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

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

Ferishta, Mahummud Casim

London, 1768

Section XI. The history of Zehir Ul Dien Mahummud Baber, before his invasion of Hindostan.

urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-2452

Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crores of Alla ul Dien's army, he was surprized by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to day-light, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Sultan Alla ul Dien. Sultan Ibrahim observing, in the morning, that the troops of Alla ul Dien were dispersed, in plundering his camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla ul Dien, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 937.

In the year nine hundred and thirty two, Zehir ul Dien Mahummud Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire to the family of Timur. Sultan Ibrahim reigned twenty years.

SECTION XI.

The history of ZEHIR UL DIEN MAHUMMUD BABER, before his invasion of Hindostan.

ABU SEID MIRZA dying in Ayrack*, left eleven sons, Of the family of Baber.
Mirza Sultan Ahmed, Mirza Sultan Mahmood, Mirza Sultan Mahummud, Mirza Sharoch, Mirza Aligh Beg, Mirza Amer Shech, Mirza Aba Bekir, Mirza Sultan Murad, Mirza Sultan Chilili, Mirza Sultan Willid, and Mirza Sultan Amer. Four of the sons of Mirza

* One of the provinces of Persia.

arrived



A. D. 1525. arrived to the dignity of kings; Mirza Aligh Beg to the throne of
 Hig. 932. Cabul; Mirza Sultan Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Mirza
 Amer Shech to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and
 Mirza Sultan Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Baduchhan.

Eunus Chan, king of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four kings
 one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Aligh Beg. Mirza
 Amer Shech, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunus Chan, had
 a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and
 eighty eight. The relation between Timur * and Abu Seid, the grand-
 father of Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid was the son of Sultan
 Mahummud, the son of Miran Shaw, the son of Timur, Lord of
 Ages.

Mirza Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a
 capacity so uncommon at that age, that Mirza Amer gave him the
 kingdom of Indija; and, when his father, upon Monday, the fourth
 of Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the Higera,
 fell from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was killed, Mirza Baber
 was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of Zehire ul
 Dien.

Mirza Sultan Ahmed, and Sultan Mahmood, his uncles, led their
 armies against him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the
 war of his father against them, hoping by the advantage which
 the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms
 to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs.
 After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so
 great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were
 glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Sultan Ahmed
 died upon his way to Samarcand.

* Tamerlane.



The kings of Castigar and Chutun soon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen Jacob governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Saïd, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Baifinker. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet Sultan Mahmood, with whom he remained a few days, and returned to Indija.

Baifinker, king of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Omar Shech, Baber resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it, the very next season. Shech Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Sultan Alli, the brother of Baifinker Mirza, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign.

Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Alli reached Samarcand first, and Mirza Baifinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's ar-

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 902.

Besieges Sa-
marcand.
The siege
raised.

rival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baifinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort, called Ashura, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters, till the ensuing season.

Baber takes
Samarcand.

Sultan Alli returned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar. Shubiani Chan, upon his march from Turkistan, to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baifinker quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baifinker, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chusero Shaw, king of Kunduz, while Baber, seizing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and, in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the omrahs.

Deserted by
part of his
army.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbid all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The Moguls, who were commanded by Ibrahim Chan Begehuck, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince, called Ozin Hassen, declared himself king of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija.

Baber



Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother Baber, in the utmost distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavor to reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they sent a party to way-lay the ambassador, and cut him to pieces.

A. D. 1496.
Hig. 902.

Deserted by
his whole
army.

Ali Dooft and Molana Casi, in the mean time, threw a garrison into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs sent advice to Baber of their situation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken so extremely ill, that, not able to swallow any thing, he barely existed by having moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the pressing situation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the risque of losing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Dooft, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor assassinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name.

His misfor-
tunes.

Indija taken.

This disagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samarcandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmost distress, having now lost both kingdoms. He sent, as his last resource, Amir Casim Cudgi to Tashcund, to entreat the assistance of Mahmood. That sultan hastened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emissary, at the same time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters so well, that Sultan Mahmood left his two nephews to settle their own differences, and returned to Tashcund. This unexpected blow had such an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now

Samarcand
revolts.



