched since the preceding day. The guns are then ranged in front of the king's quarters, and by way of signal to the army, fire a volley the moment he arrives.

The army stationed in the provinces differs in nothing from that about the king's person,

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except in its superior numbers, In every place there are omrahs, mansebdars, rouzindars, common cavaliers, infantry and artillery. In the Deccan alone the cavalry amounts to twenty or five and twenty, and sometimes to thirty thousand ; a force not more than sufficient to overawe the powerful king of Golconda, and to maintain the war against the king of Visiapour and the rajahs who, for the sake of mutual protection, join their forces with his. The number of troops in the kingdom of Cabul, which it is necessary to quarter in that country to guard against any hostile movement on the part of Persia, Baloochistan, Afghanistan, and other mountainous regions, cannot be less than twelve or fifteen thousand. In the kingdom of Kashmire there are more than four thousand. In Bengal, so frequently the seat of war, the number is much greater ; and as there is no province which can dispense with a military force, more or less numerous, according to its extent and particular situation, the total amount of troops in Hindostan is almost incredible.

Leaving out of our present calculation the infantry, which is of small amount, and the number of horses, which is merely nominal, and is apt to deceive a superficial observer, I should think, with many persons well conversant with this matter, that the effective cavalry, commonly about the king's person, including rajaputs and Patans, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand ;

which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse.

I have said that the infantry was inconsiderable. I do not think that in the army immediately about the king, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces. I cannot account for the prodigious amount of infantry with which some people swell the armies of the Great Mogul, otherwise than by supposing that with the fighting men, they confound servants, sutlers, tradesmen and all those individuals belonging to bazaars, who accompany the troops. Including these followers, I can well conceive that the army immediately about the king's person, particularly when it is known that he intends to absent himself for some time from his capital, may amount to two, or even three hundred thousand infantry. This will not be deemed an extravagant computation, if we bear in mind the immense quantity of tents, kitchens, baggage, furniture and even women, usually attendant on the army. For the conveyance of all these are again required many elephants, camels, oxen, horses and porters. Your lordship will bear in mind that, from the nature and government of this country, where the king is sole proprietor of all the land in the empire, a capital city, such as Delhi or Agra, derives its chief support from the

presence of the army, and that the population is reduced to the necessity of following the Mogul whenever he undertakes a journey of long continuance. Those cities resemble any place rather than Paris; they might more fitly be compared to a camp, if the lodgings and accommodations were not a little superior to those found in the tents of armies.

It is also important to remark the absolute necessity which exists of paying the whole of this army every two months, from the omrah to the private soldier; for the king's pay is the only means of sustenance. In France, when the exigences of the times prevent the government from immediately discharging an arrear of debt, an officer, or even a private soldier, may contrive to live for some time by means of his own private income; but in India, any unusual delay in the payment of the troops is sure to be attended with fatal consequences; after selling whatever trifling articles they may possess, the soldiers disband and die of hunger. Toward the close of the late civil war, I discovered a growing disposition in the cavaliers to sell their horses, which they would, no doubt, soon have done if the war had been prolonged. And no wonder; for consider, my lord, that it is difficult to find in the Mogul's army, a soldier who is not married, who has not wife, children, servants, and slaves, all depending upon him for support. I have known many persons lost in amazement while contemplating the millions of

pay. Is it possible, they have asked, that any revenue can suffice for such incredible expenditure? seeming to forget the riches of the Great Mogul, and the peculiar manner in which Hindostan is governed.

But I have not enumerated all the expences incurred by the king of India. He keeps in Delhi and Agra from two to three thousand fine horses, always at hand in case of emergency: eight or nine hundred elephants and a large number of baggage horses, mules and porters, intended to carry the numerous and capacious tents, with their cabinets; his wives and women, furniture, kitchen apparatus, Ganges'-water, and several other things which the Mogul has always about him, whether in the field or in his capital, although never thought of in Europe.

There are also the enormous expences of the seraglio, where the consumption of fine linens, gold cloths, brocades, silks, embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essences is greater than can be conceived.

Thus, although the Great Mogul be in the receipt of an immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same proportion, he cannot possess the vast surplus of wealth that most people seem to imagine. I admit that his income exceeds probably the joint revenues of the Grand Seignior and of the king of Persia, but if I were to call him a wealthy monarch, it would be in the

sense that a treasurer is to be considered wealthy who pays with one hand the large sums which he receives with the other. I should call that king effectively rich who, without oppressing or impoverishing his people, possessed revenues sufficient to support the expences of a numerous and magnificent court—to erect grand and useful edifices—to indulge a liberal and kind disposition—to maintain a military force for the defence of his dominions—and, besides all this, to reserve an accumulating fund that would provide against any unforeseen rupture with his neighbours, although it should prove of some years' duration. The sovereign of India is doubtless possessed of many of these advantages, but not to the degree generally supposed. What I have said on the subject of the great expences to which he is unavoidably exposed, has perhaps inclined you to this opinion; and the two facts I am about to relate, of which I had an opportunity to ascertain the correctness, will convince your lordship that the pecuniary resources of the Great Mogul himself may be exaggerated.

I. Toward the conclusion of the late war. Aureng-Zêbe was perplexed how to pay and supply his armies, notwithstanding that the war had continued but five years, that the pay of the troops was less than usual, that, with the exception of Bengal where Sultan Sujah still held out, a profound tranquillity reigned in every part of

Hindustan, and that he had so lately appropriated to himself a large portion of his father's treasures.

II. Shah-Jehan, who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years without being involved in any considerable war, never amassed six crores of rupees.* But I do not include in this sum a great abundance of gold and silver articles, of various descriptions, curiously wrought, and covered with precious stones; or a prodigious quantity of pearls and gems of all kinds, of great size and value. I doubt whether any other monarch possesses more of this species of wealth; a throne of the great Mogul, covered with pearls and diamonds, being alone valued, if my memory be correct, at three crores of rupees. But all these precious stones, and valuable articles, are the spoils of ancient princes, Patans and rajaputs, collected during a long course of years, and, increasing regularly under every reign, by presents which the omrahs are compelled to make on certain annual festivals.† The whole of this treasure is considered

* A crore of rupees is a hundred lacks, or a million sterling.

† The largest diamond probably ever heard of is one mentioned by Tavernier, who saw it in the possession of Aureng-Zêbe. It was about as big as a hen's egg, and weighed nine hundred carats in the rough. This was perhaps the "unparalleled" diamond which Bernier informs us (page 23) Emir Jemla presented to Shah-Jehan.

The largest diamond brought to Europe is now in the

the property of the crown, which it is criminal to touch, and upon the security of which the king, in a time of pressing necessity, would find it extremely difficult to raise the smallest sum.

Before I conclude, I wish to explain how it happens that although the gold and silver introduced into the empire centre finally in Hindostan, they still are not in greater plenty than elsewhere, and the inhabitants have less the appearance of a monied people than those of many other parts of the globe.

In the first place, a large quantity is melted, remelted, and wasted, in fabricating women's bracelets, both for the hands and feet, chains, ear-rings, nose and finger-rings, and a still larger quantity is consumed in manufacturing embroideries; alachas, or striped silken stuffs; touras, or tufts of golden nets, worn on turbans; gold and silver cloths; scarfs, turbans and brocades. The quantity of these articles, made in India, is incredible. All the troops, from the omrah to the man in the ranks, will wear gilt ornaments; nor will a private soldier refuse them to his wife and children, though the whole family should die of hunger; which indeed is a common occurrence.

The king, as proprietor of the land, makes over a certain quantity to military men, as an possession of the emperor of Russia. It weighs one hundred and ninety-five carats, and was long employed as the eye of a Brahminical idol.—*Translator.*

equivalent for their pay ; and this grant is called jagieer, or, as in Turkey, timar ; the word jagieer signifying the spot from which to draw, or the place of salary. Similar grants are made to governors, in lieu of their salary, and also for the support of their troops, on condition that they pay a certain sum annually to the king out of any surplus revenue that the land may yield. The lands not so granted are retained by the king as the peculiar domains of his house, and are seldom, if ever, given in the way of jagieer ; and upon these domains he keeps farmers, who are also bound to pay him an annual rent.

The persons thus put in possession of the land, whether as timariots, governors or farmers, have an authority almost absolute over the peasantry, and nearly as much over the artisans and merchants of the towns and villages within their district ; and nothing can be imagined more cruel and oppressive than the manner in which it is exercised. There is no one before whom the injured peasant, artisan or tradesman, can pour out his just complaints ; no great lords, parliaments or judges of presidial courts exist, as in France, to restrain the wickedness of those merciless oppressors, and the cadis, or judges, are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people. This sad abuse of the royal authority may not be felt in the same degree near capital cities, such as Delhi and Agra, or in the vicinity of large towns and sea-

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ports, because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed from the court.

This debasing state of slavery obstructs the progress of trade and influences the manners and mode of life of every individual. There can be little encouragement to engage in commercial pursuits, when the success with which they may be attended, instead of adding to the enjoyments of life, provokes the cupidity of a neighbouring tyrant possessing both power and inclination to deprive any man of the fruits of his industry. When wealth is acquired, as must sometimes be the case, the possessor, so far from living with increased comfort and assuming an air of independence, studies the means by which he may appear indigent: his dress, lodging and furniture, continue to be mean, and he is careful, above all things, never to indulge in the pleasures of the table. In the mean time, his gold and silver remain buried at a great depth in the ground; agreeable to the general practice among the peasantry, artisans and merchants, whether muhammedans or pagans, but especially among the latter who possess almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country, and who believe that the money concealed during life will prove beneficial to them after death. A few individuals alone who derive their income from the king or from the omrahs, or who are protected by a powerful patron, are at no pains to counterfeit poverty, but partake of the comforts and luxuries of life.

I have no doubt that this habit of secretly burying the precious metals, and thus withdrawing them from circulation, is the principal cause of their apparent scarcity in Hindostan.

From what I have said, a question will naturally arise, whether it would not be more advantageous for the king as well as for the people, if the former ceased to be sole possessor of the land, and the right of private property were recognized in India as it is with us? I have carefully compared the condition of European states, where that right is acknowledged, with the condition of those countries where it is not known, and am persuaded that the absence of it among the people is injurious to the best interests of the sovereign himself. We have seen how in India the gold and silver disappear in consequence of the tyranny of timariots, governors and farmers—a tyranny which even the monarch, if so disposed, has no means of controuling in provinces not contiguous to his capital—a tyranny often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion—a tyranny owing to which those wretched people either have no children at all or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation and to die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state, in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army, where he becomes the servant of a

Lord
Canning
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Fresno
1862

common horseman. As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated, and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition, there being few people who will either build new ones, or repair those which are tumbling down. The peasant cannot avoid asking himself this question: "Why should I toil for a tyrant who may come to-morrow and lay his rapacious hands upon all I possess and value, without leaving me, if such should be his humour, the means to drag on my miserable existence?"—The timariots, governors and farmers, on their part reason in this manner "Why should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds? and why should we expend our own money and time to render it fruitful? we may be deprived of it in a single moment, and our exertions would benefit neither ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should starve or abscond, and we should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness."

The facts I have mentioned are sufficient to account for the rapid declension of the Asiatic states. It is owing to this miserable system of government that most towns in Hindostan are

made up of earth, mud, and other wretched materials; that there is no city or town which, if it be not already ruined and deserted, does not bear evident marks of approaching decay. Without confining our remarks to so distant a kingdom, we may judge of the effects of despotic power unrelentingly exercised, by the present condition of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, the once wonderful plains of Antioch, and so many other regions anciently well cultivated, fertile and populous, but now desolate, and in many parts marshy, pestiferous, and unfit for human habitation. Egypt also exhibits a sad picture of an enslaved country. More than one-tenth part of that incomparable territory has been lost within the last eighty years, because no one will be at the expence of repairing the canals and confining the Nile within its banks. The low lands are thus violently inundated, and covered with sand, which cannot be removed without much labour and expence. Can it excite wonder, that under these circumstances, the arts do not flourish here as they would do under a better government, or as they flourish in our happier France? No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty and excellence, but the cheapness of an article: a people whose grandees pay for a work of art considerably under its value, and according to

their own caprice, and who do not hesitate to punish an importunate artist, or tradesman, with the korrah, that long and terrible whip hanging at every omrah's gate. Is it not enough also to damp the ardour of any artist, when he feels that he can never hope to attain to any distinction; that he shall not be permitted to purchase either office or land for the benefit of himself and family; that he must at no time make it appear he is the owner of the most trifling sum; and that he never venture to indulge in good fare, or to dress in fine apparel, lest he should create a suspicion of his possessing money? The arts in India would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the monarch and principal omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses, teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward and the fear of the korrah. The protection afforded by powerful patrons to rich merchants and tradesmen who give the workmen rather more than the usual wages, tends also to preserve the arts. I say rather more wages, for it should not be inferred from the goodness of the manufactures, that the workman is held in esteem, or arrives at a state of independence. Nothing but sheer necessity or blows from a cudgel keeps him employed; he never can become rich, and he feels it no trifling matter if he have the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger, and of covering his body with the coarsest raiment. If money be gained, it does not in any

measure go into his pocket, but only serves to encrease the wealth of the merchant who, in his turn, is not a little perplexed how to guard against some act of outrage and extortion on the part of his superiors.

A profound and universal ignorance is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe. Is it possible to introduce in Hindostan academies and colleges properly endowed? Where shall we seek for founders? or, should they be found, where are the scholars? Where the individuals whose property is sufficient to support their children at college? or, if such individuals exist, who would venture to display so clear a proof of wealth? Lastly, if any persons should be tempted to commit this great imprudence, yet where are the benefices, the employments, the offices of trust and dignity, that require ability and science and are calculated to excite the emulation and the hopes of the young student?

Nor can the commerce of a country so governed be conducted with the activity and success that we witness in Europe; few are the men who will voluntarily endure labour and anxiety, and incur danger, for another person's benefit,—for a governor who may appropriate to his own use the profit of any speculation. Let that profit be ever so great, the man by whom it has been made, must still wear the garb of indigence; and fare no better, in regard to eating and drinking, than his poorer neighbours.

In cases, indeed, where the merchant is protected by a military man of rank, he may be induced to embark in commercial enterprises; but still he must be the slave of his patron, who will exact whatever terms he pleases as the price of his protection.

The king of India cannot select for his service, princes, noblemen and gentlemen of opulent and ancient families; nor the sons of his citizens, merchants and manufacturers; men of education, possessing a high sense of propriety, affectionately attached to their sovereign, ready to support, by acts of valour, the reputation of their family, and, as the occasion may arise, able and willing to maintain themselves, either at court or in the army, by means of their own patrimony; animated by the hope of better times, and satisfied with the approbation and smile of their sovereign. Instead of men of this description, the Great Mogul is surrounded by slaves, ignorant and brutal; by parasites raised from the dregs of society; strangers to loyalty and patriotism; full of insufferable pride, and destitute of courage, of honour and of decency.

The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of that people. The cane and the whip compel them to

incessant labour for the benefit of others; and driven to despair by every kind of cruel treatment, their revolt or their flight is only prevented, by the presence of a military force.

The misery of this ill-fated country is increased by the practice which prevails too much at all times, but especially on the breaking out of an important war, of selling the different governments for immense sums in hard cash. Hence it naturally becomes the principal object of the individual thus appointed governor, to obtain repayment of the purchase money, which he borrowed as he could at a ruinous rate of interest. Indeed whether the government of a province have or have not been bought, the governor, as well as the timariot and the farmer of the revenue, must find the means of making valuable presents, every year, to a vizier, an eunuch, a lady of the seraglio, and to any other person whose influence at court he considers indispensable. The governor must also enforce the payment of the regular tribute to the king; and although he was originally a wretched slave, involved in debt, and without the smallest patrimony, he yet becomes a great and opulent lord.

Thus do ruin and desolation overspread the land. The provincial governors, as before observed, are so many petty tyrants, possessing a boundless authority; and as there is no one to whom the oppressed subject may appeal, he

cannot hope for redress, let his injuries be ever so grievous or ever so frequently repeated.

It is true that the Great Mogul sends vakea-nevis to the various provinces; that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place; but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governor, so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people.

Governments also are not so often and so openly sold in Hindostan as in Turkey. I say, so openly, because the costly presents, made occasionally by the governors, are nearly equivalent to purchase money. The same persons too, generally remain longer in their respective governments than in Turkey, and the people are gradually less oppressed by governors of some standing than when, indigent and greedy, they first take possession of their province. The tyranny of these men is also somewhat mitigated by the apprehension that the people, if used with excessive cruelty, may abandon the country, and seek an asylum in the territory of some rajah, as indeed happens very often.

In Persia likewise are governments neither so frequently nor so publicly sold as in Turkey; for it is not uncommon for the children of governors to succeed their fathers. The consequence of this better state of things is seen in the superior condition

of the people, as compared to those of Turkey. The Persians also are more polite, and there are even instances of their devoting themselves to study.

Those three countries, Turkey, Persia, and Hindostan, have no idea of the principle of *meum* and *tuum*, relatively to land or other real possessions; and having lost that respect for the right of property, which is the basis of all that is good and useful in the world, necessarily resemble each other in essential points: they fall into the same pernicious errors, and must, sooner or later, experience the natural consequences of those errors—tyranny, ruin, and misery.

How happy and thankful should we feel, my lord, that in our quarter of the globe, kings are not the sole proprietors of the soil. Were they so, we should seek in vain for countries well cultivated and populous, for well built and opulent cities, for a polite, contented, and flourishing people. If this exclusive and baneful right prevailed, far different would be the real riches of the sovereigns of Europe, and the loyalty and fidelity with which they are served. They would soon reign over solitudes and deserts, over mendicants and barbarians.

Actuated by a blind and wicked ambition to be more absolute than is warranted by the laws of God and of nature, the kings of Asia grasp at every thing, until at length they lose every thing; or, if they do not always find themselves

without pecuniary resources, they are invariably disappointed in the expectation of acquiring the riches which they covet. If the same system of government existed with us, where, I must again ask, should we find princes, prelates, nobles, opulent citizens, and thriving tradesmen, ingenious artisans and manufacturers? Where should we look for such cities as Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, Rouen, or, if you will, London, and so many others? Where should we see that infinite number of towns and villages; all those beautiful country houses, those fine plains, hills and vallies, cultivated with so much care, art and labour? and what would become of the ample revenues derived from so much industry, an industry beneficial alike to the sovereign and the subject! The reverse of this smiling picture would, alas! be exhibited. Our large towns would become uninhabitable in consequence of the unwholesome air, and fall into ruins without exciting in any person a thought of preventing or repairing the decay; our fertile hills would be abandoned, and the plains would be overrun with thorns and weeds, or covered with pestilential morasses. The excellent accommodations for travellers would disappear; the good inns, for example, between Paris and Lyons, would dwindle into ten or twelve wretched caravansaries, and travellers be reduced to the necessity of moving, like the Bohemians, with every thing about them. The Eastern caravan

saries* resemble large barns, raised and paved all round, in the same manner as our Pont-neuf. Hundreds of human beings are seen in them, mingled with their horses, mules, and camels. In summer these buildings are hot and suffocating, and in winter nothing but the breath of so many animals prevents the inmates from dying of cold.

But there are countries, I shall be told, such for instance as the Grand Seignior's dominions, where the principle of *meum* and *tuum* is unknown, which not only preserve their existence, but maintain a great and increasing power.

An empire so prodigiously extensive as that of the Grand Seignior, comprising countries whose soil is so deep and excellent that even without due cultivation it will continue fertile for many years, cannot be otherwise than rich and powerful. Yet how insignificant is the wealth and strength of Turkey in comparison of its extent and natural advantages. Let us only suppose that country as populous and as carefully cultivated as it would become if the right of private property were recognized and acted upon, and we cannot doubt that it could raise and support armies as numerous and well appointed as formerly: but even at Constantinople three months are now

* Karavanserah is a Persee and Arabic compound of Kar, signifying business, Rawan the participle of the verb *rusteen*, to go, move, proceed, &c. and of Serah, an habitation.—

Translator.

required to raise five or six thousand men. I have travelled through nearly every part of the empire, and witnessed how lamentably it is ruined and depopulated. Some support it undoubtedly derives from the Christian slaves brought from all quarters; but if that country continue many years under the present system of government, it must necessarily fall and perish from innate weakness, though, to all appearance, it is now preserved by that weakness itself; for there is no longer a governor, or any other person, possessed of pecuniary means to undertake the least enterprise, or who could find the men he would require to accomplish his purpose. Strange means of preservation! Turkey seems to owe its transient existence to the seeds of destruction in its own bosom! To remove the danger of commotion and put an end to all fears on that subject, nothing more appears necessary than the measure adopted by a Brahmin of Pegu, who actually caused the death of half the population by famine, converted the country into forests and prevented for many years the tillage of the land. But all this did not suffice: even the Brahmin's plan was unsuccessful; a division of the kingdom took place, and Ava, the capital, was very lately on the point of being captured by a handful of fugitives from China. We must confess, however, that there seems little probability of the total ruin and destruction of the Turkish empire in our day; (it will be happy if we see nothing worse!)

because the neighbouring states, so far from being able to attack it, are not in a condition to defend themselves effectually, without foreign aid, which remoteness and jealousy will always render tardy, inefficient and liable to suspicion.

If it be observed that there is no reason why eastern states should not have the benefit of good laws, or why the people in the provinces may not complain of their grievances to a grand vizier, or to the king himself; I shall admit that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, which, if properly administered, would render Asia as eligible a residence as any other part of the world. But of what advantage are good laws when not observed, and when there is no possibility of enforcing their observance? Have not the provincial tyrants been nominated by the same grand vizier and by the same king who alone have power to redress the people's wrongs? and is it not a fact that they have no means of appointing any but tyrants to rule over the provinces? either the vizier or the king has sold the place to the governor. And even admitting that there existed a disposition to listen to a complaint, how is a poor peasant or a ruined artisan to defray the expences of a journey to the capital, and to seek justice at one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from home? He would be waylaid and murdered, as frequently happens, or sooner or later fall into the governor's hands, and be at his mercy. Should he chance to reach the royal residence, he

would find the friends of his oppressor busy in distorting the truth, and misrepresenting the whole affair to the king. In short, the governor is absolute lord, in the strictest sense of the word. He is in his own person the intendant of justice, the parliament, the presidial court and the assessor and receiver of the king's taxes. A Persian, in speaking of these greedy governors, timariots, and farmers of revenue, aptly describes them as men who extract oil out of sand. No income appears adequate to maintain them, with their crowds of harpies, women, children and slaves.

If it be remarked that the lands which our kings hold as domains, are as well cultivated, and as thickly peopled as other lands, my answer is that there can be no analogy between a kingdom whose monarch is proprietor of a few domains, and a kingdom where the monarch possesses, in his own right, every acre of the soil. In France the laws are so reasonable, that the king is the first to obey them : his domains are held without the violation of any right ; his farmers or stewards may be sued at law, and the aggrieved artisan or peasant is sure to find redress against injustice and oppression. But in eastern countries, the weak and the injured are without any refuge whatever ; and the only law that decides all controversies, is the cane and the caprice of a governor.

There certainly however, some may say, are some advantages peculiar to despotic governments :

they have fewer lawyers, and fewer law-suits, and those few are more speedily decided. We cannot, indeed, too greatly admire the old Persian proverb, "Na-hac kouta better-ez hac deraz:" "Speedy injustice is preferable to tardy justice." Protracted law-suits are, I admit, insupportable evils in any state, and it is incumbent upon a sovereign to provide a remedy against them. It is certain that no remedy would be so efficacious as the destruction of the right of private property. Do away with this *meum* and *tuum*, and the necessity for an infinite number of legal proceedings will at once cease, especially for those which are important, long and intricate: the larger portion of magistrates employed by the king to administer justice to his subjects, will also become useless, as will those swarms of attorneys and counsellors who live by judicial contests. But it is equally certain that the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease, and that there is no estimating the misery that would afflict the country. Instead of magistrates on whose probity the monarch can depend, we should be at the mercy of such rulers as I have described. In Asia, if justice be ever administered, it is among the lower classes, among persons who being equally poor, have no means of corrupting the judges, and of buying false witnesses; witnesses always to be had in great numbers, at a cheap rate, and never punished. I am speaking the language of

several years' experience ; my information was obtained from various quarters, and is the result of many careful enquiries among the natives, European merchants long settled in the country, ambassadors, consuls, and interpreters. My testimony is I know at variance with the account given by most of our travellers. They happened, perhaps, in passing through a town, to see two poor men, the dregs of the people, in the presence of a *cadi*. Our countrymen may have seen them hurried out of court to receive either the one or the other, if not both, hard blows on the soles of the feet, unless the parties were immediately dismissed with a *maybale-baba*, or a few soft words which the magistrate sometimes utters when he finds that no bribe can be expected. No doubt, this summary mode of proceeding excited the admiration of our travellers, and they returned to France, exclaiming, " O, what an excellent and quick administration of justice ! O, the upright *cadis* of Hindostan ! Models for the imitation of French magistrates !" not considering that if the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of putting a couple of crowns into the hands of the *cadi* or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his cause, or prolonged it as long as he pleased.

Yes, my lord, I must repeat it ; take away the right of private property in lands, and you intro-

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duce, as a sure and necessary consequence, tyranny, injustice, beggary and barbarism: the ground will cease to be cultivated and become a dreary wilderness; in a word, the road will be opened to the ruin of kings and the destruction of nations. It is the hope by which a man is animated, that he shall retain the fruits of his industry and transmit them to his descendants, that forms the main foundation of every thing excellent and beneficial in this sublunary state; and if we take a review of the different kingdoms in the world, we shall find that they prosper or decline according as this principle is acknowledged or contemned: in a word, it is the prevalence or neglect of this principle which changes and diversifies the face of the earth.

it is true

true

A LETTER TO MONSIEUR DE LA MOTHE LE VAYER ;
CONTAINING THE DESCRIPTION OF DELHI AND AGRA ;
AND DETAILS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE GREAT MOGUL'S
COURT, AND OF THE MANNERS AND GENIUS OF
THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

SIR,

Delhi, 1st July, 1663.

I KNOW that your first enquiries on my return to France will be respecting the capital cities of this empire. You will be anxious to learn if Delhi and Agra rival Paris in beauty, extent and number of inhabitants. I hasten, therefore, to gratify your curiosity upon these points and I may perhaps intersperse a few other matters which you will not find altogether uninteresting.

In treating of the beauty of these towns, I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the contemptuous manner in which Europeans in India speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the western world, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture ; that what is useful and proper at Paris, London or Amsterdam, would be entirely out of place at Delhi ; insomuch that if it were possible for any one of those great capitals to change place with the metropolis of India, it would become necessary to throw down the greater part of the city, and to rebuild it on a totally different plan. Without doubt, the cities of Europe may boast great beauties ; these,

however, are of an appropriate character, suited to a cold climate. Thus Delhi also may possess beauties adapted to a warm climate. The heat is so intense in Hindostan, that no one, not even the king, wears stockings; the only cover for the feet being babouches, or slippers, while the head is protected by a small turban, of the finest and most delicate materials. The other garments are proportionably light. During the summer season, it is scarcely possible to keep the hand on the wall of an apartment, or the head on a pillow. For more than six successive months, every body lies in the open air without covering—the common people in the streets, the merchants and persons of condition sometimes in their courts or gardens, and sometimes on their terraces, which are first carefully watered. Now, only suppose the streets of St. Jaques or St. Denis transported hither, with their close houses and endless stories; would they be habitable? or would it be possible to sleep in them during the night, when the absence of wind increases the heat almost to suffocation? Suppose one just returned on horseback, half dead with heat and dust, and drenched, as usual, in perspiration; and then imagine the luxury of squeezing up a narrow dark staircase to the fourth or fifth story, there to remain almost choked with heat. In India, there is no such troublesome task to perform. You have only to swallow quickly a draught of fresh water, or lemonade; to undress; wash face, hands and feet, and then immediately

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drop upon a sofa in some shady place, where one or two servants fan you with their great panhás or fans. But I shall now endeavour to give you an accurate description of Delhi, that you may judge for yourself how far it has a claim to the appellation of a beautiful city.

It is about forty years ago that Shah-Jehan, father of the present Great Mogul, Aureng-Zêbe, conceived the design of immortalizing his name by the erection of a city near the site of the ancient Delhi. This new capital he called after his own name, Shah-Jehan-Abad, or, for brevity, Jehan-Abad; that is to say, the colony of Shah-Jehan. Here he resolved to fix his court, alleging as the reason for its removal from Agra, that the excessive heat to which that city is exposed during summer, rendered it unfit for the residence of a monarch. The materials for the new city were furnished, in great measure, by the neighbouring ruins; and hence foreigners confound both cities under the general appellation of Delhi, though in India the new capital is most frequently called by the name which it received from its founder. For the sake of convenience, however, I chose rather to comply with the custom of Europe.

Delhi, then, is an entirely new city, situated in a flat country, on the banks of the Jumna, a river which may be compared to the Loire, and built on one bank only in such a manner that it terminates in this place very much in the form of a crescent, having but one bridge of boats to cross

to the country. Excepting the side where it is defended by the river, the city is encompassed by walls of brick. The fortifications, however, are very incomplete, as there are neither ditches nor any other kind of additional defence, if we except flanking towers of antique shape, at intervals of about one hundred paces, and a bank of earth forming a platform behind the walls, four or five French feet in thickness. Although these works encompass not only the city but the citadel, yet their extent is less than is generally supposed. I have accomplished the circuit with ease in the space of three hours, and notwithstanding I rode on horseback I do not think my progress exceeded a French league per hour. In this computation I do not however include the suburbs, which are considerable, comprising a long chain of buildings on the side of Lahore, the extensive remains of the old city, and three or four smaller suburbs. By these additions the extent of the city is so much encreased that a straight line may be traced in it of more than a French league and a half; and though I cannot undertake to define exactly the circumference, because these suburbs are interspersed with extensive gardens and open spaces, yet you must see that it is very great.

The citadel, which contains the mâhil or seraglio, and the other royal apartments of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, is round, or rather semicircular. It commands a prospect of the river, from which it is separated by

a sandy space of considerable length and width. On these sands are exhibited the combats of elephants, and there the corps belonging to the omrahs or lords, and those of the rajahs or pagan princes, pass in review before the sovereign, who witnesses the spectacle from the windows of the palace. The walls of the citadel, as to their antique and round towers, resemble those of the city, but being partly of brick, and partly of a red stone which resembles marble, they have a better appearance. The walls of the fortress likewise excel those of the town in height, strength and thickness, being capable of admitting small field pieces, which are pointed toward the city. Except on the side of the river, the citadel is defended by a deep ditch faced with hewn stone, filled with water, and stocked with fish. Considerable as these works may appear, their real strength is by no means great, and in my opinion a battery of moderate force would soon level them with the ground.

Adjoining the ditch is a large garden, filled at all times with flowers and green shrubs, which, contrasted with the stupendous red walls, produce a beautiful effect.

Next to the garden is the great royal square, faced on one side by the gates of the fortress, and on the opposite side of which terminate the two most considerable streets of the city.

The tents of such rajahs as are in the king's pay, and whose weekly turn it is to mount guard, are pitched in this square; those petty sovereigns

having an insuperable objection to be enclosed within walls. The guard within in the fortress is mounted by the omrahs and mansebdars.

In this place also at break of day they exercise the royal horses, which are kept in a spacious stable not far distant; and here the kobat-khan, or grand muster master of the cavalry, examines carefully the horses of those who have been received into the service. If they are found to be Turkish horses, that is from Turkestan or Tartary, and of a proper size and adequate strength, they are branded on the thigh with the king's mark, and with the mark of the omrah under whom the horseman is enlisted. This is well contrived to prevent the loan of the same horses for different review days.

Here too is held a bazaar or market for an endless variety of things; which, like the Pont-neuf at Paris, is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountebanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both muhammedan and pagan. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun, on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments, and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiack. In this way they attract the attention of the passengers, and impose upon the people, by whom they are considered as so many infallible oracles. They tell a poor person his fortune for a payssa (a penny); and after examining the hand and face of the appli-

cant, turning over the leaves of the large book, and pretending to make certain calculations, these impostors, decide upon the sahet, or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot, flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives, and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a scrupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control.

The most ridiculous of these pretenders to divination, was a half-cast Portuguese, a fugitive from Goa. This fellow sat on his carpet as gravely as the rest, and had many customers notwithstanding he could neither read nor write. His only instrument was an old mariner's compass, and his books of astrology a couple of old Romish prayer books in the Portuguese language, the pictures of which he pointed out as the signs of the European zodiack. *A tal bestias, tal astrologuo*, he unblushingly observed to the Jesuit, the reverend father Buzé, who saw him at his work.

I am speaking only of the poor astrologers seen in the bazaars. Those who frequent the courts of the grandees are considered by them eminent doctors, and become wealthy. The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition.

Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners, and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them. They read whatever is written in heaven; fix upon the sahet, and solve every doubt by opening the koran.

The two principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading into the square, may be five and twenty or thirty ordinary paces in width. They run in a straight line nearly as far as the eye can reach; but the one leading to the Lahore gate is much the longer. In regard to houses, the two streets are exactly alike. As in our Place Royale, there are arcades on both sides; with this difference, however, that they are only brick, and that the top serves for a terrace and has no additional building. They also differ from the Place Royale in not having an uninterrupted opening from one to the other, but are generally separated by partitions, in the spaces between which are open shops, where, during the day, artisans work, bankers sit for the dispatch of their business, and merchants exhibit their wares. Within the arch is a small door, opening into a warehouse, in which these wares are deposited for the night.

The houses of the merchants are built over these warehouses, at the back of the arcades: they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and commu-

nicate with the terrace, on which the inhabitants sleep at night : the houses, however, are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the magazines being often too low to be seen from the street. The rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business.

There are five streets not so long nor so straight as the two principal ones, but resembling them in every other respect. Of the numberless streets which cross each other, many have arcades ; but having been built at different periods by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are so well built so wide or so straight, as those I have described.

Amid these streets are dispersed the habitations of mansebdars, officers of justice, rich merchants, and others ; many of which have a tolerable appearance. Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside, and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long, handsome and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime.

Intermixed with these different houses is an immense number of small ones, composed of earth

and straw, in which lodge the common horsemen and all that vast multitude of servants and sutlers who follow the court and the army.

It is owing to these thatched cottages that Delhi is subject to such frequent conflagrations. More than sixty thousand roofs were consumed this last year by three fires, during the prevalence of certain impetuous winds which blow generally in summer. So rapid were the flames that several camels and horses were burnt. Many of the inmates of the seraglio also fell victims to the devouring element; for these poor women are so bashful and helpless that they can do nothing but hide their faces at the sight of strangers, and those who perished possessed not sufficient energy to fly from the danger.

It is because of these wretched clay and straw houses that I always represent to myself Delhi as a collection of many villages, or as a military encampment with a few more conveniences than are usually found in such places. The dwellings of the omrahs, though mostly situated on the banks of the river, and in the suburbs, are yet scattered in every direction. In these hot countries a house is considered beautiful if it be possessed of great conveniences, and if the situation be airy and exposed on all sides to the wind, especially to the northern breezes. A good house has its court-yards, gardens, trees, basons of water, small jets d'eau in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterraneous apartments which are furnished with large

fans, and on account of their coolness fit places for repose from noon until four or five o'clock, when the air becomes suffocatingly warm. Instead of these caves, many persons prefer *kas-kanays*, that is, small and neat houses made of straw or odoriferous roots placed commonly in the middle of a *parterre*, so near to a reservoir of water, that the servants may easily moisten the outside by means of water brought in skins. A house to be greatly admired must be seated in the middle of a large flower garden, and should have four large divans, raised the height of a man from the ground, and exposed to the four winds, so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter. Indeed no handsome dwelling is ever seen without terraces on which the family may sleep during the night. They always open into a large chamber into which the bedstead is easily moved in case of rain, when thick clouds of dust arise, when the cold air is felt at break of day, or when it is found necessary to guard against those light but penetrating dews which frequently cause a numbness in the limbs and induce a species of paralysis.

The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered with a cotton mat four inches in thickness, over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer, and a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses, with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, inter-

spersed with gold and silver. These are intended for the master of the house, or any person of quality who may happen to call. Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon, and there are other cushions placed round the room, covered with brocade, velvet or flowered satin, for the rest of the company. Five or six feet from the floor, the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower pots. The ceiling is gilt and painted, but without pictures of man or beast, such representations being forbidden by the religion of the country.

This is a pretty just description of a fine house in India; and as there are many in Delhi possessing all the properties above mentioned, I think it may be safely asserted, without disparagement to the towns in our quarter of the globe, that the capital of Hindostan is not destitute of handsome buildings, although they bear no resemblance to those in Europe.

That which so much contributes to the beauty of European towns, the brilliant appearance of the shops, is wanting in Delhi. For though this city be the seat of a powerful and magnificent court, where an infinite quantity of the richest commodities is necessarily collected, yet there are no streets like our St. Denis, which has not perhaps its equal in any part of Asia. Here the costly merchandize is generally kept in ware-

houses, and the shops are seldom decked with rich or showy articles. For one that makes a display of beautiful and fine cloths, silk, and other stuffs striped with gold and silver, turbans embroidered with gold, and brocades, there are at least five and twenty where nothing is seen but pots of oil or butter, piles of baskets filled with rice, barley, chick-peas, wheat, and an endless variety of other grain and pulse, the ordinary aliment not only of the Hindoos, who never eat meat, but of the lower class of muhammedans, and a considerable portion of the military.

There is, indeed, a fruit market that makes some shew. It contains many shops which during the summer are well supplied with dry fruit from Persia, Bulkh, Bukharia and Samarcand; such as almonds, pistachio and small nuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter, with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are however very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half. But nothing is considered so great a treat: it forms the chief expense of the omrahs, and I have frequently known my aga spend twenty crowns on fruit for his breakfast.

In summer the melons of the country are cheap, but they are of an inferior kind: there are no means of procuring good ones but by sending to Persia for seed, and sowing it in ground prepared

with extraordinary care, in the manner practised by the grandees. Good melons, however, are scarce, the soil being so little congenial that the seed degenerates after the first year.

Ambas, or mangoes, are in season during two summer months, and are plentiful and cheap; but those grown at Delhi are indifferent. The best come from Bengal, Golconda and Goa, and these are indeed excellent, yielding to no sweetmeat in flavour and lusciousness.

Pateques, or water-melons, are in great abundance nearly the whole year round; but those of Delhi are soft, without colour or sweetness. If this fruit be ever found good, it is among the omrahs, who import the seed and cultivate it with much care and expence.

There are many confectioners' shops in the town, but the sweetmeats are badly made, and full of dust and flies.

Bakers also are numerous, but the ovens are unlike our own, and very defective. The bread, therefore, is neither well made nor properly baked. That sold in the fortress is tolerably good, and the omrahs bake at home, so that their bread is much superior. In its composition they are not sparing of fresh butter, milk and eggs; but though it be raised, it has a burnt taste, and is too much like cake; not to be compared to the gonnese, and other bread, eaten at Paris.

In the bazaars there are shops where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways.

But there is no trusting to their dishes, composed for aught I know, of the flesh of camels, horses, or perhaps oxen which have died of disease. Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which is not dressed at home.

Meat is sold in every part of the city; but instead of goat's flesh that of mutton is often palmed upon the buyer; an imposition which ought to be guarded against, because mutton and beef, but particularly the former, though not unpleasant to the taste, are heating, flatulent, and difficult of digestion. Kid is the best food, but being rarely sold in quarters, it must be purchased alive, which is very inconvenient, as the meat will not keep from morning to night, and is generally lean and without flavour. The goats' flesh found in quarters at the butchers' shops, is frequently that of the she-goat, which is lean and tough.

But it would be unreasonable in me to complain; because since I have been familiarized with the manners of the people, it seldom happens that I find fault either with my meat or my bread. I send my servant to the king's purveyors in the fortress, who are glad to sell wholesome food, which costs them very little, at the high price I am willing to pay. My aga smiled when I remarked that I had been for years in the habit of living by stealth and artifice, and that the one hundred and fifty crowns which he gave me monthly would not otherwise keep me from starving, although in France I could, for

half a rupee, eat every day as good meal as the king.

As to capons, none are seen in Delhi; the people being tender-hearted toward animals of every description, men only excepted; but these are wanted for their seraglios. The markets, however, are amply supplied with fowls, tolerably good and cheap. Among others, there is a small hen, delicate and tender, which I call Ethiopian, the skin being quite black.

Pigeons are exposed for sale, but not young ones, the Indians considering them too small, and saying that it would be cruel to deprive them of life at so tender an age.

There are partridges which are smaller than ours, but being caught with nets, and brought alive from a distance, are not so good as fowls. The same thing may be remarked of ducks and hares, which are brought alive in crowded cages.

The people of this neighbourhood are indifferent fishermen; yet good fish may sometimes be bought, particularly two sorts, called sing-ala and rau. The former resembles our pike; the latter our carp. When the weather is cold, the people will not fish at all if they can avoid it; for they have a much greater dread of cold than Europeans have of heat. Should any fish then happen to be seen in the market, it is immediately bought up by the eunuchs who are particularly fond of it; why I cannot tell. The omrahs alone contrive to force the fishermen out at all times

rohoo

Thus for the
last 200 +
000 years
by this account
nothing has
been steady
going on!!!!!!
in the same
fashion

by means of the korrah, the long whip always suspended at their door.

You may judge from what I have said, whether a lover of good cheer ought to quit Paris for the sake of visiting Delhi. Unquestionably the great are in the enjoyment of every thing; but it is by dint of the numbers in their service, by dint of the korrah, and by dint of money. In Delhi there is no middle state. A man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably. My pay is considerable, nor am I sparing of money; yet does it often happen that I have not wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of hunger, the bazaars being so ill supplied, and frequently containing nothing but the refuse of the grandees. Wine, that essential part of every entertainment, can be obtained in none of the shops at Delhi, although it might be made from the native grape, were not the use of that liquor prohibited equally by the Hindoo and Muhammedan law. I drank some at Ahmedabad and Golconda, in Dutch and English houses, which was not ill tasted. If wine be sometimes found in the Mogul empire, it is either Schiraz or Canary. The former is sent by land from Persia to Bunder Abas, where it is embarked for Surat, from which port it reaches Delhi in forty-six days. The Canary wine is brought by the Dutch to Surat; but both these wines are so dear that, according to the saying of the country, the taste is destroyed by the cost. A bottle containing about three Paris pints (three English

quarts) cannot be purchased under six or seven crowns. The liquor peculiar to this country is arac, a spirit drawn by distillation from unrefined sugar; the sale of which is also strictly forbidden, and none but Christians dare openly to drink it. Arac is a spirit as harsh and burning as that made from corn in Poland, and the use of it to the least excess occasions nervous and incurable disorders. A wise man will here accustom himself to the pure and fine water, or to the excellent lemonade, which costs little and may be drunk without injury. To say the truth, few persons in these hot climates feel a strong desire for wine, and I have no doubt that the happy ignorance which prevails of many distempers, is fairly ascribable to the general habits of sobriety among the people and to the profuse perspiration to which they are perpetually subject. The gout, the stone, complaints in the kidneys, catarrhs and quartan agues are nearly unknown; and persons who arrive in India afflicted with any of these disorders, as was the case with me, soon experience a complete cure. Even the venereal disease, common as it is in Hindostan, is not of so virulent a character, or attended with such injurious consequences, as in other parts of the world. But although there is a greater enjoyment of health, yet there is less vigour among the people than in our colder climates; and the feebleness and languor both of body and mind, consequent upon excessive heat, may be considered

all non
19th C
very common

a species of unremitting malady, which attacks all persons indiscriminately, and among the rest Europeans not yet inured to the heat.

Workshops, occupied by skilful artisans, would be vainly sought for in Delhi; which has very little to boast of in that respect. This is not owing to any inability in the people to cultivate the arts, for there are ingenious men in every part of India. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instruction from a master. Sometimes they imitate so perfectly articles of European manufacture, that the difference between the original and copy can hardly be discerned. Among other things, the Indians make excellent muskets, and fowling pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of those articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith. I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of Acbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The Indian painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions and in the expression of the face; but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art.

Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason, why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an omrah or mansebdar requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazaar for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the korrah has not been given in part payment. How then can it be expected that any spirit of emulation should animate the artist or manufacturer? Instead of contending for a superiority of reputation, his only anxiety is to finish his work, and to earn the pittance that shall supply him with a piece of bread. The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the king or of some powerful omrah, and who work exclusively for their patron.

The citadel contains the seraglio and other royal edifices; but you are not to imagine that they are such buildings as the Louvre or the Escorial. The edifices in the fortress have nothing European in their structure; nor ought

they, as I have already observed, to resemble the architecture of France and Spain. It is sufficient if they have that magnificence which is suited to the climate.

The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable besides two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of Jemel, the renowned rajah of Chitore; on the other is that to his brother of Polta. These are the brave heroes who, with their still braver mother, immortalized their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated Acbar; who defended the towns besieged by that great emperor with unshaken resolution; and who, at length reduced to extremity, devoted themselves to their country, and chose rather to perish with their mother in sallies against the enemy, than submit to an insolent invader. It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part, that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory. These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe.

After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street, divided in the midst by a canal of running water. The street has a long divan, or raised way, on both sides, in the manner of the Pont-neuf,

five or six French feet high and four broad. Bordering the divan, are closed arcades, which run up the whole way in the form of gates. It is upon this long divan that all the controllers, and other petty officers, exercise their functions without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass in the street below. The mansebdars or inferior omrahs mount guard on this raised way during the night. The water of the canal runs into the seraglio, divides and intersects every part, and then falls into the ditches of the fortification. This water is brought from the river Jumna, by means of a canal opened at a distance of five or six leagues above Delhi, and cut with great labour, through fields and rocky ground.*

The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades. Properly speaking, this street is a bazaar, rendered very convenient in the summer and the rainy season by the long and capacious arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are intromitted by several large and round apertures in the roof.

Besides these two streets, the citadel contains many smaller ones, both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the omrahs mount guard, during four and twenty hours, in

* See note G at the end of the volume.

regular rotation, once a week. The places where this duty is performed may be called splendid, the omrahs making it a point to adorn them at their own expence. In general they are spacious divans or alcoves facing a flower garden, embellished by small canals of running water, reservoirs and jets d'eau. The omrahs on guard have their table supplied by the king. Every meal is sent ready dressed, and is received by the omrahs with all suitable ceremony, three times performing the taslim, or salute of grateful acknowledgement, by turning the face toward the king's residence, and then raising the hand to the head and lowering it to the ground.

There are besides many divans and tents in different parts of the fortress, which serve as offices for public business.

Large halls are seen in many places, called kar-kanays or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needle-work.

