

Landesbibliothek Oldenburg

Digitalisierung von Drucken

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 XII. The history of Sultan Baber, from the year nine hundred and twenty four,
to his decisive victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

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

A. D. 1518. with the sultan, whither the princes of the Usbecks advanced against
 Hig. 924. them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being still the
 Baber and adversary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was
 his allies slain, and the sultan obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few at-
 overthrown. tendants.

A conspiracy Nor did the misfortunes of Baber rise from the enemy alone. His
 against his attendants conspired against his life, for having blamed some of them
 life. for bad behavior. They rushed, in the night, into his tent, but
 being alarmed by the noise, he made his escape, naked, and reached
 the fort of Arick before morning, without one attendant; and the
 conspirators plundered his camp, and dispersed themselves. In this
 situation of affairs, the sultan saw no further hope in those northern
 He returns to regions, and therefore set out for Cabul with a small retinue, and
 Cabul. upon his arrival appointed Nasir Mirza to the government of Ghizni.

In the year nine hundred and twenty four, he marched towards
 Sawad and Bejoar, possessed by the Afghans of Eusoph Zehi, who
 had been infesting his country. Having defeated those mountaineers,
 and carried some thousands of them into captivity, he gave the go-
 vernment of that country to Chaja Kallan.

S E C T I O N XII.

The history of SULTAN BABER, from the year nine hun-
 dred and twenty four, to his decisive victory over
 SULTAN IBRAHIM LODI.

W H E N Sultan Secunder, the king of Hindostan, died, he was
 succeeded, as we have already related, by Sultan Ibrahim,
 in whose reign the Patan omrahs became so factious, that they to-
 tally broke the power of that empire. Sultan Baber reckoned this
 a good

a good opportunity to establish himself in Hindostan, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs.

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 925.
Meditates
the conquest
of Hindostan.

Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty five, marched his army as far as the Nilaab, or Sind. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjaab, raising heavy contributions for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah, Moulana Murshid with an embassy to Sultan Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and so prevent the war from being carried further into his country.

Invades Hin-
dostan.

Reduces
Punjaab.

At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another son, whom he named Hindal Mirza. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab, and marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Dooft Beg, the sultan's general, while he himself cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul.

Marches
against the
Gickers.

Returns to
Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year, Baber returned again to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some Patans of the tribe of Eusoph Zehi, who disturbed his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Sind. He there received intelligence, that Sultan Seid, Chan of Kashgar, was marching into Buduchshân, which obliged him to return, leaving Mirza Mahummud Sultan, one of the descendents of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in that country. He had

His second
expedition
into Hindos-
tan.



A. D. 1519. had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that Sultan Seid
 Hig. 1926. Chan had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face
 towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer Cheil, who began to
 make depredations upon Cabulistan in his absence, and severely
 chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned
 to Cabul,

Baber's third expedition into Hindostan. Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty six, marched a third
 time towards Hindostan, chastising the Patans in his way, till he
 reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country submitted, and
 saved their possessions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the
 standard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the sword, their
 wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives car-
 ried away captive. Baber was here alarmed, by intelligence from
 Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded
 his country. He marched against them, drove them out of the
 field, and invested their capital.

He, in the mean time, received advice of the death of Chan
 Mirza, in Buduchshan, and appointed his son Humaioon to that go-
 vernment. Shaw Beg, the prince of Candahar, held out with great
 bravery against Baber for the space of three years, during which time
 the siege lasted. But in the year nine hundred and twenty eight,
 Baber, who was obstinate in his resolution, at length reduced it,
 and all the country of Garrumfere, appointing prince Camirân to
 the government.

Soon after the surrender of Candahar, Dowlat Chan Lodi, ap-
 prehensive of Sultan Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Sultan Baber, at
 Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year nine hundred
 and thirty, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of
 Lahore, where Par Chan Lodi, Mubarick Chan Lodi, and Bicken
 Chan Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Punjaab, joined their
 forces,

forces, and opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the Bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls.

A. D. 1523.
Hig. 930.
Lahore
taken,

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender, but as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Chan Lodi, with Alli Chan, Ghazi Chan, and Delawir Chan, his three sons, joined him at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Punjaab, which rendered him very powerful.

and Debal-
poor.