A. D. 1496. appeared so desperate, that of all his army, in a few days, only forty
 Fig. 902.
 Baber, in the utmost distress, horsemens remained with him, to conquer two kingdoms.

In this forlorn situation he retreated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahummud Haffein Gorgan Doghelat, at Artaba, acquainting him, that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Bishaer. Mahummud Haffein consented to this request; and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of, to join him.

After a few were gathered round his standard, he considered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and resolved to employ them against his enemies. He, therefore, hastened to Barnilack, where he took some forts by assault, and some by stratagem. But these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very ruinous aspect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Alli Doost Tighai, begging his forgiveness, and informing him, that he was in possession of the garrison of Marinaan, and if Baber should come to take possession of it, he would number himself among his slaves.

Baber did not hesitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Alli Doost at the gate, who put him into possession of the fort, and supplied his finances. Baber immediately sent Amer Cassim Codgi towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Vifs Laghiri towards Achsi, to endeavor to bring over friends to his party. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the interest of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Vifs Laghiri settled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or three more, who declared for Baber.

The



The negotiations of that prince succeeded, at the same time, at the court of his uncle, Sultan Mahmood Chan, of Bochara, who marched to join him.

A. D. 1498.
Hig. 904.

Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinaan, and of the efforts of Baber to raise an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and sat down before it. He detached, at the same time, part of his army towards Achfi, who, falling in with Mahmood Chan, were defeated, with great slaughter. When Jehangire and Ozin Hassen received these advices, they were struck with embarrassment, and retreated to Indija. But Nasirbeg, the son-in-law of Ozin Hassen, who had now the government of that city, seeing the favorable aspect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Sultan Mahmood, and several parties of Usbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately sent a messenger to hasten Baber to take possession of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to disperse, while he himself took the way to Ost, and Ozin Hassen that of Achfi.

Jehangire besieges him in Marinaan.

Retreats.

Denied admittance into Indija.

The affairs of Jehangire ruined.

Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took possession of that city, conferring honors upon his friends; and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, restored to its former administration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he set out for Achfi, where Ozin Hassen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hissaat, Casim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greatest part of Ozin Hassen's troops, who enlisted themselves under his victorious banners.

Baber recovers his dominions.

But the forces of Hassen having, upon a former occasion, plundered several persons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were issued to restore the plunder



A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.
Is deserted
by a great
part of his
army.

plunder to the proper owners. The Moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, mounted their horses, and, to a man, set out for Organd, where they joined Mirza Jehangire and Ahmed Timbul, by which they were again in a condition to march against Indija.

The deserters
defeat Casim
Cougi.

The king sent Casim Cougi to oppose them, who was defeated with great slaughter, many of the king's principal omrahs being slain, and several taken prisoners.

Indija be-
sieged.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid siege to Indija for the space of thirty days, but as they could effect nothing against it, they marched towards Ouse. The king having recruited his army, marched, in the year nine hundred and five, towards Ouse, while the enemy, by another road, made a push towards Indija. Baber, however, trusting to his friends in that city, and the strength of the place, marched to Badwerd, a strong fort in the possession of Chilili, brother to Ahmed Timbul. Chilili defended the place with great resolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of which, he was exchanged for the king's friends, who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

The enemy
again at-
tempt Indija,

are over-
thrown by
Baber.

Ahmed Timbul, in the mean time, made an attempt to scale the walls of Indija in the night, but was repulsed with great loss. Baber, by this time, returning to that place, took a strong post by the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the space of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp, though with great disadvantage. After an obstinate and bloody resistance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches, and dispersed. The king, after the victory, entered the city in triumph.

Baber was informed in Indija, that six thousand horse from Mahmood Chan, whose policy it was to weaken both parties, had come to the assistance of Jehangire, and had sat down before Cassan: The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in severe frost and snow,

show, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Ahmed Timbul, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the king, in a situation where he could not escape, had not the night favored his retreat; by which means he went off with little loss. The king pursued him under the walls of Bishare, and encamped in sight.