The artisans repair every morning to their respective kar-kanays, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away; no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born. The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician.* No one marries but in his own trade or profession; and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by muselmans as by the Hindoos, to whom it is expressly enjoined by their law. Many are the beautiful girls thus doomed to live singly, girls who might marry advantageously, if their parents would connect them with a family less noble than their own.

I must not forget the am-kas, to which you at length arrive, after passing the places just mentioned. This is really a noble edifice: it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our Place Royale, with this difference, however, that the arcades of the am-kas have no

* Many of the fences which marked the limits of the respective castes, are now broken down. The Brahmins of the Deccan and Purjab, observes Mr. Forster, have taken up the sword, and are seen crowding the ranks of an army; the chehteree occasionally takes himself to traffic, and the sooder has become the inheritor of principalities.—*Translator*.

buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other. Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called *nagar-kanay*. In this place which thence derives its name are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and tymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night. To the ears of an European recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many tymbals, which play together. One of the hautboys, called *karna*, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a French foot. The tymbals of brass or iron are some of them at least a fathom in diameter. You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the *nagar-kanay*. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable : but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure ; in the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand and melodious. This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and tymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance. The *nagar-kanay* is placed in an ele-

vated situation, and remote from the royal apartments, that the king may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music.

Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the nagar-kanay, as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent hall, decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the seraglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left; while eunuchs standing about the royal person, flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is a divan, surrounded by silver rails, on which are assembled the whole body of omrahs, the rajahs, and the ambassadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the mansebdars or inferior omrahs also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole court yard are filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and

poor ; because it is in this extensive hall that the king gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects : hence it is called am-kas, or audience chamber of high and low.

During the hour and a half, or two hours that this ceremony continues, a certain number of the royal horses pass before the throne, that the king may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition. The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well washed and painted as black as ink, with two large red streaks from the top of the head down to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth ; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of a massy silver chain placed over their back ; and white cow-tails from Great Thibet, of great value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants, superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service. As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with a solemn and dignified step ; and when in front of the throne, the driver who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the taslim or usual reverence.

Other animals are next introduced ;—tame

antelopes, kept for the purpose of fighting with each other; nilgaus, or grey oxen, that appear to me to be a species of elk; rhinoceroses; large Bengal buffaloes with prodigious horns which enable them to contend against lions or tigers; tame leopards, or panthers, employed in hunting antelopes; some of the fine sporting dogs from Usbec, of every kind, and each dog with a small red covering; lastly, every species of the birds of prey used in field sports for catching partridges, cranes, hares and even, it is said, for hunting antelopes, on whom they pounce with violence, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.

Besides this procession of animals, the cavalry of one or two omrahs frequently pass in review before the king; the horsemen being better dressed than usual, the horses furnished with iron armour, and decorated with an endless variety of fantastic trappings.

The king takes pleasure also in having the blades of cutlasses tried on dead sheep, brought before him without the entrails, and neatly bound up. Young omrahs, mansebdars and gourzeberdars or mace-bearers exercise their skill, and put forth all their strength, to cut through the four feet, which are fastened together, and the body of the sheep at one blow.

But all these things are so many interludes to more serious matters. The king not only reviews his cavalry with peculiar attention, but there is

not, since the war has been ended, a single cavalier, or other soldier, whom he has not inspected, and made himself personally acquainted with, increasing or reducing the pay of some, and dismissing others from the service. All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the am-kas, are brought to the king and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the monarch himself, who often redresses at the instant the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons, selected from the lower orders, and presented to the king by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the justice chamber, called adalet-kanay, on another day of the week, attended by the two principal cadis, or chief justices. It is evident, therefore, that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects.

What I have stated of the proceedings in the assembly of the am-kas appears sufficiently rational and even noble; but I must not conceal from you the base and disgusting adulation which is invariably witnessed there. Whenever a word escapes the lips of the king, if at all to the purpose, how trifling soever may be its import, it is immediately caught by the surrounding throng; and the chief omrahs, extending their arms towards heaven, as if to receive some benediction,

exclaim karamat ! karamat ! wonderful ! wonderful ! he has spoken wonders ! Indeed there is no mogul who does not know and does not glory in repeating this proverb in Persian verse :

Aguer chah ronzra gouyed cheb est in
Bubayed gouft inck mah ou peruin.

If at noon day the king asserts that it is midnight, you are to say, behold the moon and the stars !

The vice of flattery pervades all ranks. When a mogul for instance has occasion for my services, he comes to tell me by way of preamble, and as matter of course, that I am the Aristotalis the Bocrate, and the Abouysina ulzaman ; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the age. At first I endeavoured to prevent this fulsome mode of address by assuring my visitors that I was very far from possessing the merit they seemed to imagine, and that no comparison ought to be made between such great men and me ; but finding that my modesty only increased their praise, I determined to accustom my ears to their flattery as I had done to their music. I shall here relate an anecdote which I consider quite characteristic. A Pundit Brahmin, or Hindoo doctor, whom I introduced into my aga's service, would fain pronounce his panegyric ; and after comparing him to the greatest conquerors the world has ever known, and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nauseous and impertinent observations, he concluded his harangue in these words, uttered with all conceivable seriousness :

شاه روز را
شب است این
گفت این
بروین

“ When my lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps; the eight elephants, on whose heads it is borne, finding it impossible to support the extraordinary pressure.” The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might be expected. I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance, to tell my aga, whose risibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes, which often caused so much mischief. “ Yes, my friend,” he answered without hesitation, “ and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a palanquin.”

The grand hall of the am-kas opens into a more retired chamber, called the gosel-kanay, or the place to wash in. Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the am-kas. The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large estrade. It is in this place that the king, seated in a chair, his omrahs standing around him grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state. Every omrah incurs the same pecuniary penalty for omitting to attend this assembly in the evening, as for failing to be present at the am-kas in the morning. The only grandee whose daily attendance is dispensed

with is my aga Danechmend-Khan, who enjoys this exemption in consequence of his being a man of letters, and of the time he necessarily devotes to his studies or to foreign affairs; but on Wednesdays, the day of the week on which he mounts guard, he attends in the same manner as other omrahs. This custom of meeting twice a day is very ancient; and no omrah can reasonably complain that it is binding, since the king seems to consider it as obligatory upon himself as upon his courtiers to be present; nothing but urgent business, or serious bodily affliction, preventing him from appearing at the two assemblies. In his late alarming illness Aureng-Zêbe was carried every day to the one or the other, if not to both. He felt the necessity of shewing himself at least once during the twenty-four hours; for his disorder was of so dangerous a character that his absence, though only for one day, might have thrown the whole kingdom into trouble and insurrection and caused the closing of every shop.

Although the king, when seated in the hall of gosel-kanay, is engaged about such affairs as I have mentioned, yet the same shows are exhibited for the most part as in the am-kas; but being late in the day, and the adjoining court being small, the cavalry of the omrahs does not pass in review. There is this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly, that all the mansebdars who are on guard pass before the king to salute him with much form. The kours move pompously in their

Symbolical
front: these are silver figures, beautifully made, carried at the end of large silver sticks: two of them represent large fish; two others, a horrible and fantastic animal called eiedeha; others are the figures of two lions; others of two hands; and others of scales; and several more which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians attach a certain mystic meaning. Among the kours and the mansebdars, are mixed many gourze-berdars, or macebearers, chosen for their tall and handsome persons, and whose business it is to preserve order in assemblies, and to carry the king's orders, and execute his commands with the utmost speed.

It would afford me pleasure to conduct you to the seraglio, as I have introduced you into other parts of the fortress. But who is the traveller that can describe from ocular observation the interior of that building? I have sometimes gone into it when the king was absent from Delhi, and once pretty far I thought, for the purpose of giving my professional advice in the case of a great lady so extremely ill that she could not be moved to the outward gate, according to the custom observed upon similar occasions; but a kashmire shawl covered my head, hanging like a large scarf down to my feet, and an eunuch led me by the hand, as if I had been a blind man. You must be content, therefore, with such a general description as I have received from some of the eunuchs. They inform me that the seraglio

contains beautiful apartments, separated, and more or less spacious and splendid, according to the rank and income of the females. Nearly every chamber has its reservoir of running water at the door; on every side are gardens, delightful alleys, shady retreats, streams, jets d'eau, grottoes, deep excavations that afford shelter from the sun by day, lofty divans and terraces, on which to sleep coolly at night. Within the walls of this enchanting place, in fine, no oppressive or inconvenient heat is felt. The eunuchs speak with extravagant praise of a small tower, facing the river, which is covered with plates of gold, in the same manner as the two towers of Agra; and its apartments are decorated with gold and azure, exquisite paintings and magnificent mirrors.

Before taking our final leave of the fortress, I wish to recall your attention to the am-kas, which I am desirous to describe, as I saw it during certain annual festivals; especially on the occasion of the rejoicings that took place after the termination of the war. Never did I witness a more extraordinary scene.

The king appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose foot was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled,

exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls, suspended from his neck, reached to the stomach, in the same manner as many pagans wear their strings of beads. The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I cannot tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge of their water and clearness; but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four crores of rupees. I observed elsewhere that a lack is one hundred thousand rupees, and that a crore is a hundred lacks; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of rupees. It was constructed by Shah-Jehan, the father of Aureng-Zêbe, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient rajahs and Patans, and the annual presents to the monarch which every omrah is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not correspondent with the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth, who, after defrauding several of the princes of Europe, by means of false gems, which he fabri-

cated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the Great Mogul's court, where he made his fortune.

At the foot of the throne were assembled all the omrahs in splendid apparel upon an estrade surrounded by a silver railing, and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent, called the aspek, was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a bark, the others smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Masulipatam chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural and colours so vivid, that the tent seemed to be encompassed with real parterres.

As to the arcade galleries round the court, every omrah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense, and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best acquit himself to the monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all

*To the
reflective
think of
in 1635
in 1857
British
city has
about
in the
hall -
home
thorne
siege
glorious*

the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade, and the pavement with rich carpets.

On the third day of the festival, the king, and after him several omrahs, were weighed with a great deal of ceremony in large scales, which, as well as the weights, are, they say, of solid gold. I recollect that all the courtiers expressed much joy when it was found that Aureng-Zêbe weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Similar festivals are held every year, but never before were they celebrated with equal splendour and expence. It is thought that the principal inducement with the king for the extraordinary magnificence displayed on this occasion was to afford to the merchants an opportunity of disposing of the quantities of brocades, which the war had for four or five years prevented them from selling. The expence incurred by the omrahs was considerable, but a portion of it fell ultimately on the common cavaliers, whom the omrahs obliged to purchase the brocades to be made up into vests.

An ancient custom attends these anniversary days of rejoicing, not at all agreeable to the omrahs. They are expected to make a handsome present to the king, more or less valuable according to the amount of their pay. Some of them, indeed, take that opportunity of presenting gifts of extraordinary magnificence, sometimes for the sake of an ostentatious display, sometimes to

divert the king from instituting an enquiry into the exactions committed in their official situations or governments, and sometimes to gain the favour of the king, and by that means obtain an increase of salary. Some present fine pearls, diamonds, emeralds or rubies; others offer vessels of gold set with precious stones; others again give a quantity of gold coins, each worth about a pistole and a half. During a festival of this kind Aureng-Zêbe having paid a visit to Jafer-khan, not as his vizier but as a kinsman, on the pretext that he wished to see a house which he lately erected, the vizier made a present to the king of gold coins to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, some handsome pearls, and a ruby, which was estimated at forty thousand crowns, but which Shah-Jehan who understood better than any man the value of every kind of precious stone, discovered to be worth less than five hundred, to the great confusion of the principal jewellers, who in this instance, had been completely deceived.

A whimsical kind of fair is sometimes held during these festivities in the mâhil, or royal seraglio: it is conducted by the handsomest and most engaging of the wives of the omrahs and principal mansebdars. The articles exhibited are beautiful brocades, rich embroideries of the newest fashion, turbans elegantly worked on cloth of gold, fine muslins worn by women of quality, and other articles of high price. These bewitching females act the part of traders, while the purchasers are

the king, the begums or princesses, and other distinguished ladies of the seraglio. If any omrah's wife happens to have a handsome daughter, she never fails to accompany her mother, that she may be seen by the king and become known to the begums. The charm of this fair is the most ludicrous manner in which the king makes his bargains, frequently disputing for the value of a penny. He pretends that the good lady cannot possibly be in earnest, that the article is much too dear, that it is not equal to that he can find elsewhere, and that positively he will give no more than such a price. The woman, on the other hand, endeavours to sell to the best advantage, and when the king perseveres in offering what she considers too little money, high words frequently ensue, and she fearlessly tells him that he is a mere merchant of snow, a person ignorant of the value of merchandize; that her articles are too good for him, and that he had better go where he can suit himself better. The begums betray, if possible, a still greater anxiety to be served cheaply; high words are heard on every side, and the loud and scurrilous quarrels of the sellers and buyers create a complete farce. But sooner or later they agree upon the price, the princesses as well as the king buy right and left, pay in ready money, and often slip out of their hands as if by accident, a few gold instead of silver rupees, intended as a compliment to the fair merchant or her pretty daughter. The present is received in

the same unconscious manner, and the whole ends amidst witty jests and good humour.

Shah-Jehan was fond of the sex and introduced fairs at every festival, though not always to the satisfaction of some of the omrahs. He certainly transgressed the bounds of decency in admitting at those times into the seraglio singing and dancing girls called kenchens, (the gilded, the blooming,) and in keeping them there for that purpose the whole night; they were not indeed the prostitutes seen in bazaars, but those of a more private and respectable class, who attend the grand weddings of omrahs and mansebdars, for the purpose of singing and dancing. Most of these kenchens are handsome and well dressed, and sing to perfection; and their limbs being extremely supple, they dance with wonderful agility, and are always correct in regard to time; after all, however, they were but common women. It was not enough for Shah-Jehan that the kenchens visited the fairs; when they came to him on the Wednesdays to pay their reverence at the am-kas, according to an ancient custom, he often detained them the whole night, and amused himself with their anticks and follies. Aureng-Zêbe is more serious than his father; he forbids the kenchens to enter the seraglio; but complying with long established usage, does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the am-kas, where they make the salam from a certain distance, and then immediately retire.

While on the subject of festivals, fairs, and kenchens, or kenchensys, I am tempted to relate an anecdote of one of our countrymen, named Bernard. I agree with Plutarch, that trifling incidents ought not to be concealed, and that they often enable us to form more accurate opinions of the manners and genius of a people than events of great importance. Viewed in this light, the story, ridiculous as it is in itself, may be acceptable. Bernard resided at the court of Jehan-Guire, during the latter years of that king's reign, and was reputed, with apparent justice, to be an excellent physician and a skilful surgeon. He enjoyed the favour of the Mogul, and became his companion at table, where they often drank together to excess. The king and his physician possessed congenial tastes; the former thought only of his pleasures, and left the management of public affairs to his wife, the celebrated Noor-Mâhil or Noor-Jehan-Begum a woman, he used to say, whose transcendent abilities rendered her competent to govern the empire without the interference of her husband. Bernard's daily and regular pay was ten crowns; but this was greatly increased by his attendance on the high ladies of the seraglio and on all the omrahs, who seemed to vie with each other in making him the most liberal presents, not only because of the cures he effected, but on account of his influence at court. This man, however, disregarded the value of money; what he received with one

hand he gave with the other; so that he was much beloved by every body, especially by the kenchens, on whom he lavished vast sums. Among the females of this description who nightly filled his house, was a young and beautiful damsel, remarkable for the elegance of her dancing, with whom our countryman fell violently in love; but the mother apprehending that the girl would lose her health and bodily vigour with her virginity, never for a moment lost sight of her, and she resisted all the overtures and incessant solicitations of the court physician. While in despair of obtaining the object of his affections, Jehan-Guire at the am-kas, once offered him a present before all the omrahs by way of remuneration for an extraordinary cure which he had effected in the seraglio. "Your majesty," said Bernard, "will not be offended if I refuse the gift so munificently offered, and implore that in lieu thereof your majesty would bestow on me the young kencheny now waiting with others of her company to make the customary salam." The whole assembly smiled at this refusal of the present, and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a Christian and the girl a muhammedan and a kencheny; but Jehan-Guire, who never felt any religious scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the girl to be given to him, "Lift her on the physician's shoulders," he said, "and let him carry the kenchen away." No sooner said than done.

In the midst of a crowded assembly the girl was placed on Bernard's back, who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his house.

The festivals generally conclude with an amusement unknown in Europe,—a combat between two elephants; which takes place in the presence of all the people on the sandy space near the river: the king, the principal ladies of the court and the omrahs, viewing the spectacle from different apartments in the fortress.

A wall of earth is raised three or four French feet wide and five or six high. The two ponderous beasts meet one another face to face, on opposite sides of the wall, each having a couple of riders, that the place of the man who sits on the shoulders for the purpose of guiding the elephant with a large iron hook, may immediately be supplied if he should be thrown down. The riders animate the elephants either by soothing words, or by chiding them as cowards, and urge them on with their heels, until the poor creatures approach the wall and are brought to the attack. The shock is tremendous, and it appears surprising that they ever survive the dreadful wounds and blows inflicted with their teeth, their heads and their trunks. There are frequent pauses during the fight; it is suspended and renewed; and the mud wall being at length thrown down, the stronger or more courageous elephant passes on and attacks his opponent, and putting him to flight,

pursues and fastens upon him with so much obstinacy, that the animals can be separated only by means of cherkys, or fire-works, which are made to explode between them; for they are naturally timid, and have a particular dread of fire, which is the reason why elephants have been used with so very little advantage in armies since the use of fire-arms. The boldest come from Ceylon, but none are employed in war which have not been regularly trained, and accustomed for years to the discharge of muskets close to their heads, and the bursting of crackers between their legs.

The fight of these noble creatures is attended with much cruelty. It frequently happens that some of the riders are trodden under foot, and killed on the spot, the elephant having always cunning enough to feel the importance of dismounting the rider of his adversary, whom he therefore endeavours to strike down with his trunk. So imminent is the danger considered, that on the day of combat the unhappy men take the same formal leave of their wives and children as if condemned to death. They are somewhat consoled by the reflection that if their lives should be preserved, and the king be pleased with their conduct, not only will their pay be augmented, but a sack of peyssas (equal to fifty francs) will be presented to them the moment they alight from the elephant. They have also the satisfaction of knowing that in the event of their death, the pay

will be continued to the widows, and that their sons will be appointed to the same situation. The mischief with which this amusement is attended does not always terminate with the death of the rider : it often happens that some of the spectators are knocked down and trampled upon by the elephants, or by the crowd ; for the rush is terrible when, to avoid the infuriated combatants, men and horses in confusion take to flight. The second time I witnessed this exhibition I owed my safety entirely to the goodness of my horse and the exertions of my two servants.

But it is time we should quit the fortress, and return to the city, where I omitted to describe two edifices worthy of notice.

The first is the principal mosque, which is conspicuous at a great distance, being situated on the top of a rock in the centre of the town. The surface of the rock was previously levelled, and around it a space is cleared sufficiently large to form a handsome square, where four fine long streets terminate, opposite to the four sides of the mosque ; one, opposite to the principal entrance, in front of the building ; a second, to the back of the temple ; and the two others, to the gates that are in the middle of the two sides. The ascent to the three gates, is by means of five and twenty or thirty steps, of beautiful large stone, which are continued the whole length of the front and sides. The back part is cased over to the height of the rock,

with large and handsome hewn stone, which hides its inequalities, and tends to give a noble appearance to the building. The three entrances, composed of marble, are magnificent, and their large doors are overlaid with highly finished plates of copper or brass. Above the principal gate, which greatly exceeds the others in grandeur of appearance, there are several small turrets of white marble that produce a fine effect; and at the back part of the mosque are seen three capacious domes, built also of white marble, within and without. The middle dome is much larger and loftier than the other two. The extremity of the mosque alone is covered: the space between the three domes and the principal entrance is without any roof; the extreme heat of the climate rendering such an opening absolutely necessary. The whole is paved of large slabs of marble. I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. I am satisfied that even in Paris, a church erected after the model of this temple, would be admired, were it only for its singular style of architecture and its extraordinary appearance. With the exception of the three great domes, and the numerous turrets, which are

all of white marble, the mosque is of a red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble; although it consists of a species of stone cut with great facility, and apt to exfoliate after a certain time. The natives pretend that the quarries from which it is taken, reproduce the stone by degrees: this, if true, is very remarkable; but whether or not they rightly attribute it to the water which fills the quarries every year, I cannot decide.

The king repairs to the mosque every Friday, for the purpose of prayer; that day corresponding in muhammedan countries to our Sunday. The streets through which he passes are watered to lay the dust and temper the heat: two or three hundred musketeers form an avenue from the gate of the fortress, and as many more line both sides of a wide street leading directly to the mosque. The muskets of these soldiers are small but well finished, and have a sort of large scarlet covering with a little streamer on the top. Five or six horsemen, well mounted, are also ready at the fortress gate, and their duty is to clear the way for the king, keeping, however, at a considerable distance in advance, lest he should be incommoded by their dust. These preparations completed, his majesty leaves the fortress, sometimes on an elephant, decorated with rich trappings, and a canopy supported by painted and gilt pillars; and sometimes in a throne gleaming with azure and gold, placed on a litter covered with

scarlet or brocade, which eight chosen men, in handsome attire, carry on their shoulders. A body of omrahs follow the king, some on horseback, and others in palanquins ; and among the omrahs are seen a great number of mansebdars, and bearers of silver maces, whom I have elsewhere described. I cannot say that this train resembles the pompous processions, or (which is a more appropriate term) the masquerades of the Grand Seignior, or the martial retinues of European monarchs : its magnificence is of a different character ; but it is not therefore the less royal. The other edifice in Delhi to which I would draw your attention, is what they call the caravansary of the princess, built by the celebrated Begum-Saheb, Shah-Jehan's eldest daughter, of whom I have so much spoken in my history of the late war. Not only this princess, but all the omrahs who wished to gain the favour of the old monarch, embellished the new city at their own expence. The caravansary is a large square with arcades, like our Place Royale, except that the arches are separated from each other by partitions, and have small chambers at their inner extremities. Above the arcades runs a gallery all round the building, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbec, and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate of the caravansary being closed at night. If in Paris we had a score of

similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such places would become warehouses for all kinds of merchandize and the general resort of foreign merchants.

Before I quit the subject of Delhi, I will answer by anticipation a question which I am sensible you wish to ask : namely, What is the extent of the population of that city, and the number of its respectable inhabitants, as compared with the capital of France. When I consider that Paris consists of three or four cities, piled upon one another ; all of them containing numerous apartments, filled, for the most part, from top to bottom, that the streets are thronged with men and women, on foot and horseback ; with carts, chaises and coaches ; and that there are very few large squares, courts or gardens ; reflecting, I say, upon all these facts, Paris appears to me the nursery-ground of nations, and I can scarcely persuade myself that Delhi contains an equal number of people. On the other hand, if we take a review of this metropolis of India, and observe its vast extent and its numberless shops ; if we recollect that, besides the omrahs, the city never contains less than five and thirty thousand cavaliers, nearly all of whom have wives, children, and a great number of servants, who, as well as their masters, reside in separate houses ;

that there is no house, by whomsoever inhabited, which does not swarm with women and children ; that during the hours when the abatement of the heat permits the inhabitants to walk abroad, the streets are crowded with people, although many of those streets are very wide and, excepting a few carts, unincumbered with wheel carriages ; if we take all these circumstances into consideration, we shall hesitate before we give a positive opinion in regard to the comparative population of Paris and Delhi ; and I conclude, that if the number of souls be not as great in the latter city as in our own capital, it cannot be greatly less. As respects the better sort of people, there is a striking difference in favour of Paris, where seven or eight out of ten individuals, seen in the streets, are tolerably well clad, and have a certain air of respectability ; but in Delhi, for two or three who wear decent apparel, there may always be reckoned seven or eight poor, ragged, and miserable beings, attracted to the capital by the army. I cannot deny, however, that I continually meet with persons neat and elegant in their dress, finely formed, well mounted and properly attended. Nothing, for instance, can be conceived much more brilliant than the great square in front of the fortress at the hours when the omrahs, rajahs and mansebdars repair to the citadel to mount guard, or attend the assembly of the am-kas. The mansebdars flock thither from all parts well mounted

and equipped, and splendidly accompanied by four servants, two behind and two before, to clear the street for their masters. Omrahs and rajahs ride thither, some on horseback, some on majestic elephants; but the greater part are conveyed on the shoulders of six men, in rich palanquins, leaning against a thick cushion of brocade, and chewing betel, for the double purpose of sweetening their breath and reddening their lips. On one side of every palanquin, is seen a servant with the omrah's toothpick and the salivary vessel of porcelain or silver which always accompanies the pipe; on the other side, two more servants fan the luxurious lord, and flap away the flies, or brush off the dust with a peacock's tail; three or four footmen march in front to clear the way, and a chosen number of the best formed and best mounted horsemen follow in the rear.

The country in the neighbourhood of Delhi is extremely fertile. It produces corn, sugar, anil or indigo, rice, millet, and three or four other kinds of pulse, the food of the common people, in great abundance. Two leagues from the city, on the Agra road, in a place which the muhammedans call Koia Kotubeddine, is a very old edifice, formerly a deura, or temple of idols, containing inscriptions written in characters different from those of any language spoken in India, and so ancient that no one understands them.

In another direction, and at a distance of two

or three leagues from Delhi, is the king's country house, called Sha-limar, a handsome and noble building, but not to be compared to Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, or Versailles.* I assure you there are no such palaces in the vicinity of Delhi; nor seats such as Saint Cloud, Chantilly, Meudon, Liancour, Vau or Ruel, or even the smaller country houses belonging to private gentlemen, citizens or merchants; but this will create no surprise when it is considered that no subject can hold landed property in his own right. Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns, such as travellers pass through in France: the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting; nothing is worthy observation but Muttra, where an ancient and magnificent pagan temple is still to be seen; a few tolerably handsome caravansaries, a day's journey from each other; and a double row of trees planted by order of Jehan-Guire, and continued for one hundred and fifty leagues, with small pyramids or turrets, erected from cross to cross,† for the purpose of pointing out the different roads. Wells are also frequently met with, affording

* The gardens of Shalimâr were begun in the fourth year of Shah-Jehan's reign, and were laid out with admirable taste. The money expended upon them amounted to one million sterling.—*Dow*.

† Two British miles may be given to the average measurement of a cross.—*Translator*.

drink to travellers, and serving to water the young trees.

What I have said of Delhi may convey a correct idea of Agra, in regard at least to its situation on the Jumna, to the fortress or royal residence, and to most of its public buildings. But Agra having been a favourite and more frequent abode of the kings of Hindostan since the days of Acbar by whom it was built and named Acbar-abad, it surpasses Delhi in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to omrahs and rajahs and of the good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals; and in the number and conveniency of its caravansaries. Agra has also to boast of two celebrated mausoleums, of which I shall speak by and by: it is, however, without walls, and inferior in some respects to the other capital; for not having been constructed after any settled design, it wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish Delhi. Four or five of the streets, where trade is the principal occupation, are of great length, and the houses tolerably good: nearly all the others are short, narrow and irregular, and full of windings and corners: the consequence is that when the court is at Agra there is often a strange confusion. I believe I have stated the chief particulars wherein the two capitals differ; but I may add that Agra has more the appearance of a country town, especially when viewed from an eminence. The prospect it presents is rural,

varied and agreeable; for the grandees having always made it a point to plant trees in their gardens and courts for the sake of shade, the mansions of omrahs, rajahs, and others, are all interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage, in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of banians, or pagan merchants, have the appearance of old castles buried in forests. Such a landscape yields peculiar pleasure in a hot and parched country, where the eye seeks in verdure for refreshment and repose.

You need not quit Paris, however, to contemplate the finest, the most magnificent view in the world; for assuredly it may be found on the Pont-neuf. Place yourself on that bridge during the day, and what can be conceived more extraordinary than the throngs of people and carriages, the strange bustle, the various objects by which you are surrounded? Visit the same spot at night, and what, I fearlessly ask, can impress the mind like the scene you will witness? The innumerable windows of the lofty houses seen from the bridge, exhibit their chastened and subdued lights, while the activity and bustle, observable in the day, seem to suffer no diminution until midnight. There honest citizens, and what never happens in Asia, their handsome wives and daughters perambulate the streets, without apprehension of quagmires or of thieves; and to complete the picture, you see, in every direction, long lines

of brilliant lamps, burning with equal constancy in foul and fair weather. Yes, my friend, when you are on the Pont-neuf at Paris, you may boldly aver, on my authority, that your eyes behold the grandest of all the artificial scenes in the world, excepting possibly some parts of China and Japan, which I have not visited. What will this view be, what will be its beauty, when the Louvre is completed! when the Louvre, which it was thought would never be seen but in the design and on paper, shall have actual existence in fact!

I have purposely introduced the word artificial; because, in speaking of fine prospects, according to the common acceptation of the term, we must always except that view of Constantinople, as viewed from the middle of the great canal, opposite the point du serail. Never shall I forget the overpowering delight I experienced when first I beheld that vast and, as it seemed to me, enchanted amphitheatre. The view of Constantinople, however, derives its chief beauty from nature; whereas in Paris every thing, or nearly so, is artificial; which, to my mind, gives more interest to the view of the latter; because the work of man so displayed indicates the capital of a great empire, the seat of a mighty monarch. I may indeed say, without partiality, and after making every allowance for the beauty of Delhi, Agra and Constantinople, that Paris is the finest,

the richest and altogether the first city in the world.

The Jesuits have a church in Agra, and a building which they call a college, where they privately instruct in the doctrines of our religion, the children of five and twenty or thirty Christian families, collected, I know not how, in Agra, and induced to settle there by the kind and charitable aid which they receive from the Jesuits. This religious order was invited hither by Acbar, at the period when the power of the Portuguese in India was at the highest; and that prince not only gave them an annual income for their maintenance, but permitted them to build churches in the capital cities of Agra and Lahore. The Jesuits found a still warmer patron in Jehan-Guire, the son and successor of Acbar; but they were sorely oppressed by Shah-Jehan, the son of Jehan-Guire, and father of the present king, Aureng-Zêbe. That monarch deprived them of their pension and destroyed the church at Lahore and the greater part of that of Agra, totally demolishing the steeple which contained a clock heard in every part of the city.

The good fathers, during the reign of Jehan-Guire, were sanguine in their expectation of the progress of Christianity in Hindostan. It is certain that this prince evinced the utmost contempt for the laws of the Koran, and expressed his admiration of the doctrines of our creed. He permitted two

of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to Mirza-Zulkarmin, who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the seraglio. The pretext was that Mirza was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich Armenian, and having been brought to the seraglio by Jehan-Guire's desire.

The Jesuits say, that this king was so determined to countenance the Christian religion, that he formed the bold project of clothing the whole court in the European costume. The dresses were all prepared, when the king having privately arrayed himself in his new attire, he sent for one of his principal omrahs, whose opinion he required concerning the meditated change. The answer, however, was so appalling, that Jehan-Guire abandoned his design and affected to pass off the whole affair as a joke.

They also maintain that when on his death-bed, he expressed a wish to die a Christian, and sent for those holy men; but that the message was never delivered. Many, however, deny this to have been the case, and affirm that Jehan-Guire died, as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father Acbar, of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion.

I am informed by a muselman, whose father belonged to Jehan-Guire's household, that in one

of that king's drunken frolics, he sent for some of the most learned moollahs, and for a Florentine priest, whom he named father Atech, in allusion to his fiery temper; and that the latter having, by his command, delivered an harangue in which he exposed the falsehoods of the muhammedan imposture, and defended the truths of his own persuasion, Jehan-Guire said that it was high time something should be done to decide the controversy between the Jesuits and moollahs. "Let a pit be dug," he added, "and a fire kindled. Father Atech, with the gospel under his arm, and a moollah, with the Koran, shall throw themselves into it, and I will embrace the religion of him whom the flames shall not consume." Father Atech declared his willingness to undergo the ordeal, but the moollahs manifested the utmost dread, and the king felt too much compassion both for the one and the other to persevere in the experiment.

Whatever credit this story may deserve, it is indisputable that the Jesuits during the whole of Jehan-Guire's reign were honoured and respected at this court, and that they entertained what appeared a well-grounded hope of the progress of the gospel in Hindostan. Every thing, however, which has occurred since the death of that monarch, excepting perhaps the close intimacy between Dara and father Buzêe, forbids us to indulge in any such expectation. But having

entered insensibly upon the subject of missions, you will perhaps allow me to make a few observations, introductory to the long letter which I intend to write concerning that important topic.

The design, indeed, meets with my entire approbation ; nor ought we to withhold the meed of praise to those excellent missionaries in this part of the world, especially the Capuchins and Jesuits, who meekly impart religious instruction to all descriptions of men, without any mixture of indiscreet and bigoted zeal. To Christians of every denomination, whether Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, or Jacobites, the demeanour of these good pastors is affectionate and charitable. They are the refuge and consolation of distressed strangers and travellers, and by their great learning and exemplary lives expose to shame the ignorance and licentious habits of infidels. Some unhappily there are who disgrace the Christian profession by notoriously profligate conduct, and who ought, therefore, to be immured in their convents instead of being invested with the sacred character of missionaries. Their religion is a mere mummery, and so far from aiding the cause of Christianity, they become stumbling-blocks in the way of those whom they were sent to enlighten and reclaim ; but these are merely the exceptions to a general rule which affect not the main argument. I am decidedly favourable to this establishment of missions, and the sending forth of learned and pious

missionaries. They are absolutely necessary; and it is the honour as well as the peculiar prerogative of Christians to supply every part of the world with men bearing the same character and following the same benign object as did the apostles. You are not, however, to conclude that I am so deluded by my love of missions, as to expect the same mighty effects to be produced by the exertions of modern missionaries as attended the preaching of a single sermon in the days of the apostles. I have had too much intercourse with infidels, and am become too well acquainted with the blindness of the human heart, to believe we shall hear of the conversion, in one day, of two or three thousand men. I despair especially of much success among muhammedan kings or muhammedan subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the east, I speak the language of experience when I say, that whatever progress may be made among pagans, by the instruction and alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one muselman will be converted to Christianity. True it is that muhammedans respect the religion of the New Testament: they never speak of Jesus Christ but with great veneration, or pronounce the word Aysa, which means Jesus, without adding Azeret, or majesty. They even believe with us that he was miraculously begotten and born of a virgin mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah

an acute
observer

and the Rouh-Allah, the Word of God and the Spirit of God. It is in vain to hope, however, that they will renounce the religion wherein they were born, or be persuaded that Muhammed was a false prophet. The Christians of Europe ought nevertheless to assist the missionaries by every possible means: their prayers, power and wealth, ought to be employed in promoting the glory of their Redeemer; but the expence of the missions should be borne by Europeans, for it would be impolitic to lay burthens on the people abroad; and much care should be had that want may not drive any missionary to acts of meanness. Missions ought not only to be liberally provided, but should be composed of persons of sufficient integrity, energy, and intelligence, always to bear testimony to the truth; to seek with eagerness opportunities of doing good; in a word, to labour with unwearied activity and unabated zeal, in their Lord's vineyard, whenever and wherever he may be pleased to give them an opening. But although it be the duty of every Christian state to act in this manner, yet there ought to be no delusion; credence ought not to be given to every idle tale, and the work of conversion, which in fact is full of difficulty, should not be represented as a matter of easy accomplishment. We do not adequately estimate the strong hold which the muhammedan superstition has over the minds of its votaries, to whom it permits the

nor would we

unrestrained indulgence of passions which the religion we require them to substitute in its stead declares must be subdued or regulated. Muhammedanism is a pernicious code, established by force of arms, and still imposed upon mankind by the same brutal violence. To counteract its baneful progress, Christians must display the zeal, and use the means I have suggested, however clear it may be that this abominable imposture can be effectually destroyed only by the special and merciful interposition of Divine Providence. We may derive encouragement from the promising appearances lately witnessed in China, in Japan and in the case of Jehan-Guire. Missionaries have to contend, however, with another sad impediment ;—the irreverent behaviour of Christians in their churches, so dissonant from their belief of the peculiar presence of God upon their altars, and so different to the conduct of muselmans who never venture, when engaged in the service of their mosques, even to turn the head, much less to utter a monosyllable one to the other; but seem to have the mind impressed with profound and awful veneration.

The Dutch have a malt factory in Agra, in which they generally keep four or five persons. Formerly they carried on a good trade in that city by the sale of broad cloths, large and small looking glasses, plain laces, gold and silver laces, and iron wares ; likewise by the purchase of anil or indigo, gathered in the neighbourhood of Agra,

particularly at Biances, two days' journey from the city, whither they go once every year, having a house in the place. The Dutch used also to make extensive purchases of cloths not only at Jelapour, but at Laknau, a seven or eight days' journey from Agra, where they also have a house, and dispatch a few factors every season. It seems, however, that the trade of this people is not now very lucrative; owing probably to the competition of the Armenians, or to the great distance between Agra and Surat. Accidents continually befall their caravans, which, to avoid the bad roads and mountains in the direct road, through Gualior and Brampour, travel by way of Ahmedabâd, over the territories of different rajahs. But whatever may be the discouragements, I do not believe the Dutch will follow the example of the English, and abandon their factory at Agra; because they still dispose of their spices to great advantage, and find it useful to have confidential persons near the court, always ready to prefer a complaint against any governor, or other officer, who may have committed an act of injustice or tyranny in any of the Dutch establishments at Bengal, Patna, Surat or Ahmedabâd.

I shall finish this letter with a description of the two wonderful mausoleums, which constitute the chief superiority of Agra over Delhi. One was erected by Jehan-Guire in honour of his father Acbar; and Shah-Jehan raised the other to the memory of his wife Taje-Mâhil, that ex-

traordinary and celebrated beauty, of whom her husband was so enamoured that it is said he was constant to her during life, and at her death was so affected as nearly to follow her to the grave.

I shall pass Acbar's monument without further observation, because all its beauties are found in still greater perfection in that of Taje-Mâhil, which I shall now endeavour to describe.

On leaving Agra, toward the east, you enter a long, wide, or paved street, on a gentle ascent, having on one side a high and long wall, which forms the side of a square garden, of much greater extent than our Place Royale, and on the other side a row of new houses with arcades, resembling those of the principal streets in Delhi, which I have already described. After walking half the length of the wall, you find on the right, that is on the side of the houses, a large gate, tolerably well made, which is the entrance of a caravansary; and on the opposite side that of the wall is seen the magnificent gate of a spacious and square pavilion, forming the entrance into the garden, between two reservoirs, faced with hewn stone.

This pavilion is an oblong square, and built of a stone resembling red marble, but not so hard. The front seems to me longer, and much more grand in its construction, than that of St. Louis, in the rue St. Antoine, and it is equally lofty. The columns, the architraves and the cornices are, indeed, not formed

according to the proportion of the five orders of architecture so strictly observed in French edifices. The building I am speaking of is of a different and peculiar kind; but not without something pleasing in its whimsical structure; and in my opinion it well deserves a place in our books of architecture. It consists almost wholly of arches upon arches, and galleries, or divans, upon galleries; disposed and contrived in an hundred different ways. Nevertheless the edifice has a magnificent appearance, and is conceived and executed effectually. Nothing offends the eye; on the contrary it is delighted with every part, and never tired with looking. The last time I visited Taje-Mâhil's mausoleum, I was in the company of a French merchant, who, as well as myself, thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in India; and as my companion was come recently from France, it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say, that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic.

When you have entered a little way into the pavilion approaching toward the garden, you find yourself under a lofty cupola, surrounded above with galleries, and having two divans, or estrades below, one on the right, the other on the left; both of them raised eight or ten French feet from

the ground. Opposite to the entrance from the street is a large open arch, by which you enter a walk which divides nearly the whole of the garden into two equal parts.

This walk or terrace is wide enough to admit six coaches abreast; it is paved with large and hard square stones, raised about eight French feet above the garden; and divided the whole length by a canal faced with hewn stone and ornamented with jets d'eau placed at certain intervals.

After advancing twenty-five or thirty paces on this terrace, it is worth while to turn round and view the back elevation of the pavilion, which, though not comparable to the front, is still very splendid, being lofty and of a similar style of architecture. On both sides of the pavilion, along the garden wall, is a long and wide gallery, raised like a terrace, and supported by a number of low columns, placed near each other. Into this gallery the poor are admitted three times a week during the rainy season to receive the alms founded in perpetuity by Shah-Jehan.

Resuming the walk along the main terrace, you see before you at a distance a large dome, in which is the sepulchre; and to the right and left of that dome on a lower surface you observe several garden walks covered with trees and many parterres full of flowers.

When at the end of the principal walk or terrace, besides the dome that faces you, are

discovered two large pavilions, one to the right, another to the left; both built with the same kind of stone, consequently of the same red colour as the first pavilion. These are spacious square edifices, the parts of which are raised over each other in the form of balconies and terraces; three arches leave openings which have the garden wall for a boundary, and you walk under these pavilions as if they were lofty and wide galleries. I shall not stop to speak of the interior ornaments of the two pavilions, because they scarcely differ in regard to the walls, ceiling or pavement from the dome which I am going to describe. Between the end of the principal walk and this dome is an open and pretty large space, which I call a water-parterre, because the stones on which you walk, cut and figured in various forms, represent the borders of box in our parterres. From the middle of this space, you have a good view of the building which contains the tomb and which we are now to examine.

This building is a vast dome of white marble nearly of the same height as the Val de Grace of Paris, and encircled by a number of turrets, also of white marble, descending the one below the other in regular succession. The whole fabric is supported by four great arches, three of which are quite open and the other closed up by the wall of an apartment with a gallery attached to it. There the Koran is continually read with apparent devotion in respectful memory of Taje-Mâhil by

certain moollahs kept in the mausoleum for that purpose. The centre of every arch is adorned with white marble slabs whereon are inscribed large Arabian characters in black marble, which produce a fine effect. The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to bottom are faced with white marble: no part can be found that is not skilfully wrought, or that has not its peculiar beauty. Every where are seen the jasper, hyacinth and jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's chapel at Florence, and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and enchased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable.

Under the dome is a small chamber, wherein is enclosed the tomb of Taje-Mâhil. It is opened with much ceremony once in a year, and once only; and as no Christian is admitted within, lest its sanctity should be profaned, I have not seen the interior; but I understand that nothing can be conceived more rich and magnificent.

It only remains to draw your attention to a walk or terrace, nearly five and twenty paces in breadth and rather more in height, which runs from the dome to the extremity of the garden. From this terrace are seen the Jumna, flowing

below—a large expanse of luxuriant gardens—a part of the city of Agra—the fortress—and all the fine residences of the omrahs, erected on the banks of the river. When I add that this terrace extends almost the whole length of one side of the garden, I leave you to judge whether I had not sufficient ground for asserting that the mausoleum of Taje-Mâhil is an astonishing work. It is possible I may have imbibed an Indian taste; but I decidedly think that this monument deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of Egypt, those unshapen masses which, when I had seen them twice, yielded me no satisfaction; and which are nothing on the outside but heaps of large stones piled in the form of steps one upon another, while within there is very little that it is creditable either to human skill or to human invention.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. page 41, line 23, for 'in,' read 'it.'--p. 47, l. 16, for 'object,' read 'abject.'--p. 83, and in several other pages for 'Usbee,' read 'Usbec.'--p. 83, l. 13, for 'power of his,' read 'power of the.'--p. 86, l. 7, for 'Siaps,' read 'Siads.'--p. 112, l. 28, for 'of the,' read 'of their.'--p. 120, l. 19, for 'witness,' read 'witnessed.'--p. 179, l. 19, for 'reciprocal duties of a sovereign and his subjects, and of subjects towards their sovereign,' read 'reciprocal duties between the sovereign and his subjects.'--p. 201, l. 20, for 'single,' read 'signal.'--p. 248, last line, instead of 'while contemplating the millions of pay,' read 'while contemplating the number of persons, amounting to millions, who depend for support solely on the king's pay.'--p. 264, second line from bottom, for 'Bohemians,' read 'Gypsies.'--p. 287, for 'meal,' read 'meat.'--p. 292, l. 10, for 'on the other is that of his brother Polta,' read 'on the other is the statue of Polta, his brother.'--p. 323, l. 23, for 'cross,' read 'coss.' p. 326, l. 18, for 'the point du sertail,' read 'the seraglio head land.'--p. 333, l. 25, dele 'malt.'

Vol. II. p. 46, line 28, for 'apprehended,' read 'apprehend.'--p. 51, l. 23, for 'distant,' read 'distinct.'

TRAVELS

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IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

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OF FRANCIS BERNIERI

IN THE EAST

AND IN THE WEST

FROM 1675 TO 1715

THE SECOND EDITION

WITH ADDITIONS

TO THE SECOND

LONDON

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1725

TRAVELS
IN
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BY
FRANCIS BERNIER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY
IRVING BROCK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE AVENUE

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TRAVELS

IN

THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

A LETTER TO MR. CHAPELAIN ON THE SUPERSTITIONS
AND ON THE SINGULAR CUSTOMS AND OPINIONS OF
THE HINDOOS OR PAGANS OF HINDOSTAN.

SIR,

Schiraz, in Persia, 10 June, 1668.

I HAVE witnessed two solar eclipses which it is scarcely possible I should ever forget. The one I saw from France in the year 1654; the other from Delhi in India in 1666. The sight of the first eclipse was impressed upon my mind by the childish credulity of the French people, and by their groundless and unreasonable alarm; an alarm so excessive, that some bought drugs as charms to defend themselves against the eclipse; some kept themselves closely shut up, and excluded all light, either in carefully-barred apartments or in cellars; while thousands flocked to their respective churches: some apprehending and dreading a malign and dangerous influence:

others believing that the last day was at hand and that the eclipse was about to shake the foundations of the world. Such were the absurd notions entertained by our countrymen, notwithstanding the writings of Gassendi, Roberval and other celebrated astronomers and philosophers, which clearly demonstrated that the eclipse was only similar to many others which had been productive of no mischief; that this obscuration of the sun was known and predicted, and was without any other peculiarity than what might be found in the reveries of ignorant or designing astrologers.