This Dowlat Chan Lodi was a descendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Sultan Baber information, that Ismaiel Jelwani, Mai Jelwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Kharah; that it would, therefore, be adviseable to dispatch a force against them. The sultan agreed to this proposal, and prepared to send a detachment that way. In the meantime, Delawir Chan, the youngest son of Dowlat Chan, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favorite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put some plan which they themselves had concerted, in execution. The sultan, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat Chan Lodi, and his son Ghazi Chan, into confinement. He then crossed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there released the prisoners, and gave them jagiers. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deserted the camp, and fled to the hills. The sultan, upon this, gave to Delawir Chan the title of Chan Chanan, and both their jagiers; but as the father and son's desertion greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways adviseable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, accordingly, returned to Lahore,

Dowlat Chan
Lodi

suspected,

confined,

escapes.



A. D. 1524.
Hig. 931.

and, having appointed governors to the different countries in his possession in Hindostan, set out for Cabul.

Defeats Baber's forces.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Chan Lodi found means to seize his son, Chan Chanan, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Sultan Alla ul Dien and Baba Kifka, and defeating them, subdued that country. Sultan Alla ul Dien fled to Cabul, and Baba Kifka to Lahore. Dowlat Chan sent five thousand Sirwani Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Abdul Aziz, of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Sultan Ibrahim attacks him.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Sultan Ibrahim, of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Chan and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidjwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favor in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Alla arrives at Lahore.

Sultan Alla ul Dien, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his omrahs of those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Sultan Baber espoused the cause of Alla ul Dien, who was the very person they themselves would chuse to raise to the throne of Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the Musnud.

The



The omrahs, having first obtained a grant for Sultan Baber, of all the countries beyond the Sind, permitted Alla ul Dien to join the Lodis himself, without complying further with the sultan's orders. When accordingly he arrived in their camp, Dowlat Chan and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force; with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, Sultan Ibrahim advanced against him from Agra, and was surprized, in the night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular behavior of Sultan Alla ul Dien's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Sultan Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in great distress, to Punjaab. When Sultan Baber heard of the defeat of Alla ul Dien, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury, which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring, of the year nine hundred and thirty two, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his son Humaion, with a good force, from Buduchshan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and so had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his omrahs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.
Joins the two
Lodis.

Besieges
Delhi.

Overthrown
by Ibrahim.

Baber's fifth
expedition
into Hindos-
tan.

Upon the first of Rubbi ul Awil, Baber crossed the Sind, and upon the banks of that river, mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand choice horse. Crossing then the Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Sultan Alla ul Dien met him, and likewise Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, governor of Cullanore, and Chaja Hasin, the dewan for those provinces.

Crosses the
Sind.



A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.

Puts to flight
the two Lo-
dis.

Dowlat
taken.

Ghazi de-
feated.

Baber
marches to-
wards Delhi.

Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan, who reckoned themselves publicly in the service of Alla ul Dien, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi Chan to the skirts of the hills. Sultan Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat Chan, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before, he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Sultan Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the sultan forgave all his crimes, and took him into favor.

When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The sultan, by this means, saved the honor of Dowlat Chan's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat Chan being a poet and a man of learning. Baber marched from thence the next day, and pursued Ghazi Chan, when Chan Chanan, Ghazi Chan's brother, found means to escape to him, and was honorably received. Chapihoon Chan, who was detached in front, having fallen in with Ghazi, defeated him, and pursued him so close, that he was obliged to fly to Sultan Ibrahim Chan, at Delhi. Dowlat Chan died upon this march.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Patan troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Sultan Ibrahim. When he had reached



reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that Hamid Chan, go-^{A. D. 1525.}
 vernor of Firofa, was waiting to oppose him in front, with the ^{Hig. 932.}
 troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent Humaioon, Kallan ^{Humaioon}
 Beg, Sultan Duldi, Jehan Beg, Chusero Beg, Hindo Beg, Abdul ^{defeats a}
 Aziz, and Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, to drive Hamid from his post, ^{Patan army.,}
 which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this
 was the first battle in which prince Humaioon commanded, his fa-
 ther was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firofa and
 Jallender. Two days after, Meian, an omrah of the party of Ibrahim,
 appeared in fight, and desired to join Baber's colours, with three
 thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received in-^{Baber arrives}
 telligence that Sultan Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out ^{at Shawabad.}
 of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood Chan and Hatim Chan,
 formed his vanguard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sul-
 tan immediately detached Chin Timur Sultan, Muedi Chaja, Ma-
 hummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Mirza, with all the troops of
 the left wing, and the squadrons of Sultan Juncid Birlafs, and Shaw
 Hassein Birlafs, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell ^{Defeats the}
 in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate ^{van of Ibra-}
 conflict, put Daood Chan and Hatim Chan to flight, but the latter ^{him's army..}
 fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great
 number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he,
 we are sorry to relate such barbarity, put them to death, by way of
 striking terror into his enemies.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days, ^{Preparations}
 ordering chains to be made to link the carriages of his guns together, ^{for a general}
 to prevent the horse breaking through them. The army of Sultan ^{engagement.}
 Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and
 a thousand elephants; that of Sultan Baber, of thirteen thousand
 only. When Sultan Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered five
 thousand!