A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.
who raises
the siege of
Cathian.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Dooft and Cumber Alli, prevailed upon the king to make proposals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Mirza Jehangire should keep possession of all the country between the river Chajand and Achfi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the districts of Orgund, should remain to Baber; that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Samarcand, he should give up Indija to Jehangire.

A peace be-
tween Baber
and his bro-
ther Jehan-
gire.

After these terms of pacification were solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners upon both sides were set at liberty. The king returned to Indija, where Ali Dooft, who was a man of great wealth and power, had begun to exert unbounded authority. He banished some, and imprisoned others, without the king's permission; while his son, Mahummud Dooft, took a princely state upon himself. The king, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was constrained to dissemble his resentment.

The info-
lence of Ali
Dooft.

In the mean time, Mahummud Mazidli Chan, an omrah of Sultan Alli Mirza of Samarcand, apprehensive of danger from his master, joined Bijaan Mirza, the son of Sultan Mahmood, and carried him against Samarcand. Bijaan Mirza was defeated, returned, and sent an embassador to Baber, inviting him to the conquest of that kingdom. Baber embraced the proposal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mahummud Mazidli Chan having joined Baber upon his march, it was resolved in council to send a person to sound Chaja

Baber's ex-
pedition to
Samarcand.

Cuttah



A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905. Cuttab ul Dien Eiah, who had almost the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for answer, that they might march towards the city, and whatever was found then most adviseable, should be done.

In the mean time, Sultan Mahmood Dildai, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his post without any apparent reason, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correspondence with Chaja Eiah, which disconcerted their measures. His veteran troops crowded to the king's standard, making complaints against Alli Dooft. Baber, therefore, determined to dismiss him from his presence, so that he and his son went over to Ahmed Timbul, but in a few days he died.

Ali Dooft dies.

At this time Shubiani Chan had taken Bochara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Sultan Alli Mirza was advised to relinquish to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kish, and from thence to Hissar, where Mahummud Masidli Chan, and the omrahs of Samarcand, despairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chafero Shaw. Baber, after this desertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most part of his camels and horses. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

B. ber deserted by his whole army,

except two hundred and forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now despaired of success in his designs; but though he had left a kingdom to which he might have still returned, his ambition prompted him to run the risque of a young adventurer for another. He accordingly marched directly for Samarcand, with this small retinue, with an intention to get into that city, without being discovered. His hopes were, that he could raise a faction among his friends, while yet the city was in disorder.

His daring attempt upon Samarcand.

He



He entered Samarcand in the dusk of the evening, and went to Eurit Chan's house, but in a few minutes his arrival was whispered about, and the whole city began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his scheme was not ripe for execution, thought it high time to make his escape, which he did accordingly, without any loss.

A. D. 1499.
Hig. 905.

Obliged to
retreat.

After he had got clear of the city, he looked back and repented of his precipitate flight. He immediately stopped in a grove, where, being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himself down upon the ground to sleep, as did the greatest part of his retinue. In about an hour he awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he saw Nafir ul Dien Abdalla, a dirvesh of great repute, coming towards his house. He thought that he invited the dirvesh to sit down, upon which his steward spread a table cloth before him, at which the dirvesh seemed greatly offended *, and rose to go away. The king begged he would excuse him, as the offence was committed by a servant. The dirvesh, upon this, took him by the arm, and held him up towards the sky, upon which he awoke, and calling up his attendants, related his dream, and determined to make an attempt immediately upon Samarcand.

In His dream,

Baber's small party having mounted their horses, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lover's Cave, which they scaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and falling upon the guard commanded by Casiter Chan, killed and dispersed them. They immediately set open the gate, and admitted the king and his small party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber as they passed through the streets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not

Returns to
Samarcand,
which he
surprizes.

* The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation; besides, these independent dirveshes live upon rice and water, and will not condescend to be entertained by princes.



A. D. 1500. knowing his strength, ran distracted from place to place to join their
 Hig. 906. leaders.

In a short time the alarm reached the house of Chaja Cuttub ul Dien Eiah, where seven thousand Usbecks were quartered. They rushed out and joined Shubiani Chan, who, with eight thousand Usbecks, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the rest to wait for orders, set out for the iron gate, but seeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by some thousands, who rent the sky with acclamations, followed him so close, that Shubiani Chan could not, either by words or example, make one of the Usbecks stand his ground. He therefore followed them out at the opposite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately submitted to Baber.