The eclipse of 1666 is also indelibly imprinted on my memory by the ridiculous errors and strange superstitions of the Indians. At the time fixed for its appearance I took my station on the terrace of my house, situated on the banks of the Jumna; when I saw both shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with pagans or idolaters, who stood in the water up to the waist, their eyes rivetted to the skies, watching the commencement of the eclipse, in order to plunge and wash themselves at the very instant. The little boys and girls were quite naked; the men had nothing but a scarf round their middle and the married women and girls of six or seven years of age were covered with a single cloth. Persons of rank or wealth, such as rajahs (pagan sovereign princes, and generally courtiers in the service and pay of the king) errafs or money-changers, bankers, jewellers and

other rich merchants crossed from the opposite side of the river with their families, and pitching their tents, fixed kanates or screens in the water within which they and their wives washed and performed the usual ceremonies without any exposure. No sooner did these idolaters perceive that the obscuration of the sun was begun, than they all raised a loud cry, and plunged the whole body under water several times in quick succession; after which they stood in the river, lifted their eyes and hands toward the sun, muttered and prayed with seeming devotion, filling their hands from time to time with water, which they threw in the direction of the sun; bowing their heads very low and moving and turning their arms and hands, sometimes one way, sometimes another. The deluded people continued to plunge, mutter, pray, and perform their silly tricks until the end of the eclipse. On retiring, they threw pieces of silver at a great distance into the Jumna and gave alms to the brahmins, who failed not to be present at this absurd ceremony. I remarked that every individual, on coming out of the water, put on new clothes placed on the sand for that purpose, and that several of the most devout left their old garments as presents for the brahmins.

In this manner did I observe from my terrace the solemnization of the grand eclipse-festival, a festival which was kept with the same external observances in the Indus, in the Ganges, and in the

other rivers of Hindostan; it was celebrated even in all the talabs or reservoirs of water; and it is calculated that the Tannesar contained on that occasion more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons, assembled from all parts of the empire; the waters of that stream being considered on the day of an eclipse more holy and meritorious than those of any other river.

The Great Mogul, though a muselman, permits these ancient and superstitious practices; not wishing, or not daring, to disturb the pagans in the free exercises of their religion. But the ceremony I have described is not performed until a certain number of brahmins, as deputies from their nation, have presented the king with a lack of rupees, equal to about fifty thousand crowns; in return for which he begs their acceptance only of a few vests and an old elephant.

I shall now mention the wise and convincing reasons assigned for the festival of the eclipse, and for the rites with which it is attended.

We have, say the Hindoos, our four beids; that is, our four books of law, sacred and divine writings given unto us by God himself, through the medium of Brumhà. These books teach that a certain deutâh, an incarnate demon extremely malignant and mischievous, very dark, very black, very impure and very filthy, (these are their own expressions) takes possession of the sun, which it blackens to the colour of ink, infects and obscures; that the sun, which is also a deutâh, but of the

most beneficent and perfect kind, is thrown into a state of the greatest uneasiness, and suffers a most cruel agony, while in the power of and infected by this wicked and black being; that an endeavour to rescue the sun from so miserable a condition becomes the duty of every person; that this important object can be attained only by means of prayers, ablutions and alms; that those actions have an extraordinary merit during the festival of the eclipse, the alms then bestowed being an hundred times more valuable than alms given at any other time; and who is he, they ask, that would refuse to make a profit of cent per cent?

These, sir, were the eclipses which I told you I could not easily forget, and they naturally lead me to speak of other wild extravagancies of the unhappy heathens, from which I shall leave you to draw whatever conclusions you please.

In the town of Juggernaut, situated in the Gulf of Bengal, and containing the famous temple of the idol of that name, a certain annual festival is holden, which continues, if my memory fail not, for the space of eight or nine days. At this festival is collected an incredible concourse of people, as was the case anciently at the temple of Hammon, and as happens at present in the city of Mecca. The number, I am told, sometimes exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. A superb wooden machine is constructed, such as I have seen in several other parts of India, with I know not how

many grotesque figures, nearly resembling our monsters which we see depicted with two heads, beings half man and half beast, gigantic and horrible heads, satyrs, apes and devils. This machine is set on fourteen or sixteen wheels like those of a gun-carriage, and drawn or pushed along by the united exertions of fifty or sixty persons. The idol, Juggernaut, placed conspicuously in the middle, richly attired and gorgeously adorned, is thus conveyed from one temple to another.

The first day on which this idol is formally exhibited in the temple, the crowd is so immense, and the press so violent that some of the pilgrims, fatigued and worn out in consequence of their long journey, are squeezed to death: the surrounding throng give them a thousand benedictions, and consider them highly favoured to die on such a holy occasion after travelling so great a distance. And while the chariot of hellish triumph pursues its solemn march, persons are found (it is no fiction which I recount) so blindly credulous and so full of wild notions, as to throw themselves upon the ground in the way of its ponderous wheels, which pass over and crush to atoms the bodies of the wretched fanatics, without exciting the horror or surprise of the spectators. No deed, according to their estimation, is so heroic or meritorious as this self devotion: the victims believe that Juggernaut will receive them as children, and recal them to life in a state of happiness and dignity.

The brahmins encourage and promote these gross errors and superstitions to which they are indebted for their wealth and consequence. As persons attached and consecrated to important mysteries, they are held in general veneration, and enriched by the alms of the people. So wicked and detestable are their tricks and impostures, that I required the full and clear evidence of them which I obtained, ere I could believe that they had recourse to similar expedients. The brahmins select a beautiful maiden for the bride of Juggernaut, who accompanies the god to the temple with all the pomp and ceremony which I have noticed, where she remains the whole night, having been made to believe that Juggernaut will come and lie with her. She is commanded to enquire of the god if the year will be fruitful, and what may be the processions, the festivals, the prayers and the alms which he requires in return for his bounty. In the night one of the brahmins enters the temple through a small back door, enjoys the unsuspecting damsel, makes her believe whatever may be deemed necessary, and the following morning when on her way to another temple, whither she is carried with the usual forms and magnificence, she is desired by the brahmins to state aloud to the people all she has heard from the lustful priest, as if every word had proceeded from the mouth of Juggernaut. But let me relate follies of another kind.

In front of the chariot, and even in the tem-

ples, public women during festival days dance and throw their bodies into a variety of indecent and preposterous attitudes, which the brahmins deem quite consistent with the religion of the country. I have known females celebrated for beauty, and who were remarkably reserved in their general deportment, refuse valuable presents from muhammedans, Christians, and pagan foreigners, because they considered themselves dedicated to the ministry and to the ministers of the deura, to the brahmins, and to those fakirs who are commonly seated upon ashes all round the temple, some quite naked with hideous hair, such as we may suppose belonged to Megæra, and in postures which I shall soon describe.*

What has been said concerning women burning themselves will be confirmed by so many travellers, that I suppose people will cease to be sceptical upon this melancholy fact. The accounts given of it have been certainly exaggerated, and the number of victims is less now than formerly; the muhammedans, by whom the country is governed, doing all in their power to suppress the barbarous custom. They do not, indeed, forbid it by a positive law, because it is a part of their policy to leave the idolatrous population which is so much more numerous than their own in the free exercise of its religion: but the practice is checked by indirect means. No woman can sacrifice

* See note H at the end of the volume.

herself without permission from the governor of the province in which she resides, and he never grants it until he shall have ascertained that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose; to accomplish this desirable end the governor reasons with the widow and makes her enticing promises; after which, if these methods fail, he sometimes sends her among his women, that the effect of their remonstrances may be tried. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the number of self immolations is still very considerable, particularly in the territories of rajahs, where no muhammedan governors are appointed. But not to tire you with the history of every woman whom I have seen perish on the funeral pile, I shall advert to only two or three of those shocking spectacles at which I have been present; and first I shall give you some details concerning a female to whom I was sent for the purpose of diverting her from persevering in her dreadful intention.

One of my friends, named Bendidas, Danechmend-khan's principal clerk, died of a hectic fever for which I had attended him upwards of two years, and his wife immediately resolved to burn herself with the body of her husband. Her friends were in the service of my aga, and being commanded by him to dissuade the widow from the commission of so frantic an act, they represented to her that although she had adopted a generous and commendable resolution which would redound to the honour and conduce to the hap-

piness of the family, yet she ought to consider that her children were of a tender age, that it would be cruel to abandon them, and that her anxiety for their welfare ought to exceed the affection she bore to the memory of her deceased husband. The infatuated creature attended not, however, to their reasoning, and I was requested to visit the widow as if by my aga's desire, and in quality of an old friend of the family. I complied, and found on entering the apartment a cluster of seven or eight old hags, and another of four or five aged and harebrained brahmins standing round the body, all of whom gave by turns a horrid yell, and beat their hands with violence. The widow was seated at the feet of her dead husband; her hair was dishevelled and her visage pale, but her eyes were tearless and sparkling with animation while she cried and screamed aloud like the rest of the company, and beat time with her hands to this horrible concert. The hurly-burly having subsided, I approached the hellish group, and addressed the woman in a gentle tone. "I am come hither," said I, "by desire of Danechmend-khan, to inform you that he will settle a pension of two crowns per month on each of your two sons, provided you do not destroy your life, a life so necessary for their care and education. We have ways and means indeed to prevent your ascending the pile, and to punish those who encourage you in so unreasonable a resolution. All your relations wish you to live

for the sake of your offspring, and you will not be reputed infamous as are the childless widows who possess not courage to burn themselves with their dead husbands." I repeated these arguments several times without receiving any answer ; but, at last, fixing a determined look on me, she said, " Well, if I am prevented from burning myself on the funeral pile, I will dash out my brains against a wall." What a diabolical spirit has taken possession of you ! thought I. " Let it be so then," I rejoined, with undissembled anger, " but first take your children, wretched and unnatural mother ! cut their throats, and consume them on the same pile ; otherwise you will leave them to die of famine, for I shall return immediately to Danechmend-khan and annul their pensions." These words, spoken with a loud and resolute voice, made the desired impression : without uttering a syllable, her head fell suddenly on her knees, and the greater part of the old women and brahmins sneaked toward the door and left the room. I thought I might now safely leave the widow in the hands of her friends who had accompanied me, and mounting my horse returned home. In the evening, when on my way to Danechmend-khan, to inform him of what I had done, I met one of the relations who thanked me, and said that the body had been burnt without the widow, who had promised not to die by her own hands.

In regard to the women who actually burn

themselves, I was present at so many of those shocking exhibitions, that I could not persuade myself to attend any more, nor is it without a feeling of horror that I revert to the subject. I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to describe what passed before my eyes ; but I cannot hope to give you an adequate conception of the fortitude displayed by these infatuated victims during the whole of the frightful tragedy : it must be seen to be believed.

When travelling from Ahmedabad to Agra, through the territories of rajahs, and while the caravan halted in a town under the shade until the cool of the evening, news reached us that a widow was then on the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I ran at once to the spot, and going to the edge of a large and nearly dry reservoir, observed at the bottom a deep pit filled with wood ; the body of a dead man extended thereon ; a woman seated upon the same pile ; four or five brahmins setting fire to it in every part : five middle-aged women, tolerably well dressed, holding one another by the hand, singing and dancing round the pit ; and a great number of spectators of both sexes.

The pile, whereon large quantities of butter and oil had been thrown, was soon enveloped in flames, and I saw the fire catch the woman's garments, which were impregnated with scented oil, mixed with sandarach and saffron powder ; but I could not perceive the slightest indication of

pain or even uneasiness in the victim, and it was said that she pronounced with emphasis the words *five, two* ; to signify that this being the fifth time she had burned herself with the same husband, there were wanted only two more similar sacrifices to render her perfect, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls : as if a certain reminiscence, or prophetic spirit, had been imparted to her at that moment of her dissolution.

But this was only the commencement of the infernal tragedy. I thought that the singing and dancing of the five women were nothing more than some unmeaning ceremony ; great therefore was my astonishment when I saw that the flames having ignited the clothes of one of these females, she cast herself head-foremost into the pit. The horrid example was followed by another woman, as soon as the flames caught her person : the three women, who remained, then took hold of each other by the hand, resuming the dance with perfect composure ; and after a short lapse of time, they also precipitated themselves, one after the other, into the fire.

I soon learnt the meaning of these multiplied sacrifices. The five women were slaves, and having witnessed the deep affliction of their mistress in consequence of the illness of her husband, whom she promised not to survive, they were so moved with compassion that they entered into an engagement to perish by the same flames that consumed their beloved mistress.

Many persons, whom I then consulted on the subject, would fain have persuaded me, that an excess of affection was the cause why Hindoo women burn themselves with their deceased husbands; but I soon found that this abominable practice is the effect of early and deeply rooted prejudices. Every girl is taught by her mother that it is virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband, and that no woman of honor will refuse compliance with the established custom. These opinions men have always inculcated as an easy mode of keeping wives in subjection, of securing their attention in times of sickness, and of deterring them from administering poison to their husbands.

But let us proceed to another of these dreadful scenes, not witnessed indeed by myself, but selected in preference to others at which I happened to be present, on account of the remarkable incident by which it was distinguished. I have seen so many things which I should have pronounced incredible, that neither you nor I ought to reject the narrative in question merely because it contains something extraordinary. The story is in every person's mouth in India, and is universally credited. Perhaps it has already reached you in Europe.

A woman, long engaged in love intrigues with a young muselman, her neighbour, by trade a tailor and a player on the tambourine, poisoned her husband. She then hastened to her lover, in-

formed him of what she had done, and claiming the performance of his promise to take her to wife, urged the necessity of immediately flying, as had been previously projected, from the scene of their guilt; "for," added she, "if there be the least delay, I shall be constrained, by a common sense of decency, to burn myself with the body of my dead spouse." The young man, who foresaw that such a scheme would involve him in difficulty and danger, peremptorily refused; and the woman, without betraying the smallest emotion, went at the instant to her relations, informed them of the sudden death of her husband, and of her fixed resolution to die on the funeral pile. Pleased with so magnanimous an intention, and with the honour she was about to confer on the family, her friends prepare a pit, fill it with wood, lay the body upon the pile and kindle the fire. These arrangements being completed, the woman makes the round of the pit for the purpose of embracing and bidding a last farewell to her kindred, among whom stood the young muhammedan, invited thither, with other musicians, to play on the tambourine according to the custom of the country. Approaching the lover as if she intended to take a last and tender adieu, the infuriated creature seizes him with a firm grasp by the collar, draws him with irresistible force to the edge of the pit and precipitates herself headlong with the object of her resentment into the midst of the raging fire.

As I was leaving Surat for Persia, I witnessed the devotion and burning of another widow : several Englishmen and Dutchmen, and Mr. Chardin of Paris, were present. She was of the middle age, and by no means uncomely. I do not expect, with my limited powers of expression, to convey a full idea of the brutish boldness, or ferocious gaiety, depicted on this woman's countenance ; of her undaunted step ; of the freedom from all perturbation with which she conversed, and permitted herself to be washed ; of the look of confidence, or rather of insensibility which she cast upon us ; of her easy air, free from dejection ; of her lofty carriage, void of embarrassment, when she was examining her little cabin, composed of dry and thick millet straw, with an intermixture of small wood ; when she entered into that cabin, sat down upon the funeral pile, placed her deceased husband's head in her lap, took up a torch, and with her own hand lighted the fire within, while I know not how many brahmins were busily engaged in kindling it without :—well indeed may I despair of representing this whole scene with proper and genuine feeling, such as I experienced at the spectacle itself, or of painting it in colours sufficiently vivid. My recollection of it indeed is so vivid, that it seems only a few days since the horrid reality passed before my eyes, and with pain I persuade myself that it was any thing but a frightful dream.

It is true, however, that I have known some of these unhappy widows shrink at the sight of the piled wood ; so as to leave no doubt on my mind that they would willingly have recanted, if recantation had been permitted by the merciless brahmins ; but those demons animate or astound the affrighted victims, and even thrust them into the fire. I was present when a poor young woman, who had fallen back five or six paces from the pit, was thus driven forward ; and I saw another of these wretched beings, struggling to leave the funeral pile when the fire increased around her person, but she was prevented from escaping by the long poles of the diabolical executioners.

But sometimes the devoted widows elude the vigilance of the murderous priests. I have been often in the company of a fair pagan, who contrived to save her life by means of the scavengers or nightmen* who assemble on these occasions in considerable numbers, when they learn that the intended victim is young and handsome, that her relations are of little note, and that she is to be accompanied by only a few of her acquaintance. Yet the woman whose courage fails at the sight of the horrid apparatus of death and who avails herself of the presence of these men to avoid the impending sacrifice, cannot hope to pass her days in happiness, or to be treated with

* These men are holden in great contempt all over India.

respect or affection. Never again can she live with Hindoos: no individual of that nation will at any time, or under any circumstances, associate with a creature so degraded, who is accounted utterly infamous, and execrated because of the dishonour which her conduct has brought upon the religion of the country. Consequently she is ever afterwards exposed to the ill-treatment of her low and vulgar protectors. There is no mogul who does not dread the consequences of contributing to the preservation of a woman devoted to the burning pile, or who will venture to afford an asylum to one who escapes from the fangs of the brahmins; but many widows have been rescued by the Portuguese, in sea ports where that people happened to be in superior strength. I need scarcely say how much my own indignation has been excited, and how ardently I have wished for opportunities to exterminate those cursed brahmins.

At Lahore I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than twelve years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit: the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the brahmins, assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet, lest she should run away, and in

that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings and to prevent their bursting forth into clamorous and unavailing rage ; but restrained by prudential considerations, I contented myself with silently lamenting the abominable superstition of these people, and applied to it the language of the poet, when speaking of Iphigenia, whom her father Agamemnon had offered in sacrifice to Diana.

Sæpius olim

Relligio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta,

Aulide quo pacto triviai Virginis aram

Iphianassai turpârunt sanguine fœdè

Ductores Danaum ———

—— tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum !

I have not yet mentioned all the barbarity and atrocity of these monsters. In some parts of India instead of burning the women who determine not to survive their husbands, the brahmins bury them alive, by slow degrees, up to the throat ; then two or three of them fall suddenly upon the victim, wring her neck, and when she has been effectually and completely choked, cover over the body with earth thrown upon it from successive baskets, and tread upon the head.*

* The female sacrifice in India is two-fold. There is the immolation of women on the death of their husbands ; and there is the murder of female children.

Among the Hindoo tribes called the Jarejah, in the provinces of Cutch and Guzerat in the west of India it is a custom to destroy female infants, and the mother herself is commonly the executioner of her own offspring. Doctor

Most of the pagans burn their dead ; but some partially broil the bodies with stubble, near the side of a river, and then precipitate them into the water from a high and steep bank. I have attended these funeral rites on the Ganges several times, and observed flights of crows fluttering about the carcass, which becomes as much the prey of those birds as of the fish and crocodiles.

Some again carry a sick person, when at the point of death, to the river side; place his feet in the water, let him sink gradually to the neck; and when it is supposed that he is about to expire, they immerse his whole body into the river,

Buchanan informs us that this atrocity was investigated by the exertions of Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay. That gentleman instructed Colonel Walker, late political resident in Guzerat, to inform himself of the extent of the practice of infanticide. The Bombay government transmitted to the court of directors the official report from that officer, dated the 15th March, 1808; and from this document the horrid fact was given to the public, that the number of females who were sacrificed in Cutch and Guzerat alone (for the custom prevails in several other provinces) amounted, by the very lowest computation (in 1807) to three thousand annually, other calculations vastly exceed that number. Colonel Walker had first the honour of appearing before this people as the advocate of humanity; and, as ambassador from the British nation, he entreated them to suffer their daughters to live; but they peremptorily refused even to listen to this *moral* negociation. But Col. Walker, observes Dr. Buchanan, did not desist from his benevolent purpose, and the several chiefs bound themselves by a solemn engagement, in 1808, to discontinue the practice of infanticide.—*Translator.*

where they leave him, after violently clapping their hands, and crying out with great vehemence. The object of this ceremony (at which I have been present) is that the soul may be washed, on taking its flight, from all the impurities which it may have contracted during its abode in the body. This absurd notion is not confined to the vulgar; I have heard it seriously defended by men of the highest reputation for learning.

Among the vast number, and endless variety of fakirs, or dervises, and pagan religionists of India, many have convents, governed by superiors, where vows of chastity, poverty and submission are made. So strange is the life led by these votaries that I doubt whether my description of it will be credited. I allude particularly to the people called Jauguis, a name which signifies united to God. Numbers are seen, day and night, seated or lying on ashes, entirely naked; frequently under the large trees near talabs, or reservoirs of water, or in the galleries round the deuras, or idol temples. Some have hair hanging down to the calf of the leg, twisted and entangled into knots, like the coat of our shaggy dogs, especially those afflicted with the Polish disease called *plica Polonica*. I have seen several who hold one, and some who hold both arms, perpetually lifted up above the head; the nails of their hands being twisted, and longer than half my little finger, with which I measured them. Their arms are as small and thin as the arms

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of persons who die in a decline, because in so forced and unnatural a position, they receive not sufficient nourishment; nor can they be lowered so as to supply the mouth with food, the muscles having become contracted, and the articulations dry and stiff. Novices wait upon these fanatics and pay them the utmost respect, as persons endowed with extraordinary sanctity. No fury in the infernal regions can be conceived more horrible than the jauguis, with their naked and black skin, long hair, spindle arms, long twisted nails, and fixed in the posture which I have mentioned.

I have often met, generally on the territory of some rajah, bands of these naked fakirs, hideous to behold. Some had their arms lifted up in the manner just described; the frightful hair of others either hung loosely, or was tied and twisted round their heads; some carried an Herculean club; others had a dry and rough tiger skin thrown over their shoulders. In this trim I have seen them shamelessly walk, stark naked, through a large town, men, women and girls looking at them without any more emotion than may be created when a hermit passes through our streets. Females would often bring them alms with much devotion, doubtless believing that they were holy personages, more chaste and discreet than other men.*

*These idle and pretended devotees (the fakirs) assemble sometimes in armies of ten or twelve thousand, and under

I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated fakir, named Sarmet, who paraded the 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, in their religious progresses. They admit any man of parts into their number, and to make the order the more revered among the vulgar, they take great care to instruct their disciples in every branch of knowledge.

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 fakirs: 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 fakir 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.

Though the fakirs enforce with their arms, that reverence which the people of Hindostan have naturally for their order, to gain more respect, they inflict upon themselves, voluntary penances of very extraordinary kinds. 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, pro-

streets of Delhi as naked as when he came into the world. He despised equally the promises and the threats of Aureng-Zêbe, and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel.

Several of these fakirs undertake long pilgrimages, not only naked, but laden with heavy iron chains, such as are put about the legs of elephants. I have seen others who in consequence of a particular vow, stood upright, during seven or eight days, without once sitting or lying down, and without any other support than might be afforded by leaning forward against a cord for a few hours in the night; their legs in the mean time, were swollen to the size of their thighs. Others again I have observed standing steadily, whole hours together, upon their hands, the head down and the feet in the air. I might proceed to enumerate various other positions in which these unhappy men place their body, many of them so difficult and painful that they could not be

ceeds 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 their 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 to themselves, from an intimacy with a fakir.—*Dow.*

imitated by our tumblers; and all this, let it be recollected, is performed from an assumed feeling of piety, of which there is not so much as the shadow in any part of India.

I confess that this gross superstition filled me, on my first arrival in Hindostan, with amazement. I knew not what to think of it. Sometimes I should have been disposed to consider the fakirs as remnants, if not as the founders, of the ancient and infamous sect of cynics, could I have discovered any thing in them but brutality and ignorance, and if they had not appeared to me vegetative rather than rational beings. At another time, I thought they might be honest though deluded enthusiasts, until I found that, in fact, they were in the most extensive sense of the word, destitute of piety. Again, I reflected that a life of vagrancy, idleness and independence, may have a powerful and attractive charm; or that the vanity which intermingles itself with every motive of human action, and which may be discovered as clearly through the tattered mantle of a Diogenes as under the comely garb of a Plato, was probably the secret spring that set so many strange engines in motion.

The fakirs, it is said, exercise painful austerities in the confident hope that they will be rajahs in their renascent state; or, if they do not become rajahs, that they shall be placed in a condition of life capable of more exquisite enjoyment than is experienced by those sovereign

princes : but, as I have frequently observed to them, how can it be believed that men submit to a life of so much misery for the sake of a second state of existence, as short and uncertain as the first, and which cannot be expected to yield a much greater degree of happiness even to him who may be invested with the high dignity of rana, or who may resemble Joy-Singh or Jesswint-Singh, the two most powerful rajahs of India? I am not to be so easily deceived, said I to them ; either you are egregious fools, or you are actuated by some sinister views which you carefully hide from the world.

Some of the fakirs enjoy the reputation of being peculiarly enlightened saints, perfect jauguis, and really united to God. These are supposed to have entirely renounced the world, and like our hermits they live a secluded life in a remote garden, without ever visiting a town. When food is brought to them, they receive it : if none be offered to them it is concluded that the holy men can live without food, that they subsist by the favour of God, vouchsafed on account of previous long fasts and other religious mortifications. Frequently these pious jauguis are absorbed in profound meditation. It is pretended, and one of the favoured saints himself assured me, that their souls are often rapt in an ecstasy of several hours duration ; that their external senses lose their functions ; that the jauguis are blessed with a sight of God, who appears as a

light ineffably white and vivid, and that they experience transports of holy joy, and a contempt of temporal concerns which defy every power of description. My saintly informant added, that he could at pleasure fall into such a trance as he described, and not one of the individuals who are in the habit of visiting the jauguis doubts the reality of these vaunted extasies. It is possible that the imagination, distempered by continued fasts and uninterrupted solitude, may be brought into these illusions, or that the rapturous dreams of the fakirs may resemble the natural extasies into which Cardan tells us he could fall whenever he pleased, especially as the fakirs practise some art in what they do, prescribing to themselves certain rules for the binding up of their senses by slow degrees. For example, they say that after having fasted several days upon bread and water, it is necessary to be alone in a sequestered spot, to fix the eyes most steadily toward heaven, and when they have been so rivetted for some time, to lower them gradually, and then point them both in such a manner that they shall look at one and the same time upon the tip of the nose, both sides of that feature being equally seen; and in this posture the saint must continue firm, the two sides of the nose in even proportions remaining constantly within sight until the bright luminary makes its appearance.

The trance and the means of enjoying it form the grand mystery of the jauguis, as well as of

the soofies. I call it mystery, because they keep these things secret among themselves, and I should not have made so many discoveries had it not been for the aid of the pundit or Hindoo doctor whom Danechmend-khan kept in his pay, and who dared not conceal any thing from his patron; my aga, moreover, was already acquainted with the doctrines of the soofies.

I believe that extreme poverty, long fasts and perpetual austerities contribute something to the counterfeit appearances of these fanatics. Our friars and hermits must not suppose that on these points they surpass the jauguis or other Asiatic religionists. I can, for instances, appeal to the lives and fasts of the Armenians, Copts, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites and Maronites; compared to these people, our European devotees are mere novices, though it must be confessed from what I have myself experienced in India, that the pains of hunger are not so sensibly felt there as in our colder climates.

I have now to give an account of certain fakirs totally different from the saints just described, but who also are extraordinary personages. They almost continually perambulate the country, make light of every thing, affect to live without care, and to be possessed of most important secrets. The people imagine that these favoured beings are well acquainted with the art of making gold, and that they can prepare mercury in so admirable a manner that a grain or two swallowed every

morning must restore a diseased body to vigorous health, and so strengthen the stomach that it may feed with avidity and digest with ease. This is not all: when two of these good jauguis meet, and can be excited to a spirit of emulation, they make such a display of the power of jauguisism, that it may well be doubted if Simon Magus, with all his sorceries, ever performed more surprising feats. They tell any person his thoughts, cause the branch of a tree to blossom and to bear fruit within an hour, hatch an egg in their bosom in less than fifteen minutes, producing whatever bird may be demanded, and make it fly about the room; and execute many other prodigies that need not be enumerated.

I regret that I cannot bear my testimony to the truth of all that people report of these conjurers. My aga sent for one of them, and promised to give him three hundred rupees (about an hundred and fifty crowns) if on the following day he would tell him, as he said he could do, what might then be passing in his mind, which he would previously write down in his presence to prevent any suspicion of unfair dealing on his own part. I engaged, at the same time, to present him with five and twenty rupees, if he mentioned my thoughts; but the prophet did not again approach our house. On another occasion I was also disappointed in my expectation of the company of one of these egg-hatchers, to whom I had promised twenty rupees. Notwithstanding my

diligence to pry into every thing, I have never been so happy as to witness any marvellous performance, and whenever I happened to be present when a deed was done which excited the surprise of the spectators, it was generally my misfortune to examine and to question until I ascertained that the cause lay in some cheat or slight of hand. I recollect detecting the gross deception of a fellow who pretended to find out by the rolling of a cup the person who had stolen my aga's money.

But there are fakirs of a much more comely appearance than those whom we have been considering, and their lives and devotion seem less extravagant. They walk the streets barefooted and bareheaded, girt with a scarf which hangs down to the knee, and wearing a white cloth which passes under the right arm and goes over the left shoulder in the form of a mantle, but they are without any under garment: their persons however are always well washed, and they appear cleanly in every respect. In general they walk two and two with a very modest demeanour, holding in one hand a small and pretty earthen tripod with two handles: they do not beg from shop to shop like many other fakirs, but enter freely into the houses of Hindoos, where they meet with a hearty welcome and an hospitable reception, their presence being esteemed a blessing to the family. Heaven defend him who accuses them of any offence, although every body knows what takes place between the sanctified

visitors and the women of the house : this, however, is considered the custom of the country, and their sanctity is not the less on that account. I do not indeed attach much importance to their transactions with the females of the house : such practices we know are not confined to the Great Mogul's dominions ; but what appears truly ridiculous is their impertinent comparison of themselves with our own clergy in India. I have sometimes derived much amusement from their weakness and vanity : I used to address them with great ceremony, and apparently with the most profound respect, after which they immediately observed to one another : " the franguy knows who we are ; he has resided many years in India, and is well aware that we are the padrys of the Hindoos." But I dwell too long upon these heathen beggars, and shall proceed to notice the books of law and science.

Do not be surprised if, notwithstanding my ignorance of Shanscrit (the language of the learned, and possibly that of the ancient brahmins,) I yet say something of books written in that tongue. My aga, Danechmend-khan, partly from my solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity, took into his service one of the most celebrated pundits of India, who had formerly belonged to the household of Dara, Shah-Jehan's eldest son ; and not only was this man my constant companion during a period of three years, but he also introduced me to the society of other learned

pundits, whom he attracted to the house. When weary of explaining to my aga the recent discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, and of discoursing on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which I translated to him in Persian (for this was my principal employment for five or six years) we had generally recourse to our pundit, who, in his turn, was called upon to reason in his own manner, and to communicate his fables; these he related with all imaginable gravity without ever smiling; but at length we became disgusted both with his tales and childish arguments.

The Hindoos then pretend that God, whom they call Achar, The Immoveable or Immutable, has sent to them four books, to which they give the name of beids, a word signifying science, because according to them, these books comprehend all the sciences. The first of the books is named Ahtrebun beid; the second, Huchur beid; the third, Rug beid; and the fourth, Sam beid. These books enjoin that the people shall be distinguished or divided, as in fact they are, into four tribes: first, the tribe of brahmins, or interpreters of the law; secondly, the tribe of chehteree, or warriors; thirdly, the tribe of bice, or merchants and tradesmen, commonly called banians; and fourthly, the tribe of sooder, or artisans and labourers. These different tribes are not permitted to intermarry; that is to say, a brahmin is forbidden to marry a chehteree; and the same injunction holds good in regard to the other tribes.

The Hindoos believe in the transmigration of souls, and hold it illegal to kill or eat any animal; an exception being made, however, in favour of a few of the second tribe, provided the flesh eaten be not that of the cow or peacock. For these two animals they feel a peculiar respect, particularly for the cow, imagining that it is by holding to a cow's tail they are to cross the river which separates this life from the next. Possibly their ancient legislators saw the shepherds of Egypt in a similar manner pass the river Nile, holding with the left hand the tail of a buffalo or ox, and carrying in the right a stick for the guidance of the animal; or this superior regard for the cow may more probably be owing to her extraordinary usefulness, as being the animal which supplies them with milk and butter (a considerable part of their aliment) and which may be considered the source of husbandry, consequently the preserver of life itself. It ought likewise to be observed, that owing to the great deficiency of pasture land in India it is impossible to maintain large numbers of cattle; the whole therefore would soon disappear if animal food were eaten in any thing like the proportion in which it is consumed in France and England, and the country would thus remain uncultivated. The heat is so intense, and the ground so parched, during eight months of the year, that the beasts of the field, ready to die of hunger, feed on every kind of filth like so many swine. It was on account of the scarcity of cattle that Jehan-Guire

at the request of the brahmins, issued an edict to forbid the killing of beasts of pasture for a certain number of years; and not long since they presented a similar petition to Aureng-Zêbe, offering to him a considerable sum of money to ensure his compliance. They urged that the neglected and ruinous condition of many tracts of country during the last fifty or sixty years, was attributable to the paucity and dearness of oxen.

Perhaps the first legislators of India hoped that the interdiction of animal food would produce a beneficial effect upon the character of the people, and that they might be brought to exercise less cruelty toward one another when required by a positive precept to treat the brute creation with humanity. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls secured the treatment of animals, by leading to the belief that no animal can be killed or eaten without incurring the danger of killing or eating some ancestor, than which a more heinous crime cannot be committed. It may be also that the brahmins were influenced by the consideration, that in their climate the flesh of cows or oxen is neither savoury nor wholesome except for a short time during winter.

The beids render it obligatory upon every Hindoo to say his prayers with his face turned to the east, thrice in the twenty-four hours; in the morning, at noon and at night. The whole of his body must also be washed three times, or at least before every meal; and he is taught that it is

more meritorious to perform his ablutions and to repeat his prayers in running than in stagnant water. Here again regard was probably had to what is not only proper but highly important in such a climate as that of Hindostan. This, however, is found an inconvenient law to those who happen to live in cold countries, and I have met in my travels with some who placed their lives in imminent danger by a strict observance of that law, by plunging into the rivers or reservoirs within their reach, or if none were sufficiently near, by throwing large pails of water over their heads. Sometimes I objected to their religion, that it contained a law which it would not be possible to observe in cold climates during the winter season, which was, in my mind, a clear proof that it possessed no divine original, but was merely a system of human invention. Their answer was amusing enough. "We pretend not," they replied, "that our law is of universal application. God intended it only for us, and this is the reason why we cannot receive a foreigner into our religion. We do not even say that yours is a false religion: it may be adapted to your wants and circumstances, God having, no doubt, appointed many different ways of going to heaven." I found it impossible to convince them that the Christian faith was designed for the whole earth, and theirs was mere fable and gross fabrication.

The beids teach that God having determined to create the world, would not execute his pur-

pose immediately, but first created three perfect beings; one was Burmhà, a name which signifies penetrating into all things; the second, Beschen, that is, existing in all things; and the third, Mehahdeu or the mighty lord. By means of Burmhà he created the world; by means of Beschen he upholds it; and by means of Mehahdeu he will destroy it. It was Burmhà who, by God's command, published the four beids, and for this reason he is represented in some temples with four heads.

I have conversed with European missionaries who thought that the pagans have some idea of the mystery of the Trinity, and maintained that the beids state in direct terms that the three beings, though three persons, are one God. This is a subject on which I have frequently heard the pundits dilate, but they explain themselves so obscurely that I never could clearly comprehend their opinion. I have heard some of them say, that the beings in question are in reality three very perfect creatures, whom they call dewtahs, without being able, however, properly to explain what they mean by this word dewtah, like our ancient idolaters, who could never, in my opinion, explain what they meant by the names genii and numina, which were probably equivalent to the dewtahs of the Indians. I have also discoursed with other pundits distinguished for learning, who said that these three beings are really one and the same God, consi-

dered under three different characters, as the creator, upholder, and destroyer of all things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only God.

I was acquainted with the reverend father Roa, a German jesuit and missionary at Agra, who had made great proficiency in the Shanscrit. He assured me that the books of the Hindoos not only state that there is one God in three persons, but that the second person has been nine times embodied in flesh. He added that when he was at Schiraz, on his return to Rome, a Carmelite father in that city succeeded, with much address, in ascertaining that the following doctrines are held by the Hindoos. The second person in the Trinity has been, according to them, nine times incarnate in consequence of various evils in the world, from which he delivered mankind. The eighth incarnation was the most remarkable; for the Hindoos say that the world having been inthrallled by the power of giants, it was rescued by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the skies raining flowers during that whole night. This in some degree savours of Christianity, but the fable returns again; for it is added that this incarnate god began by killing a giant who flew in the air, and was so huge as to obscure the sun: his fall caused the whole earth to tremble, and by his weight he so penetrated it, that he tumbled at once into hell. The incarnate

deity, wounded in the side in the conflict with this mighty giant fell also, but by his fall put his enemies to flight. He arose again, and after delivering the world ascended into heaven, and because of his wound, he is generally known by the appellation of wounded in the side. The tenth incarnation, say the Hindoos, without however any warranty from the beids, will have for its object the emancipation of mankind from the tyranny of muhammedans, and it will take place at the time when, according to our calculation, antichrist is to appear.

They say also that the third person of the trinity has manifested himself to the world; the following story is related of him. The daughter of a certain king, when she had reached the age of puberty, was desired by her father to mention the person whom she felt disposed to marry, and having answered that she would be united to none but a divine being, the third person of the trinity appeared in the same instant to the king in the form of fire. He presently apprised his daughter of this happy circumstance, and she without hesitation consented to the marriage. The divine personage, though still assuming a fiery appearance, was invited to the king's council, and finding that the privy counsellors opposed the match, he first set fire to their beards, and then burnt them together with the royal household, after which he married the princess. In regard to the second person, the Hindoos say that his first incarnation

was in the nature of a lion, the second in that of a hog, the third in that of a tortoise, the fourth in that of a serpent, the fifth in that of a dwarfish female brahmin, only a cubit in height, the sixth was in the form of a monstrous man lion, the seventh in that of a dragon, the eighth as already described, the ninth in the nature of an ape, and the tenth is to be in the person of a mighty warrior.

I entertain no doubt that the reverend father Roa derives from the beids his knowledge of the doctrines held by the Hindoos, and that the account he gave me forms the basis of their mythology. I had written at considerable length upon this subject, sketched the figures of several of the idols placed in their temples, and obtained the Shanscrit characters; but finding that the principal matter of my manuscript is contained in the *China Illustrata* of Father Kirker, (who obtained much of his information when at Rome from Father Roa,) I deem it sufficient to recommend that book to your perusal. I must observe, however, that the word "incarnation," employed by the reverend father was new to me, having never seen it used in the same direct sense. Some pundits explained their doctrine to me in this manner: formerly God appeared in the forms which are mentioned, and in those forms performed all the wonders which have been related. Other pundits said that the souls of certain great men whom we are wont to call heroes, had passed into the dif-

ferent bodies spoken of, and that they had become dewtahs; or, to speak in the phraseology of the idolaters of old, they had become powerful divinities, numina, genii, and dæmons; or if you will, spirits and fairies; for I know not now else to render the Indian word dewtah; but this second explanation comes much to the same thing as the first, inasmuch as the Hindoos believe that their souls are constituent parts of the deity.

Other pundits again gave me a more refined interpretation. They said that the incarnations or apparitions mentioned in their books, having a mystic sense, and being intended to explain the various attributes of God, ought not to be understood literally. Some of the most learned of those doctors frankly acknowledged to me that nothing can be conceived more fabulous than all the incarnations, and that they were only the invention of legislators for the sake of retaining the people in some sort of religion. On the supposition that our souls are portions of the deity, a doctrine common to all Hindoos, must not (observed the pundits) the reality of those incarnations instead of being made a mysterious part of religion be exploded by sound philosophy? for, in respect of our souls, we are God, and therefore it would in fact be ourselves who had imposed upon ourselves a religious worship, and a belief in the transmigration of souls in paradise and in hell.

I am not less indebted to Messrs. Henry Lor

and Abraham Roger, than to the reverend fathers Kirker and Roa. I had collected a vast number of particulars concerning the Hindoos, that I have since found in the books written by those gentlemen, and which I could not have arranged in the order which they have observed without great labour and difficulty. It is not necessary, therefore, that I could do more than touch briefly on the studies and the science of this people; which I shall do in a general and desultory manner.

The town of Benares, seated on the Ganges, in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of the Hindoos. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the brahmins and religionists; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study.* The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work

* See note I at the end of the volume.

of instruction proceeds very slowly; for the generality of Indians are of an indolent disposition, owing, in a great measure, to their diet and the heat of the country. Feeling no spirit of emulation, and entertaining no hope that honours or emolument may be the reward of extraordinary attainments, the scholars content themselves with the customary and idle mode of pursuing their studies, while eating kichery, a mingled mass of leguminous plants prepared for them by desire of the rich banians.

The first thing taught is the Shanscrit, a language known only to the pundits, and totally different from that which is spoken in Hindostan. It is of the Shanscrit that Father Kirker has published an alphabet, which he received from Father Roa. The name signifies pure language; and because the Hindoos believe that the four sacred books given to them by God, through the medium of Burmhà, were originally published in Shanscrit, they call it *The holy and divine language*. They pretend, but I know not on what authority, that it is as ancient as Burmhà himself, whose age they reckon by lacks, or hundreds of thousands of years. That it is extremely old, it is impossible to deny, the books of their religion, which are of unquestionable antiquity, being all written in Shanscrit. It has also its authors on philosophy, works on medicine written in verse, and many other kinds of books, with which a large hall at Benares is entirely filled.

When the scholars have acquired a knowledge of this ancient and difficult language, difficult because without a good grammar, they generally study the pooràn, which is an abridgement and interpretation of the beids; those books being of great bulk, at least if they were the beids which were shewn to me at Benares. They are so scarce that my aga, notwithstanding all his diligence, has not succeeded in purchasing a copy. The Hindoos indeed conceal them with much care, lest they should fall into the hands of the muhammedans, and be burnt, as frequently has happened.

After the pooràn, some of the students apply their minds to philosophy, wherein they certainly make very little progress. I have already intimated that the Indians are of a slow and indolent temper, and strangers to the excitement which the possibility of advancement in an honourable profession produces among the members of European universities.

Among the philosophers who have flourished in Hindostan six bear a great name; and from these have sprung the six sects, which cause much jealousy and dispute, the pundits of each pretending that the doctrines of their particular sect are the soundest, and most in conformity to the beids. A seventh sect has arisen, called Bautà, which again is the parent of twelve others; but this sect is not so considerable as the former: its adherents are despised

and hated, censured as irreligious and atheistical, and lead a life peculiar to themselves.

All the books of the Hindoos speak of first principles; but each in a manner totally different from the others. Some say that every thing is composed of small bodies which are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness, and resistance, but because of their smallness; and upon this notion they build many other hypotheses, which have an affinity to the theories of Democritus and Epicurus; but their opinions are expressed in so loose and indeterminate a manner that it is difficult to ascertain their meaning; and considering the extreme ignorance of the pundits, those even reputed the most learned, it may be fairly doubted whether this vagueness be not rather attributable to the expounders than to the authors of the books.

Others say that every thing is composed of matter and form, but not one of the doctors explains himself clearly about matter, and still less about form. They are so far intelligible, however, as to shew me that they understand neither the one nor the other in the same manner as these terms are usually explained in our schools, where we speak of educing form out of the power of matter; for they always take their examples from artificial things, such as that of a vessel of soft clay, which a potter turns and forms into various shapes.

Some hold that all is composed of the four

elements and out of nothing ; yet they give not the least explanation concerning mixtion and transmutation. And as to nothing, which is nearly tantamount to our privation, they admit I know not how many sorts, which I imagine the pundits neither comprehend themselves, nor can make intelligible to others.

Some maintain that light and darkness are the first principles, and in support of this opinion the doctors make a thousand foolish and confused observations; alleging reasons disowned by true philosophy, and delivering long discourses which would suit the ear only of the vulgar and illiterate.

There are others again, who admit privation as a principle, or rather, the privations which they distinguish from nothing, and of which they make a long enumeration, so useless and unphilosophical that I can scarcely believe their authors would employ the pen about such trifling opinions and that consequently it cannot be contained in their books.

Many, in fine, pretend that every thing is the result of chances, and of these they also have a long, strange, and tedious catalogue, worthy only of an ignorant and low babbler.

In regard to all these principles, it is agreed by the pundits that they are eternal. The production from nothing does not seem to have occurred to their mind, any more than to the mind of many of the ancient philosophers. There is

one of the sages, however, who, they pretend, has said something on the subject.

On physic the Hindoos have a great number of small books, which are rather collections of recipes than regular treatises. The most ancient and the most esteemed is written in verse. I shall observe, by the way, that their practice differs essentially from ours, and that it is grounded on the following acknowledged principles: a patient with a fever requires no great nourishment; the sovereign remedy for sickness is abstinence; nothing is worse for a sick body than meat broth, for it soon corrupts in the stomach of one afflicted with fever; a patient should be bled only on extraordinary occasions, and where the necessity is most obvious—as when there is reason to apprehend a brain fever, or when an inflammation of the chest, liver, or kidneys, has taken place.

Whether these modes of treatment be judicious, I leave to our learned physicians to decide; I shall only remark that they are successful in Hindostan, and that the mogul and muhammedan physicians, who follow the rules of Avicenna and Averroes, adopt them no less than the Hindoos, especially in regard to abstinence from meat broth. The moguls, it is true, are rather more given to the practice of bleeding than the pagans; for where they apprehended the inflammations just mentioned, they generally bleed once or twice, not in the trifling manner of the modern prac-

titioners of Goa and Paris, but copiously, like the ancients, taking eighteen or twenty ounces of blood; sometimes even to fainting; thus frequently subduing the disease at the commencement, according to the advice of Galen, and as I have witnessed in several cases.

It is not surprising that the Hindoos understand nothing of anatomy. They never open the body either of man or beast, and the pagans in our household always run away, with amazement and horror, whenever I opened a living goat or sheep for the purpose of explaining to my aga the circulation of the blood, and shewing him the vessels, discovered by Pecquet, through which the chyle is conveyed to the right ventricle of the heart. Yet notwithstanding their profound ignorance of the subject, the Hindoos affirm that the number of veins in the human body is five thousand, neither more nor less; just as if they had carefully reckoned them.

In regard to astronomy, the Hindoos have their tables, according to which they foretell eclipses, not perhaps with the minute exactness of European astronomers, but still with great accuracy. They reason, however in the same ridiculous way on the lunar as on the solar eclipse, believing that the obscuration is caused by a black, filthy and mischievous dewtah, named Rach, who takes possession of the moon and fills her with infection. The Hindoos also maintain, much on the same ground, that the

moon is four hundred thousand coses, that is above fifty thousand leagues higher than the sun ; that she is a luminous body, and that we receive from her a certain vital liquid secretion, which collects principally in the brain, and descending thence as from its source into all the members of the body, enables them to exercise their respective functions. They believe likewise that the sun, moon and stars are all so many dewtahs ; that the darkness of night is caused by the sun retiring behind the Someire, an imaginary mountain placed in the centre of the earth, in form like an inverted sugar loaf, and an altitude of I know not how many thousand leagues : so that they never enjoy the light of day but when the sun leaves the back of this mountain.