A. D. 1525. thousand horse to storm his camp in the night; but finding the
 Hig. 932. enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempt-
 ing any thing.

This retreat hastened Sultan Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the same time, advanced within six crores of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, being the seventh of Rigib, the two armies came in fight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was commanded by Prince Humaion, with the squadron of Chaja Cullan Beg, Sultan Mahummud Dewilde, Hindo Beg, Willi Beg Chazin, and Pier Kulli Sciftani. The first on the left was under the orders of Mirza Mahummud Sultan, with the squadrons of Meridi Chaja, Ghazi Sultan, Sultan Suneid Birlafs, and Shaw Hassein Birlafs. The second, on the right towards the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, Mirza Mahummud Kokultash, and Shaw Munsoor. The second, to the left towards the center, by Meer Chalifa, Tirdi Beg, and Mihib Alli Chalifa. Chusero Kokultash, Mahummud Alli Jungjung, and Mirza Soliman, were appointed to command the light horse, or herawils, in the front. Abdul Aziz and Bar Tirrah, in the rear of the right, and Kirrah Keri Bahadur and Willi Kizil, in the rear of the left. Besides which, there was a reserve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Malleck Casim, and that on the left by Alli Bahadur. The king himself took his post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given orders to his generals.

Ibrahim
 draws out his
 army.

The battle
 begins.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, but drew up his army in one great line, or column, of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down by numbers.

But



But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unweildy column began to break and turn thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the center of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the center, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Afghans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

A. D. 1525.
Fig. 932.
The Indian
army broken.

Sultan Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Sultan Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the course of that river with blood; for so far did Sultan Baber continue the pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

Sultan Ibrahim charges
the Moguls
in person.

Ibrahim killed.
A total overthrow of his
army.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Afghans killed in this action, though most of the Indian authors say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race, afterwards made many efforts,

The fall of
the Patan
and
empire.



A. D. 1525.
Hig. 932.

and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of Humaioon.

Baber enters
Delhi, and
assumes the
empire.

Arrives be-
fore Agra,

which sub-
mits.

Reflex'ons
upon the con-
quest of Hin-
dostan by
Baber.

Sultan Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent Mahummud Sultan, and three other omrahs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered that city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein Sidder; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of Raja Bickermagit, of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of his arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty four ruttys*, which was formerly the property of Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligi. Sultan Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to carry away all her wealth.

This conquest of Hindostan, as Baber himself writes in his Commentaries †, was certainly superior to that of any former conqueror. Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Shab ul Dien Ghorî brought an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men with him, when the king-

* A ratty is seven eighths of a carat.

† The Commentaries of Baber are still extant, and reckoned one of the best performances of the kind in the East.

dom



dom was not so powerful. The like may be said of Timur, who ravaged Hindostan when it was torn to pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Sultan Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Sultan Ibrahim, who possessed all the countries between the Sind and Behar, and could bring five hundred thousand men to the field; while Baber only possessed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchshan, and Candahar, the revenues of which were very inconsiderable.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conquest, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their subsistence, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil discords had totally effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honor to murder, and no scandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of shame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a herd, without unanimity, order, or discipline, should fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked both by private and public oeconomy.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch *, besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorrassan,

Baber's generosity.

* A silver sharoch is in value about a shilling sterling.



A. D. 1526. Kashgur, Ayrac, Mectra, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Mushad, and
 Hig. 933. other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, got Baber the name of a Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provin-
 cial omrahs
 refuse to sub-
 mit.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Alli Chan Formalli, in Mewat; Mahummud Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar Chan, in Gualier; Hussain Chan Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub Chan, in Atava; Allum Chan, in Calpee; Nizim Chan, in Biana; besides Nasir Chan Lohani, and Maroof Furmalli, on the other side of the Ganges. All these omrahs refused to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the son of Diria Chan Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mahummud; and, rendezvousing at Kin-noge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time, Mai, the Afghan chief, who had joined Baber, now deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

Raise Ma-
 hummud to
 the throne.