Samarcand
 submits.

This action, if we consider the strength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been spread in the evening, the small number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficulties, we must esteem it equal to the boldest enterprize in history. The authors who relate it, very justly give it the preference to any of the exploits of Timur.

Mahummud Mufidter Chan took this opportunity of wresting the forts of Kirshi and Heraz from the Usbecks; while Abul Hassen Mirza, from Muracufs, came and took Kole. Sultan Baber sent ambaffadors to Sultan Hassen Mirza, and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to request their alliance, to drive Shubiani Chan out of Maver ul Nere. They either paid no regard to Baber's ambaffy, or sent such pitiful supplies, as served no purpose. Shubiani, by this means, recovered strength during the winter, taking Karacole, and other districts.

Sultan



Sultan Baber, in the month of Shawal, nine hundred and six, A. D. 1501.
Hig. 907. collected his whole force, and marched out of Samarcand, to engage Baber de-
feated by
Shubiani. Shubiani. He came up with him in the environs of Caridzin, and fought him. Baber exhibited, upon this occasion, all the good qualities of the general and brave soldier, but he was deserted by his allies, and soon after by his own troops. Only fifteen brave friends remained at last by his side, with whom, seeing it in vain to contend any longer with fortune, he made good his retreat to Samarcand. He lost in this action his principal omrahs, Ibrahim Tirchan, Ibrahim Saar, Abul Affim Ko, Hyder Cassim, Amir Kiam Cudgi, Choda Birdi, Chilili, the brother of Ahmed Timbol, and other princes of note.

Shubiani advanced, and laid siege to the city; the king taking Besieged in
Samarcand. up his quarters at the college of Aligh Beg, as being the most central place for sending orders, or assistance. The siege was continued with great obstinacy for many days, numbers being killed on both sides; during which time, Kutch Beg, Loma Kokultafs, and Kelnizer Taghai, gave extraordinary examples of bravery. Four months had now passed in attacking and repulsing, when a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants eat their horses, and even the most unclean animals, while those who could not procure other provisions, subsisted upon the bark of trees.

Though the king, at the commencement of the siege, had sent ambassadors to the kings of Chorrassan, Kundez, Buckolan, and Mogulistan, all princes of the house of Timur, for succours, he received no hopes of their aid. He was, therefore, under the Forced to
quit the city
with one hun-
dred men. cruel necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about one hundred friends, in a dark night, in the beginning of the year nine hundred and seven. He escaped to Tashcund, whither his brother, Mirza Jehangire, came to pay him his respects. His uncle, Sultan Mahmood, comforted him in his distress, entertained him in



A. D. 1502. a princely manner, and gave him the city of Artaba to reside in
 Hig. 908. during the winter.

Befieged at Artaba by Shubiani. But in the beginning of the spring, he was again attacked by Shubiani Chan, who, not being able to effect any thing against the city, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarcand.

His misfortunes. In this manner, the sultan, unable to raise his head from his misfortunes, lived for some time, Ahmed Timbol having taken possession of the kingdom of Indija, which Baber had resigned to his brother Jehangire, upon his taking Samarcand.

Aided by his uncles. Sultan Mahmood Chan, and his brother, Sultan Ahmed Chan, were at length prevailed upon to support Baber in an attempt to recover the kingdom of Indija from Ahmed Timbol. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Ahmed Timbol marched out to oppose them. It was agreed, that Sultan Baber, with a small detachment of Moguls, should march towards Osh, to raise a party there, whilst his uncles opposed Ahmed Timbol. Baber accordingly took Osh, and was joined by some of the inhabitants of Orgun and Marinan, who expelled the garrisons of Ahmed Timbol. The king immediately marched towards Indija; and Ahmed Timbol decamped from before the confederate princes, and hastened back to cover Indija.

Defeated by Timbol. Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging, and defeated him. The king escaped, wounded, to Osh, while Ahmed Timbol threw himself

The confederates besiege Indija. into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied army of Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Ahmed appeared in fight, and sat down before the place, where they were joined soon after by Sultan Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achfi called the king, and put him in possession of that place; but the allied princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raised the siege.