In geography the Hindoos are equally uninstructed. They believe that the world is flat and triangular ; that it is composed of seven distinct habitations, differing in beauty, perfection and inhabitants, and that each is surrounded by its own peculiar sea ; that one sea is of milk ; another of sugar ; a third of butter ; a fourth of wine ; and so on : so that sea and land occur alternately until you arrive at the seventh stage from the foot of the Someire mountain, which is in the centre. The first habitation, or that nearest to the Someire, is inhabited by dewtahs who are very perfect ; the second has also dewtahs for inhabitants, but they are less perfect ; and so it is with the rest, whose inha-

bitants are less and less perfect, until the seventh, which is our earth, inhabited by men infinitely less perfect than any of the dewtahs; and finally, the Hindoos say that the whole of this world is supported on the heads of a number of elephants, whose occasional motion is the cause of earthquakes.

If the renowned sciences of the ancient brahmins consisted of all the extravagant follies which I have detailed, mankind have indeed been deceived in the exalted opinion they have long entertained of their wisdom. I should find it difficult to persuade myself that such was the fact, did I not consider that the religion of the Hindoos has existed from time immemorial; that it is written in Shanscrit, as are likewise all their scientific books; that the Shanscrit has long become a dead language, understood only by the learned; and that its origin is unknown: all which proves a very great antiquity.

When going down the river Ganges, I passed through Benares, and called upon the chief of the pundits, who resides in that celebrated seat of learning. He is a fakir so eminent for knowledge that Shah-Jehan, partly on that consideration, and partly to gratify the rajahs, granted him a pension of two thousand rupees. He is a stout, well made man, and his dress consists of a white silk scarf, tied about the waist, and hanging half way down the leg, and of another tolerably large scarf, of red silk, which he wears as a cloak on his shoul-

ders. I had often seen him in this scanty dress at Delhi, in the assembly of the omrahs and before the king, and met him in the streets either on foot or in a palanquin. During one year he was in the constant habit of visiting my aga, to whom he paid his court in the hope that he would exercise his influence to obtain the pension of which Aureng-Zêbe, anxious to appear a true muselman, deprived him on coming to the throne. I formed consequently a close intimacy with this distinguished personage, with whom I had long and frequent conversations; and when I visited him at Benares he was most kind and attentive, giving me a collation in the university library, to which he invited the six most learned pundits in the town. Finding myself in such excellent company, I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving India scandalized at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing. "We have indeed in our temples," said they, "a great variety of images, such as that of Burmhà, of Mehadeu, of Genich and of Gavani, who are the principal and the most perfect of the dewtahs: and we have many others esteemed less perfect. To all these images we pay great honour; prostrating our bodies, and presenting to them, with much ceremony, flowers, rice, scented oil, saffron and other similar articles. Yet do we not believe that these

statues are Burmhà or Bechen; but merely their images and representations. We shew them deference only for the sake of the deity whom they represent, and when we pray it is not to the statue but to that deity. Images are admitted in our temples, because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that he only is the omnipotent Lord."

I have neither added to, nor taken from, the answer that the pundits gave me; but I suspect it was so framed as to correspond with the ideas of the Roman Catholic church. The observations made to me by other learned brahmins were totally different.

I then turned the conversation to the subject of chronology, and my company soon shewed me a far higher antiquity than ours. They would not say that the world was without a beginning; but the great age they gave it sounded almost as if they had pronounced it eternal. Its duration, said they, is to be reckoned by four jogues, or distant ages; not ages composed, as with us, of an hundred years, but of one hundred lacks, that is to say, of an hundred times one hundred thousand years. I do not recollect exactly the number of years assigned to each jogue, but I know that the first, called Suttee jogue, continued during a period of five and twenty lacks of years; that the second, called Tirtāh Jogue,

lasted above twelve lacks ; the third, called Dwa-pāār Jogue, subsisted, if I mistake not, eight lacks and sixty-four thousand years ; and the fourth, called Collee Jogue is to continue I forget how many lacks of years.* The first three jogues, they said, and much of the fourth, are passed away, and the world will not endure so many ages as it has done, because it is destined to perish at the termination of the fourth jogue, when all things will return to their first principles. Having pressed the pundits to tell me the exact age of the world, they tried their arithmetical skill over and over again ; but finding that they were sadly perplexed, and even at variance as to the number of lacks, I satisfied myself with the general information that the world is astonishingly old. Whenever any of these learned brahmins is urged to state the facts on which he grounds his belief of this vast antiquity, he entertains the enquirer with a set of ridiculous fables, and finishes by asserting that it is so stated in the beids.

I then tried them on the nature of their dew-tahs, but their explanation was very confused. These gods consist, they said, of three kinds, good, bad, and indifferent. Some of the learned believe that the dewtahs are composed of fire ; others, that they are formed of light ; and many are of opinion that they are biapek ; a word of which I could obtain no clearer explication than that God is biapek ; that our soul is biapek ;

* See note K at the end of the volume.

and that whatever is *biapek* is incorruptible and independent of time and place. There are pundits again, who, according to my learned host and his companions, pretend that *dewtahs* are only portions of the divinity; and lastly, others consider them as certain species of distinct divinities, dispersed over the surface of the globe.

I remember that I also questioned them on the nature of the "*lengue cherire*," which some of their authors admit; but I could elicit no more from them than what I had long before learnt from our pundit; namely, that the seeds of plants, of trees, and of animals, do not receive a new creation; that they have existed, scattered abroad, and intermixed with other matter, from the first creation of the world; and that they are nothing more or less, not only in potentiality, as it is called, but in reality, than plants, trees and animals entirely perfect, but so minute, that their separate parts only become visible when being brought to their proper place, and there receiving nourishment, they develope and increase: so that the seed of an apple or pear tree is a *lengue-cherire*, a small apple or pear tree, perfect in all its essential parts; and the seed of a horse, of an elephant or of a man is a *lengue-cherire*, a small horse, a small elephant or a small man, which requires only life and nourishment in order to its visibly assuming its proper form.

In conclusion, I shall explain to you the mystery of a dispute which has latterly made

great noise in Hindostan, inasmuch as certain pundits or pagan doctors, had instilled it into the minds of Dara and Sultan Sujah, the elder sons of Shah-Jehan.

You are doubtless acquainted with the doctrine of many of the ancient philosophers concerning that great life-giving principle of the world, of which they argue that we and all living creatures are so many parts: if we carefully examine the writings of Plato and Aristotle, we shall probably discover that they inclined towards this opinion. This is the almost universal doctrine of the pagan pundits of India, and it is this same doctrine which forms the subject matter of dispute among the soofies and the greater part of the literati of Persia, and which is set forth in Persian poetry in very exalted and emphatic language, in their gault-chen-raz, or garden of mysteries. This was also the opinion of Fludd whom our great Gassendi has so ably refuted; and it is a doctrine in which the greater part of our alchemists have been lost. Now these disputers, or Hindoo pundits, push the incongruities in question further than all the philosophers, and pretend that God, or that supreme being whom they call Achar (immovable, unchangeable) has not only produced life from his own substance, but also generally every thing material or corporeal in the universe, and that this production is not formed simply after the manner of efficient causes, but as a spider which produces a web from its own

navel, and withdraws it at pleasure. The creation then say these visionary doctors, is nothing more than an extraction or extension of the individual substance of God, of those filaments which he draws from his own bowels; and, in like manner, destruction is merely the recalling of that divine substance and filaments into himself; so that the last day of the world, which they call *maperlé* or *pralea* and in which they believe every being will be annihilated, will be the general recalling of those filaments which God had before drawn forth from himself.—There is, therefore, say they, nothing real or substantial in that which we think we see, hear or smell, taste or touch; the whole of this world is, as it were, an illusory dream, inasmuch as all that variety which appears to our outward senses, is but one only and the same thing, which is God himself; in the same manner as all those different numbers, of ten, twenty, a hundred, a thousand, &c. are but the frequent repetition of the same unit.—But ask them some reason for this idea; beg them to explain how this extraction and reception of substance occurs, or to account for that apparent variety; or how it is that God not being corporeal but *biapek*, as they allow, and incorruptible, he can be thus divided into so many portions of body and soul; they will answer you only with some fine similes:—That God is as an immense ocean in which many vessels of water are in con-

tinual motion; let these vessels go where they will, they always remain in the same ocean, in the same water; and if they should break, the water they contain would then be united to the whole, to that ocean of which they were but parts.—Or they will tell you that it is with God as with the light, which is the same every where, but causes the objects on which it falls to assume a hundred different appearances, according to the various colours, or forms of the glasses, through which it passes.—They will never attempt to satisfy you, I say, but with such comparisons as these, which bear no proportion with God, and which serve only to blind an ignorant people. In vain will you look for any solid answer. If one should reply, that these vessels might float in a water similar to their own, but not in the same; and that the light all over the world is indeed similar, but not the same, and so on to other strong objections, which may be made to their theory, they have recourse continually to the same similes, to fine words, or, as the soofies, to the beautiful poems of their goults-chen-raz.

Now, I would ask, in allusion to all this fine tissue of extravagant folly on which I have remarked; to that childish panic of which I have spoken above; to that superstitious piety and compassion toward the sun in order to deliver it from the malignant and dark dewtah; to that trickery of prayers, of ablutions, of dippings, and

of alms, either cast into the river, or bestowed on brahmins; to that mad and infernal hardihood of women to burn themselves with the body of those husbands whom frequently they have hated while alive; to those various and frantic practices of the fakirs; and lastly, to all that fabulous trash of their beids and other books: I would ask, in allusion to all this, do you not think I have reason to take as a motto to this letter, the wretched fruit of so many voyages and so many reflections, a motto of which the modern satirist has so well known how to catch and convey the idea without so long a journey: "There are no opinions too extravagant and ridiculous to find reception in the mind of man."

You will do me a kindness by delivering Mr. Chapelle's letter into his own hands; it was he who first obtained for me that acquaintance with your intimate and illustrious friend, Mr. Gassendi, which has since proved so advantageous to me. I am so much obliged to him for this favour that I cannot but love and remember him wherever my lot may be cast. I also feel myself under much obligation to you, and am bound to honour you all my life, not only on account of the partiality you have manifested toward me, but also for the valuable advice contained in your frequent letters, by which you have aided me during my journies, and for your goodness in having sent me so disinterestedly, and gratuitously

a collection of books to the extremity of the world, whither my curiosity had led me; while those of whom I requested them, who might have been paid with money which I had left at Marseilles, and who in common politeness should have sent them, deserted me and laughed at my letters, looking on me as a lost man whom they were never more to see.

A LETTER SENT FROM SCHIRAZ IN PERSIA, TO MR. CHAPELLE, ON THE INTENTION EXPRESSED BY THAT GENTLEMAN TO RESUME HIS STUDY OF THE DOCTRINE OF ATOMS AND OF THE NATURE OF THE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

10 June, 1668.

I ALWAYS thought, with M. Luillier, that the life you were leading, so much to the displeasure of your friends, ought to be ascribed only to the thoughtlessness of youth, and that you would at length resume your studies with more vigour than ever. The last letters from France, received by way of Hindostan, inform me that you are now in earnest, and that we shall soon see you soar with Democritus and Epicurus, far beyond the resplendent walls or fiery bounds of the world, into infinite space, for the purpose of examining and triumphantly reporting what may be, and what may not be, *et ultra proessit longe flammantia*, &c. and gravely meditating on the nature of that space, where all things find a place; on those infinite generations and corruptions of pretended worlds by the pretended fortuitous concurrence of atoms; on the nature, the indivisibility, and the other properties of their atoms; on liberty, fate, and destiny; on the existence, unity, and providence of God; on the use of particles; on

the nature of the soul ; in fine, on all the sublime matters of which they have treated.

I cannot condemn your design. Your wish to acquire knowledge is natural. It belongs only to great souls to aspire after it ; and nothing so proudly distinguishes man from the brute, as a disposition and a capacity to cultivate the fields of science and learning. But as the loftiest designs are often the most hazardous, so yours is not without much danger. If we have a strong inclination for truth, we are not without a very powerful one for liberty and independence, for denying the existence of any master, and for thinking, saying and doing every thing according to our fantasy, without fear of any being, and without recognizing any obligation to account for our deeds, words or thoughts. It follows, therefore, that unless we be constantly on our guard, this latter propensity will overpower the other ; and if we dwell upon the reasons that seem to favour our notions of liberty and independence, while we slightly consider those that militate against them, we shall soon be deprived of any fixed principle of action, be tossed between opposite opinions, and become cold and indifferent to whatever concerns the rule and end of life.

Most of our philosophers, it appears to me, entertain the silly notion that the holding of strange and uncommon opinions will gain them a reputation for wit and learning. They feel delight

in propagating such opinions, and would fain persuade their hearers, without being themselves persuaded, that those are founded on sure and solid grounds, and that they contain something too profound and mysterious to be comprehended by any but men of learning. Have a care, my dear friend, not to fall into this contemptible vanity. The constant endeavour to impress false ideas on the minds of others, as if we believe them sound, will insensibly fix them upon our own minds as indisputable truths; in the same manner as a man, by the frequent repetition of the same fictitious tale, becomes at length a firm believer in his own lie. The indulgence of this habit will also plunge us into a tormenting state of inquietude; our loose and indeterminate opinions will, as I have hinted, render us inattentive to the great purpose of our existence, and we shall seek in vain for the solid tranquillity which we fondly hoped would accompany the acquisition of science.

I would observe that with all our inclination to learn, we are apt to be indolent. We covet, indeed, truth and knowledge, but we desire to procure them at a cheap rate, without that constant labour and unwearied attention which at last become irksome and often prove prejudicial to health, but which nevertheless are indispensably necessary if we would attain a mastery of any species of science. Unless we are continually on our guard, and contend strenuously against our slothfulness, we shall soon

delude ourselves into the belief that extraordinary acquirements need not be preceded by persevering and toilsome study, and we shall rest satisfied with that appearance of truth which characterizes the reasonings of our pretenders to philosophy. Instead of this, we ought to estimate these reasonings according to their real strength, and carefully examine the arguments by which they might be confuted, arguments concealed or distorted by our dogmatizers, from vanity and presumption, or from ignorance and prejudice. It happens unfortunately that we feel pleasure, both in permitting things to be exaggerated by others, and in exaggerating them ourselves, and take equal delight in being agreeably deceived, and in imposing agreeable delusions upon mankind.

You see, my dear friend, I am frankly stating the thoughts which the design you have formed has suggested to my mind. It seems to me that in philosophy, and especially in studying those high matters which are become the subjects of your contemplation, there can be no middle course: a choice must be made of two plans.

Either we must avoid the necessity of rack-
ing our brains, and consent to be carried softly
down the current, along with the many per-
sons of good sense, passing among us even for
excellent philosophers, who thus suffer themselves
to follow the stream: the labour of mental
application will in this manner be obviated, as
well as the consequences of philosophizing by

halves, and of not penetrating things to the bottom; and we shall escape the danger of imbibing disquieting doubts, which embitter every moment of life, and sometimes render men extremely vicious in their lives, and nearly insufferable in their manners: or we must devote our time to hard study; be steadfast in the pursuit of knowledge; and, despising the pitiful vanity of being considered extraordinary wits, and of living without a master to whom we are amenable for the motives of our actions, make truth the sole object of our search. We shall then feel the necessity of weighing and re-weighing the reasonableness of every proposition; of deeply meditating; of writing, conversing and disputing; in a word, of omitting no mode which may contribute to the expansion of our intellect and the improvement of our understanding.

In regard to your request that I would communicate to you the ideas which presented themselves to my mind while discoursing with Danechmend-khan, the philosopher of Asia, on the various subjects of your present studies, I tell you candidly and without fearing the imputation of vanity, that you might have applied to a person of greater intelligence, but not to one who has studied those matters with more assiduity and attention. Not only have I deeply considered all that I have read in ancient and modern authors, and in Arabian, Persian and Hindostanee writings; but I have discoursed a hundred times on

the subjects of these books, with very great and learned men who have chanced to fall in my way; and when I have seen persons who held the fallacious opinions to which I have alluded, I have not scrupled to feign an acquiescence in these opinions in the hope of drawing from my companions all the information they had it in their power to communicate. But as your question involves considerations that would swell my letter to an inconvenient length, it is better, now that I am so far advanced on my return to Europe, to defer my full answer to the time when I shall have the pleasure of meeting you in France.

In the mean while, lest you should consider me inattentive to your request, I shall observe that it seems to me quite rational to believe that there exists something in us more perfect and excellent than that which we call body or matter.

You know the opinions of Aristotle respecting the elementary matter, than which nothing can be more fallacious, because to be *neither one thing nor another* is, in fact, to be nothing. You know also that all the perfections and properties which Democritus and Epicurus attribute to their primitive bodies, or to the first and sole existence of matter, resolve themselves principally into this, —that there are certain very small and very solid beings, without any void, and indivisible; all having some peculiar and essential form; an infinite number, for example, being round; an infinite number pyramidal; an infinite number square;

an infinite number cubical, crooked, pointed, triangular; and also an innumerable, though not an infinite, quantity of various other forms; all of them possessed of innate motion, and of an unimaginable swiftness. Some, however, are better suited than others for entering into combination, or more susceptible of disintegration and recomposition according as they are more or less small, more or less round, or more or less smooth and slippery. These philosophers also pretend that all these beings are eternal in their own nature, consequently incorruptible and independent, although without sense, reason or judgment. You are well aware, I say, that all the properties of their little bodies nearly resolve themselves to what I have just now stated, and I wish you to bear this in mind that you may, during the progress of this enquiry, judge whether they are capable of the things attributed to them.

However, not to deprive their principles of any part of their force, and to undeceive you if you believe that I have cast off the doctrine of atoms, I shall avow that the more I consider the infinite division of finite matter, the more absurd and unphilosophical it appears to me; and the reasons by which it is attempted to establish that theory, are as captious as those which Zeno, who supposed this same divisibility, assigned for the purpose of proving that there was no motion; since mathematical points, lines and superficies, which have no existence but in the mind,

are without solidity, ought not to be transferred and applied to physical bodies, which cannot exist without all their dimensions and which are the workmanship of nature. A philosopher ought, as much as possible, to avoid diving into infinity: it is a deep and dark abyss in which the human understanding is bewildered and lost.

Moreover I am still of opinion, that atoms are indivisible, because they are small portions of matter or small hard bodies, resisting and impenetrable (properties as essential to matter as extension) and because they are pure and continuous matter, without any parts that are only contiguous, and each of which has its peculiar and determinate superficies. Here I shall also add that the separation, disjunction or dissociation of parts merely contiguous in a compound is, in my judgment, the only division conceivable: so that it is impossible to divide any atom, that is, any portion of matter purely continuous, even though we should suppose it as long as a needle; since to divide it with a chisel, for example, we must commence by producing a penetration, which is inconceivable; and it would be necessary that some part of the needle gave way (if we could admit that there are parts in a whole which has by its constitution no contiguous parts) while it is inconceivable how it should give way to the chisel that might press it, or permit any of its portions to yield without penetration; more especially as the parts pressed and the part of the chisel pressing are both of them of the same

nature and of the same force, both being hard resisting, and impenetrable. The doctrine of atoms, therefore, has this great advantage—that it does not even assume its principles, and demand the concession that primitive bodies are indivisible: inasmuch as it cannot be even conceived that they are divisible; nor how a hard compound should result from soft, yielding, and divisible principles; nor how two extremely subtile portions of matter, in striking against each other, should not resist by their hardness, without reducing themselves into some dust of smaller particles. Nor does this doctrine of atoms require that there must necessarily be small void spaces between the parts of compounded bodies, let the matter with which it is endeavoured to fill them be ever so subtile; since it is likewise inconceivable not only how a motion should begin *in pleno* (where all is perfectly full) but how the parts themselves of this extremely subtile matter, which must have their particular forms as much defined and determined as the parts of grosser matter, can be so perfectly arranged that there shall not necessarily remain small empty spaces between them.

I shall further acknowledge that, according to the atomical philosophy, it may be very rationally imagined that there is no compound of such admirable shape, composition, order and disposition of parts, not excepting the human body itself, but that it may have been formed by the junction, the peculiar order and disposition of small

bodies, or atoms, provided there intervened a guiding and sufficiently intelligent cause.

It may also be granted, that there may result from the first causes of this philosophy, a compound so perfect as to be capable of the most difficult species of loco-motion, such as walking like an animated substance, or even perfectly to imitate the singing, weeping, and all the other actions of the most perfect animals. This implies no sort of contradiction, as is proved by clocks and so many other artificial machines.

In fine, I am quite willing to allow that the sect of Democritus and Epicurus, (supposing for it that the atoms are the workmanship of an all-wise and all-powerful God) has great advantages over other sects, and that its followers can give more probable reasons for a great number of beautiful effects of nature than the followers of other sects. Of the truth of this observation those only can doubt who have not made a comparison between them and who are not in the habit of thoroughly examining questions of this kind. But to imagine that the first causes, with all these advantages, are, as they contend, capable of forming an animal, such as man is in all his operations, by a peculiar junction, order, union, and disposition, however admirable these may be, and even although some intelligent and guiding cause should intervene, is what I have always found it impossible to do. The idea appears to me contrary to reason and good sense; and so it

will doubtless appear to you, if you will recal to your remembrance what you have probably heard mentioned a hundred times, and what I am going to repeat after my own way.

It is not within my purpose to moralize and to pretend that I am returning to my native country a very great man. Such a traveller as I am, nurtured too in the atomical school, might work miracles, which, however, no one would perhaps believe. Be assured, my friend, if I presume to communicate my ideas, it is not out of ostentation, but with the utmost sincerity, and according to my soundest judgment.

Nor do I pretend, notwithstanding my Asiatic preamble, to have made the discovery of any new reasons during my stay in India. Entertain no such expectation, I pray you. I despair nearly as much as Cicero, of any new light being ever thrown upon the subject we are discussing. It would not be difficult to shew that whatever the moderns have said concerning it, amounts either to nothing at all, or to nothing new. I should need only to pursue the observations contained in the writings of Gassendi and Arnauld in answer to M. Descartes, observations to which I do not find that gentleman has made any reply. Ardently do I wish that he could, as he pretends, oppose to them arguments invincibly conclusive. I would embrace, and, as it were, adore, the author of demonstration on this subject: with how much greater propriety would the

verses addressed to an ancient atomist be applicable to him.

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
Præstinxit stellas, exortus uti æthereus, Sol.

I exact only one thing of you—that you seriously reflect on what passes within us, on the operations of our understanding; and that you would then honestly tell me whether you conceive that there is any proportion between the perfection of those operations, and the imperfection of what we call body or matter; supposing, what you will readily admit, that after the imagination has been stretched to its utmost limits, we can never conceive any other properties in atoms, and generally in all that is body or matter, than those I have already enumerated,—size, shape, hardness, indivisibility, motion; or, if you will, (for it does not affect the argument) softness or divisibility.

I flatter myself that you will not refuse the request I now make, which is that you would again apply your attention to those ideas so full of ingenuity and beauty, selected from your notes; to those passages of equal force still to be found there; and generally to all those flights of enthusiasm and poetic transports to be found in your Homer, your Virgil and your Horace, which partake of something divine; and when in that severity of mind and philosophical temper, which you sometimes experience in the morning, you will not refuse to meditate on four

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or five points that appear to me to deserve the attention of a philosopher.

1. The first—that our senses are not only struck by bodies, as the eyes of a statue or an automaton might be, but that we feel the impression, that we feel titillation and pain, and even perceive that we feel them, when we say, “I perceive that this or that pleases my taste much more, or much less than ordinarily; or, that my pain is much less, or much greater, than it was.”

2. The second—that frequently we do not rest satisfied with making the above observations, but make such deductions as these: “we ought, therefore, to follow this method; or, we ought, therefore, to shun that.” We then come to these general conclusions; “all that is good should be followed; and all that is evil should be avoided.”

3. The third—that we remember the past, consider the present, and foresee the future.

4. The fourth—that sometimes we endeavour to penetrate, as it were, into ourselves, into our most inward parts; as I am doing at this moment, while examining what I am, and what may be this reasoning power that is within me; these thoughts, ratiocinations, and reflections. Thus do we reflect on ourselves, and on our operations.

5. The fifth—that being resolutely bent to meditate deeply on any matter, we sometimes make new discoveries, find new reasons, or, at least, see those which have been already found weighing and comparing them one with another,

and sometimes drawing such consequences as depend upon a great number of antecedent propositions. These propositions, which we shall see at one glance, will all concur to establish the same conclusion : as happens in all the sciences, and principally in mathematics. Such are the strength and admirable extent of the mental faculty !

These reflections may suffice for what I demand of you ; the rather, as whatever else I might say would amount to nearly the same thing. But you must submit, for once, to the style of these eastern countries, the air of which I have breathed so long, and attend patiently to another observation, that I consider very important.

Not only do we know the particular things that make an impression upon our senses, but such is the strength and admirable capacity of our understanding that it discovers the means of knowing, and of forming to itself ideas of a thousand things which fall not immediately, and exactly as they are, upon the senses : such ideas, for example, as these : that man is a reasonable animal ; that the sun is much larger than the globe we inhabit ; that it is impossible a thing should be and should not be, at one and the same time ; that two things which are equal to a third, are equal to one another ; that the absence of the sun is the cause of night ; that every thing engendered is subject to corruption ; that from nothing, nothing can be produced, any more

than that which really exists can return to nothing; that there must of necessity be something eternal and uncreated in the universe—God, or the original matter of things, or both; or that God must have created this matter either from all eternity, or in time. Besides these, the understanding forms to itself an infinite number of ideas, so profound and vast and so remote from matter, that we scarcely know how they have found admission into the human mind.

Now, my dear friend, can all those actions I have mentioned, which argue such strength and power, capacity and extent, of the human mind; can all those internal motions, that peculiar state which, though we cannot clearly explain, we yet plainly feel and acknowledge in ourselves, when we reflect on what passes within us, and consider our operations (for I am lost in my admiration of the reflections which we make on our actions;) can all those actions, I say or interior motions, or whatever else you may choose to call them, can they indeed be attributed to spirits, to a wind, to fire, to air, to atoms, to particles of an extremely subtile essence; in short, to any thing that possesses no other qualities or properties than may be comprehended in the word matter, however small, attenuated, light and active that matter may be; whatever may be its contexture or disposition, and what motions soever it may be made capable of giving and receiving? No; we can never believe that it can be any thing else

than the merely local movements of some machine wholly artificial, dead, insensible, devoid of judgment and devoid of reason. Never can it be conceived that these can be any of those internal actions I have mentioned, that perception or knowledge that I have knowledge, that perception that I reason, that perception of reasons, and that consciousness that they are perceived.

Moreover, let us, for a moment, consider some of the principal propositions of Euclid, without reference to those of Archimedes, Apollonius, and so many others. When I think only of the 47th of the first book of Euclid, I find something so grand and noble that I confess I can scarcely persuade myself it could be of human invention; but imagine rather that it was the discovery of this incomparable proposition by Pythagoras which induced him, in the extasy of his joy, and the greatness of his astonishment, to offer that grateful and celebrated sacrifice to the gods; thus testifying that the discovery was much beyond the reach of the human understanding.

But I would not therefore say there is reason to believe that man possesses any thing divine,—any particle of the divinity. This idea is an insupportable blasphemy of certain stoics, of the calbalists of Persia and of the brahmins of India, who in their anxiety to maintain the dignity and perfection of the human mind, have chosen to run into this opposite error, rather than countenance the notion that it is so base and imperfect as to

be all corporeal or matter. I am far from entertaining such an opinion, and you will see by my letter to Mr. Chapelain how much I consider it unworthy of any philosopher. Yet, like the stoics and others, I observe in man something so perfect, grand and elevated, that their notion of a divine principle in him, appears to me much less absurd than the theory that in man, and indeed in the whole universe, there is nothing but what is material; nothing but local and corporeal motions; nothing but body, atoms and matter.

But is it really so? Does that man exist, supposing him not quite void of common sense, who persuades himself that when Archimedes, Pythagoras, and other great men, were indulging the efforts of their genius, and engaged in profound meditations, there was nothing in their heads and brains but what was corporeal, nothing but vital and animal spirits; only a certain natural heat, only particles of a very subtile matter; or, if the term be preferred, only atoms, which though they be insensible, without the least intelligence or reason, and notwithstanding they cannot move (according to the atomists) but by a fated and blind motion and concurrence, yet happened to move and concur with such astonishing luck, that, as they had once before, by means of a similar concurrence, formed the heads of those great men, with those innumerable organs so industriously ordered and disposed: so also they were again so happy as to form and

produce those subtile thoughts and profound meditations ; or rather they happened once more to move themselves in all these organs in so admirable a manner, that falling at last into a certain wonderful order, into a certain wonderful disposition, and into a certain wonderful state (for these are the terms employed by the atomical philosophers) they became themselves that conception, perception and meditation ; those admirable propositions and those divine inventions.

Again,—When our choler and rage are excited by insult, or any other cause, and yet we restrain our anger, in obedience to an internal monitor, and feel disposed, contrary to our natural desire for revenge, to act with prudence and moderation, by considerations, it may be, of decorum, of honour, or of virtue, what, I would ask, is this internal movement and state ? Can it be rationally said that they are nothing but certain rollings, counter-motions, reflections, peculiar conjunctures, and contextures of atoms or spirit ? or, if another mode of expression pleases our philosophers better, particles of matter within the nerves, within those delicate membranes, those subtile channels and organs of the brain, the heart, and other parts of the body ? Chimeras, my friend ; mere chimeras !

A word more concerning liberty. When, dreading to make a bad instead of a good choice, our mind remains as in a state of equipoise, while seeking within ourselves, and earnestly

examining, all the reasons for and against, may I ask whether this dread, this hesitation, this search, and the resolution to which we at length come, of adopting or rejecting this or that line of conduct; or, to employ the language of our philosophers, the whole of those motions, of that inward state and mode of being, shall all this be nothing more than a fortuitous and blind concurrence of small bodies? Is it possible you can imagine this? Even Lucretius, that warm partisan of the Epicurean sect, could not carry his credulity so far, nor persuade himself that the free motions of the will should be attributed solely to atoms. Because if the will be, as he says, torn forcibly from fate and raised above destiny, "*et fatis avulsa voluntas, &c.*" how can he, with all his "*clinamen*," or bending of principles, have really and honestly believed that there is nothing but what is corporeal, and that nothing is done within us, or elsewhere, but by a natural, eternal, independent, immutable, and inevitable concurrence of atoms? He was not ignorant that if such were the case, neither the will, nor any other thing whatsoever, could be separated and exempted from that concatenation, and eternal, immutable succession of motions, and from those causes which would follow and succeed one another by an internal law absolutely necessary and invariable.

I could, in addition to what I have said, remind you of many reasons frequently urged

upon this subject. You are acquainted with a great man who has collected more than twenty of the most cogent : but it would be trespassing too far upon your patience to recapitulate them in this place, especially as I have already noticed the most important arguments in refutation of the theory in question.

I could also tell you how all the objections to those arguments may be answered ; you are not a person, however, to whom one should send a book. I shall confine myself to two observations which I conceive are applicable to this point.

I. What our philosophers say is unquestionably true—that drinking, eating, health, natural heat, the spirits and the good disposition of the organs, which are all corporeal things, and, as they may say, depending upon atoms as principles and primary matter, are things necessary to all those thoughts, reasonings and reflections, in a word, to all the other internal operations which I have mentioned. This is a remark, the truth of which is too sensibly experienced by every person to be denied. But will any man of sense therefore conclude that all which intervenes and concurs to form those operations, are only corporeal, atoms, spirits, subtile matter ? Can he possibly come to this conclusion when he has reflected upon the perfection and excellence of the operations, and upon the imperfections of bodies or atoms, or upon the little conformity of their qualities

to our internal operations? No; he cannot. I am satisfied that all which may be conceded is, that the atoms, spirits, and the other things instanced, are indeed necessary, but merely as conditions and dispositions (or for other purposes unknown to us) and not as first and absolute principles, and as wholly the cause of our internal operations—which must be produced by something more noble, higher, and more perfect.

II. The other observation I would make is this—It is very certain that we cannot form a true, or, as it is called, an immediate and positive idea of that which is above the body, or of any thing which is not body. This, I conceive, we cannot do while we remain in this mortal state, so strictly united to the body. We are prevented from doing it by our subjection to the bodily senses, which so much limits and obscures the light of our understanding. But I do not see it is therefore to be concluded that there is really nothing above the body, nothing but atoms or matter: for, how many things are there of which we have not that positive idea, which yet our reason suffices to convince us that they have a real existence? Or, rather, how few are the things of which we possess true and correct ideas! Have these philosophers themselves, any positive idea of their atoms? They acknowledge that their smallness is such that it cannot be even imagined by hearing this word atom pronounced or explained: so far are atoms from falling under

our senses, or from impressing us with a true and positive idea! And yet our philosophers believe and conclude from reason that they exist. Has a mathematician any positive idea of the sun's magnitude? It is so prodigious, and so completely transcends the power of our senses, that we are not capable even to imagine it such as it is; there is not a mathematician, notwithstanding, who is not entirely persuaded and clearly convinced, by the force of demonstration, of its superior magnitude, and who does not perfectly know that it greatly surpasses that of our own globe. Is it not likewise true that the nature of a thing may be known by two different ways?—Either *positively*, as when we see the thing, and it falls under one or another of our senses; and when we say what the thing is, and we give it a positive definition. Or *negatively*, when we say what the thing is not. Now, I grant that we are not capable of knowing the principle of our operations, or reasonings, by the first of these ways; nor even what it is, and how those operations are formed and produced. We are not, alas! so happy. We should need other senses much more perfect than all those which we possess. We are not born to penetrate and philosophize so profoundly. Shall we say “*Invidiæ præcluserit speciem Naturæ videndi?*” But it must also be confessed that we may at least know it by the second of the methods I have mentioned; so that, if we cannot say positively and as a

truth, what it is, we can at least say, and we certainly know what it is not. I mean, that from the perfection of the operations, which we evidently see to belong to it, operations which have no relation to the properties and perfections of atoms, and which generally surpass the reach of what is mere body; we can deduce this certain conclusion—that the principle of such operations, and those operations themselves, must be something superior to all that is body or corporeal. This is sufficient for my purpose; for at the commencement of this dissertation I advance nothing more. I pretend not that we can form a true and positive idea of that principle; but only that we can and ought to conclude by the reason of the thing, that it must be something, as I have said, much more perfect and much more noble, than all that is comprehended under the term body, whatever may be its being hereafter, whatever may be its nature.

Ought I to hesitate fully to disclose my thoughts? You know I am not a man to speak or write out of vain ostentation, to fabricate untruths, or to speak at random on a subject of such importance as that which now engages our attention. It cannot be denied that there is a very great difference between the operations of brutes and those admirable operations of man which we are now contemplating. I speak not only in respect of the operations of their external senses, as smelling, seeing, tasting and others; but in

reference also to those of their internal senses, or their imagination. All these operations of the brutes are so much inferior to the reasoning faculties of man, that it must be allowed there is not any proportion, and that the operations of man proceed from a different and infinitely more perfect principle. And yet, my friend, notwithstanding these remarks, I should think that individual a hundred times less absurd who maintained that in the principle of those operations of brutes, whether it be of their internal or even their external senses, there was something more perfect than can be found in that which is merely corporeal, or generally in all which may be comprehended in the terms body, matter or spirits: a person, I say, who defended this opinion, I should consider far less absurd than him who should pretend that the principle of the operations of man was wholly corporeal: so devoid of reason do I consider this latter opinion—so unworthy any man of sound judgment. Was it philosophizing with good faith to affirm so monstrous a proposition? or was it not rather an excessive vanity that drove our philosophers to so irrational an extreme? They saw, no doubt, that their sect possessed great advantages over all others, in being able to explain with much ease and plausibility many of the most beautiful effects of nature, solely by local motion, by the order and peculiar disposition of matter, corpuscles, particles or atoms; and

they wished to impose the belief that by the same principles they could give a reason for every thing, and explain all which concerns the human mind and its operations.

Have not you and I, my dear sir, always concurred in opinion that how much soever we strained our understanding, we should never be able to conceive how any thing sensible could result from insensible corpuscles, while nothing intervened but what was insensible? and, in regard to atoms, we felt equally satisfied that however small and active our philosophers might make them, whatever motions and forms they might attribute to them, and in whatever order, mixture and disposition they might bring them, nay, however ingenious might be the hand that should regulate them; we felt satisfied, I say, that no philosopher could ever succeed (supposing, with the sect, that atoms have no other properties or perfections than those mentioned) in proving that there can result from those atoms a compound,—I do not say possessed of man's reasoning faculties, but one merely sensitive, such as may be the vilest and most imperfect worm of the earth. And yet these men dare pretend that they can explain how there may result from atoms a thing imaginative and reasonable, a thing which shall be the imaginations and the reasonings themselves!

Let us avoid, my dear friend, the monstrous presumption and contemptible vanity of these

free-thinkers. Let us not presume to explain the nature of our reasoning principle in the same manner as we may explain such things as fall under our senses. This is a subject which it is folly to treat geometrically. We are not qualified for the attempt in this mortal state, and in that complete subjection to our bodily senses under which we now lie.

Still we ought to entertain a more exalted opinion of ourselves than seems consistent with the theory of these great philosophers, and not imagine with them that our soul is composed of base matter. We ought assuredly to believe that we are infinitely more noble and more perfect than they pretend; and resolutely maintain that if we cannot discover what we really are, we yet know with certainty, what we are not:—we are not composed wholly and exclusively of mud and mire. Farewell.

NARRATIVE OF AN EXCURSION MADE BY THE GREAT MOGUL, AURENG-ZEBE, IN THE YEAR 1616, FROM DELHI, THE CAPITAL OF HINDOSTAN, TO THE KINGDOM OF KASHMIRE, COMMONLY CALLED THE PARADISE OF INDIA, IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO MONSIEUR DE MERVEILLES.

SIR,

Delhi, December, 1664.

FROM the period of Aureng-Zêbe's convalescence it had been constantly rumoured that he intended to visit Lahore and Kashmire, in order to benefit his health by change of air and avoid the approaching summer heat, from which a relapse might be apprehended. Many intelligent persons, it is true, could scarcely persuade themselves that the king would venture upon so long a journey, while his father remained a prisoner in the citadel of Agra. Considerations of policy, however, have yielded to those of health; if indeed this excursion may not rather be attributed to the arts and influence of Rochinara-Begum, who has been long anxious to inhale a purer air than that of the seraglio, and to appear in her turn amid a pompous and magnificent army, as her sister Begum-Saheb had done during the reign of Shah-Jehan.

The king left this city on the sixth of this month, at three o'clock in the afternoon; a day and hour which, according to the astrologers of Delhi, cannot fail to prove propitious to long

journeys. Having reached Sha-limar, his country villa, which is about two leagues distant from the capital, he remained there six whole days in order to afford time for the preparations required by an expedition which was to last eighteen months. We hear to-day that he has set out with the intention of encamping on the Lahore road, and that after two days he will pursue his journey without further delay.

He is attended not only by the thirty-five thousand cavalry which at all times compose his body guard and by infantry exceeding ten thousand in number, but likewise by the heavy artillery and the light or stirrup-artillery, so called because it is inseparable from the king's person, which the large pieces of ordnance must occasionally quit for the high roads, in order that they may proceed with greater facility. The heavy artillery consists of seventy pieces, mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that twenty yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along; and some, when the road is steep or rugged require the aid of elephants in addition to the oxen, to push the carriage wheels with their heads and trunks. The stirrup-artillery is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each mounted, as I have observed elsewhere, on a small carriage of neat construction and beautifully painted; decorated with a number of red streamers, and drawn by two handsome horses, driven by an artillery-man. There is always a third

or relay horse, which is led by an assistant gunner. These field pieces travel at a quick rate, that they may be ranged in front of the royal tent, in sufficient time to fire a volley as a signal to the troops of the king's arrival.

So large a retinue has given rise to a suspicion that instead of visiting Kashmire, we are destined to lay siege to the important city of Candahar, which is situated equally on the frontiers of Persia, Hindostan and Usbec. It is the capital of a fine and productive country, yielding a very considerable revenue; and the possession of it has consequently been at all times warmly contested between the monarchs of Persia and India.

Whatever may be the destination of this formidable force, every person connected therewith must hasten to quit Delhi, however the urgency of his affairs may require his stay; and were I to delay my own departure I should find it difficult to overtake the army. Besides my navaab, or aga, Danechmend-khan, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon, than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendi and Descartes. I shall commence my journey this very night, after having finally arranged all my affairs, and supplied myself with much the same

necessaries as if I were a cavalry officer of rank. As my pay is one hundred and fifty crowns per month, I am expected to keep two good Tartarian horses; and I also take with me a powerful Persian camel, and driver; a groom for my horses, a cook and a servant to go before my horse with a flaggon of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country. I am also provided with every useful article; such as a tent of moderate size; a carpet; a portable bed made of four very strong but light canes; a pillow; a couple of coverlets, one of which twice doubled, serves for a mattress; a soufra, or round leathern cloth used at meals; some few napkins of dyed cloth; three small bags of culinary utensils and earthenware, which are all placed in a large bag, and this bag is again carried in a very capacious and strong double sack made of thongs. This double sack likewise contains the provisions, linen, and wearing apparel, both of master and servants. I have taken care to lay in a stock of excellent rice, for five or six days' consumption; of sweet biscuits flavoured with anise, of lemons and sugar. Nor have I forgotten a linen bag with its small iron hook for the purpose of suspending and draining dais, or curds; nothing being considered so refreshing in this country as lemonade and dais. All these things, as I said before, are packed in one large sack, which becomes so unwieldy that three or four men can with difficulty place it on the camel, although the animal kneels

down close to it, and all that is required is to turn one of the sides of the sack over its back.

Not a single article which I have mentioned, could conveniently be spared during so extended an excursion as the one in prospect. Here we cannot expect the comfortable lodgings and accommodations of our own country; a tent will be our only inn, and we must make up our minds to encamp and live after the fashion of Arabs and Tartars. Nor can we hope to supply our wants by pillage: in Hindostan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the king's domain. In undertaking this long march it is consoling to reflect that we shall move in a northern direction; that it is the commencement of winter; and that the periodical rains have fallen. This is, indeed, the proper season for travelling in India, the rains having ceased, and the heat and dust being no longer intolerable. I am also happy at the idea of not being any longer exposed to the danger of eating the bazaar bread of Delhi, which is often badly baked and full of sand and dust. I may hope, too, for better water than that of the capital, the impurities of which exceed my power of description; as it is accessible to all persons and animals, and the receptacle of every kind of filth. Fevers most difficult of cure are engendered by it, and worms are bred in the legs which produce violent inflammation, at-

tended with much danger. If the patient leave Delhi, the worm is generally soon expelled, although there have been instances where it has continued in the system for a year or more. They are commonly of the size and length of the treble string of a violin, and might be easily mistaken for a sinew. In extracting them, great caution should be used lest they break; the best way is to draw them out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them round a small twig of the size of a pin.

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me to think that I shall not be exposed to any of these inconveniences and dangers, as my *navaab* has with marked kindness ordered that a new loaf of his own household bread, and a *souray* of Ganges water (with which, like every person attached to the court, he has laden several camels) should be presented to me every morning. A *souray* is that tin flaggon of water, covered with red cloth, which a servant carries before his master's horse. It commonly holds a quart, but mine is purposely made to contain two, a device which I hope may succeed. This flaggon keeps the water very cool, provided the cloth which covers it be always moist. The servant who bears it in his hand should also continue in motion and agitate the air; or it should be exposed to the wind, which is usually done by putting the flaggon on three neat little sticks placed transversely, so that it may not touch the

ground. The moisture of the cloth, the agitation of the air, or exposure to the wind, is absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh, as if this moisture, or rather the water which has been imbibed by the cloth, arrested the little bodies, or fiery particles, existing in the air, at the same time that it affords a passage to the nitrous or other particles which impede motion in the water and produce cold, in the same manner as glass arrests water, and allows light to pass through it, in consequence of the contexture and particular disposition of the particles of glass, and the difference which exists between the minute particles of water and those of light.* It is only in the field that this tin flaggon is used. When at home, we put the water into jars made of a certain porous earth, which we cover with a wet cloth; and, if exposed to the wind, these jars keep the water

* When a liquid, for instance, water, is put into an unglazed earthen vessel, a portion of it, transuding through its sides, evaporates; and as during that process, heat is absorbed, the water in the vessel will, of course, become cooled, insomuch that it may be frozen in this process. This effect is more completely produced when the vessel is placed in the sun, and when the surface of evaporation is encreased by wrapping round it cloths moistened with water. The older chymists imagined that a something, to which they gave various names, passed off from the water in the process of cooling, the particles of which were so fine as to transude or pass through the containing vessel. That something modern chymists call caloric.—*Translator.*

much cooler than the flaggon. The higher sort of people make use of saltpetre, whether in town or with the army. They pour the water, or any other liquid they may wish to cool, into a tin flaggon, round and long-necked, as I have seen English glass bottles. The flaggon is then stirred, for the space of seven or eight minutes, in water into which three or four handfuls of saltpetre have been thrown. The liquid thus becomes very cold and is by no means unwholesome, as I apprehended, though at first it sometimes affects the bowels.

But to what purpose am I indulging in scientific disquisitions when on the eve of departure? when my thoughts should be occupied with the burning sun to which I am about to be exposed, and which in India it is sufficiently painful to endure at any season; with the daily packing, loading and unloading; with the never-ceasing instructions to servants; with the pitching and striking of my tent; with marches by day, and marches by night; in short, with the precarious and wandering life which for the ensuing eighteen months I am doomed to experience? Adieu, my friend; I shall not fail to perform my promise, and to impart to you from time to time all our adventures. The army on this occasion will advance by easy marches: it will not be disquieted with the apprehension of an enemy, but move with the gorgeous magnificence peculiar to the kings of

Hindustan. I shall therefore endeavour to note every interesting occurrence in order that I may communicate it as soon as we arrive at Lahore.

LETTER THE SECOND.

SIR,

Lahore, 25 February, 1665.

THIS is indeed slow and solemn marching; what we here call *à la Mogole*. Lahore is little more than one hundred and twenty leagues or about fifteen days' journey from Delhi, and we have been nearly two months on the road. The king, it is true, together with the greater part of the army, diverged from the high way, in search of better ground for the sports of the field, and for the convenience of obtaining the water of the Jumna, which we had gone in search of to the right; and we leisurely skirted its bank, hunting and shooting amid grass so high as almost to conceal our horsemen, but abounding in every kind of game. We are now in a good town, enjoying repose; and I cannot better employ my time than in committing to paper the various particulars which have engaged my mind since I quitted Delhi. Soon I hope to conduct you to Kashmire, and to shew you one of the most beautiful countries in the world.