Baber's dif-
 ficult situation.

His resolute
 behavior.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his omrahs, advising him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in taking, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in Hindostan; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and dangers



dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only those whose valor would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behavior, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him; all, except Chaja Callân, whose bravery was too well established to be disputed, though he was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great services which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him; first, Shech Gurin, with three thousand horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Alli Chan Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose Chan and Shech Baizid Chirmali, with their whole dependents.

Some Patan
chiefs come
over to his
party.

Much about this time, an address was received from Casim, of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was besieging him in his fort, and that if the sultan would send him succours, he would lift himself among his servants. The king sent Kokultash, with a detachment, that way, who engaged Bein, the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Casim put the Moguls in possession of the fort. The king then sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kinnoge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fatie Chan, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favor, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

Casim of
Simbol sub-
mits.

Humaioon
marches
against the
confederate
omrahs.

Q 2

Nizam



A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Nizam, go-
vernour of
Biana, sub-
mits.

Nizam Chan, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himself master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Sultan Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

The gover-
nors of Gua-
lier propose
to submit.

Tatar Chan and Saring Chan, who were in possession of the fort of Gualier, being besieged by Muckit Roy, raja of that country, in the same manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched Rehim Daad and Shech Gurin, with a detachment, which defeated the raja, but Saring Chan recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philosopher whose name was Shech Mahummud Gose, who had a great number of students under him, and who wrote to Rehim Daad, to endeavour to get permission to come himself into the fort, and that he would find means of accomplishing the rest of his desires.

Gualier
taken by a
stratagem.

Rehim Daad, for this purpose, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garrison, for fear of a night assault, and that he might be permitted the honor of paying the philosopher a visit in the garrison. This being agreed to, Rehim Daad was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occasion to send frequent messages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the governor so often for leave, that he desired Rehim Daad to send one

of



of his own servants, to point out such necessary people as he might want to have free ingress and egress. A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The officer of the guard, who was a disciple of the philosopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himself of this order, and permitted every body Rehim Daad's servant pointed out, to pass, by which means all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Saring Chan was told to give up the place, and threatened with instant death, in case of refusal; so having satisfied himself of the circumstances, he made a virtue of necessity, and replied, That had he not intended giving up the place to the king, he would never have been so unguarded as to permit his party to take this advantage, and accordingly submitted without resistance, going in person to Agra, and entered into the king's service. Mahummud Zeiton, at the same time, arrived from Dolepoor, and had a command conferred upon him.

Not long after these transactions, Hamid Chan, Saring Chan, and other Afghans, raised, by a family quarrel, a great disturbance in the castle of Firofa. The king sent Chin Timur Sultan, Abul Fatte Turkuman, and others, against them, who chastised both parties.

In the year nine hundred and thirty three, Chajagi Affid, who had gone ambassador from Cabul to Shaw Tamas of Irack, returned, accompanied by Soliman, and brought various curiosities. But that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favorite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administered in some hare-soup; but the king, after eating An attempt
to poison Ba-
ber.
ing



A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The conspirators punished.

ing a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediately vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Sultan Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Sultan Ibrahim's sons was sent, at the same time, to Cabul, where he remained in banishment.

Prince Humaion defeats the confederate omrahs.

Prince Humaion, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Sultan Sumeid Birlafs to keep those provinces in awe, and returned himself to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum Chan, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

Baber alarmed by a confederacy against him.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that Rana Sinka, Hassen Chan Mewati, Raw Dedive of Backeri, Medini Raw of Chunderi, Mahmood Chan, the son of Sultan Secunder Lodi, and other omrahs and rajas in alliance, whose force exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan omrahs, who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls, hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the sultan's small army. Hybat Chan Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen Chan joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Mahumud Sherif a little add to the general consternation.

Marches against them.

His van defeated.

A general consternation.

This



This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput * was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that, as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was adviseable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab.

A council of war.

Baber, with a discontented aspect, fixed his eyes, in silence, upon the ground. He, at length, sternly asked the omrahs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But, as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honor, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, as if inspired by one soul, cried out, at once, "War! War!"