The siege raised.

In



In the mean time, Shubiani Chan, fearing the success of Baber, A. D. 1502. Hig. 908. advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achfi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obstinate and bloody, the Totally defeated by Shubiani. fortune of Shubiani Chan prevailed, and both the uncles of Baber were taken prisoners. The King escaped to Mogulistan, and the kingdom of Tashcund fell into the hands of Shubiani Chan, which greatly augmented his power.

Shubiani, some time after, released the two brothers, but Sultan Sultan Baber's uncles released. Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him, that Shubiani Chan had poisoned him, and begged to supply him with some famous Theriac of Chitta, as a powerful antidote against poisons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani Chan has poisoned me, indeed! he has taken my kingdom, which is not in the power of your Theriac to restore."

Sultan Baber left Mogulistan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, where Amir Mahummud Backer, prince of that place, who was uneasy at the great power of the Uzbeks, glad of Baber's alliance, who still had the command of an army, received him with great kindness and respect, and gave him large presents. Baber said to him, upon this occasion, That being a long time the foot-ball of fortune, and like a piece of wood on a chess-board, moved from place to place, vagrant as the moon in the sky, and restless as a stone upon the beach, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been so unsuccessful in his own resolves. He asks advice of Mahummud Backer. Meer Mahummud Backer replied, That, however incapable he was to advise him, he would not withhold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubiani Chan was now in full possession of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more adviseable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere,



A. D. 1504. elsewhere, particularly in Cabulistan, which was now in a state of
 Hig. 910. anarchy.

Baber's in-
 gratitude to
 Chufero
 Shaw.

The king followed this advice, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul. Passing, in his way, through the dominions of Chufero Shaw of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hospitality, for which, we are sorry to relate, our hero made a very bad return. During the time that Baber resided there, he stirred up a faction in Chufero's court, and gained over seven thousand of his troops to his own interest. This plot being discovered, Chufero, with a few servants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly to Biddiulzeman Mirza, leaving his troops, his treasure, and every thing in the possession of Baber.

Marches to-
 wards Cabul.

Confusions
 of that coun-
 try.

Baber seizes
 upon Cabul-
 istan.

Baber did not fail to avail himself of these advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in possession of Mirza Abdul Ryfaac, the son of Mirza Aligh Beg, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, disgusted the other omrahs, who assassinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mahummud Mokim, the son of Amir Zulnon, Prince of Garrimfere, took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Mirza Abdul Ryfaac to take shelter among the Afghans: he himself took possession of that country, and married the sister of the former prince.

Affairs being in this situation, Sultan Baber arrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mahummud Mokim out of the field, forced him to take refuge in his capital, which Baber besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himself.

In



In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabulistan was thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes which laid most of the cities in ruins. Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in such a manner, by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new subjects.

A. D. 1506.
Hig. 912.
A dreadful
earthquake.

The restless genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aspiring disposition began to extend his views to conquest. He accordingly led an army against the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the strong fort of Killât, establishing an alliance with Mirza Buddiulzeman of Herât. He marched in the same year to Kusluckât, which he brought into subjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminished into an inconsiderable province, to his brother Jehangire.

Baber in-
vades Canda-
har.

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber marched towards Chorrassân to join Sultan Hussein Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behavior, and irritated, by fresh injuries from Shubiani Chan, now proposed to Baber, that they should join in alliance against him. But when Baber had reached Nimrofa, he heard of Sultan Hussein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorrassân, and endeavored to stir up the princes and omrahs against the Usbecks. He was not able to effect his purpose, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herât, towards Cabul. The snows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his passage over the hills, which obliged him to cantoon his troops in Hazara.

Marches to
Chorrassân.

When Baber was thus constrained to remain at Hazara, Mahumud Hassen Gurgan, Birlafs, and other Mogul omrahs, joining with Chan Mirza his cousin, raised him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting false intelligence of the sultan's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government, and as soon as the season permitted his approach, flocked

Disturbances
in Cabul.