Whenever the king travels in military pomp,

he has always two private camps; that is to say, two separate bodies of tents. One of these camps being constantly a day in advance of the other, the king is sure to find at the end of every journey, a camp fully prepared for his reception. It is for this reason that these separate bodies of tents are called *peiche-keiche-kanes* or houses which precede. The two *peiche-kanes* are nearly equal, and to transport one of them, the aid of more than sixty elephants, two hundred camels, one hundred mules, and one hundred men-porters is required. The most bulky things are carried by the elephants, such as the large tents, with their heavy pillars, which, on account of their great length and weight, are made so as to be taken down into three pieces. The smaller tents are borne by the camels, and the luggage and kitchen utensils by the mules. To the porters are confided the lighter and more valuable articles, as the porcelain used at the king's table, the painted and gilt beds, and those rich *karguais*, of which I shall speak hereafter.

One of the *peiche-kanes* has no sooner reached the place intended for the new encampment, than the Grand Quarter-Master selects some fine situation for the king's tents, paying, however, as much attention as possible to the exact symmetry of the whole camp. He then marks out a square, each side of which measures more than three hundred ordinary paces. A hundred pioneers presently clear and level this space, raising square

panes on which they pitch the tents. The whole of this extensive square is then encompassed with kanates, or screens, seven or eight French feet in height, secured by cords attached to pegs, and by poles fixed two by two in the ground, at every ten paces, one pole within and the other without, and each leaning upon the other. The kanates are made of strong cloth, lined with printed Indian calico, representing large vases of flowers. The royal entrance, which is spacious and magnificent, is in the centre of one of the sides of the square, and the flowered calico of which it is composed, as well as that which lines the whole exterior face of this side of the square, is of much finer texture and richer than the rest.

The first and largest tent erected in the royal camp, is named am-kas; being the place where the king and all the nobility keep the mokam; that is, where they assemble at nine o'clock in the morning for the purpose of deliberating on affairs of state and of administering justice. The kings of Hindostan seldom fail, even when in the field, to hold this assembly twice during the twenty-four hours, the same as when in the capital. The custom is regarded as a matter of law and duty, and the observance of it is rarely neglected.

The second tent, little inferior in size and somewhat more advanced in the interior, is called gosle-kane, or the place for bathing. It is here that all the nobility meet every evening to pay their obeisance to the king, in the same manner

as when the court is at Delhi. This evening assembly subjects the omrahs to much inconvenience ; but it is a grand and imposing spectacle in a dark night, to behold, when standing at some distance, long rows of torches lighting this nobility, through extended lanes of tents, to the goslekane, and attending them back again to their own quarters. These flambeaux, although not made of wax, like ours in France, burn a long time. They merely consist of a piece of iron hafted in a stick, and surrounded at the extremity with linen rags steeped in oil, which are renewed, as occasion requires, by the masalchis, or link boys, who carry the oil in long narrow-necked vessels of iron or brass.

Still deeper in the square, is the third tent, smaller than those I have spoken of, called kalvetkane, the retired spot, or the place of the privy council. To this tent none but the principal ministers of state have access, and it is here that all the important concerns of the kingdom are transacted.

Advancing beyond the kalvet-kane, you come to the king's private tents, which are surrounded by small kanates, of the height of a man, some lined with Masulipatam chintz, worked over with flowers of a hundred different kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes.

Adjoining the royal tents, are those of the begums, or princesses, and of the great ladies and

principal female attendants of the seraglio. These tents are also enclosed on every side by rich kanates; and in the midst of them are the tents of the inferior female domestics and other women connected with the seraglio, placed generally in much the same order according to the offices of the respective occupants.

The am-kas, and the five or six other tents are elevated above the rest, as well for the sake of keeping off the heat as that they may be distinguished at a distance. The outside is covered with a strong and coarse red cloth, ornamented with large and variegated stripes; but the inside is lined with beautiful chintz manufactured for the purpose at Masulipatam, the work of which is set off by rich figured satin of various colours, or embroideries of silk, silver and gold, with deep and elegant fringes. Cotton mats, three or four inches in thickness, are spread over the whole floor, and these again are covered with a splendid carpet, on which are placed large square brocade cushions to lean upon. The tents are supported by painted and gilt pillars.

In each of the two tents wherein the king and nobility meet for deliberation is erected a stage, which is most sumptuously adorned, and the king gives audience under a spacious canopy of velvet or flowered silk. The other tents have similar canopies, and they also contain what are called karguais or cabinets, the little doors of which are secured with silver padlocks. You may form some

idea of them by representing to yourself two small squares of our French folding screens, the one placed on the other, and both tied round with a silken cord, in such a manner that the extremities of the sides of the upper square incline towards each other so as to form a kind of dome. There is this difference however between the karguais and our screens, that all their sides are composed of very thin and light deal boards painted and gilt on the outside, and embellished around with gold and silk fringe. The inside is lined with scarlet, flowered satin or brocade.

I believe that I have omitted nothing of consequence contained within the great square.

In describing what is to be seen without, I shall first notice two handsome tents on either side of the grand entrance, or royal gate. Here is to be seen a small number of the choicest horses, saddled and superbly caparisoned; ready to be mounted upon any emergency, but intended rather for ceremony and parade.

On both sides of the same royal gate are ranged the fifty or sixty small field pieces of which the stirrup-artillery is composed, and which fire a salute when the king enters his tent, by which the army is apprized of his arrival.

A free space, as extensive as may be convenient or practicable, is always kept in front of the royal entrance, and at its extremity there is a large tent called Nager-kane, because it contains the trumpets and the tymbals.

Close to this tent, is another of a large size, called tchauky-kane, where the omrahs, in rotation mount guard for twenty-four hours, once every week. Most of them, however, order one of their own tents to be pitched in its immediate vicinity, where they find themselves more comfortable and are in greater privacy.

Within a short distance of the three other sides of the great square are the tents of officers and others appropriated to particular purposes, which unless there be local impediments, are always placed in the same relative situation. Every one of these tents has its particular appellation, but the names are of pronounciation difficult, and as it is not within my scope to teach you the language of Hindostan, it may suffice to state, that in one of them are deposited the arms of the king; in a second, the rich harnesses; and in a third, the vests of brocade, which are the presents generally made by the king. The fruits, the sweetmeats, the Ganges' water the saltpetre with which it is cooled, and the betel, are kept in four other tents. The betel is the leaf which, after it has undergone a certain preparation, is given as a mark of royal favour, and which, when masticated, sweetens the breath and renders the lips ruddy. There are fifteen or sixteen other tents which serve for kitchens and their appurtenances; and in the midst of all these are the tents of a great number of officers and eunuchs. There are, lastly, six others, of considerable length, for led

horses; and other tents for choice elephants and for the animals employed in hunting; for the birds of prey that invariably accompany the court, and are intended both for shew, and for field-sports; for the dogs; the leopards for catching antelopes; the nil-ghaus, or grey oxen, which I consider a species of elk; the lions and the rhinoceroses, brought merely for parade; the large Bengal buffaloes, which attack the lion; the tamed antelopes, frequently made to fight in the presence of the king.

The quarters of the monarch are understood to comprehend not only the great square, but the numerous tents situated without the square, to which I have just drawn your attention. Their position is always in the centre of the army, or as much so as the nature of the ground will admit. You will easily conceive that there is something very striking and magnificent in these royal quarters, and that this vast assemblage of red tents, placed in the centre of a numerous army, produces a brilliant effect when seen from some neighbouring eminence; especially if the country be open, and offer no obstruction to the usual and regular distribution of the troops.

The first care of the Grand-quarter-master is, as before remarked, to choose a suitable situation for the royal peiche-kanes. The am-kas is elevated above every other tent, because it is the object by which the order and disposition of the whole army is regulated. He then marks out

the royal bazaars, from which all the troops are supplied. The principal bazaar is laid out in the form of a wide street, running through the whole extent of the army, now on the right, then on the left of the am-kas, and always, as much as possible, in the direction of the next day's encampment. The other royal bazaars, which are neither so long nor so spacious, generally cross this one, some on one side and some on another side of the king's quarters. All of them are distinguished by extremely long poles, stuck in the ground at the distance of three hundred paces from each other, bearing red standards, and surmounted with the tails of the Great Thibet cows, which have the appearance of so many periwigs.

The quarter-master then proceeds to plan the quarters for the omrahs, that there may always be the same observance of regularity, and that each nobleman may be placed at his usual distance from the royal square, whether on the right or on the left, so that no individual may be permitted to change the place allotted to him, or which he expressed a wish to occupy before the commencement of the expedition.

The description I have given of the great square is, in many particulars, applicable to the quarters of the omrahs and rajahs. In general they also have two peiche-kanes, with a square of kanates enclosing their principal tents and those of their wives. Outside this square, are likewise pitched the tents of their officers and cavaliers,

and there is a bazaar in the form of a street, consisting of small tents belonging to the followers of the army, who supply it with forage, rice, butter, and other necessary articles of life. The omrahs need not, therefore, always have recourse to the royal bazaars, where indeed every thing may be procured, almost the same as in the capital. A long pole is planted at both ends of each bazaar, and distinguished by a particular standard, floating in the air, as high as those of the royal bazaars, in order that the different quarters may be readily discerned from a distance.

The chief omrahs and great rajahs pride themselves on the loftiness of their tents, which must not, however, be too conspicuous, lest the king discover it and command that the tents be thrown down, as he did on our late march. For the same reason, the outside must not be entirely red, there being none but the royal tents that can be of that colour; and as a mark of proper respect every tent is also to front the am-kas, or quarters of the king.

The remainder of the ground between the quarters of the monarch, those of the omrahs, and the bazaars, is filled with the tents of mansebdars, or inferior omrahs; of persons attached to the artillery; of tradespeople of every description, of civil officers and other persons, who for various reasons, follow the camp. The tents are therefore very numerous, and cover a large extent

of ground ; though with respect both to their number and the space occupied by them, very extravagant notions are formed. When the army halts in a fine and favourable country, which leaves it at liberty to adopt the acknowledged rules and order of circular encampment, I do not believe that this space measures more than two leagues, or perhaps two leagues and a half, in circumference, including, here and there, several spots of unoccupied ground. It should be mentioned, however, that the heavy artillery, which requires a great deal of room, is commonly a day or two in advance of the army.

What is said of the strange confusion that prevails in the camp, and of the alarm thereby occasioned to a new comer, is also much exaggerated. A slight acquaintance with the method observed in the quartering of the troops, will enable you to go, without much difficulty, from place to place, as your business may require ; the king's quarters, the tents and standards peculiar to every omrah, and the ensigns and cow-tails of the royal bazaars, which are all seen from a great distance, serving, after a little experience, for unerring guides.

Sometimes indeed, notwithstanding all these precautions, there will be uncertainty and disorder, particularly on the arrival of the army at the place of encampment in the morning ; when every one is actively employed in finding and establishing his own quarters. The dust that arises often obscures the marks I have mentioned,

and it becomes impossible to distinguish the king's quarter, the different bazaars, or the tents of the several omrahs. Your progress is besides liable to be impeded by the tents then pitching, and by the cords extended by inferior omrahs, who have no peiche-kanes, and by manseb-dars, to mark their respective boundaries, and to prevent not only the public path from passing through, but the fixing of any strange tent near their own, where their wives, if accompanying them, reside. A troop of servants, with canes in their hands, will not suffer these cords to be removed or lowered: you then naturally retrace your steps, and find that while you have been employed in unavailing efforts to pass at one end, your retreat has been cut off at the other. There is now no means of extricating your laden camels but by menace and entreaty; outrageous passion, and calm remonstrance; seeming as if you would proceed to blows, yet carefully abstaining from touching any one; promoting a violent quarrel between the servants of both parties, and afterward reconciling them for fear of the consequences, and in this way taking advantage of a favourable moment to pass your camels. But the greatest annoyance is perhaps in the evening, when business calls you to any distance. This is the time when the common people cook their victuals with a fire made of cow and camel dung and green wood. The smoke of so many fires of this kind, when there is little wind, is highly offensive, and

involves the atmosphere in total darkness. It was my fate to be overtaken three or four times by this wide-spreading vapour. I enquired, but could not find my way: I turned and roamed about ignorant whither I went. Once I was obliged to stop until the smoke dispersed, and the moon arose; and at another time I with difficulty reached the aquacy-die, at the foot of which I passed the night, with my horse and servant. The aquacy-die resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed toward the king's quarters, near the tent called nagar-kane, and during the night has a lighted lantern suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name aquacy-die may be translated Light of Heaven; the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star.

To prevent robberies, every omrah provides watchmen, who continually perambulate his particular quarters during the night, crying Kaber-dar! or, Have a care! and there are guards posted round the whole army at every five hundred paces, who kindle fires, and also cry out Kaber-dar! Besides these precautions, the Cotonal, or Grand Provost, sends soldiers in every direction, who especially pervade the bazaars,

crying out and sounding a trumpet. Notwithstanding all these measures, robberies are often committed, and it is prudent to be always on the alert; not to rely too much on the vigilance of servants; and to repose at an early hour, so as to watch during the remainder of the night.

I will now proceed to describe the different modes of travelling adopted by the Great Mogul on these occasions.

Most commonly he is carried on men's shoulders, in a tucktravan, or field-throne, wherein he sits. This tuckt is a species of magnificent tabernacle, with painted and gilt pillars and glass windows, that are kept shut when the weather is bad. The four branches, or outer parts of the poles by which this tuckt is carried, are covered either with scarlet or brocade, and decorated with deep fringes of silk and gold. At each branch are stationed two strong and handsomely dressed men, who are relieved by eight other men constantly in attendance. Sometimes the king rides on horseback, especially when the weather is favourable for hunting; and at other times he is carried by an elephant, in a mik-dember, or in a hauze, which is by far the most striking and splendid style of travelling, as nothing can surpass the richness and magnificence of the harness and trappings. The mik-dember is a small house, or square wooden tower, gilt and painted; and the hauze, an oval chair with a canopy of pillars, also superbly decorated with colours and gold.

In every march, the king is accompanied by a great number of omrahs and rajahs, who follow him closely on horseback, placing themselves promiscuously in a body, without much method or regularity. On the morning of a journey, they assemble at break of day in the am-kas, with the exception of those who may be exempted by age or the nature of their office. They find these marches very fatiguing, especially on hunting-days, being exposed like a private soldier to the sun and dust, frequently until three o'clock in the afternoon.

These luxurious lords move along very differently when not in the train of the king: neither dust nor sun then annoys them, but they are stretched, as on a bed, in a palanquin closed and covered, or not, as may be found more agreeable; sleeping at ease until they reach their tent, where they are sure to find an excellent dinner, the kitchen and every necessary article having been sent forward the preceding night, immediately after supper. The omrahs are always surrounded by a number of well-mounted cavaliers, called gourze-berdars, because they carry a kind of club, or silver mace. The king is also attended by many of them, who go before him, both on the right and on the left, together with a multitude of footmen. The gourze-berdars are chosen, well-looking men, of fine figures, and are employed to convey orders and dispatches. With great sticks in their hands, they drive every body before them, and keep the way clear for the king.

The kour follows the rajahs, and is intermixed with a large number of tymbals and trumpets. This kour, as I before observed, consists of figures in silver, representing strange animals, hands, scales, fishes and other mystical objects, borne at the end of large silver canes.

A numerous body of manseb-dars or inferior omrahs comes next, well-mounted, and equipped with sword, quiver, and arrows. This body is much more numerous than that of omrahs, which follows the king; because not only the manseb-dars who are on duty are obliged to assemble at break of day near the tent of the king, for the purpose of accompanying him, but there are many who join the train in the hope of attracting notice and obtaining preferment.

The princesses and great ladies of the seraglio have also different modes of travelling. Some prefer tchaudoules, which are borne on men's shoulders, and are not unlike the tucktravans. They are gilt and painted, and covered with most magnificent silk nets of many colours, enriched with embroidery, fringes, and beautiful tassels. Others travel in stately and close palanquins, gilt and coloured, over which are also expanded similar silk nets. Some again, use capacious litters, suspended between two powerful camels, or between two small elephants. It is in this style I have sometimes seen Rochinara-Begum pursuing her journey, and have observed more than once in the front of the litter, which was open, a young well-dressed female slave, with a peacock's tail in

her hand, brushing away the dust, and keeping off the flies from the princess. The ladies are not unfrequently carried on the backs of elephants, which, upon these occasions wear massy bells of silver, and are decked with costly furniture: the harnesses are sumptuous, and the ornaments appendant to the saddles are curiously embroidered. These lovely and distinguished females, seated in mik-dembers, are thus elevated above the earth, like so many superior beings, borne along through the middle region of the air. Each mik-dember contains eight women, four on a side: it is latticed and covered with a silken net, and yields not in richness and splendour to the tchaudoule or the tucktravan.

I cannot avoid dwelling on this pompous procession of the seraglio. It strongly arrested my attention during the late march, and I feel delight in recalling it to my memory. Stretch imagination to its utmost limits, and you can conceive no exhibition more grand and imposing than when Rochinara-Begum, mounted on a stupendous Pegu elephant, and seated in a mik-dember blazing with gold and azure, is followed by five or six other elephants with mik-dembers nearly as resplendent as her own, and filled with ladies attached to her household. Close to the princess are the chief eunuchs, richly adorned and finely mounted, each with a cane in his hand; and surrounding her elephant, a troop of female servants from Tartary and Kashmire, fantastically at-

tired and riding handsome pad-horses. Besides these attendants, are several eunuchs on horse-back, accompanied by a multitude of pagys, or lackeys on foot, with large canes, who advance a great way before the princess, both to the right and to the left, for the purpose of clearing the road and driving before them every intruder. Immediately behind Rochinara-Begum's retinue, appears a principal lady of the court, mounted and attended much in the same manner as the princess. This lady is followed by a third; she by a fourth; and so on, until fifteen or sixteen females of quality pass with a grandeur of appearance, equipage and retinue more or less proportionate to their rank, pay, and office. There is something very impressive of state and royalty in the march of these sixty or more elephants; in their solemn and, as it were, measured steps; in the splendour of the mik-dembers, and the brilliant and innumerable followers in attendance: and if I had not regarded this display of magnificence with a sort of philosophical indifference, I should have been apt to be carried away by the similar flights of imagination as inspire most of the Indian poets, when they represent the elephants as conveying so many goddesses, concealed from the vulgar gaze.

Truly, it is with difficulty that these ladies can be approached, and they are almost inaccessible to the sight of man. Woe to any cavalier, however exalted in rank, who, meeting the procession,

is found too near. Nothing can exceed the insolence of the tribes of eunuchs and pages which he has to encounter, and they eagerly avail themselves of any such opportunity to beat a man in the most unmerciful manner. I shall not easily forget being once surprised in a similar situation, and how narrowly I escaped the cruel treatment that many cavaliers have experienced: but determined not to suffer myself to be beaten and perhaps maimed without a struggle, I drew my sword, and having fortunately a strong and spirited horse, I was enabled to open a passage, sword in hand, through a host of assailants, and to dash across the rapid stream which was before me. It is indeed a proverbial observation in the army that three things are carefully to be avoided: the first, getting among the choice and led horses, where kicking abounds; the second, intruding on the hunting ground; and the third, a too near approach to the ladies of the seraglio. It is much worse, however, in Persia. I understand that in that country life itself is forfeited if a man be within sight even of the eunuchs, although he should be half a league distant from the women; and all the male inhabitants of the towns and villages through which the seraglio is to pass must abandon their homes and fly to a considerable distance.

I shall now speak of the field sports of the king. We could never conceive how the Great Mogul could hunt with an army of one hundred

thousand men; but there certainly is a sense in which he may be said to hunt with two hundred thousand, or with any number of which his army may consist.

In the neighbourhoods of Agra and Delhi, along the course of the Jumna, reaching to the mountains, and even on both sides of the road leading to Lahore, there is a large quantity of uncultivated land, covered either with copse wood or with grasses six feet high. All this land is guarded with the utmost vigilance; and excepting partridges, quails and hares, which the natives catch with nets, no person, be he who he may, is permitted to disturb the game; which is consequently very abundant.

Whenever the monarch is about to take the field, every game-keeper near whose district the army is to pass, is called upon to apprise the grand master of the hunt, of the various sorts of game under his particular charge, and of the places where they are in the greatest plenty. Guards are then stationed in the different avenues, to guard the tract of ground selected, which extends sometimes four and five leagues; and while the army is on its march, on one side or the other, so as to avoid that tract, the king enters it with as many omrahs and other persons as have liberty to do so, and enjoys, leisurely and uninterruptedly, the sports of the field, varying them according to the nature of the game.

I shall, in the first place, describe the manner

in which they chase antelopes with tame leopards.

I think that I have elsewhere told you that there are in India large numbers of antelopes, very much resembling our fawns in shape; that they move generally in herds; and that every herd, which is never composed of more than five or six, is followed by a male, who is easily distinguished by his colour. When one of these little troops is discovered, the first step is to have it seen by the leopard, who is kept chained on a small car. The sagacious and cunning animal does not, as might be expected, run at once towards the antelopes, but winds about, hides himself, crouches, and in this cautious manner approaches them unperceived, so as to give himself a fair chance of catching them with those five or six bounds, which the leopard is noted for making with incredible agility. If successful, he gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver; but if he miss his prey, as frequently happens, he makes no other effort, but stands perfectly still. It would indeed be useless to contend with these animals in a fair race, for they run much more fleetly and much longer than the leopard. His keeper finds no great difficulty in securing him again on the car; he comes softly, caresses him, throws down a few pieces of flesh and, covering his eyes, fastens his chain. During the march, one of these leopards very unexpectedly afforded us this amusement, to the no small consternation, however, of

many of us. A troop of antelopes ran through the midst of the army, as was indeed the case every day ; but these happened to pass very close to two leopards who were placed as usual on their car. One, whose eyes were not covered, made so violent an effort as to break his chain, and rush after the antelopes, but without catching any. Impeded however, in their flight, turned and pursued on all sides, one of them could not avoid again approaching the leopard, who pounced upon, and seized the poor animal, notwithstanding the crowds of camels and horses that were in his way, and contrary to the common opinion that the leopard never attacks the prey which he has once missed.

There is nothing very interesting in the mode of hunting the nil-ghaus, or grey oxen ; which as I before stated are a species of elk. They enclose them in great nets, which are drawn closer by degrees ; and, when the space is reduced to a small compass, the king enters with his omrahs and huntsmen, and the animal is killed with arrows, short pikes, swords and musketoons. Sometimes these nil-ghaus are slaughtered in such numbers that the king sends whole quarters of them as presents to all the omrahs.

It is curious enough to observe the manner in which cranes are caught. Their courageous defence in the air against the birds of prey affords much sport. Sometimes they kill their assailants ; but from the slowness of their movements in

wheeling round, they are overcome as the number of their enemies increases.

But of all the diversions of the field the hunting of the lion is not only the most perilous, but it is peculiarly royal; for, except by special permission, the king and princes are the only persons who engage in the sport. As a preliminary step, an ass is tied near the spot where the game-keepers have ascertained the lion retires. The wretched animal is soon devoured, and after so ample a meal the lion never seeks for other prey, but without molesting either oxen, sheep or shepherd goes in quest of water, and after quenching his thirst, returns to his former place of retirement. He sleeps until the next morning, when he finds and devours another ass, which the game-keepers have brought to the same spot. In this way they contrive, during several days, to allure the lion and to attach him to one place; and when information is received of the king's approach, they fasten at the spot an ass where so many others have been sacrificed, down whose throat a large quantity of opium has been forced. This last meal is of course intended to produce a soporific effect upon the lion. The next operation is to spread, by means of the peasantry of the adjacent villages, large nets, made on purpose, which are gradually drawn closer, in the manner practised in hunting nil-ghaus. Every thing being in this state of preparation, the king appears on an elephant barbed with iron, and attended by the grand master of the

hunt, some omrahs mounted on elephants, and a great number both of gourze-berdars on horse-back and of game-keepers on foot, armed with half-pikes. He immediately approaches the net on the outside, and fires at the lion with a large musketoon. The wounded animal makes a spring at the elephant, according to the invariable practice of lions, but is arrested by the net; and the king continues to discharge his musketoon, until the lion is at length killed.

It happened, however, during the last hunt, that the enraged animal leaped over the net, rushed upon a cavalier, whose horse he killed, and then effected his escape for a time. Being pursued by the huntsmen, he was at length found and again enclosed in nets. The whole army was on that occasion subjected to great inconveniencies and thrown into a considerable degree of confusion. We remained three or four days patrolling in a country intersected with torrents from the mountains, and covered with underwood, and long grass that nearly concealed the camels. No bazaars had been formed and there were no towns or villages near the army. Happy those who during this scene of disorder could satisfy the cravings of hunger! Shall I explain the weighty reason of this long detention in such abominable quarters? You must know then, that as it is considered a favourable omen when the king kills a lion, so is the escape of that animal portentous of infinite evil to the state. Accordingly, the termination of

the hunt is attended with much grave ceremony. The king being seated in the general assembly of the omrahs, the dead lion is brought before him, and when the carcase has been accurately measured and minutely examined, it is recorded in the royal archives that such a king on such a day slew a lion of such a size and of such a skin, whose teeth were of such a length, and whose claws were of such dimensions.

Let me just add a word on the subject of the opium given to the ass. One of the principal huntsmen assures me that it is a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion is sufficiently disposed to sleep when he has eaten to satiety.

I observed that the great rivers are commonly without bridges. The army crossed them by means of two bridges of boats, constructed with tolerable skill, and placed between two and three hundred paces apart. Earth and straw mingled together, are thrown upon them to prevent the cattle from slipping. The greatest confusion and danger occur at the extremities; for not only the crowd and pressure occur most there, but when the approaches to the bridge are composed of soft moving earth, they become so broken up and so full of pits, that horses and laden oxen tumble upon one another into them, and the people pass over the struggling animals in the utmost disorder. The evil would be much increased if the army were under the necessity of crossing in one day; but the king generally fixes

his camp about half a league from the bridges of boats, and suffers a day or two to elapse ere he passes to the opposite side of the river; when, pitching his tents within half a league from the bank, he again delays his departure so as to allow the army three days and nights, at least, to effect the passage.

As to the number of people, whether soldiers or others, which the camp contains, it is not easy to determine accurately; so various are the opinions on this point. I may venture, however, to state generally, that in this march from Delhi to Kashmire, there are at least one hundred thousand horsemen, and more than one hundred and fifty thousand animals, comprising horses, mules, and elephants; that besides these, there cannot be much less than fifty thousand camels; and nearly as many oxen or horses employed to carry the wives and children, the grain and other provisions belonging to the poor people connected with the bazaars, who when they travel take with them, like the gypsies, the whole of their families, goods and chattels. The servants in the army must be indeed numerous, since nothing is done without their assistance. I rank only with a two-horsed cavalier, and yet I cannot possibly contrive with less than three men. Many are of opinion that the camp contains between three and four hundred thousand persons; some believe this estimate to be too small, while others consider it rather exaggerated. Accurately to determine the ques-

tion the people should be numbered. All I can confidently assert is that the multitude is prodigious and almost incredible. The whole population of Delhi, the capital city, is in fact, collected in the camp, because deriving its employment and maintenance from the court and army, it has no alternative but to follow them in their march or to perish from want during their absence.

You are no doubt at a loss to conceive how so vast a number both of men and animals can be maintained in the field. The best solution of the difficulty will be found in the temperance and simple diet of the Indians. Of the five score thousand cavaliers not a tenth, no, not a twentieth part, eat animal food ; they are satisfied with their kichery, a mess of rice and other vegetables, over which, when boiled, they pour melted butter. It should be considered too, that camels endure fatigue, hunger and thirst in a surprising degree, live upon little, and eat any kind of food. At the end of every march, they are left to browse in the fields, where every thing serves for fodder. It is important likewise to observe that the same tradesmen who supply the bazaars at Delhi are compelled to furnish them in the camp ; the shops of which they are composed being kept by the same persons, whether in the capital or in the field.

These poor people are at great pains to procure forage : they rove about from village

to village, and what they succeed in purchasing, they endeavour to sell in the army at an advanced price. It is a common practice with them to clear, with a sort of trowel, whole fields of a peculiar kind of grass, which having beaten and washed, they dispose of in the camp at a price sometimes very high and sometimes inadequately low.

There is a curious fact respecting the king which I had almost forgotten to relate. He enters the camp sometimes on one side, sometimes on another; that is, he will to-day pass near the tents of certain omrahs and to-morrow near the tents of others. This variation of route is not, as you might suppose, accidental: the omrahs, whom the monarch honours by his vicinity, must leave their quarters to meet him, and must present his majesty with a purse of more or less value; from twenty to fifty golden rupees according to their liberality and the amount of their pay.

I shall say nothing of the towns and villages between Delhi and Lahore: I have in fact scarcely seen any of them. My aga's station not being in the centre of the army, where the high road is often found, but in the front of the right wing, it was our custom to traverse fields and by-paths during the night, guided by the stars; frequently mistaking our way, and marching five or six leagues, instead of three or four, the usual distance between two encampments, till day-light again set us right.

LETTER THE THIRD,

WRITTEN AT LAHORE ON THE KING'S RESUMING HIS JOURNEY TO KASHMIRE.

SIR,

It is not without reason that the kingdom of which Lahore is the capital, is named the Penjeab, or the Region of the Five Waters; because five rivers do really descend from the great mountains which enclose the kingdom of Kashmire, and taking their course through this country, fall into the Indus, which empties itself into the ocean at Sindy, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whether Lahore be the ancient Bucephala, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here sufficiently known by the name of Sekander Filifous, or Alexander the son of Philip: concerning his horse, however, they know nothing. The river on which the city was built, one of the five, is as considerable as the Loire, and is much in want of a similar causeway as that on which the road is carried on the banks of the French river; for it is subject to inundations which cause great injury and frequently change its bed: indeed within a few years the river has receded a full quarter of a league from Lahore to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. Unlike the buildings of Delhi and Agra, the houses here are very lofty: but the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities, most of the houses in Lahore are in a ruinous state. Indeed, many have been

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totally destroyed and have buried many of the inhabitants under their ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years. There are still five or six considerable streets, two or three of which exceed a league in length; but not a few of the houses in them are tumbling to the ground. The river having changed its bed, the king's palace is no longer seated on its banks. This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi or Agra. It is more than two months since we arrived in this city: we have waited for the melting of the snow on the mountains of Kashmire, in order to obtain an easier passage into that country. Our departure is finally fixed, however, for to-morrow. The king quitted Lahore two days ago. I am provided with a small and handsome Kashmirean tent, which I purchased yesterday. I have been advised to do the same as others, and to proceed no farther with my old tent, which is rather large and heavy. It will be difficult, they tell me, to find room for all our tents among the mountains of Kashmire, which besides are impassable to camels; so that requiring porters for our baggage, the carriage of my old tent would be too expensive. Farewell!

LETTER THE FOURTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP OF THE ARMY MARCHING FROM LAHORE TO KASHMIRE,
THE FOURTH DAY OF ITS MARCH.

SIR,

I HOPED that, as I had survived the heat of Mokha near the straits of Babelmandel, I should have nothing to apprehend from the burning rays of the sun in any part of the earth; but that hope has abandoned me since the army left Lahore four days ago. I am indeed no longer surprised that even the Indians expressed much apprehension of the misery which awaited them during the eleven or twelve days' march of the army from Lahore to Bember, which is situated at the entrance of the Kashmire mountains. I declare, without the least exaggeration, that I have been reduced by the intenseness of the heat to the last extremity; scarcely believing, when I rose in the morning, that I should outlive the day. This extraordinary heat is occasioned by the high mountains of Kashmire; for being to the north of our road, they intercept the cool breezes which would refresh us from that quarter, at the same time that they reflect the scorching sun-beams, and leave the whole country arid and suffocating. But why should I attempt to account philosophically for that which may kill me to morrow?

LETTER THE FIFTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP ON THE SIXTH DAY OF THE MARCH.

I YESTERDAY crossed one of the great rivers of India, called the Chunaub. Its excellent water, with which the principal omrahs are providing themselves, instead of the Ganges' water that has hitherto supplied their wants, induces me to hope that the ascent of this river does not lead to the infernal regions, but that it may really conduct us to the kingdom of Kashmire, where they would make me believe we should be gladdened with the sight of ice and snow. Every day is found more insupportable than the preceding, and the farther we advance, the more does the heat increase. It is true that I crossed the bridge of boats at broad noon day, but I am not sure that my sufferings would have been less if I had remained stifling in my tent. My object was at least attained, I passed over this bridge quietly, while every body else was resting and waiting to cross toward the close of the day, when the heat is less oppressive. Perhaps I owe my escape from some fatal accident to my prudence and foresight, for no passage of a river, since the army quitted Delhi, has been attended with such dreadful confusion. The entrance at one extremity of the bridge into the first boat, and the going out from the last boat at the other extremity, were rendered extremely difficult and

dangerous on account of the loose moving sand which it was necessary to pass, and which giving way under the feet of such crowds of animals, was carried off by the current, and left considerable cavities into which numbers of camels, oxen, and horses, were thrown down, and trodden under foot, while blows were dealt about without intermission. There are generally upon these occasions officers and cavaliers attached to omrahs, who to clear the way for their masters and their baggage, make an active use of their canes. My navaab has lost one of his camels, with the iron oven it carried; so that I fear I shall be reduced to the necessity of eating the bazaar bread.

LETTER THE SIXTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE MARCH.

Alas, my dear sir! what can induce an European to expose himself to such terrible heat, and to these harassing and perilous marches? It is too much curiosity; or rather it is gross folly and inconsiderate rashness. My life is placed in continual jeopardy. Out of evil, however, may arise some good. When at Lahore, I was seized with a defluxion, accompanied by acute pains in my limbs, in consequence of having passed whole nights on a terrace in the open air, as is commonly

done in Delhi without danger. My health was suffering; but since we have been on the march, the violent perspirations, continued for eight or nine days, have dissipated my bad humours, and my parched and withered body is become a mere sieve, the quart of water, which I swallow at a draught, passing at the same moment through every one of my pores, even to my fingers' ends. I am sure I have not drunk to-day less than ten or eleven quarts. Amid all our sufferings, it is a great consolation to be able to drink as much water as we please with impunity, provided it be of a good quality.

LETTER THE SEVENTH,

WRITTEN FROM THE CAMP ON THE TENTH DAY OF THE MARCH, IN THE MORNING.

SIR,

The sun is but just rising, yet the heat is insupportable. There is not a cloud to be seen nor a breath of air to be felt. My horses are exhausted; they have not seen a blade of green grass since we quitted Lahore. My Indian servants, notwithstanding their black, dry and hard skin, are incapable of farther exertion. The whole of my face, my feet and my hands are flayed. My body too is entirely covered with small red blisters, which prick like needles. Yesterday one of our poor cavaliers, who was without a tent, was found dead at the foot of a tree, whither he had crept for

shelter. I feel as if I should myself expire before night. All my hopes are in four or five lemons still remaining for lemonade, and in a little dry curd which I am about to drink diluted with water and with sugar. Heaven bless you! the ink dries at the end of my pen, and the pen itself drops from my hand.

LETTER THE EIGHTH,

WRITTEN AT BEMBER, THE ENTRANCE OF THE MOUNTAINS OF KASHMIRE, AFTER
HAVING BEEN TWO DAYS ENCAMPED NEAR THAT TOWN.

At length we have reached Bember, situated at the foot of a steep, black and scorched mountain. We are encamped in the dry bed of a considerable torrent, upon pebbles and burning sands,—a very furnace; and if a heavy shower had not fallen opportunely this morning, and I had not received from the mountains a seasonable supply of curdled milk, lemons, and a fowl, I know not what would have become of your poor correspondent. But God be praised! the atmosphere is evidently cooler, my appetite is restored, my strength improved; and the first use I make of returning health is to resume my pen. You must now be made acquainted with new marches and fresh troubles.

Yesterday, at night, the king left these suffocating quarters. He was accompanied by Rochi-

nara-Begum and the other women of the seraglio, the Rajah Ragnat, who acts as vizier, and Fazel-khan, the high steward : and last night the grand master of the hunt also left the camp, with some principal officers of the royal household, and several ladies of distinction. To-night, it will be our turn to depart : besides my navaab Danechmend-khan's family, the party will consist of Mahmet-Emir-khan, son of the celebrated Emir Jemla, of whom I have already spoken so much ; of my excellent friend Dianet-khan and his two sons, and of several other omrahs, rajahs and mansebdars. The other lords, who are to visit Kashmire will depart each in his turn, to lessen the inconvenience and confusion that must attend the five days' journey between this place and Kashmire, through difficult and mountainous paths. The remainder of the court, such as Feday-khan, the grand master of the artillery, three or four principal rajahs, and a large number of omrahs, will continue stationed as guards, in this town and neighbourhood, during three or four months, until the great heat be over, when the king will return. Some will pitch their tents on the banks of the Chunaub, others will repair to the adjacent towns and villages, and the rest will be under the necessity of encamping in this burning Bember.

That a scarcity of provisions may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kashmire, the king will be followed by a very limited number of in-

dividuals. Of females, he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Rochinara-Begum, and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with. The omrahs and military will also be as few as possible; and those lords, who have permission to attend the monarch, will be accompanied by no more than twenty-five cavaliers out of every hundred; not however to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household. These regulations cannot be evaded, an omrah being stationed at the pass of the mountains, who reckons every person one by one, and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of mansebdars and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of Kashmire; as well as of all those petty tradesmen and inmates of the bazaars whose only object is to gain a livelihood.

The king has a few of the choicest elephants for his baggage, and the women of the seraglio. Though heavy and unwieldy, these animals are yet very sure-footed, feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous, and assuring themselves of the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The king has also a few mules; but his camels, which would be more useful, are all left behind, the mountains being too steep and craggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels; and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed, if what they tell me be true, that the king alone has no

fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three, although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at Lahore : every person did the same, not excepting the omrahs and the king himself ; and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in Bember ; some sent by the Governor of Kashmire and by the neighbouring rajahs, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed : an enormous number, when it is considered that the king and omrahs have been sending forward baggage, and the tradespeople articles of every sort for the last month.

LETTER THE NINTH,

WRITTEN AT KASHMIRE, THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE OF THE INDIES, AFTER A
RESIDENCE OF THREE MONTHS.

SIR,

THE histories of the ancient kings of Kashmire maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pire, or aged saint, named Kacheb, who miraculously cut the mountain of Barehmooleh. This account is to be met with in the abridgement of the above-mentioned histories, made by order of Jehan Guire,

which I am now translating from the Persian. I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water: the same thing is reported of Thessaly and of other countries; but I cannot easily persuade myself that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very extensive and very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank into some subterraneous cavern, which was unclosed by a violent earthquake, not uncommon in these countries. If we are to believe the Arabs of those parts, the opening of Babelmandel was effected in the same manner; and it is thus that entire towns and mountains have been engulphed in great lakes.

Kashmire, however, is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many hillocks: about thirty leagues in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. It is situated at the extremity of Hindostan, to the north of Lahore; enclosed by the mountains at the foot of Caucasus, those of the kings of Great Thibet and Little Thibet, and of the Rajah Gamon; who are its most immediate neighbours.

The surrounding mountains nearest to the valley of Kashmire, are of moderate height, of the freshest verdure, decked with trees and covered with pasture land, on which cows, sheep, goats, horses, and every kind of cattle, is seen to graze. Game of various species is in great plenty,—partridges, hares, antelopes, and animals yielding musk. Bees are also in vast abundance;

and, what may be considered very extraordinary in India, there are, with few or no exceptions, neither serpents, tigers, bears, nor lions. These mountains may indeed be characterized not only as innocuous, but as flowing in rich exuberance with milk and honey.*

Beyond the mountains just described arise others of very considerable altitude whose summits, at all times covered with snow, soar above the clouds and ordinary fogs and, like Mount Olympus, are constantly bright and serene.

From the sides of all these mountains gush forth innumerable springs and streams of water, which are conducted, by means of aqueducts, even to the top of the numerous hillocks in the valley; thereby enabling the inhabitants to irrigate their fields of rice. These waters, after separating into a thousand rivulets and producing a thousand cascades through this charming country, at length collect and form a beautiful

* The valley or country of Kashmire is celebrated throughout Upper Asia for its romantic beauties, for the fertility of its soil and for the temperature of its atmosphere. All these particulars may be accounted for, when it is considered that it is an elevated and extensive valley, surrounded by steep mountains that tower above the regions of snow; and that its soil is composed of the mud deposited by a capital river, which originally formed its waters into a lake that covered the whole valley; until it opened itself a passage through the mountains, and left this fertilized valley, an ample field to human industry, and to the accommodation of a happy race: for such the ancient inhabitants of Kashmire undoubtedly were.—*Major Rennell.*

river, navigable for vessels as large as are borne on the Seine. It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course toward Barehmooleh, where it finds an outlet between two stupendous rocks and being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, throws itself over precipices and falls into the Indus near the city of Attock.

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains, maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron and other vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals and a few small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with European flowers* and plants, and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot and walnut-trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of melons, pateques, or water melons, skirrets, red beet, radishes, the major part of our potherbs, and other herbs with which we are unacquainted.

* I may venture to class in the first rank of vegetable produce, the rose of Kashmire, which, for its brilliancy and delicacy of odour has long been proverbial in the east, and its essential oil or ottar is held in universal estimation.—

The fruit is certainly inferior to our own, nor is it in such variety ; but this I am satisfied is not attributable to the soil, but merely to the comparative ignorance of the gardeners ; for they do not understand the culture and the grafting of trees as we do in France. I have eaten, however, a great deal of very excellent fruit during my residence in Kashmire, and should entertain no doubt of its arriving at the same degree of excellency as that of Europe if the people were more attentive to the aspect of the trees and supplied them with grafts from foreign countries.

The capital of Kashmire bears the same name as the kingdom. It has no walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in length and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain ; distant about two leagues from the mountains which seem to describe a semicircle ; and seated on the banks of a fresh water lake whose circumference is from four to five leagues.* This lake is

* George Forster, who visited this city in the year 1783, thus describes it. " The city, which in the ancient annals of India was known by the name of Siringnahun, but now by that of the province at large, extends about three miles on each side of the river Galum, over which are four or five wooden bridges, and occupies in some part of its breadth, which is irregular, about two miles. The houses, many of them two and three stories high, are slightly built of brick and mortar with a large intermixture of timber. On a standing roof of wood is laid a covering of fine earth, which shelters the building from the great quantity of snow that falls in the winter season. This fence communicates an

formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river which runs through the town by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats. In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river ; and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well-built and consist of two or three stories. There is, however, plenty of very fine freestone in the country, some old buildings, and a great number of ancient pagan temples in ruins, are of stone ; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers. Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties

equal warmth in winter, as a refreshing coolness in the summer season, when the tops of the houses, which are planted with a variety of flowers, exhibit at a distance the spacious view of a beautifully chequered parterre. The streets are narrow, and choked with the filth of the inhabitants, who are proverbially unclean. No buildings are seen in this city worthy of remark. The benefits which this city enjoys of a mild salubrious air, a river flowing through its centre, of many large and commodious houses are essentially alloyed by its confined construction and the extreme filthiness of the people. The covered floating baths, which are ranged along the sides of the river, give the only testimony of conveniency or order ; such baths are much wanted by the Indian muhammedans, who from the climate and their religion are obliged to make frequent ablutions."

of pleasure take place on the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure boat, thus communicating with the lake.

At an extreme end of the town, appears an isolated hill, with handsome houses on its declivity, each having a garden. Toward the summit are a mosque and hermitage, both good buildings; and the hill is crowned with a large quantity of fine trees. It forms altogether an agreeable object, and from its trees and gardens it is called, in the language of the country, Hirney Purvet or the Verdant Mountain.

Opposite to this hill is seen another, on which is also erected a small mosque with a garden and an extremely ancient building which bears evident marks of having been a pagan temple, although named Tuckt Suliman, The Throne of Solomon. The muhammedans pretend it was raised by that celebrated king, when he visited Kashmire; but I doubt whether they could prove that this country was ever honoured with his presence.*

The lake is full of islands, which are so

* The legends of the country assert, that Solomon visited this valley, and finding it covered, except the hill on which some muhammedan has dedicated a temple to king Solomon, with a noxious water which had no outlet, he opened a passage in the mountains, and gave to Kashmire its beautiful plains. Tuckt Suliman, the name bestowed by the muhammedans on the hill, forms one side of a grand portal to

many pleasure grounds. They look beautiful and green in the midst of the water, being covered with fruit trees, and having regular walks laid out as so many bowers. In general they are surrounded by the large-leaved asp, planted at intervals of two feet. The largest of these trees may be clasped in a man's arms, but they are as high as the mast of a ship and have only a tuft of branches at the top, like the palm tree.

The declivities of the mountains beyond the lake are crowded with houses and flower gardens. The air is salubrious, and the situation considered most desirable: they abound with springs and streams of water, and command a delightful view of the lake, the islands and the town.

The most beautiful of all these gardens is one belonging to the king, called Shalimar. The entrance from the lake is through a spacious canal, bordered with green turf, and running between two rows of poplars. Its length is about five hundred paces, and it leads to a large

the lake, and on the other stands a lower hill, which, in the Hinduee is called Hirney Purvet, or the Green Hill, a name probably adopted from its being covered with gardens and orchards. On the summit of the Hirney Purvet, the Kashmirians have erected a mosque to the honour of a Muckdoom Saheb, who is as famous in their tales, as Thomas-a-Becket in those of Canterbury.—*Forster.*

summer-house placed in the middle of the garden. A second canal, still finer than the first, then conducts you to another summer-house, at the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large freestone, and its sloping sides are covered with the same. In the middle, is a long row of jets d'eau, or water-works, fifteen paces asunder; besides which, there are, here and there, large circular basins, or reservoirs, out of which arise other jets d'eau, formed into a variety of shapes and figures.