The intrepid conduct of Baber.

The sultan, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious. Orders were immediately issued to prohibit the sale of wine in the camp: not so much from superstition, as to keep the mind cool for action.

Prohibits the use of wine in the camp.

Upon the ninth of Jimmad ul Sani, of the year nine hundred and thirty three, which happened to be Norose †, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order

* The planet Mars.

† New-Year's Day.

he



A. D. 1526. he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of three
 Hig. 933. crores. But after he had advanced one crore he halted, and en-
 Marches to- camped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing
 wards the themselves, issued out, under the command of Mahummud Casim,
 enemy. to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among
 whom they did great execution.

The enemy advance to attack him. The sultan, next day, advanced another crore, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the shock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam ul Dien Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ablest general; and this order of battle being, on account of circumstances, different from the former, we shall relate it at large in this place.

The order of battle.

The line which, upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life guards in the center, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the sultan placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggon were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry.

Arrangement of the troops.

The brigade immediately to the right of the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of Soliman Shaw, Shaw Munfur Birlas, Durvesh Mahummud Sarban, Abdulla Kitabdar, and Dost Aisheck Aka. The brigade to the left of the center was under the immediate orders of Allum Chan, the son of Sultan Beloli, and composed of his own troops,



troops, and those of Sheick Zein Chani Siddir, Mahummud Ali Tirdi-Beg, Shere Afgan, Araish Chan, and Chaja Haffein. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by Prince Humaioon, and of these the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Haffein Sultan, Ahmed Eufoph, Hindo Beg Cochin, Chufero Cokultash, Mallec Casim, Kawam Beg, Awird Shaw, Willi Chazin, Mirza Combuzli, Peer Kulli Seiftani, Chaja Pulwan Buduchshi, Abdu Shukur, Soliman Aka, the ambassador of Irack, and Haffen, the envoy of Seiftan. The left hand battalion of Prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Meer Shech, Mahummud Kokultash, Chajagi Affid, Chan Chanan, the son of Dowlat Chan Lodi, Malleck Daood Kirrani, and Shech Gurin.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Prince Humaioon commands the right wing.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whose division was composed of the troops of Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Adbul Aziz, Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, and Kuttulack Kaddim. The right hand brigade was made up of the troops of Amir Angi Mogul, Jan Beg Atka, Sittal Chan, Kumal Chan, of the race of Alla ul Dien, Sultan Alli Chan, Shech Zadda Chermilli, and Nizim Chan Biana. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg, Mumin Atka, and Rustum Turkuman; and those of the left wing by Mahmood Casim, Jifferat Chan, and Chan Bahadur. Sultan Mahummud, Buchshi*, took post before the king, with all his yeffawils †, and a choice body of horse.

Seid Chaja the left,

Baber himself the center.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and made them give ground. But Chin Timur, by the sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took

The battle begins.

* Captain-General.

† Aids de Camp.



A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Baber's army
surrounded.

He over-
throws the
enemy.

The sultan
assumes the
title of Gha-
zi.

Reduces Ma-
vat.

up their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the sultan, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli Rumi, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Chin Timur and Allum Chan, and charging them like a lion rushing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen Chan, of Mewat, was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive Rai, Chunder Ban Chohan, Mannuk Chand Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead.

The sultan, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi*; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched towards Mavat, where Nihar Chan, the son of Hassen Chan, seeing no other means of safety, submitted himself and the country to the king. The government of Mavat was conferred upon Chin Timur Sultan.

* Ghazi signifies a warrior.

After



After these transactions, Baber returned to Agra, from whence he sent his son Humaioon to Cabul, with orders to add Balich to that province, and to rule both in his own name. Mahummud Alli, Tirdi Beg, and Kotch Beg, were ordered against Hassein Chan and Diria Chan, who still kept possession of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Hassein Chan was drowned in crossing the Jumna, while Diria Chan escaped. Mahummud Sultan Mirza was detached at the same time to Kinnoge, against Bein Afghan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad.

A. D. 1527.
Hig. 934.
Humaioon
sent to Ca-
bul.

Upon the twenty ninth of Zihidge, in the year nine hundred and thirty four, the king marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chace for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out, and attacked the king, but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner. They placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves about the honor of being first slain. The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and fought after that death, which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Baber invests
Chinderi.

The besiegers
defeated in a
sally.