A. D. 1507.
Hig. 913.
Quelled. flocked to his standard, put all the garrisons into his hands except the capital, where Chan Mirza and his adherents sustained a short siege, and then capitulated. The principal persons concerned in the revolt, were expelled the country. About this time Nasir Mirza, the sultan's youngest brother, who held the government of Baduchshan, being defeated, by one of the generals of Shubiani Chan, took refuge at Cabul, and, as Mirza Jehangire had killed himself by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now conferred upon Nasir Mirza.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber marched against the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infested his country, and took from them one hundred thousand sheep, and some thousands of other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the house of Argon, being greatly oppressed by the Usbecks, wrote to Baber, at this time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in possession of Candahar. The sultan did not hesitate to comply with their request. He immediately set out, and, as he was passing Kilât, Chan Mirza begged the favor of being admitted into his presence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When he had reached the borders of Candahâr, he wrote to Shaw Beg and Mahummud Mokêm, that he was so far upon his way, according to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see them in his camp.

Since the time of their writing to Baber, some alterations in their politicks, had made them repent of the application they had made, so that instead of receiving the sultan in a friendly manner, they prepared for war, and desired he would return home. But the sultan determined not to suffer such an indignity with impunity. He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gil-lisback, near the city of Candahar, defeated them with great slaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled



to Saul, and Mahummud Mokim towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid siege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnôn, which he divided, by weight, amongst his officers and troops, according to their respective stations. He left Nasir Mirza in the government of Candahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul.

A. D. 1508.
Hig. 944.

Mahummud Mokim having, this very year, complained to Shubiani Chan, prevailed upon him to engage in his behalf, and to march towards Candahar. Nasir Mirza, upon receiving this intelligence, shut himself up in the town, and sent expresses to his brother for assistance. Baber wrote him to defend the place as long as he could, but if he should be driven to great distress, to capitulate, and come to him at Cabul; for that, at this time, he was in no condition to dispute the field with Shubiani Chan, whose forces and finances were greatly superior; besides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overfet all the projects he had formed of raising himself a kingdom in Hindostan. Nasir Mirza, according to these instructions, after he could hold out no longer with propriety, capitulated, and came to the sultan at Cabul. Shubiani Chan, after taking the place, gave it back to the sons of Zulnôn, and marched with his army towards Chorrassân. But no sooner had Shubiani evacuated Candahar, than the Arguniahs made an incursion, and possessed themselves of the place. This was an agreeable piece of news to Sultan Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and the Ulbecks.

which is
retaken by
Shubiani.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicât, Sultan Baber had a son born to him, in Cabul, whom he named Humajoon, who afterwards became emperor of Hindostan. The sultan, in the following year, took the field against the Memind Afghans, and, during his absence, the Moguls of Chusero Shaw, who had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and set up Abdul Rysac, the son of Aligh Beg,

Humajoon
born.

Cabul, in the
absence of
Baber, re-
volts.



A. D. 1509. Hi. 915. Baber deserted by his army. Beg, upon the throne. The sultan was immediately deserted by the greatest part of his army, for hearing of the rebellion in Cabul, they hastened home, to protect their families, insomuch that out of upwards of ten thousand horse, which he carried to the field, Baber had now scarce five hundred remaining in his camp.

His daring enterprize.

Kills five omrahs in single combats.

Notwithstanding of these misfortunes, Baber boldly resolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few trusty friends he had left. Abdul Ryfaac, upon the sultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thousand strong. The sultan, with his small troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered them to halt. He himself rode close up to the rebel-army, and challenged Adbul Ryfaac to fight; but, as he seemed to decline the combat, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were Alli Shubcore, Alli Seiftani, Niser Bahadur Usbeck, Jacob Tez Jung, and Usbeck Bahadar.

This heroic behavior struck the rebels with so much admiration and astonishment, that they refused to fight, by which means the usurper was taken. But so great was the sultan's clemency, that he pardoned him; but soon after, beginning to raise more disturbance, he suffered the just reward of a traitor.

War between Persia and the Usbecks.