The summer houses are placed in the midst of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between the two rows of large poplars planted on either side. They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up, or down, the canal, and two leading to bridges that connect the building with both banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre, and of four smaller apartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all the chambers are inscribed certain sentences, written in splendid Persian characters. The four doors are extremely valuable; being composed of rare and large stone, and supported by two beautiful pillars. The doors and pillars were found in some of the pagan temples demolished by Shah-Jehan, and it is impossible to estimate their value. I cannot describe the

nature of the stone; but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of marble.*

You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with Kashmire. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains, even as far as Tartary, and over the whole of Hin-

* In the centre of the plain, as it approaches the lake one of the Delhi emperors, I believe Shah-Jehan, constructed a spacious garden, called the Shalimar, which is abundantly stored with fruit-trees and flowering shrubs. Some of the rivulets which intersect the plain, are led into a canal at the back of the garden, and flowing through its centre, or occasionally thrown into a variety of water-works, compose the chief beauty of the Shalimar. To decorate this spot, the Mogul princes of India have displayed an equal magnificence and taste; especially Jehan-Guire, who, with the enchanting Noor-Mâhil, made Kashmire his usual residence during the summer months, and largely contributed to improve its natural advantages. On arches thrown over the canal are erected at equal distances, four or five suites of apartments, each consisting of a saloon, with four rooms at the angles, where the followers of the court attend, and the servants prepare sherbets, coffee, and the hookah. The frame of the doors of the principal saloon, is composed of pieces of a stone of a black colour, streaked with yellow lines, and of a closer grain and higher polish than porphyry. They were taken, it is said, from an Hindoo temple, by one of the Mogul princes, and esteemed of great value. The Shalimar is preserved in good order.—*Forster*.

dostan, to the island of Ceylon. It is not indeed without reason that the moguls call Kashmire the terrestrial paradise of India, or that Acbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native princes. His son Jehan-Guire became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kashmire.*

I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the native and the Mogul poets. We were no sooner arrived, than Aureng-Zêbe received from the bards of both nations, poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted, and rewarded with kindness. They were written in a strain of extravagant hyperbole. One of them, I remember, speaking of the surrounding mountains, observed, that their extraordinary height had caused the skies to retire into the vaulted form which we see; that nature had exhausted all her skill in the creation of this

* Since the dismemberment of Kashmire from the empire of Hindostan (about the year 1754) it has been subject to the Afghans, and the country is held under a grievous oppression. In the reign of Aureng-Zêbe, when the revenue of the different portions of the empire exceeded that of the present day, the sum collected in Kashmire amounted to three and a half of lacks of rupees; but at this time not less than twenty lacks are extracted by the Afghans.—*Translator.*

country, and rendered it inaccessible to the attack of an hostile force ; because, being the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth, it was wise to preserve her in perfect peace and security, that she might exercise universal dominion without the possibility of ever being subject to any. The poet went on to say, that the summits of the higher and more distant mountains were clothed resplendently in white, and the minor and more contiguous preserved in perpetual verdure and were embellished with stately trees, because it was meet that the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth should be crowned with a diadem whose top and rays of diamonds issued from a ground of emeralds. " The poet," I remarked to my navaab, who wished me to relish these productions, " might easily have amplified his subject. He could, with a pardonable license, have included the mountainous and neighbouring regions within the kingdom of Kashmire, since it is pretended that they were once tributary to it. I mean Little Thibet, the states of Rajah Gamon, Cashgar, and Sirinagur. He might then have gone on to say, that the Ganges, the Indus, the Chunaub, and the Jumna, issue from the kingdom of Kashmire, rivers which cannot yield in beauty and importance to the Pison, the Gihon or the two other rivers spoken of in Genesis ; and that it may therefore be reasonably concluded the Garden of Eden was planted in Kashmire, and not, according to the received opinion, in Armenia."

The Kashmirians are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their palanquins, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons and various other things, are quite remarkable, and articles of Kashmire manufacture are in use in every part of India. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw any thing more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to Kashmire, and the staple commodity; that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are about a French ell and a half long, and an ell broad; ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a French foot in width. The Moguls and Indians, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured. One kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of Spain; the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called touz) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits the Great

Thibet. The touz shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the omrahs, which cost one hundred and fifty rupees; but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats*.

Great pains have been taken to manufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra, and Lahore; but notwithstanding every possible care, they never

* The wealth and fame of Kashmire have largely arisen from the manufacture of shawls, which it holds unrivalled, and almost without participation. The wool of the shawl is not produced in the country, but brought from districts of Thibet, lying at the distance of a month's journey to the north east. It is originally of a dark grey colour, and is bleached in Kashmire by the help of a certain preparation of rice flour. The yarn of this wool is stained with such colours as may be judged the best suited for sale, and after being woven, the piece is once washed. The border, which usually displays a variety of figures and colours, is attached to the shawls, after fabrication; but in so nice a manner, that the junction is not discernable. The texture of the shawl resembles that of the shaloons of Europe, to which it has probably communicated the name. The price, at the loom, of an ordinary shawl, is eight rupees; thence, in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty; and I have seen a very fine piece sold at forty rupees the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and as the sum of one hundred rupees

have the delicate texture and softness of the Kashmire shawls, whose unrivalled excellence may be owing to certain properties in the water of that country. The superior colours of the Masulipattam chintzes or cloths, painted by the hand, whose freshness seems to improve by washing, are also ascribed to the water peculiar to that town.

The people of Kashmire are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well made as Europeans, and their faces have neither the Tartar flat nose nor the small pig-eyes, that distinguish the natives of Cashgar, and which generally mark those of Great Thibet. The women especially are very handsome ;* and it is from this

is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments.

The oppressions of the government have reduced the commerce of Kashmire to a languid state. During their subjection to the Mogul dominion, the province contained forty thousand shawl looms, and at this day there are not sixteen thousand.—*Forster*.

* As the natives of a country lying in the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, the Kashmirian women would in Spain or the South of France, be called brunettes. But having been prepossessed with an opinion of their charms, Mr. Forster suffered a sensible disappointment. A coarseness of figure prevails among them, with broad features, and they too often have thick legs. Though excelling in their complexions, they are surpassed by the elegant form and pleasing countenance of the women of some of the western provinces of India.

country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogul, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moguls. Unquestionably there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops. When at Lahore, I had recourse to a little artifice, often practised by the Moguls to obtain a sight of the hidden treasures ; the women of that town being the finest in India, of a brown complexion, and justly renowned for their fine and slender shapes. I followed the steps of some elephants, particularly one richly harnessed, and was sure to be gratified with the sight I was in search of, because the ladies no sooner hear the tinkling of the silver bells suspended from both sides of the elephant, than they all put their heads to the windows. This is a stratagem with which I often amused myself in Kashmire, until a more satisfactory method of seeing the fair sex was devised by an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom I read the Persian poets. I purchased a large quantity of sweetmeats, and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses, to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia ; rich and eager to marry. As soon as we entered a house, he distributed my sweetmeats among the children, and then every body was sure to flock around us, the

married women and the single girls, young and old, with the twofold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many rupees out of my purse ; but it left no doubt on my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kashmire as in any part of Europe.

It remains only to speak of my journey through the mountains, from Bember to this place, with which I ought perhaps to have commenced my letter ;—of the little excursions I have made in the country, and finally, of all which it has been in my power to collect concerning the other mountainous tracts that encircle this kingdom.

In respect then to the route from Bember, I was surprised to find myself, on the very first night transported on a sudden, from a torrid to a temperate zone : for we had no sooner scaled that frightful wall of the world, I mean the lofty, steep, black and bare mountain of Bember, and begun the descent on the other side, than we respired a pure, mild, and refreshing air. What surprised me still more, was to find myself, as it were, transferred from India to Europe ; the mountains we were traversing being covered with every one of our plants and shrubs, save the hyssop, thyme, marjorum and rosemary. I almost imagined myself in the mountains of Auvergne, in a French forest of fir, green oak, elm, and plane trees, and could not avoid feeling strongly the

contrast between this scene and the burning fields of Hindostan, which I had just quitted and where nothing of the kind is seen.

My attention was particularly arrested by a mountain, distant between one and two days from Bember, covered on both sides with plants. The side facing the south, that is, looking toward Hindostan, is full of Indian and European plants, mingled together; but the side exposed to the north, is crowded exclusively with the vegetable productions of Europe. It would seem that one side participates equally of the air and temperature of India and Europe, and that the other feels only the milder climate of the latter quarter of the globe.

I could not avoid admiring, in the course of our march, the successive generations and decay of trees. I saw hundreds plunged and plunging into abysses, down which man never ventured, piled dead one upon another and mouldering with time; while others were shooting out of the ground, and supplying the places of those that were no more. I observed also trees consumed by fire; but I am unable to say whether they were struck by lightning, or ignited by friction, when hot and impetuous winds agitate the trees against each other, or whether, as the natives pretend, trees when grown old and dry, may ignite spontaneously.

The magnificent cascades between the rocks, increase the beauty of the scene. There is one especially, which I conceive has not its parallel.

I observed it at a distance from the side of a high mountain. A torrent of water rolling impetuously through a long and gloomy channel, covered with trees, precipitates itself suddenly down a perpendicular rock of prodigious height, and the ear is stunned with the noise occasioned by the falling of these mighty waters. Jehan Guire erected on an adjacent rock, which was smoothed for the purpose, a large building from which the court might leisurely contemplate this stupendous work of nature, which, as well as the trees beforementioned, bears marks of the highest antiquity, and is perhaps coeval with the creation of the world.

A most fatal accident cast a gloom over these scenes and damped all our pleasure. The king was ascending the Peer-Punchal mountains, the highest of all the mountains, and from which a distant view of the kingdom of Kashmire is first obtained. He was followed by a long line of elephants, upon which sat the ladies in mik-dembers and amaris. The foremost, appalled, as is supposed, by the great length and acclivity of the path before him, stepped back upon the elephant that was moving in his track; who again pushed against the third elephant, the third against the fourth, and so on until fifteen of them, incapable of turning round or extricating themselves in a road so steep and narrow fell down the precipice. Happily for the women, the place where they fell was of no great height; only three or four were killed; but there were no means of

saving any of the elephants. Whenever these animals fall under the tremendous burthen usually placed upon their backs, they never rise again even on a good road. Two days afterward we passed that way, and I observed that some of the poor elephants still moved their trunks. The army, which had been marching four days in files through the mountains, was subjected to serious inconvenience by this disaster. The remainder of the day and the following night, were employed in rescuing the women and in saving other matters, and the troops were under the necessity of halting during the whole of that time. Nearly every man continued pent up on the same spot, for it was impossible, in many places, to advance or recede, and the porters with the tents and provisions were not within reach. My usual good fortune, however, attended me; I contrived to clamber out of the line of march and find a spot whereon I and my horse slept pretty comfortably. The servant who followed me had a small quantity of bread, which we shared. It was here, I recollect, that in stirring some stones, we found a large black scorpion, which a young Mogul of my acquaintance took up and squeezed in his hand, then in the hand of my servant, and lastly in mine, without any of us being stung. This young cavalier pretended that he had charmed the scorpion, as he had charmed many others, with a passage from the Koran; "But I will not," added he, "teach you that passage, because the occult

power would then depart from me and rest with you, in the same manner as it left my teacher the moment he imparted the secret."

While traversing this mountain of Peer-Punchal, three things exercised my philosophical speculations. The first was that we experienced the opposite seasons of summer and winter within the same hour. In ascending, we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun, and perspired most profusely ; but when we reached the summit, we found ourselves in the midst of frozen snow, through which a passage for the army had been recently cut ; a small and congealed rain was falling, and the wind blew piercingly cold. The poor Indians, most of whom had never felt the severity of winter, and saw for the first time ice and snow, were in a state of great suffering and astonishment and fled with precipitation.

The second circumstance was, that within two hundred paces the wind blew from two opposite quarters. While climbing toward the summit, it blew in my face, that is, from the north ; but I no sooner began to descend on the other side, than it blew on my back, that is, from the south ; as if the vapours escaping from all sides, and rising to the summit of the mountain, had there condensed, and caused the wind ; which equally attracted by the warm exhausted air below descended into the two opposite vallies.

The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit, who had resided on the top of this

mountain ever since the time of Jehan Guire. Of his religion every body was ignorant ; but it was said that he wrought miracles, caused strange thunders and raised storms of wind, hail, snow and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long and bushy ; he had somewhat of the savage in his aspect, and was haughty in his manner of asking alms. He permitted the people to drink water out of some earthen cups placed in rows on a large stone, making signs with his hand that they should not stop, but hastily leave the summit of the mountain. The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. After I had entered his cave, and softened his countenance by means of half a rupee, which I humbly put into his hand, he informed me that noise made there stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable. It was wise in Aureng-Zêbe, he added, to be guided by his advice, and to order the army to pass with stillness and expedition. His father, Shah-Jehan, always acted with the same prudence ; but Jehan Guire having upon one occasion derided his counsel, and, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance, having ordered the kettle-drums to beat and the trumpets to sound, narrowly escaped destruction.

In regard to my excursions in different parts of this kingdom, I shall begin by informing you, that we no sooner arrived in the city of Kashmire, than my navaab Danechmend-khan sent me to the farther end of the country, three short journeys

from the capital, that I might witness the “wonders,” as they are called, of a certain fountain. I was accompanied by a native, and escorted by one of my navaab’s cavaliers. The “wonders” consist in this: in the month of May, when the melting of the snows has just taken place, this fountain, during the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and ebbs three times a day, —when the morning dawns, at noon and at night. Its flow generally continues three quarters of an hour, and is sufficiently abundant to fill a square reservoir ten or twelve French feet deep, and as many in length and breadth. After a lapse of fifteen days, the supply of water becomes less copious and regular, and at the expiration of a month, the spring ceases to run, unless in the time of heavy and incessant rains, when it flows with the constancy and irregularity of other fountains. The Hindoos have a temple on the side of the reservoir, dedicated to Brare, one of their deities; and hence this spring is called Send-brare, or water of Brare. Pilgrims flock from all parts to this temple, for the purpose of bathing and purifying themselves in the sacred and miraculous water. Numberless fables are founded on the origin of this fountain, which not having a shadow of truth, would be little entertaining in the recital. The five or six days that I remained in the vicinity of Send-brare were employed in endeavours to trace the cause of the “wonder.” I paid considerable attention to the situation of the mountain, at whose foot is

found the supernatural spring. With much labour and difficulty I reached the top, leaving no part unexplored, searching and prying at every step. I remarked that its length extends from north to south, and that though very near to other mountains, yet it is completely detached from any. Its form resembles an ass's back ; the summit is of extreme length, but the greatest breadth is scarcely one hundred paces. One side of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, has an eastern aspect ; but the sun being intercepted by the opposite mountains, does not shine upon it before eight o'clock in the morning. The western side is covered with trees and bushes.

Having made these observations, it occurred to me that this pretended wonder might be accounted for by the heat of the sun, combined with the peculiar situation and internal disposition of the mountain.

I supposed that the frozen waters which during the winter, when the whole ground is covered with snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of that portion of the mountain exposed to the morning sun, melted partially ; that these waters running down, little by little, into certain beds of quick rock, and being thence conveyed toward the spring, produced the flow at noon : that the sun quitting this part of the mountain (which then becomes cool) darts its vertical beams upon the summit, melting the

congealed waters, which descend also by slow degrees, but through different channels, into the same beds of quick rock, and are the cause of the flow at night; and finally, that the sun heating the western side of the mountain, similar effects are occasioned, and the morning flow is the consequence. That this last is slower than the others, may be accounted for by the remoteness of the western side from the spring; by its being covered with wood, and therefore more sheltered from the sun; or simply by the coldness of the night. My reasoning may derive support from the consideration that the water flows most copiously during the first days, and that having gradually diminished in quantity, it ceases to run altogether: as if the waters which had remained frozen in the earth were in greater plenty at the commencement than afterward. It may be observed too, that even at the beginning, the supply of water as to quantity is very uncertain, and that the flow is sometimes greater at noon than at night or in the morning, or in the morning, greater than that at noon; because, as I conceive, some days are hotter than others, and because clouds, sometimes rendering the heat unequal, become the cause of inequality in the water.

Returning from Send-brare, I turned a little from the high road for the sake of visiting Achiavel, a country house formerly of the kings of Kashmire and now of the Great Mogul. What principally constitutes the beauty of this place,

is a fountain whose waters disperse themselves into a hundred canals, round the house, which is not amiss, and throughout the gardens. The spring gushes out of the earth with violence, as if it issued from the bottom of some well, and the water is so abundant that it ought rather to be called a river than a fountain. It is excellent water, and cold as ice. The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks, and full of fruit-trees,—the apple, pear, plum, apricot and cherry. Jets d'eau in various forms and fish-ponds, are in great number, and there is a lofty cascade which in its fall takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable; especially at night, when innumerable lamps fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water.

From Achiavel I proceeded to another royal garden, embellished much in the same manner. One of its ponds contains fish so tame that they approach upon being called, or when pieces of bread are thrown into the water. The largest have gold rings, with inscriptions, through the gills, placed there, it is said, by the celebrated Noor-Mâhil, the wife of Jehan-Guire, grandfather to Aureng-Zêbe.

Danehmend-khan seemed well satisfied with the account I brought of Send-brare, and wished me to undertake another journey, that I might bear my testimony to what he called a real

miracle, such a miracle as would induce me to renounce my religion and embrace muhammedanism. "Hasten to Barehmooleh," said he; "the distance is not greater than to Send-brare: there you will see a mosque which contains the tomb of a celebrated Pire, or holy dervise, who though dead yet miraculously cures the sick and and infirm. Perhaps you may deny the reality either of the disease or of the cure; but another miracle is wrought by the power of this holy man, which no person can see without acknowledging. There is a large round stone that the strongest man can scarcely raise from the ground, but which eleven men, after a prayer made to the saint, lift up with the tip of their eleven fingers with the same ease as they would move a piece of straw." I was not sorry for another little excursion, and set out with both my former companions. I found Barehmooleh a rather pleasant place; the mosque is a tolerable building and the saint's tomb is richly adorned. It was surrounded with a great number of people, engaged in acts of devotion, who said they were ill. Adjoining the mosque, is a kitchen, wherein I observed large boilers filled with meat and rice, which I conceived at once to be the magnet that draws the sick, and the miracle that cures them. On the other side of the mosque, are the apartments and garden of the moollahs, who pursue the even tenour of their way under the shadow of the Pire's miraculous sanctity. They

are sufficiently zealous in celebrating his praises, but as I am always unhappy on similar occasions, he performed no miracle upon the sick while I remained at Barehmooleh. As to the round and heavy stone that was to convert me to muhammedanism, I noticed that eleven moolahs formed themselves into a circle round it, but what with their long cabayes, or vests, and the studied compactness of the circle, I had great difficulty to see the mode in which they held the stone. I watched narrowly, however, the whole of this cheating process, and although the moolahs stoutly maintained that each person used only the tip of one finger, and that the stone felt as light as a feather, yet I could clearly discover that it was not raised from the ground without a great effort, and it seemed to me that the moollahs made use of the thumb as well as of the fore-finger. Still I mixed my voice with the cries of these impostors and by-standers, exclaiming karamet! karamet!—a miracle! a miracle! I then presented them with a rupee, and assuming a look of the deepest devotion, entreated that I might have for once the distinguished honour of being among the eleven who lifted the stone. The moollahs were reluctant to comply with my request, but having presented them with a second rupee and expressed my belief in the truth of the miracle, one of them gave me up his place. No doubt they hoped that ten would be able, by an extraordinary effort, to lift the stone,

although I contributed no other aid than the tip of my finger, and they expected to manage so adroitly that I should not discover the imposture. But they were much mortified to find that the stone, to which I persevered in applying the end of my finger only, was constantly inclining and falling towards me. I considered it prudent at last to hold it firmly with both my finger and thumb, when we succeeded, with great difficulty, to raise it to the usual height. Observing that every person looked at me with an evil eye, not knowing what to think of me and that I incurred the danger of lapidation, I continued to join in the cry of karamet, and throwing down a third rupee, stole away from the crowd. Though I had taken no refreshment since my arrival, I did not hesitate to mount my horse directly, and to quit for ever the dervise and his miracles. I availed myself of this opportunity to visit those celebrated rocks that form the outlet of all the waters of the kingdom, and to which I alluded at the commencement of this letter.

I was induced to quit the high road for the sake of approaching a large lake that I saw at some distance. It is well stocked with fish, particularly eels, and covered with ducks, wild geese and many other water birds. The governor comes hither in the winter, when these birds are in greatest plenty, to enjoy the sport of fowling. In the centre of the lake is an hermitage, with its little garden, which it is pretended floats

miraculously upon the water. The hermit passes the whole of his life there he never leaves the place. I shall not swell the size of this letter by recounting the thousand absurd tales reported of this hermitage except it be the tradition that one of the ancient kings of Kashmire, out of mere fancy, built it upon a number of thick beams fastened together. The river which runs toward Barehmooleh passes through the middle of this lake.

Leaving this lake, I went in search of a spring, considered an object of curiosity. It bubbles gently and rises with some force, bringing with it a certain quantity of very fine sand, which returns the way it came; after which the water becomes still a moment or two without ebullition and without bringing up sand, and then bubbles as before, and with the same effect; thus continuing its motion at irregular intervals. But the wonder, they say, consists in this; that the least noise made, either by speaking, or knocking the feet against the ground, agitates the water and causes it to run and bubble in the manner described. I discovered, however, that its movements are influenced neither by speaking nor knocking, and that its action is the same whether you make a noise or are silent. As to the real cause of the water rising in this manner, I have not reflected sufficiently upon the subject to give you a satisfactory solution; unless it be

that the sand by returning continues to obstruct the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water thus opposed and closed in, makes an effort to raise the sand and open a passage: or it may rather be, that the wind, pent in the channel of the spring, rises at intervals, as is the case in artificial springs.

When we had sufficiently examined this fountain, we ascended the mountains for the purpose of seeing an extensive lake, in which there is ice, even in summer, which the winds heap up and disperse, as in a frozen sea. We then passed through a place called Sengsafed, or White-stone, remarkable for producing in summer every kind of flower, the same as in a well-stored garden; and for a circumstance said to have been observed from time immemorial, that when many persons visit this spot and make much noise and agitate the air, a heavy shower of rain invariably descends. Whether this be generally the case or not, there can be no doubt that a few years ago, when Sengsafed was visited by Shah-Jehan, the whole party was in danger of perishing in consequence of the violent and extraordinary rains which fell, although he had issued orders that no unnecessary noise should be made. This fact will remind you of the aged hermit's conversation with me on the summit of Peer-Punchal.

I was pursuing my journey to a grotto full of wonderful congelations, two days' journey from

Sengsafed, when I received intelligence that my navaab felt very impatient and uneasy on account of my long absence.

I regret that I can give you only imperfect and scanty information concerning the circumjacent mountains. The subject has much occupied my thoughts since my arrival in this country ; but I can meet with no congenial mind, with no person of observation and research, who possesses much knowledge of the matters about which I wish to be informed. What I have learnt I shall, however, communicate.

The merchants who every year travel from mountain to mountain to collect the fine wool with which shawls are manufactured, all agree in saying that the land is very good between the mountains still dependant upon Kashmire. Among these tracts there is one whose annual tribute is paid in leather and wool, and whose women are proverbial for beauty, chastity and industry. Beyond this tract is another whose valleys are delightful and plains fertile, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricots, excellent melons and even grapes, with which good wine is made. The tribute of this tract is likewise paid in wool and leather, and it sometimes happens that the inhabitants, trusting to the inaccessible nature of the country, refuse payment ; but troops always contrive to penetrate and reduce the people to submission. I learn also from the merchants, that in the more distant mountains, which have ceased to be tributary to

Kashmire, there are other beautiful tracts and countries, where the inhabitants are white and well-formed, and remarkable for their attachment to their native land which they seldom quit. Some of these people have no king, nor even, as far as can be discovered, any religion; though certain tribes abstain from fish, and consider it unclean.

I shall add what was related to me, a few days ago, by a good old man, who married a descendant of the ancient kings of Kashmire. At the period when Jehan-Guire was making a diligent search after all persons connected with the royal family, this old man effected his escape to the mountains last mentioned, accompanied by three domestics, scarcely knowing whither he was going. Wandering from place to place, he found himself at length in the midst of a small but beautiful district, where he was no sooner known than he experienced a cordial reception. The happy man was laden with presents, and in the evening the handsomest girls were presented by their parents, and he was entreated to make his choice from them, that the country might be honoured with his offspring. My friend proceeded to another district in the vicinity and was received with equal kindness and respect: the evening ceremony differed however, in one particular; as the husbands brought their wives, not the fathers their daughters; observing that their neighbours were simpletons in having supplied him with the latter,

because the children might not continue in their household, but must follow the foot-steps of the daughters' future husbands.

Some few years since there existed great dissensions in the royal family of Little Thibet, a country bordering on Kashmire. One of the pretenders to the crown having applied secretly to the governor of this kingdom for assistance, the latter was commanded by Shah-Jehan to afford all the succour he might need. The governor accordingly invaded Little Thibet, slew or put to flight the other competitors, and left this prince in undisputed possession of the throne, subject to an annual tribute of crystal, musk, and wool. Thus circumstanced, he has not well been able to avoid paying his personal obeisance to Aureng-Zêbe, bringing with him some of these articles as presents; but he is come with so wretched a retinue, that I should never have taken him for a person of distinguished rank. My navaab invited this personage to dinner, hoping to obtain some information concerning those mountainous regions. He informed us that his kingdom was bounded on the east by Great Thibet; that it was thirty or forty leagues in breadth; that he was very poor, notwithstanding the crystal, musk and wool, which he had in small quantities; and that the opinion generally entertained of his possessing gold mines was quite erroneous. "The country, in certain parts," he added, "produces excellent fruit, particularly melons, but the

winters are most severe, because of the deep snows." The inhabitants heretofore were pagans, but the great majority have become muhammedan, as well as himself; of the sect of Shütes, which is that of all Persia.

He spoke also of the attempt made by Shah-Jehan, seventeen or eighteen years ago, to conquer Great Thibet, a country frequently invaded by the kings of Kashmire. The army, after a difficult march of sixteen days, through the mountains besieged and took a fortress, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that the conquest of the kingdom would no doubt have been completed if the army had immediately crossed a certain celebrated and rapid river, and marched boldly to the capital city. The season, however, was advanced, and the governor of Kashmire, who commanded the troops, apprehending he might be overtaken by the snow, determined to retreat. He placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in the spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and Great Thibet escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring. That kingdom being threatened with war by Aureng-Zêbe, the king dispatched an ambassador when informed of the Mogul's arrival in Kashmire. The embassy was accompanied by various presents, the productions of the

country ; such as crystal, musk, a jade stone, and those valuable white tails taken from a species of cow peculiar to Great Thibet, which are attached by way of ornament to the ears of elephants. The jade stone presented upon this occasion was of an extraordinary size, and therefore very precious. These stones are in great estimation in the court of the Mogul : the colour is greenish, with white veins, and they are so hard as to be wrought only with diamond powder. Cups and vases are made of this stone. I have some of most exquisite workmanship, inlaid with strings of gold, and enriched with precious stones. The ambassador's train consisted of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, with very scanty beards like the Chinese, and common red bonnets, such as our seamen wear. The remainder of the apparel was worthy of the bonnets. I rather think that four or five of these gentlemen wore swords, but the others followed the ambassador without staves or sticks. He entered into a negotiation with Aureng-Zêbe, and promised on the part of his master that a mosque should be built in the capital, wherein prayers in the Muhammedan form should be offered ; that the coin should bear on one side the impress of Aureng-Zêbe ; and that the Mogul should receive an annual tribute. But no person doubts that this treaty will be totally disregarded as soon as Aureng-Zêbe has quitted Kashmire, and that the king of Great Thibet will no more fulfil its stipulations

than he did those of the treaty concluded between him and Shah-Jehan.

There was in the suite of the ambassador a physician, said to be from the kingdom of Lissa, and of the Lamy or Loma tribe; a tribe which is the depositary of the law in Lissa as that of the brahmins is in India. This tribe of Lama, unlike the brahmins, has a calif or pontiff recognised as such not only in the kingdom of Lissa, but over the whole of Tartary, and is honoured and revered as a divine personage. The physician had a book of receipts which I could not persuade him to sell; the writing at a distance looked something like ours. We induced him to write down the alphabet, but he did this with so much difficulty, and his writing was so wretchedly bad, that we pronounced him an ignoramus. He was an ardent believer in metempsychosis, and entertained us with wonderful tales. Among others he mentioned that when his grand lama was very old and on the point of death, he assembled the council, and declared to them that his soul was going to pass into the body of an infant recently born. The child was nourished with tender care; and when he had attained his sixth or seventh year, a large quantity of household furniture and wearing apparel was placed before him, and he had the sagacity to discern which part was his own property, and which was not; a decisive proof, the physician observed, how true is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. At first, I thought

the man was speaking in irony, but I soon discovered that he was perfectly serious. One day I went to see him at the ambassador's, taking a Kashmirian merchant with me as an interpreter. My pretext was the purchase of some woollen cloths which he had for sale, but the real object of the visit was to obtain information concerning those imperfectly known regions. But I learnt little or nothing new : he only said generally that Great Thibet would bear no comparison with his own country ; that the latter was covered with snow more than five months in the year, and that it was frequently engaged in war with the Tartars ; but which Tartars these were he could not say. At length I found that the time passed with this man was misspent, for he was incapable of answering any one of the numerous questions I intended to ask.

It is not twenty years since caravans went annually from Kashmire to China. They used to traverse the mountains of Great Thibet, enter Tartary, and reach China in about three months. It is an extremely difficult road, and there are impetuous torrents that can be crossed only by means of cords extended from rock to rock. The caravans returned from China with musk, China-wood, rhubarb and mamiron, a small root in great repute for the cure of bad eyes ; and in repassing Great Thibet they farther loaded themselves with the produce of that country, such as musk, crystal, jade stones and espe-

cially with the wool of sheep and wild-goats. This latter, which is known by the name of touz, resembles, as already observed, the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool. But since Shah-Jehan's irruption into Great Thibet, the king has not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbidden any person from Kashmire to enter his dominions. This is the reason why the caravans now take their departure from Patna, on the Ganges: they leave Great Thibet on the left and proceed directly to the kingdom of Lissa.

In regard to the kingdom known here by the name of Kacheguer, which is probably the same as our maps call Kascar*, I shall relate all the information I have collected from merchants, natives of that country, who when they heard that Aureng-Zêbe intended to visit Kashmire, brought into this kingdom, for sale, a great number of young slaves, girls and boys.

They say that Kacheguer lies to the east of Kashmire, inclining somewhat to the northward; that the shortest route from one kingdom to the other, is through Great Thibet, but that passage being now shut, they were under the necessity of taking the road of Little Thibet. The first town they passed, in returning, was Gourtche, the last town dependant upon Kashmire, and four days' journey from the city of Kashmire: from Gourtche, they were eight days

* The name is now generally written Cashgar.—*Translator.*

in reaching Eskerdou, the capital of Little Thibet; and in two days more they came to a small town called Cheker, also within the territory of Little Thibet, and situated on a river celebrated for its medicinal waters. In fifteen days, they came to a large forest, on the confines of Little Thibet, and in fifteen days more they arrived at Kacheguer, a small town which was formerly the royal residence, though now the king of Kacheguer resides at Jourcend, a little more to the north, and ten days' journey from Kacheguer. These merchants added that the distance from the town of Kacheguer to China is not more than two months' voyage; that caravans go thither every year, which return laden with the articles I have enumerated, and proceed to Persia by way of Usbec; as there are others that go from China to Patna, in Hindostan. They also informed me that the way from Kacheguer to China is through a small town eight days' journey from Coten, and that Coten is the last town on that side in the kingdom of Kacheguer. The road from Kashmire to Kacheguer, they said, is extremely bad, and among other difficult paths, there is a place where, in every season, you must go a quarter of a league over ice. This, my dear sir, is all the information I could extract from these people, whose ignorance is deplorable. Intelligence obtained from such a source could not be otherwise than scanty and confused, and I had also to do with interpreters who experienced the utmost

difficulty both in clearly stating my interrogatories, and in explaining satisfactorily the answers.

Here I intended to close this letter, or rather this book, and take my leave of you until our return to Delhi; but my inclination for writing is still strong, and I enjoy some leisure. I shall endeavour, therefore, to answer five questions of the industrious and inquisitive Mr. Thevenot, who makes greater and more important discoveries in his study than others who circumnavigate the globe.

His first enquiry is, whether it be true that Jews have during a long period resided in the kingdom of Kashmire: whether they be in possession of the Holy Scriptures, and, if so, whether there be any discrepancy between their Old Testament, and our own.

The second request is, that I communicate whatever observations I may have made concerning the monsoon, or periodical rains in India.

The third, that I make him acquainted with my remarks and opinions upon the singular regularity of the winds and currents in the seas of this part of the world.

The fourth, whether the kingdom of Bengal be as fertile, rich and beautiful, as is commonly imagined.

The fifth, that I give a decisive opinion on the old controversies as to the causes of the Nile's increase.

ANSWER

TO

THE FIRST ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE JEWS.

I SHOULD be as much pleased as Mr. Thevenot himself if Jews were found in these mountainous regions ; I mean such Jews as he would no doubt desire to find,—Jews descended from the tribes transported by Shalmaneser ; but you may assure that gentleman that although there seems ground for believing some of them were formerly settled in these countries, yet the whole population is at present either pagan or muhammedan. In China, indeed, there are probably people of that nation, for I have lately seen letters in the hands of our reverend father the jesuit of Delhi, written by a German jesuit at Peking, wherein he states that he had conversed with Jews in that city, who adhered to the forms of Judaism and retained the books of the Old Testament. They were totally ignorant of the death of Jesus Christ, and had expressed a wish to appoint the Jesuit their Kakan, if he would abstain from swine's flesh.

There, are however, many marks of Judaism to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom, after crossing the Peer-Punchal mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that

ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our father the jesuit, and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kashmire.*

A second mark is the prevalence of the name of Mousa, which means Moses, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all muhammedans.

A third, is the common tradition that Solomon visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters, by cutting the mountain of Barehmooleh.

A fourth, the belief that Moses died in the city of Kashmire, and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills, was built by Solomon; and it is therefore called The Throne of Solomon to this day.

You will see then, my dear Sir, I am not disposed to deny that Jews may have taken up their residence in Kashmire. The purity of their law, after a lapse of ages, may have been corrupted,

* George Forster, in a letter written at Kashmire, in the year 1783, says, that on first seeing the Kashmirians in their own country, he imagined from their garb, the cast of countenance, which is long and of a grave aspect, and the form of their beards, that he had come among a nation of Jews.

until having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like many other pagans, to adopt the creed of Muhammed.

It is certain that many Jews are settled in Persia, at Lar and Ispahan; and in Hindostan, in the parts of Goa and Cochin. I also learn that in Ethiopia, where they are very numerous, these people are remarkable for courage and military prowess; and if I am to believe two ambassadors from the Ethiopian king, lately at this court, there was a Jew, fifteen or sixteen years ago, grown so formidable, that he endeavoured to erect an independent kingdom in a certain small and mountainous district, difficult of access.

ANSWER

TO

THE SECOND ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE PERIODICAL RAINS IN INDIA.

THE sun is so strong and violent in India during the whole year, particularly during eight months, that the ground would be completely burnt, and rendered steril and uninhabitable, if Providence did not kindly provide a remedy, and wisely ordain that in the month of July, when the heat is most intense, rains begin to fall, which continue three successive months. The temperature of the air thus becomes supportable, and the earth is

rendered fruitful. These rains are not, however, so exactly regular as to descend undeviatingly on the same day or week. According to the observations I have made in various places, particularly in Delhi, where I resided a long time, they are never the same two years together. Sometimes they commence or terminate a fortnight or three weeks sooner or later, and one year they may be more abundant than another. I have even known two entire years pass without scarcely a drop of rain, and the consequences of that extraordinary drought were wide-spreading sickness and famine. It should be observed too, that the rainy season is earlier or later, and more or less plentiful, in different countries, in proportion to their proximity or remoteness from one another. In Bengal, for instance, and along the Coast of Coromandel, as far as the Island of Ceylon, the rains begin and end a month sooner than toward the Coast of Malabar; and in Bengal they fall very violently for four months, in the course of which it sometimes pours during eight days and nights without the least intermission. In Delhi and Agra, however, the rains are neither so abundant nor of such long continuance; two or three days often elapsing without the slightest shower; and from dawn of day to nine or ten o'clock in the morning, it commonly rains very little, and sometimes not at all. It struck me very particularly, that the rains come from different quarters in different countries. In the neighbourhood of Delhi, they come from the

east, where Bengal is situated ; in the province of Bengal, and on the Coast of Coromondel, from the south ; and on the coast of Malabar, almost invariably from the west.

I have also remarked one thing, about which, indeed, there is a perfect agreement of opinion in India ;—that according as the heat of summer comes earlier or later, is more or less violent, or lasts a longer or shorter time ; so the rains come sooner or later, are more or less abundant, and continue a longer or a shorter period.

From these observations I have been led to believe that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air, are the principal causes of these rains, which they attract. The atmosphere of the circumjacent seas being colder, more condensed and thicker, is filled with clouds drawn from the water by the great heat of the summer, and which, driven and agitated by the winds, discharge themselves naturally upon land, where the atmosphere is hotter, more rarefied, lighter and less resisting than on the sea ; and thus this discharge is more or less tardy and plentiful, according as the heat comes early or late, and is more or less intense.

It is also agreeable to the observations contained in this dissertation, to suppose that if the rains commence sooner on the Coast of Coromondel than on the Coast of Malabar, it is only because the summer is earlier ; and that it is earlier may be owing to particular causes which it would not perhaps be difficult to ascertain if the country were properly examined. We know that according to

the different situations of lands, in respect of seas or mountains, and in proportion as they are sandy, hilly, or covered with wood, summer is felt more or less early, and with greater or lesser violence.

Nor is it surprising that the rains come from different quarters ; that on the Coast of Coromandel, for example, they come from the south, and on the Malabar Coast from the west ; because it is apparently the nearest sea which sends the rain ; and the sea nearest the Coromandel Coast, and to which it is more immediately exposed, lies to the south ; as the sea which washes the coast of Malabar is to the west, extending itself towards Babelmandel, Arabia and the Persian gulf.

I have imagined, in fine, that although we see at Delhi the rainy clouds come from the east, yet their origin may be in the seas which lie to the south of that city : and being intercepted by some mountains or lands whose atmosphere is colder, more condensed and resisting, they are forced to turn aside and discharge themselves in a country where the air is more rarefied, and which consequently offers less resistance.

I had almost forgotten to notice another fact which fell under my observation while living in Delhi. There never falls any heavy rain until a great quantity of clouds have passed, during several days, to the westward ; as if it were necessary that the expanse of atmosphere to the west of Delhi, should be first filled with clouds, and that those clouds finding some impediment, such as air less hot and less rarefied, and therefore more con-

needs and more capable of resistance; or encountering other clouds and contrary winds, they become so thick, overcharged and heavy, as to burst and descend in rain; in the same manner as it happens when clouds are driven by the wind against some mountain.

ANSWER

TO

THE THIRD ENQUIRY WHICH RELATES TO THE REGULARITY OF THE CURRENTS AND WINDS IN INDIA.

As soon as the rains cease; which happens commonly about the beginning of October, the sea takes its course toward the south and the cold north wind rises. This wind continues four or five months without any intermission. It blows the whole of this time with equal force, unattended with tempests, and always from the same quarter, excepting sometimes for a single day when it changes or lulls. After the expiration of this period, the winds blow for about two months without any regularity. This is called the intermediate season, and by the Dutch, the time of the doubtful and variable winds. These two months being passed, the sea resumes its course from the south to the north, and the south wind commences and continues to blow and the current continues to run

four or five months from the same quarter. There then elapse about two months more, which constitute the other intermediate season. In these intervals navigation is extremely difficult and perilous, but during the two seasons it is very easy, pleasant and safe, excepting only the latter part of the south-wind season. It ought not, therefore, to excite your surprise, that the Indians, who are a very timid people, and ignorant of the art of navigation, undertake pretty long and important voyages; such as from Bengal to Tannasar, Acheen, Malacca, Siam and Madagascar, or to Masulipatam, Ceylon, the Maldives, Mokha and Bender-Abbassy. They are of course very careful to avail themselves of the favourable season for going and the favourable season for returning. It often happens, however, that they are detained beyond the proper time, overtaken by bad weather and wrecked. This is indeed sometimes the case with Europeans, who are much bolder and more skilful, and the condition and equipment of whose vessels are so greatly superior. Of the two intermediate seasons, the one which follows the south wind is without comparison the more dangerous, being much more subject to storms and sudden squalls. That wind, even during the season, is generally more impetuous and unequal than the north wind. I must not omit to notice in this place, that toward the end of the south-wind season, and during the rains, although there be a perfect calm out at sea, yet near the coasts, for a distance of fifteen or

twenty leagues, the weather is extremely tempestuous. The captains of European and other vessels, should consequently be careful to approach the Indian coast, that of Surat or Masulipatam, for instance, just after the termination of the rains: otherwise they incur great risk of being dashed on shore.

Such is the order of the seasons in India, so far at least as my observations justify me in speaking upon the subject. I wish it were in my power to trace every effect to its true cause; but how unsearchable frequently are the ways of Providence! I have imagined, in the first place, that the air by which our globe is surrounded, ought to be considered one of its component parts, just as much as the waters of the sea and rivers; because both the one and the other gravitating on this globe, and tending to the same common centre, are in this manner united to our sphere. The globe then is formed of three bodies,—air, water, and earth. Secondly, our globe being suspended and balanced in that free and unresisting space wherein it pleased the Creator to place it, would be easily displaced if it came in contact with any unknown body. Thirdly, the sun, after having crossed the line, while moving toward one of the poles, towards the arctic pole, for example, darting its beams that way, produces sufficient impression to depress in some measure the arctic pole, which is depressed more and more in proportion as the sun advances towards the tropic; and in the same

manner, the sun permits it again to rise gradually in proportion as it returns toward the line ; until the same effect is produced by the power of its rays on the side of the antarctic pole.

Taking for granted the truth of these suppositions and considering them conjointly with the diurnal motion of the earth, it is not without reason that the Indians affirm that the sun conducts and draws along with it both the sea and the wind ; because, if it be true that, having passed the line on its way toward one of the poles, the sun causes a change in the direction of the earth's axis and a depression of the pole, it follows as a necessary consequence, that the other pole is elevated, and that the sea and air, which are two fluid and heavy bodies, run in this declension. It is therefore correct to say, that the sun advancing toward one pole, causes on that side two great and regular currents,—the current of the sea and the current of the air, which latter constitutes the monsoon wind ; as the sun is the cause of two opposite currents when it returns toward the other pole.

Upon this theory it may, I think, be said that there are only two main and contrary flows of the sea, one from the northern and the other from the southern pole ; that if there existed a sea from one pole to the other, which passed through Europe, we should there find these two currents regulated in every respect as in India, and that the reason why this regularity is not general

is that the seas are intercepted by lands, which obstruct, break and diversify their course; in the same manner as some persons allege that the usual flux and reflux of the sea is prevented in those seas which, like the Mediterranean, extend in length from east to west. According to this theory, it might also, in my opinion, be maintained that there are only two principal and opposite currents of air or wind, and that in regard to them the same regularity would reign generally, if the earth were also perfectly and generally smooth, equal and similar.

ANSWER

TO

THE FOURTH ENQUIRY, AS TO THE FERTILITY, WEALTH
AND BEAUTY OF THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

EGYPT has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature : but the knowledge I have acquired of Bengal during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengal. The latter country produces rice in such abundance that its supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. It is carried up the Ganges as far as Patna, and

exported by sea to Masulipatam and many other ports on the coast of Coromondel. It is also sent to foreign kingdoms, principally to the island of Ceylon and the Maldives. Bengal abounds likewise in sugar with which it supplies the kingdoms of Golconda and the Carnatic, where very little is grown, Arabia and Mesopotamia, through the towns of Mokha and Bassora, and even Persia, by way of Bender-Abbassy. Bengal likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats, especially in places inhabited by Portuguese, who are skilful in the art of preparing them, and with whom they are an article of considerable trade. Among other fruits, they preserve large citrons, such as we have in Europe, a certain delicate root about the length of sarsaparilla, amba and pine-apples, two common fruits of India small mirobolan plums, which are excellent; lemons and ginger.

Bengal, it is true, yields not so much wheat as Egypt; but if this be a defect, it is attributable to the inhabitants, who live a great deal more upon rice than the Egyptians, and seldom taste bread. Nevertheless, wheat is cultivated in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the country, and for the making of excellent and cheap sea biscuits, with which the crews of European ships, English, Dutch and Portuguese, are supplied. The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter, form the chief aliment of the common people, are pur-

chased for the merest trifle, and for a single rupee twenty or more good fowls may be brought. Geese and ducks are proportionably cheap. There are also goats and sheep in abundance ; and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the Portuguese, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork. This meat is salted at a cheap rate by the Dutch and English, for the supply of their respective vessels. Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, Bengal abounds with every necessary of life ; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, half-casts, and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. The Jesuits and Augustins, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unmolested exercise of their religion, assured me that Hoogly alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five and twenty thousand. The rich exuberance of the country, together with the beauty and amiable dispositions of the native women, has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which

may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindostan only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Dutch alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengal for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabul, and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent. The silks are not certainly so fine as those of Persia, Syria, Said and Baruth, but they are of a much lower price; and I know from indisputable authority that, if they were well selected and wrought with care, they might be manufactured into most beautiful stuffs. The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazar. The English and other merchants employ likewise a great number.

Bengal is also the principal emporium for saltpetre. A prodigious quantity is imported from Patna. It is carried down the Ganges with

great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of India, and to Europe.

Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best gum-lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper and various drugs, are obtained; and butter which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.

It is fair to acknowledge, however, that strangers seldom find the air salubrious, particularly near the sea. There was a great mortality among the Dutch and English when they first settled in Bengal; and I saw in Balasore two beautiful English vessels, which had remained in that port a twelvemonth in consequence of the war with Holland, and at the expiration of that period, were unable to put to sea, because the greater part of the crews had died. Both the English and Dutch now live with more caution and the mortality is diminished. The masters of vessels take care that their crews drink less punch; nor do they permit them so frequently to visit the Indian women, or the dealers in arrack and tobacco. Good Vin de Grave or Canary and Schiraz wines, taken in moderation, are found excellent preservatives against the effects of bad air. Their punch composed of arrack, a spirit distilled from molasses, lemon juice, water and nutmeg.

It is pleasant enough to the taste, but most deleterious in the effects.

In describing the beauty of Bengal, it should be remarked that throughout a country extending nearly an hundred leagues in length, on both banks of the Ganges, from Raja-Mâhil to the sea, is an endless number of canals, cut from that river with immense labour, for the conveyance of merchandise and of the water itself, which is reputed by the Indians to be superior to any in the world. These canals are lined on both sides with towns and villages, thickly peopled with pagans; and with extensive fields of rice, sugar, corn and other species of vegetables, mustard, sesame for oil, and small mulberry trees, two or three French feet in height, for the food of silk worms. But the most striking and peculiar beauty of Bengal is the innumerable islands filling the vast space between the two banks of the Ganges, in some places six or seven days' journey asunder. These islands vary in size, but are all extremely fertile, surrounded with wood, and abounding in fruit trees, and pine-apples, and covered with verdure; a thousand canals run through them, stretching beyond the sight, and resembling long walks arched with trees. Several of the islands, nearest to the sea, are now abandoned by the inhabitants, who were exposed to the attacks and ravages of the Arracan pirates, spoken of in another place. At present

they are a dreary waste, wherein no living creature is seen except antelopes, wild hogs, fowls and tigers, which sometimes swim from one island to another. In traversing the Ganges in small rowing boats, the usual mode of conveyance among these islands, it is in many places, dangerous to land, and great care must be had that the boat, which during the night is fastened to a tree, be kept at some distance from the shore, for it constantly happens that some person or another falls a prey to tigers. These ferocious animals are very apt, it is said, to enter into the boat itself, while the people are asleep, and to carry away some victim, who, if we are to believe the boatmen of the country, generally happens to be the stoutest and fattest of the party.