Murder their
wives and
children,

and are all
slain.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been sent against the omrahs of the East, was defeated. The king,

Baber defeats
the omrahs of
the east.



A. D. 1528. king, therefore, left Ahmed Shaw, the son of Mahummud Shaw, and grandson of Sultan Nafir ul Dien Malavi, who had now joined him, in the government of Chinderi, and marched in person towards Kinnogi. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he threw over it a bridge of boats. Chin Timur was ordered to cross in the front, the enemy being then on the opposite shore. After a faint resistance, the Patans gave way; but Chin Timur pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

Arrives at Agra. The king, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Mahummud Zeman Mirza, the son of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza, of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty five, marched himself to survey the country. He first took the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone elephant, and the palace of Raja Man Sing. He then visited the gardens of Rehim Daad, and ordered some flowers and plants, of an uncommon kind, to be transplanted to Agra. He went to worship in the great Musgid, built by Sultan Shumse ul Dien Altumsh, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra.

falls sick. The sultan, soon after his return to Agra, was seized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some superstitious people advised him, during his sickness, to write a poem in praise of Chaja Abud Ahrar, one of the saints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the saint, actually wrote the poem, in the measure of Mowlani Jami, or Rimel Mussiddis.

The



A. D. 1529.
Hig. 936.

troops to oppose them, and next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Chin Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Mirza Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Sultan Junied Birlafs to prosecute the war in conjunction with Nuferrit Shaw, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra. He visited, upon his way, Shech Eiah, at Monier, the father of Shech Sherrif Moniri, and carried him to court.

Transactions
in Cabul.

Humaioon having left Mirza Hindal to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Cabul to visit his father. Sultan Seid Chan of Argund, took this opportunity of invading Buduchshan, and sent Mirza Hyder Dughelaff, to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was besieged. Sultan Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchshan was bestowed upon Soliman Mirza, who set out immediately for that province with a letter from the king to Sultan Seid Chan, expressing his surprize at hostilities, for which he could not account, but by some misbehavior of Mirza Hindal; that, therefore, he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. When Soliman Mirza arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took possession of the government, which his family have kept to this day. Mirza Hindal returned to Agra.

The sultan
falls sick,

In the year nine hundred and thirty six, the sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon,



maoon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and thirty seven, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and he carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshipers of his virtue.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy for the benefit of the superficial judges of things. He was a master in the arts of Poetry, Writing, and Music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber.

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

To



A. D. 1530.
Fig. 937.
His justice.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Ferghana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

Addicted to
pleasure.

Notwithstanding his great vigor in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young
"maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be en-
"joyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road measured after him. This custom obtains with the emperors of Hindostan to this day. He made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnabs to one crore, each tinnab being forty guz*.

His talents
for war.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he for-

* A guz is not quite an English mile.



get himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul. A. D. 1530.
Hig. 937.

We have already traced Baber's descent from Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynasty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Chingez Chan, the son of Pissuka, the son of Pirna, had four sons of renown, who were all kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai Chaân, Chigittai Chan, Judgi Chan, and Tooli Chan. Though Oktai Chaân was not the eldest son, yet he was, by his father, appointed his successor, and ruled in Kirrakerim and Kilwarân, which were the original territories of Chingez Chan. Oktai Chan died, by excess of wine, in the year six hundred and thirty nine. His genealogy.

Chigittai Chan, the second son, possessed the kingdoms of Maverulnere, Tarkiftân, Balich, and Buduchshan, and became the greatest of the family. Kirrachar Nuain, who was the fifth ancestor of Timur, was one of his omrahs, and, at length, captain general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur, the son of Amir Jiraghai, the son of Amir Birkit, the son of Alingar Bahadur, the son of Abhil Luiân, the son of Kirrachar Nuain, the son of Sagungi, the son of Ibumgi Berlafs, the son of Katchuli Badahur, the son of Jumnai Chan, the son of Bacfinker Chan, the son of Kidu Chan, who, by the mother's side, was descended from Bafinger, a lady, from whom Chingez Chan derived his pedigree. The family of Timur, or Tamerlane.



and equanimity which distinguished a great man.

We have already traced back the descent from the first

founder of the first dynasty, the great Ching-Chan, the

son of Hsiao-tse, the son of Pao, and founder of the

dynasty, and the founder of the second, the great

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

Ching-Chan, the son of Ching-Chan, the son of