The country of Chusero Shaw having fallen into the hands of the Usbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs sprung up in Buduchshan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder*, began to entertain hopes, and to take measures to raise himself to that kingdom. Having previously obtained leave of the sultan, he this year left Cabul; and, having raised a small

* Alexander the Great.

army,



army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchshan. But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kashgars, and carried off prisoner, while Chan Mirza himself was defeated, and obliged to give himself up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Eusoph Alli Kockultash, who had been an old servant of Mirza, formed a conspiracy against Zeiper, and assassinated him, and Chan Mirza was raised to the throne by the people.

In the year nine hundred and sixteen, Shaw Ismaiel Suffavi, king of Iran, wrote to Shubiani Chan to withdraw his troops from some of the skirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendship, whose blossoms shed the most grateful perfume. Shubiani Chan replied, That it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Shaw Ismaiel, though the son of a Turkuman Fakier, had raised himself to a kingdom, when there was no lord of seven nations around him, to oppose him; that therefore, it would be now adviseable for him to retire to his former obscurity, and that, for that purpose, he sent him a staff and a beggar's dish for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of possessing the bride of royalty, who durst kiss her through opposing swords.

Ismaiel Suffavi answered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it so often violated, till it fell to his lot? for his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to dispute with Shubiani; and that, though he himself had no opinion of contemptuous ostentation, yet in return for Shubiani's present, he had sent him a gridiron and spinning-wheel for his amusement. As for the rest, that Ismaiel would be his own messenger.



A. D. 1511.
Hig. 917.

Having dispatched this message, Ismaiel immediately collected his army, and, marching eastward, subdued Chorrassân, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani Chan could make the least opposition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Ismaiel, in the field, he shut himself up in Murve. But being severely reproached by Shaw Ismaiel, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by Shaw Ismaiel, and seeing no hope of escape left, he and his followers fought, refusing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Shubiani
overthrown
and slain.

Chan Mirza immediately dispatched this important news from Buduchshan to Sultan Baber, and went himself to Kunduz; informing him, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and seventeen, marched, with all expedition, towards Hissar, crossing the Amu* with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Usbecks being encamped near that city, they were obliged to retreat to Kunduz.

Baber
marches to
recover his
dominions.

Clemency of
Ismaiel
Shaw.

Baber solicits
his aid
against the
Usbecks.

Shaw Ismaiel, at this time, sent Chan Zad Begum, the sultan's sister, who had been taken in Samarcand, by Shubiani Chan, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where she gave so favorable an account of the generous behavior of Shaw Ismaiel, that Baber was induced to hope for his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpose, sent him an ambassador, with proper presents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the spirit of enterprize, he marched towards Hissar, where he still found the Usbecks greatly superior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he should recruit more forces. This being done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained

* The Oxus.



a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed.

A. D. 1511.
Hig. 917.
Baber over-
throws the
Ufbeck.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed Sultan Suffi, Alli Chan Ostagelo, Sharock Chan Afshar, and a fine body of cavalry on the part of Shaw Ishmaiel, by which his army amounted to sixty thousand horse. With this reinforcement he marched towards Bochara, and, after several successful actions with Abdulla Chan, and Jani Beg Sultan, possessed himself of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the same year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him sovereign.

Takes Bo-
chara,
and Samar-
cand.

Baber fixed his residence at Samarcand, and appointed Nasir Mirza, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Shaw Ishmaiel to return home. But he had not possessed this throne above nine months, before the Ufbeck, who had fled to Turkestan, advanced, under Timur Sultan, who had succeeded to Shubiani Chan, Jani Beg Sultan, and Abdulla Chan, who had divided Bochara between them. Upon receiving these advices, the sultan marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged these confederate princes, but being defeated, was obliged to shut himself up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again besieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman.

Loses Becha-
ra, and Sa-
marcand.

About this time, Nigim Jani, of Ispahan, general of the Kissibaches of Iran, advanced with an intention to possess himself of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to grasp at every thing favorable to the ruling passion of his soul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Nigim Sani having taken the fort of Kirish from the Ufbeck, put the garrison, consisting of fifteen thousand, to the sword. He then laid siege to Gudgdewan, in conjunction with

Makes an
alliance with
the Persian
general.