I remember a nine days' voyage that I made from Piplely to Hoogly, among these islands and canals, which I cannot omit relating, as no day passed without some extraordinary accident or adventure. When my seven-oared boat had conveyed us out of the river of Piplely, and we had advanced three or four leagues at sea, along the coast, on our way to the islands and canals, we saw the sea covered with fish, apparently large carp, which were pursued by a great number of dolphins. I desired my men to row that way, and perceived that most of them were lying on their side as if they had been dead; some moved slowly along, and others seemed to be

struggling and turning about as if stupified. We caught four and twenty with our hands, and observed that out of the mouth of every one, protuberated a bladder, like that of a carp, which was full of air and of a reddish colour at the end. I easily conceived that it was this bladder which prevented the fish from sinking, but could never understand why it thus protruded, unless it were that having been long and closely pursued by the dolphins, they made such violent efforts to escape, that the bladder swelled, became red, and was forced out of the mouth. I have recounted this circumstance to a hundred sailors, whom I found incredulous; with the exception, indeed, of a Dutch pilot, who informed me that sailing in a large vessel along the coasts of China, his attention was arrested by a similar appearance, and that putting out their boat they caught, as we did, with only their hands, many of the fish.

The day following we arrived, at rather a late hour, among the islands; and having chosen a spot that appeared free from tigers, we landed and lighted a fire. I ordered a couple of fowls and some of the fish to be dressed, and we made an excellent supper. The fish was delicious. I then re-embarked, and ordered my men to row on till night. There would have been danger in losing our way in the dark among the different canals, and therefore we retired out of the great canal in search of a snug creek, where we passed the night; the boat being fastened to a thick branch

of a tree, at a prudent distance from the shore. While keeping watch, I observed a strange appearance in the heavens, such as I had seen twice at Delhi. I beheld a lunar rainbow, and awoke the whole of my company, who all expressed much surprise, especially two Portuguese pilots, whom I had received into the boat at the request of a friend. They declared that they had neither seen nor heard of such a rainbow.

The third day, we lost ourselves among the canals, and I know not how we should have recovered our right course, had we not met with some Portuguese, who were employed in making salt on one of the islands. This night again, our boat being under shelter in a small canal, my Portuguese, who were full of the strange appearance on the preceding night, and kept their eyes constantly fixed toward the heavens, roused me from my sleep and pointed out another rainbow as beautiful and as well-defined as the last. You are not to imagine that I mistake a halo for an iris. I am familiar with the former, because during the rainy season at Delhi, there is scarcely a month in which a halo is not frequently seen round the moon. But they appear only when that luminary is very high above the horizon: I have observed them three and four nights successively, and sometimes I have seen them doubled. The iris of which I speak, was not a circle about the moon, but was placed in an opposite direction, in the same relative position as a solar rainbow. Whenever I have seen a night

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iris, the moon has been at the west and the iris at the east. The moon was also nearly complete in its orb, because otherwise the beams of light would not, I conceive be sufficiently powerful to form the rainbow; nor was the iris so white as the halo, but more strongly marked, and a variety of colours was even discernible. Thus you see, that I am more happy than the ancients, who, according to Aristotle, had remarked no lunar rainbows before his time.

In the evening of the fourth day we withdrew, as usual, out of the grand canal to a place of security, and passed a most extraordinary night. Not a breath of wind was felt, and the air became so hot and suffocating, that we could scarcely respire. The bushes around us were so full of glow-worms that they seemed ignited; and fires resembling flames, arose every moment to the great alarm of our sailors, who did not doubt that they were so many devils. Two of these luminous appearances were very remarkable. One was a great globe of fire, which continued longer than the time necessary to repeat a pater-noster, the other looked like a small tree all in flames, and lasted above a quarter of an hour.

The night of the fifth day was altogether dreadful and perilous. A storm arose so violent, that although we were, as we thought, in excellent shelter under trees, and our boat carefully fastened, yet our cable was broken, and we

should have been driven into the great canal there inevitably to perish, if I and my two Portuguese had not, by a sudden and spontaneous movement, entwined our arms round the branches of trees, which we held tightly for the space of two hours, while the tempest was raging with unabated force. No assistance was to be expected from my Indian boatmen, whose fears completely overcame them. Our situation while clinging for our lives to the trees was indeed most painful; the rain fell as if poured into the boat from buckets, and the lightning and thunder were so vivid and loud and so near our heads, that we despaired of surviving this horrible night.

Nothing however could be more pleasant than the remainder of the voyage. We arrived at Hoogly on the ninth day, and my eyes seemed never sated with gazing on the delightful country through which we passed. My trunk, however, and all my wearing-apparel were wet, the poultry dead, the fish spoilt, and the whole of my biscuits soaked with rain.

ANSWER

TO

THE FIFTH ENQUIRY, CONCERNING THE INCREASE
OF THE NILE.

I KNOW not whether my solution of this fifth question will be satisfactory; but I shall impart

opinions formed after having been twice a witness of the increase, after having given to the subject the whole of my attention, and after making certain observations in India which afford some facilities for the disquisition, which must have been wanting to the great man who has written so ingeniously and learnedly on this interesting topic, although he never saw Egypt but in his study.

I have already mentioned, that while the two Ethiopian ambassadors were at Delhi, my aga, Danechmend-khan, whose thirst for knowledge is incessant, invited them frequently to his house, and that I was always one of the party. His object was to be made acquainted with the state of their country, and the nature of its government. Among other subjects, we spoke a great deal about the source of the Nile, which is called by them Abbabile. They spoke of its source as of a thing generally well known, and concerning which no one entertained any doubt. One of the ambassadors had even seen it, accompanied by a Mogul who had returned with him to Hindostan. They told us that the source of the river Nile is in the country of the Agows; that it gushes out of the earth by two large and bubbling springs near one another and forming a small lake of about thirty or forty paces in length; that the river issuing from this lake is of considerable size, and that in its progress it receives many tributary waters, which swell it to an important stream. They went on to observe, that this stream pursues

a winding course, and forms an extensive peninsula; and that after descending from several steep rocks, it falls into a large lake, in the country of Dembea, only four or five days' journey from the source, and three short journeys from Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia; that having traversed this lake, the river leaves it, with the accession of all the waters which fall into the lake; passes through Sennaar, the chief city of the Fungi or Berberis, tributaries to the king of Ethiopia, whence tumbling among the cataracts, it pursues its way into the plains of Missir or Egypt.

When the ambassadors had furnished these particulars as to the source and course of the Nile, I wished to form some idea of the situation of the country where the source is found: I therefore enquired in what part of Africa, relatively to Babelmandel, Dembea, is situated. But they could return no other answer than that it lay toward the west. I was surprised to hear this observation, especially from the muhammedan ambassador, who ought to be better informed than a Christian of the relative bearings of places, because all muselmans are bound, when repeating their prayers, to look toward Mecca. He also persisted in saying that Dembea is situated to the west of Babelmandel; so that the source of the river Nile, according to these ambassadors, is considerably to the north of the equator, and not to the south, where it is placed by Ptolemy, and in all our maps.

We inquired further of these gentlemen when it rained in Ethiopia, and whether the rains were periodical in that country as in Hindostan. They answered that it seldom or never rained along the coast of the Red Sea, from Suakin, Arkeeko and the island of Masuah, to Babelmandel, any more than at Mokha, in Arabia Felix, on the opposite shore of that sea. In the interior of the country, however, in the province of the Agows, in Dembea, and the circumjacent provinces, the rains were very heavy during the two hottest months of summer, those months when it also rains in India, and exactly the time when, according to my computation, the increase of the Nile in Egypt takes place. They were quite aware, the ambassadors added, that the swelling of that river and the inundations of Egypt were caused by the rains of Ethiopia; and that the former country owed its fecundity to the slime conveyed and deposited thither by the Nile. It was from these circumstances, they observed, that the kings of Ethiopia derived the right of exacting tribute from Egypt; and when that kingdom was subdued by the muhammedans, and its Christian population became oppressed and exposed to every indignity, the Ethiopian monarch had thoughts of turning the course of the river toward the Red Sea, a measure which would have destroyed the fertility of Egypt, and consequently proved ruinous to the country: but the project appeared so gigantic, if not impracticable, that

the attempt was never made to carry it into execution.

All these particulars I had already been made acquainted with when at Mokha, in the course of various conversations with ten or a dozen Gondar merchants, sent every year to that city by the King of Ethiopia for purposes of traffic with the vessels from India. The information is useful, as tending to demonstrate that the Nile increases only by means of the rains which fall near its source and at a distance from Egypt. But I attach still greater importance to my own observations, made upon two separate occasions during the overflowing of that river, because they detect the fallacy of some popular opinions, and prove them to be merely vulgar and idle tales, the inventions of a people much given to superstition and lost in astonishment at witnessing the increase of a river during the heat of summer, in a country where rain is unknown. I allude, among other conceits, to the notion that there is a certain determinate day on which the Nile begins its increase ; that a particular dew, called the *goute*, falls on this first day of the increase, which puts an end to the plague, no person dying of that disease when the *goute* has begun to descend ; and that the overflowing of the Nile is owing to particular and secret causes. I have discovered that this celebrated stream, like other rivers, swells and overflows in consequence of abundant rains, and that we are not to ascribe its increase to the fermentation of the nitrous soil of Egypt.

I have seen it swell more than a French foot, and very turbid, nearly a month before the pretended determinate day of the increase.

I have remarked, in the time of its augmentation and before the opening of the canals, that after the water had swollen during some days a foot or two, it decreased little by little, and then began to increase anew; and in this manner the river augmented or lessened, just according as the rains did or did not fall near its source. The same thing is observable in our Loire; it increases or diminishes in proportion to the rains on the mountains whence that river flows.

Once, on my return from Jerusalem, I ascended the Nile from Damietta to Cairo, about a month before the day on which it is said that the goute falls; and in the morning our clothes were soaked in consequence of the dew that had fallen during the night.

I supped with M. de Bermon, our vice-consul at Rosetta, eight or ten days after the fall of the goute. Three of the party were that same evening seized with the plague, of whom two died on the eighth day; and the other patient, who happened to be M. de Bermon himself, would perhaps have fallen a victim to the disease if I had not ventured to prescribe a remedy, and lanced his abscess. I caught the infection, and but for the butter of antimony* to which I had immedi-

* Or, according to the modern medical nomenclature sublimated muriate of antimony.

are recourse, it might have been seen in my case also, that men die of the plague after the descent of the goute. My emetic, taken at the commencement of the disorder, performed wonders, and I was not confined to the house more than three or four days. A Bedouin servant attended me; he endeavoured to preserve my spirits by swallowing, without a moment's hesitation, what remained of my broth; and being a predestinarian, he laughed at the idea of danger from the plague.

I am far from denying that this distemper is generally attended with less danger after the fall of the goute. All I maintain is, that the decrease of danger should not be attributed to the goute. In my opinion the mitigation of the disease is owing to the heat of the weather, then become intense, which opens the pores and expels the pestiferous and malignant miasmata that remained confined in the body.

Moreover I have carefully enquired of several rays, or masters of boats, who have ascended the Nile to the extremity of the plains of Egypt, as far as the rocks and cataracts. They assured me that when the river overflows the Egyptian plains the soil of which is represented as nitrous and fermentative, the Nile is greatly increased between the mountains of the cataracts, which it inundates in a surprising manner, although the soil upon those mountains is not apparently impregnated with nitre.

I was also very particular in making the ne-

cessary enquiries of the Sennaar negroes who repair to Cairo for employment and whose country, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, is situated on the Nile among the mountainous tracts to the south of Egypt. These negroes all agreed in asserting that at the time when the Nile inundates the plains of Egypt, it is swollen and impetuous in their own country, because of the rains which then fall, not only in their mountains, but higher up, in the region of the Habesh or Ethiopia.

The observations made by me on the periodical rains of India, which fall during the time that the Nile is increasing in Egypt, throw considerable light upon this subject, and will lead you to imagine that the Indus, the Ganges and all the other rivers in this part of the globe are so many rivers Nile, and the countries contiguous to their mouths, so many lands of Egypt. Such were the ideas which suggested themselves to my mind when in Bengal, and the following are the very words which I then wrote concerning this matter.

The numerous islands in the gulf of Bengal, at the mouth of the Ganges, which the course of ages has united together, and at length has joined to the continent, recall to my mind the mouths of the river Nile. When in Egypt, I remarked the same process of nature; and as it is often said, in the language of Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so may it be observed that Bengal is the production of the Ganges. There is only this difference between

the two rivers, that the Ganges being incomparably larger than the Nile, it carries toward the sea a much greater quantity of earth, and thus forms a more considerable number of islands, and of superior size, than the Nile. The islands of the Nile too are destitute of trees ; but those of the Ganges are all covered with them, owing to the four months of regular and excessive rains that fall in the midst of summer. These rains obviate the necessity of cutting canals in Bengal, as is done in Egypt, for the purpose of irrigating and enriching the land. They could indeed be made with as much facility in the one country as in the other, the Ganges and other rivers of Hindostan, increasing, the same as the Nile, in summer, in consequence of the rains which regularly fall at that season. There is this difference between the two countries ; that in Egypt no rain is known, neither in summer, nor scarcely at any other time, excepting occasionally in a small quantity toward the sea. It is only near the source of the Nile, in Ethiopia, that rain falls ; whereas in India it rains periodically in countries through which rivers flow. It should be observed, however, that this is not the case universally ; for in the kingdom of Sindy, toward the Persian gulf, where the mouth of the Indus is situated, there are years during which no rain whatever falls, although the Indus be greatly swollen. The fields are then irrigated, as in Egypt, by means of kalis or canals.

In regard to the wish expressed by Mr.

Thevenot, that I should send you a detailed narration of my adventures and observations in the Red Sea, at Suez, Tor, Mount Sinai, Jidda, (in that pretended holy land, half a day's journey from Mecca), in the island of Camaran and at Loheia, it is my intention to gratify that wish, when I find leisure to decipher my manuscripts. I hope also to communicate all the information which I obtained at Mokha concerning Ethiopia, and the best route for entering that kingdom.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

THE Egyptians and Phenicians, the most ancient navigators mentioned in history, are represented as the first people of the west who opened a communication by sea with India,* and Herodotus is the earliest historian who gives any account of this country; but he seems to have been acquainted only with the western parts, which were tributary to Persia. The aversion of the Indians themselves to disclose the annals of their history, which are interspersed with their religious tenets, has involved their transactions, in ancient times, in impenetrable darkness, and the only light to conduct us through the obscure paths of their antiquities, we derive from an historical poem, translated into the Persian language in the reign of Acbar.†

* The Tyrians kept up a constant intercourse with some parts of India, by navigating the Arabian gulf, now called the Red Sea. Hindostan was called India by the Greeks, a term derived, it is thought, from Hind, a supposed son of Ham, the son of Noah. The termination *Stan* signifies country in the Persic.

† Could access be obtained to such records of the Hindoos as are divested of that redundancy of fable with

After the Babylonish monarchy, of which India is supposed to have formed a portion, was subdued by Persia, Darius Hystaspes, the king of Persia, conquered the western part of Hindostan, about the year 509 before the Christian era. The expedition of Alexander the Great, 327 years before Christ, increased the scanty knowledge which Europeans had hitherto possessed concerning India, although his military operations extended only to the modern province of Lahore and the countries on the banks of the Indus from Moultan to the sea.

On the death of Alexander, the eastern which their priests have so copiously interwoven them, it would not be presumptuous to suppose, that we would discover they had been, in the more early ages of the world, one of the most enlightened and powerful nations that inhabited the earth.

The empire of the Hindoos, as related in many of their historical tracts, consisted of 56 separate principalities, ultimately governed by one prince, whose kingdom extended from the southern limits of Tartary to the island of Ceylon, and from the confines of Assam and Arracan, to the river Indus. This extensive space was inhabited by a people who were divided into four distinct tribes, each exercising different functions. It abounded in fair and opulent cities, which were decorated with magnificent temples for the worship of the gods, and with sumptuous mansions, gardens, and fountains, for the pleasure and the accommodation of the inhabitants. Useful and elegant artisans, skilled in raising stupendous buildings, in fabricating gold, silver and the most delicate cotton cloths, and in the curious workmanship of precious stones and metals, all found encouragement in the exercise of their professions.—*Forster.*

part of his dominions devolved first on Pytho, and afterwards on Seleucus, the founder of the Syrian empire. Sandracottus, king of the Prasii, a powerful nation on the Ganges, threatening to attack the Macedonians whose Indian territories bordered on his dominions, Seleucus was induced to march an army into the country. He advanced much beyond the boundary of Alexander's progress in India, but stopped in his career in order to oppose Antigonus who was preparing to invade his dominions. Seleucus concluded a treaty with Sandracottus; in consequence of which that monarch retained the kingdom he had acquired. But the possessions of the Macedonians seem to have remained unimpaired during the reign of Seleucus. No historian has fixed the time or described the manner, in which the territories of the Syrian monarchs in India were wrested from them. It is probable they were obliged to abandon that country soon after the death of Seleucus.

But the Greeks in a smaller kingdom, composed of some fragments of Alexander's empire, still maintained an intercourse with India, and even made some considerable acquisition of territory there. This was the kingdom of Bactria, originally subject to Seleucus, but wrested from his son or grandson and rendered an independent state about sixty-nine years after the death of Alexander. It seems that its commerce with India was great, and that the conquests of the Bactrian kings in that country were more extensive than

those of Alexander. We are informed by the historians of China, that about 126 years before the Christian era, a horde of Tartars, pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, and obliged to move toward the west by the pressure of a more numerous body that rolled on behind them, poured in upon Bactria, overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an end to the dominion of the Greeks there, after it had been established near 130 years.

From this time until the close of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, opened a new communication with the east and carried their victorious arms into every part of India, no European power acquired territory or established its dominion there. During this long period of more than sixteen hundred years, all schemes of conquest in India seem to have been totally relinquished, and nothing more was aimed at by any nation of Europe than to secure an intercourse of trade with that opulent country.

The history of Hindostan is involved in much obscurity until the invasion of that country by the muhammedans, in the year 1000. This invasion was conducted by Mahmud, Emperor of Ghizni,* who had made a vow that if ever he

* The empire of Ghizni was founded in the year of our era 960 by Abistagi, governor of Chorassan. Abistagi revolted from the King of Bucharía: whose ancestor, in his turn, had arisen to power on the ruins of the Caliphat empire,

should be blessed with tranquillity in his own dominions, he would turn his arms against the idolaters of Hindostan. He was opposed by Jeipal, the Indian prince of Lahore, and an obstinate battle ensued, in which the emperor was victorious. Jeipal was taken prisoner, and round his neck were found sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at 180,000 rupees, (altogether about 320,000*l.* of our money). In the year 1008 Mahmud marched against the Hindoos of Nagraçot, destroying their temples. There was in Nagraçot a fort called Bimé, where the Hindoos had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols in all the neighbouring kingdoms; so that the emperor, when he took this fort, found in it 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. Mahmud retired with this immense treasure to Ghizni; but returned to Hindostan in 1011, and during this second invasion Tannasar, a place held in the same veneration by the Hindoos as Mecca by the muselmans, was destroyed, and Delhi taken.

about eighty seven years before. Ghizni consisted chiefly of the tract which composed the kingdom of Bactria, after the division of Alexander's empire: that is, the countries lying between Parthia and the Indus and south of the Oxus. Mahmud was the third in succession from Abistagi.

* The least maund is about 37 pounds avoirdupois.

After a lapse of seven years Kinnoge was reduced, and the city of Muttra, or Matura soon shared the same fate. He intended to destroy the temples, but found that the labour exceeded his capacity. Some say that he was turned from his purpose by the admirable beauty of those edifices. It is said that Mahmud found in Muttra five great idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies, each of which eyes was worth 50,000 dinars. Upon another idol he found a sapphire, weighing four hundred miskal; and the image being melted, produced 98,300 miskals of pure gold. Besides these, there were above a hundred idols of silver, which loaded a hundred camels with bullion. In the year 1024, Mahmud conquered the province of Guzerat, demolishing the temple of Sumnat, which contained a greater quantity of jewels and gold than it is thought, any royal treasury ever contained before.

770/10
Mahmud died in 1028, master of the eastern and by much the largest part of Persia and nominally of the Indian provinces, from the western part of the Ganges to the peninsula of Guzerat; and also of the provinces between the Indus and the mountains of Agimere. It is worthy of remark that during these invasions the rajaputs of Agimere preserved their independence, which indeed they have not altogether lost even at this day.

Under a succession of warlike princes, the empire of Ghizni (or Gazna) rose to a surprising

magnitude. In the reign of Musaood I. son of Mahmud, it extended from Ispahan to Bengal, and from the mouths of the Indus to the banks of the Jaxartes, which comprehends nearly one half of the great continent of Asia.

But in the year 1158 the Ghiznian empire was broken. The family of Gauridaso, from the province of Gaur beyond the Indian Caucasus, became possessed of the western and most considerable part. The parts contiguous to both sides of the Indus continued in the possession of Chusero or Cusroe, who fixed his residence at Lahore. In 1184, however, the Gaurides expelled the successors of Chusero from their dominions. In 1194, Muhammed Ghorî invaded Hindostan, carried his arms as far as Benares*, and conquered the eastern part of Agimere, and the country to the river Jumna, including the fortress of Gualior.†

* Muhammed Ghero perpetrated in the city of Benares the same crimes as Mahmud had before done at Nagraçot and Sumnat. Benares was regarded as the principal university of Brahminical learning; and we may conclude (observes Major Rennell) that about this period, the Shanscrit language, which was before the current language of Hindostan, began to decline in its purity, by the admixture of words from that of the conqueror; until the language of Hindostan became what it now is: the original Shanscrit, preserved in their ancient writings, becoming a dead language.

† The fortress of Gualior then gave name to a kingdom which since has composed nearly the Soubah of Agra.

After the death of this emperor, in 1205, the Ghiznian empire was again divided. The unambitious character of the surviving princes of the family of Ghor gave an opportunity to two of the imperial slaves to divide the empire which Muhammed had been at much pains to acquire. Eldoze retained possession of the Persian part, and Cuttub was already viceroy of the empire over the conquests in India. It was from Cuttub the muhammedan empire of the Patans or Afghans in India commenced, and Delhi became the capital city. The Afghans originally inhabited the mountainous country between India and Persia. In 1210 the emperor Altuumsh, who succeeded Cuttub to the Patan throne, completed the conquest of nearly the whole of Hindostan Proper.* He was the first muhammedan

* Hindostan has by the people of modern Europe been understood to mean the tract situated between the rivers Ganges and Indus, on the east and west; the Thibetian and Tartarian mountains on the north; and the sea on the south. But strictly speaking, the extent of Hindostan is much more circumscribed, and the name ought to be applied only to that part of the above tract, which lies to the north of the parallels of 21° or 22° . The Nirbidda river is, indeed, the reputed southern boundary of Hindostan, as far as it goes; and the southern frontiers of Bengal and Bahar compose the remainder of it. The countries on the south of this line go under the general name of Deccan, and comprise nearly one half of the tract generally known by the name of the Mogul Empire. But as the term Hindostan has been applied in a lax sense to this whole region, it may be necessary to distinguish the northern part of it by the

who conquered Bengal. During his reign Jenghiz khan achieved the conquest of the other branch of the Ghiznian empire; but Hindostan was not molested at that time. In 1242 the Moguls, successors of Jenghiz, plundered the provinces on the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and returned to Ghizni. The situation of the country was not very dissimilar from what it had been before the invasion of the muhammedans: it included a great number of states tributary to the emperor, but scarcely to be considered as forming part of the same empire. Revolts were therefore very frequent. The kingdoms of Guzerat and Malava, which had been annexed to the empire by Cuttub, were permitted to shake off the yoke in 1265. The rajaputs likewise were constantly asserting their freedom; and dreadful massacres, rebellion and barbarous conquests make up the history of Hindostan almost to the period when the government fell into the hands of the English.

While the kings of Delhi were prosecuting their conquests in the east and south of Hindostan, the provinces on the west of the Indus were neglected, though not avowedly relinquished. It might have been expected, observes Major

name of Hindostan *proper*. This tract has indeed the Indus and the mountains of Thibet and Tartary for its western and northern boundaries; but the Ganges was improperly applied as an eastern boundary, as it intersects in its course some of the richest provinces of the empire.—*Rennell*.

Rennell, that so excellent a barrier as the upper part of the Indus and the deserts beyond Agimere would have induced an emperor of Hindostan to give up, of choice, all the provinces that lay on the west of this line; and the neglect of so prudent a conduct occasioned the peace of the empire to be often disturbed, and ended in their being forcibly taken away at last by the Moguls; who, not contented with their new acquisitions on the west of the Indus, crossed that river and invaded the Penjab; and so formidable did they appear to Ferose II. that some tribes of them were permitted to settle in that country in the year 1292.

In 1293, this emperor determined to invade the Deccan.* The riches of Ramdeo, king of

* The Deccan at that time included all the territory lying to the south of the Nirbidda and Mahanada (or Cattack) rivers: an extent of dominion almost equal to all that Ferose already possessed in Hindostan; and which extended from the shores of the Indus, to the mouth of the Ganges; and from the northern mountains, to Cattack, Sirong and Agimere: the greatest part of Malava, with Guzerat and Sindi, being then independent.

Ferishta, in his history of the Deccan, informs us that its emperors of the Bahmincah dynasty (which commenced with Hassan Caco, A. D. 1347) appear to have exceeded in power and splendour, those of Delhi, even at the most flourishing periods of their history. Like other overgrown empires, it fell to pieces with its own weight; and out of were formed four potent kingdoms, under the names of Visiapour (properly Bejapour) Golconda, Berar, and Amednagur. Each of these subsisted with a considerable

Deogire (now Dowlatabad), one of the principalities of the Deccan, gave birth to this project; and the projector was Alla, Ferose's nephew, governor of Kurrah, which nearly bordered on the devoted country.

Alla marched against Ramdeo, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings, and having taken Deogire, he concluded a treaty of peace with that prince upon the following almost incredible terms; that in consideration of evacuating the country Alla should receive six hundred maunds of pure gold,* seven maunds of pearls, 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 surpassing all belief.

Alla had thus the means of increasing the number of his adherents, and having murdered the emperor, his uncle, he assumed to himself the sovereignty of Hindostan. During his reign the Moguls frequently invaded the empire, but were repulsed with great slaughter. Alla subdued Guzerat, the Deccan, and many other provinces, and obliged the rajah of the Carnatic to become tributary to him.† He was a sanguinary prince.

degree of power until the Mogul conquest; and the two first preserved their independence until the time of Aureng-Zêbe.

* The maund of the Deccan is 25lb. avoirdupois.

† Ferishta, mentions that Capor, Alla's general, presented to the emperour as spoils from the Carnatic, three

Many thousand Moguls, whom he took prisoners, were trodden to death by elephants; and the Mogul mercenaries in his army having incurred his displeasure, he ordered them to be all discharged. The greater number remained at Delhi in great distress, and some among them 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 put to the sword; so that fifteen thousand of those unhappy wretches lay dead in the streets of Delhi in one day.

In 1316 Alla died. He was succeeded by some of his children, whose reigns, however, were short. The vengeance of heaven overtook and exterminated the race of that usurper, for his ingratitude to his uncle Ferose, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands.

In the commencement of the reign of Muhammed III. who ascended the throne in 1325, hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety six thousand maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things. This treasure may appear to exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans; but if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people undisturbed perhaps by wars for thousands of years, and 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 Ferishta remain unimpeached. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money.

the Moguls invaded Hindostan. Having subdued Limghan, Moulton and the northern provinces, they advanced toward Delhi. Muhammed sued 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.

Muhammed formed a resolution to subdue China, and a prodigious army was marched into that country; but the troops were struck with dismay upon seeing a formidable army prepared to oppose them, and scarcely a man came back to relate the particulars of their defeat. In the year 1343, Bellaldeo, the Prince of the Carnatic, was informed that the muhammedans had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos, and he acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He drove the muhammedans before him on all sides, and within a few months Muhammed had no possessions in the Deccan, except Dowlatabad. Many provinces were also lost by rebellions in Bengal, Guzerat and the Panjab.

Ferose III. succeeded Muhammed in 1350, and reigned nearly thirty-nine years. He built fifty great sluices, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, one hundred bridges and many other public works. After his death in 1388 the distracted state of the empire prepared it for foreign subjection; and a minority in the person of Mahmud

III. who succeeded in 1393, brought matters to a crisis.

The empire of Persia continued under petty princes till Timour Bec, commonly called Tamerlane, mounted the throne of the kingdoms of Zagatay, which comprehended all Maver-ul-Nere or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zabulistan and others toward the Indus. After the conquest of the northern Tartary, he turned his arms against Persia, and entered Chorassan, seven years before the death of Feroze, the Patan emperor of Hindostan. He completed the conquest of Persia in less than five years, and when Feroze died, Timour was employed in the reduction of the provinces on the Euphrates.

In the year 1398, Timour set out on his expedition to India, and took Delhi, having then an army of near 100,000 horse. But finding a general conquest of India would be attended with much difficulty, he bent his thoughts on an expedition against the Turks, and three years and eight months after the taking of Delhi he retired from Hindostan.

The death of Mahmud, in 1413, put an end to the Patan dynasty. He was succeeded by Chizer, a Seid; that is, one of the race of the impostor Muhammed; and his posterity continued to fill the throne till the year 1450; when Belloli, an Afghan of the tribe of Lodi, took possession of it, on the abdication of Alla II. At this time all Hindostan fell into separate governments. A con-

siderable part of the empire, however, was recovered by the son of Belloli; who in 1501, fixed his residence at Agra.

During the reign of Ibrahim II. Sultan Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, made five expeditions into Hindostan. In the first four he was unsuccessful; but in the fifth, he on the first of May 1526, gave battle to Ibrahim, totally defeated him and put an end to the dynasty of Lodi.*

Baber, died on the 25th of December, 1530, near Agra. His son Humaioon was driven out of his country by the usurper Sher-Khan the Afghan, who was killed in 1545. After his death five sovereigns appeared in the space of nine years, but at length the throne was offered to Humaioon, who lived only one year after his restoration.

Acbar, though under fourteen years of age, succeeded his father Humaioon in 1555. He was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane, and the only sovereign of muhammedan race whose mind ap-

* In the person of Baber, the line of Tamerlane first mounted the throne of Hindostan. The conquests of his ancestors, nearly a century and a half before, had no share in effecting the present settlement. Baber was in reality the founder of the Mogul dynasty, and from this event, Hindostan came to be called the Mogul Empire. Properly speaking, indeed, the Mogul Empire was that over which Tamerlane and his immediate successors reigned, and in which India was not included. Custom, however, has transferred the name to the empire held by the descendants of Tamerlane in Hindostan and the Deccan.—*Rennell*.

pears to have risen so far above all the illiberal prejudices of that fanatical religion in which he was educated, as to be capable of forming a plan worthy of a monarch who loved his people and was solicitous to render them happy. As the Hindoos formed the great body of his subjects, he laboured to acquire a perfect knowledge of their religion, their sciences, their laws and institutions; in order that he might conduct every part of his government, particularly the administration of justice, in a manner as much accommodated as possible to their own ideas. In this generous undertaking he was seconded with zeal by his vizier Abul Fazel, a minister whose understanding was not less enlightened than that of his master.*

* Robertson.--That the Hindoos retained a grateful recollection of the mild and equitable government of Acbar, is evident from a letter of Jesswint-Singh, Rajah of Joudpore (whose name occurs so frequently in Bernier's narrative) to Aureng-Zêbe. "Your royal ancestor, Acbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness; whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or of Muhammed; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection which he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggot Grow, Guardian of Mankind. If your majesty places any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed, that

This great prince had not been long seated on the throne, when he reduced the revolted provinces throughout his vast empire. In 1585 he resolved to invade the Deccan, and soon after carried the war into Berar, while another army effected the conquest of Kashmire. But at the time of Acbar's death, in 1605, no farther progress was made in the reduction of the Deccan and the adjoining countries than the taking possession of a part of Berar, Candeish, Tellingana (a division of Golconda) and the northern part of Amednagur.*

God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Muhammedans alone. The pagan and the muselman are equally in His presence. Distinctions of colours are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples to His name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images where the bell is shaken still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion and customs of other men is to set at nought the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, "Presume not to arraign or to scrutinize the various works of Divine Power."

Dr. Robertson was assured by a gentleman who had read this letter in the original, that the English translation (by Mr. Orme) is not only elegant but faithful.

* The Deccan at this period was divided into the kingdoms or states of Candeish, Amednagur (or Dowlatabad) Golconda and Visiapour. Berar and the Carnatic are not specified by the historian as members of the Deccan. The kingdoms which composed the Deccan were governed by muhammedan princes, although we are not in possession of any history of the conquests which transferred them from the Hindoos to the muhammedans.—*Rennell*.

The great abilities of Acbar confirmed the house of Timour on the throne, and established tranquillity over all their vast conquests in India. Though the empire [of the muhammedans in that country was not so extensive under Acbar as it had been under some princes of the Patan dynasty, it comprehended a vast tract, divided into twenty-two provinces,* each equal to some kingdoms in wealth, fertility and extent. A small part only of the Deccan or southern peninsula of India had been conquered; yet the dominions of the family of Timour, in their northern and southern frontiers, fell under the thirty-sixth and nineteenth parallels of latitude; and they extended themselves from east to west, about twenty-five degrees. The revenues, according to the imperial register, were thirty-two millions sterling received into the exchequer, exclusive of the customary presents, and the estates of the officers of the crown, which at their death reverted to the emperor and amounted, on an average to twenty millions more of our money. These sums were expended in maintaining an army of three hundred thousand horse and as many foot, in support of the splendor of the court, and in payment of the salaries of civil officers †.

On the death of Acbar, his son Selim as-

* Candahar, Ghizni, Cabul, Kashmire, Lahore, Moulân, Outch, Sindi, Agimere, Sirhind, Delhi, Duâb, Agra, Allahabad, Oud, Behâr, Bengal, Orissa, Malava, Berâr, Chandesh, Guzerat.

† Dow.

cended the throne in Agra, in the year 1605. He on his succession, assumed the title of Jehan-Guire, or Lord of the World, and reigned twenty-two years and ten months, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected from so weak a prince. Under him the conquest of the Deccan was but faintly pursued. The rebellions of the emperor's son, Shah-Jehan, embittered the latter part of his reign, and the influence of his favourite sultana, Noor-Jehân perplexed the councils of the nation. Her abilities were extraordinary; for she rendered herself absolute, in a government in which women are thought incapable of bearing any part.

In the year 1615, Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the court of Hindostan, arrived at Agimere, where Jehan-Guire then kept his court. Sir Thomas was received by the emperor with the utmost kindness. The presents made by the ambassador were agreeable to him; but a fine coach sent by King James pleased him most of all. In the month of January, 1615, a firmân was obtained for the establishment of an English factory at Surat.

Seven children were born to the emperor Jehan-Guire; five sons and two daughters. The sons were Chusero, Purvez, Churrum (afterwards Shah-Jehan), Jehandâr and Shariâr. Chusero, Purvez, and Jehandâr died before their father; Shariâr fell a victim to his brother's jealousy; and Shah-Jehan succeeded to the empire. The prince

Chusero left his two sons, Dawir Buxsh and Gur-hap, who were both murdered at the instance of Shah-Jehan. The children of Purvez were a son and a daughter: the first, by dying a natural death, prevented the dagger of Shah-Jehan from committing another murder; and the latter became the wife of Dara, the eldest son of Shah-Jehan. The two sons of Daniâl, Baiêsâr and Hoshung, had been confined during the reign of their uncle, Jehan-Guire. Strangers to the world, their nerves were relaxed by inactivity and their minds broken by adversity. This state of debility did not secure them from the jealousy of the new emperor, by whose command they were strangled at Lahore. Shah-Jehan, as was observed in a note, either by the dagger or bowstring dispatched all the males of the house of Timour; so that he himself and his children only remained of the posterity of Baber who conquered India.

It was in the year 1628 that Shah-Jehan mounted the throne of the Moguls; and, according to the pompous manner of eastern provinces, assumed the title of The True Star of the Faith, The Second Lord of The Happy Conjunctions, Muhammed, The King of the World. He was born at Lahore on the 5th January, 1592, and on the day of his accession, he was thirty-six years old.

In this reign the Deccan was invaded by immense armies, and most of the princes of that country submitted to the Mogul. Golconda was partially conquered, but little or no impression

was made by the arms of Shah-Jehan on the kingdom of Visiapour or on the Carnatic.

Casim, Governor of Bengal, having complained to the emperor that the Portuguese, who had established themselves at Hoogly on the Ganges had committed acts of violence upon the subjects of the empire, Shah-Jehan wrote to him in these laconic terms: "Expel the idolaters from my dominions." Casim appeared with an army before the Portuguese factory and carried the place by assault. These were the first hostilities against Europeans recorded in the histories of the east. The melancholy consequences of the capture of Hoogly are detailed by Bernier. According to Colonel Dow, three thousand Portuguese fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Though the power of Shah-Jehan had, in a great measure, terminated with the sickness, which, as we have seen in Bernier, roused his sons to arms, mounted the throne. He held the sceptre of India thirty solar years and five months; and when he was dethroned, he had attained the sixty-seventh year of his age. The means by which Shah-Jehân obtained the empire of the Moguls, were no more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aureng-Zêbe. He rebelled against his father, and he sacrificed his relations.

In 1658 the civil wars, detailed by our traveller, commenced; and in 1660 Aureng-Zêbe was in possession of the throne. From that period until the year 1678 profound peace pre-

vailed in Hindostan. In the latter part of his reign he conquered the Deccan, to which Major Rennell supposes he was incited by the resolution and growing power of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta state; and who, in that character, appeared almost as a rival to Aureng-Zêbe himself.* The emperor's persecutions of

* The derivation of the word Mahratta, is from Marhat, the name of a province in the Deccan. Sevajee, who plays so important a part in the drama before us, may be considered as the founder of the Mahratta empire. His grandfather is supposed to have been an illegitimate son of a Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajaput princes. Having, after the death of his father (the Rana of Oudipour) suffered some indignities from his brothers, on account of his birth, he retired to the Deccan and entered into the service of the King of Visiapour, who conferred upon him a distinguished rank in his army. In this rank he was succeeded by his son: but his grandson Sevajee, who was born in 1628, embraced an opportunity, which the distractions existing in the Visiapour monarchy afforded him, of becoming independent. So rapid was the progress of his conquests that he was grown formidable to the armies of the Mogul empire before Aureng-Zêbe's accession to power. At his death, in 1680, his domains extended from the northern part of Baglana, near Surat, to the neighbourhood of the Portuguese settlement of Goa, along the sea coast; but probably not inland; for Aureng-Zêbe's armies kept the field in Visiapour at that period. His son Sambajee was treacherously seized on and cruelly put to death by Aureng-Zêbe in 1689. The Mahrattas continued, however, to increase in power. Sahoojee succeeded his father Sambajee and reigned more than fifty years. The confusions occasioned by the disputed succession among Aureng-Zêbe's children and their descendants opened a wide field to this

the Hindoos stirred up the Rajaput tribes in Agimere, and he would have been taken prisoner, had not the enemy thought proper to allow him to escape. In 1681 he again attacked the Rajaputs, and destroyed Cheitore, the famous capital of the Rana, and every where demolished the Hindoo temples; but he was obliged to abandon his enterprise, and the Rajaputs preserved their independence. After the tenth year of Aureng-Zêbe's reign, we know very little of his transactions, as he would not allow any history of them to be written. He died in 1707, in the 90th. year of his age, leaving four sons; Mauzum, afterwards emperor, under the title of Bahader-Shah; Azem, Kambukhsh, and Acbar, who had fled to Persia thirty years before, on account of a rebellion in which he was engaged against his father.*

hardy and enterprising people, at the time of Sahoojee's death, in 1740, the Mahratta state had swallowed up the whole tract from the western sea to Orisa; and from Agra to the Carnatic.

* Aureng-Zêbe left a will; of which for the satisfaction of the curious, I shall give a translation. It is extracted from a work (*The History of Nadir-Shah*) published by Mr. James Fraser, in the year 1742.

"I came -handed into the world, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate children shall chance to rule the empire, let him not molest Muhammed Kambukhsh,* should he rest contented with the two new Soubahs.†

* Muhammed Kambukhsh, Aureng-Zêbe's youngest son.

† The two new Soubahs are Visiapour and Heyderabad, so called as being lately conquered by Aureng-Zêbe.

The seeds which produced the decay of the Mogul Empire, and which in our day have ripened into such malignancy, took a deep root during the reign of Aureng-Zêbe; who though one of the most sagacious princes of the house of Timour, endangered the welfare of the state and the security of his subjects by an injudicious impulse of domestic affection. He portioned among his sons the most valuable provinces of the empire; where acquiring an influence and

“There cannot be a better vizier than Emir-al-Omrah.

“Let all the king’s servants be true and faithful to Muhammed-Azem-Shah.*

“Whoever shall chance to have the empire, let him not hurt or molest those born or bred up in my house.

“If the division I formerly made proves agreeable to my children, it will prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed.

“There are two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi: whoever settles in Agra may have the province thereof, Deccan Malava, and Guzerat: and who resides at Delhi may have Cabul and the other provinces.

“I came naked into the world, and naked I go out of it. Let no ensigns or royal pomp accompany my funeral. Let Hamid odin Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my corpse to the place of Shah Zen al din and make a tomb for it in the same manner as is done for dervises. Let not my fortunate children give themselves any concern about a monument.

“There is in my private treasury 57,382 rupees: let one thousand rupees be distributed among the poor at my funeral.”

* Another son of Aureng-Zêbe.

strength that cannot be held by an Asiatic subject with safety to the monarch, they expected with impatience the event that was to determine their schemes and pretensions. On the death of Aureng-Zêbe, the sons eagerly took up arms, and after deluging the country with blood, the war was successfully terminated by Bahader-Shah, who may be said to have mounted the throne from a mound of fraternal and kindred slaughter. Not being endowed with the genius of his father, the governors of provinces relaxed in their allegiance during his short reign of five years. The Mahrattas, whom Aureng-Zêbe had nearly subdued, descended at his death from their mountains, and rapidly recovered the territories from which they had been expelled. Previously to the Persian invasion in the year 1738, the subadars of Oude and the Deccan, having virtually erected their chiefships into independent states, commanded without the control of the court large armies. The empire thus enfeebled, invited Nadir Shah to conquest and plunder. The river Attock, the natural western barrier of India, on whose bank Muhammed-Shah, the then emperor, should have stood in person, was crossed by the Persians without opposition; and this inglorious prince surrendered to them, without drawing his sword, the wealth and dominions of Hindostan. A subsequent train of diversified ruin, moving with a rapidity not paralleled in the history of nations,

has now left scarcely a vestige of the Mogul Empire.*

Under Aureng-Zêbe's reign, the empire attained its full measure of extent. His authority reached from the 10th to the 25th degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude; and his revenue exceeded thirty two-millions of pounds sterling, in a country where the products of the earth are about four times as cheap as in England.†

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EMPERORS WHO HAVE REIGNED IN HINDOSTAN,
SINCE THE GHIZNIAN CONQUEST.

GHIZNIAN EMPERORS.

	Began his reign, A.D.
Mahmud I.	1000
Muhammed I. }	1028
Musaoood I. }	
Modood	1041
Musaoood II. }	1051
Ali }	
Reschid' }	1052
Feroch-Zaad }	
Ibrahim I.	1056
Musaoood III.	1098
Arsilla	1115
Byram I.	1118
Chusero I.	1152
Chusero II.	1159

GHORIAN, OR GAURIAN EMPEROR.

Muhammed II. or Muhammed Ghori	1184
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* Forster. † Rennell.

PATAN, OR AFGHAN EMPERORS.

	Began his reign, A.D.
Cuttub	1205
Eldoze	
Aram }	1210
Altuumsh }	
Ferose I,	1235
Sultana Rizia, Empress	1236
Byram II.	1239
Musaoood IV.	1242
Mahmud II.	1245
Balin	1265
Keikobad	1286
Ferose II.	1289
Alla I.	1295
Omar	1316
Mubarick I.	1317
Tuglick	1321
Muhammed III.	1325
Ferose III.	1351
Tuglick II.	1388
Muhammed IV. }	1389
Abu-Bicker }	
* Mahmood III.	1393

DYNASTY OF THE SEIDS.

Chizer	1414
Mubarick II.	1421
Muhammed V.	1433
Alla II.	1447

DYNASTY OF LODI.

Belloli.	1450
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* Tamerlane's invasion happened in this reign.

Begun his
reign, A.D.

Secunder I.	1488
Ibrahim II.	.	.	.	.	.	1516

MOGUL EMPERORS.

Baber	.	.	.	.	.	1525
Humaioon	.	.	.	.	.	1530

SECOND PATAN DYNASTY.

Shere	.	.	.	.	.	1542
Selim	.	.	.	.	.	1545
Muhammed VI.	}	.	.	.	.	1552
Ibrahim III.		.	.	.	.

MOGUL DYNASTY RESTORED.

Humaioon	.	.	.	.	.	1554
Acbar	.	.	.	.	.	1555
Jehan Guire	.	.	.	.	.	1605
Shah Jehan	.	.	.	.	.	1628
Aureng-Zêbe, or Allumguire I.	.	.	.	.	.	1659
Bahader Shah	.	.	.	.	.	1707
Jehaunder Shah	.	.	.	.	.	1712
Feroksere	.	.	.	.	.	1713
Ruffieh-ul-Dirjat	}	.	.	.	.	1717
Ruffieh-ul-Dowlah		.	.	.	.
Muhammed Shah	.	.	.	.	.	1718
Ahmed Shah	.	.	.	.	.	1748
Allumguire II.	.	.	.	.	.	1753
Shah Aulum	.	.	.	.	.	1760

NOTES.

THE notes A, B, C, D, and E, are extracted from the third volume of Colonel Dow's work upon Hindostan. There is some discrepancy between him and our author in their respective accounts of the transactions to which these notes refer. The colonel says that he derived the greatest part of his facts from Eastern writers; but it is difficult to conceive that he can have consulted any who was more intelligent and faithful than Bernier, or who possessed easier opportunities of ascertaining the accuracy of his statements.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

DARA had not long remained behind his lines, when the princes, on the first of June (1658) appeared on the opposite bank of the Chunbul. Aureng-Zêbe's army consisted not of 40,000 men, and they were fatigued with the length of their march. But there was no time to be lost: Solimân was approaching fast to support his father's cause. No hopes presented themselves to Aureng-Zêbe. To retreat was ruin: to advance destruction. He was lost in suspense. Morâd was for forcing the lines; but a letter from Shaista, who was third in command in the imperial army, broke off that measure by presenting a better to the brothers. This treacherous lord informed Aureng-Zêbe, that to attempt the lines would be folly, and that the only means left him was to leave his camp standing to amuse Dara, and to march through the hills by a bye-road, which two chiefs, who were directed to attend him in the evening, would point out. The princes closed with the proposal. The guides joined them in the evening and they decamped with the greatest silence, leaving their

tents, luggage, and artillery under a strong guard, who were to amuse the enemy. The army moved about thirty miles that night; and the next day they were discovered by the scouts of Dara in full march toward Agra. Dara decamped from his lines with precipitation, leaving the greater part of his cannon behind him. By a forced march he pushed between the enemy and the capital, and on the fourth of June he presented himself before the rebels. On the morning of the fifth, the prince ordered the army to be formed in order of battle. Rustum-khan, an experienced general from Tartary, marshalled the field. The artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery stood a number of camels, mounted with small swivels, which the riders of each camel, without alighting, could charge and discharge with ease. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines; and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows together with sabres. One third of the cavalry formed the reserve behind the lines. Dara placed himself in the centre, mounted on a lofty elephant, from which he could command a view of the field. The treacherous Shaista took the command of the right wing; and that of the left was destined by Dara for Rustum. That officer, who was acknowledged the most experienced commander in Hindostan, was actually at the head of the army. He

bore the commission of captain general, and all orders were issued by him. He represented to Dara, before the action commenced, that he intended to place himself at the head of the reserve in the rear, where he might direct the movements of the field, and issue out his orders as the circumstances of affairs might require: "My post" said Dara "is in the front of battle; and I expect that all my friends shall partake of my danger, if they wish to share the glory which I hope to obtain." The generous and intrepid spirit of Rustum was offended at this reflection. He answered with a stern countenance and determined tone of voice: "The front of battle has been always my post, though I never contended for an empire; and if I wished to change it to-day, it was from an anxiety for the fortune of Dara." The prince was struck with the impropriety of his own conduct. He endeavoured to persuade Rustum to remain at the head of the reserve; but he went beyond hearing, and placed himself in the front of the left wing.

Aureng-Zêbe, on the other hand, having marshalled his army into order of battle, requested of Morâd to take the command of the centre. He committed the left wing to his son Mahomed, and he placed himself on the right, Morâd was astonished, and pleased at the ease with which Aureng-Zêbe assigned to him the post of honor. But the crafty prince had two reasons for his conduct. Morâd was haughty: he had

assumed the imperial titles, and though, out of a pretended complaisance to his father, he had laid them down, he looked forward with undeviating ardour to the throne. It was not the business of Aureng-Zêbe to offend him at this critical juncture. But his reason was equally prudent. Rustum commanded the left wing of the enemy; and he was the most renowned general of the times. He had passed many years in the service of the Tartars and Persians, being bred up to the field from his youth, in which he had always eminently distinguished himself. He had been present in one hundred general actions; he was habituated to danger, and perfect master of his own mind in the most desperate situations. Aureng-Zêbe therefore could not trust the experience of Rustum, against the conduct of any but his own.

Both lines began now to move from wing to wing; and the artillery opened on both sides. Rustum advanced, on the left, with a hasty pace directing the march of his troops by the motion of his sword. Aureng-Zêbe ordered a part of his artillery to point toward Rustum; and that general received a cannon-ball in his breast, when he had advanced within five yards of the enemy. The whole wing stopt at the fall of Rustum: but Sittersal, one of the chiefs of the rajaputs, at the head of five thousand horse, fell in, sword in hand, with Aureng-Zêbe. Mahommed, who commanded under the prince, opposed the rajaputs

with great bravery. A sharp conflict ensued; and the rajaputs began to file off, when their leader engaged personally with Mahommed. The rajaputs strove to cover their chief, but in vain; he was cut down by the sabre of Mahommed. The whole wing fell into disorder but did not fly; and a promiscuous slaughter covered the field with dead.

Dara, mounted on his elephant, in the meantime advanced with the centre. He was observed by his army to look over all the line, and they gathered courage from his intrepid demeanor. A part of the enemy's artillery was opposed to the very point where Dara advanced. A heavy fire was kept up, and his squadron fell into a kind of disorder; but when he waved his hand for them to advance, they resumed their ranks and followed him with ardour. Before he could come to blows with the enemy, a second volley occasioned a second disorder. He however stood upon his elephant, and, without any change of countenance, called out with a loud voice to advance with speed. He himself, in the meantime fell in with the first line of Morâd. He rushed through with his elephant, and opened a way for his horse, who, pressing into the heart of the enemy, commenced a great slaughter. The whole centre under Morâd was broken, and the prince himself was covered with wounds. He endeavoured to lead his troops again to the charge, but they were deaf to his commands. He ordered

his elephant to be driven among the thickest of the enemy; being determined to fall with his fortune, or, by a brave example, to re-animate his flying troops with hopes of recovering the day. His boldness was attended with success. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror and poured around him. Arib Dass, an Indian chief, thrice strove to reach Morâd with his sword; but did not succeed, on account of the height of the elephant. He however, cut the pillars which supported the roof of the amari or castle, which falling upon the prince, incumbered him in such a manner, that he could not defend himself. He however disengaged himself, and dealt death with his arrows on every side. In the meantime, Mahommed, the son of Aureng-Zêbe, was sent by his father's orders from the left to the assistance of Morâd. He came up when the prince was in the greatest danger. Fresh spirit was given to the troops of Morâd, and Dara received a check.

The battle now raged with redoubled fury. The elephant of Morâd, rendered outrageous by wounds, rushed forward through the column of the enemy. Mahommed, ashamed of being left behind, followed him with great ardour. Dara did not retreat. He gave his orders with apparent composure. But a cannon-ball having killed his foster brother, who sat with him on the elephant, he was almost blinded with the blood.

A rocket, at the same time, passing by his ear, singed his turban; a second followed, and having struck in the front of the amari, burst, and broke it all to pieces. His colour was seen then to change. The lord who drove the elephant observed an alteration in the prince; and, whether through personal fear, or for the safety of his master, is uncertain, retreated a few paces, Dara reprimanded him with severity; but the mischief was already done. His squadrons saw the retreat of the prince; and their spirit flagged. He however ordered the driver to turn his elephant toward the enemy, but that lord represented to him, that now, being marked out by the rebels, it were better for him to mount his horse, and pursue the fugitives, for that now very few remained on the field. He alighted; but there was no horse to be found. He fought for some time on foot. At length he mounted a horse whose rider had been killed.

Almost the whole of both armies had now left the field. Not a thousand men remained with Dara, and scarce one hundred horse with Anreng-Zêbe and Morâd. The latter however fought with increasing ardour. His young son, of about eight years of age, sat with him upon the elephant. Him he covered with his shield, and dealt his arrows around on the enemy. Aureng-Zêbe, having in vain endeavoured to rally his flying squadrons, advanced with fifty horsemen to the assistance of Morâd, hoping

more for an honourable death than for a victory. It was at the very instant that he came to blows with the imperialists, that the unfortunate Dara dismounted from his elephant. The squadrons who had still adhered to that prince, seeing the elephant retreating with the imperial standard, thought that Dara had been killed. The cause for which they fought, in their opinion, no longer existed. They betook themselves to flight, and when Dara had mounted his horse, he found the field bare of all his troops. He fled with precipitation, and the rebel princes found themselves at the head of only two hundred horsemen, in possession of an unexpected victory.—*Dow.*

NOTE B.

THE day after Morâd's arrival at the camp near Muttra, he invited his brother to an entertainment. Aureng-Zêbe, who never had suspected the open temper of Morâd, accepted of the invitation. When the brothers sat at dinner, Nazir-Shabâs, high steward of the household, who was in the secret, entered suddenly, and whispered in Morâd's ear, that now was the time to make a rent in a magnificent dress. Aureng-Zêbe, whose eye could trace the thoughts in the features of the face, was alarmed at this

mysterious whispering, as well as at the affected gaiety of his brother. He remained silent, and Morâd dispatched Shabâs, with only desiring him to wait the signal. Aureng-Zêbe was now convinced that there was a design against his life. He complained suddenly of a violent pain in his bowels; and, rising under a pretence of retiring, joined his guards, and returned to his own quarter of the camp.

“Morâd ascribed his brother’s departure to his illness, and entertained no idea that he had the least suspicion of his own intentions. In three days he recovered of the pretended pain in his bowels. He received his brother’s congratulations with every mark of esteem and affection; and the day after, he sent him an invitation to come to his tent to see some beautiful women whom he had collected for his amusement. Their performances in singing, in dancing and in playing upon various instruments of music, were, he said, beyond any thing ever seen in Hindostan. He enlarged upon their grace, their beauty and the elegant symmetry of their limbs. The mind of Morâd, who was naturally a great lover of pleasure, was inflamed at the description; and contrary to the advice of all his friends, he went to his brother’s quarter. On the arrival of the emperor, as Aureng-Zêbe affected to call his brother, he was received by the young ladies in an inner tent. They were handsome beyond description,

and the voluptuous prince was struck with a pleasing astonishment at their charms.

“An elegant entertainment was in the meantime served up to the sound of vocal and instrumental music. Morâd was elevated and called for wine of Schîraz. The ladies sat round him in a circle, and Aureng-Zêbe, throwing off his usual austerity, began to partake of the wine. Morâd in a short time became intoxicated, and his brother, instead of wine, imposed upon him bumpers of arrack. He at length fell asleep on a sopha, in the arms of one of the ladies. Aureng-Zêbe had given orders to some of his officers, to entertain the lords who attended Morâd in the same voluptuous manner. Even his body-guard were intoxicated with wine, so that the unfortunate prince was left without defence.

“Aureng-Zêbe gave orders to Ziffer-Jung and three other lords, to enter the tent and bind his brother. The lady retired upon their coming, and they advanced to the sopha on which he lay. His sword and dagger had been already removed by the care of Aureng-Zêbe; and they began softly to bind his hands. Morâd started up at this operation, and began to deal around his blows. The lords were terrified, and the prince began to call aloud for his sword. Aureng-Zêbe, who stood at the door of the tent, thrust his head from behind the curtain, and said with a menacing voice, ‘He has no choice but death or

submission; despatch him if he resists.' Morâd hearing the voice of his brother, began to upbraid him and submitted to his fate. Nazir-Shabâs, his principal friend and adviser, was at the same instant seized. He had been sitting under a canopy before the pay-master general's tent, and at a signal given, the ropes of the four poles were at once cut, and before he could extricate himself, he was bound. The other lords who were attached to the prince, being surrounded with armed men, were brought before Aureng-Zêbe to whom they swore allegiance. A murmur ran through the camp; but it was an ineffectual sound; and the army, as if but half wakened from a dream, fell fast asleep again.

“The night was not far advanced, when Morâd was seized and bound. Before day-light appeared, he and his favourite were mounted on an elephant, in a covered amari or castle, and sent off under an escort to Agra.—*Dow*.

NOTE C.

“THE prince Mahommed,* who in conjunction with Jumla, commanded the imperial army, had, before the civil war, conceived a passion for one of the daughters of Sujah. Overtures of marriage

* Mahmud is called by Colonel Dow, Mahommed.

had been made and accepted ; but the consummation of the nuptials had been broken off by the troubles which disturbed the times. He seemed even to have forgot his betrothed wife in his activity in the field ; but the princess moved by the misfortunes of her father, wrote with her own hand a very moving letter to Mahommed. She lamented her unhappy fate, in seeing the prince whom she loved, armed against her father. She expressed her passion and unfortunate condition in terms which found their way to his heart. His former affections were rekindled in all their fury, and, in the elevation of his mind, he resolved to desert his father's cause.

“The visier, upon affairs of some importance, was in the mean time at some distance from the army which lay at Raja-Mâhil. The opportunity was favourable for the late adopted scheme of Mahommed. He opened the affair to some of his friends : he complained of his father's coldness and even of his ingratitude to a son, to whom, as having seized the person of Shah-Jehân, he owed the empire. He gave many instances of his own services, many of the unjust returns made by Aureng-Zêbe, and concluded by declaring his fixed resolution to join Sujah. They endeavoured to dissuade him from so rash an action ; but he had taken his resolution, and he would listen to no argument. He asked them, whether they would follow his fortunes ? they replied, ‘We are the servants of Mahommed, and if the prince

will tonight join Sujah, he is so much beloved by the army, that the whole will go over to him by the dawn of day.' On these vague assurances, the prince quitted the camp that evening with a small retinue. He embarked in a boat on the Ganges, and the troops thought that he had only gone on a party of pleasure.

"Some of the pretended friends of Mahommed wrote letters, containing an account of the desertion of the prince, to the visier. Tumult, commotion and disorder reigned every where when the visier entered the camp; but his appearance soon silenced the storm, and the troops desired to be led to the enemy. Accordingly, Jumla passed the Ganges with his whole army. Mahommed, in the meantime, was received with every mark of respect by Sujah. The nuptials were celebrated with magnificence and pomp; and the festivity was scarcely over, when news arrived of the approach of the imperial army. Sujah immediately issued out with all his forces from Tanda, and waited for the enemy.

"Mahommed behaved with his usual bravery; but the effeminate natives of Bengal fled, and he was carried along with their flight. The utmost efforts of Sujah proved also ineffectual. His troops gave way on all sides. A great slaughter was made in the pursuit, and Tanda opened her gates to the conqueror. The princes fled to Dacca; but Jumla, remaining for some time in Tanda to settle the affairs of the now almost conquered

province, gave them some respite, which they employed in levying a new army.

“The news of the flight of Mahommed arriving in the mean time at Delhi, Aureng-Zêbe concluded that the whole army in Bengal had gone over to Sujah. He immediately marched with a great force, and took the route of Bengal. He, however, had not advanced far, when intelligence of the success of his arms met him, and he forthwith returned to the capital. He there had recourse to his usual policy, and wrote a letter to his son, as if in answer to one received; and he contrived matters so, that it should be intercepted by Sujah. That prince, having perused the letter, placed it in the hands of Mahommed, who swore that he had never once written to his father since the battle of Kidgwâ. Aureng-Zêbe's letter concluded in terms like these: ‘As you seem to repent of your folly, I forget your crimes. You have called the name of God to vouch for your sincerity, and my parental affection returns. You have already my forgiveness; but the execution of what you propose is the only means to regain my favour.’

“The letter made an impression on the mind of Sujah, which all the protestations of Mahommed could not remove. He told him, in the presence of his council, that after all the struggles of affection with suspicion, the latter had prevailed; and that, instead of a son and a friend, he beheld him in the light of an enemy; ‘It is

therefore necessary for the peace of both,' continued Sujah, 'that Mahommed should depart. Let him take away his wife, with all the wealth and jewels which belong to her rank. The treasures of Sujah are open, he may take whatever he pleases. Go.—Aureng-Zêbe should thank me for sending away his son, before he has committed a crime.'

"Mahommed felt the injustice of the reproach. He knew the stern rigour of his father, who never trusted any man twice. The prospect was gloomy on either side. Distrust and misery were with Sujah, and a prison was the least punishment to be expected from Aureng-Zêbe. He took leave of his father-in-law. That prince presented his daughter with jewels, plate, and money to a great amount, and the unfortunate pair pursued their journey to the camp of Jumla.

"Having approached within a few miles of the imperialists, he sent to announce his arrival. The visier hastened to receive him with all the honours due to his rank. Jumla, the very next day, received a packet from court, which contained orders to send Mahommed, should he fall into his hands, under a strong escort to Delhi. When he arrived at Agra he was confined in the citadel, whence he was soon after sent to Gualior, where he remained a prisoner to his death."—*Dow.*

NOTE D.

COLONEL Dow says that Aureng-Zêbe formed his line on the 23rd of March, 1659. "He began," says that writer, "to fortify himself under the enemy's fire, and continued the work the whole night, and covered his men before day-light appeared, notwithstanding his brother had sallied thrice during that time. The sun was scarce risen, when Debere, and some other nobles, issued out of the camp, and advanced on full speed with five thousand horse near the lines, hoping, by insulting him, to draw Dara from his lines; but the artillery of the enemy, being well served, obliged the assailants to retreat in disorder. Things remained in this doubtful situation for several days. The army of Dara, having the country in their rear open, were in no want of provisions; and it was impossible, without a long siege, to overcome their almost impregnable lines.

"A petty Indian prince, however, informed himself of a steep path, by which men might ascend the mountain on the right of Dara's line. When night came on, he marched with his troops, and having ascended the mountain, the appointed signal was ready to be shewn by the dawn of day.

"Aureng-Zêbe never rested his hopes upon the success of a single scheme. He had, during

the night, planned the ruin of his brother's affairs, by a more fatal stroke of policy than the stratagem of the rajah. Debere-Khan, and the Indian prince, Joy-Singh, had, at the beginning of the war, adhered with warmth to the interests of Dara; but they deserted the colours of Solimân, and ruined all the hopes which Dara derived from the army under his son. Aureng-Zêbe now prevailed upon these chiefs to write an insidious letter to Dara, which finished with these words: 'When day-light shall appear, let the gate of the camp be open to receive us, that we may have an opportunity of regaining, by our merit, the favour of which we have been deprived by necessity. As soon as the sun shall arise, we look for admittance into the camp, with all our followers and friends.'

"Shaw-Nawâz, in vain, remonstrated to Dara in the strongest terms, that there was danger in confiding in their sincerity. He was determined to risk all on the faith of men who had a few months before betrayed his son.

"Aureng-Zêbe, who was no stranger to the character of Dara, foresaw that his stratagem would succeed. He drew up his army before day behind his own camp, being covered by the tents from the enemy's view. The sun was not yet up, when he ordered Debere to issue forth from his right and Joy-Singh from his left and to advance on full speed toward the camp. These officers accordingly rushed forth; and Aureng-Zêbe, to carry on the deceit, began to fire with

his artillery, but with powder only, on the pretended deserters. Debere, who first advanced, gave the signal of attack, and a dreadful slaughter commenced. Debere hewed on his way to the gate which Shaw-Nawâz was endeavouring to shut; but the thing was now impracticable, from the numbers that crowded into the camp. Debere entered, sword in hand, and Shaw-Nawâz advanced to oppose him. Debere desired him to surrender, and to fear nothing from his son-in-law. 'No! Debere-khan;—I have hitherto defended my life by my valour; nor shall I purchase a few years of decrepid age at the expence of my former fame.' Debere, at the word, ran him through with his spear. With Shaw-Nawâz the courage of Dara's army fell. The treacherous Debere was now within the camp, with his squadron, who, fired with the example of their leader, made a prodigious slaughter. Joy-Singh followed close on their heels.

"Aureng-Zêbe in the mean time advanced with his whole line, and the party who had gained the summit of the mountain in the night, shewed themselves above the camp. The hills re-echoed to their shouts; and they began to roll stones and loosened rocks into the valley. An universal panic spread over all. Dara mounted his elephant to be seen by his army. He rushed forward to meet the enemy, but he was left alone. The safety of his women came then across

his mind ; he hastened with them from the field, while the spoils of his camp kept the enemy from pursuing his flight. Four thousand fell on the side of Dara in this extraordinary action. Aureng-Zêbe lost not above two hundred."

NOTE E.

COLONEL Dow thus describes the conduct of the rajah (or king) of Arracan to Sultan Sujah and family. "Threatening letters from Jumla raised terrors in the mind of the rajah, and a sudden coolness to Sujah appeared in his behaviour. The wealth of his unfortunate guest became also an object for his avarice. He sent a message to Sujah requiring him to depart from his dominions, and the impossibility of the thing was not admitted as an excuse. The monsoons raged on the coast ; the hills behind were impassable. Sujah sent his son to request a respite for a few days, with which he was indulged.

"Of 1500 adherents with whom the prince quitted Bengal, only forty remained. The Sultana, the mother of his children, had been for some time dead : his second wife, three daughters, and two sons composed his family. The few days granted by the rajah were now expired. A message came from him, demanding in marriage the daughter of Sujah. 'Go, tell your master,'

said the prince, 'that the race of Timour, though unfortunate, will never submit to dishonour. But why does he search for a cause of dispute? His inhumanity and avarice are too obvious to be covered by any pretence.'

"The rajah was highly offended at the haughtiness of the answer of Sujah. But the people pitied the fugitive, and the prince durst not openly do an act of flagrant injustice. To assassinate him in private was impossible, from the vigilance of his forty friends. A public pretence must be made to gain the wealth of Sujah. The report of a conspiracy against the rajah was spread abroad. It was affirmed that Sujah had formed a design to mount the throne of Arracan, by assassinating its monarch.

"The rajah, in a pretended terror, called suddenly together his council. He unfolded to them the circumstances of the conspiracy, and he asked their advice. They were of opinion, that Sujah and his followers should be sent away from the country. The rajah was disappointed; he had hoped that death should be the punishment of projected murder. But the natural hospitality of the nobles of Arracan prevailed over his views. He, however, under the sanction of the determination of his council, resolved to execute his own designs. The prince, with his family and his forty friends, were apprised of his intentions. They were encamped on a narrow plain which lay between a precipice and a river which, issuing

from Arracan, falls into the country of Pegu. At either end of the plain a pass was formed between the rock and the river. Sujah, with twenty of his men, possessed himself of one, and his son with the rest, stood in the other in arms. They saw the rajah's troops advancing. The women remained in their tent, in dreadful suspense; till roused by the clashing of arms, they rushed forth with dishevelled hair. The men behaved with wonderful courage, and twice repulsed the enemy, who, afraid of their swords, galled them with arrows. The greatest part of the friends of Sujah were at length either slain or wounded. He himself still stood undaunted, and defended the pass against the troops of Arracan. The officer who commanded the party, sent some of his soldiers to the top of the precipice, to roll down stones on the prince and his gallant friends. One fell on the shoulder of Sujah; and he sank down, being stunned with the pain. The enemy rushed forward, disarmed and bound him.

“He was hurried into a canoe which lay ready on the river. Two of his friends threw themselves into it as they were pushing it away from the bank. The wife and the daughters of Sujah, threw themselves headlong into the river. They were, however, brought ashore, and carried away, together with the son of Sujah, who was wounded, to the rajah's palace. The prince, sad and desolate, beheld their distress; and, in his sorrow, heeded not his own approaching fate. They had

now rowed to the middle of the stream ; but his eyes were turned toward the shore. The rowers, according to their instructions, drew a large plug from the bottom of the canoe, and throwing themselves into the river, were taken up by another canoe which had followed them for that purpose. The canoe was instantly filled with water. The prince and his two friends betook themselves to swimming. They followed the other canoe ; but she hastened to the shore. The river was broad ; and at last, worn out with fatigue, Sujah resigned himself to death.

“ Piâra Bani, the favourite, the only wife of Sujah, was so famed for her wit and beauty, that many songs in her praise are still sung in Bengal. When the rajah came to wait upon her in the haram, she attempted to stab him with a dagger which she had concealed. She, however, was disarmed ; and perceiving that she was destined for the arms of the murderer of her lord, she disfigured her beautiful face with her own hands ; and at last found with sad difficulty a cruel death, by dashing her head against a stone. The three daughters of Sujah still remained ; two of them found means by poison to put an end to their grief. The third was married to the rajah ; but she did not long survive what she reckoned an indelible disgrace on the family of Timour. The son of Sujah, who had defended himself to the last, was at length overpowered, by means of stones rolled down upon him from the rock. He

was carried to the rajah; and soon after, with his infant brother, fell a victim, by a cruel death, to the jealousy of that prince.

“No prince was ever more beloved than Sujah; he never did a cruel action during his life. Misfortune, and even death itself, could not deprive him of all his friends; and though his fate was not known in Hindostan for some years after his death, when it was heard, it filled every eye with tears.”

NOTE F.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST, MAY BE USEFUL TO SOME READERS OF THIS VOLUME.

IN the reign of John II. an intelligent prince, who first declared Lisbon a free port, and under whose auspices a new method was adopted of applying astronomy to navigation, the Portuguese doubled the Cape, which is at the extremity of Africa. It was then called the Cape of Storms; but the prince, who foresaw that it would open a passage to India, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

Emanuel pursued the plan marked out by his predecessor. On the 18th July. 1497, he sent out a fleet consisting of four ships, and gave the command of it to Vasco de Gama. This admiral

having attempted seas before unknown, landed at length in Hindostan, after a voyage of thirteen months. Hindostan was, at the arrival of the Portuguese, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Bisnagar, Narzingua and Calicut, each of which reckoned several sovereigns among their tributaries. The last of these monarchs, who is better known by the title of Zamorin, which answers to that of emperor, than by the name of his capital city, possessed the most maritime states, and his empire extended over all the Malabar.

Gama, informed that Calicut was the port in which commerce was the most flourishing, took a pilot to conduct him thither. In Calicut he met with a Moor of Tunis, who understood the Portuguese language, and had conceived an attachment for that people. He procured Gama an audience of Zamorin, who proposed an alliance, and a treaty of commerce with the king his master. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the muselmans found means to excite suspicions against a rival power, whose courage and activity they dreaded. The reports they made to him of the ambition of the Portuguese, made such an impression on the mind of the prince, that he resolved to destroy those adventurers to whom he had just before given so favourable a reception; but he did not dare to carry his design into execution, and the admiral was allowed to return in safety to his fleet.

It is impossible to describe the joy that prevailed at Lisbon on his return. The inhabitants beheld themselves on the point of establishing the richest commerce in the world; and the papal court which omitted no opportunity of confirming the opinion of its supreme authority upon earth, gave to the Portuguese all the coasts they should discover in the east.

Thirteen vessels that sailed from the Tagus, under the command of Alvares Cabral, arrived at Calicut, and restored some of the Zamorin's subjects, whom Gama had carried away with him. These Indians spoke in the most favourable terms of the treatment they had received; but it was a long time before the Zamorin was reconciled to the Portuguese: the Moorish party prevailed, and the people of Calicut, seduced by their intrigues, massacred fifty of the adventurers. Cabral in [revenge burnt all the Arabian vessels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then sailed first to Cochin and afterwards to Cananor.

The kings of both these towns gave him spices, offered him gold and silver, and proposed an alliance with him against the Zamorin, to whom they were tributary. The kings of Onor and Culan, and several other princes, made the same overtures; flattering themselves that they should all be relieved from the tribute they paid to the Zamorin, and that they should extend the frontiers of their dominions. This general infatuation procured to the Portuguese so great an ascendant

over the whole country of Malabar, that wherever they appeared they gave the law. No sovereign was suffered to enter into an alliance with them, unless he would acknowledge himself dependent on the court of Lisbon, permit a citadel to be built in his capital, and sell his merchandise at the price fixed by the buyer. The foreign merchant was obliged to wait till the Portuguese had completed their lading, and no person was suffered to navigate these seas without producing passports from them. The wars in which they were unavoidably engaged, gave little interruption to their trade: with a small number of men they defeated numerous armies; and, in a short time, the ships of the Moors, of the Zamorin and of his dependents, no longer dared to make their appearance.

Alphonso Albuquerque, the new viceroy, found it necessary that Portugal should have a settlement which might easily be defended, where there was a good harbour and a wholesome air, and where the Portuguese might refresh themselves after the fatigues of their passage from Europe. With this view he cast his eyes upon Goa, which he foresaw would be an important acquisition to Lisbon.

Though not so considerable at that time as it has been since, Goa was looked upon as the most advantageous post in India. It belonged to the king of the Deccan; but Idalcan, who was intrusted with the government of it, had assumed

an independency, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this usurper was pursuing his schemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the gates of Goa and took the city by storm.

Idalcan returned towards Goa, and the Portuguese having no firm footing there, retreated to their ships; but the Indian being obliged to take the field again to preserve his dominions from absolute destruction, Albuquerque made a sudden attack upon Goa, which he carried by storm, and fortified himself in the place. As the harbour of Calicut was good for nothing, all its trade and riches were transferred to this city, which became the metropolis of all the Portuguese settlements in India.

After the power of the Portuguese had been finally established in the Arabian and Persian Gulphs and on the Malabar coast, they thought of extending their conquests into the eastern parts of Asia.

The island of Ceylon first presented itself to Albuquerque. It should seem that it was the interest of the Portuguese to place all their strength in this island. Its harbours were the best in India; it lies in the centre of the East, and is the passage that leads to the richest countries. It might have been well peopled and fortified with a small number of men; while the numerous squadrons that might have been sent out from every port in the island would have kept all Asia in awe.

The viceroy overlooked these advantages. He also neglected the coast of Coromandel which furnished the finest cottons in the world, and which is admirably situated for the trade of Bengal and other countries.

Notwithstanding this, Albuquerque made no settlement there. The settlements of St. Thomas and Negapatan were not formed till afterward. He thought that when the Portuguese had made themselves masters of Ceylon, a conquest begun by his predecessor D'Almeyda and afterwards completed, they might command the trade of Coromandel, if they got possession of Malacca. He therefore determined to make the attempt.

The country of which Malacca is the capital is a narrow tract of land, about a hundred leagues in length. It joins to the continent towards the northern coast, where it borders on the state of Siam. The rest is surrounded by the sea.

The situation of Malacca had made it the most considerable market in India, and the Portuguese were desirous of having a share in the general commerce of Asia. At first they appeared at Malacca in the character of merchants: but their usurpations in India had rendered their designs so much suspected, that measures were taken to destroy them. Several of them were massacred, and others were thrown into prison.

Though Albuquerque did not intend to wait for a rupture to afford him a pretence of seizing upon Malacca, yet this incident gave his enter-

prise an appearance of justice. The enemy expected a sudden blow; and accordingly, when he appeared before this place, in the beginning of the year 1511, he found every thing in readiness to receive him. The place was attacked and carried after several doubtful and bloody engagements. The Portuguese found in it immense treasure and vast magazines. A fort was erected to secure the conquest, and Albuquerque contented himself with the possession of the city.

After the reduction of Malacca, the kings of Siam and Pegu, and several others, alarmed at a conquest so fatal to their independence, sent ambassadors to congratulate Albuquerque, to make him an offer of their trade, and to desire an alliance with Portugal.

Affairs being in this situation, a squadron was detached from the fleet to the Moluccas. The inhabitants of this cluster of islands had lived for ages upon the meal of the sago and the milk of the cocoa, when the Chinese, landing there by accident, discovered the clove and the nutmeg. They were soon admired all over India, whence they were conveyed to Persia and Europe. The Arabians, who at that time engrossed almost all the trade of the universe, did not overlook so lucrative a part of it. They repaired in crowds to these celebrated islands; and they had already monopolized the productions of them when the Portuguese, who pursued them every where, came and deprived them of this branch

of trade. From this time the court of Lisbon ranked the Moluccas among the number of its provinces, and it was not long before they really became so.

Albuquerque died at Goa in the year 1515, was succeeded by Lopez Soarez, who pursued his designs of aggrandisement. He was for some time employed in preventing the opposition with which the Portuguese were threatened in India; and as soon as he was relieved from this anxiety, he resolved to attempt a passage to China.

The Chinese nation was unknown in Europe. Marco Paolo, a Venetian, who had travelled to China by land, had given a description of it which was looked upon as fabulous. It corresponded, however, with the particulars since transmitted by Albuquerque, who had met with Chinese ships and merchants at Malacca, from whom he procured a particular account of that extensive empire.

In the year 1518, a squadron sailed from Lisbon to convoy an ambassador to China. As soon as it arrived at the islands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was surrounded by Chinese vessels. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, suffered the Chinese to come on board; communicated the object of his voyage, and sent on shore his ambassador, Thomas Perez, who was conducted to Peking.

Perez found the court disposed to favour his nation, the fame of which had spread itself

throughout Asia. It had already attracted the esteem of the Chinese, which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada tended to increase. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to the Portuguese ; Thomas Perez was just about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coasts with a fresh squadron. This commander treated the Chinese in the same manner as the Portuguese had for some time treated all the people of Asia. He built a fort without permission in the island of Taman, whence he pillaged and extorted money from all the ships bound from or to the ports of China. He seized upon the Chinese, made slaves of them, and gave himself up to the most licentious acts of piracy. The Chinese enraged at these outrages fitted out a large fleet ; but the Portuguese escaped. The emperor imprisoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portuguese nation was banished from China for some years. After this, the Chinese gave permission to the Portuguese to trade at the port of Jancian.

A pirate whose successes had made him powerful, had seized upon the Island of Macao, whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded so far as to lay siege to Canton. The mandarins had recourse to the Portuguese ; who hastened to the relief of Canton, raised the siege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate.

The emperor of China bestowed Macao on them as a mark of his gratitude, They built a town which became very flourishing, and was advantageously situated for the trade they soon after entered into with Japan.

In the year 1542, a Portuguese vessel was driven by a storm on the coasts of these celebrated islands. The crew were well received, and obtained of the natives every thing they wanted to refit them for the sea. When they arrived at Goa, they reported what they had seen, and informed the viceroy, that a new country, no less rich than populous, presented itself to the industry of the merchants. Both missionaries and merchants embarked without delay for Japan, and found a great empire, which is, perhaps, the most ancient of any in the world, except that of China.

The Portuguese were received with joy. All the ports were opened to them. All the petty princes of the country invited them to their provinces, each contending who should give them the most valuable advantages and grant them the greatest privileges. These merchants established a prodigious trade. The Portuguese carried thither the commodities of India; and Macao served as a repository for their European goods. Immense quantities of the productions of Europe and Asia were consumed by the sovereign, the nobles and the whole nation. But what had they to give in return?

The country of Japan is in general moun-

tainous, stony and by no means fertile. The empire affords no productions proper for exportation, and were it not for its mines of gold, silver and copper, which are the richest perhaps in the world, Japan could not support its own expence. The Portuguese every year carried off quantities of these metals to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds sterling. They married also the richest of the Japanese heiresses, and allied themselves to the most powerful families.

With such advantages the Portuguese might have been satisfied. They were masters of the coast of Guinea, Arabia, Persia and the two peninsulas of India. They were possessed of the Moluccas, Ceylon and the isles of Sunda, while their settlement at Macao insured to them the commerce of China and Japan.

Throughout this immense tract the will of the Portuguese was the supreme law. No nation dared to make voyages without their permission. A number of articles, by which so many nations have since enriched themselves, were entirely engrossed by the Portuguese. In consequence of this monopoly, the prices of the produce and manufactures both in Europe and Asia were regulated at their pleasure.

Nor had the Portuguese neglected that part of Africa which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea. The Arabians had been settled there for several ages, and had formed along the coast of Zanguebar several small in-

dependent sovereignties. The flourishing state of these settlements was owing to the mines of gold and silver found within their respective territories. Allured by this treasure, the Portuguese attacked the Arabians, who were subdued about the year 1508. Upon their ruin was established an empire, extended from Sofala as far as Melinda, of which the island of Mosambique was made the centre.

These successes, properly improved might have formed a power so considerable, that it could not have been shaken; but the vices and folly of some of their chiefs, the abuses of riches and of power, the distance of their own country changed the character of the Portuguese. They made no scruple of pillaging and enslaving the idolaters. Being absolute masters of the Eastern seas, they extorted a tribute from the ships of every country; they ravaged the coasts, insulted the princes, and became in a short time the terror and scourge of all nations.

From the era when Portugal was gradually reduced under the dominion of Philip the Second, the Portuguese in India ceased to consider themselves as of the same country. Some made themselves independent; others turned pirates, and paid no respect to any flag. Many entered into the service of the princes of the country, and almost all these became ministers or generals, so great were the advantages this nation still maintained over those of India. The

Portuguese possessions in India were divided into three governments, which gave no assistance to each other and even clashed in their projects and interests; neither discipline, subordination, nor the love of glory animated either the soldiers or the officers. Manners became more and more depraved, and the Portuguese had lost all their former greatness, when the Dutch appeared in India and contended with them for the empire of that country.

NOTE G.

“ALI MURDAN KHAN has left behind him many monuments of liberality and taste ; the grandest, though now in ruins, is seen in the vicinity of Delhi, and displays at once a design, useful and magnificent.

“During the splendid era of Delhi, the inhabitants who resided at a distance from the Jumna, which skirted only one of its angles, experienced much difficulty in procuring river water, that of the wells not being esteemed so salubrious. Ali Murdan, desirous of relieving this common grievance, surveyed the land to the westward, and saw that a sluice, opened from the Jumna, where that river approaches Karnal, would from the declivity of the ground, introduce water into the

back part of the city and conduct it through all the quarters. The design was put into execution, and to reward his success and preserve the work in good condition, Ali Murdan was vested with the privilege of levying a certain tax on those houses which enjoyed the uses of the canal. Water was conveyed by this branch of the Jumna, forming a distance of more than one hundred miles, and afforded a commodious supply to all the inhabitants; nor did the canal fall into decay until the period of the Persian and Afghan invasions. Ali Murdan, who in his taste and disposition would not have disgraced the Roman Lucullus, bestowed on the public numerous edifices and gardens; one of which, thickly shaded with cypress trees, stands in the environs of Peshour, and another at Nimlah, a small village lying about eighty miles to the south-east of Cabul. This omrah erected in the centre of the city of Cabul, four spacious bazaars or market places in a line, which consist of a range of apartments on each side of two floors, the lower appropriated to merchants, and that above to private use, The intermediate space between the ranges, is covered by an arched roof, and each bazaar is separated by an open square, which was supplied with fountains, but now choked with filth or occupied by the meanest order of mechanics."—*Forster*.

NOTE H.

I subjoin a few extracts from Dr. Claudius Buchanan's Journal during his tour to the Temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, in the year 1806.

“ Budderick, May 30, 1806.

“ We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. We have been joined by perhaps 2000 pilgrims, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some say that they have been two months on their march, travelling in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road ; and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain by the river, near the pilgrim's caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls.

“ I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut by the length of his body, as a penance of merit to please the God.”

“ Juggernaut, 14th June, 1806.

“ I have seen Juggernaut. No record of history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death : it may be truly compared with

the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Juggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named; for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely, Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister: for there are three deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

“ ——— This morning I viewed the Temple; a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of ‘the horrid king.’ As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut, has representations (numerous and varied) of that vice which constitutes the essence of his worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems in massive and durable sculpture.—I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; and another place a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually cast forth; and where dogs and vultures are ever seen. I reside at the house of James Hunter, Esq. the company’s collector of the tax on pilgrims and superintendant of the temple. His house is on the sea shore, about a mile or more from the temple. He cannot live nearer, on account of the effluvia of the

town. For, independently of the enormity of the superstition, there are other circumstances which render Juggernaut noisome in an extreme degree. The senses are assailed by the squalid and ghastly appearance of the famished pilgrims; many of whom die in the streets of want or of disease; while the devotees, with clotted hair and painted flesh, are seen practising their various austerities, and modes of self-torture. Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town, in public view; and the SACRED BULLS walk about among them and eat the ordure."

" Juggernaut, 18 June, 1806.

" ——— I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised such as I had never heard before. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned towards the place, and behold, a *grove* advancing. A body of men, having green branches or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped.

" The throne of the idol was placed on a stu-

pendous car or tower about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Thousands of men, women and children pulled by each cable, crowding so closely that some could only use one hand. Infants are made to exert their strength in this office, for it is accounted a merit of righteousness to move the god. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. I was told that there were about 120 persons upon the car. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour.—Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons and having bells hanging to their caparisons.

“ I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch; which, as it was drawn with difficulty, grated on its many wheels harsh thunder. After a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began.—A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol and pronounced his obscene stanzas. ‘ These songs,’ said he, ‘ are the delight of the god. His car can move only when he is pleased with the song.’—

The car moved on a little way and then stopped. A boy of twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture that the god was pleased, and the multitude, emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along.—After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former. Now comes the blood.

—“After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the God. He is said to smile when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed.”

“Juggernaut, 20th June, 1806.

“——The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol.

She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the place of skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones."

"Juggernaut, 21st June, 1806.

"The idolatrous processions continue, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away. I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the place of skulls;—a woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said, they had no home but where their mother was.—O, there is no pity at Juggernaut!

"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of the numbers at particular festivals, usually say that a lack of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed. 'How can I tell,' said he, 'how many grains there are in a handful of sand?'"

The English nation will not expect to hear that the blood of Juggernaut is known at Calcutta; but alas, it is shed at the very doors of the

English, almost under the eye of the supreme government. Moloch has many a tower in the province of Bengal; that fair and fertile province, which has been called 'The Garden of Nations.' Close to Ishera, a beautiful villa, on the river's side, about eight miles from Calcutta, once the residence of governor Hastings, and within view of the present Governor-General's country house, there is a temple of this idol which is often stained with human blood. At the festival of the Rut Jattrā, in May, 1807, Dr. Buchanan visited it. One of the victims of that year was a well-made young man, of healthy appearance and comely aspect. He had a garland of flowers round his neck, and his long black hair was dishevelled. He danced for a while before the idol, singing in an enthusiastic strain, and then rushing suddenly to the wheels, he shed his blood under the tower of obscenity. The doctor was not on the spot at the time, his attention having been engaged by a more pleasing scene.

On the other side, on a rising ground by the side of a tank, stood the Christian missionaries, and around them a crowd of people listening to their preaching. The town of Serampore, where the Protestant missionaries reside, is only about a mile and a half from this temple of Juggernaut.

Doctor Buchanan sat down on an elevated spot to contemplate this scene,—the tower of blood and impurity on the one hand, and the

Christian preachers on the other. How is so great and glorious a ministry applauded by the holy angels, who 'have joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth;' and how far does it transcend the work of the warrior or statesman, in charity, utility and lasting fame!" The pious doctor could not help wishing that the representatives of the church of Christ in our own country had been present to witness the scene, that they might have seen how practicable it is to offer Christian instruction to our Hindoo subjects.

NOTE I.

"THE city of Benares, for its wealth, costly buildings and the number of its inhabitants, is classed in the first of those now remaining in the possession of the Hindoos. There are numerous temples at Benares dedicated to the almost innumerable deities of the Hindoos; and this city is the chief repository of the science yet existing among them. At the distance of eight miles from the city of Benares, as it is approached on the river from the eastward, the eye is attracted by the view of two lofty minarets, which were erected by Aureng-Zêbe on the foundation of an ancient Hindoo temple dedicated to the Mhah Deve. The construction on this sacred ruin of so towering a muhammedan

pile, which from its elevated height seems to look down with triumph on the fallen state of a city so profoundly revered by the Hindoos, would appear to have been prompted to the mind of Aureng-Zêbe by an intemperate desire of insulting their religion. If such were his wish, it has been completely fulfilled. For the Hindoos consider this monument as the disgraceful record of a foreign yoke, proclaiming to every stranger that their favourite city has been debased and the worship of their gods defiled. From the top of the minarets is seen the entire prospect of Benares, which occupies a space of about two miles and an half along the northern bank of the Ganges and generally a mile in-land from the river. Many of the houses, which are remarkably high, some of them having six and seven floors, are built of stone, resembling that species found in the quarries of Portland and which abounds in this part of the country. But the streets where these lofty buildings stand are so narrow as not to admit of two common carriages abreast. In addition to the pernicious effect which must proceed from a confined atmosphere, there is in the hot season an intolerable stench arising from the many pieces of stagnated water dispersed in different quarters of the town, whose waters and borders are appropriated to the necessary uses of the inhabitants. The filth also, which is indiscriminately thrown into the streets and there left exposed (for the Hindoos possess but a small

portion of cleanliness) adds to the compound of ill smells. The irregular and compressed manner, which has been invariably adopted in forming the streets of Benares, has destroyed the effect which symmetry and arrangement would have otherwise bestowed on a city, intitled from its valuable buildings to a preference of any capital which I have seen in India."—*Forster*.

NOTE K.

Mr. Halhed gives the following account of the four æras of Indian chronology.

“1. The Suttee Jogue, or age of purity, is said to have lasted three million two hundred thousand years; and the Hindoos hold that the life of man was in that age extended to one hundred thousand years, and that his stature was twenty-one cubits.

2. Tirtāh Jogue, or age in which one-third of mankind were reprobate, they suppose consisted of two millions four hundred thousand years; and that men then lived to the age of ten thousand years.

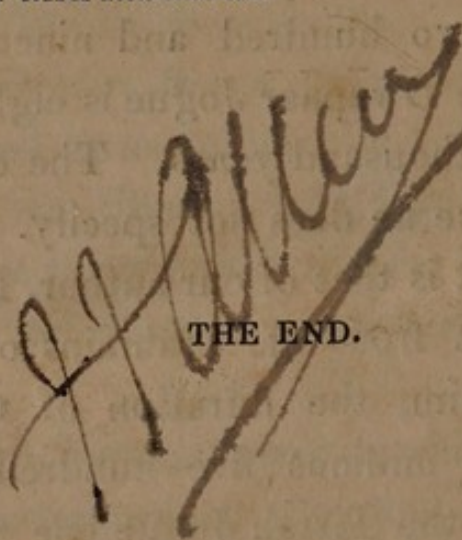
3. The Dwāpār Jogue, in which half of the human race became depraved, endured one million six hundred thousand years; and men's lives were reduced to one thousand years.

4. The Collee Jogue, in which all mankind

are corrupted, or rather lessened, for that is the true meaning of Collee, is the present æra, which they suppose ordained to subsist for four hundred thousand years, of which near five thousand are already past ; and man's life in this period is limited to one hundred years."

There can be no doubt that the information which we have hitherto received concerning the chronology of the Hindoos is very incorrect. We have, according to Dr. Robertson, only five original accounts of the different jogues or æras of the Hindoos. The first is given by M. Roger, who received it from the brahmins on the Coromandel coast. According to this account, the Suttee Jogue is a period of one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years ; the Tirtāh Jogue is one million two hundred and ninety-six thousand years ; the Dwapaār Jogue is eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years. The duration of the Collee Jogue he does not specify. The next original account is that of our author, M. Bernier, who received it from the brahmins of Benares. According to him, the duration of the Suttee Jogue was two millions five hundred thousand years ; that of the Tirtāh Jogue one million two hundred thousand years ; that of the Dwapaār Jogue was eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years. Concerning the period of the Collee Jogue Bernier gives no information. The third original account is that of Colonel Dow, according to which the Suttee Jogue was a period of fourteen

millions of years ; the Tirtāh Jogue one million and eighty thousand years ; the Dwāpār Jogue seventy-two thousand ; and the Collee Jogue thirty-six thousand years. The fourth account is that of M. Le Gentil, who received it from the brahmins of the Coromandel coast ; and as his information was acquired in the same part of India and derived from the same source with that of M. Roger, it agrees with his in every particular. The fifth account is that of Mr. Halhed. From this discrepancy, not only of the total numbers but of many of the articles in the different accounts, it is manifest, as is observed by Dr. Robertson, that our information concerning Indian chronology is hitherto as uncertain as the whole system of it is wild and fabulous.



THE END.

